

Contributions to the law of succession in Ancient Egypt

(Part 2 : Catalogue)

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Mohamed Helmi Essa Ahmed

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Dekan: Prof. Dr. Jürgen Leonhardt

Hauptberichterstatter: Prof. Dr. Schafik Allam

Mitberichterstatter: Prof. Dr. Koen Donker Van Heel

Mitberichterstatter: Prof. Dr. Christian Leitz

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Introduction

This part of dissertation is composed of texts dealing with the succession matters in ancient Egypt. I have collected the legislative texts and other sources and designated them as the prime evidence of the study in the first part of dissertation. These documents are arranged in chronological order.

The work for this catalogue is four-fold. The first would deal with the documents of the Old Kingdom, they are 10 tombs inscriptions, one papyrus, two clay tablets and one stela. These documents are arranged in chronological order. The inscription of *Mtn*, from reign of Snefru, is the first known text deals, among other things, with the inheritance issues in ancient Egypt.

The second would deal with the documents of the Middle Kingdom, we collected 8 texts dealing with inheritance. They are 3 papyri, four stelae and one ceramic bowl inscribed with text is similar to the letters of the Dead both in external form and in the nature of its contents.

The third would concern with the inheritance documents of the New Kingdom. So far, we know 31 texts from New Kingdom, most of these texts date back to Ramesside period. They are one tomb inscription, 20 ostraca, 8 papyri and two stelae. The stela of Ahmose-nefertari is the only royal text among the sources of the New Kingdom.

The fourth would deal with the inheritance documents that date back to the Late Period. Those documents are one statue inscription, three stelae, in addition to the demotic Papyrus Mattha, which dated back to c. 250 BCE, but probably going back to the Saite Period. It is one of the prime sources on intestate succession. The inheritance documents of the Late Period contained only one royal text, which belongs to the princess Nitocris, daughter of King Psamtik I, who was adopted and established as heiress by the God's Wife of Amun Shepenwepe II, sister of the late King Taharqa.

Since these texts are already published and translated by the former Egyptologists, many revisions had been made to these translations. The parts of these translations that have been improved by the author are indicated in the footnotes. Each text is followed by a summary of the topic covered by the text.

In addition to the previous text, my study also examines other texts, like marriage contracts, letters to the dead, and auto-biographical texts, etc., which contain, among other things, references to inheritance. Those texts are not included in the catalogue list.

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Documents of Old Kingdom

1

Inscr. *Mtn* (pl. 1)

Date: 3rd/4th Dynasty (reign of Snefru).

Text: SETHE, *Urk I*, 1f.

GOEDICKE, 'Laufbahn des *Mtn*', *MDAIK* 21, 1966, pl. 5 Inschrift E.

IDEM, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften*, pl. I b, Inschrift C.

Bibliography: BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I, 1906, 79 §175.

GOEDICKE, *MDAIK* 21, 1966, 66 ff. Inschrift E.

IDEM, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften*, 17 ff.

GÖDECKEN, *Betrachtung der Inschriften des Meten*, 1976, 11 Akte I, II.

LOGAN, 'The *Jmyt-pr* document: Form, function, and significance', *JARCE* 37, 2000, 51.

STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 2005, 192 n. 108 (decree I).

(13) He acquired 200 *arouras* of land (*3ht*) ... from many royal colonists¹, he was given 50 *arouras* of land (*3ht*) from (his) mother *Nb-snt*. She drew up an *ꜥjmyt-pr*-document² about (that) for (her) children², (16) they (the *arouras*) were proclaimed everywhere by (means of) royal writing. The governor of Sekhemite (*Shmt*) nome³ gave 12 *arouras* of land (*3ht*) to him together with his children. (There were) people and small cattle (*ꜥwt*).

This text is a part of a long autobiographical inscription of *Mtn*, which was found in his Mastaba-chamber. In his autobiography, *Mtn* explains his activities in the Delta. He tells us how he rose gradually: he started as a scribe and overseer of a provision magazine until he became a governor for a number of cities and districts in the Delta⁴. But what concerns us most is his inheritance from his mother. On the other hand, the text is an instance of a division of property instituted by means of a document, in which the lady *Nb-snt* distributed her lands among her children.

¹ STRUDWICK (*op. cit.*, 207, notes 11) sees that the designation *nswtjw* refers to a type of farmer. For other attestations of this word, see GOEDICKE, *ZÄS* 92, 37; MORENO GARCÍA, *ZÄS* 124, 124 ff.; IDEM, *ZÄS* 125, 47; JONES, *An index of ancient Egyptian titles* (2000), 489.

² The transfer of ownership referred to here, is important. The text displays the ability of the woman to have her property apparently under the same conditions as a man. The nature of her property cannot be determined, either it is her own acquisition, or she received it from her man (GOEDICKE, *op. cit.*, 17 f.).

³ Sekhemite nome is the second nome in Lower Egypt (STRUDWICK, *op. cit.*, 192).

⁴ BREASTED, *op. cit.*, 76.

2

Inscr. Nj-^cnh-k3 (a)in his earlier tomb⁵

(pl. 2)

Date: 4th Dynasty.**Text:** SETHE, *Urk* I, 161 f.THOMPSON, E., *The Old Kingdom cemetery at Tehna*, I, 2014, pls. 26-40.FAROUT, D., 'La foundation funéraire de Nykaiankh II à Tehneh El-Gabel', *Egypte Afrique & Orient est la revue du Centre d'egyptologie*, 2015, 6 f., 12.**Bibliography:** THÉODORIDÈS, 'The Concept of Law in Ancient Egypt', in Harris J.R. (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt*, 1971, 293.STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 195 f. n. 110.THOMPSON, *op. cit.*, 60 ff.FAROUT, *op. cit.*, 3 ff.

(1) A *wdt-mdw*-document⁶ which the royal acquaintance Nj-^cnh-k3 made in his house, with his mouth, while living. As regards all (my) children, I have set things up for them, which they benefit. I do not allow anyone of them to give away what I have done on his behalf by means of an *jmj.t-pr*-document or by donation to any relative, (4) except that he has a son - he may give (it) to him. They should act under the charge of my eldest/favorite son in the way they carry out their (own) things. I am one who has set up my heir for the day on which I pass to the West - may that be a long way off!

(5) These K3-servants⁷, they should carry out (activity) under his supervision; - it is he who shall organize them for my invocation offerings daily, at the beginning of the months, at the half-months, and in (every) festival throughout the year. I do not allow him to take them away for any work other than that of the daily invocation offerings. (8) If he does take (them) away for any

⁵ This text known as 'Heti will' by some Egyptologists, for example, see THÉODORIDÈS, 'The Concept of Law in Ancient Egypt', in J.R. Harris (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt*, Oxford, 1971, 293.

⁶ *wdt-mdw* means "give a specific command" (*Wb* I, 396, 1-8; WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 281 f.). But I see that it is reasonable to translate it as '*wdt-mdw*-document' in our textual material.

⁷ ALLAM (*RdE* 36, 14-15) sees that the *hmw-k3* were not actually funeral priests, but "servants of the k3" of their lord, during his lifetime and after his death. As they are a college of subordinate officials who, apart from the teams (*ts.t*), are attached to the governor of the principality. There is a view, stating that the position of choachytes (*w3h-mw*) were very similar to that of the *hmw-k3* of the Old Kingdom, they provide offerings for the dead person in return for compensation, and usually bequeathed their office from one generation to the next, see VLEEMING, S. P., 'The office of a choachyte in the Theban area', in Vleeming, S. P. (ed.), *Hundred-gated Thebes: acts of a colloquium on Thebes and the Theban area in the Graeco-Roman period* (P.L. Bat. 27), Leiden, 1995, 241-55; DONKER VAN HEEL, *Abnormal hieratic and early Demotic texts*, 1996; SHEIKHOESLAMI, C., 'Some Theban choachytes of the Third Intermediate Period', in Jurman, Claus, Bettina Bader, and David A. Aston (eds), *A true scribe of Abydos: essays on first millennium Egypt in honour of Anthony Leahy*, Leuven: Peeters, 2017, 415-44.

work other than my invocation offerings, then I do not give him control over these *k3*-servants with respect to any work apart from my invocation offerings.

This text deals with setting up the funerary cult of *Nj-ḥ-k3*. He made his deposition, while he was in good health; turned his property into an endowment for providing his own eternal cult. He appointed his children to serve in it in the order they could benefit from its income. On the other hand, this text provides clear evidence that the eldest/favorite son had particular rights and obligations regarding his father's cult.

3 Inscr. *Nj-k3w-Rḥ* (pl. 3)

Date: 4th Dynasty.

Text: SETHE, *Urk I*, 16 f.

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 1970, pl. 3.

Bibliography: BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I, 89 f. §§1929.

GOEDICKE, *op. cit.*, 21 ff.

SPALINGER, 'Dated Texts of the Old Kingdom', *SAK* 21, 1994, 275 ff.

STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 200 n. 111.

(1) Year of the 12th (occasion of) the count of the cattle [and herds] ... the King's son *Nj-k3w-rḥ* is setting up (following) instructions (while he is still) alive (and) on his feet being not ill. (3) I give:

(to) the royal acquaintance *Nḥn-nbtj*: in (*name lost*) nome, (*two estates with the name of Khafre*⁸);

(to) his son, the royal acquaintance *Nj-k3w-Rḥ*: in the north of the 14th nome in Lower Egypt, (*three estates with the name of Khafre*);

(to) his daughter, the royal acquaintance *Htp-ḥr-s*: in the 14th nome in Lower Egypt (*one estate with the name of Khafre*),

and in the north of the 14th nome in Lower Egypt, (*one estate with the name of Khafre*);

(to) his daughter, the royal acquaintance *Kn-Nbtj-wr* (Kennebtiwer): in (*name lost*) nome, the estate "[the ba of] Khafre is great" and in the 16th nome of Upper Egypt, (*four estates with the name of Khafre*);

⁸ The italic sentences in parentheses were produced by STRUDWICK (*op. cit.*, 200).

(to) his beloved wife, the royal acquaintance, *K3-n-Nbtj*: in the 12th nome in Upper Egypt the estate “Khafre is perfect,” in the 20th nome in Upper Egypt (*one estate with the name of Khafre*), and the house/tomb/estate of his daughter in the pyramid of Khafre ...

Nj-k3w-R^c was a son of Khafre and a lesser wife. He served as a vizier, seemingly at the time of Menkaure⁹. This text was found in his tomb at Giza and dealt with distribution a part of his property among his wife and children, which consisted of several towns in the Pyramid-city of his father¹⁰. This text is a prime example of the fact that the testator could do what he pleased in his property.

4

Inscr. *Snnw-ḥnh* (pl. 4)

Date: 5th Dynasty.

Text: SETHE, *Urk I*, 36-7.

MORET, ‘Donations et fondations en droit égyptien’, *Rec. trav.* 29, 1907, 91 ff.

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pl. 8.

Bibliography: BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I, 106 §§231-5.

MORET, *loc. cit.*

PIRENNE, *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l’Ancienne Egypte*, II, 1935, 336.

GOEDICKE, *op. cit.*, 75 ff.

MRSICH, *Untersuchungen zur Hausurkunde des Alten Reiches*, 1968, 55 ff.

STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 201 f. n. 114.

(1) O my *k3*-servants¹¹ with their children and the children of their children as well, born bodily to them ..., [they shall provide me with funerary offerings in my own chapel]¹². I do not authorize them to sell (*jsw*) by *jmj.t-pr*-document¹³, (anything) to any person. They have to pass on, to their children, what is their share [together with *k3*-servant-job,]. As regards any *k3*-servant among them who shall leave or who is taken away to (perform) another duty, everything which I have given to him should go to the *k3*-servants of his phyle. I do not allow [him to have authority to take away anything (from what) I have given to him]. (4) As regards any *k3*-servant among them who shall sue his fellow, everything which I have given him shall be taken away,

⁹ See STRUDWICK, *op. cit.*, 200.

¹⁰ See BREASTED, *op. cit.*, 88 f.

¹¹ I prefer to translate *ḥmw k3* as ‘*k3*-servants’ or ‘*ḥmw-k3*-personnel’, not as ‘soul priests’.

¹² The bracketed phrases suggested by STRUDWICK (*op. cit.*, 201 f.).

¹³ It is better to use the translation ‘*jmj.t-pr*-document’ not ‘will’ that STRUDWICK used.

and indeed it shall be given to the *k3*-servant against whom he went to law. I do not allow [him] to have the authority [over (my) offerings there].

The ends of each line of this text are damaged, and they have been restored by SETHE, GOEDICKE, and STRUDWICK¹⁴. *Snnw-ḥnh* appointed a group of *k3*-servants to take care of his mortuary endowment, as he put some restrictions on it, forbids any *k3*-servant from given anything which *Snnw-ḥnh* made for him to another person, but they could only bequeath it to their children, and no one of those *k3*-servants could institute legal proceeding against his colleague.

5
Inscr. *K3-m-nfrt*
(pl. 5)

Date: 5th Dynasty.

Text: SETHE, *Urk I*, 11 ff.

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pl. 5.

Bibliography: BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I, 91 ff. §§ 200-9.

PIRENNE, *Histoire des institutions et du droit privé de l'Ancienne Egypte*, II, 1935, 336.

HASSAN, S., *Excavations at Giza*, II, 1936, 104 ff.

MRSICH, *Untersuchungen zur Hausurkunde des Alten Reiches*, 1968, 48 ff.

GOEDICKE, *op. cit.*, 44 ff.

STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 189 ff. n. 106.

(*The beginning is lost*) (1) When he still lived on his feet, as a sole companion, chief of *Nḥb*, one who does guard duty on the King every day, the sole companion, chief of *Nḥb*, the boundary official of the estate “Horus is the star at the top of heaven” -----

--- [As regards to] these *k3*-servants of my property (*ḏt*¹⁵), --- in accordance with all *wḏt-mdw*¹⁶ I have made concerning it. I do not allow to [children, brothers], sisters, or any of new-borns of supervisors of *k3*-servants, deputy supervisors of *k3*-servants, [or *k3*-servants] have any authority over [the fields (*ḥ3t*)], (5) personnel, or anything which I have set up for them so that invocation offerings can be made for me therefrom, also, over their male slave (*b3k*), [their female slave (*b3kt*)]. While their brothers and their sisters are able to perform the service. The exception (to

¹⁴ See STRUDWICK, *op. cit.*, 201.

¹⁵ *ḏt* means “body” (*Wb I*, 503, 10); it is mainly used in religious texts indicating the human corpse. It can also be used to refer to the “body” of objects, such as an obelisk (WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 1249). For further details, see PEREPKIN, J. J., *Privateigentum in der Vorstellung der Ägypter des alten Reichs*. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von RENATE MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN, Tübingen, 1986.

¹⁶ For word *wḏ* “order” see HAYES, H., ‘*wḏ*: the context of command in the Old Kingdom’, *GM* 176, 2000, 63 ff.

this) is (what is needed) to make the invocation offerings [for me there in the necropolis, in] my tomb of eternity which is in the (area of) the pyramid of (Khafre), in accordance with the setup of the fields, the personnel, and everything [which I have set up for them, so that invocation offerings can be made for me¹⁷] therein.

I do not allow to any *k3*-servant of my property (*dt*) to have authority of disposal of the land, personnel, or [anything which I have set up for him, so that invocation offerings can be made for me] therein, whether that be by selling to any person or by transferring it to any person by means of *jmj.t-pr*-document. But he can [give (it) to his excellent son] (10) to be his share together with the *k3*-servant-job, so that (these) remain with these *k3*-servants.

As regards to any *k3*-servant of my property (*dt*) who shall repudiate [the fields, personnel, or anything] belonging to my invocation offerings which were given to me by the King, so that I might be revered (*jm3hw*), part of his share shall be taken away from him and allocated to the share [of the phyle to which he belongs].

As regards to any *k3*-servant of my property (*dt*) who shall sue his fellow and who files a complaint that (that fellow) should be ejected from the job of *hm-k3* [with the aim that he take his part] (13) of the share by means of it: the fields, personnel, or anything which I have given to him, so that invocation offerings can be made for me [therefrom shall be taken from him ---] (14) therein who shall make an end for him not going to law in the presence of the officials [on the matter of the fields, personnel, and anything which I have done] (15) for the *k3*-servants of my property (*dt*) so that invocation offerings can be made for me therefrom in my tomb of eternity which is in the necropolis in (the area of) [the pyramid of (Khafre)]. As regards to] (16) any *k3*-servant of my property (*dt*) who shall go into the presence of the officials (to transfer) to another duty [if] the officials [permit] he shall go to another duty, (but) his part of his share (still) belongs to the phyle in which he was-[I do not allow him to take (anything)] from the fields, personnel, or anything which I set up for them to enable the invocation offerings to be made for me therefrom in my tomb in [the necropolis in (the area of) the pyramid of (Khafre)]. (19) He shall go off only with his body.

As regards to these fields which the King gave to me so that I might be revered (*jm3hw*) ---, [they belong to the *k3*-servants] (20) so that invocation offerings can be made for me therefrom in the necropolis.

¹⁷ See STRUDWICK, *op. cit.*, 189 ff.

As regards to everything which is produced in that which I have given them, [it shall be divided up in the place in which] judgment is given, and the share for those who belong (?) to these phyles shall be one-tenth; this shall be done --- so that invocation offerings can be made for me therefrom in the necropolis, in my tomb of eternity in (the area of) the pyramid of (Khafre).

[As regards to the towns] (23) of my property (*dt*) which the King gave me so that I might be revered (*jm3hw*), and which are exempted for the purposes of (providing) invocation offerings in accordance with the list (?) [---] [*k3*-servants of (?)] my endowment who make invocation offerings for me therefrom in my tomb of eternity in the necropolis in (the area of) the pyramid of (Khafre), [in respect of the fields, personnel,] (25) and everything which I have set up for them. As regards the towns of my property (*dt*), which are handled by priests, priestly services shall be done in relation to them --- (26) -----.

This text was recorded on the block limestone that probably was a part of the tomb of the *K3-m-nfrt*'s family at Giza, at present, it is preserving in the Cairo museum under the number CG 1432¹⁸. It contains a deposition of *K3-m-nfrt* concerning set up and governance of the *k3*-servants who looked after his mortuary endowment, and it forbids any *k3*-servant from giving a field, a person, or anything which *K3-m-nfrt* made over to him for the invocation-offering for *K3-m-nfrt* therefrom.

6

Inscr. *Tntj*

(pl. 6)

Date: 5th Dynasty.

Text: SETHE, *Urk I*, 163 ff.

MORET, 'Une nouvelle disposition testamentaire de l'ancien Empire Égyptien', *C.R. de l'Acad. des Inscr*, 1914, 529 ff.

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pl. 13.

Bibliography: MORET, *op. cit.*, 529 ff.

GOEDICKE, *op. cit.*, 122 ff.

STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 202 f. n.115.

¹⁸ STRUDWICK, *op. cit.*, 189.

(1) As regards to the invocation offerings which have come to me from the “house of the King”¹⁹ (in the form of) barley, wheat, and clothing, it is my wife, the royal acquaintance *Tp-m-nfirt*, who will provide my invocation offerings from (it), for she is *jm3hw* in my sight.

As regards to the two fields, which provide the invocation offerings for my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj*, it now belongs to my wife, the royal acquaintance *Tp-m-nfirt*. She is the one who shall make the invocation offerings for me and my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj*. I was (the one) who begged them (*the plots of land*) from the King for my (own) *jm3hw* provision. I am her eldest/favorite son, her heir (*iw^{c20}*); I was (the one) who buried her in the necropolis.


... <i>k3</i> -servant <i>Nfr-hr</i>	3 <i>ta</i> ²¹ measures of land	3 <i>heqat</i> of grain
... <i>k3</i> -servant <i>Jwf</i>	3 <i>ta</i> measures of land	3 <i>heqat</i> of grain
... <i>k3</i> -servant <i>Snb</i>	3 <i>ta</i> measures of land	3 <i>heqat</i> of grain
... <i>k3</i> -servant <i>Pr-sn</i>	1 <i>ta</i> measure of land	1 <i>heqat</i> of grain

Shall be provided from the possessions (*hrt*) of *Tp-m-nfirt*. I have set up her possessions (*hrt*) for these *k3*-servants from a small *aroura*. Should they not remain in the associated “Mansion of the *ka*” which is under the control of my wife, the royal acquaintance *Tp-m-nfirt*, then it (*the land*) will revert to the ownership of my wife *Tp-m-nfirt*.

(3) As regards to the invocation offerings for my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj* (consisting of) barley and wheat from the granary, and clothing from the treasury, my bodily brother, the *k3*-servant *K3-m-nfirt*, who shall provide the invocation offerings there for my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj* and for myself.

As for these two fields, which provide the invocation offerings for my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj*, it shall belong to my bodily brother, the *k3*-servant *K3-m-nfirt*. He is (the one) who shall provide the invocation offerings there for my mother, the royal acquaintance *Bbj* and for myself.

¹⁹ *pr nsw* : house of the King (of Upper Egypt, this term indicates the royal palace, where the King lived, and also to the administrative offices connected with it (WILSON, *op. cit.*, 353).

²⁰ *Jw^c*, this term used to describe the statue of the King as the heir of the gods, and his inheritance here is Egypt and everything belongs to Egypt. The reason for the original writing with sign  may be connected with the offering of a foreleg which the son made to his dead father (WILSON, *op. cit.*, 49).

²¹ One *st3t* (one *aroura*) equals thirty *t3* (BAER, *JNES* 15, 1956, 113).

This text deals with the instructions of *Tntj* concerning his mortuary service and that of his mother; he appointed four *k3*-servants to look after the mortuary service.

7

Inscr. *Wp-m-nfrt*
(pl. 7)

Date: second half of the 5th Dynasty.

Text: HASSAN, S., *Excavations at Giza*, II, 1936, fig. 219, pls. 74 ff.

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pl. 4.

Bibliography: HASSAN, S., *op. cit.*, 179 ff.

HELCK, 'Wirtschaftliche Bemerkungen zum privaten Grabbesitz im Alten Reich', *MDAIK* 14, 1956, 68.

GOEDICKE, *op. cit.*, 31 ff.

STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 203 n. 116.

Year of uniting the two lands, 3rd month of the winter season, day 29.

The sole companion *Wp* (= *Wp-m-nfrt*). He said, (I) have given to my eldest/favorite son²², the lector priest *Jby*, (from my) property (*dt*) the northern room with the northern offering chapel which is from (my) property (in) the necropolis. He shall be buried there; offerings shall be celebrated for him there. For he is blessed (*jm3h*) one. No brother can be against it; no woman, no children can be against it, with the exception of my eldest/favorite son, the lector priest *Jby*, to whom (I) have given".

Made in his (*Wp-m-nfrt*) (own) presence, while living (and) on his two feet. He made (namely) an *wdt-mdw*-document.

Given in the presence of many witnesses (and) written in his own presence:

Physician *Nfr-hr-n-Pth*.
House steward *Nfr-sdm*.
... lion.

Oculist *Nfr-Tz*.
Inspector of the personnel-(*hmw-k3*²³) *Nw-rdj*.
Architect *K3-Tzw*.
Seal-bearer *Tntj*.
Painter *Rc-h3j*.

Sculptor *Hnw*.
... *Wrt-t3*.
Embalmer priest (belonging to) Anubis *Shnt-t3*.
Artisan *Bc-k*.
Cemetery man *K3-p3*.
k3-servant *Pth-htp*.
Chief mason (?) *Jn-b3*.

²² For the meaning "favorite son" see ALLAM, 'Notes on the designation "Eldest son/daughter" (*z3/z3.t smsw: šri 3/šri.t 3.t*)', *SASAE* 40 (2010), 29 ff.

²³ For the meaning of *hm-k3*: house servant in a high position, see ALLAM, 'Le *hm-k3* était-il exclusivement prêtre funéraire?', *RdE* 36 (1985), 1 ff.

This text is placed in the tomb of the high official *Wp-m-nfrt*. He distinguished his the eldest/favorite son, *Jby* by giving him certain rights (a burial chamber and regularly performed funerary offerings). To this end, a document was to be drawn up in the presence of witnesses; in our case, there were no less than 15 witnesses. The examination of the tomb shows that the north chapel was indeed devoted to the son *Jby*²⁴.

8

Inscr. *Pn-mrw*

(pl. 8)

Date: End of the 5th Dynasty.

Text: REISNER/FISCHER, ‘Preliminary Report on the work of the Harvard-Boston Expedition in 1911-13’, *ASAE* 13, 1913, 247.

GRDSELOFF, ‘Deux inscriptions juridiques de l’Ancien Empire’, *ASAE* 42, 1943, fig. 3.

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 1970, pl. 6.

Bibliography: REISNER/FISCHER, *op. cit.*, 246 ff.

GRDSELOFF, *op. cit.*, 39 ff.

GOEDICKE, *op. cit.*, 68 ff.

STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 200 f. n. 112.

(1) The royal *w^cb*-priest, *hm-ntr*-priest of (Menkaure), overseer of *hm(w)-k3*-personnel, *Pn-mrw* said, As regards the *dd-mdw* (deposition concerning) the *k3*-servant *Nfr-htp* with his children of (some) father (and) mother, they are *k3*-servants (for my) property (and) responsible for the invocation offerings to be celebrated from my property (in) the necropolis of (Khufu). They are also those who cause the reversion of the offerings²⁵ (of my) superior ... the vizier *Ssm-nfr*. [As regards] (5) the one *kha*-measure²⁶ of land [I have given to him] with these his children, (I) do not allow any person from the group to have authority over him with these his children; (I) do not allow any(one) to have authority over (him) with any children. (9) He shall give five *ta*-measures [of land] ... the royal acquaintance *Mrt-f-s*.

This text does not seem to be a faithful copy of a legal document²⁷. Yet, it shows how one’s funerary offerings could come both from one’s own property and from the reversion of offerings

²⁴ See STRUDWICK, *op. cit.*, 200; GOEDICKE, ‘Bilateral Business in the Old Kingdom’, *DE* 5, 1986, 81.

²⁵ “The reversion of the offerings” is one of the daily rites in which priests cleaned the god statue, dressed it, anointed it, and put offerings before it. After that, these offerings were offered to another dead person. For further details, ENGLUND, G., ‘Offerings: An Overview’, in Redford, Donald B. (ed.), *OEA*, II, 564 ff.

²⁶ *h3 t3* “a thousand of earth”, originally referred to 10 *arouras* of land, that is one thousand of land cubits (GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, 200 § 266.3; WILSON, *op. cit.*, 700).

²⁷ GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften*, 68.

already celebrated for another high official²⁸. The high official called *Pn-mrw* appointed one *Nfr-htp*, with his children as *k3*-servants. They shall provide him with funerary offerings.

9

Inscr. *Nj-ꜥnh-k3* (b)

in his later tomb

(pl. 9)

Date: End of the 5th Dynasty.

Text: SETHE, *Urk I*, 28 ff.

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 1970, pl. 14.

THOMPSON, E., *The Old Kingdom cemetery at Tehna*, I, 2014, pls. 2-25.

Bibliography: FRASER, 'The early tombs at Tehneh', *ASAE* 3, 1903, 122 ff.

BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, I, 105 f. §§223-5.

GOEDICKE, *op. cit.*, 131 ff.

STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 199 n. 110.

THOMPSON, E., *op. cit.*, 21 ff.

The steward of the Palace, the royal acquaintance *Nj-ꜥnh-k3*, [revered]; the royal acquaintance *Hdt-ḥqnw*;

[He] said ----- [to] his children, while he was on his two feet, alive in the sight of the King.

By Two Statues of Hemhathor

---- the royal document scribe, *Hm-Ḥthr*; he is my heir (*jwꜥ*) who is in my seat, and possessor of all my possessions (*jšt*).

--- her eldest/favorite son, honoured of his father, the royal document scribe, *Hm-Ḥthr*.

--- an *jmj.t-pr*-document; they (possessions) shall deliver to this my heir, as they did [to] myself.

--- given to her [for] the ration of bread and beer as property, [while] upon my seat, --- --- as property. May they deliver the [ration of] bread and beer to this my heir, as they did [to] myself.

These are *Nj-ꜥnh-k3*'s deposition concerning his (own) estate, and another document establishes and adjusts his (own) mortuary priesthood. But, unfortunately, this deposition is very fragmentary; *Nj-ꜥnh-k3* having the right to bequeath the two land-endowments to whom he wishes. He decrees that his two land-endowments shall be distributed among his children²⁹.

²⁸ STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 200.

²⁹ See BREASTED, *op. cit.*, 99 f.

10

Inscr. Nb-k3w-hr (A)

(pl. 10)

Date: beginning of the 6th Dynasty.**Text:** GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften*, pl. 9.**Bibliography:** GOEDICKE, *op. cit.*, 82 ff.STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 187 f. n. 104.

The hereditary prince, the prince, vizier, seal-bearer (of the King) of Lower Egypt, sole companion, administrator of (the vineyard) “Horus is the star inside the heaven,” keeper of secrets of the House of the Morning, chief lector priest, charmed of arm prince scribe of the divine documents, ---.

(1) He has made a *wdt-mdw*-document --- As regards to the phyle of *k3*-servants --- they (should make) the invocation offerings [for me here]. According to their care [for me] (5) in respect of that which they do for me their --- to perform his monthly duties for my invocation offerings ---. He has no entitlement/documentary claim against my house (*pr*), my lands (*3ht*), my people(*rm*) [and everything which I gave to him] but he will be rejected from here --- [As regards to his son] he should not replace him (10) in[his monthly duties for my invocation offerings here], as regards any *k3*-servants of mine --- [who are ---] who will go off to other people and who do not come to make the monthly offerings [for me] ---. They shall give [that which is in his portion of income] to the excellent son as I did myself, (15) and who does not back to make the monthly offerings for me [in the Necropolis]. They should bring [their] wives and family concerning the invocation offerings which (are present) for me in the necropolis --- that they are taken from the walls of the Dead Foundation (?) through this *jmj.t-pr*-document --- (20) together with --- for another priestly duty -----. As to the *k3*-servants (25) --- for any son and sister, who gave to (me?) --- but to be among the *k3*-servants ---. As regards to anyone of my own *k3*-servants --- who speaks or who proceeds [against a colleague of his]... who comes to the *k3*-servants --- [he is proceeded against (?)] (30) in the name of the King and [his share (?)] is taken away [from him (?)] ---. They have power over --- for the burden of the *k3*-servants --- about which I have spoken in this *jmj.t-pr*-document that which I have given them in this *jmj.t-pr*-document --- I do not allow anyone to have authority over them, with their children, and --- for the breadth of eternity, except he himself goes --- (35) As regards to an official, a noble one, an official of the Great House, granary, treasury, or the house of documents, or a man of the house of sealed documents ---.

This This text found in a tomb in Tehneh, unfortunately, it contains many gaps, which makes it extremely difficult to identify all the details of this case, but it certainly will not differ from the other texts that deal series of prohibitions and punishments which the author set it for administrating of his funerary cult³⁰.

11 pBerlin 9010 (pls. 11-11a)

Date: 6th Dynasty.

Text: MÖLLER, *Hieratische Papyrus aus Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, III, 1909, pl. 1.

IDEM, *Hieratische Paläographie* I, pl. 2.

SETHE, 'Ein Prozeßurteil aus dem Alten Reich', ZÄS 61, 1926, 71.

Bibliography: ERMAN/KREBS, *Aus den Papyrus der königlichen Museen*, 1899, 82 f.

SETHE, *op. cit.*, 67 ff.

HARARI, *Contribution à l'étude de la procédure judiciaire dans l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, 1950, 55.

GOEDICKE, 'Zum Papyrus Berlin 9010', ZÄS 101, 1974, 90 ff.

STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 186 f. n. 103.

(1) ----- this [*Sbk*]-*hṭp* has brought a [*sš*-writing] (document), which the royal noble, the overseer of the foreigners *Wsr* made, and he entrusted him with his wife, his children, and his entire possessions (that) are in his (*Wsr*) house, in order to please all the children of this *Wsr* there, and in order to treat the older one according to his greater (age), the younger one according to his younger (age). Then this *T3w* said, "that his father has never done it (*šs*-document) in any place." If this *Sbk-hṭp* bring three excellent witnesses who are convincing on this matter, and they swear (the oath): (5) 'May your might be against him, O God, and that this document was done according to *Wsr*'s agreement there', then the (possessions) will remain in hands of this *Sbk-hṭp*. (because) for he has brought these three witnesses who say on this matter in their presence. Then this *Sbk-hṭp* will become one who eats without his damage (*wmm n sbnn.f*)³¹" (i.e., trustee). But if he does not bring three witnesses to speak on this matter (8) in their presence, then the entire property (*ht*) of *Wsr* shall not remain with him (*Sbk-hṭp*), and it will be with his son, the royal noble, the overseer of the foreigners *T3w*.

This papyrus is part of the Elephantine archive from Aswan, and it seems to record a dispute between a eldest/favorite son of the testator, and a trustee appointed through a document.

³⁰ See STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 187.

³¹ For this expression, see SETHE, ZÄS 61, 1926, 77 f.

12

Tablet 5955, Balat Oasis of Dakhla

(Sn.nw-k3 disposition)

(pl. 12)

Date: End of the 6th Dynasty**Text:** PHILIP-STÉPHAN, A., *Dire le droit en Egypte pharaonique: Contribution à l'étude des structures et mécanismes juridictionnels jusqu'au Nouvel Empire*, 2008, 260.**Bibliography:** PHILIP-STÉPHAN, A., Deux actes de disposition inédits découverts dans l'oasis égyptienne de Dakhla. *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 83, 2005, 273 ff.PHILIP-STÉPHAN, A., *Dire le droit en Egypte pharaonique: Contribution à l'étude des structures et mécanismes juridictionnels jusqu'au Nouvel Empire*, 2008, 260 f.

(1) [...] *Jp-k3* (2) declares: "this *Sn-nw-k3* [came to] me in order to leave [his posse]ssions (*jšw.t*) to *J3w*, son of *Mrr*. He declares: (4) "if my son lives, the whole of my possessions (*jšw.t*) shall be to him." So, says *Sn-nw-k3*. (5) But if he dies, all my possessions (*jšw.t*) will be to [*Mrr*'s] children". (6) Thus *Sn-nw-k3* spoke".

This text deals with the case that reflects one of the items of customary intestate succession law, which states the testator's property does not go to any person if he leaves any children or grandchildren.

13

Tablet 3689-7,8 and 11, Balat Oasis of Dakhla

(Tšjw disposition)

(pl. 13)

Date: End of the 6th Dynasty**Text:** PHILIP-STÉPHAN, A., *Dire le droit en Egypte pharaonique: Contribution à l'étude des structures et mécanismes juridictionnels jusqu'au Nouvel Empire*, 2008, 260.**Bibliography:** PHILIP-STÉPHAN, A., 'Deux actes de disposition inédits découverts dans l'oasis égyptienne de Dakhla', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 83, 2005, 273 ff.PHILIP-STÉPHAN, A., *Dire le droit en Egypte pharaonique: Contribution à l'étude des structures et mécanismes juridictionnels jusqu'au Nouvel Empire*, 2008, 260 f.

(1) The servant who I am declares: Let the letter carrier, who belongs to the *D3d3t*-council, know that follower, *Kmj* appealed to the servant who I am for the division of the domain (*pr*) and all property (*ht*) of the royal dignitary, *Tšjw* between [his children]. The servant who I am [acted] as he commanded (*wđ.t*). (4) Wild water (points) used as wells: 16

8 (wells for) *Wshw* [...] (6)4 (wells for) *Mdw-nfr* [...] (7)2 (wells for) *Jdwy* (son of) *Špst* [...] (8)

2 (wells for) *Hdw* (son of) *Tšjw* [...]

(9) He acts [... by *N* ...], (10) who are in the countryside. He divided in accordance with the command of the letter carrier [...].”

LIPPERT sees that this text is an example of a real division of property among the children of the deceased testator. This division announced to the authorities by a certain official, called *Kmj*, not by the testator himself. The text shows that of at least four sons; one receives eight water wells, one four and two received two each³².

14

Ste. Florence 6365

(pls. 14-14a)

Date: 11th Dynasty.

Text: BAILLET, J., ‘La Stele de Si-Montu-Ousir’, *Rec. de Trav.* 26, 1903-1904, 20.

VAILLE, A., ‘La Stele de Sa-Mentou-ouser’, *Melanges Maspero 1/2*, *MIFAO* 66, Le Caire, 1935-1938, 554.

BOSTICO, S., *Le Stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno* (Museo Archeologico de Firenze) 1959, pl. 18.

SEIPEL, W., *Ägypten. Götter, Gräber und die Kunst 4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube*, 1989, 128.

Bibliography:

BAILLET, *op. cit.*, 20 ff.

VAILLE, *op. cit.*, 554 ff.

BOSTICO, *op. cit.*, 24 f.

SEIPEL, *op. cit.*, 127 f. n. 94.

(1) May they³³ remember *S3-Mntw-wsr*!

(He) says, I was the head of the hall (*sh*), favorite one of the house/domain (*smsw pr*³⁴), overseer of the real estate (*st*) of *Mntw*'s temple, and the person in charge of anointing officials in the palace of the Ruler, a man devoted to his city. I owned beautiful pools (with) high trees. I was one who could build a big house in his city and dig his tomb (5) in his cemetery. I established a

³² LIPPERT, ‘Inheritance’, in Elizabeth Froom, Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles, 2013, 7.

³³ This text starts with an exhortation of the general scope. The suffix third person plural refers to designate the community of people. The owner of the autobiography addresses his visitors; in the seven horizontal lines of the inscription (see SEIPEL, *op. cit.*, 127) In another stela of the same dynasty, the autobiography begins with “I was a great provider (*mnk3*) for the house in the year of famine” (VAILLE, *op. cit.*, 555).

³⁴ *smsw pr* refers to the steward of the domain (VAILLE, *op. cit.*, 557). In a small autobiography of the 11th dynasty, a *smsw-pr* named *Snmj* boasts that he measured out grain for all inhabitants in his city during the miserable years of famine (FISCHER, H. G., ‘Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI-XI’, *AnOr* 40, 1964, 67 f.

(drinking-)water-point (*swr.t*³⁵) for my city, I ferried its (inhabitants) across in my boat. I was an efficient steward of his *merit*-personnel (*mrj.t.f*³⁶) (7) until the good day reached me therein. I shall hand this to my son through an *jmj.t-pr*-document.

This text deals with the charity that a certain *S3-Mntw-wsr* did for the inhabitants of his city. He states that upon his death, his son shall inherit his possessions.

³⁵ *Wb* III, 429 defined *swr.t* as “Trinkstelle” VAILLE, *op.cit.*, 561 thinks that this is an act of charity (providing drinking water in jars for people) similar to the *mazyara* or *zir* in modern Egypt. The Egyptians put big jars in small, protected buildings in public places. This water service is assured perpetuity by a pious foundation (*Waqf*). For more examples, see *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* I, 122 no. 14334; SETHE, *Urk* IV, 1115, 8.

³⁶ For *mrj.t*, see ALLAM, ‘Une classe ouvrière. Les *merit* ’, in Menu (ed.), *La dépendance rurale*, Le Caire, 2004, 123 ff.

Documents of Middle Kingdom

15

pKahun I.1

(Deeds of Transfer by $\epsilon nh-rn$ and $W3h$)
(pls. 15-15a)

Date: 12th Dynasty (Amenemhat III).

Text: SETHE, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 90 f.

GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri: hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob; principally of the Middle Kingdom*, II, 1898, pls. 12-3.

GANLEY, 'The legal deeds of transfer from "Kahun" Part one', *DE* 55, 2003, 24 fig. 2.

COLLIER/QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, literary, legal, mathematical and medical*, 2004, 104 f.

Bibliography: GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, 31 ff.

LOGAN, 'The *Jmyt-pr* document: Form, function, and significance', *JARCE* 37, 2000, 58 f.

GANLEY, *op. cit.*, 21 ff.

COLLIER/QUIRKE, *op. cit.*, 104 f.

(*verso*) An *jmj.t-pr*-document³⁷ made by the *wab*-priest, the chief of the phyle, $W3h$.

(*recto*) (1) Text³⁸ of the *jmj.t-pr*-document made by the trusty seal-bearer of the controller of works, $\epsilon nh-rn$.

Year 44, 2nd month of the summer season, day 13. The *jmj.t-pr*-document made by the trusty seal-bearer of the controller of works of the northern district, son of $\check{S}pst$, $Jhy-snb$, called $\epsilon nh-rn$. All my possessions (*ht*), whether in the countryside or in the town is for my brother, the *wab*-priest and chief of the phyle of (God) $Spdw$, Lord of the East, son of $\check{S}pst$, $Jhy-snb$, called $W3h$. And (5) all my dependents³⁹ are for this brother of mine. This was given/placed as a document (*snn*) in the office of the 2nd herald of the south in year 44, 2nd month of the summer season, day 13.

Year 2, 2nd month of the inundation season, day 18. The *jmj.t-pr*-document made by the *wab*-priest, the chief of the phyle of (God) $Spdw$, Lord of the East, $W3h$. I have made (this) *jmj.t-pr*-document in favor of my wife, the woman of the east side, $Spdw$'s daughter $\check{S}ftw$, called Ttj , consisting of all the possessions (*ht*) my brother, the trusty seal-bearer of the controller of works, $\epsilon nh-rn$, had given to me in addition to all possessions (*hnw*) on its place (*st*), and all what he had

³⁷ In my thesis I prefer translating *jmj.t-pr* as *jmj.t-pr*-document.

³⁸ The word *mjty* here should be origin, not copy. So it better to translate it as "text".

³⁹ GANLEY suggested that the dependents may have been elderly relatives whose care was entrusted to $W3h$ after the death of $\epsilon nh-rn$. It seems that they were not survived when $W3h$ wrote his deed (GANLEY, *op. cit.*, 25).

given to me. It is she can give it (10) to anyone she likes among her children whom she may bear to me.

I have given to her the four Asiatics, whom my brother, the trusty seal-bearer of the controller of works, *ʿnh-rn*, had given to me. It is she who can give (them) to anyone she likes from her children.

(12) As for my tomb (*h3t*), I will be buried in it together with my wife, without allowing anyone to interfere with it.

Now, as to the houses (*ʿt.w*)⁴⁰, which my brother the trusty seal-bearer <of the controller of works>, *ʿnh-rn*, built for me, my wife shall be (live) therein, without letting her be expelled therefrom by anyone.

(14) It is the deputy *Gbw*, who shall act as guardian/tutor for my son.

The list of names of the people, in whose presence this was made:

The decorator of pillars *Kmn*;

The gate-keeper of the temple, son of *ʿnh.tj.fj*, *Jpw*;

The gate-keeper of the temple, son of *Snb*, *Snb*.

This papyrus contains two *jmj.t-pr*-documents; the first one is in favor of *W3h* by his brother *ʿnh-rn*, which probably dates back to the reign of Amenemhat III; *ʿnh-rn* bequeathed his possessions whether in the countryside or the town to his brother *W3h*.

The second is a document drawn up by the above-mentioned *W3h* in favor of his wife *Ttj*. Through this document, he gave her what he had received from his brother. This document dates back to the reign of Amenemhat VI⁴¹.

16

pKahun II.1

(pls. 16-16a)

Date: 12th Dynasty.

Text: GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri: hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob; principally of the Middle Kingdom*, II, 1898, pl. 13.

GANLEY, ‘The legal deeds of transfer from “Kahun”, Part two’, *DE* 56, 2003, 43 fig. 3.

COLLIER/QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, literary, legal, mathematical and medical*, 2004, 102 f.

⁴⁰ The word *ʿt* is written here in plural not in single.

⁴¹ See GANLEY, *op. cit.*, 21.

Bibliography: GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, 36 ff.

LOGAN, 'The *Jmyt-pr* document: Form, function, and significance', *JARCE* 37, 2000, 59 f.

GANLEY, *op. cit.*, 37 ff.

COLLIER/QUIRKE, *op. cit.*, 102 f.

(1) ----- so said his son, 'My father made an *jmj.t-pr*-document concerning of (the positions⁴² of) *w^cb*-priest and overseer of a phyle of (God) *Spdw*, Lord [of East], which belongs to him, in favor of the scribe-over-the-seal of eastern side, *Jj-m-j^ct-jb*, who said to my father, 'I shall give a principal sum together with the lifting of all debts belonging to you.' So, he said. Then my father was interrogated by the overseer of fields, *Mr-sw*, who was the deputy of for the holder of the relevant office. 'Are you satisfied with giving to you of the described principal sum together with (5) the lifting of the debts assessed against you in return for your *wab*-priesthood and overseer of a phyle?' Then my father said, 'I am pleased with which the holder of the relevant office said.' Then one caused the two men to swear, saying, 'we are content.' Then the two men addressed on the life of the lord (the King)^{LPH}, in the presence of the prince --- the overseer of the fields, *Mr-sw*, who was a deputy for the holder of the relevant office.'

(10) A list of the witnesses' names in whose presence this was made:

The scribe *Jm* --- (man)

--- --- --- --- (man)

--- --- --- --- (man)

'Now my father arrived ashore⁴³ without the obstacles having been removed for him from this principal sum. Now my father said to me, when he was ill, 'If the principal sum which the scribe-over-the-seal, *Jj-m-j^ct-jb*, swore to me (15) is not given to you, then you shall petition about it to the official who had heard it. So, he will give you the principal sum.' So, he said. I have petitioned to the actor --- there, concerning the return to me of that which reached to the scribe-over-the-seal, *Jj-m-j^ct-jb* at this moment.

This text provides a reference that the son inherits the rights and duties imposed on the father, so that the son will inherit the estate, and he shall pay off the debts and obligations imposed on the estate. The father transferred his priestly office by way of the bargain to some scribe to be

⁴² Positions, not position because it refers to two jobs: *wab*-priest and overseer of a phyle.

⁴³ I prefer to translate *jst rf spr.n p3y.j jt r mnj* 'now my father arrived ashore'. This expression means that his father approached death.

relieved of certain obligations. Then the son wants to collect on an outstanding debt due to his father⁴⁴.

17

pKahun VII.1

(Deed of Transfer of *Mry*)

(pls. 17-17a)

Date: 12th Dynasty. (Amenemhat III)

Text: SETHE, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 90.

GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob; principally of the Middle Kingdom*, II, 1898, pl. 11.

GANLEY, The legal deeds of transfer from “Kahun” Part one *DE* 55, 2003, 18 fig. 1.

COLLIER/QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, literary, legal, mathematical and medical*, 2004, 100 f.

Bibliography: GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, 29 ff.

LOGAN, ‘The *Jmyt-pr* document: Form, function, and significance’, *JARCE* 37, 2000, 57 f.

GANLEY, *op. cit.*, 17 ff.

COLLIER/QUIRKE, *op. cit.*, 100 f.

(*verso*) An *jmj.t-pr*-document made by the chief of the phyle (of priests) *Jntf*'s son *Mry* in favor of his son *Mry*'s son *Jntf* called *Jw-snb*.

(*recto*) (1) Year 39, 4th month of the inundation season, day 19. The *jmj.t-pr*-document by the chief of the phyle⁴⁵ *Jntf*'s son *Mry* called *Kbj* in favor of his son *Mry*'s son *Jntf* called *Jw-snb*. I give my (position of) chief of the phyle to my son *Mry*'s son *Jntf* called *Jw-snb* as⁴⁶ my staff of (old age⁴⁷), since I have grown infirm. Let him be appointed at once!

(5) As for the *jmj.t-pr*-document that I had drawn up formerly for his mother, let it be cancelled⁴⁸. As for my house (*pr*: estate) in the district of Hut (*Hwt*), (which is now) in my hand⁴⁹, it shall belong to my children, born to me by the daughter of the attendant of local *qnbt*-council, *Sbk-m-h3t*'s daughter, *Nbt-nnj-nswt*, together with all that is in it.

List of names of the witnesses, who were present when this *jmj.t-pr*-document was made (10):

The chief of phyle, *Sn-wsrt*'s son, *Sn-wsrt*;

⁴⁴ See GANLEY, *op. cit.*, 38 ff.; LOGAN, *op. cit.*, 59.

⁴⁵ For more details for the job ‘*Mty s3*’, see QUIRKE, *Titles and bureau of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, 2004, 119; WEGNER, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, 2007, 356 f.

⁴⁶ I think the translation ‘in exchange for (being) my staff of (old age)’ is most proper.

⁴⁷ For this expression ‘*mdw j3w*’ see SHIRLEY, *The Culture of Officialdom An examination of the acquisition of offices during the mid-18th Dynasty*, 2005, 64 ff.

⁴⁸ *Literaly*: The back was turned to it.

⁴⁹ I suggest that we can read here *m-dr.t.j* “in my hand/under my possession”.

The *wab* priest, *Wsr't*'s son, *Sn-bwbw*;

-----.

This is one of the *jmj.t-pr*-documents that dates back to Amenemhat III's reign. It deals with different points; the eldest/favorite son gets the office of his father. At the same time, the father is revoking an *jmj.t-pr*-document previously made to his (first) wife.

18

Ste. Leiden V 88 (ste. *Bbj*)

(pls. 18-18a)

Date: 12th Dynasty.

Text: BOESER, P. A. A., *De monumenten van den tijd tusschen het oude en het Middelrijk en van het Middelrijk*, I. afd., Steles [Beschrijving van de Egyptische verzameling in Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden], 1909, pl. 10.

LANDGRAFOVA, R., *It is My Good Name That You Should Remember: Egyptian Biographical Texts on Middle Kingdom Stelae*, 2011, 280.

Bibliography: WARD, W., 'Some Aspect of Private Land Ownership and Inheritance in Ancient Egypt, ca. 2500-1000 B.C.', in Tarif Khalidi (ed.), *Land tenure and Social Transformation in the Middle East*, 1984, 69.

LANDGRAFOVA, *op. cit.*, 281 f.

(1) An offering that the king gives and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, Khentamenti, Lord of Abydos, that Wepwawet, foremost of the sacred land gives, and that Heket and Khnum and all gods of Abydos give: an invocation offering (of) a thousand of bread and beer, bulls, and fowl, a thousand of all good things that come before the Great God to the dignified *Bbj*, justified. May hands be extended to him (5) with offerings on the festivals of the necropolis and the following of Osiris!

May he open the ways which he pleases, in peace! May the pure ones who are in the west lift him to the Great God! May hands be presented to him in the *neshmet*-barque on the ways of the west! May "Welcome" be said to him by the great ones of Abydos! One well-provided, overseer of the police *Bbj*, who says:

I performed police duties for the king in the all upper foreign countries. There was never found a fault in this servant in this task in which His Majesty had placed me because I was firm in his heart. I punished breaches (of the law) in *Nahu*⁵⁰, securing thing(s) (*ht*) for my lord. I returned in peace to Upper Egypt, (after) I had done that (10) because of which I had been dispatched.

⁵⁰ *Nahu* is unknown elsewhere but must have been somewhere in the desert where *Bbj* performed his duties, or it must be a location in the "upper foreign lands" (WARD, *op. cit.*, 77, LANDGRAFOVA, *op. cit.*, 282).

I handed over my task (*wꜥ.wt.j*) to my son while I was still alive, I made for him an *jmj.t-pr* document greater than that which my father had made, my house (*pr*) having been established on its ground-plan, my field (*šht*) being in its place, with nothing of it missing, all things being in their respective place. It is my son who lets my name live on this stela. (13) He acted as heir (*jwꜥ.w*) to me, like a stout son. Overseer of the royal troops, the dignified *Bbj*, justified.

This text deals with inheritance through a testamentary disposition; certain official *Bbj* is passing to his son both his official position and his property consisting of lands and house, which, he proudly boasts, were more extensive than what he had received from his father⁵¹.

19

Ste. Cairo CG 34016

(pl. 19)

Date: 17th Dynasty.

Text: SETHE, *Urk IV*, 1065 ff.

DARESSY, 'La Chapelle D'Uazmés', *ASAE* 1, 1900, 97 ff.

LACAU, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, I, 1909, 32 ff. pl. 10.

SPALINGER, The will of Senimose, in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern I: Sprache*, 1984, pl. 1.

Bibliography: DARESSY, *loc. cit.*

SPALINGER, *op. cit.*, 631 ff.

First register:

The integrated god, (MenKheperRe), granted life.

The integrated god, (ʿaKheperRe), granted life.

Son of the King, his beloved, *W3d-ms*, the justified.

Behind the king Thutmosis III

(1) Year 21, 3rd month of the winter season, day 25, under (his) Majesty the King [Upper and Lower Egypt, (MenKheperRe)] son of Re, (Djhuti-mes-nefer-kheper), granted life forever and eternally.

Second register:

An *jmj.t-pr*-docum[ent that the tut]or of the King's son *W3d-ms*, *Snj-ms*, [made] for his wife [*Hw-d3r* (Hagar) and his children].

[List of] their names:

⁵¹ See WARD, *loc. cit.*

his wife *Hw-d3r* (Hagar), [his daughter *S3t-Jmn*, and
 [his son *Sj-ꜥ3*], [his daughter -----].
 (5) his daughter *T3-j* [*ry*],

----- my wife *Hw-d3r*, at one day of her life. It did not give/cause there ----- the lector priest.
 When my wife *Hw-d3r* getting old, [my property (*ht*) shall be divided among:

my son *Sj-ꜥ3*, my daughter [*S3t-Jmn* and
 my daughter *T3-jry*, my daughter] -----.

(5) ----- with my [lifetime] ----- to beat⁵². Then he disappeared (escaped), and he repeated the complaint(*smj.t*) ----- saying, ‘all of *Snj-ms*’ things became under the feet of⁵³ --- [*Snj*]-*ms*. Then one will divide his property (*ht*) among his children. ----- without my desire, I did not beget him there, in order to their counterparts to arrive. He said ----- all his children.

Then the follower⁵⁴ said to my son *Sj-ꜥ3* and his wife (10) -----, ‘Beware that the documents become against you’, then they spoke all together with (11) [one] voice, [‘Do not act in accordance with false lapis Lazuli! Act accordance with true lapis Lazuli. Then she said to me, ‘Without a parallel -----, those who are in the same town with you. I am a Nubian, and you are a Horite (Asian) -----.’ [I was] a guardian of the Pharaoh^{LPH55} since the time of (AakheperkaRe), granted life forever, while I followed my lord ----- [May one command] I be caused to perform what my lord commanded since the beginning’.

Then the overseer of the office (15) *rwy*t -----, an official of the Pharaoh^{LPH}. Behold! the vizier, *Wsr* was instructed to execute all orders⁵⁶.

[As (MenKheperRe) lives, and as AmunRe, foremost of Karnak lives!] ...

If any son of mine, any daughter of mine, any one of my brothers, any one of my sisters, any man of my fa[mily] comes to dis[pute this *jmj.t-pr*-document, which I made for my four children.

⁵² THÉODIRDÈS (*RIDA* 17, 1970, 148) based on this verb suggested that the heirs were fighting each other.

⁵³ *hr rdwy* ... This expression literally means ‘under the feet of ...’, I see that it like the expression *m-drt.f* should be understood as ‘in the possession of ...’.

⁵⁴ *smw* here should be translated as ‘the follower’. It seems both *Sj-ꜥ3* and his wife are appeared in the statutory body, and one of its member (*smw*) is speaking to them.

⁵⁵ [*jnk/jw.j m*] *s3w r pr-ꜥ3* should be translated here as ‘I was a guardian of the Pharaoh’ not ‘I was a guardian at the Great house’ as SPALINGER see (*op. cit.*, 638).

⁵⁶ I see the proper translation for *r jrt ddt.w nbt* is ‘to execute all orders’.

Do not let them be hearkened to in any [bureau] of the King to which they [arrive/petition]. If this document is contested so that there be no immediate action (literally: so that there be a delay) in accordance with it, do not let it b[e inter]fered with by any person forever.

[Enacted (*htm*⁵⁷)] by the bureau of the viz[ier on] this day in the presence of the overseer of the town, the vizier (20) ----- [overseer of the town, ----- of the vizier -----.

By the scribe, *Hrj*, son of the overseer of the town.

This stela was founded in the funerary chapel of *W3d-ms*, son of the King Thutmosis III. It belongs to A certain *Snj-ms* who was working as a tutor for the prince *W3d-ms*⁵⁸. It seems that its text is a copy of the original *jmj.t-pr*-document; the husband transferred his property to his wife and his four children by means of *jmj.t-pr*. He stipulated that his wife shall hold the entire property during her lifetime, and after that, the property will divide among the children.

20

Ste. Cairo JE 52456

(pl. 20)

Date: 17th Dynasty.

Text: GUNN, B., 'A Middle Kingdom stela from Edfu', *ASAE* 29, 1929, 7.

HELCK, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, 1975, 79 n. 115.

Bibliography: GUNN, *op. cit.*, 5 ff.

VERNUS, 'Allusion au partage des acquets dans une autobiographie de la Deuxième Période Intermédiaire', *DE* 6, 1986, 79 f.

An offering given by the King to Horus the Edfuite, and Osiris, Lord of Busiris, that they may give an invocation offerings of bread, beer, oxen, birds, and everything upon which a god lives, for the *Ka* of *H3-ꜥnh.f*, of his wife *Hr-mnj*, his son *Hr-m-bḥdt*, his son *Pth-wr*, his son *Bb*, (5) his daughter *Nfrt*, his daughter *S3(t)-jsj* and his daughter *Hr-mnj*. He says, 'I am a valiant warrior, I have entered Edfu, I have transported⁵⁹ my wife, my children, and my property (*rht*) from the south of Kush in thirteen days. I brought back gold: 26 and a maidservant (*b3kt*), *Jy* consumed⁶⁰ them, and nothing of them was left for my other (second) wife. I acquired (10) two cubits of

⁵⁷ SPALINGER (*op. cit.*, 643 note 46) assumed that the word must be here in this gab is *jr*, not *htm*.

⁵⁸ See SPALINGER, *op. cit.*, 631 f.

⁵⁹ The meaning of verb *sḥ* is still obscure; translated by GUNN as "leave". He suggested that it may mean here "to convey, transport". His translation depended on the last sentence of the inscription (*he spent six years there*) (GUNN, *op. cit.*, 8 f.).

⁶⁰ I see the appropriate translation of *wšꜥ st*, might be 'subsist upon them', or 'enjoy of its revenues'.

ground; *Hr-mnj* has one of them as her property (*hrt*)⁶¹, and the other of them is mine. I acquired ground, one cubit of land, given to my children. I was rewarded (thus) for six years (of military service?).

This Stela was found in Sibakh on the north-west of Kom Edfu, and now is preserved the Cairo museum. The first half of the inscription is quite conventional in character; the second half contains biographical statements⁶². In his autobiography, *H3-nh.f* explains that he was a soldier and spent six years in military service in Kush. For this reason, he granted some lands. Then he bequeathed these lands to his wife and his six children.

21

Ste.Juridique

(pls. 21-21d)

Date: 17th Dynasty.

Text: LACAU, *Une stèle juridique de Karnak*, 1949, 1 ff. pls. 1, 2.

HARARI, 'Portée de la stèle juridique de Karnak. Essai sur la terminologie juridique du Moyen Empire égyptien', *ASAE* 51, 1951, 273 ff.

HELCK, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, 1975, 65 ff. n. 98.

Bibliography: HARARI, *op. cit.*, 273 ff.

LACAU, *op. cit.*, 1 ff.

SEIDL, 'Eine neue Urkunde aus Ägypten zum Prinzip der notwendigen Entgeltlichkeit', in *Studi in onore di Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz nel XLV anno del suo insegnamento*, 1952, 47 ff.

THÉODORIDÈS, 'Le "Procès" dans la Stèle Juridique de Karnak', *RIDA* 4, 1957, 33 ff.

IDEM, 'Mise en ordre chronologique des éléments de la Stèle Juridique de Karnak avec ses influences sur la procédure', *RIDA* 21, 1974, 31 ff.

GANLEY, 'A fresh look at the Karnak Legal Stela', *DE* 58, 2004, 57 ff.

He of Behdet, the great god, Lord of the sky.

(1) (This stela has been) given as a graciously by the King to the temple of AmunRe⁶³.

(O) Horus, who causes the two lands to flourish, (beloved of) the Two Ladies, divine of manifestations, the golden Horus, the beautiful appearance, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Sw3d-n-R) granted life – being beloved of AmunRe, Lord of the thrones of the two lands, great god, Lord of the sky – son of Re, (Nb-jry-r-3w) may he live forever, his heart being

⁶¹ GUNN refers that *ht* or *hrt*, both of which mean "property" (GUNN, *op. cit.*, 13).

⁶² GUNN, *op. cit.*, 5.

⁶³ This statement implies that the stela entered and erected in the temple by royal order because it belongs to a prince.

joyful, on (sitting)[the throne of Horus of the livings], the fine-looking like the rising of Aton, may [his] appearance remain like *K3-mwt.f*, the son of Amun, of his [body], whom he begot from his efficacious seed; the beloved by all the gods⁶⁴.

Year 1, 4th month of the inundation season, last day (of the month), under the majesty of this god. An *jmj.t-pr*-document was drawn up by the officer [of the ruler's table, *Kbsj* for] a man from his relatives (*n h3w.f*⁶⁵), son of the King, seal bearer, the domain's overseer [*Sbk-nht*].

(5) My office “the mayor of el-Kab”⁶⁶ came to (me) as my father's office, the mayor of el-Kab *Jj-mr*⁶⁷, which my father ceded⁶⁸ for me [through an *jmj.t-pr*-document] as an object (*ht*) from his stepbrother⁶⁹, [the mayor] of el-Kab, *Jy-šrj* who died childless⁷⁰. It will be for the man from my relatives, son of the King, and the overseer of the domain, *Sbk-nht*, from son to son, (and from heir to) heir⁷¹. He shall be given its bread, its beer, its meat, its provisions, its staff of workmen (*hmw-k3*), its gangs (of servants), and its domain (office), without letting it to be interfered with by anyone since he gave me its price (*swnt.s*), sixty *dbn* gold, consisting of all sorts of things⁷².

As for anyone who would appeal to the official who listens to decisions would say “this office should come to me” Do not let him be heard. It is to this man, of my relatives, son of the King,

⁶⁴ Those titles were a protocol, that the prince should follow, when he wants to register something officially, also it indicates that the prince made his will with the consent of the King.

⁶⁵ The Egyptian language had several terms for kin groups and nuclear families. From the late Old Kingdom on, the term *3bt* referred to households or extended families, while the term *h3w* identified the close kin of an individual. From the Middle Kingdom on, several terms were in use, such as *mhwt* (clan or extended kin group), *whyt* (kin group in village contexts), *hr* (kin group living in the same household), and *hmw* (all members of a household). During the New Kingdom, *dnjt* or *dnwt* was used to refer to a familial kin group. Moreover, terms with broader meanings, such as *ht* (group, corporation, generation) or *wndw(t)* (group, troop, gang), were sometimes used to refer to kin groups. (CAMPAGNO, MARCELO, ‘Kinship and Family Relations’, In Elizabeth Froom, Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles 2009, 4 f.

<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz001nf68f>.

⁶⁶ *Nhb* is the capital of the 3rd nome of Upper Egypt (Hierakonpolis), Kom al-Ahmar, LEITZ, *Die Gaumonographien in Edfu*, I, 2014, 30 ff.). *H3tj-^c* is a leading administrative official in an urban center. This title has here Abnormal spelling (LACAU, *stèle juridique*, 8).

⁶⁷ One can say this conveyance is not inheritance, because the text did not state that the testator is dead, maybe he gave his office to his brother during his life.

⁶⁸ *jrj. tj n.j m jmj.t-pr n p3y.jt*: I see the translation ‘which my father ceded for me [through an *jmj.t-pr*-document’.

⁶⁹ Literary, his brother from his mother.

⁷⁰ This statement indicates definitely inheritance. The brother inherited from his brother, as the first had no legitimate heirs.

⁷¹ This expression was common in succession documents, it was written in this text as follows *s3 n s3 jw^c sp-sn*.

⁷² This was a fictitious sale. Perhaps it is a legal action to protect the inheritance; it comes in a picture of sale because the sale is irreversible.

the domain's overseer, *Sbk-nḥt*, that my office shall be given, from son to son, and from heir to heir. Do not listen to anyone would complain about it since it was the office of my father. I made its succession to this man of my relatives, King's son, the domain's overseer, *Sbk-nḥt*. If there comes any son, any daughter, any brother, any sister, any one of my relatives saying, 'It is to me that the office should come (10), do not let them be heard. It is to my brother, King's son, the governor, *Sbk-nḥt*, that it shall be given.

An *jmj.t-pr*-document has been drawn up by the *s3b*-official⁷³ *Rn-snb* in the presence of the overseer of the town, the vizier

the steward of the six great houses, *Sbk-nḥt*,

the *s3b* official⁷⁴ *Nb-sw-mnw*,

the priest of Horus-Nekhen *Sbk-nḥt*.

If there arrive any hindrance against this *jmj.t-pr*-document⁷⁵, do not let it be contested/changed by any person ever.

The document was done in the office of the herald of northern district⁷⁶.

(It) has been dictated⁷⁷ to the scribe of the great *ḥnrt*-department⁷⁸, *Jmn-ḥtp*, as deputy for the scribe of the herald of the north district.

It was made for him (*Sbk-nḥt*), accordance with the law as order after his death (*Kbsj*). One has instructed him to renew⁷⁹ it each year according to the law.

⁷³ It is better to translate *s3b* as *s3b*-official not official.

⁷⁴ One of *s3b*'s official duties is looking at the women's problems as attested in Weni's biography, see EYRE, 'Weni's career and Old Kingdom historiography', in Eyre, Leahy and Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed. Studies Shore* (1994), 112.

⁷⁵ Literally: there be a delay.

⁷⁶ QUIRKE (in *RdE* 37, 1986, 118; and in *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom the Hieratic Documents*, 1990, 69, 71) mentioned *s3b* is one element in the vizier's titular, and no evidence that it could be only a title for 'judge' because the tasks assigned to *s3b*-employee are not only judicial but include administrative responsibilities. Also, there are some titles, such *ḥtmj-bjtj* can take *s3b* as a prefix, just as higher administrative titles. For many examples, see FRANKE, *SAK* 11 (1984) 209 ff.

⁷⁷ *ḏd n sš n ḥnrt*, I suggested *ḏd* should be translated 'dictated'. This means someone dictated this will's text to the scribe in order to record it on a papyrus' roll.

⁷⁸ In my opinion, *ḥnrt wr* should be translated as 'the great *ḥnrt*-department'.

⁷⁹ According to Lesko III, 48 *sm3wy* is causative, mean 'as renovate, renew'. So, I see the translation 'one has instructed him to renew it' is more convenient here. This might be indicates that the officials had to examine this document annually to assure giving the property to the heir when the testator dies.

Year 1, 4th month of the inundation season, last day (of the month), under the majesty of this god. The *swnt*-process⁸⁰ of the King's son, the seal-bearer, the overseer of the domain, *Sbk-nht*, with the officer of the ruler's table, *Kbsj*, son of the vizier, *Jj-mr*, the mayor of el-Kab.

What the son of the King, the seal-bearer, the domain's overseer, *Sbk-nht* gave to the officer of the ruler's table, *Kbsj*: gold 60 *dbn*, consisting of gold, copper, grain, and cloth.

(15) It was found that a *snn*-document⁸¹ was brought from the office of the herald of northern district to the office of the vizier (in) year 1 in the time of the Protector^{LPH82}. The document (*snn*) was in the name of the priest of Horus of Nekhen, *Sbk-nht*, with the officer of the ruler's table, *Kbsj*. It was brought to the office of the herald of northern district (coming) from the vizier's office in the year 1 during the reign of the Protector^{LPH}. The petition states 'I have come as the representative of the King's son, the domain's overseer, *Sbk-nht*, with the statements 'I gave 60 gold *dbn*, (consisting of) gold, copper, cloths, and grain, that were mine, in trust to the officer, the ruler's table, *Kbsj*. (But) he could give it (back) to me (for this reason) I complain against him, (it can) be extracted from him for me', so he said.

Then I spoke about it in the office of the herald of northern district, bringing [it] to the attention of *Kbsj*, the officer of the Ruler's table and (he admitted) it, likewise saying, 'It perished through me (in my hand)'. One (vizier) responded saying, 'Behold! You are standing here against the priest *Sbk-nht*, who is the representative of the mayor of el-Kab'. This is what he said. I shall replace it to him with my office "the mayor of el-Kab", which came to me from my father's possessions (*ht*), (20) the overseer of the town, the vizier *Jj-mr*, which came to him from the possessions of his brother of his mother (stepbrother), *Jy-srj*, who died childless. The office, which my father (grandfather), the vizier *Jy*, made for me through an *jmj.t-pr*-document in the year 1 of the reign of (Mr-*htp-R*), the justified.'

Also, the priest *Sbk-nht* was commissioned⁸³, who is the representative of the governor of El-Kab, *Sbk-nht*. (The two parties) were also satisfied with it, one caused them to associate with the Lord's oath^{LPH} concerning it so that they cannot retreat forever. The oath (took place) in the

⁸⁰ It is better to translate *swnt*, as 'swnt-process' not sale.

⁸¹ I see the translation 'snn-document' is better than 'original (document)'.

⁸² I see the translation 'Protector' not 'the Guardian of the Moringa Tree', it is an obscure reference to the King.

⁸³ I.e. it was likewise placed before the priest *Sbk-nht*.

presence of *wḥm*-official *K3-ms*, of the north district's office, on this day, and sending it to the vizier's office.

Details⁸⁴ of drawing of the *jmjt-pr*-document by the vizier *Jy* in favor of his son, the keeper of the table of Amun, *Jy-šrj*, (in) year 1 during the reign of (*Mr-ḥtp-Rꜥ*), the justified. A *snm*-document was made in the vizier's office on this day.

The report has been brought from the vizier's office, while the *sab*-official *Rn-snb* (24) was the representative of the vizier's scribe, and the speech was repeated and discussed in the vizier's office. It was found that the overseer of the town, the vizier *Jy* had made *ḥn jmj.t-pr*-document concerning the office “the mayor of el-Kab” for his son, the keeper of the table of Amun, (25) *Jy-šrj* (in) year 1, 4th month of the winter season, day 19. (during the reign of the King) (*Mr-ḥtp-Rꜥ*), the justified.

He said concerning the *jmj.t-pr*-document drawn by him, ‘The right (succession) is cut (*fdk wd3*⁸⁵) from my son, the keeper of the Amun table, *Jy-šrj*, because he had no children. So, my office “the mayor of el-Kab” was given to his brothers of his mother, born for me by my wife, royal daughter, *Rdt-n-s*.’

One came, and one took the priest of Horus of Nekhen, *Sbk-nḥt*, who is the representative of the royal son, the seal-bearer, the domain's overseer, *Sbk-nḥt* together with the officer of the ruler's table *Kbsj*. Based on what is in the vizier's office. It is the vizier's office, it acted concerning it according to (28) the law (*hp*). They swore [on it] in the year 1, 1st month of the winter season, first day.

Approval by the Elder of the portal, *Rn-snb*.

This stela dates back to the reign of Nebieyeraw in the 17th dynasty. It was erected in the temple of AmunRe at Karnak as a favor from the King. It was displaced in the reign of Amenhotep III when the third pylon was constructed. HENRI CHEVRIER found it during

⁸⁴ I see that the word *qj* here is better to be translated ‘Details’.

⁸⁵ *fdq*: to hack in pieces, the more literal meaning of this word is “divide, part”. GARDINER translated it as “to serve, to spilt” and LACAU translated it as “unite, flater”. WILSON referred that this word could be translated as to ‘cut off, split off parts of the body’ (WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 391). For more details on this word, see GARDINER, ‘Notes on the story of the eloquent peasant’, *PSBA* 36 (1914), 73 f.; LACAU, *op. cit.*, 42; WILSON, *op. cit.*, 391 f.).

excavations of the great hypostyle hall. It contains the legal decision of a dispute between a certain *Kbsj* who had an unpaid debt of 60 *dbn* to a *Sbk-nht*; as a result, *Kbsj* “sells” his office of Mayor of El Kab for the 60 *dbn*, instead of the debt. The sale-document/*swnt*-process is accompanied by an *jmyt-pr*⁸⁶. Generally, the text recites the history of holding the office “Mayor of el-Kab”, and how it was passed down through the succeeding generations by means of *jmj.t-pr*-document:

1st Generation: In the beginning, this office was occupied/filled by the vizier *Jy*, who married the King daughter *Rdjt-n-s*. The vizier *Jy* had two sons *Jy-šrj* and *Jj-mr*.

2nd Generation: *Jy-šrj* received this office by *jmj.t-pr*-document and held it until his death.

Since *Jy-šrj* was childless, the office passed to his younger brother *Jj-mr* through an *jmj.t-pr*-document also. This document was made in the office of vizier during the first year under the King Merhetepe.

3rd Generation: After that, the vizier *Jj-mr* left this office and his *ht*-property to his son, the officer *Kbsj*.

Kbsj sold this office to his brother *Sbk-nht*, this transfer was carried out by drawing up *jmj.t-pr*-document and *swnt*-process.

Circumstances that lead to the drawing of the current document; it is clear that *Kbsj* borrowed 60 *dbn* from his brother *Sbk-nht*, but he failed to fulfill his obligation to repay it; hence he decided to give his office to *Sbk-nht* in exchange for this debit. So, *Kbsj* mentioned that he gives that office for him ‘from son to son, heir to heir’, and he shall be given its loaves, its beer, its meat, its provisions, its workmen, its gangs, and its house, without letting it be interfered with by anyone since he gave him its price, 60 *dbn*, consisting of all sorts of things.

⁸⁶ See LOGAN, *JARCE* 37 (2000), 60; GANLEY, *DE* 58 (2004), 57.

22

Bowl Pitt Rivers Museum

(pl. 22)

Date: 17th Dynasty.**Text:** GARDINER/SETHE, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdom*, 1928, pl. 9.**Bibliography:** GARDINER/SETHE, *op. cit.*, 26 f.
WENTE, *Letters from ancient Egypt*, 1990, 216 n. 351.

(1) Addressed by *Ttj-ꜥ3*, son of *Nnj Mnjw-pw* - a fugitive (*wꜥrw*⁸⁷) came. My mother's (?) father *Jdnw* (?) and his wife *Ttj* nourished him. He died and my mother buried him. It was her husband *Nnj* who said to her, "Bury him⁸⁸ and (3) inherit from him".

The narrative of this text revolves around a question of inheritance. According to GARDINER⁸⁹, we can assume that the maternal grandfather of the writer (*Ttj-ꜥ3*) had received a refugee, called *Mnjw-pw*. Later on, when the refugee died, the mother of the writer buried him upon advice from her husband, *Nnj*, father of the writer. By burying this refugee, the mother of the writer deserved to inherit his property. Her claim to the inheritance is already grounded in her parent's hospitality to the refugee and burying him. Then, the writer derives his right to inheritance through his mother. On the other side, this text reveals the inheritance is a condition for burial.

⁸⁷ WENTE (*op. cit.*, 1990, 216) translated this sentence as "*Mnjw-pw* has come in flight". *wꜥrw* is a noun derived from *wꜥr* "to flee" and in literary texts, it is implied that *wꜥr* is one who flees from the King and Egypt [Sinuhe, B 149; LES-Doomed Prince 6,10] WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 215 f.

⁸⁸ The owners of ideal biographies were boasting how they did good deeds, such as feeding the starving people and clothing the naked people, more than that, they buried the childless deceased. For example, *Nfr-sꜥm-Pth* from the Sixth Dynasty mentions: "I buried who is without son" (EDEL, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften des alten Reiches*, 1981, 78), and *Nfr-sꜥm-Rꜥ* from the same Dynasty says: "I gave a coffin to whom there was no son" (ROCCATI, *La Litterature Historique sous L'Ancien Empire Egyptien*, 1982, 144 f.). *Q3r* from the same Dynasty says: "I was the one who buried every man of this of this province who had no son with cloth from my estate property" (EL-KHADRAGY, *SAK* 30, 2002, 211). Likewise, *Mntw-htp*, who lived during the reign of Sesostri I (UC 14333), states, "I was one who protected the child and buried everyone old and miserable" (LANDGRAFOVA, *It is My Good Name That You Should Remember*, 2011, 261). Similarly, *B3k-n-Hnsw* from the reign of Ramses II says: "I made a burial for the one lacking an heir" (FROOD, *Biographical texts from Ramessid Egypt*, 2007, 45).

⁸⁹ GARDINER/SETHE, *op. cit.*, 26 f.

Documents of New Kingdom

23

Inscr. *Ms* (pls. 23-23e)

Date: 19th Dynasty.

Text: GARDINER, *The Inscription of Mes: A contribution to the study of Egyptian judicial procedure*, 41 ff.

GABALLA, *The Memphite Tomb-chapel of Mose*, 1977, pls. 50 ff.

KRI III, 424 ff. § 192:1.1.

Bibliography: ALLAM, ‘Some remarks on the trial of Mose’, *JEA* 75, 1989, 103 ff.

GARDINER, *op. cit.*, 1 ff.

GABALLA, *op. cit.*, 22 ff.

KRITA III, 307 ff.

(N1) ----- (N2) ----- official (*sr*)⁹⁰ brought the great [men] (*n3 [rmt] ʿ3*)⁹¹ of the [town] in order to hear their deposition⁹². Statement --- of the bearer of weapons, --- (Ramses-MeriAmun) (Ramses III) ---. As for me, I (*Ms*) am the son of *Hwy*, son of the citizenne *Wrnr*, [daughter/descendent⁹³] of *Nšj*. One made a division⁹⁴ for *Wrnr* with her brothers and sisters⁹⁵ in the great council (*qnbt ʿ3t*) (N3) [in the time of King] (DjeserKhepruRe-SetepenRe) (King Horemheb), granted life. One lets the priest of the litter⁹⁶ *Jny*, who was official (member) of the great council (*qnbt*), come to the village of *Nšj*. (And) one divided for me together with my brothers and sisters, and one made my mother/(grand)mother, the citizenne *Wrnr*, the trustee (*rwḏw*) for her brothers and sisters.

(But) *T3-h3l*, the sister of *Wrnr* [(N4) pleaded together with *Wrnr* [in] the great council (*qnbt*). One let an official (*sr*)⁹⁷ of the council (*qnbt*)⁹⁸ come (and) caused that every one of the six heirs

⁹⁰ This word might be *sr*-official, not officer.

⁹¹ Those people were *qnbt*'s members.

⁹² The text means here the statements of the two parties in the case.

⁹³ It is better to translate *s3t* as ‘descendent’.

⁹⁴ *jw.tw hr pšt n* : I see the proper translation of this sentence as ‘one made a division’.

⁹⁵ Or siblings.

⁹⁶ GARDINER mentioned a difference between *qny* and *qnyt*, and Helck brought out the probable nature of this distinction, stating that the word *qny* is always belonging to the deceased King, whereas the *qnyt* is belonging to the then reigning King and is served by a *wab*-priest. GABALLA saw that when the priest of litter attached to the legal bodies, evidently to carry out its commands as representing the authority of the reigning Pharaoh. (HELCK, *Materialien*, I, 120 ff.; GARDINER, *The Inscription of Mes*, 12; GABALLA, *op. cit.*, 26).

⁹⁷ Originally, *sr* was a rank marker. By the New Kingdom *srw* became a word for any “high official” in charge of a state office, not in the temple (see WILSON, *Ptolemaic Lexikon*, 882; HELCK, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, 1958, 136).

knows his share. It was King (NebpehdetyRe) who [gave --- *arouras* of land (*3ht*)] as a reward for *Nšj*, my father/(grand)father, and since the time of King (NebpehdetyRe), this land (passed) from one to another down to (N5) this day. (Then) *Hwy* my father, and his [mother] *Wrnr* disputed [with their] brothers and sisters in the great council (*qnbt*) and the council (*qnbt*) of Memphis ----- [scribe] [my father] died.

(Then) *Nwb-nfrt*, my mother, came to cultivate the share of (N6) *Nšj*, my father/(grand)father. (But) one prevented the cultivating of it. She pleaded against the trustee (*rwdw*) *Hcy*. One [caused them to appear before] the vizier <in> Heliopolis in year 14+x --- King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Ouser-[MaatRe-SetepenRe]), son of Re (Ramses-MeriAmun), granted life; --- she (?) complained, saying I have been thrown out from this land of (N7) [my father/(grand)father] *Nšj*. She said (*Nwb-nfrt*): Let there be brought for me the land-register from the Treasury and likewise from the office of the Granary of Pharaoh^{LPH}; I am confident that I am the daughter/(grand)daughter of *Nšj*. Let it be divided for me together with them. The trustee *Hcy* did not know ... that the trustee *Hcy* complained in the great council (*qnbt*) in year 18. One (N8) let the priest of the litter *Jmn-<m>-jpt*, who was official (*sr*) (member) of the great council (*qnbt*) come together with him, bringing a false land-register/document in his hand, which removes me from being descendent of *Nšj*⁹⁹. One appointed *Hcy* trustee for his brothers and sisters in place of my succession (*r t3 st n p3y.j jw^{c100}*), (although) I am in the succession of *Nšj* my (N9) (grand)father'.

Now look, I am in the village (*t3 w3hyt*)¹⁰¹ of *Nšj*, my father/(grand)father, in which is the Hunpet of *Nšj*, my father/(grand)father. Let me be examined in order to find out whether, as for *Wrnr*, she was the mother of the scribe *Hw[y]*, my father. ----- said to *Nšj*. He not being recorded in the land-register, (N10) which the trustee *Hcy* made against me together with the official (member) (*sr*) of the council (*qnbt*) who came with him. I complained, saying that the register, which has been made against me is false (because) I was examined previously and was found myself

⁹⁸ *sr n qnbt*: *sr*-official of *qnbt*, not an officer of *qnbt*.

⁹⁹ I prefer the translation 'which remove me from being descendent of *Nšj*' than '(whereby) I ceased to be a child of *Nšj*'.

¹⁰⁰ Maybe this expression means "right of succession".

¹⁰¹ GARDINER suggested the village of *Nšj* situated in some area west to the nome of Atfih, or the northeastern corner of Fayum on the west bank of the Nile (GARDINER, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 1948, 178), GABALLA however thinks the village of *Nšj* may in the region of Meidum, roughly 50 km. south of Memphis (GABALLA, *op. cit.*, 1977, 26).

(recorded) in the register. Let me be examined together with my coheirs before the great men of the village (N11) and see whether I am a descendant of *Nšj* or not.

Statement of the trustee *H^cy*: ‘I am the son of the trustee *Wsr-ḥ3t*, son of *T3wj* [the son of *[P3]-r^c-ḥtp*, who (*Hwy*) gave me his share of land (*3ḥt*) by means of a written (document) in the time of King (DjeserKheperuRe-SetepenRe), granted life, in the presence of witnesses. The chief of the stable *Hwy*, (N12) son of *P3-r^c-ḥtp* was the one who formerly cultivated it since the time of King ---, granted life. Then I received from¹⁰² him (from *Hwy*) (his share) in the time of (King Horemheb-MeriAmun) until today. The scribe *Hwy* and the citizen *Nwb-nfrt* seized my share of land and gave it to the craftsman *H^cy-[jry]*.

I complained to the vizier (N13) [in Heliopolis]. He (vizier) let me plead with *ΓNwb-nfrt* before the vizier in the [great council (*qnbt*). [I brought my documents¹⁰³ ----- in my hand, (dated in the time of) King (NebpehtyRe), while *Nwb-nfrt* brought her documents also. And they were placed (unrolled) before the vizier in the great council (*qnbt*). The vizier said to her. (N14) “As to these documents, they are written for one of the two parties”. *Nwb-nfrt* said to [the vizier], “Let there be brought to me the [land-register from the Treasury and the office of the Granary of Pharaoh^{LPH}. [The vizier said] to her: “Exceedingly good is what you have said”. Then we were taken downstream to Piramesse, and one entered the Treasury of Pharaoh^{LPH} and also [the office of the Granary of] (N15) *ΓPharaoh*^{LPH}. The two land-registers were brought before the vizier in the great council (*qnbt*), and the vizier said to *Nwb-nfrt*, “Who is your (supposed) heir [among] the heirs who are in the two land-registers which are in our hands?”. *Nwb-nfrt* said, “ [There is no heir (of mine) among] them”. “Then you are in the wrong”, so said the vizier to her.

(N16) Then the scribe of the royal table *H^c*, son of *Mntw-m-mnj*, said to the vizier: “What is the decision which you have made for *Nwb-nfrt*?”. The vizier said to *H^c*: “You belong to the Residence; may you go to the Treasury and look into her affairs”. Then *H^c* came out and said to her. “I have examined the documents, but you are not there in the documents”. (N17) then the priest of the litter *Jmn-(m)-jpt* was summoned, and he was dispatched saying, “Assemble the heirs and show them the land and make a division for them”. So, he was instructed, together with

¹⁰² GARDINER saw that *šp n* is a regular phrase for “to succeed to” someone as heir (GARDINER, *The Inscription of Mes*, 18 note 38).

¹⁰³ *Mtrw*, should be translated as ‘documents’, or ‘written testimonies’.

the council (*qnbt*) of Memphis. Then I caused that *Rw-jn-jw-m^c* to come (N18) [and -----] who was overseer of the horses, and member of the council (*qnbt*). Then *Jmn-m-jpt* summoned *Ms-mn* saying: “Come (N19) ---”. He was summoned to the west bank. They gave me 13 *arouras* of land (*3ht*), and [land] was given (N20) [to the heirs before] the great men (notables) of the town”.

Deposition of the goat-herd *Ms-mn*: (N21) “[As Amun endures, as] the ruler [endures], I shall speak truthfully by Pharaoh^{LPH}; I shall not speak falsely if I speak falsely (N22) cut off [my nose and ears]; [and I should (be banished) to Kush]. As to the scribe *Hwy*, son of *Wrnr*, it is said that he is called “descendant of *Nšj*”. I saw (N23) ----- *Wrnr*----- lands”.

Deposition of the trustee *H^cy*: “As Amun endures, as the ruler endures. As to the scribe *Hwy*, descendant of (N24) [*Wrnr*], descendant of *Nšj* ----- saying, “If I do not speak truthfully], I will be guilty. As Amun endures, as the ruler endures ... (N25) ----- as an increase to their deposition. They will take their harvest (N26) ----- saying, “As Amun endures, as the ruler endures, if one makes examination and find out I have cultivated (N27) share of ----- me, I will be guilty”.

Deposition of *P3p3*, priest of the temple of ꜥPtahꜥ, “As Amun endures, as the ruler endures, I shall speak (N28) [truthfully, I shall not speak] falsely. If I speak falsely, let be cut off my [nose] and ears, and I shall be (banished) to Kush. I knew (N29) ----- [the scribe *Hwy*, descendant] of *Wrnr* [who] cultivated [his] lands [year] by year. He having been engaged in cultivating it, saying: ‘I am the descendant of *Wrnr*, (N30) [descendant of *Nšj*”.

[Deposition of] *Hrj*, the honey maker at the Treasury of Pharaoh^{LPH}. “As Amun endures, as the Ruler endures, if I speak falsely, let be cut off my nose and ears, (N31) [and I shall be (banished to) Kush. As to the scribe *Hwy*] (he was the) son/descendant of *Wrnr*. And as to *Wrnr* (she was the) daughter/descendant of *Nšj*”.

Deposition of the chief of stable, [*Nwb*]-*nfr*, also saying, “As to the scribe *Hwy*, he (N32) used [to cultivate his lands year] by year. He acted according to all his desire(s). They carried in for him the crops [of his fields year by] year. He used to dispute (N33) [with the citizeness *T3*]-*h3l*, mother of the soldier *Smn-t3wy*, and he disputed with *Smn-t3wy* her son so that [the lands] should be given (N34) [to] *Hwy* and they were confirmed”.

Deposition of *Bw-ṭ3-tw.f*, also saying, “As to the scribe *Hwy* son of *Wrnr*, (he is the) son of *Wrnr*, and as to *Wrnr*, (N35) [she is the daughter/descendant of *Nšj*]”.

Deposition of the citizen *Tnt-p3-j-h3y*. “As Amun endures, as the ruler endures, if I speak falsely, I should be (banished) to the back of the house. As to (N36) [the scribe *Hwy* (he is) the descendant of] *Wrnr*. And as to *Wrnr*, (she is) the descendant of *Nšj*”.

Deposition of the citizen *Pw-[m-wj3]*: likewise.

Deposition of the citizen *Twy*: likewise.

(S1) ----- (S2) -----

Deposition of the citizen *Mčj3* before the [great] council (*qnbt ʿ3t*) in [the time of] ----- (S3) --- -- *Wrnr*, his mother took the ----- (S4) ----- [deliver] to me my grain. I brought for myself the trustee -----”.

(S5) [Deposition of X] ----- “As Amun endures, as the Ruler endures ----- (S6) ----- I shall be deprived of my share”.

A copy was made [and placed in the Hall] of Pharaoh^{LPH} ----- (S7) ----- the judges. List of names thereof:

Mayor of the city, the vizier *Jry* -----,

----- of the chariotry,

Overseer of the garrison *Jj3*,

Troop-commander *Hwy* -----,

----- (S8) ----- royal envoy *R-n-ry*,

Royal envoy *Jmn-ms*,

The scribe of -----,

The scribe of the register¹⁰⁴ ----- *Ms*.

before the *qnbt* on this day.

Year 59 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Djeser-khepruRe-setepenRe), [son of Re], (Horemheb-meriAmun). Copy of the examination [made by] (S9) the priest of

¹⁰⁴ QUIRKE (*Titles and bureau of Egypt 1850-1700 BC*, 2004, 92) translated it as “secretary of the fields-registry”.

the [litter] *Jny* who was official (member) of the *qnbt*-council, of the Hunpet of the Ship-master *Nšj* [which was in the village of *Nšj*, as follows: "I arrived at the village of *Nšj*, the place where the lands are and of which the citoyenne (S10) *Wrnr* and the citoyenne *T3-h3l* spoke. They assembled the heirs of *Nšj* together with the great men (notables) of the town who make --- of the Hunpet [of] *Nšj* in order to hear their deposition(s).

List of the names (S11) of the witnesses of *Nšj*.

The citoyenne *K3-k3y*

The citoyenne *Hnwt-dbw*,

The soldier --- *B3-k3*.

Making four persons.

List of the names of the witnesses who came in/from the town in order to take an oath:
fieldworker *Hr-hr-nfr* -----

(S12) ----- what they said in one voice (altogether): "As Amun endures, as the Ruler endures, we shall speak truthfully ----- (S13) ----- as to me, I am from the town ----- (to)day. I beheld the Hunpet of the ship-master *Nšj*, it being in the control of the heirs ----- (S14) ----- in the time of the enemy from *3ht-jtn* ----- *3ht-jtn* [where] one was. The citoyenne *Šrj.t-rʿ*, the mother of the citoyenne (S15) [*T3-h3l*] ----- *Jry* became ----- on the Hunpet cultivating ... (S16) ----- *Šrj.t-rʿ*, the mother of *T3-h3l*-----.

Now after¹⁰⁵ -----".

This inscription has been carved on the North and the South walls of *Ms'* tomb in Saqqara; the North wall is held in the Cairo Museum, whereas the South wall blocks must have been left somewhere in Saqqara¹⁰⁶. The inscription gives an account of a series of lawsuits that dragged on for around one and a half centuries concerning private land-holdings. The dispute was over the so-called *Hunpet* of *Nšj*: a land donated by the king Ahmose to the naval officer *Nšj*. After *Nšj*'s

¹⁰⁵ GARDINER thought that the expression *hr jr m ht* introduced the declaration of the verdict. (GABALLAH, *op. cit.*, 27).

¹⁰⁶ GABALLA, *op. cit.*, 22.

death, his land passed on as a whole to numerous heirs who apparently continued to have indivisible shares.

During the reign of Horemheb, litigation arose among the descendants of *Nšj*, of whom the lady *Wrnr* was appointed trustee for all co-heirs. Thereupon *T3-ḥ3l*, a sister of *Wrnr*, filed a complaint to the highest law-court and demanded rights for herself with her brethern. Apparently, she succeeded in abolishing *Wrnr*'s guardianship of the entire landed property.

After this case, the litigation dragged on for generations. There is a reference to the recurrence dispute between *Wrnr* with her son *Hwy* against her sister *T3-ḥ3l* with her son the officer *Smn-t3wy* at the highest law-court (*qnbt ʿ3t*) and at law-court of Memphis. After *Wrnr*'s death, her son *Hwy* continued the struggle with his aunt *T3-ḥ3l* with her son *Smn-t3wy*.

During the reign of Ramses III, a dispute flared up between one certain *Hʿy* on one side and *Hwy* with his wife *Nwb-nfrt* and their son *Ms* on the other. This dispute was over the *Hwy*'s share of lands; He used to cultivate it year by year according to the testimony of witnesses. On his death, his wife *Nwb-nfrt* received this land, but her rights were totally contested later by *Hʿy*, who explained in his deposition that *Hwy*, father of *Ms* and husband of *Nwb-nfrt*, gave him his landed share through a title-deed testified by witnesses, dated from the reign of King Horemheb. Then he allowed one of his relatives to cultivate it.

Thus, was *Nwb-nfrt* despoiled of her rights. After some of the years her son, *Ms* launched an appeal to the notables of the village, where the lands were situated; his appeal does not seem to have been successful.

24

oGardiner 89

(pls. 24-24a)

Date: early 19th Dynasty

Text: ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, 60
KRI III, 724.

Bibliography: *KRITA* III, 486.

(*recto*) Record of the leather products from (‘of’) the inheritance of *ʿ3-mkt*:

[*ʿ3-mkt*]. He took (one), very good, given (?) as small.

H3y. He took (one), poor, given (?) as middle-sized.

Tw-r-b3y. [He] took (one), go[od?, given(?) as] middle-sized.

Jj-py. He took (one), [...], given(?) as ...

--- [He] took [(one),, given(?) as].

What was left over (“excess”) from ʕ3-mkt : a middle-sized leather.

(*verso*) [.....] from the inheritance:

[...] $Q3h3$, a leather.

[.....] from ʕj , concerning taking (up) of the inheritance of ʕ3-mkt .

[.....], 2 items(?); (out?)standing, one-half(?).

This ostrakon deals with the distribution of one ʕ3-mkt 's inheritance among his heirs (?). This inheritance consisted of leather (*dhr*).

25
oBerlin P 10627
(pl. 25)

Date: 19th Dynasty.

Text: *KRI* VI, 155 f. §88 A.105.

ERMAN, ‘Aus dem Volksleben des Neuen Reiches’, *ZÄS* 42, 1905, 100 ff.

Bibliography: ERMAN, *loc. cit.*

GUILMOT, ‘Une lettre de remontrances, ostrakon Berlin P.10627’, *CdE* 40, 1965, 249 ff.

WENTE, *Letters from ancient Egypt*, 1990, 149 n. 206.

FISCHER-ELFERT, *Lesefunde im Literarischen Steinbruch von Deir el-Medina*, 1997, 44 ff.

(1) To the scribe $Nhw-m-mwt$: In life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of your august god, Amun-Re, King of the Gods, your good lord, every day!

Further:

Now, what is the reason for your getting into this evil mood in which you are? No human word has (5) entered your ear as yet because you inflated ego¹⁰⁷? You are not a man since you are unable to make your wife pregnant like your fellow¹⁰⁸.

A further matter: You abound in being exceedingly rich (ʕš3)¹⁰⁹. You give no one anything. As for him, who (10) has no children, he brings for himself an orphan (instead) (11) and brings him up. It is he shall pour water onto his/your hand as one's (own) eldest/favorite son.

¹⁰⁷ For $t3y.k bj3t ʕ3t$ see MCDOWELL, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir El-Madina*, Leiden, 1990, 70, 146 f.

¹⁰⁸ WENTE translated hmt as “wives” although its definite article is single, and he suggested that it refers to wives in successive marriages and not simultaneously (WENTE *Letters from ancient Egypt*, 1990, 170 note 9).

¹⁰⁹ ʕš3 : the standard translation for this word is ‘to be numerous, to be rich’ (*Wb* I, 228.8-13; *Lesko* I, 91; *KoptHWb*, 15 f). However, in our text, we found that WENTE has translated it as ‘exceedingly stingy’ (WENTE, *op. cit.*, 149).

This text contains a reproach letter by unknown author addressed to the scribe *Nḥw-m-mwt*. The author is reproaching the scribe for his stinginess and not willing to take advice from anybody. He advises him to adopt an orphan since he cannot get his wife pregnant.

26
oDeM 108
(pl. 26)

Date: 19th Dynasty (the King Seti I's reign).

Text: ČERNÝ, *Catalogue des ostraca*, I, 1935, 28 pl. 60.

KRI I (1975), 409 § 172: 8.

Bibliography: ALLAM, *HOPR*, 89 ff. n. 57.

KRITA I, 337 f.

LOGAN, 'The *Jmj.t-pr* document: Form, function, and significance', *JARCE* 37, 2000, 65.

(*recto*) (1) [Year --- 2nd month --- day 10+x] [und]er [the majesty of Upper and Lower Egypt C Men[Maat]Re]. -----: This day of given¹¹⁰ his property (*ht*), by the footman¹¹¹ *P3-šd*. [---] made for him an *jmj.t-pr*-document <for> his children. 'As for the whole property (*ht*), it is (to be) shared [among] all children.

As for my copper work kit and my basket (*mstj*) (from) *dndr* wood, (5) [they are] for *Jmn-ms*.

As for *šmḥb*-jar and also *šm* from *drt*-wood, they are for *Nfr-m-ssnt*.

As for the festival-portion of the Mistress (=goddess)¹¹², it is (for/belongs to) *Nwbt-m-š3s*.

And as for the grain-ration, which *Hs-3st* used to give for me, (it is) for *Mḥ3-jb*.

(*verso*) (1) As for the two paddles, (they are) for *Hḥ-nḥw*.

And as for the mirror and the cauldron (box) and every vessel from the white stone (copper), they are (4) for Isis (*3st*).

In the presence of witnesses¹¹³.

This limestone ostrakon is written on both sides; Recto contains eight lines, of which the first five have lost their beginnings and the end of the first line also, while the verso contains four almost intact lines. The text is in black ink¹¹⁴. Since we do not have yet an original *jmj.t-pr*-

¹¹⁰ I prefer to translate *Rdj.t* as 'given'.

¹¹¹ I prefer to translate *wꜥw n js.t* as 'footman'.

¹¹² Perhaps it was a recurring part of special festival. see ALLAM, *HOPR*, 90; *KRITA* I, 338.

¹¹³ It is remarkable here that the testator gave his simple tools to his male children, while he gave the income to his daughters, we thought that income was simple, as the tools of the testator, knowing that one of his daughters took a mirror and a box.

¹¹⁴ ČERNÝ, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médinéh*, I, 1935, 28.

document from the New Kingdom, maybe the current text is a draft of *jmj.t-pr*-document¹¹⁵; a man from a lower caste draw up an *jmj.t-pr*-document in favor of his children (four sons and two daughters). He divided his simple property among all of them.

27
oDeM 764
(pls. 27-27a)

Date: 19th Dynasty¹¹⁶.

Text: GRANDET, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non-littéraires de Deîr el-Médîneh*, 8, 2000, 166.

Bibliography: GRANDET, *op. cit.*, 48.

TOIVARI-VIITALA, 'O. DeM 764: A note concerning property rights', *GM* 195, 2003, 87 ff.



KRUCHTEN, 'Derechef l'ostracon DM 764', *GM* 198, 2004, 39 ff.

MUHS, 'Gender relations and inheritance in legal codes and legal practice in ancient Egypt' in Ilan Peled (ed.), *Structures of Power, Law and Gender across the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, 2015, 16.

(1) If there are small children (*ḥddw*), make the property into three (parts); one (share) for the children, one (share) for the man (*ḥ3wty*), and one (share) [for] the woman (*st-ḥmt*). If he will be in (5) charge of goods (*ḥrt*) of the children, given to him the two-thirds of the entire property (*ḥt*), while the one-third is for (7) the woman.

This ostracon perhaps is a scribal exercise of a trainee, or for someone who was to be trained in legal matters¹¹⁷. Its text deals with the division of unspecified property between three different categories of people. Maybe they are of one family: the (living) husband, a wife, and offspring. Each of them has a right to the property to the amount of $\frac{1}{3}$ of the total. May the property in question is joint conjugal property.

¹¹⁵ LIPPERT, 'Inheritance', in Elizabeth Froom, Willeke Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (Los Angeles, 2013) 6.

¹¹⁶ TOIVARI-VIITALA suggested that this ostracon might belong to the 19th dynasty based on the shape of the sign  (GARDINER Aa1) in group *ḥt* and the orthography shows the spelling  @ I I I, which may serve as an additional indication of a 19th dynasty date (TOIVARI-VIITALA, *op. cit.*, 87).

¹¹⁷ See TOIVARI-VIITALA, *op. cit.*, 96.

28

oGlasgow D. 1925.83 = oColin Campbell 17

(pls. 28-28a)

Date: Late 19th Dynasty**Text:** *KRI VII*, 192 f.; MCDOWELL, A. G., *Hieratic ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow*: (the Colin Campbell ostraca), Griffith Institute/Ashmolean Museum, 1993, pl. 25, 25a.**Bibliography:** MCDOWELL, *op. cit.*, 22 ff.

(*recto*) (1) Said to his brother *Hwy* son of *Hrj3*: in life, prosperity, health, in the favor (2) of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, and Hathor, Mistress of the West; (3) May them grant that you be healthy daily! Please pay attention and do the exact thing, (4) because I will not argue about the price. [My?] (5) mother argued about that which remained. To inform you of their names: (6) the slave *Ndm-Hmsj*, together with her four children; (7) [*Jr*]y.f; *P3-rhny*; *N3hy*; *Whrj3* (?);

(*verso*)(1) *ʿn-htp*; *Hsy-hr-jmntt*; and [also] ---(2) share of *šmn-t3wy*, my brother. But ---(3) inherit also the share of *Hwy* ---

(4) buried her. But from the time that --- established

(5) [...] they were with you. I am in litigation --- up to

(6) today. Now --- division,

(7) --- 2; [--- co]junt one on account of *ꜥQnꜥ*, my father.

This text deals with a claim to eleven servants, who are listed by name. MCDOWELL assumed that both oGlasgow D. 1925.83 and oGardiner 90 deals with the same group of servants. Since the slaves listed in oGlasgow are almost identical to those named on ostraca Gardiner; the only difference that *Ndm-hmsj* is now said to have four rather than three children, *Nfr-shrw* is absent and *Whrj3* has been added to the list. This suggests that oGlasgow is of a later date than oGardiner; this seems reasonable in any case, since the former concerns the execution of the inheritance which was arranged in the latter. The fact that nine of the original slaves are still alive means that the events of Glasgow ostrakon cannot be much later; yet the workmen *Hwy* son

of *hrj3* and *Smn-t3wy* of that text, who evidently had an interest in these slaves, are not even related to those named in oGardiner¹¹⁸.

Consequently, MCDOWELL tried to understand the scenarios of this case by supposing that there were two families with the shares in the same group of slaves. Another possibility is that the author of oGlasgow is a son of *Qn*, as the last line suggests, perhaps even *Pn-dw3* himself.

29 oGardiner 55 (pl. 29)

Date: 19th/20th Dynasty.

Text: ČERNÝ/PEET, ‘A marriage settlement’, *JEA* 13, 1927, 38 f.

ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, 19, pls. 66. 2, 66A. 2 (*verso*) pl. 115, 1 (*recto*).

Bibliography: ČERNÝ/PEET, *op. cit.*, 38 f.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, 160 f. n. 157.

NEVEU, ‘Problèmes familiaux et solutions juridiques: Divorce et adoption à l’époque ramesside’, *Égypte. Afrique et Orient* 20, 2001, 30 f.

(*recto*) (1) ... the build house (*ʿt*), two (shares) ... (2) ... (3) ... (4) ... (5) ... (6) ... (7) ... (8) ... (9) ... (10) ... (11) wood, footstool ... one (share) (12) Doors , 5 (shares).

(*verso*) (1) Now as for the things (*hnw*) which he gave, they are the two-thirds given to me when he divided --- with their mother. Her share is in her (own) possession. But everything (*ht*) whatsoever which is in (5) my house (*pr*) belongs to my wife together with her children: it was she who brought it in --- I having done it in order to (8) --- in order to claim (?).

Recto has a fragmentary list of movable and immovable property, and the text of *verso* deals with the division of the household of an anonymous person, who –according to ČERNÝ/PEET– has been married twice and divorced his first wife. The father of the first wife stated that he gave a certain property to his daughter at the time of her wedding. After the divorce has taken place, the father now claims that his daughter has not received back the property, which was hers. On the other hand, the testator claims that she has her property. He then declares that all the property now in his house belongs to his present wife and her children.

¹¹⁸ See MCDOWELL, *op. cit.*, 22 ff.

30
oLouvre E 2425
 (pls. 30-30a)

Date: 19th/20th Dynasty

Text: SPIEGELBERG, *Studien und Materialien zum Rechtswesen des Pharaonenreiches der Dynastien XVIII–XXI*, 29.

KRI III, 547 f. § 232 A.56.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, pls. 60-61.

Bibliography: SPIEGELBERG, *op. cit.*, 30 ff.

HELCK, *Matreialien*, III, 338 ff.

ALLAM, *op.cit.*, 202 f. n. 205.

KRITA III, 379 § A.56.

Details of the division¹¹⁹ of *wḏ3*-building¹²⁰ (storehouse) of *Nb-jmntt* for (among) his daughter *3st* (Isis) and *Hnw-ḏww*¹²¹:

The *wḏ3*-building (storehouse) making 2 shares, in which is the *št3yt*-building¹²², carved in the mountain. It has been divided: 2 (shares) exactly like the *wḏ3*-building.

(5) Details of the division of the *št3yt*-building into 2 shares:

What belongs to the workman, *Nfr-ḥtp*: 1 room (*wšḥt*)

What belongs to the citizeness *Hwt-jyt*: 1 room (*wšḥt*).

What will belong to *Jmn-m-jpt* and *M33-ntj*¹²³ as their shares from their mother in the division: the inner *wḏ3*-building (storehouse).

The workman *Nfr-ḥtp* gave his share to (9) his sister *Hwt-jyt*, who said to me: ‘It is not recorded...’.

This text deals with three different division cases, and it is not clear if the recipients are members of one family or not; in the first case a man, named *Nb-jmntt* divided his *wḏ3*-building among his daughter and another woman.

In the second case, the *št3yt*-building has been divided between a man and a woman; every one of them received one room. Later this man gave his share to his sister.

In the third case, a man and his sister together inherited the inner *wḏ3*-building of their mother.

¹¹⁹ ALLAM has translated *tp n psš* as “details of division” (ALLAM, *HOPR*, 202).

¹²⁰ I prefer to translate *wḏ3* as *wḏ3*-building.

¹²¹ Female name.

¹²² I prefer to translate *št3yt* as *št3yt* -building.

¹²³ Female name.

31
oMichaelides 4
 (pls. 31-31a)

Date: Late 19th or early 20th Dynasties

Text: GOEDICKE, H./WENTE, E. F., *Ostraka Michaelides*, Wiesbaden, 1962, pls. 53.

<i>(Recto)</i>	<i>(Verso)</i>
(1) of	(1) ...
... arm-chair	<i>wḏḅ</i> -building: 2
<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i> gave ...	<i>pr</i> -house: 1
.... he... . He sat down
(5) The as for the	The <i>mḥḥ</i> -tomb to <i>šḥnḥ</i> ---
As for <i>Jw-nšj-kwj</i> there	Pharaoh ^{LPH} repeat ...
My father	To <i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>
One said, let ...	It was given ...

The fragmentary character of this text makes difficult to understand the case, it seems that it deals with transfer the real estate to one *Jmn-m-jpt*. Maybe he inherited them from his father. It is clear that this inheritance consists of buildings such as, *wḏḅ*-building, *pr*-house, and *mḥḥ*-tomb.

32
oAshmolean 655
 (pls. 32-32a)

Date: 20th Dynasty (Securely to the second half of the reign of Ramses III)

Text: MCDOWELL, A. G., 'An Incised Hieratic Ostrakon (Ashmolean HO 655)', *JEA* 81, 1995, pl. 20.

Bibliography: MCDOWELL, A. G., *op. cit.*, 220 ff.

(1) [Reporting by]¹²⁴ the workman *Wn-nfr* (and) the work- (2) [man ... saying: Let (?)] there be given to me the ḥ-house (of) my father (3) [...] before the foreman *ḥnsw*, the deputy (4) [...] And they said to me: Give him grain (5) [... for the construction] which he made in it. List of the silver (6) [which was given to him: ...] box 2 *dbn*, 3 *oipe* of it belonging to me; (7) [...from

¹²⁴ MCDOWELL restored this lacuna as *smj jr n* (MCDOWELL, *op. cit.*, 221 note 4).

his (?) wood. And I made for him a staff (8) [... from (?)] his wood; and I made for him a [...] (9) [... from (?)] his wood; and [...] (10) [...] *hn*-box, X *dbn* [...].

This Ostrakon¹²⁵ bears an unusual legal text in which a dispute about a house (ϵt) is apparently settled by the local council. It appears that the workman *Wn-nfr* (the speaker) claimed a right to his father's house (ϵt), which was, however, occupied by another workman. It seems that this right is passed on to him by inheritance. The two claimants submitted their dispute to the local council, and it seems that the council decided that *Wn-nfr* should have his father's house (ϵt), but he must pay his adversary for improvements he had made during his occupancy¹²⁶.

33

oBM 5624

(pls. 33-33b)

Date: 20th Dynasty (Ramses III).

Text: BLACKMAN, 'Oracles in Ancient Egypt II', *JEA* 12, 1926, pls. 34-5.

HARI, *Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet ou la fin d'une dynastie*, 1965, fig. 86.

Bibliography: BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, 176 f.

HELCK, *Materialien*, III, 346 ff.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, 43 ff.

(*recto*) (1) Thereafter, I was standing to build (it), and the [work]man H^c -*Nwn* was at work (also) in his tomb ($m^c h^c t$).

1st month of the summer season, day 6. He was absent¹²⁷ ($w s f$ ¹²⁸), and he found the shaft ($m r h t$), which is inside it (i.e., the tomb). He went down into it with the officer *Nfr-htp*, while I was not there.

Thereafter, 1st month of the summer season, day 7 (I) found that the chief workman, *Hnsw*, (5) is sitting and drinking. After that, I stood (there) together with *Hrj*, son of *Hwy-nfr* (and) the workman *B3k-n-wrl*. (I) did not know (the place) where my tomb's shaft was. The scribe *Jmn-nht*

¹²⁵ MCDOWELL suggested that this ostrakon might have been inserted in the wall of *Wn-nfr*'s house (ϵt) as stela, affirming the owner's claim to the building (MCDOWELL, *op. cit.*, 223).

¹²⁶ MCDOWELL, *op. cit.*, 221.

¹²⁷ This means that this workman did not come to work with other workmen in the royal tombs, but he was absent on that day, in order to work in his own tomb. For many examples of the absence from work and the reasons for the absence, see JANSSEN, *SAK* 8 (1980), 127-52.

¹²⁸ *Wsf* is the most frequently term for absences and work-free days at Deir el-Madina, but the recording of explicit reasons becomes rare, see TOIVARI-VIITALA, *Absence from the Work at Deir el-Madina* (2006), 155 ff; ANNE A., Accounting for Sick Days: A Scalar Approach to Health and Disease at Deir el-Medina, *JNES* 74, 78 ff.

found the place (and) said: “Come down (in order) you can see [the] place, which opens to the tomb of *H^c-Nwn!*”.

(*verso*) (1) Year 7 under the (majesty of) Upper and Lower Egypt, (Djeser-kheper-Re)^{LPH}, (Horemheb)^{L.P.(H.)}: This day of the appointment of the (work)man *H3y* my (grand)father¹²⁹ in the department of the King's tomb¹³⁰. The steward of the city (Thebes), *Dhwtj-ms* divided the places (*swt*), which belong to the department of the King's tomb, among the workmen [of] Pharaoh^{LPH}, he gave the tomb of Amun to my (grand)father, *H3y*, by a decree (*shnw*¹³¹). My (grand)mother *Hn[r]* was his (sole) daughter, whom he sired. He had no male child, (5) his places were becoming forsaken.

Thereafter in the year 21, 2nd month of the summer season, day 1 (I) stood before

(Amenophis)^{LPH}, (and) said unto him: “May you go to a tomb of my ancestors' (tombs)”. He (the god) gave me *H3y*'s tomb in writing. (Then) I began to work on it.

This text speaks of a dispute over the inheritance (a tomb) which the grandson received from his grandfather; this dispute flared up between this grandson and his neighbour when they discovered an underground shaft linking to their tombs. Both litigants wanted to prove their ownership of this tomb. Since the tomb in question has been a property of his grandfather for more than half a century, the grandson got one's way to the Oracle god to adjudicate this case and to confirm his right in this tomb. So that the Oracle god adhered to the rules of succession's law since he gave the tomb to the legitimate heir¹³².

¹²⁹ Sometimes, the word *jt* has other meanings not only “father”, but more than that, in our example the most appropriate translation is an “ancestor”, the parallel instance is oGeneva 12550, for such relationships (BIERBRIER, *JEA* 66, 1980, 100).

¹³⁰ For further details about the meaning and the nature of the Necropolis (*p3 hr*), see ČERNÝ, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, 7 ff.

¹³¹ I prefer to translate *shnw* as ‘order, command, decree’.

¹³² See ALLAM, *HOPR*, 45.

34
oGardiner 103
 (pls. 34-34a)

Date: 20th Dynasty (Ramses III).

Text: ČERNY/GARDINER, *HO*, 52. 2, 52A. 2

KRI V, 571 f.

Bibliography: HELCK, *Materialien*, III, 341.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, 169 ff.

KRUCHTEN, J. M., 'Oracle d' "Amenhotep du Village" sous Ramsès III', in Demarée and Egberts (eds.), *Fs. Janssen: Deir el-Madina in the Third Millennium*, 2000, 209 ff.

KRITA V, 443 f.

(*recto*) (1) 'Young man (my boy)!, I'll sort it out myself', so he said. (2) He prepared then two writings (*md3t*), and he laid them before the god, himself. One put one writing in the hand of the scribe *Wnn-nfr*. He said (the father), 'As for every brick (*dbt*) that I have erected, they shall belong to my son *Nb-Jmn*'- (5) so he said (the scribe). (For) the second time writings were presented and the writings were placed in the hand of *P-n-t3-wrt*. But he (the father) said, 'By no means, I will not look at the writings! I will give him (the son) a donation (*twn*¹³³), and I will distribute the other things (*ktḥ*) to his brothers and sisters'.

So he took the *ḥnw*-building from me¹³⁴, and gave me the *wḏ3*-building. He gave me this place (immobilien) (*st*), but it cannot be for me, (10) (because) it (*wḏ3*-building) belongs to (Amenophis)^{LPH}, the lord of the town (*dmj*)¹³⁵.

(*verso*) (1) My predecessor (forefather) had constructed it in the name of (Amenophis)^{LPH}. (2) Look, (Amenophis)^{LPH} has taken his part. Let me enter into (participate in) the division with my brothers and sisters.

This ostrakon contains a detailed account of conflict over an inheritance; the father told his son that he would make the legal arrangement by himself, then both of them appeared before the Oracle god to give everything to his son.

Nevertheless, during the proceedings, we find that the father sudden turns about and backing away from his division, and he decided to give him a *wḏ3*-building, and he took back *ḥnw*-

¹³³ For this word, see GARDINER, *JEA* 42 (1956), 17.

¹³⁴ The son started to speak here.

¹³⁵ '*dmj*' refers here to Deir-el-Madina. Generally, *dmj* was an inhabited area, it also means a landing place for ships, and a town on the bank with a harbor and a market (WILSON, *op. cit.*, 1196).

building from him. Then the father announced that the other things should be divided among the other sons.

Therefore, the son stood again before the Oracle god and informed him that he could not own this building because it became an endowment (*Waqf*), it is done by one of his grandfathers; therefore, the son asked the Oracle god to allow him to participate in the division with his brothers and sisters.

35 oGenf 12550 (pls. 35-35b)

Date: 20th Dynasty (Ramses III).

Text: ALLAM, *HOPR*, 193 ff. pls. 54 f.

Bibliography: ALLAM, *op. cit.*, 193 ff.

(*recto*) (1) Year 11, 3rd month of the inundation season, day 6.

This day of actual coming¹³⁶ to the scribe *P-n-t3-wrt*, from the department of the King's tomb¹³⁷.

The workman *Jn-hr-h^c* said to him, 'As for me ----- this *wḏ3*-building [was] in the hand¹³⁸ of the man *Jn-hr-h^c*, my father. His son *K3nr* received it from him. *K3nr* died (and) *H3y*, his brother, received it from him. As *H3y* was appointed as chief of the workmen, his brother *Q3h3*, received it from him. *Q3h3* died (and) his son *H^c* received it from him. *H^c* was taken to the Harbour¹³⁹; (5) he transferred it to the chief workman, *H3y* his (earlier) lord. No one spoke against it. Look, the [work]man *Jmn-m-jpt* came --- and said, 'I will share it with you'.

Mry-R^c, his father replied saying (?) in front of the *qnbt*-council: "Untrue are the words ----- . It belongs to *H3y*, the chief workman. This *wḏ3*-building belonged to *H^c*, his father". He prepared [two writings] and stood before the King ḥ(Amenop[his])^{LPH} ḥ ---.

In the 3rd month of the inundation season, day 9, he appealed to the King ḥ(Amenophis)^{LPH} (and) said to him: '[My good lord!] ----- divide it?' (Then) the god turned himself back¹⁴⁰.

His brother *Nfr-htp* ----- hall ----- (10) also. Look, he spoke to you: 'I --- about this [*wḏ3*-building]. The god ----- *Jmn-m-jpt* ----- [One] caused that he took an oath by the lord^{LPH} and

¹³⁶ I would like to translate *jyt* as 'actual coming'.

¹³⁷ It is better to translate *n p3 hr* 'from the department of the King's tomb'.

¹³⁸ Or 'in the possession of'.

¹³⁹ Maybe they took him to work there.

¹⁴⁰ This means 'he refused'.

said: 'I will not speak against this [*wḏ3*-building], and no one from my [relatives] will speak against it.'

Now the scribe *P-n-t3-wrt* came in order to give cereal rations, and I said to him ----- (13) He called to --- and said ----- brother -----.

(*verso*) (1) scribe *Wn-nfr*,

workman *Nh-[m-mt]*,

wab priests --- *hm-ntr*-priests *Jpwy*,

wab-priest *Nfr-htp*,

(3) *wab*-priest ---- the *wab*-priest ---.

This text contains a conflict over inheritance between the fourth son of a certain man named, *Jn-ḥr-ḥ^c* (=plaintiff) and a person, named *Jmn-m-jpt* (=defendant) who probably is not a member of *Jn-ḥr-ḥ^c*'s family. The case was submitted to the Oracle god and the local *qnbt*-council for a decision. The plaintiff appeared in the local *qnbt*-council and explained to the magistrates how that the disputed building was owned by his older brothers, one after one, and now it is his turn to possess it, but the defendant prevented such a thing to happen and alleged that he has a share in this building.

This appeared to be strong evidence of the plaintiff's right to the building. Add to that, his right was confirmed by the testimony of the father of his adversary¹⁴¹. Therefore, the Oracle god rejected the defendant's claim and ruled that the building in question shall be given to the plaintiff.

36

oPetrie 16

(pls. 36-36a)

Date: 20th Dynasty.

Text: ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pls. 21.1, 21A.1.

Bibliography: ALLAM, *HOPR*, 231 ff. n. 231.

JANSSEN/PESTMAN, 'Burial and inheritance in the community of the necropolis workmen at Thebes (Pap. Bulaq X and O. Petrie 16)', *JESHO* 11, 1968, 153 ff.

THÉODORIDÈS, 'A proposé de la loi dans l'Égypte pharaonique', *RIDA* 14, 1967, 111 ff.

IDEM, 'Les ouvriers "magistrats" en Égypte à l'époque ramesside', *RIDA* 16, 1969, 141 ff.

NEVEU, F., '«Extraits de la chronique judiciaire de Deir al Médîna»', *Égypte Afrique & Orient* 25, 2002, 15.

¹⁴¹ ALLAM, *HOPR*, 194 f.

(*recto*) (1) Li[st of] what the workman *Nb-smn*, my father, made for the citizenne¹⁴² *Jwn[-r]*: 1 wooden coffin, painted with pictures, for (*r*)¹⁴³ her share, which in the lower *wḏ3*-building (storehouse).

But see her daughter, *W^cb(t)* comes (now) in order to take a share with the workman [*Hwy*]-*Nfr* in the *wḏ3*-building (storehouse). May my lord ... cause¹⁴⁴ that her (mother's) share be given to me (5), may (only) the children of *Nb-smn* divide it (*wḏ3*-building), for he (*Nb-smn*) is who has buried her.

List of the things (*hrt*), which the workman *S3-W3ḏyt* gave out (*verso*) (1) in order to bury the citizenne *T3-nḥsj*, his mother, (while) his brothers and sisters did not act with him:

1 wooden coffin, painted with pictures (and) polished with *mrḥt* oil, makes 33 *dbn*.

1 small inner coffin, with *mšd* done: makes 20 *dbn*.

May my Lord cause (5) that it (the share of the storehouse) be assigned to me since he (*Nb-smn*) acted for her when she was dead.

This ostrakon mentions two disputes. The first is dealing with a certain lady *Jwnr*, who received a coffin from the workman *Nb-smn*, whereby this man should obtain the right to a part of her property. As the children of *Jwnr* wanted to divide her possessions, the son of *Nb-smn* appeals to the Oracle god to receive an Oracle confirming the rights of *Nb-smn*'s children.

The second dispute concerns the inheritance of the lady *T3-nḥsj*; this dispute flared up among her children after she died, one named *S3-W3ḏyt*, deserved the inheritance of his mother because he was the one who buried her.

It is noticeable here that the second case served as a legal precedent for the first case; the son of *Nb-smn* copied *S3-W3ḏyt*'s case as legal precedent for his case.

¹⁴² I prefer to use the word 'citoyenne' for *ḥn-n-njw*.

¹⁴³ JANSSEN/PESTMAN (*JESHO* 11, 1968, 153 note b) mentioned that the meaning of the preposition is not clear. It may be "in order to obtain", or "in exchange for" or the like.

¹⁴⁴ I see *j jrj* in the meaning 'cause'.

37
oPetrie 21
 (pls. 37-37a)

Date: 20th Dynasty (Ramses III).

Text: ČERNY/GARDINER, *HO*, pls. 16. 4, 16A. 4.

Bibliography: HELCK, *Materialien*, III, 340 f.

SCHENKE, *Die Orakel im alten Ägypten*, 9, 34, 125 Quelle 21.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, 237 f.

DEMARÉE, ‘Remove Your Stela’, in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir El-Medina*, 1982, 101 ff.

MCDOWELL, A. G., ‘An Incised Hieratic Ostrakon (Ashmolean HO 655)’, *JEA* 81, 1995, 222 ff.

(*recto*) (1) Year 27, 1st month of the summer season, day 19. This day of lodging a complaint by [the work]man *H^c-m-W3st* to the King (Amenophis)^{LPH} (in which he) [said, ‘Come] to me, my Lord! Decide (between me) and the workman *Nfr-htp*! [He] took the house (‘*t*) of *B3kj*, my (5) father, which is in the great field (Valley of the Kings) and¹⁴⁵ the share of *Shmt-nfrt* ---. My great light! Then the god [turned himself back] (=refused) several times. One asked him, ‘Should it be given to (*verso*) *H^c-m-W3st*?’. Thereupon the god agreed [several times]in the presence of:

the chief workman *Hnsw*,

the chief workman [*Jn-hr-h^c*] (and)

all the carriers¹⁴⁶.

He [said to [*Jj-(m)-njwt.f*], ‘Do not enter into the house (‘*t*)!’

Appeal to (Amenophis)^{LPH} saying: ‘My [great] light! --- (15) ---, one stela, which he set up (*dg3*¹⁴⁷) in the house (‘*t*) -----. Then God said to him. ‘Do not enter [into the house (‘*t*)] and remove your stela (*w3d*¹⁴⁸)’.

This ostrakon records a dispute between two workmen, *H^c-m-W3st* and *Nfr-htp*. Both conflicting sides petitioned to the Oracle god in the presence of the two chief workmen and carriers of the statue. Then the Oracle god announced his judgment in favor of *H^c-m-W3st*.

¹⁴⁵ I would like to translate preposition *hr* as ‘and’ not ‘on account of’.

¹⁴⁶ I.e. the persons carrying (*f3y*) the statue of the King Amenophis.

¹⁴⁷ DEMAREE points out that word *dg3* means ‘put in’, as in ‘to put stones in a wall’, or ‘to put trees in the ground’, ‘to plant’. He assumed also the stela in question was inserted in the wall of the ‘*t*-house as small votive stelae. (MCDOWELL, A. G., An Incised Hieratic Ostrakon (Ashmolean HO 655)’, *JEA* 81, 1995, 223).

¹⁴⁸ The appropriate translation of *w3d* is “stela” and not “pillar” see DEMARÉE, Remove Your Stela, in Demarée and Janssen, *Gleanings from Deir El-Medina* (1982), 101 ff.

38
oBerlin 10629
 (pl. 38)

Date: Ramesside period.

Text: *Hier. P. Berlin* III, pl. 37.

ČERNY, 'Le culte d'Amenophis I chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine', *BIFAO* 27, 1928, 177 f.

KRI V, 574.

Bibliography: ČERNY, *op. cit.*, 177 f.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, 27 ff. n. 7.

KRITA V, 445, A.237.

(*recto*) (1) 'Come to me, my Lord! My mother put me in a quarrel with my brothers (because she) said, 'I gave you two shares of copper'¹⁴⁹, which my father had given to me:

Shawl: 1

Knife: 1

Pot: 1

[It] was the scribe *P-n-t3-wrt*, (5) who handed it to me. She took them (away). She purchased a mirror. May my {Lord} make their price in *dbn*!

My father gave me:

5 sacks (*h3r*) of emmer,

2 sacks (*h3r*) of barley.

They belong to my spouse in a period of 7 years. (But) he (10) received (only) 4 sacks (*h3r*) barely.

(11) 'It is one man (and) one woman (12). Take two shares!' (So) she spoke to me, (13), namely my mother.

This text speaks of a dispute over the inheritance among the daughter and her mother and her siblings. The daughter received things as her share of inheritance from her father, perhaps during her marriage. Later, the mother seized those things again and bought a mirror, then the children came and demanded their share and distribution of the things among all of them. On the other hand, the father assigned his daughter's husband (repeatedly) amounts of grain. Nevertheless, over time, the conflict erupted, and this performance was partially achieved, not as

¹⁴⁹ Here ended the mother's speech (ALLAM, *HOPR*, 28).

the father ordered. Due to that, the daughter appealed to the Oracle god for a solution to this dispute¹⁵⁰.

39
oDeM 663
(pl. 39)

Date: Ramesside period

Text: ČERNÝ, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Medineh: nos. 624-705*, vol. 6. l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, 1970, pl. 17.

Bibliography: ALLAM, *HOPR*, 154 f.

(*Beginning missing*) (1) I filed a complaint in front of the vizier *P3-nḥsy*, saying: “As for the ----- I brought him up.” (Then) the vizier gave him ----- your son led you. ----- filed a lawsuit. ----- as woman/wife. He married *3st*. (5) ----- . If you give her: Arrange ----- . I made for him new suitable (?) coffin. I buried him ----- the coffin that I made for him when my mother (lived) with him (as) his wife. She bought ----- his mother, I was the one who gave ----- to him. I was doing ----- . (End is missing).

40
oGardiner 23
(pls. 40-40a)

Date: Ramesside period.

Text: ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pls. 43. 4, 43A. 4.

ČERNÝ/PEET, ‘A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty: An Unpublished Document from Turin’, *JEA* 13, 1927, 30 ff.

Bibliography: Helck, *Materialien*, III, 337 f.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, 153.

(1) ----- ([Amenophis])^{LPH}, I am --- for the division of his father's property (*ht*). --- brought -----

Chief workman *Hr-ms*,

Chief workman *Nh-[mwt]*

-----, (who) are carrying the god:

wab-Priest *Nfr-rnpt*,

wab-Priest *Nfr-ḥr* ---,

wab-Priest *T3*,

wab-Priest *Nb-nfr* ---

(5) (and) the whole team of workers with one word (= together).

¹⁵⁰ ALLAM, *HOPR*, 154 f.

One gave him the house (*pr*) of *Tnr-Mntw*, likewise;

his *hnw*-building,

and his house (*ꜥt*), which is in the field (Nile valley),

and his tomb (*mꜥhꜥt*).

One gave the house (*pr*) of *ꜥ3-nht*,

his *hnw*-building,

his tomb (*mꜥhꜥt*),

(and) his house (*ꜥt*), which is in the field (8),

to the workman *Ms*.

(Then) the workman *Jmn-(n)-njwt-nht* took an oath by the Lord^{LPH}, saying: 'I will not speak against any place (*st*) (building) (from) those of *ꜥ3-nht*, his (10) father. They (places/buildings) should belong to the one who lives in his house (*pr*). (So) he said in the presence of:

Chief workman *Nh-mwt*, at the *htm*-bureau (of the department of the King's tomb¹⁵¹) (and)

The scribe *Jmn-htp* from the department (of the King's tomb).

This text deals with a dispute over some possessions of the workman *ꜥ3-nht* among his son *Ms* and a certain person named *Jmn-(n)-njwt-nht*. It seems that this issue became a general matter because it was addressed and resolved in the presence of the whole team of workers.

According to survived parts of this text, one can assume that there were two families, both of them possessed a private property consisted of some buildings:

The first family comprises of *Tnr-Mntw* (the father) and the worker *Jmn-(n)-njwt-nht* (the son).

The second family comprises of *ꜥ3-nht* (the father) and the worker *Ms* (the son).

Maybe the two households were connected by bonds of kinship; on that basis, *Jmn-(n)-njwt-nht* saw that he has a right in possessions of *ꜥ3-nht* and start to petition to the Orale God concerning it.

¹⁵¹ For the *htm* bureau of Necropolis, see MCDOWELL, *op. cit.*, 94 ff.

Consequently, the court held two sittings to decide this case; the first session was held in front of Oracle god and consisted of two chief workmen and four priests and the whole team of the workman. At this session, the Oracle god rejected the claim of *Jmn-(n)-njwt-nht* concerning possessions of *ʿ3-nht* and ruled that these possessions are a legitimate right for *Ms*. On the other hand, the Oracle god announced that *Jmn-(n)-njwt-nht* is entitled only his father (*Tnr-Mntw*)'s possessions.

The last session was held at the *hṯm*-bureau and consisted of one of the chief workmen and the scribe. By this session, the worker *Jmn-(n)-njwt-nht* took an oath and pledged to respect the court's decision and would not open the case again.

41
oGardiner 36
(pls. 41-41a)

Date: Ramesside period

Text: ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 36.1
KRI VI, 429-30

Bibliography: ALLAM, *HOPR*, 156 f.

(*Recto*) Year [x month x] of the inundation, day 3.

The statement (*sdm-r*) of *Stḥj*, son of *Jmn-m-jnt*, along with (?) ----- was heard. He died.

Lists of items (*3ḥt*) of *Stḥj* that are with -- *nfr* (?):

Leather: 1 - makes 12; it is processed to -----

Leather: 1 ----- makes 5 *dbn*; weight (?) – valid.

Animal fur: 2 - makes 1 *dbn*

Given to him as a surplus: 1 copper-*dbn*

Stool: 1 - makes 3 *dbn*

Given to him as a surplus: -----

Box (from) wood ---: 1 - makes 2 *dbn*

3 hand widths/summer month 3 (?) -----

Bag (?) --- 7 -----

Came to *Nb* --- -----

--- (from) bronze: -----

(*Verso*) (*col. I*)

List of ----- of the man of the workgroup *Sthj* (and) the scribe/scribes (?) -----:

Wooden container: 1 - makes 2
 Mat: 1 - makes 1
Kbs-basket filled with emmer: 1 - makes 2
 Wooden bar: 1 - makes 2
 Cut piece of wood: 5 - makes 3
 Container (from wattle): 1 - makes 1
 Mat: 9 - makes 7 (?)
Kbs-basket: 3 - makes 3
 Tool (from) wattle: 1 pair
h^cw (from wattle): 6 - makes 3
 [Total]: 7 (+ x) copper-*dbn*

----- to him: 4

(*col. II*) (the beginning is missing)

--- (from) wood: -----

--- (from) copper: 1

Foot-soles: 2 (pair) - (makes) --- *dbn*

Mat: 2 - makes 2 (*dbn*)

Foot-soles: 3 (pair) - makes 4 (+ x) ½

mrht-oil: 1 *hjn* - makes ---

Fenugreek: 30 *mn*-(measure) - makes 2

Total: 17 copper-*dbn*

Written (and) counted.

(Rim) valid – year 7, month 3 of summer, day 2.

Decision of the *qnbt*-council.

The fragmentary character of this text does not allow to understand properly this statement, seems there might be a conflict about the inheritance, because *recto* is talking of a deceased person. Followed by the distribution of the objects (*3ht*). However, the different date on the edge

of the ostracon remains unclear. Perhaps this is the date of the *qnb*t session. The date at the beginning of recto might be the date of the statement of *Stj*.

42

oGardiner 90

(pls. 42-42a)

Date: Ramesside period.

Text: ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pls. 51. 2, 51A. 2

Bibliography: HELCK, *Materialien*, III, 525.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, 168 f. n.165.

HOFMAN, T., 'Arbeitseinsätze und Löhne der sogenannten Sklavinnen von Deir el-Madine', in Andreas Dorn and Tobias Hofman (eds.), *Living Writing in Deir el-Madine: socio-historical embodiment of Deir el-Medina texts*, 114.

(recto) (1) The engraver *Qnj* said to his son *P-n-dw3*.

'May you live (being) healthy (and) prosperous, as regards all (work)-days of slaves (*b3k*) of the citizeness *M3t-nfrt*'s, my mother, who are in the town (or) outside, they are for my son *P-n-dw3*.

I let you know (5) their names:

The male slave (*hm*) *P-rhny*,

[The male slave (*hm*)] *n-htp*,

The male slave (*hm*) *N3hy*,

[The male slave (*hm*)] *Nfr-[shrw]*,

The female slave (*hmt*) *Ndmt-hms*,

The male slave [*Hzy-hr-jmntt* (together with) three children,

The male slave (*hm*) *Jr[y --]*

(verso) (1) ----- son -----daughter ----- [my son] *P-n-dw3*, took ---, who was good for me.

(I) let you know the slaves (*b3kw*), who are outside. (5) Look, the instruction for -----

(6) There are two shares for me: one (of) the ----- (I) let you know my share: one (share) ----- (8) and one (share) for *Qnj*.

This text deals with the transmission of the workdays of some slaves by a father to his son. The reason why this transfer took place is clear from the father's words: "The son was beneficent to his father".

The father stated that he got/inherited those workdays from his mother. Then he showed to his son that those workdays were inside and outside the town¹⁵².

43
oPetrie 18
(pls. 43-43a)

Date: Ramesside period.

Text: ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pls. 70. 1, 70A. 1.

KRI VI (1983), 430 f.

Bibliography: ALLAM, *HOPR*, 234 f.

KRITA VI, 332 f.

TOIVARI-VIITALA, J., *Women at Deir El-Medina: A Study of the Status and Roles of the Female Inhabitants in the Workmen's Community During the Ramesside Period*, 81 ff.

(*recto*) (1) [Year (x)] 7, 4th month of summer season, day 11. This day of ---, which the workman *Jmn-p3-Hcpj* did together with the citizeness *Tnt-p3* ----.

[He said]: 'As for me, the illness had come over/overtaken me --- and I said to my sister (= wife)¹⁵³ ---- my things (*3ht*). She went with herself (=she abandoned him) to the field (Valley)¹⁵⁴, I spent a [month], while I was sitting/dwelling (5) alone. She took the *dj3w*-dress (the dress of the work?), which Pharaoh (the state)^{LPH} had given to me. She took it away, [and she ate (?) with ---] ----, while I dwelt (there) alone, they (my things) were not with me. [She] did nothing good for me. The workman *Jmn-wc*, [--- my son is who dealt kindly with me when I was weak, his son and my ----.

As for all property (*3ht*) of mine, along with the burial-place, and every place (*st*) (belonging) to my [father? ---- and --- of mine also]. They shall belong to *Nh-m-mwt*, my (10) ---- he made.

(*verso*) (1) ---- (4) ---- [the work]man ---. She took an oath by the lord^{L.P.[H]}. (5) saying, 'I will neither come close to the house (*pr*) nor the property (*3ht*) ---- *Jmn-p3-Hcpj*; and if I come close to [his house ---- (7), [I] shall be liable to 100 blows with the stick, and [I will be deprived of all the property of my] father.' He caused her to take an oath by the Lord^{LPH} saying: 'I shall not come close to the painter *Jmn-htp* as well.'

¹⁵² For bequeathing the slaves' workdays, see ALLAM, 'Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven:(Papyrus BM 10568)', *ZÄS* 128, 2001, 89 ff.

¹⁵³ For this expression, see IDEM, *HOPR*, 234 n. 3.

¹⁵⁴ This means that she left Deir-el-Madinah community in order to live on the Nile bank.

This text reports a dispute between a man and his wife. The husband said that his wife had deserted him when he was ill, and she did not take care of him. His son, however, seems to have taken care of him.

On the other hand, we understand from the *verso* of this text that the woman had to refrain from entering certain premises. Presumably, this oath was related to the transfer of ownership of the man in favor of his son; the wife could not claim the son's new possessions in the future.

44

pBerlin P 3047

(pls. 44-44c)

Date: 19th Dynasty.

Text: HELCK, 'Der Papyrus P 3047', *JARCE* 2, 1963, 72 f. pls. 9-12.

KRI II, 803 ff. § 285.

Bibliography: HELCK, *Materialien*, III, 65 ff.

IDEM, 'Der Papyrus P 3047', *JARCE* 2, 1963, 65 ff.

KRITA II, 528 ff. § 285.

THÉODORIDÈS, 'Le jugement en cause Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité contre Tyia (Pap. Berlin 3047)', *RIDA* 27, 1980, 11 ff.

(1) Year 46, 2nd month of the inundation season, day 14 under (his) Majesty the King of the Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Landes (OuserMaatRe-SetepenRe)^{LPH}, son of Re, Lord of the Diadems, (Re-mes-su-the beloved of Amun-Ruler of Heliopolis)^{LPH} (Ramses II), beloved of Amun-Re, the King of all gods, and given life to all eternity.

This day of the state's hall (*ḥrryt*)^{155 LPH}, in the southern city (=Thebes), besides *Hry-ḥr-M3t*, the great gate¹⁵⁶ of (Re-mes-su-the beloved of Amun)^{LPH} (Ramses II), beside Amun (*ḥr ḥr Jmn*).

The *qnbt*-council¹⁵⁷ of this day:

High priest of Amun *B3k-n-Ḥnsw*

Priest of Amun (5) *Wsr-Mntw*

Priest of Amun *R-m^c*

Priest *Wnn-nfr*, from Mut temple

Priest *Jmn-m-ḥp*, from Khunsu temple

Steward of the house, *Jmn-m-jpt*, from Amun temple

wab priest and lector priest of Amun, *Jmn-ḥtp*

wab priest and lector priest of Amun, *3ny*

wab priest (7) *Hwy*, from Amun temple

The scribe of the registry (*sš n tm3*), *Hwy*, from the *qnbt*-council of the city.

¹⁵⁵ I suggest the translation "State's hall", not a familiar translation "Pharaoh's Hall. KITCHEN translated this phrase as "at the judgment hall of Pharaoh" (*KRITA* III, 528).

¹⁵⁶ I would like to translate *trj 3* as 'great gate', see *Wb* V, 318.

¹⁵⁷ I see *qnbt* is better to translate as 'the *qnbt*-council' not as 'lawcourt'.

The royal table scribe, *Nfr-ꜥbt*, as agent for his brothers and sisters, filed a complaint against the storekeeper *Ny-jꜣ*, from Amun temple. The statements of the royal table scribe, *Nfr-ꜥbt*, “There were assigned to me (*dhn n.j*) ----- *arouras* of *ꜣht*-land, along with my brothers and sisters (i.e., some of my brothers and sisters¹⁵⁸). But the storekeeper *Ny-jꜣ* seized (*tꜣw*) them for himself, along with his brothers and sisters, for a number of¹⁵⁹ years (10) until now, and they did not give (me) my share.

Now, look [I shall assign my share to the priest, *Wnn-nfr*, from Mut temple, to ensure that he shall give me one *hꜣr*¹⁶⁰ of the ce[real (*jt*) per x *aroura* -----], in order to make for me one pack of the plant fibers for my cloak (local Gallabia) (*msst*). Because he ----- the folder of my documents is in my hand, you may examine it.”

The statements of the storekeeper *Ny-jꜣ*, from Amun temple, “Yes, what the royal table scribe, *Nfr-ꜥbt* has said is true, [I am agreed that the royal table scribe, *Nfr-ꜥbt* should take] (15) the fields (*ꜣht*), and hand them over to Mut temple, in order to live on them¹⁶¹ from now on. [As for (me) the storekeeper *Ny-jꜣ*] he shall not benefit/eat from them”.

Statements of the *qnb*t-council's magistrates, “We shall do ----- . Look, that which shall fall to (the lot of) the royal table scribe, *Nfr-ꜥbt*, the priest *Wnn-nfr*, from Mut temple shall receive it.”

Statement of the priest, *Wnn-nfr*, from Mut temple, “As for the fields (*ꜣht*), which shall fall to (the share of) the royal table scribe, *Nfr-ꜥbt*, I will receive them and cultivate them and ----- (20) 600 cereal (*jt*) and a pack of the plant fibers”.

A list of the fields (*ꜣht*), which the royal table scribe, *Nfr-ꜥbt* ---

The area of Highlands of *Pr-mr-mnft*,

southeast of *Hr-m-jw.f*,

is in the hand of *Hh-m-nhw*: --- *arouras*.

The area of Highlands of *Hwtj-rwtj*,

on the embankment (*dny.t*),

ditto

ditto

: --- *arouras*.

[The area], west of the Quarry (*ꜣꜣd-jnr*) ---,

which was in the hands of *Nd-m-pt-jpt*. -----

:10 *arouras*.

¹⁵⁸ I suggests that *nꜣ snw jnk* = some of my brothers and sisters. This is might the opposite of *snw=j/pꜣy=j snw* which means all his brothers and sisters.

¹⁵⁹ I want to translate *hmn* as ‘several, a number of’ not ‘some’. See *Wb* 3, 96.4; *Lesko*, II, 115.

¹⁶⁰ HELCK translated it as “Einen sack Gerreide” (HELCK, *Materialien*, III, 67).

¹⁶¹ I suggest that *mtw.f wnm.w* is better to translate as ‘in order to live on them’ or ‘in oder to benefit from them’.

The area of *Pḥw-t3-sm*, :16 *arouras*.

Total: 110+x *arouras* ---

Details of division: ---

(25) (The area), which belongs to the citizen *Mwt-bnrj*,

is in her children's hands: $56 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ *arouras* and 6 cubits.

Details of the division:

(The area), which belongs to the army scribe *Mn-n3*: $14 \frac{1}{8}$ *arouras* and $4 \frac{1}{2}$ cubits.

(The area), which belongs to the musician, ---: $14 \frac{1}{8}$ *arouras* and $4 \frac{1}{2}$ cubits.

(The area), which belongs to the citizen *Tnt-jwn-n3*: $14 \frac{1}{8}$ *arouras* and $4 \frac{1}{2}$ cubits.

(The area), which belongs to the citizen, *Nḥw* ---: $14 \frac{1}{8}$ *arouras* and $4 \frac{1}{2}$ cubits.

Total: $56 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ *arouras* and 6 cubits.

(The area), which belongs to the citizen *T3-wrt* as her share from the house (*pr*) of the citizen *Mwt-bnrj*: 14 *arouras* and $[4 \frac{1}{2}$ cubits].

Total: $70 \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{8}$ *arouras* and $10 \frac{1}{2}$ cubits.

Details of the area of -----.

(30) (The area), which belongs to the scribe (*sš*) *Bj3*,

is in the hands of the citizen *Jwn-n3-j3*: $23 \frac{1}{2}$ *arouras*.

(The area), which belongs to the citizen *Tnt-mn-nfrt*,

is in her hands: $23 \frac{1}{2}$ *arouras*.

(31) (The area), which belongs to ---,

is in the hands of the citizen *Jwn-n3-j3*: $23 \frac{1}{2}$ *arouras*.

The statement of the magistrates of the council (*qnbt*) to the priest *Wnn-nfr*, from Mut temple: "As for the years, which the storekeeper *Ny-j3* spent profiting/eating from the (production) of the fields (*3ḥt*), along with his brothers and sisters, [while] and the royal table scribe could not cultivate them, - (so long) shall his servants cultivate them."

The statements of the royal table scribe, *Nfr-ḥbt*, to the priest *Wnn-nfr*, from Mut temple: “Look, my lands (*ḥt*) shall you cultivate, and you shall (35) give me third of their production; from the cereals and vegetables”.

The statements of the priest *Wnn-nfr*, from Mut temple: “I shall do it; see, I shall certainly do it!”.

This papyrus records a dispute over inheritance between a certain *Nfr-ḥbt* on one side and his brother *Ny-j3* on the other. The disputed estate was some lands that have been transferred to a temple Mut. The transfer of the land to the temple guaranteed a regular income for someone unwilling to take on the responsibilities of farming the land personally.

The plaintiff *Nfr-ḥbt* submitted a complaint to the *qnbt*-council of the against his brother *Ny-j3* and accused him that he took all inheritance for himself, together with his other brothers. Moreover, *Nfr-ḥbt* has alleged in his complaint that he did not receive a share of this inheritance yet, although the heritage had conveyed to them together several years ago.

After that, the tribunal held its hearing to decide on this dispute. During this session, *Nfr-ḥbt* confirmed his claims in front of the judges, and he provided the Court with documents proving him right. Then the judges questioned *Ny-j3*, and he admitted that the testimony of the plaintiff is correct.

Consequently, the council held that the land would be given to *Nfr-ḥbt*. He then decided to give them to the priest *Wnn-nfr* from the temple of Mut. But it seems to record *Ny-j3*'s formal acceptance of the donation to the temple of Mut, and *Nfr-ḥbt*'s right to draw income from it. The council gave the order to ascertain *Nfr-ḥbt*'s share, and this was formally received by *Wnn-nfr* as fields for cultivation.

45

pAshmol. Mus. 1945.96
 (Adoption Extraordinary)
 (pls. 45-45e)

Date: 20th Dynasty (Ramses XI).

Text: GARDINER, 'Adoption extraordinary', *JEA* 26, 1941, pls. 5a-7.

Bibliography: GARDINER, *op. cit.*, 23 ff.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, 258 ff. n. 261.

CRUZ-URIBE, 'A new Look at the Adoption Papyrus', *JEA* 74, 1988, 220 ff.

ALLAM, 'A new Look at the Adoption Papyrus (Reconsidered)', *JEA* 76, 1990, 189 ff.

EYRE, 'The Adoption Papyrus in social context', *JEA* 78, 1992, 207 ff.

(*recto*) (1) Year 1, 3rd month of the summer season, day 20 under (his) Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Raamesse-khaemwese)^{LPH}, the beloved of Amun, the god Ruler of Heliopolis^{LPH}, given life to all eternity.

This day of the proclamation of the appearance of this august god to Amun when he stands up and appears offering to Amun.

Further, *Nb-nfr*, my husband made a document (writing) for me, *N3-nfr*, the singer of the (god) Setekh, he made (me) a child of his, and wrote down unto me all his possessions, (as) he had no son (5) or daughter apart of myself. (He declared): "Regarding all profit (*m^cd3*) that I have made with her, I will transmit¹⁶² it (to) *N3-nfr*, my wife. If brothers or sisters of mine stand up and make a claim against her at my death tomorrow or after tomorrow, saying, Give me a part of my brother's possessions".

In the presence of many and numerous witnesses:

The stable-master *Rjr*

The stable-master *K3-jrj-sw*

The stable *Bn-jrj*, son of *Dw3-nfr*¹⁶³

In the presence of the stable-master *Nb-nfr*, son of *n-r-k3-j3*.

In the presence of the Sherden *P3-* (10) *-k3-mn*.

In the presence of the Sherden *S3-t3-mnw* (with) his wife *c^cdw-c3*.

See, I have made the transmission for *Rn-nfr* (sic), my wife today, in the presence of *Hw-jrj-mw*, my sister.

¹⁶² *swd* means 'convey/transmit'.

¹⁶³ Reading suggested by ALLAM, *JEA* 76 (1990), 191.

Year 18, 1st month of the inundation season, day 10 under (his) Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands (MenMaatRe-SetepenPtah)^{LPH}, son of Re, the Lord of Diadems, (Raamesse-khaemwese-the beloved of Amun), the god Ruler of Heliopolis, given life to all eternity.

(15) This day of the deposition by the stable-master *Nb-nfr*, together with his wife, *Rn-nfr* the singer of the (god) Setekh of (the town) Sepermeru, saying, “We purchased the (female) slave *Dj-n-j-hwt-tj-jrj*, and she bore these three children, one male, and two females, total: three. I¹⁶⁴ took them, I (nourished) them, and I let them grow up. I have reached this day (today) with them; they have not done (any) evil against me; (rather) they have acted well towards me. (For me) there is no son nor daughter (20) except them. Furthermore, the stable-master *P-n-djw* entered my house and made *T3-Jmn-njw*, their eldest sister, (his) wife; he being related to me, as my younger brother. And I accepted him for her, and he is with her today. See now I have made her a free (*nmlj*) woman of the land of Pharaoh^{LPH}, if she bears either a son or a daughter, they shall be free people of the land of Pharaoh^{LPH}, in a very perfect way¹⁶⁵. They shall be with the stable-master *P-n-djw*, (25) my younger brother, as the younger ones being with their eldest sister in the house of *P3-djw*. This stable-master, my younger brother. To-day I make him (*verso* 1) a son of mine exactly like them.”

She (*Rn-nfr*) declared, “As Amun endures, as the Ruler^{LPH} endures, I make these people, whom I brought up, free persons of the land of Pharaoh. Should any son, daughter, brother or sister of their mother or/and their father contest their (rights), except *P-n-djw* this son of mine, (5) they are indeed no longer with him as slaves (*b3kw*), but are with him as young siblings¹⁶⁶, being free people of the land <of Pharaoh>^{LPH} - may a donkey sodomize with him, may a donkey sodomize with his wife, whoever shall call any of them “slave”. And if I have fields (*3ht*) in the country, or if I have any property/things (*ht*) in the world, or if I have middlemen¹⁶⁷, these (items) shall be divided among my four children, *P-n-djw* being one of them. As for all these matters (10) which I have uttered, they are entrusted to *P-n-djw*, this son of mine, (who) dealt well with me when I was a widow and my husband had died”.

¹⁶⁴ The wife speaking alone.

¹⁶⁵ I would like to translate *mjtt ʿq3 zp-sn* ‘in a very perfect way’ not ‘in exactly the same way’.

¹⁶⁶ *Jw.w m-djfm snw šrj.w*, I see that this sentence should be translated ‘but they are with him as young siblings’ not ‘but they are with him as brothers and children’ as translated by GARDINER (*JEA* 26, 24).

¹⁶⁷ I would like to translate *šwtjw* as ‘middlemen’.

In the presence of many and numerous witnesses:

The stable-master *Stḥ-m-ḥb*,

The singer of Setekh *Tʒy-w-ḥry*,

The farmer *Sw-ʿw-Jmn*,

In the presence of *Tʒj-mwt-nfr*, and the singer *ʿʒntj-tj-nt-nbt-ḥwt*.

This text indicates several individual events; the woman *Nʒ-nfr* declared that her husband had arranged writing, by its means he made her a daughter of his. Thus, she became his sole heir. The next event is a joint statement by the husband and his wife that they purchased a female slave, who bore three children (one boy and two girls). After her husband's death, the wife brought up those slaves and emancipated them; thus, they became free persons of the land of Pharaoh.

Later, the wife adopted her younger brother as a son as well and approved his marriage with the eldest girl of the children now set free. On her death, the woman's assets are to be divided among these four persons having them adopted.

46

pAshmol. Mus. 1945.97

(last will of Naunakhte)

(pls. 46-46g)

Date: 20th Dynasty.

Text: ČERNÝ, 'The Will of Naunakhte and the related documents', *JEA* 31, 1945, pls 8-9.

Bibliography: ČERNÝ, *op. cit.*, 29 ff. pls. 8-9 doc. 1-4.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, 268 ff. n. 262.

DONKER VAN HEEL, K., *Mrs. Naunakhte & Family: The Women of Ramesside Deir al-Medina* American University in Cairo Press, 2016.

Document I

Col. I

(1) Year 3, 4th month of the inundation season, day 5 under (his) Majesty the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, (OuserMaatRe-SekheperenRe-the beloved of Amun)^{LPH}, son of Re, Lord of Diadems like Atum, (Remessu-Amun-Her-khepshef)^{LPH}, granted life to all

eternity. This day of drawing up the document (*h3ry*) concerning her property (*3ht*)¹⁶⁸ (5) by the citizeness *Njwꜛ-nḥꜛt-tj*, before the council (*qnbt*):

the chief workman *Nḥꜛy-m-mwꜛt*,

the chief workmen *Jn-ḥꜛ-hꜛꜛw*,

the scribe, *Jmn-nḥꜛt*, from the King's tomb (department),

the scribe *Ḥꜛ-šꜛꜛj*,

(10) the draughtsman *Jmn-ḥꜛꜛꜛ*,

the workman *Tj-l-Mntw*,

the workman *T3*,

the draughtsman *P-n-t3-wꜛꜛt*,

the workman *Wsr-ḥ3ꜛt*,

(15) the workman *Nb-nꜛꜛ*,

the workman *Jmn-p3-Ḥꜛꜛꜛꜛ*,

the officer *Jmn-nḥꜛt*,

the officer *Rꜛꜛ-ms*,

the workman *Nb-nꜛꜛ*, son of *Ḥꜛꜛꜛꜛꜛ*.

Col. 2

(1) She said, As for me, I am a free (*nmḥꜛj*) (woman) of the land of Pharaoh¹⁶⁹. I brought up these eight servants of yours¹⁷⁰ and gave them the outfit (*grg ꜛꜛꜛꜛ*)¹⁷¹, (consisting) of everything (such) as is usually done for those in their case. But see, I am grown old. (5) See, they are not looking after me in my turn. As for whoever of them has aided me, to him I will give (of) my property (*3ht*); (but) he who has not given to me, to him I will not give of my property (*3ht*).

Col. 3

(1) List of¹⁷² the workmen and women to whom she gave¹⁷³:

the workman *M33-nḥꜛt-twꜛꜛꜛ*, the workman *Qn-ḥꜛ-ḥꜛꜛꜛꜛꜛꜛꜛ*. She said: I have given to him as a special reward¹⁷⁴ a washing-bowl of bronze over and above his fellows, along with 10 sacks of emmer.

(5) The workman *Jmn-nḥꜛt*, the citizeness *W3st-nḥꜛt-tj*, the citizeness *Mnꜛꜛt-nḥꜛt-tj*. As for the citizeness *Mnꜛꜛt-nḥꜛt-tj*, she (i.e., *Njwꜛ-nḥꜛt-tj*) said, concerning her; she shall come in the division of all my property except for the *oipe* of emmer which my three (10) male children with the

¹⁶⁸ *hrw ꜛꜛꜛ ꜛꜛꜛ ꜛꜛꜛ n 3ht.st*, I would like to translate this sentence as ‘this day of drawing up the document (*h3ry*) concerning her property’ not ‘on this day a declaration concerning her property’ as translated by ČERNÝ (*JEA* 31,31). *H3ry* as a kind of documents (discussed in Chapter 2).

¹⁶⁹ Through this statement, Naunakhte wanted to say that she has a full personality.

¹⁷⁰ Naunakhte is calling her children metaphorically as servants of the members of the council.

¹⁷¹ For this expression, see TOIVARIA-VIITALA, J., *Women at Deir El-Medina: A Study of the Status and Roles of the Female Inhabitants in the Workmen's Community During the Ramesside Period*, 75 f.

¹⁷² Literally: in order to cause to know.

¹⁷³ The speech of Naunakhte ended in the last column, and the scribe started to narrate some events.

¹⁷⁴ For the reason why Naunakhte singled out her son *Qn-ḥꜛ-ḥꜛꜛꜛꜛꜛꜛꜛ* for special favor (ČERNÝ, *JEA* 31, 1945, 49; DONKER VAN HEEL, K., *Mrs. Naunakhte & Family: The Women of Ramesside Deir al-Medina* American University in Cairo Press, 2016, 92).

citoyenne *W3st-nht-tj* had given to me and (except for) my *hin* of fat which they had given to me in the same manner.

Col. 4

(1) List of her children of whom she said, they shall not enter/participate in the division of my one-third, (but) they shall participate in their father's two-thirds¹⁷⁵:

the workman *Nfr-htp*,

the citoyenne *Hnw-šnw*,

the citoyenne *Mn^ct-nht-tj*,

the citoyenne *H^c-t3-nwb*.

As for these 𐎗four children of mine, they shall <not>¹⁷⁶ participate in the division of any of my property. As for any property of the scribe *Qn-hr-hpš.f*, my husband, (10) with his land property (*swt*) and this *wḏ3*-building (store-room¹⁷⁷) of my father, with this *oipe*¹⁷⁸ of emmer which I collected in company with my husband, they shall not share them.

Col. 5

(1) As for these eight children of mine they shall participate in the division of the property of their father, one part each¹⁷⁹.

As for my cauldron, which I gave to him in order to purchase bread for himself¹⁸⁰ and also the chisel¹⁸¹ (of) seven *dbn* (5) and also the *jrr*-tool (vase) of seven *dbn* and the pick¹⁸² (of) six *dbn*, that is 40 *dbn* (in all), they are a share for him. He shall not participate in any further copper; it shall belong to his brothers and sisters.

Written by the scribe *Jmn-nht*, (from the department) of the King's Tomb.

¹⁷⁵ The inheritance rules applied at the time were that if someone dies intestate, his children were first to be recognized legitimate heirs; both husband and wife do not inherit from each other, but each can get, in accordance with the contract marriage, a share of the joint property; the wife would be entitled to only one-third, and the remaining two-thirds would be a right for her husband. (ALLAM, *Papyrus Turin 2021*, 24).

¹⁷⁶ 𐎗 has undoubtedly been forgotten before *jw.w r^cq* (ČERNÝ, *op. cit.*, 32).

¹⁷⁷ According to ČERNÝ, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷⁸ An *oipe* amounts to 40 *hin*, i.e., about 8 liters or a little short of 4 gallons (ČERNÝ, *op. cit.*, 49).

¹⁷⁹ This means that each child shall receive an eighth of father's possessions.

¹⁸⁰ *r jn n.f^cqw* “to bring/buy bread for himself”; as in the colloquial language of modern Egypt “to keep body and soul alive”.

¹⁸¹ For translation *h3* as ‘chisel’, see Lesko, II, 155; GARDINER, *JEA* 22, 177.

¹⁸² For translation *nt* as ‘pick’, see DÉVAUD, *Rec. trav.* 39, 165.

Year 4, 3rd month of the inundation season, day 17. This day of the workman *H^c-m-Nwn*¹⁸³ repeating his coming¹⁸⁴ to the *qnbt*-council¹⁸⁵, together with his children, saying, “As for the writings which the citizeness *Njw-t-nḥt-tj* has made concerning her property, they are perfect. The workman *Nfr-ḥtp* shall not participate in it (her property).” He took an oath by the Lord saying, “If I reverse (my undertaking) so as to contest it again”, he would be liable to one hundred blows and be deprived of (his) property.

Col. 6

(1) In the presence of:

the chief workman *H^cw*,

the chief workman *Nḥw-m-mwt*,

the scribe *Hrj* (from the department) of the King's Tomb,

the (district) officer *R^c-ms*,

the (district) officer (5) *P-n-t3-wrt*, son of *Nḥt-mjn*.

Cols. 5 and 6

(DOCKET ON THE VERSO)

The roll of *h3ry*-document¹⁸⁶, which the citizeness *Njw-t-nḥt-tj* [made] (concerning her) property (*3ḥt*).

Documents II-III. Division of Naunakhte's Property¹⁸⁷

II

(*recto*) (1) List of the division of the property of our mother:

given to *Jmn-nḥt*, 1 millstone,

given to *Wsr-nḥt-tj*, 1 millstone,

given to *Mn^c(t)-nḥt-tj*, 1 *jqr*,

III

(*recto*) (1) List of the division of the property of our mother:

given to *Jmn-nḥt*, 1 millstone,

given to *Wsr-nḥt-tj*, 1 millstone,

(5) given to *Mn^c(t)-nḥt-tj*, 1 *jqr*,

¹⁸³ *H^c-m-Nwn* was the second husband of the lady Naunakhte (ČERNÝ, *op.cit.*, 44).

¹⁸⁴ It would be preferable to translate *wḥm spr r qnbt* as ‘repeating coming to the *qnbt*-council’.

¹⁸⁵ *H^c-m-Nwn* and the children went to the *qnbt*-council one year later, after Naunakhte had made her will; in between our papyrus was certainly preserved in the scribe's archive.

¹⁸⁶ I prefer to translate *ḥwtj h3ry* as ‘the roll of *h3ry*-document’.

¹⁸⁷ Documents II and III contain, each, a list of objects given to the children of the lady Naunakhte. ČERNÝ suggested these objects represented all the property of the lady. But there is no proof thereof (see ČERNÝ, *op. cit.*, 51).

(5) given to *Qn-(hr)-hpš.f*, 1 *jqr*,
given to *M33-nht.f*, 1 box.

given to *Mn^c(t)-nht-tj*, 1 mortar,
given to *Jmn-nht*, 1 mortar,
given to *Qn-(hr)-hpš.f*, 1 mortar,
(10) given to *Nb-nht*, 1 mortar,
given to *M33-nht.f*, 1 wooden *g3tr*-box.
given to *Jmn-nht*, 1 cage (?),
given to *Mn^c(t)-nht-tj*, 1 *tp*,

(*verso*)

(1) given to *Qn-(hr)-hpš.f*, legs (of a)
m3st.

given to *M33-nht.f*, 1 *qrt*,
given to *Wsr-nht.tj*, 1 *db*

given to *Mn^c(t)-nht-tj*, 1 *oipe* measure,
(5) given to *Jmn-nht*, 1 *oipe* measure,

given to *Qn-(hr)-hpš.f*, 1 *jqr*,
given to *M33-nht.f*, 1 box.

Again, another division:

given to *Mn^c(t)-nht-tj*, 1 mortar,
(10) given to *Jmn-nht*, 1 mortar,
given to *Qn-(hr)-hpš.f*, 1 mortar,
given to *M33-nht.f*, 1 *g3wr*-box (?),
given to *Wsr-nht-tj*, 1 mortar.

Again, another division:

(I5) given to *Jmn-nht*, 1 cage (?),
(given to *Mn^ct-nht-tj*, 1 *tp*
given to *Qn-(hr)-hpš.f*, legs of a *m3st*,
given to *M33-nht.f*, *krt*,
given to *Wsr-nht-tj*, 1 *db*.

(20) Again, another division:

(*verso*)

(I) given to *Mn^ct-nht-tj*, 1 *oipe* measure,
given to *Jmn-nht*, 1 *oipe* measure,

II

given to *Wsr-nht-tj*, 1 *oipe* measure,
 given to *Qn-(hr)-hps̄.f*, 1 sledge,
 given to *M33-nht.f*, 1 sledge,

 given to *Qn-(hr)-hps̄.f*, 1 *m3st* of *ʿb* (?)
 (10) given to *Jmn-nht*, 1 *hṭp* of wood,
 given to *Nb-nht*, 1 *hṭp* and 1 mortar,
 given to *Mn^c(t)-nht-tj*, 1 *hd*,
 given to *M33-nht.f*, 1 *gt*-box of stone.

III

given to *Wsr-nht-tj*, 1 *oipe* measure,
 given to *Qn-(hr)-hps̄.f*, 1 sledge,
 (5) given to *M33-nht.f*, 1 sledge.
 Again, another division:
 given to *Qn-(hr)-hps̄.f*, 1 *m3st* of *ʿb* (?),
 given to *Jmn-nht*, 1 leg (of) *hṭp* (?),
 given to *Wsr-nht-tj*, 1 *hṭp* and 1 mortar,
 (10) given to *Mn^ct-nht-tj*, 1 *hd*, (?).
 given to *M33-nht.f*, 1 *g3tr*.
 Again, another division:
 given to *Jmn-nht*, 1 *šqr*,
 given to *Qn-(hr)-hps̄.f*, 1 foot-rest (?),
 (15) given to *M33-nht.f*, 1 foot-rest (?),
 given to *Mn^ct-nht-tj*, 1 foot-rest (?),
 given to *Wsr-nht-tj*, 1 foot-rest (?).

Document IV. Two Depositions of Khaemnun (*H^c-m-Nwn*).

(1) Statement of the workman *H^c-m-Nwn* in the presence of:

the workman <i>3nj-nht</i> ,	the workman <i>Jmn-nht</i> ,
the workman <i>Qdw-3ht-tw.f</i> ,	the workman <i>M33-nht.f</i> , (and)
the workman <i>Hrj-nfr</i> ,	the workman <i>Hnsw</i> ¹⁸⁸ .
the workman <i>Nfr-hṭp</i> ,	

“Look, I will give this washing-bowl of 13 *dbn* of copper. It shall belong to *Qn-hr-hps̄.f*. Nor son (or) daughter (can) contest it, his speech shall not be heard, and the (complainant) shall not share any (thing)¹⁸⁹.”

¹⁸⁸ Obviously, this is not a *qnbt*-council, maybe this is a regular session between *H^c-m-Nwn* and other workers, and they were merely witnesses.

¹⁸⁹ This means that the complainant here will not participate in the division of anything.

Year 3, 3rd month of the inundation season, day 10. This day of the deposition of the workman *H^c-m-Nwn*. “As for the washing-bowl, which (I) have given (to) the workman *Qn-(hr)-hps.f*, (5) his (*H^c-m-Nwn*) son, it shall belong to him. Neither son nor daughter nor the wife of *Qnj*¹⁹⁰ can contest it; his/her deposition (the complainant's deposition) shall not be heard in the future”.

Handing over (on) this day in the presence of:

the workman <i>3nj-nht</i> ,	the workman <i>Nfr-htp</i> ,
the workman <i>Qd-3ht.f</i> ,	the workman <i>Jmn-nht</i> (and)
the workman <i>Nb-nht</i> ,	the workman <i>H^c-(m)-Nwn</i> himself.
the workman <i>Hnsw</i> ,	

The workman *Qn-(hr)-hps.f* declared, “I will give him 2 *khar*, and 3 *oipe*. He took an oath by the Lord^{LPH}, saying, “As Amun endures, and as the Ruler^{LPH} endures! If I take this (income in) grain from my father (they) shall take away this reward of mine, and I shall<give> one pair sandals to the workman *Jmn-nht*, and he (*Qn-hr-hps.f*) will give one box (to) the workman *M33-nht.f* (in order) to pay for the writings which they have made concerning the deposition of their father.”

This small archive comprises four documents; the first is the last will of the lady *Njwnt-nht-tj* which she made for her eight children born during her second marriage. Five of those children would receive a portion of her property because they provided care to her in her old age. In contrast, the three remaining children will not inherit because they failed to support her sufficiently.

In the second part of this archive, the workman *H^c-m-Nwn* (second husband of the lady *Njwnt-nht-tj*) with his children present themselves secondly in the local *qnbt*-council and promise to execute *Njwnt-nht-tj*'s will precisely as she prescribed before.

The second and third documents contain details of the division of *Njwnt-nht-tj*'s property.

The fourth document contains two depositions of the workman, *H^c-m-Nwn*, the second husband of *Njwnt-nht-tj*.

¹⁹⁰ *Qnj* could be short for *Qn-hr-hps.f* (ČERNÝ, *op. cit.*, 41).

47

pBulaq 10

(pls. 47-47c)

Date: 20th Dynasty.**Text:** MARIETTE, *Les papyrus égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq II*, 1872, pls. 1-2.JANSSEN/PESTMAN, 'Burial and inheritance in the community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes', *JESHO* 11, 1968, pls. 1-2.**Bibliography:** ALLAM, *HOPR*, 289 ff. n. 268.MCDOWELL, *Jurisdiction*, 167 f. n. 122.JANSSEN/PESTMAN, *op. cit.*, 137 ff.Neveu, F., '«Extraits de la chronique judiciaire de Deir al Médîna»', *Égypte Afrique & Orient* 25, 2002, 14.

(*recto*) (1) List of objects (*3ht*) [of the workman, *Hwy*] which he gave to the citoyenne *T3[gm]yt*, his mother: 1 burial-place (after) he had given her coffin to *P3-t3w-m]-dj-Jmn*, (this) makes 40 *dbn*. Again, what he gave to her: 1 coffin for her burial, and he had (also) made a burial-place (5) for *Hwy-nfr*, his father. But look, the children of the citoyenne *T3gmyt* contest this today, in order to claim her possessions. But they did not bury their father, nor did her children bury (her/*T3gmyt*); it is her property (*3ht*) which they claim today, although they did not bury together with my (10) father when he buried his father and his mother. "Let the possessions be given to him who buries" according to the law of Pharaoh^{LPH} My good lord^{LPH}, see, I am in the presence of the officials, cause that the right thing is done. See, the landed property of *T3y-nhsy* was given to *S3-wdyt*, when she was buried, while he gave her his coffin. One gave him her share in the presence of the officials (*srw*), (15) for it was the King (Amenhotep)^{LPH} who gave it to him in the *qnbt*-council.

(*verso*) (1) Year 8, 3rd month of the winter season, day 25. This day of hearing the statements of *H3y*, son of *Hwy* concerning his places (*swt*), from his father, which are given to his children on (this) day. List thereof:

The *hbt*-building (the shrine), which is beside the *Jspyt*-building (the hut) [of] *Q3h3*:

1 (portion): 7 cubits, breadth 3 cubits and 4 palms.

The house (^c*t*), which is beside *hnw*-building of *Hwy-grg* and *Mntj-p3-h^cpy*:

2 (portions): length 13 (cubits), breadth 8 cubits and 3 palms;
7 $\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, (breadth) 8 cubits, and 4 palms)

(5) The piece of land on which is its *st3y.t*-building (cellar):

- 1 (portion): 6 cubits, breadth 6 (cubits).
- The house (ϵ^t) of $\epsilon^3-n\dot{h}t$:
7 cubits, breadth 7 (cubits), and 3 palms;
8 (cubits), breadth 3 (cubits).
- The pyramid (mr) of the scribe $R^\epsilon-ms-Q\dot{3}h\dot{3}$:
9 (cubits), breadth 3 (cubits).
- They had been divided among them (children) in year 8, 3rd month of the winter season, day 25.
- The house (ϵ^t) which is beside the hnw -building, is for $Mntj-p\dot{3}-h^\epsilon py$ and the citizeness Grg , being two portions ($dnyt$),
(10) together with its $\dot{s}t\dot{3}y.t$ -building:
13 cubits, breadth 8 cubits, and 3 palms;
- The house (ϵ^t): $7\frac{1}{2}$ cubits, breadth 8 (cubits), and 4 palms.
- The hbt -building and the pyramid of $R^\epsilon-ms$, for $Q\dot{3}h\dot{3}$.
- The stable of ϵ^3-nkht and its magazine, for $P-n-njw.t$.
- The piece of land which is beside the house of the mayor of the city, for $B\dot{3}-s\dot{3}$:
6 cubits, breadth 6 (cubits), and his $\dot{s}t\dot{3}y.t$ -building (?) on it.
- That which is for him in exchange for the coffin, from nhy wood ... 2, which is/are in the hnw -building, which are given.
- (15) (to) $T\dot{3}gmy(t)$, the wife of $Hw[y-nfr]$, saying: "If we reverse our undertaking so as to contest it, then they (sc. we) shall be liable to one hundred blows ... (and maybe) deprived of our share".

This papyrus contains two different issues of inheritance; the *recto* records a dispute over the inheritance of a certain lady $T\dot{3}gmyt$, who was buried by one of her sons without the assistance of his brothers and sisters, just as he had previously buried his father.

This dispute flared up between the son of the person who buried against his aunts and uncles. This son appealed to the Oracle god to defend his dead father's right in this inheritance. During the tribunal hearing, he cited the law of Pharaoh, stating: 'Let the possessions be given to him who buries', and reminded the judges with a legal precedent (case of $S\dot{3}-w\dot{d}y.t$ and his mother $T\dot{3}y-n\dot{h}sy$), which is similar of his situation. This legal precedent indicated the possessions of the mother had been given to her son, $S\dot{3}-w\dot{d}y.t$ because he is the only one who buried her.

Thereupon, Oracle god ruled that the possession of the lady *T3gmyt* should be given to her grandchild.

The text on the verso records an official deposition of *H3y*, the son of *Hwy* concerning the real estate that he inherited from his father. *H3y* make a formal deposition known as “*sdm r n*”, by which he bequeathed a real estate (*swt*) to his children.

This formal deposition consisted of two parts. In the first part, the portions of the divided property have been mentioned, each with its measurements. In the second part, the same plots are again enumerated, but with the names of the recipients.

48

pTurin 2021+pGeneva D 409

(pls. 48-48d)

Date: 20th Dynasty.

Text: ČERNÝ/PEET, ‘A marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty’, *JEA* 13, 1927, pls. 13 ff. (pTurin 2021 only).

KRI VI, 738 ff. § 20.

ALLAM, *HOPR*, pls. 112 ff.

Bibliography: ČERNÝ/PEET, *op. cit.*, 30 ff. pls. 13-5 [pTurin 2021 only].

ALLAM, *op. cit.*, 320 ff. n. 280.

IDEM, Papyrus Turin 2021 Another Adoption Extraordinary, in Cannuyer C. and Kruchten J. (eds), *Individu, societe et spiritualite. Melanges Théodoridès*, 23 ff.

(*Recto*)

(Page 1) (*Beginning missing*) (1+x) ----- (2+x) ----- citoyenne *Jnk* ----- (3+x) ----- I have entered in ----- (4+x) the great god, she became ----- my house (*pr*), and I have erected ----- (5+x) ----- children (*hrdw*) ----- thier children (*m_{sw}*) do/did.

(Page 2) (1) The god went away¹⁹¹. [I bo]und myself concerning her (by an oath) in the *qnbt*-council of Medinat-Habu: I have made the third and the two-thirds from all that I have acquired with her, I [have entered (married)] (*ʿq*) in the citoyenne *Jnk-sw-ndm*'s house (*pr*), this lady who appears (stands) before the vizier. I brought in (bought)¹⁹² four slaves (*b3k.w*) [with] her, she made me happy (she was nice with me), and she coped with my nature (*bj3t*), she did for me, what a son/daughter (?) would do --- I gave to her the female slave (*hmt*) *Nwt-mwt-r* and the

¹⁹¹ *rwj* has been translated by ČERNÝ/PEET and HELCK in the sense of “reject”.

¹⁹² *Or* acquired.

female slave (*hmt*) *Bwbwy-mwt-h3^c-n* with (5) [their] children (*msw*), besides her one-third share. I presented for her (also) the male slave (*hm*) *S3-ptrj-Dhwtj* and the male slave (*hm*) *Gm-Jmn-p3-^cš*, these two male slaves are in my possession, as my share from what I have acquired with her. [I]¹⁹³ made her child like the children of my first wife --- exactly exactly, who were in [my] house (*pr*). I did not distinguish one beloved (son) whom I appointed. Look, I am in the presence of the vizier and the officials (members) of the *qnb*-council to-day, in order to cause everyone from my children know his share, (10) as well as the arrangement/plan (*sht*)¹⁹⁴, which I made for the citizeness *Jnk-sw-ndm*, this lady, who is in my house (*pr*) today. Pharaoh^{LPH} said (namely): “let everyone do what he likes with his property (*3ht*)”. So, I give all what I have acquired with the citizeness *Jnk-sw-ndm* to herself, the lady who is in my house (*pr*) to-day. **(Page 3)** (1) (consisting of) the two male slaves (*b3k h3wty*) and the two female slaves (*b3k st-hmt*), total: four (slaves), with their children – these (my) two-thirds, in addition to her one-third. I give (also) those nine slaves (*b3k.w*) – who had fallen to me as my two-third share with the citizeness *T3-t3ry* – to my children, along with the house (*pr*) of father and mother also. These are (already) in their hand (possession). They are not losing --- what I had acquired with their mother. I would have given them some from what I had acquired with the citizeness *Jnk-sw-ndm*, but Pharaoh^{LPH} said, “Let the *sfr*¹⁹⁵ of (5) every woman be given to her”.

The statement of the vizier to the *wab*-priest and chief workman *h3wty-nfr* and to the *wab*-priest *Nb-nfr*, children of the god's educator¹⁹⁶ *Jmn-h^cw*, who stand in front of him (the vizier) the eldest brothers of his children, “What do you say about¹⁹⁷ the statement, which the god's educator *Jmn-h^cw*, your father, said? Is it true about the nine slaves of whom he said to you: I gave them to you, as my two third (share) which I acquired with your mother, along with the

¹⁹³ This reconstruction in this gab, was a suggestion by ALLAM. He assumed that the husband had adopted his wife as his own child in order to she could inherit from him because, according to Egyptian succession norms, the wife could not inherit from her husband (ALLAM, *Papyrus Turin 2021*, 23 ff.).

¹⁹⁴ It is clear from this sentence that the purpose of appearing in front of the vizier, the father desired that his children must be informed about two matters; their share of the inheritance and the plan which he did for his second wife.

¹⁹⁵ The meaning of this word is still obscure, ČERNÝ/PEET translated this word as “dowry” and ALLAM translated it as “Gut” (ALLAM, *HOPR*, 321, 324; ČERNÝ/PEET, *op. cit.*, 32 ff.)

¹⁹⁶ This title means: The person who was a tutor of the King when he was a young prince.

¹⁹⁷ One can translate this question as: “What is your opinion of...”.

house of father and mother?”. They answered by means of a single speech (*m r w*)¹⁹⁸: “Our father is right, indeed they are in our possession”. Statement of the vizier, “[What do you say about] the arrangement/plan (*shr*)¹⁹⁹, which your father made for the citizeness *Jnk-sw-[ndm]*, his wife?”. (10) They replied, “[We have heard what] our father made, and as for what he made, who can oppose him therein? His property (*3ht*) is his own. let him give it [to whom] he will.” The vizier said, “Even it had not been his wife, but a Syrian or a Nubian, whom he loved and to whom he gave property (*3ht*) of his [who could] do a disruption of his act? Let the four slaves (*b3k.w*) which [fell to his lot] with the citizeness *Jnk-sw-ndm* be given to her (13) together with [all that he may acquire] with her, which he has said he would give her, “The two-thirds of mine in addition to her third, and no son or daughter of mine shall (Page 4) (1) question this arrangement (*shr*) which I have made for her to-day”. The vizier said: “Let it be done according to the speech²⁰⁰ of the god's educator *Jmn-h*. This god's educator, who stands in front of me²⁰¹ The vizier gave instructions to the *wab*-priest and scribe of records (*sš n tm*)²⁰² *Pth-m-hb*, of the council (*qnbt*) of temple of (UserMaatRe-the beloved of Amun)^{L.P.H.} saying, “Let this arrangement (*shr*) which I have made stand recorded on papyrus roll in User-maat-Ra-meri-Amun's temple^{LPH} and make a copy (*m mjtt*) (of this speech) for the Great *qnbt*-council of the town (Thebes).”

In the presence of many witnesses. List thereof:

Chief/guard/scribe *Dhwtj-m-hb*, of the army.

(5) Chief/guard *Hrj*, son of *Dhwtj-nht*, of the army.

Depu[ty] *Nsj-hnsw*, of the army.

Overseer of the st[able] *Mn-snnw-hn* ---.

Groom *B3k-n-3st*, of ---.

Scribe *Dhwtj-ms*, from the department of the King's tomb.

¹⁹⁸ ALLAM translated it: “They replied unanimously” and ČERNÝ/PEET, translated it: “They said with one accord”, (ALLAM, *op.cit.*, 321; ČERNÝ/PEET, *op. cit.*, 32).

¹⁹⁹ *shr* as a legal document used in inheritance matters (discussed in chapter 2 in more detail).

²⁰⁰ I prefer here to translate this word “the origin of speech” not “copy of speech” because the vizier asked the scribes to record *Jmn-h*'s oral speech on a papyrus' roll.

²⁰¹ ČERNÝ/PEET translated this sentence as “Let it be done in accordance with what the prophet *Jmn-h*, this prophet who stands before me, has said” (ČERNÝ/PEET, *op. cit.*, 33).

²⁰² ČERNÝ/PEET translated it as “the scribe of accounts”, ALLAM translated: “Aktenschreiber”. (ČERNÝ/PEET, *op.cit.*, 33; ALLAM, *op. cit.*, 322).

- (10) Scribe *Jw-f-n-hnsw* from the department of the King's tomb
 Chief work[man] *B3kj-n-mwt*, from [the department of the King's tomb].
 Lector-priests of the temple (Medint Habu).
 Governor *Nsj-Jmn-jpt*.
 Scribe of the district *Nsj-Jmn-jpt*.
- (15) Chiefs from the police of the department of the King's tomb.
 Controller *Jmn-h^cw* from the West of the city.
 Controller *P3-h3-l* of the West of the city.
 Controller *P3-nht-jpt*.
 Controller *Jmn-[h]tp*.
- (20) Controller *Jmn-jpt-nht*.
 Controller *n^ch-tw-m-dj-Jmn*.

This papyrus may have been intended to avoid future quarrel between the children by the first wife and the barren second wife of the god's educator *Jmn-h^cw*. According to ALLAM²⁰³, the husband adopted his second wife because he wanted to be confident that his children by his first wife give up any claim concerning the two-third share of their father in the property, which he and his second wife acquired together.

Thus, the husband and the eldest ones of his children appeared in the high court (*qnbt 3t*), presided over by the vizier to make a marriage settlement or will. He provides that the second wife shall assign the property which has been gathered during the second marriage, and the children would inherit the property, which has been acquired during the first marriage.

²⁰³ See ALLAM, *Papyrus Turin 2021*, 23 ff.

49

pBM 10568

(pls. 49-49a)

Date: Ramesside period.**Text:** ALLAM, 'Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven (Papyrus BM 10568)', ZÄS 128, 2001, pl. 19.**Bibliography:** ALLAM, *op. cit.*, 89 ff.

Col. I (1) --- it is said, (in a letter) sent to you about it. Year '19', 4th month of the winter season, day 16:

Overseer of the city (and) vizier *R^c-ḥtp* ----- Ramses-city^{LPH}. The *qnbt*-council ----- *ṛyt*-hall of Pharaoh (the state)^{LPH}. What the Hearers-*qnbt*-council of the city Mer-wer (*Mr-wr*) said, a letter has been brought to you ----- while saying: One complained to us against the overseer of the bricklayer/weaver, *H^c-m-tnr-r* of the textile of workshop (?) (5) ----- (King) (Ramses-the beloved of Amun)^{LPH}, the beloved like *P-r^c*. Overseer of the bricklayer/Weaver *H^c-m-tnr-r* ----- said, I divide some slaves (*b3kw*) with citizen *H3t-špsy*, and citizen ----- *B3k-prp* as well as all their inheritance-shares (*iw^c*), As for --- take --- their slaves share (*b3kw*) gave to me from them, and the citizen *H3t-špsy* said ----- in the same way: there is nothing here except the female slave (*hmt*) *Rn-nwt*, she is with me, I will --- (10) ----- give her to the overseer of the bricklayer/Weaver *H^c-m-tnr-r*. She is not with <me> at this hour (now) -----

Col. II

(x+1) ----- sent to us -----

(x+2) ----- order/plan (*šhr*) of -----

(x+3) ----- and -----

(x+3) -----

This text discloses some interesting facts from everyday life during the Ramesside period. It records a session of the local-*qnbt*-council at the town Kom-Madinat-Gurab in Fayoum. The subject matter is a dispute between some persons, who inherited together some slaves. The sides in the conflict were a man and two women; the man wanted a share of these slaves, the other, is possibly the second party (two women); they answered that the slaves are not in their possession, only one female slave is in their/her possession, but now she is not here. This case highlights the transmission of shares in slaves' work.

50
pTurin 2070
 (pl. 50)

Date: Ramesside period.

Text: ALLAM, *HOPR*, 327 f. n. 281, pl.121.

Bibliography: HELCK, *Materialien*, III, 347.

ALLAM, *op. cit.*, 327 f. n. 281.

(1) List of *Nht-mjn*'s places (*swt*) divided: What belongs to the citizeness *Mrwt*, (she takes) her father's place (*st*); she consumes her --- with *Nht-mjn*. The house (*ʕt*), which is beside the temple (*pr*) of (Ah[mes]-Nofr[eter]e)^{LPH} --- *Mn-st*, the other ----- (5) What belongs to her daughter as a share of the pyramid (*mr*), which is in the tomb (*mʕhʕt*) ----- . What [belongs] to *P-n-t3-wrt*, son of *Nht-mjn*: the pyramid (*mr*), which is beside the two *ʕt3y.t* buildings with ----- for *P-n-bwy*, which belongs to *Nb-nht*, son of *Nht-mjn*: *ʕt3yt*-building, which is beside to[mb] (*mʕhʕt*) ----- with its door --- They took an oath by the Lord^{LPH} saying, "If we reverse [our undertaking] so as to contest it, then they shall be liable to hundred blows (and they will be) deprived of their shares".

(10) Year 7, 3rd month of the inundation season, day 9, ----- the scribe *Hrj*, from the department of the King's tomb, together with ----- I am alone -----.

The current text deals with the distribution of landed-property of a certain *Nht-Mjn*. The beneficiaries are two sons of *Nht-Mjn* (N) as well as a woman (W) and her daughter. Maybe N was a husband of W, who came to the house of N with a daughter from an ex-husband.

It seems that N and W had a common property, as there appears to be a talk of a general usufructuary right. After the distribution of the real estate, all beneficiaries had to take an oath, assuring that they would not contest in the future the rights devolved upon the others²⁰⁴.

²⁰⁴ See ALLAM, *HOPR.*, 327 f.

51

pBerlin 8523

(pls. 51-51a)

Date: between 20th and 21st Dynasties.**Text:** ERMAN/KREBS, *Aus den Papyrus der königlichen Museen*, 1899, pl. 7.SPIEGELBERG, 'Eine zurückgezogene Pachtkündigung', *ZÄS* 53, 1917, 107 ff.MÖLLER, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den Akademischen Gebrauch*, III, 12.**Bibliography:** ERMAN/KREBS, *op. cit.*, 92 f.SPIEGELBERG, *op. cit.*, 107 ff.HELCK, *Materialien*, II, 225, 272 f.ALLAM, *HOPR*, 274 f.IDEM, 'Implications in the hieratic P. Berlin 8523 (registration of land holdings)', in Bryan and Lorton (eds.), *Essays Goedicke*, 1 ff.

(1) The chief of the archers, the scribe *Šd-sw-Hnsw*, from Khensu's temple (wrote) to a Kuschian farmer *P3y-nb-n^c-dd*, (saying), (May you be blessed) with life, prosperity, and health and in the favor of Amun-Re, the King of gods, your good lord, he gives the life, the prosperity, and the health for you. Having said, (5) "I came to the town (Thebes), and I said to you, I will never let you cultivate (it)²⁰⁵. But look, my wife, the lady of my Household, said to me, 'Don't take the field (*3ht*) from *P3y-nb-n^c-dd*'s hand, (10) and transfer it to him, and let him cultivate (11) it'²⁰⁶. When my writing (letter) came to you, take care of the field, do not slack on it (do not neglect it), (15) and remove its reed (weeds), and let one *aroura* of land green-up, beside of the well (*šdt*). If anyone interferes with you (about it), you must go to (20) the scribe of the accounts of Osiris' temple²⁰⁷, and take this letter in your hand. Look, I entrusted him with my letter in my *n^hb*-land, (25), my amamt-land too. Preserve my letter that he bears witness (*mtr*) to you.

(Address) [It (i.e., letter) is] to the Kuschian [farmer] *P3y-nb-n^c-dd* (directed).

It seems that a certain farmer *P3y-nb-n^c-dd* leased some lands to cultivate it from the family of the scribe *Šd-sw-Hnsw*, from Chons' temple. But for some reason, *Šd-sw-Hnsw* cancelled or did not grant the lease to the farmer *P3y-nb-n^c-dd*. When the wife of *Šd-sw-Hnsw* was informed about this decision, she persuaded him to rent the land to the farmer.

²⁰⁵ *bn jw.j dj.t sk3.t.k*, I prefer to translate this sentence as 'I will never let you cultivate it'.

²⁰⁶ This is a reference to that the wife has the right to participate in decision-making, rather than she could change her husband's mind radically. Maybe here in our case, the lands in question were private possession to the wife, and she inherited it from her father.

²⁰⁷ This sentence provides evidence to the scribe of the accounts was recording everything and filed it in his archive.

Then the lands in question were transferred to the possession of this farmer through writing. Then Šd-sw-Hnsw told him if he faced any problem (perhaps by relatives of the family) concerning this land, he must go to the scribe of Osiris temple and show this letter to him, which must be considered as lease deed.

52

Ste. Ahmose-Nefertari

(pls. 52-52b)

Date: 18th Dynasty.

Text: HARARI, 'Nature de la stèle de donation de fonction du roi Ahmôsis a la reine Ahmès-nefertari', *ASAE* 56, 1959, pl. 1, 2.

GITTON, 'La résiliation d'une fonction religieuse: Nouvelle interprétation de la stèle de donation d'Ahmès Néfertari', *BIFAO* 76, 1976, pl. 14.

TRAPANI, 'Une nouvelle enquête sur la stèle d'Ahmès-Néfertari', *ZÄS* 129, 2002, pls. 32-4.

Bibliography: HARARI, *op. cit.*, 139 ff.

GITTON, *op. cit.*, 65 ff.

TRAPANI, *op. cit.*, 152 ff.

Before and over the king:

The integrated god, Lord of the Two lands, (Neb-pehety-Re), granted life like Re.

Before and over the god:

Amun-Re, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of the sky, he gives entire life, stability, power, and peace.

The eldest son of the King, who is from the god's body, (Ahmose), alive.

Over Ahmose-Nefertari behind the king:

The King's daughter, the King's sister, the god's wife, the first/great wife of the King. The statement of (2) all the things (*ht*) that shall be done to her in southern Egypt and in northern Egypt (3) ..., (Ahmose-Nefertari), living.

Behind the God Amun-Re:

(1) [Year ---], 4th month of the inundation season, day 7 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (Neb-phety-Re), son of Re, (Ahmose), living forever and ever.

Done in the presence of [the full council]²⁰⁸ of the city's area (Luxor) (together with) the officials of Amun (temple). The discussion²⁰⁹ in the majesty of the palace^{LPH} on [this day -----] the office of the second priest of Amun is (given) to the god's wife, [the great] wife of the King (4), she being united with the crown of Lower Egypt (Ahmose-Nefertari), living. It was done for her an *jmj.t-pr*-document, (valid²¹⁰) from son to son, (from) heir to heir, (5) [without allowing any challenge] against it by any person forever and ever, because this is the office --- that came to her through -----

I have seen ----- before me.

The list/details of it:

160 golden *šn*²¹¹; 250 [*šn*^c] silver; 87 copper; each one of 6 *šn*^c. I have given it to her over 4, total: 200; 200 clothing (*d3jw*) with the value of 400 *šn*^c. I have given them with the value²¹² 200. 80 pieces of texture for hair (wig) (10) with the value 210 *šn*^c, calculated for her (at the price) 150; 13 (*snw*-pots) oil at (the price) 78, calculated for her 50. Grand total: 1010 *šn*^c.

I gave to her a male servant (*hzb*) and a female servant (*hzb*), 400 *oipe* of barley and 5 *arouras* of the low land (*3ht hrw*), in addition to 1010 *šn*^c. Her office (is) at the value 600 *šn*^c.

The (operation concerning) the office is complete²¹³, she said: I am satisfied with the price, which has been decided for it, without letting it be disturbed by anyone forever and ever. She bound herself by oath of the Lord concerning it (office).

She came (15) in the *qnbt*-council of the city (Thebes), together with the officials of Amun (temple) in order to write down the office, which had been given to the god's wife²¹⁴, the great King's wife (Ahmose-Nefertari), living, wearing a dress (*d3jw*) from (those given as) price, namely one from the 200 dresses (*d3jw*), which my majesty gave when she was poor, and she

²⁰⁸ GITTON took the word in the gab, for plural, because there are some traces of the plural's strokes, so we cannot restore it as *dmd.tj d3d3.t* that is intact in line 24. But we can restore it as *qnbtjw* as it occurred in line 15 (GITTON, *op. cit.*, 72).

²⁰⁹ One can translate *ddt* here as 'discussion'.

²¹⁰ One can suggest the word 'valid'.

²¹¹ This unit of weight *šn*^c (or *šnjw*) was equivalent to $\frac{1}{12}$ of *dbn*.

²¹² One can translate *r* here as 'with the value'.

²¹³ I prefer to translate *qn.n.s t3 j3t htm.tj* as 'the (operation concerning) the office is complete'.

²¹⁴ This sentence is clear evidence that the wife is who held the office, not the other way around as some of the scholars though.

was nothing. Now his majesty has ordered that one builds a house (*pr*) for her²¹⁵, without prejudice to any complaint that she shall say. He gave her brother to her in order to work for her and remove obstacles. Afterward, she thanked his majesty in the presence of the officials, saying: 'He clothed me when I was nothing (20) and made me rich when I was poor'. (The act) was sealed in the presence of the King himself ---. An *jmj.t-pr*-document was concluded in the presence of the protector statue of Amun, at his festival of [Choiak, in the] southern festival hall, in the presence of the King himself²¹⁶, and in the presence of the god's wife, the great King's wife, (Ahmose-Nefertari), living! According to -----, once, the noblemen, behind his majesty, --- -- full council (*D3d3t*)²¹⁷.

Then the majesty of this god said: 'I am its protector (document), and any interference shall never occur through any king, who shall arise in future generations. Except for the god's wife (Nefertari), it (document) belongs to her from son to son forever and ever, besides her (office), (25) of the God's wife, without any person, who would say: 'except me, which the other cannot speak'.

This stela was found in the 3rd pylon of Karnak, and it was fragmented. Unfortunately, there remains a fundamental uncertainty about the very nature of the operation²¹⁸. It deals with transferring the office "2nd prophet of Amun", but we are not sure who received this office and who gave it?

According to TRAPANI, the position of 2nd prophet of Amun was conveyed to the queen Ahmose-Nefertari through the *swnt*-process, which constituted of five parts;

a) Establishment of the price: the sale of the position of 2nd prophet of Amun takes place in the presence of the full council²¹⁹ of the city's area (Luxor) together with the officials of Amun (temple). King Ahmose recognized that his wife is the owner of this office.

²¹⁵ *Jw grt rdj.n hm qd.tw n.s pr*, this sentence should be translate as 'Now his majesty has ordered that one builds a house (*pr*) for her' not as 'His majesty had built a house for her'.

²¹⁶ This means that the king was present of the drawn up the *jmj.t-pr*-document.

²¹⁷ This council attested in the Old Kingdom, which has developed over time, and in the New Kingdom, it became known as *qnb*t-council (see ALLAM, *JEA* 77, 1991, 116).

²¹⁸ GITTON, *op. cit.*, 60.

²¹⁹ GITTON took the word in the gab, for plural, because there are some traces of the plural's strokes, so we cannot restore it as *dmd.tj d3d3.t* that is intact in line 24. But we can restore it as *qnbtyw* as it occurred in line 15 (GITTON, *op. cit.*, 72).

- b) Payment clause: the established price is 1010 *šn^c*, plus a male servant (*hzb*) and a female servant (*hzb^t*), 400 *oipe* of barley and 5 *arouras* of the low land (*3ht hrw*).
- c) A Clause of satisfaction: the queen stated that she is satisfied with this price.
- (d) Transfer of ownership clause: the complete transfer could be seen in the pronouncement of the oath “Through the life of the master” by the queen, and through the registration of the office in the presence of the council-*qnbt* and the officials of Amun (temple) in the queen's name also.
- e) A Clause of guarantee: to ensure that this act is efficient, it was sealed at the time of the feast of Choiak of Amun, in the presence of the king himself and noblemen, and the full *d3dt*-council, and the statue of the god. The king declares himself the only defender of this agreement²²⁰.

53

Ste. Amarah

(pl. 53)

Date: 20th Dynasty.

Text: FAIRMAN, ‘Preliminary report on the excavations at Sesebi (Sudla) and ‘Amārah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1937-38’, *JEA* 24, 1938, 151 ff. pl. 11.3.

Bibliography: THÉODORIDÈS, ‘La stele juridique d’Amarah’, *RIDA* 11, 1964, 45 ff.

IDEM, *Vivre de Maât. Travaux sur le droit égyptien ancien* II. Acta Orientalia Belgica. Subsidia II, Brüssel/Louvain-la-Neuve/Leuven, 1995, 564 f.

(1) The declaration (*r*) of the second priest (of Amun) *Hrj*, saying, “As regards to all the property (*ht*) of the overseer of the granary, *P3-sr*, my father, consisting of land (*3ht*) in the countryside (*sh^t*), slaves males and females, and the trees (*šnw*), are belonging to the musician *Jrt-hw*, from son to her son, and from heir to her heir.”

(5) The declaration of *T3-mhyt*, the musician *Hw* ..., she said, “As regards to the joint-property, which has been done for me (by) the overseer of the granary, *P3-sr*. Because of my daughter took care of me when I am a gnawed old bone.”

This text deals with a declaration by a married couple; they confirm that their property, which consists of field, slaves, and trees, is to go to their daughter. Presumably, upon the death of the father, all acquisitions had been conveyed to the girl by her mother, which devolved first upon her mother; in return, she must support her mother in old age. Moreover, her brother assigns her all the possessions of their deceased father.

²²⁰ TRAPANI, *op. cit.*, 64 f.

Documents of Late Period

54

Sta. Cairo CG 42208

(pls. 54-54d)


Date: 22nd Dynasty.

Text: LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes*, III, 1914, 20 ff.

JANSEN-WINKELN, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, II, 1985, 453 ff. pls. 12-4.

Bibliography: JANSEN-WINKELN, *op. cit.*, 44 ff.

THÉODORIDÈS, 'L'acte de disposition de la statue stéléphore Caire CG 42.208 et son exécution, *CdE* 60', 1985, 322 ff.

(*The front*) [Horus, the strong bull who appears in Thebes , King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands, (OuserMaatRe-SetepenAmun)], son of Re, Lord of Diadems, (Oserkon-the beloved of Amun)], Amun-Re, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, the beloved.

(*The back*) The two Mistresses, who unite the two halves like the son of Isis, after having joined the two Crowns in peace, the Golden Horus, the great power of the Montu, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (OuserMaatRe-SetepenAmun)], son of Re (Oserkon-the beloved of Amun)] Amun-Re, King of the Gods, beloved, given life.

On the upper edge of the Statue

(1) Given by the favor of the King, Lord of the Two Lands (Horsa-Aset-the beloved of Amun)], granted life Re forever (given) to the 4th Prophet and Leader of *Šnt-wrj* of Amun in Karnak (4) the priest of reports, colonel of the smoking gadgets [before Amun] (5) the second Prophet of Khonsu, [*Sm*-priest of Soker as guest in Karnak] Prophets in monthly [service of Montu temple in the 3rd Phyle] (7) Prophets ... Prophets of Osiris, the Lord of Busiris the guest [in Karnak,] (10) *Dd-Dhwtj-jw-f-ꜥnh* said, *Nht-f-mwtj* (11) son [of the 4th Prophet of Amun in Karnak, the 2nd Prophet] of Mut, [the great lord of Esheru, the scribe of the festival] Benent, [the eyes of the King in Karnak *Dd-Hnsw-jw-f-ꜥnh*, justified] born from the mistress of the house, the lady [*Ns-Hnsw-n-p(3)-hrd*] (15) the daughter of the 1st Prophet of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, the overseer of Upper Egypt *Jwpw]tj*, son of the King, lord of the Two Lands, (Shashanq-the beloved of Amun)].

Front on the Statue

(1) Pray (to) Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of the Sky, Lord of the Earth, Lord of the plains (waters), Lord of the mountains, Lord of oceans and [the seas]²²¹, the ruler of the Ennead, who is rejuvenated [daily], there is no other (person) being like him – by the 4th Prophet of Amun. *Nht-f-mwtj*, he said: I enumerate²²² how great you are among them²²³. O lord of the Gods, I proclaim your goodness and your subsidy for human beings, you are the light, which illuminates for the people. O the sun disk (Aton), who gives the brightness, so that the gods and the humans are recognized and distinguished, you cause that everyone lives, because of the sight of your beauty. [you] cause that all the seeds sprout when you look at it/them. No one can live without you. You have guided all [...] and the personnel, who carry out their duties²²⁴, and you have determined the nature of their life after you saw all what had been done beside them. You have put it on the right side when they are in pray to you. You obscure your nightly left eye from them, (in order) she could repeat (5) their birth. (You are) a lamp for the orphans, which revive the hearts, [you] guided the great ... your eternity, in *št3-st*, your statue is in Memphis, your image is in every invisible/unreachable god. How beautiful to see your face in the early morning, it is more beautiful than the (other) gods, there is no parallel of him, in which the life is, and the health is with him (in his hands). The offerings (*htpw*) ... his ... seated in Thebes, which is in his niche (his statue) hurries to his temple, that eats of the piled-up festival offerings, who warms his limbs among his people. Happy about their offerings (*jšt*). At the time of my youth, the one who passed through the temple was with me (= in my eyes) like the one in the position of the overseer of cities, who joins the monthly priests as if I became the supreme mouth of the country, as I came out of the lake and I was standing at the shore, and I was wearing the *sd*-dress and the great *h3tt*-dress, (this) made me manifest as great, in the ornament of the Kings' sons

I said these praises and prayer so that you may come to me immediately, (10) I call (you) about my daughter, your servant/slave (*h3bt*), who is in my heart, the useful (person) to me, as you pleased my heart through her (?) *T3-šr-n-mwt*, justified, called/named *Šp-n-3st*, justified, born by *Ns-mwt*, justified ... later (after his death) you may cause that the *jmj.t-pr*-document continue/confirm for her, regarding all things (*ht nb*), which I gave to her - whether in your

²²¹ THÉODORIDÈ translated it as bitter lakes (THÉODORIDÈ, *op. cit.*, 330).

²²² *Or* narrate.

²²³ I.e. among other gods.

²²⁴ One can translate this sentence as 'You have guided the personnel to their work'.

temples or in the city or in the countryside consisting of all the slaves/servants (*hzbw nb*), cattle (*J3wt*), household goods (*ht*) and all precious things that have been done for her on the water and on the earth. No other son or (other) daughter could say: ‘Give me the same²²⁵’, and do not let her be expelled from anything, that is in my house after my life²²⁶. You cause that to divide all these things (*ht nb*) among her relatives exactly. Put your arms around her (embrace her) against who stands against her, whether by (14) any great person or any local person (*hnmmt*) from her relatives, who are as well, according to the words of the great God: ‘Let any man do/execute the arrangements for his possessions (*jst*)’, the things (*ht*) of my parents (father and my mother) are mine, (15) and what I have done by my hands, and the rest (rest of my possessions), that I acquired from the Kings, whom I followed during my age (days). There is no impurity, which I did. What I wanted from them, I trust you since you are the god protector, the trustworthy, who answers the voice of the one who fell asleep (= the dead person), you may fight against those who fight against her later, you may shoot the arrows (against) them, to destroy their lives, and your horn will never come out of them²²⁷, whether he (who will attack the commandment) is any great person or any enemy (*sn*), or any one of the people, who would harm her later about anything I have given to her, as well what I will give to her children (*msw*), you may cause her children to keep them (i.e. the possessions) forever, so that (they) remember you forever, you are the protector, (you) would not lose sight of my demand, (because) I am your righteous and benevolent servant/slave (*hzb*), my heart is well-balanced among them (your servants), a pure man who has committed no fault (20) among your followers. I used to offer the Maat's (the justice) statue to you, lie being my abomination, I took care not to disturb your purity, (also) I was free from defamation; I have no objection against anyone in front of the Captain (=the King). I came (*prj*) to the (royal) palace to solve difficulties, while I was a chief (*wr*) in his city, a master for his people, but I was putting myself at the level of my fellows, the smaller than me. I know that an abundance of good deeds is a treasure that my children (*msw*) find later. You will give me a long and beautiful old age as a reward. Amun sees my daily desire, after I have served the Kings while holding myself safe from their anger, you will welcome my extreme old age in

²²⁵ The same things which have given to his daughter.

²²⁶ I.e. after I die.

²²⁷ The god is represented here in the form of a bull, who uses his horns to defend the heir, against someone who prevents implementation of the testament that the testator made for his daughter.

your venerable temple (or) I will be (24) in the manner of *Jwn-mwt.f*²²⁸. There is no anyone of my peer, I was in front of them in the leadership of the afraid, you may cause to tell those who come later: It is good (25) to walk righteously on the God's path after I was buried in the tomb. May your eye care about your servants/slaves (*hzbw*), who come out there in order to glorify my *Ka*/spirit in your temple without delay.

This text has been inscribed on the statue of *Nht-f-mwtj*; it came from the Karnak cache²²⁹. It provides an example for the succession through an *jmj.t-pr*-document; the fourth priest of Amun states that he bequeathed his property to his daughter by means of *jmj.t-pr*-document. Furthermore, he prayed god Amun to protect this document forever, without letting it be interfered with by anyone even from his relatives He asked the god Amun even to fight against who would come to fight his daughter. On the other hand, he indicated that he made this document according to the law (words of God), which states: 'that everyone is free to make any plan concerning his property'.

55

Ste. Apanage

(pl. 55)

Date: 22nd Dynasty.

Text: LEGRAIN, 'Deux stèles trouvées à Karnak', *ZÄS* 35, 1897, 12 ff.

SOTTAS, *La préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte*, 1913, 161-5.

MENU, La stèle dite de l'Apanage', in Bernadette Menu (ed.), *Recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte II*, *BdÈ* 122, 1998, figs. 12, 13.

Bibliography: ERMAN, 'Zu den Legrain'schen Inschriften', *ZÄS* 35, 1897, 19 ff.

LEGRAIN, *op. cit.*, 12 ff.

SOTTAS, *op. cit.*, 161 ff.

JANSEN-WINKELN, 'Zu einigen religiösen und historischen Inschriften', *CdE* 67, 1992, 240 ff.

MENU, *op. cit.*, 183 ff. figs. 12, 13.

RITNER, *The Libyan Anarchy: inscription from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, Atlanta, 2009, 271 ff.

EYRE, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, 2013, 168 ff.

(1) Amun-Re, King of the Gods, the great god, the Great since the beginning of creation, (he) says, "As regards the place of the field (*st n sht*) that the First priest of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, commander of the armies, great of the forefront, *Jw-w-r-jwt*, justified, who is at the head

²²⁸ That is as a model son (THÉODORIDÈS, *op. cit.*, 337).

²²⁹ THÉODORIDÈS, *op. cit.*, 322.

of the great armies of all Upper Egypt-of (?) the nome of Suit²³⁰, which (place of lands) is in the high area, northwest of *Jw*, known as *J3t-nfr(t)*, when he was a youth in the time of his father, King (Osorkon), beloved of Amun in year 10, 4th month of the summer season, the last day.

These 556 *arouras* of private and cleaned/registered lands (*3ht nmh n^c*)²³¹, to which are attached their wells, their trees, their small cattle, and great cattle²³², which he bought for silver from the freemen of the land²³³, with a satisfied heart (approval), and without an instance of unfairness among them. He caused the register of (5) Amun's temple to be brought, which are with the scribes of accounts of cereals of Amun's temple, of all southern regions.²³⁴ He separated the fields, which he bought for silver, from the lands of Amun's temple and *h^c.y* land of the state^{LPH} too. It caused that they (the scribes) designate the 556 *arouras* of private and cleaned/registered lands, with their wells and trees belonging to him, then they cleaned/registered (the private lands) in writing (*sš*), according to the regulations of Amun's temple. Their places are recorded in arrangements (*shr*), which have been given to him, mentioning their possessors, every person by name with the fields he gave, together with the arrangement (*shr*) he made of having for the silver in exchange for them. He made a list of their names:

- The place of the priest of Amun, *Ns-Hnsw*, justified, son of *Hrj*, justified, son of *nh-f-n-Hnsw*, justified: 137 *arouras* of private and cleaned/registered land, and 99 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands, total: 236 *arouras* of lands, and 1 well, 8 sycamore trees, and 6 fruit trees; amounting to 8 *dbn* and $\frac{3}{4}$ kite of silver.

- The place of the farmer *Dd-mwt-j(w)-f-nh*, justified, son of *Jkn*, justified: (10) 66 *arouras* of private and cleaned/registered land and 5 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands; the

²³⁰ There is a difference in the interpretation of this phrase among scholars, see RITNER, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 277 note 2.

²³¹ EYRE translated *3ht nmh n^c* as unencumbered (?) freemen's fields (EYRE, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, 168), and RITNER translated it as 'field privately owned with clear title' (RITNER, *op. cit.*, 275).

²³² It is best to read this *n3y.w wt mnmn jhw* not *n3y.w wt mnmnt*, therefore, it can be translated: their small cattle and of this, and of that from the oxen.

²³³ *nmhw* "freemen", Naunakhte entitled herself as *nmhw* when she appeared in front of the council (*qnbt*), and the lady *Nj-nfr (Rn-nfr)* could not bequeath her slaves until she makes them *nmhw* (freemen) on the Pharaoh's land.

²³⁴ The main purpose was bringing the registers of the lands in question after *Jw-w-r-jwt* had bought the fields from the freemen.

total: 71 *arouras* and 3 wells and 26 big fruit trees and 50 small fruit trees and 3 sycamore trees; amounting to 4 *dbn* and $\frac{3}{4} \frac{2}{3}$ kite silver.

- (The place) of *J^ch-ms* justified, son of *Dd-mwt-j(w)-f-^cnh*, justified, together with children of *P3-šr-n-mwt*, justified, son of *Dd-Hnsw-j(w)-f-^cnh*, justified: 64 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands and 5 *arouras* of private and cleaned/registered lands; total: 69 *arouras* of lands, amounting to 1 *dbn* and 5 kite silver.

- (The place of) the ensign²³⁵ *Pn-Jmn*, son of *P3-j-kš*, justified, together with the farmer *Ns-mr-Hr*, justified, son of *Dd-Hnsw-j(w)-f-^cnh*, justified: 30 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands, amounting to 6 kite silver.

- (The place of) the citizen *T3-šr-n-J^ch*, justified, wife of Amun's priest *Š3w-Jmn-Jm-f*, justified: 10 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands, amounting to 1 kite silver.

- (The place of) the farmer *Rmn-pw.f*, justified, son of *Q3-Jmn*, justified: 14 *arouras* of private and cleaned/registered lands (14) and 23 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands; total: 37 *arouras* of land, amounting to 1 *dbn* and $\frac{1}{4}$ kite silver.

- (The place of) the sailor *T3w-jw*, justified, the overseer of Amun's cattle: 3 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands, amounting to $\frac{2}{3}$ (kite) silver.

- (15) (The place of) the farmer *Hr*, justified, son of *Š3-m3-g3*, justified, together with the wife of *Pn-Jmn*, justified, son of *Š3-m3-g3*, justified: 45 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands, amounting to 8 kite silver.

- (The place of) the ensign *J^ch-wbn*, justified, son of *P3-dj-Hnsw*, justified: 8 *arouras* of private and cleaned/registered lands and 2 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands. Total 10 *arouras* of lands, amounting to $3 \frac{2}{3}$ kite silver.

- (The place of) *Kn-m3-tw3-l*, justified, son of *Jkn*, justified: 1 *aroura* of lands (*3ht*), amounting to $\frac{1}{2}$ kite silver.

- (The place of) the farmer *Dd-Hr-j(w)-f-^cnh*, justified, son of (the woman) *Ns-t3-ntrt-tn*, justified: 3 *arouras* of private and cleaned/registered land and 2 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands. Total 5 *arouras* of lands, amounting to $1 \frac{2}{3}$ kite silver.

²³⁵ Note that this person is not qualified as *m3^c-hrw* “justified”.

- (The place of) the farmer *P3-wbn*, justified, son of *Jkn*, justified: 15 *arouras* of private and cleaned/registered lands, amounting to 6 kite silver.

- (The place of) the citizen *Ns-Hnsw*, justified, daughter of *Jkn*, justified, together with her son *Dhwtj-ms*, justified, her son *P3-dj-Hnsw*, justified, and her son *Kn-m3-tw3-l*, justified: 8 *arouras* of private cleaned/registered lands and 2 *arouras* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands.

Total 10 *arouras* of lands; amounting to $3 \frac{2}{3}$ kite silver.

- (The place of) the farmer *Dd-Hnsw*, justified, son of *Jkn*, justified: 1 *aroura* of private and cleaned/registered lands and 1 *aroura* of exhausted (tired) and wooden lands. Total: (20) 2 *arouras*, amounting to: $\frac{2}{3}$ kite silver.

- (The place of) the farmer (woman) *Ns*, justified (daughter of) *Jw-w(3)-k3-s3r*, justified: 5 *arouras* of private cleaned/registered and 2 *arouras* of exhausted (tired). Total: 7 *arouras* of lands and 1 well; amounting to $3 \frac{2}{3}$ kite silver.

- (The place of) young man *Dd-mwt-j(w)-f-^cnh*, son of *Jkn*, justified: 5 *arouras* of private and cleaned/registered lands, amounting to: $2 \frac{1}{2}$ kite silver, and male slaves (*hmw*) and female slaves (*hmwt*), whom he purchased for silver from the freemen's hands on the earth, and likewise 32 man and woman; amounting to 15 *dbn* and $\frac{1}{3}$ kite silver, together with the three male slaves (*hmw*), from the northern region, whom he added to it. Total of the various categories of lands: 556 *arouras* and 35 man and woman, their wells, their trees their small cattle and big cattle. I confirmed them to the priest of Amun-Re, King of the Gods, the district chief, *H3^c-n-W3st*, justified,²³⁶ his son, who was born to him (by) the daughter of the King's son, *T3-dn(j)t-n-B3st*, throughout eternity.

The children, who were born to him (to *Jw-w-r-jwt*), or all of his father's children (King Osorkon), are not (25) eligible to enter them (the possessions) to divide them tomorrow and after tomorrow (future). They (the possessions) are in the hands of *H3^c-n-W3st*, the priest of Amun-Re,

²³⁶ If we suppose that the title *m3^c-hrw* was used to describe a dead persons, how can a dead person inherit from his father? For this title, see ANTHES, *JNES* 13 (1954), 21 ff.

King of Gods, and district chief. His father gave them to him (26) and he shall give them again (*or*: back), from son to his son, and from heir to his heir²³⁷.

While I am (Amun) with them forcefully forever. As for the one who will shift this stela, he is fool who is sunk to opposing that which I have said. I shall be enraged straightaway regarding the transgression of my plan that I have considered and sheltered behind me throughout the limits of eternity. Blame remains in him. He will not exist. Who will suffer the wrath that I vent? I shall cause that he becomes a victim, his inheritance in possession of another while his eyes behold it, as he sits with his head on his knees until his death, his wife is seized in his presence, while all his limbs are pervaded with impurity; he is as one who is destroyed in the body. He will not come forth as one who has adherents. He is excluded from them, with his support (30) becoming (only) slaves and his entreaties, as he begs: May your spirit be justified, (but) I shall not listen to one who is sunk to transgressing this stela to which I have assented. I shall shoot my arrow at his helper, (who is) overthrown beneath the stroke of my arms. He will be given over to the Eye of Horus that it might have power over him, after I have offered (32) him as flesh for injury of that which I have said, while I am the wind causing that it (the arrow) bite into his collected limbs, searing in intensity, slaking my desire.

This stela is made from the rose granite, it was found in Karnak temple at the triple shrine of Sethos II, between the first and second pylon²³⁸. It records the will of a certain *Jw-w-r-jwt* in favor of his son. He founded a rural property (*st sht*) in the district of the high land northwest *Jw*, called *J3t-nfr(t)*, when he was a youth (*hwn*), in the time of his father, King Osorkon-Meryamon. He purchased the 556 *arouras* of lands from the freemen and paid its price for them in silvers. Then he got these lands cleaned/registered in the land registry of the temple of Amun. Then the text continues with a speech of the god approving the donation of the property to *Jw-w-r-jwt*'s son, *H^c-n-w3st*, as an entailed unit. It is to be transferred undivided to “son of his son, the heir of his heir”. There is a bar on any claim from any other son or brother of *Jw-w-r-jwt* to a share. The god promises to champion the rightful line of succession.

²³⁷ This sentence means that this text is a will the testator had made, in order to overcome the law. He allocated his estate to his son only.

²³⁸ JANSEN-WINKELN, *CdE* 67, 1992, 254.

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Ste. Dakhleh
 (pls. 56-56b)

Date: 22nd Dynasty.

Text: SPIEGELBERG, 'Eine Stele aus der Oase Dachel', *Rec. trav* 21, 1899, 12 ff.

GARDINER, 'The Dakhleh Stela', *JEA* 19, 1933, pls. 5-7.

Bibliography: SPIEGELBERG, *op. cit.*, 12 ff.

GARDINER, *op. cit.*, 19 ff.

RITNER, *The Libyan Anarchy: inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*, Atlanta, 2009, 173 ff.

(1) Year 5, 4th month of the winter season, day 16 (under) the King Pharaoh^{LPH} (Shoshenk)^{LPH}, beloved of Amun. On this day: coming of the ruler of Meshush's son²³⁹, the Chief of lands, the priest of Hathor, Lady of Diospolis²⁴⁰, the priest of Horus and Sekhmet, the lord of Per-gaga, the priest of Setekh, Lord of the Oasis, the overseer of inundated lands, the overseer of plantations, the prince *W3y-h3-s3t* of the two lands of the Oasis.²⁴¹ He was (in) the town Sa-wahat²⁴², after Pharaoh^{LPH} had dispatched him to restore order in the Oasis-land²⁴³, after he had found it in a state of war and turmoil. On that day he went to inspect the well-springs (*wbn*)²⁴⁴ and (5) (other) wells (*hnmj.t*)²⁴⁵ which are in Sa-wahet, closed wells (*hbsw*) and irrigation (*ww*) wells, he arrived to see the well of the flowing water (*wbn-hnmt*) of *Wbn-[R^c]* after the priest of Setekh, *Nsj-sw-b3-Jst*, son of *P3-dj* had spoken before him (the prince) saying, "Look, one of the waterways has been ripped off, and it is here in the neighbourhood of the well-spring (*wbn*) of *Wbn-R^c*. Examine it, namely this [well (*hnmt*)] of *Pj-R^c*, in whose vicinity you are, is it a private (*nmlh*) well (*hnmt*), belonging to my mother *T3y-w-hnwt*, whose mother was *Hnwt-ntrw*²⁴⁶." Then the priest, the prince *W3y-h3-s3t* said to him (complainant), "Stand in the presence of Setekh [and claim it]."

Year 5, 4th month of winter, day 25: Day when the priest caused the noble god Setekh, great of strength, the son of the goddess Nut, this great god, was caused to appear in his feast 'Beauty of Daytime', (on that day) the prince *W3y-h3-s3t* stood in the presence (of the god) and said, Setekh,

²³⁹ Dispatching a son of the royal family to the Oasis indicates the policy followed by the Kings. appointing of those who ensure their loyalty in the leadership of those areas in the middle of the desert.

²⁴⁰ This district between Sohag and Abydos; may have been the beginning of the road to the desert.

²⁴¹ I.e. El-Dakhleh Oasis and El-Kharga Oasis.

²⁴² GARDINER (*op. cit.*, 23) understood the capital of El-Dakhleh Oasis, known nowadays under the name Mut.

²⁴³ This was a task of the royal son in the Oasis.

²⁴⁴ I would like to translate it as "wellspring" following GARDINER (*op. cit.*, 20).

²⁴⁵ This term is the ordinary Egyptian word for a well. GARDINER saw this term in our stela as opposed to *wbn*, designating the underground water supply (GARDINER, *op. cit.*, 20).

²⁴⁶ This sentence refers to the women having private property, she could bequeath it to her heirs.

this great god is *Nsj-sw-b3-Jst*, son of *P3-dj* in the right? The flood-water (*h3y*), which is to the north-west of the wellspring and well (*wbn hnmt*) of *Wbn-R^c*, this well of *Pj-R^c*, which is in Sa-wahet, did it belong to his mother *T3y-w-hnwt*²⁴⁷? (10) Confirm it unto him this day.” Then said the great god, “There are not two wellsprings (*wbn*) belonging to *Wbn-R^c*, this well of *Pj-R^c* that is in Sa-wahet, but only one well-spring being found on the register (cadastral) of wells (*hnmt*) and orchards of *Pj-R^c* that the agent *‘nh.f*, son of Setekh-nakht issued following the register of Pharaoh^{LPH} Psusennes, (*P3-dw3-h3^c-njwt*)^{LPH}, the great god, in year 19.”

Then said Setekh, the great god, “As for all well-springs in this district (*sw3w*) ----- to the west of Sa-wahet, they are derivatives released from the well-springs of *Hwy*, as they are called. These are private (*nmh*) waters, and there is no water of Pharaoh^{LPH248} among them. They belong to the private individual who today brings them outwards” Then the god said, “As for the well-springs (*wbn j:st3*) to which *Nsj-sw-b3-Jst*, the son of *P3-dj*, has laid claim, (saying), he shall bring them outside [to ---] the soil, together with the well-spring (*wbn*) of his mother, *T3y-w-hnwt*. They are confirmed unto him, and they are confirmed from a son to his son, (15) from a heir to his heir, his wife with children, there is no (other) son of private status (free) (descending) from *T3y-w-hnwt* who would have a share in them except *Nsj-sw-b3-Jst*, son of *P3-dj*.”

Thus, spoke Setekh, the great god, in the presence of numerous [witnesses]²⁴⁹. List thereof:

The priest of Setekh, lord of the Oasis, the prince and chieftain, (17) *W3y-h3-s3t*.

The matwaher, *P3-wrd*.

The matwaher *W3y-k3-s3-h3l*.

The matwaher *Tjn --- tj*.

The matwaher *K3y-h3m*.

The captain of shield-bearers, *P3-dj ---*.

The cultivator (?) *‘nh.f*, son of *N3y-f-nb-w-nht*.

The God's father and scribe of the seal, *P3-dj*, son of *K3-n3*.

The God's father and scribe of the temple, *Tnj-r-Stht*, son of *Sr-Dhtwt*.

The God's father and scribe, *P3-k3-mw*.

²⁴⁷ This passage is the verdict of the god, it seems that the priests examine the case in the temple, then they pronounce sentence in the name of the god, so that the parties accept the decision without objection.

²⁴⁸ I.e. the state.

²⁴⁹ This means that the council session was public.

[The -----, son of *P3-dj*.

The God's father, *Tj* -----

The God's father Qer-setekh, son of *ḥnh.f*.

(20) The priest *Jmn-jpt-pn-Jmn*, son of *P3-dj*.

The doorkeeper, *P3-ḥnh*, son of *Pn-gbg*.

The doorkeeper, *P3-wnš*.

This limestone stela gives us varied information which is concerning the natural conditions, administration, cult, and topography of a distant Oasis gives it a unique place among historical texts²⁵⁰. It records a trial bearing on the ownership of a plot of land adjacent to a flowing well; The priest of Setekh, *Nsj-sw-b3-Jst* stood before the prince *W3y-h3-s3t* to claim the ownership of the land alleging that the well had belonged to his mother. The prince advised him to display this matter before the Oracle god.

The priest's claim is based in the first place upon the fact that a new sheet of inundation water has appeared in the neighbourhood and that the area covered by it is fed by his mother's well and by no other.

Then the court's judges returned to the official registers of the State, to ascertain the veracity of the information provided by the applicant in his complaint. They found that the well in question was belonging to the complainant's mother. Since the ownership of the land is closely connected with the ownership of the well, the possessor of a well is deemed to have good title to all the land irrigated by it.

The final court decision - as announced by the god - confirmed that the possessions of the mother belong to her son.

²⁵⁰ GARDINER, *op. cit.*, 19.

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Ste. Nitocris Adoption

(pls. 57-57b)

Date: 26th Dynasty.**Text:** CAMINOS, 'Nitocris Adoption Stela', *JEA* 50, 1964, pls. 7 ff.DER MANUELIAN, *Living in the past*, 1994, 307 ff. fig.63, pls. 1, 13.**Bibliography:** CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, 71 ff.DER MANUELIAN, *op. cit.*, 297 ff.RITNER, *The Libyan Anarchy*, 575 ff.

(beginning of the text is lost) [Psametik has dedicated his daughter Nitocris as Divine Votaress to God Amun]²⁵¹, (1) in order to play the sistrum [before] him in ...who perceives his goodness (?) and he recognizes him as one heavy of wrath (also). I have acted for him as should be done for my father. I am his first-born son, made prosperous by the father of the gods, fulfilling the ritual requirements of the gods²⁵²; (a son) whom he begat for himself in order to gratify his heart²⁵³. I have given to him my daughter to be God's wife and have endowed her better than those who existed before her. Surely, he will be gratified with her worship, and he will protect the land of him who gave her to him. Now then, I have heard that a King's daughter is there, (a daughter of) the Horus Lofty-of-diadems, the good god (Taharqa), justified, whom he gave to his sister to be her eldest/favorite daughter and who is there as (Divine Adorer). I will not do in fact what should not be done and expel an heir from his seat²⁵⁴, since I am a King who loves truth - my special abomination is oppression - (and that I am) a son who has protected his father, one who has taken the inheritance of Geb, and united the two portions (of Egypt) while (still) a youth. I will give her (my daughter) to her (Taharqa's daughter) to be her eldest/favorite daughter just as she (Taharqa's daughter) was made over to the sister of her father.

Thereupon they (5) pressed the forehead to the ground and thanking god for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (WahibRe) (Psamtik I), may he live forever; and they said: "Firmly and enduringly till the end of eternity you every command will be firm and enduring. How good is

²⁵¹ Completed by RITNER, *op. cit.*, 578.

²⁵² Things of the gods; a phrase is denoting all that was required by the gods for their daily nourishment, clothing, and so on (CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, 77).

²⁵³ *jr.f n.f sw*, lit. 'he made him for himself', the god Amun begat Psamtik I for himself for the gratification of his heart.

²⁵⁴ Here, the King Psamtik I referred that he did not expel his *Jmn-jr-dj.s* (Amenridis), daughter of Taharqa, from his office when he gave his daughter to the god's wife *Šp-n-wpt* to hold this office.

this, which God has done for you! How advantageous is what your father has done for you! He put (it) in the heart of him whom he loved that he should cause his procreator to thrive upon earth, seeing that he wants your *k3*²⁵⁵ to be remembered and rejoices at men pronouncing your name.” Horus Great-of-heart and King of Upper and Lower Egypt (Psamtik), may he live forever. He made as his monument for his father Amun, lord of heaven, ruler of the Ennead, the giving to him of his beloved eldest/favorite daughter Nitocris, her good name being *Šp-n-wpt*, in order to be God's Wife and play the sistrum to his beautiful face.

Year 9, 1st month of the inundation season, day 28, Departure from the royal-residence by his eldest/favorite daughter clad in fine linen and adorned with pure turquoise, while her retainers, numerous in number, bore her and marshals cleared her way (i.e., make her way safe). They took the beautiful way to the quay in order to head southwards for the Theban nome. The ships about her were in great numbers, had crews consisting of mighty men, all (the ships) being laden up to their bulwarks with every good thing of the palace. The commander thereof was the sole friend (*smr-w^ctj*), the nomarch of N^car-khant²⁵⁶, great general of the army and chief of the harbour *Sm3-t3wy-t3-f-nht*, messengers having sailed up-river to the South to arrange for provisions ahead of her. The sail of the mast was hoisted, and the rising wind pricked his nostrils. (10) Her supplies were obtained from each nomarch, who was in charge of his (own share of) provisions and was furnished with every good thing, consisting of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, vegetables, dates, herbs, and every good thing; and one would give (way) to the other until she reached Thebes.

Year 9, 2nd month of the inundation season, day 14: Putting to land at the quay of the city of the gods, Thebes²⁵⁷. Her front hawser was taken, and she found Thebes with throngs of men and crowds of women standing and jubilating to meet her, surrounded (*šd mr*)²⁵⁸ by oxen, fowl, and abundant provisions, many in number. Then they said, Let Nitocris, daughter of the King of Upper Egypt, come to the House of Amun, that he may receive her and be pleased with her. Let

²⁵⁵ CAMINOS translated it as “your personality” (CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, 74).

²⁵⁶ *N^cr hnt*, lit. ‘Pomegranate tree’, name of the 20th nome of Upper Egypt of which the capital was *Nnj-nsw*, ‘Ninsu’ (Heracleopolis Magna); CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, 82; GARDINER, *Onomastica*, II, 113.

²⁵⁷ The traveling, from Sais city in the north of Egypt to the Thebes city in the South, took about sixteen days, although they were sailing upstream of the Nile, it is interesting that they cross more than 700 kilometers during that period by dhow.

²⁵⁸ *šd mr*, the literal translation of this term is ‘Tail in the mouth’, but CAMINOS has translated it ‘surrounded by’ (CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, 74).

Šp-n-wpt, daughter of the King of Lower Egypt, come to Jpt-swt (Karnak), that the gods who are in it may praise her.



Firm and abiding is every monument of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt

(Psantik), may he live forever unto eternity. Amun, lord of heaven, King of the Gods, welcomed what was made for him by his son, Horus, Great-of-heart, may he live forever unto eternity. Amun, ruler of the Ennead, praised what was made for him by his son the Two-Ladies Possessor-of-rank, may he live forever unto eternity. Amun, the greatest of the Gods, esteemed what was made for him by his son Horus-of-Gold Mighty, may he live forever unto eternity. The requital for this from Amun, the bull of his two heavens, and from Montu, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, is a million years of life, a million years of stability, and a million years of dominion; and all health and happiness from them is for their beloved son, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands (WahibRe), (15) son of Re, (Psantik), may he live forever unto eternity. <Amun> has given to him <that he should be joyful> together with his soul, Horus has given to him his throne, and Geb has given to him his inheritance. He will be pre-eminent among the spirits of all the living; in fact, he is the King of Upper and Lower Egypt upon the throne of Horus, a personality without equal (?).

Now, after she came to the God's Wife (Šp-n-wpt), the latter saw her, and became pleased with her; she loved her more than anything and made over to her an *jmj.t-pr* document which her (Šp-n-wpt's) father (Piankhi) and her mother (Amonirdis II) had executed for her; and her eldest/favourite daughter *Jmn-jr-dj.s* (Amonirdis), daughter of King ([Taharqa]), justified, did likewise. Their bidding was put in writing (*sš*)²⁵⁹, to wit: 'Herewith we give to you all our property in the countryside and in town. You shall be established upon our throne firmly and enduringly till the end of eternity'. Witnesses of their bidding were: all priests, *wab*-priests, and all friends of the temple.

List of all the property given to her (Nitocris) as gifts in towns and nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt. What His Majesty has given to her in seven nomes of Upper Egypt:

In the district of *Nnj-nswt* (Ninsu): an estate called *Jw-n3*, which is in its territory, 300 *arouras* of field.

²⁵⁹ The determinative of this word *sš* could be  not , so we could translated it as *šs-qd*: 'Stone inscription'.

In the district of *Pr-m-dd*: the place of *Pw-t3wy*, which is in its territory: 300 *arouras* of field.

In the district of *Dwn-ḥnw*: the place of *Kw-Kw*, which is in its territory, (19) 200 *arouras* of field.

In the district of *Wn-n3*: the places of *Ns-mjn*, which are in its territory: 500 *arouras*.

In the district of *W3djt*: (place of) *Q3y*, which is in its territory, 300 *arouras*.

In the district of *Hr-šm*: the place of *Hr-3st*, which is in its territory, (20) 200 *arouras*.

All this, sum-total: 1800 *arouras* of field together with everything that comes forth thence in the country and in the town, together with their dry lands²⁶⁰ and their canals.

Bread and beer to be given to her destined to the temple of Amun:

What the Fourth Priest of Amun, Mayor of No (the City), and Governor of the entire Upper Egypt Montemhat, may he be healthy, has to give to her: 200 *dbn* of bread, 5 *hin* of milk, 1 cake, and 1 bundle of herbs in the course of every day; monthly due: 3 oxen and 5 geese.

What his eldest/favorite son, the instructor of priests in Thebes *Ns-Pth* has to give to her: 100 *dbn* of bread, 2 (*hin* of) milk, and 1 bundle of herbs in the course of every day; monthly due: 15 cakes, 10 *hbnt* of beer, and (the yield of) a 100 *arouras* field belonging to the Nome of Tjebu.

What the wife of the Fourth Priest of Amun Montemhat, her name *Wd3*, justified, has to give to her: 100 *dbn* of bread in the course of every day.

What the High Priest of Amun *Hr-hbj* has to give to her: Daily due: 100 *dbn* of bread and 2 *hin* of milk; monthly due: 10 cakes, 5 *hbnt* of beer, and 10 bundles of herbs.

What the Third Priest of Amun *P(3)-dj-Jmn-ns-t3wy* has to give to her: Daily due: 100 *dbn* of bread and 2 *hin* of milk; Monthly due: 5 *hbnt* of beer, 10 cakes, and 10 bundles of herbs.

Sum total: Daily due: 600 *dbn* of bread, 11 *hin* of milk, 2 $\frac{1}{6}$ cakes, and 2 $\frac{2}{3}$ bundles of herbs; Monthly due: 3 oxen, 5 geese, 20 *hbnt* of beer, and (the yield of) 100 *arouras* of field.

What His Majesty has to give to her from the temple of Re-Atum in the *Hq3-ḥd* nome in the form of divine offerings instituted by His Majesty: 3 *h3r* of first-class emmer after it has been offered in the (divine) presence, every day, and the god has been satisfied therewith.

What has to be given to her from the temples of: Sais, 200 *dbn* of bread; (25) Pr-wadjo, 200 *dbn* of bread; Pr-Hathor-mefke, 100 *dbn* of bread; Pr-jnbw, 50 *dbn* of bread; Pr-nb-Jmw, 50 *dbn* of bread; Pr-m3-nw, 50 *dbn* of bread; T3-ḥt-n-ḥrt, 50 *dbn* of bread; Tanis, 100 *dbn* of bread; Pr-Hwt-

²⁶⁰ Maybe the scribe means here 'the wastelands, or the desert land'.

Hr, 100 *dbn* of bread; *Pr-B3st-nb-B3st*, 100 *dbn* of bread; *Hwt-Hr-jb*, 200 *dbn* of bread; *Mst*, 50 *dbn* of bread; *Bj3-st*, 50 *dbn* of bread; *Pr-Hr-šf-nb-Nnj-sw*, 100 *dbn* of bread; *Pr-spd*, 100 *dbn* of bread.

Sum total: 1,500 *dbn* of bread.

What has been given to her in four nomes of Lower Egypt:

In the district of Sais: the estates of the southern bedouin which are in its territory, 360 *arouras* of field.

In the district of *Bj3-st*: *T3-ᶜt-n-nfrt-ḥr* which is in its territory, 500 *arouras* of field.

In the district of Geb: (28) *Tj-nt-t3-wᶜt-nht* which is in its territory, 240 *arouras*.

In the middle district of Heliopolis: The-wall-of-*Hrj-son-of-Ddy* (also) called The-wall-of-*P3-šr-n-mwt*, borne by *Mrt-wb-bḥht* (29) which is in its territory, 300 *arouras*.

Total: 1400 *arouras* of field (in) four nomes, along with everything that comes forth hence in the country and in the town, and with their dry lands and their (30) canals.

Sum total: 2100 *dbn* of bread and 3300 *arouras* of field (in) eleven nomes.

Enduring and flourishing! Without perishing nor decline eternally and forever!

(31) In the district of *T3-wr*: *Jnwp* together with all its people, all its fields, and all its property in country and in town.

This stela was unearthed by G. LEGRAIN in February 1897, while clearing and strengthening the western end of the great temple complex at Karnak near the triple shrine of Sethos II in the north-west corner of the forecourt of the temple of Amun. It was transferred then to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo²⁶¹.

It records the adoption of princess Nitocris, daughter of King Psamtik I. She was established as heiress by the God's Wife of Amun *Šp-n-wpt* II, sister of the late King Taharqa.

We are told that Nitocris left the court in the north at her father's behest and went to Thebes to join the sisterhood of the votaresses of Amun. The head of that college of priestesses was at that time the God's Wife of Amun *Šp-n-wpt* II, who had with her as adopted child and heiress apparently her own niece, a daughter of Taharqa named *Jmn-jr-dj.s* (II). Upon Princess Nitocris arrival in Thebes, God's wife saw her and was pleased with her. She decided to adopt her to be successor to *Jmn-jr-dj.s* in God's wife of Amun's position. In addition, *Šp-n-wpt* made over to her

²⁶¹ CAMINOS, *op. cit.*, 71.

an *jmj.t-pr* document, which her (*Šp-n-wpt's*) father and her mother had executed for her; and her eldest/favorite daughter *Jmn-jr-dj.s*, daughter of King Taharqa, acted likewise. Through this document, they gave her their *ht*-property in the countryside and the town and established her upon their throne firmly and enduringly.

58

pMattha, cols. 8.30-9.29

(legal manual of Hermopolis)

(pls. 58-58d)

Date: c. 250 BCE, but probably going back to the Saite Period.

Text: MATTHA, G., *The Demotic legal code of Hermopolis West*, pls. 14-17.

JORDAN, B., *Die demotischen Wissenstexte (Recht und Mathematik) des pMattha*, II, Faksimiles 0801-0833, 0901-0933.

Bibliography: MATTHA, G., *The Demotic legal code of Hermopolis West*, 13-17, 39-42.

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STADLER, M., ‘Rechtskodex von Hermupolis (P. Kairo JE 89.127-30+89.137-43)’, in Bernd Janowski and Gernot Wilhelm (eds.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments: Neue Folge 1: Texte zum Rechts- und Wirtschaftsleben*, 2015, 185-207.

BIRGIT, J., *Die demotischen Wissenstexte (Recht und Mathematik) des pMattha*, II, Transkription und Übersetzung 0801-0833, 0901-0933.

Col. VIII (30) If a man dies having field, garden, house, part (in income) from temple or a slave and having child(ren); but not having drawn up a sharing contract for his children during his lifetime: it is his eldest/favorite son who seize (31) his property (estate). If the younger brothers file a complaint against their eldest brother saying, “Let him give us part of our father’s estate (property)”, the elder brother has to write a list (32) of his younger brothers - the children of his father, those who lives like those who died before their father dies, and likewise the eldest son, and he takes for himself the share that he likes in the lands, [the gardens], and the houses: what should be given to him, one must give. Documents and deeds relating to the reimbursement of grain or goods **Col. IX** (1) which belonged to his father (but which are) with (other) people: one must be given to him; with exception of the deed which is written at the request of his father and of someone else: one cannot give it to him. The remaining property (2) is next divided into shares according to the number of his children; after that, his male children must take (their) shares according to their birth order; and after them his female children must take (their shares) (3) according to their order of birth. If it happens that one of them (4) dies after the death of his father (but before the partition) and without having children: it is the eldest brother who takes his

share. The one among them who dies after being given his share, but who has no children: it is the eldest brother who takes his share. (5) If the younger brother lodges a complaint saying, “the children of whom our eldest brother said that they are of our father: they are not (the) child(ren) of our father (at all?)”, the children whose younger brother said: (6) “they are not of our father”: one must oblige the eldest brother to take an oath about them saying “the children whom I said were of our father: they are (the) child(ren) of our father; I did not lie about them”; (7) (then) he must be made to say their names along with (the name of) their mother at the same time. Model of the oath that he will be made to take saying “such a son of such and such and whose mother is such, and such a son of such and such and whose mother is such: they are (the) child(ren) of my father; (8) they died before their father died”: the one about whom he will not have made an oath: one cannot give him a share; (but) the one about whom he will have made an oath: one must give her a share. (9) If it happens that a daughter is born to him: she will also be given the share in question. // // If a man dies while (his property is already) in the hands of his eldest son; (10) If it happens that the latter has a younger brother and the latter lodges a complaint saying “that we are given a share of our father’s property”: one will divide (their father’s property into portions) (11) according to the number of his children and give an extra portion to the eldest son to complete two portions. If he happens to have a brother (younger) ... (12+13) for him there remains property ... with them, one will divide them ... If it happens that the man has (14) nothing but one house ..., one cannot divide the house into parts. // // If a man dies without having (15) a male child, but having female child(ren), one must divide his property into shares according to the number of the female children (and they will give a share to each of them) ... female children he had; with the exception of (16) the additional share of the child: one will give it to his eldest daughter ... to complete two shares. If the eldest daughter says “there were other children of my father; they are dead; let me be given their shares”: (17) one cannot give her the shares of her brothers who died. // // If a man dies having property in the hands of the younger son and if the eldest son file a complaint against him about them and if (18) the younger son says “the property in question: it is my father who gave them to me by saying «take them for yourself»”: he will be forced to make an oath saying: “it is my father who gave me these goods by saying «take them for yourself»”.(19) If he takes the oath: one cannot give them to his eldest brother; if he does not take the oath: one will give the goods to his eldest brother (and) one will oblige him to write (a renunciation) concerning the goods of his father. If it happens that it is a

man who has (20) nothing but one house: the house will be divided into shares according to the number of children he had – those who live as well as those who died before their father dies – in the presence of the eldest son; (21) and one more part shall be given to each of the rest of the children to him, in accordance with this which is written above. // // If a man draws up a contract for one of his children saying to him (22) “my eldest son: I have given you all that is mine”; if the man dies without having drawn up a contract for another (son): his younger brothers cannot file a complaint against him concerning a part of the father’s property. (23) If a man dies while there is only one house belonging to him; and without having drawn up a contract about it for a child of his own; if the eldest son gives the house for money (sc. sells it) to another man; and if the house remains for three years in the possession of the man to whom he had given it without (24) anyone bringing a complaint against him (sc. the buyer); and if (the property of) the house is full for him; and if the younger brother files a complaint against the eldest brother, saying “that we are given a share (of the price) of our father’s house”; the money about which the eldest son will make (25) an oath saying, “the money (which is the) price of this house: I did not lie about it”; (deducted?) the sum of the money about which he makes an oath: it will be claimed (26) from his hand and will be divided into shares according to the number of younger brothers. // // (29) The man to whom daughters are at first born and later sons are born to him, it is the male children who furnish (lit. make for) him with an eldest son.

Designation of a demotic manuscript written on the recto of a papyrus found at Hermupolis Magna (Ashmunein) in Upper Egypt in 1938, now in the Egyptian Museum at Cairo (P.Cairo JE 89127–89130+ 89137–89143). This papyrus is dated to approximately early third century BCE.

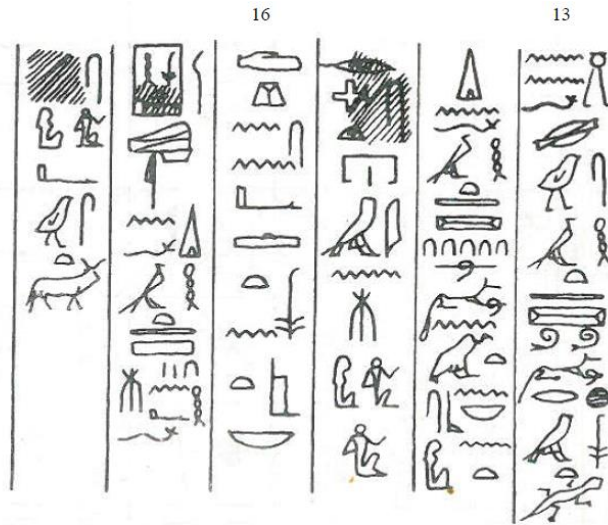
The laws are phrased as hypothetical cases, as was customary in ancient legal systems, consisting of a conditional protasis for the facts and a cohortative apodosis for the solution. They are not “case law” originating from actual precedents but devised through jurisprudential thought, as demonstrated by the flowchart-like structure of some of the laws, for example, on marriage settlements (Lippert 2004: 167–73).

The manuscript transmits to us a part of the Egyptian law code collected under Darius I. It contains covers leases, marriage settlements, disputes between neighbors, inheritance, and miscellaneous subjects. The passages that are recorded between col. 8.30 and col.9. 29 covers the topic inheritance. They concerning the legal order of succession show that, by the Late Period,

the rights of the other siblings as co-heirs have finally been fully acknowledged: the eldest son (here always used as prototypical legal heir) still takes possession of the property of his father and may even sell part of it, but as soon as his younger siblings demand their shares, even without any allusion to mismanagement on his part, he is obligated to divide it (or the price received), although he himself retains the most advantageous position, being entitled to a better or larger (e.g., double) share.

PLATES

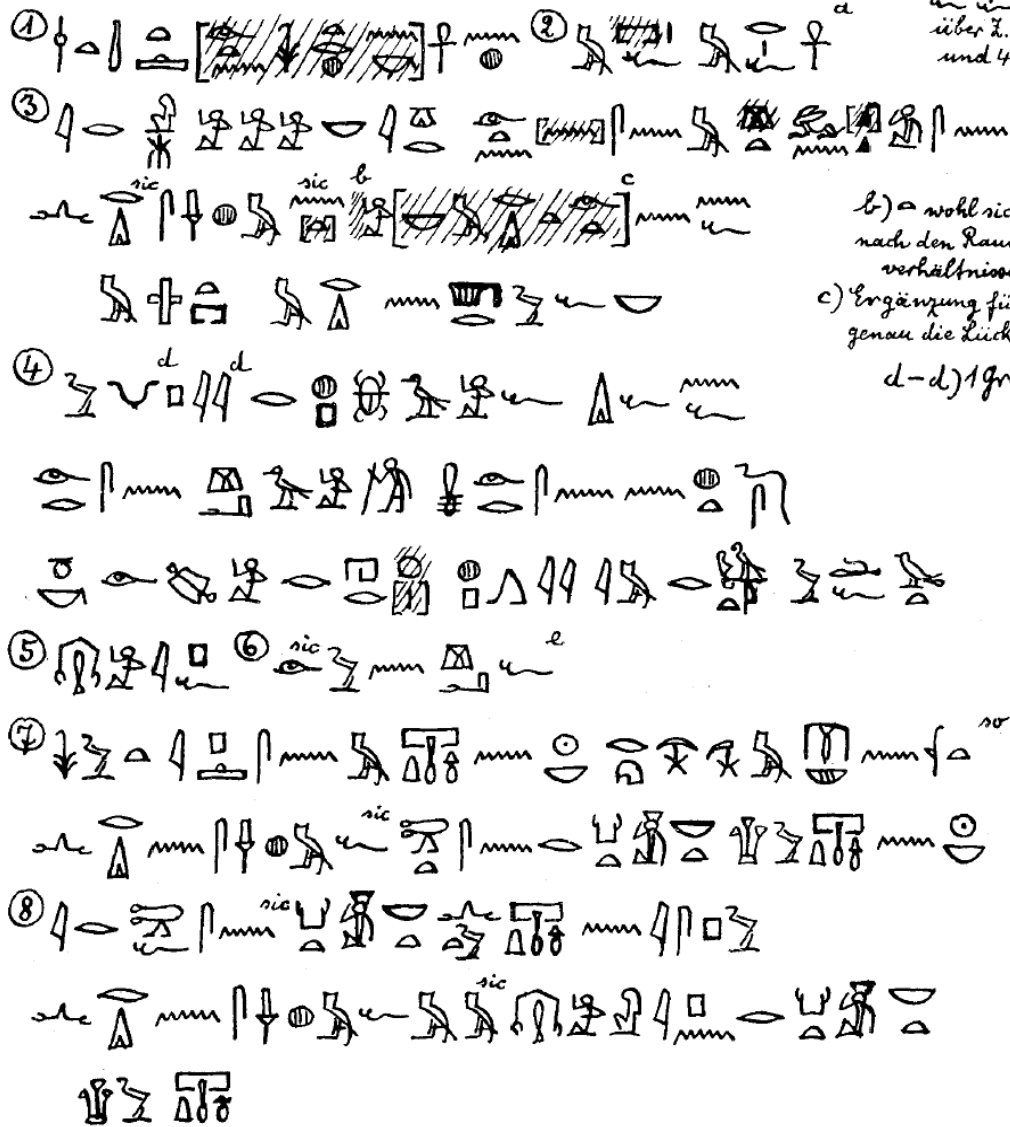
Pl. 1



Insc. Mtn

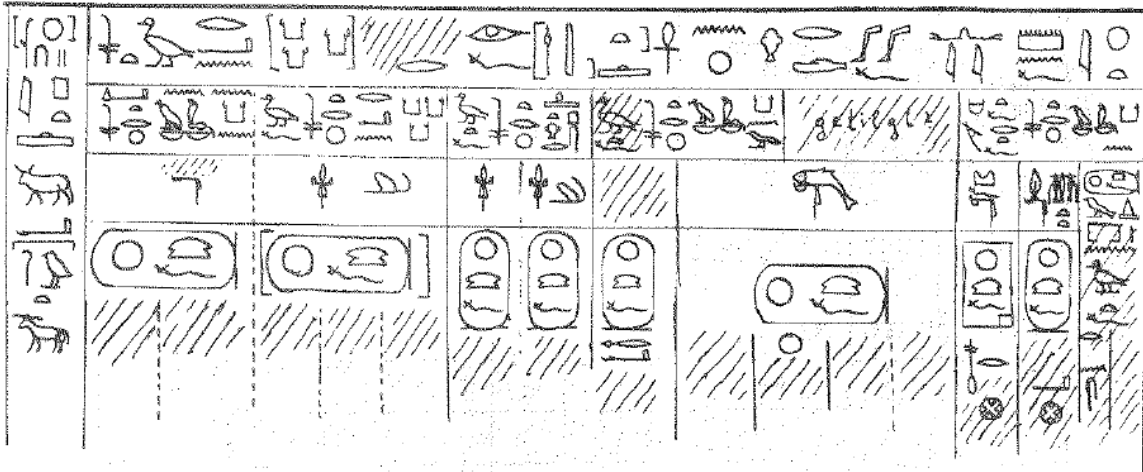
GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pl. 1.

Pl. 2



Inscr. Nj-k3-nh (a)
SETHE, Urk. I, 161 f.

Pl. 3



Inscr. Nj-k3w-R^c

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pl. 3.

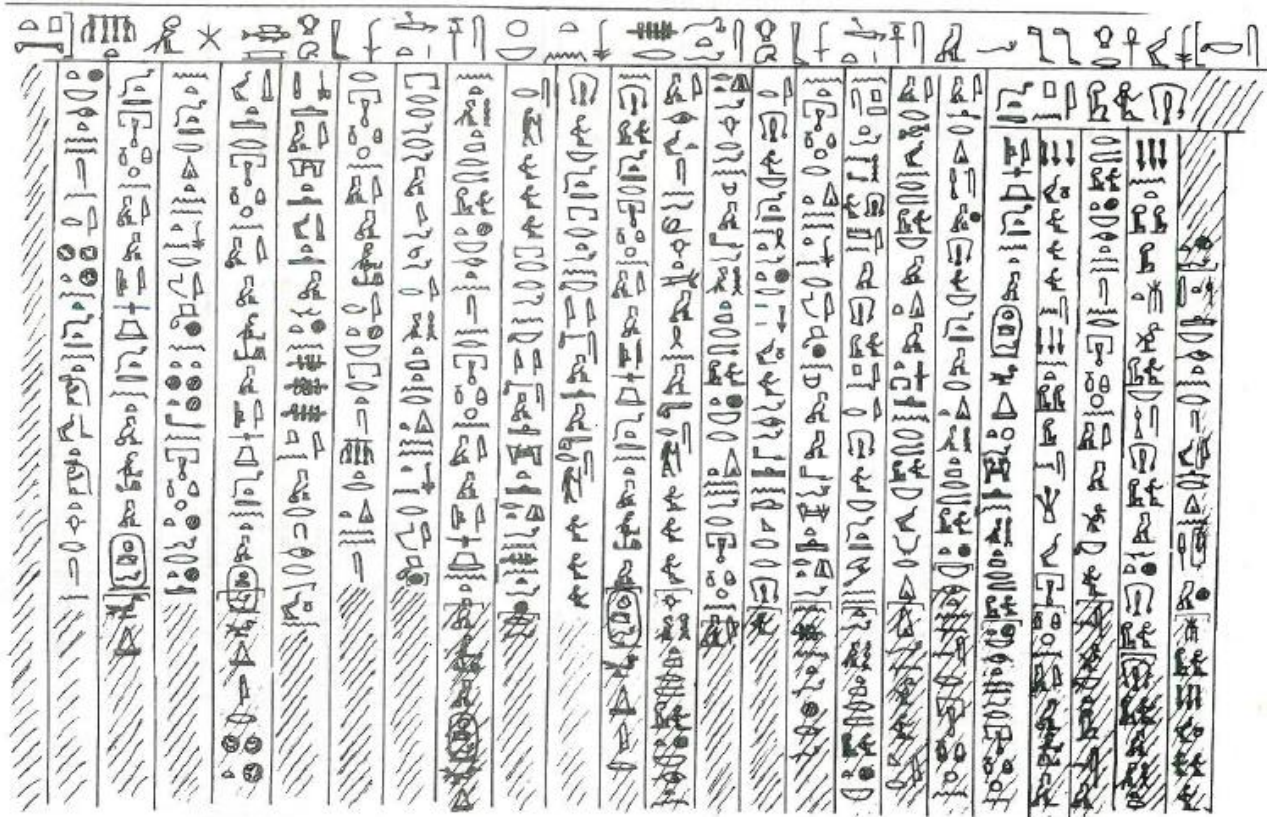
Pl. 4



Inscr. Snnw-^cnh

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pl. 8.

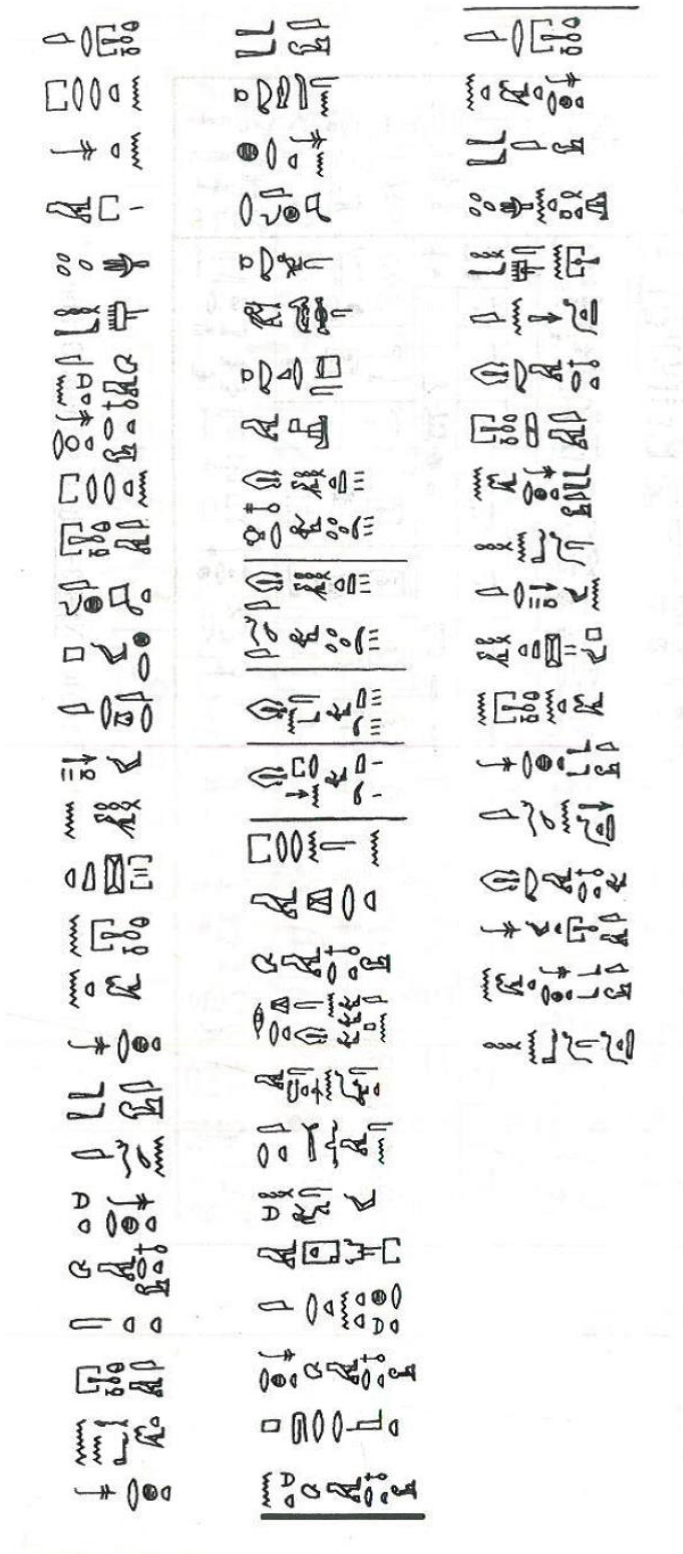
Pl. 5



Inscr. K3-m-nfrt

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pl. 5.

Pl. 6



Inscr. Tntj

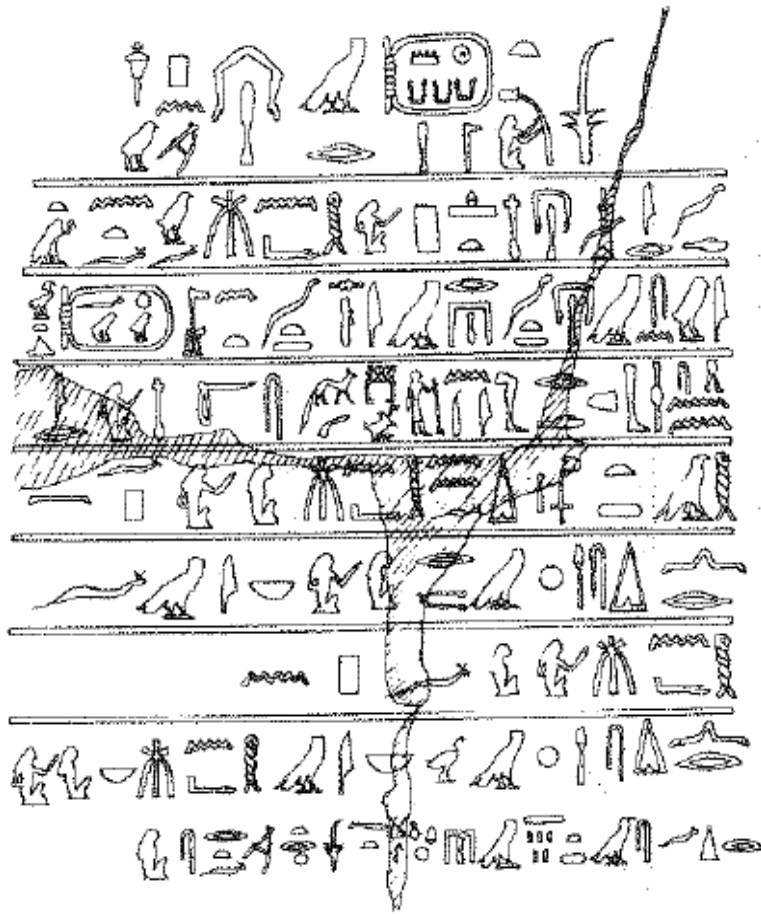
GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pl. 13.



Inscr. Wp-m-nfrt

HASSAN, S., *Excavations at Giza II* (Cairo 1936) fig. 219.

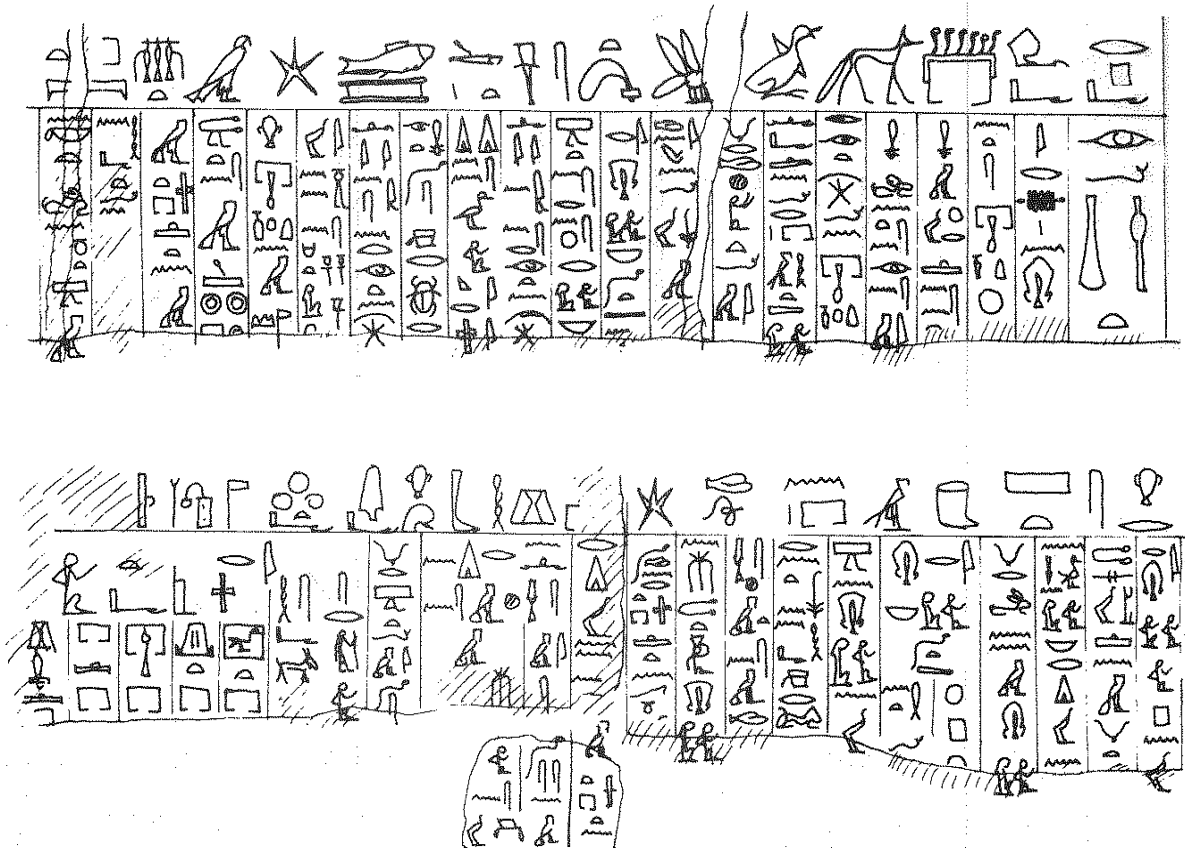
Pl. 8



Inscr. Pn-mrw

GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich* (Vienna 1970) pl. 6.

Pl. 10



Inscr. Nb-k3w-hr (A)

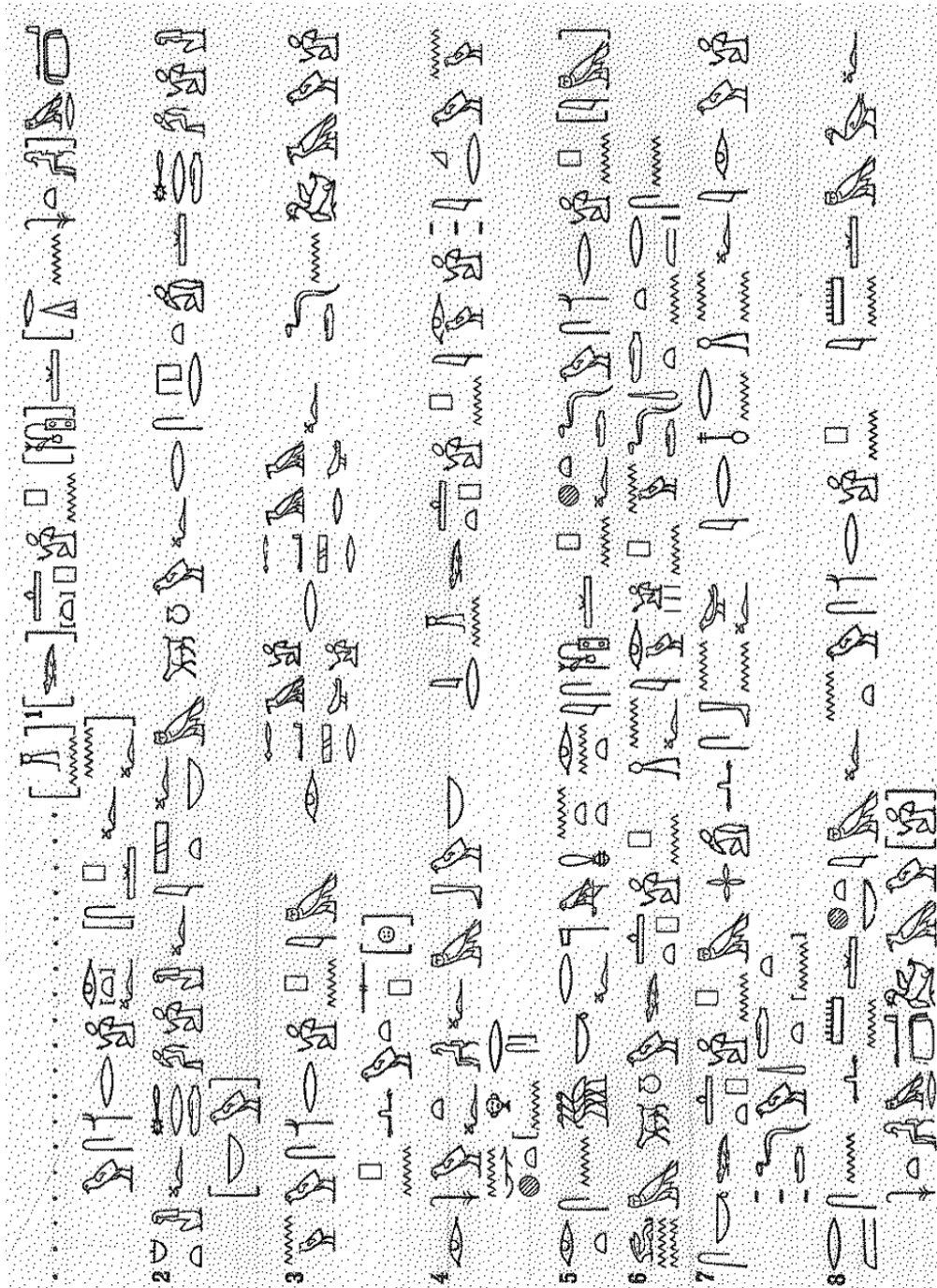
GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pl. 9.



pBerlin 9010

MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I (Leipzig, 1909) pl. 2.

Pl. 11a



pBerlin 9010

SETHE, ' Ein Prozeßurteil aus dem Alten Reich' , ZÄS 61(1926) 71.

Pl. 12



Tablet 5955, Balat Oasis of Dakhla

PHILIP-STÉPHAN, A. *Dire le droit en Egypte pharaonique: Contribution à l'étude des structures et mécanismes juridictionnels jusqu'au Nouvel Empire*, 260.

Pl. 13



Tablet 3689-7,8 and 11, Balat Oasis of Dakhla

PHILIP-STÉPHAN, A. *Dire le droit en Egypte pharaonique: Contribution à l'étude des structures et mécanismes juridictionnels jusqu'au Nouvel Empire*, 260.

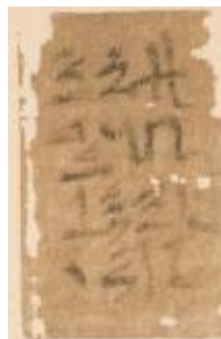
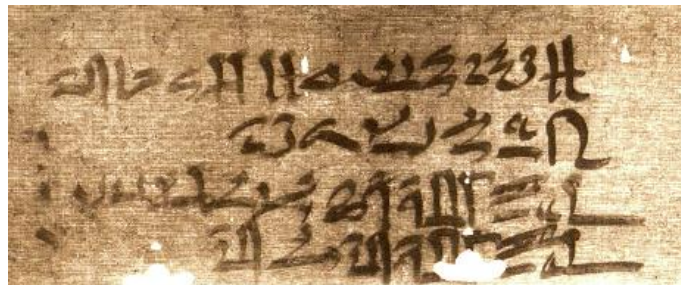
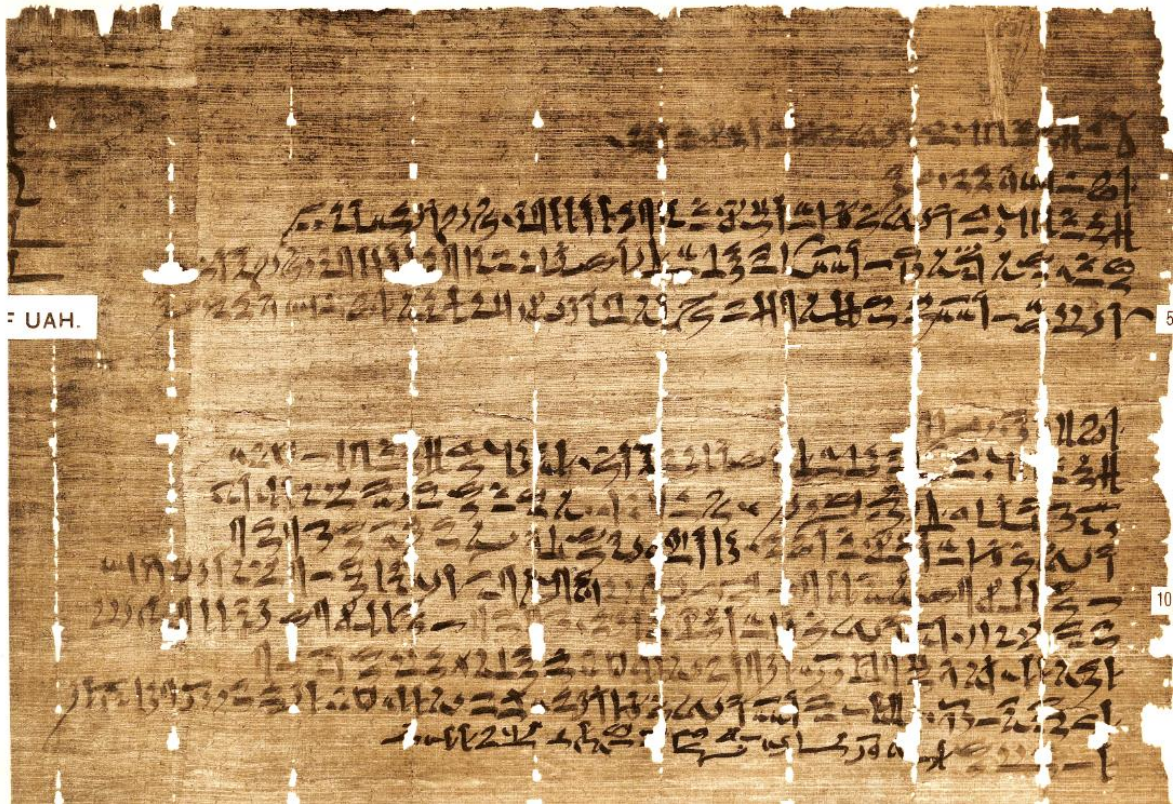
Pl. 14



Ste. Florence 6365

BOSTICO, S. *Le Stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno* (Museo Archeologico de Firenze)
Rome, 1959, pl. 18.

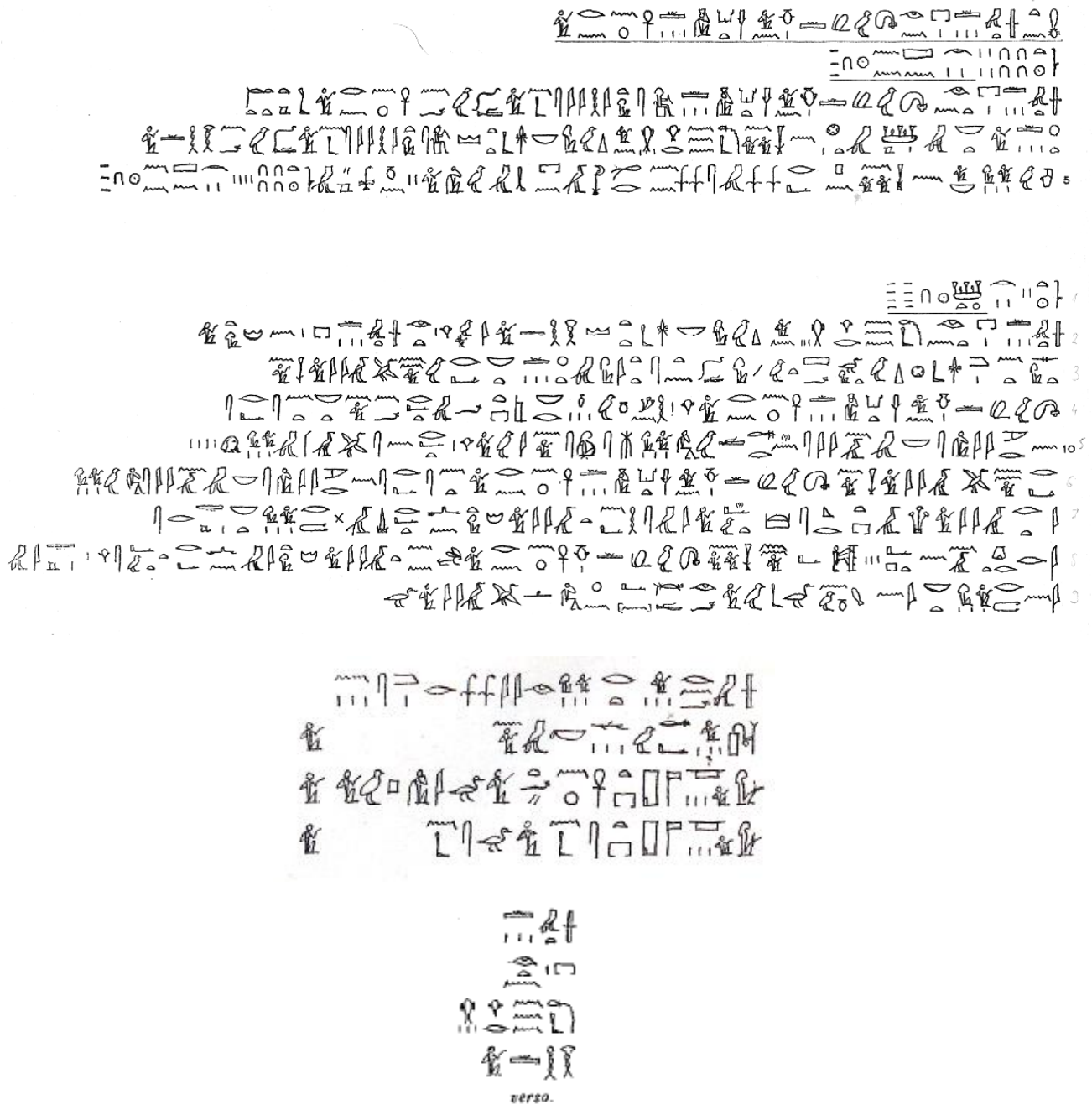
Pl. 15



pKahun I.1

GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri: hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob; principally of the Middle Kingdom*, II, pls. 12-13.

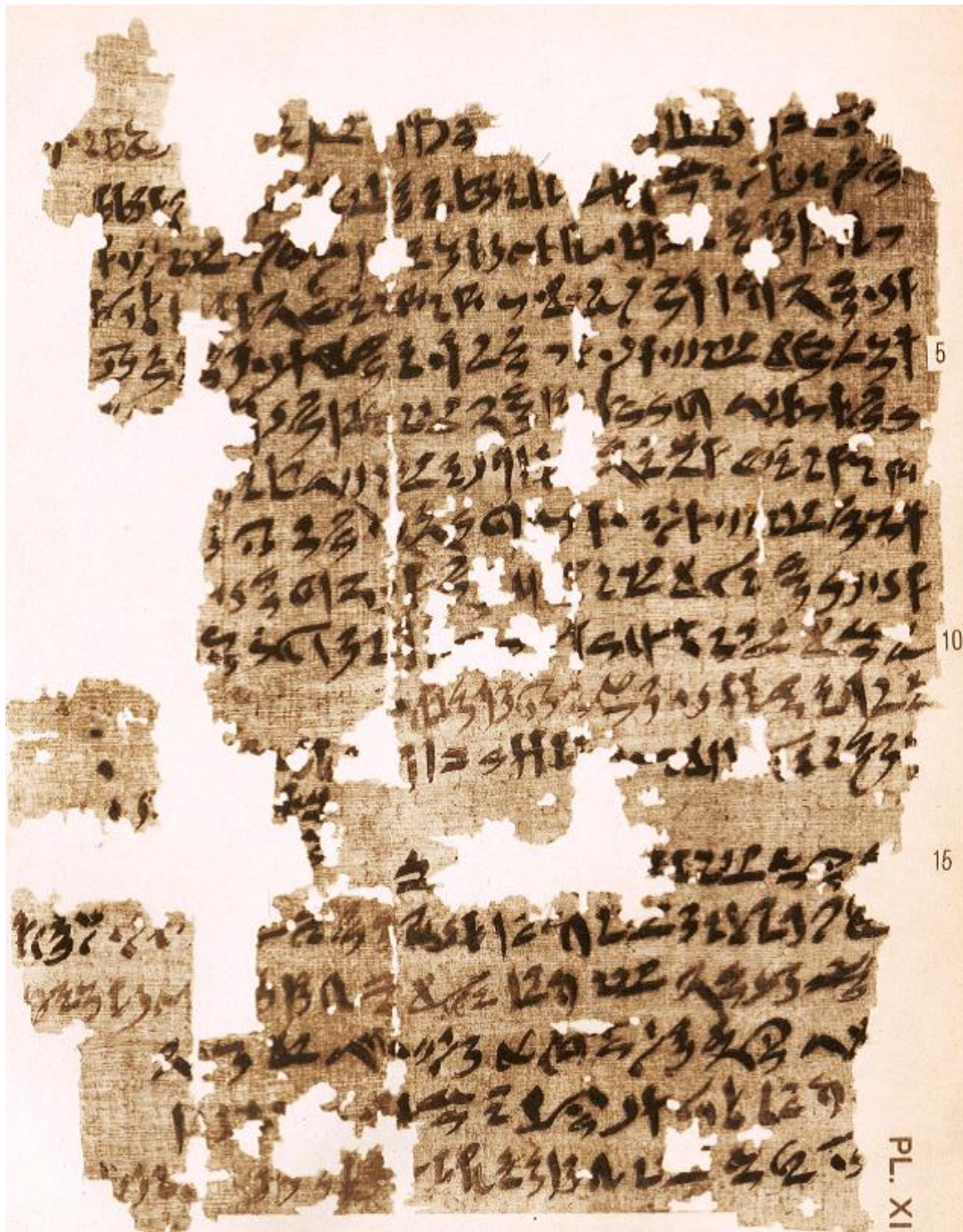
Pl. 15a



pKahun I.1

GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri: hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob; principally of the Middle Kingdom*, II, pls. 12-13.

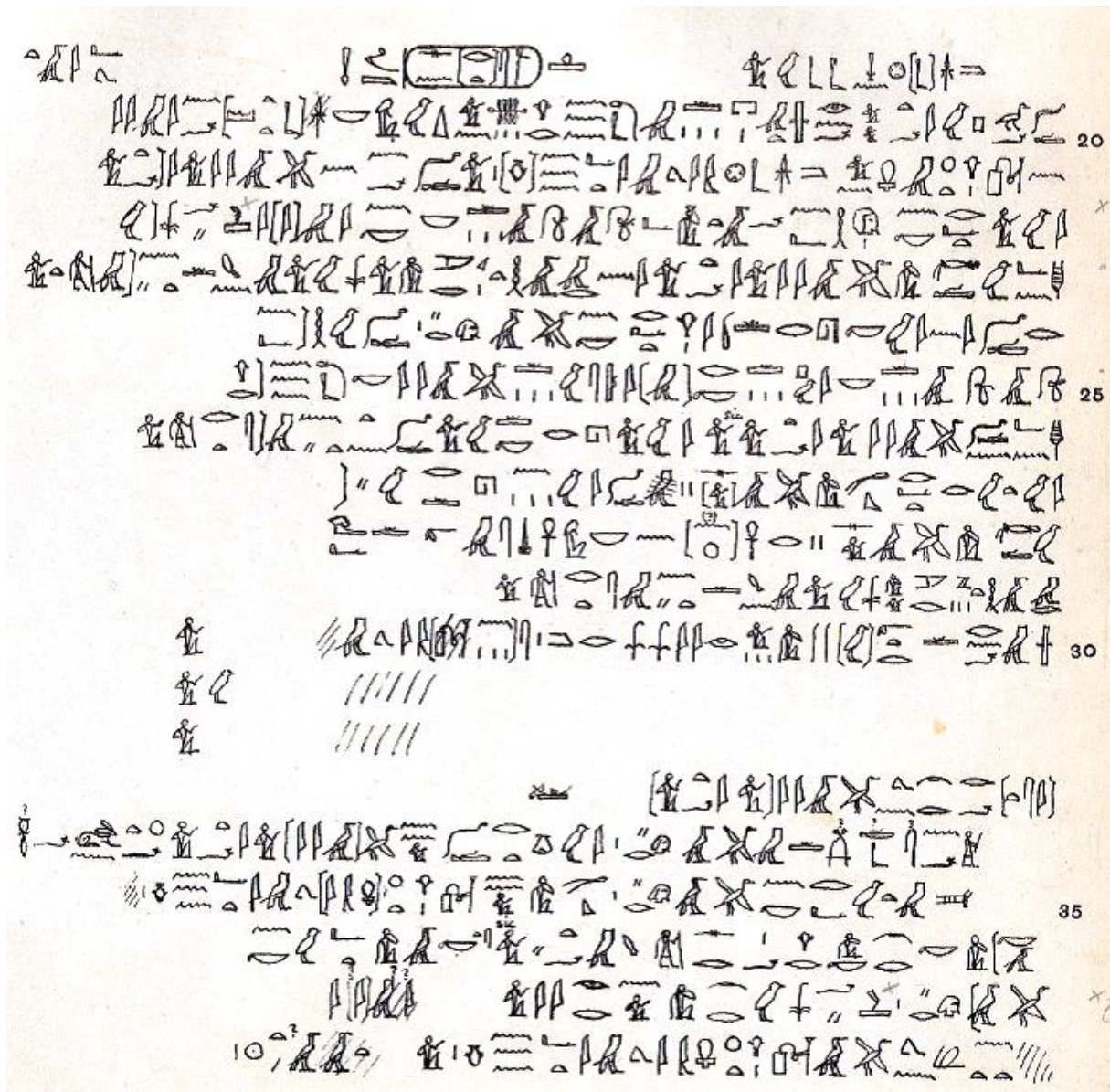
Pl. 16



pKahun II.1

GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri: hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob; principally of the Middle Kingdom, II*, pl. 13.

Pl. 16a



pKahun II.1

GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri: hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob; principally of the Middle Kingdom, II*, pl. 13.

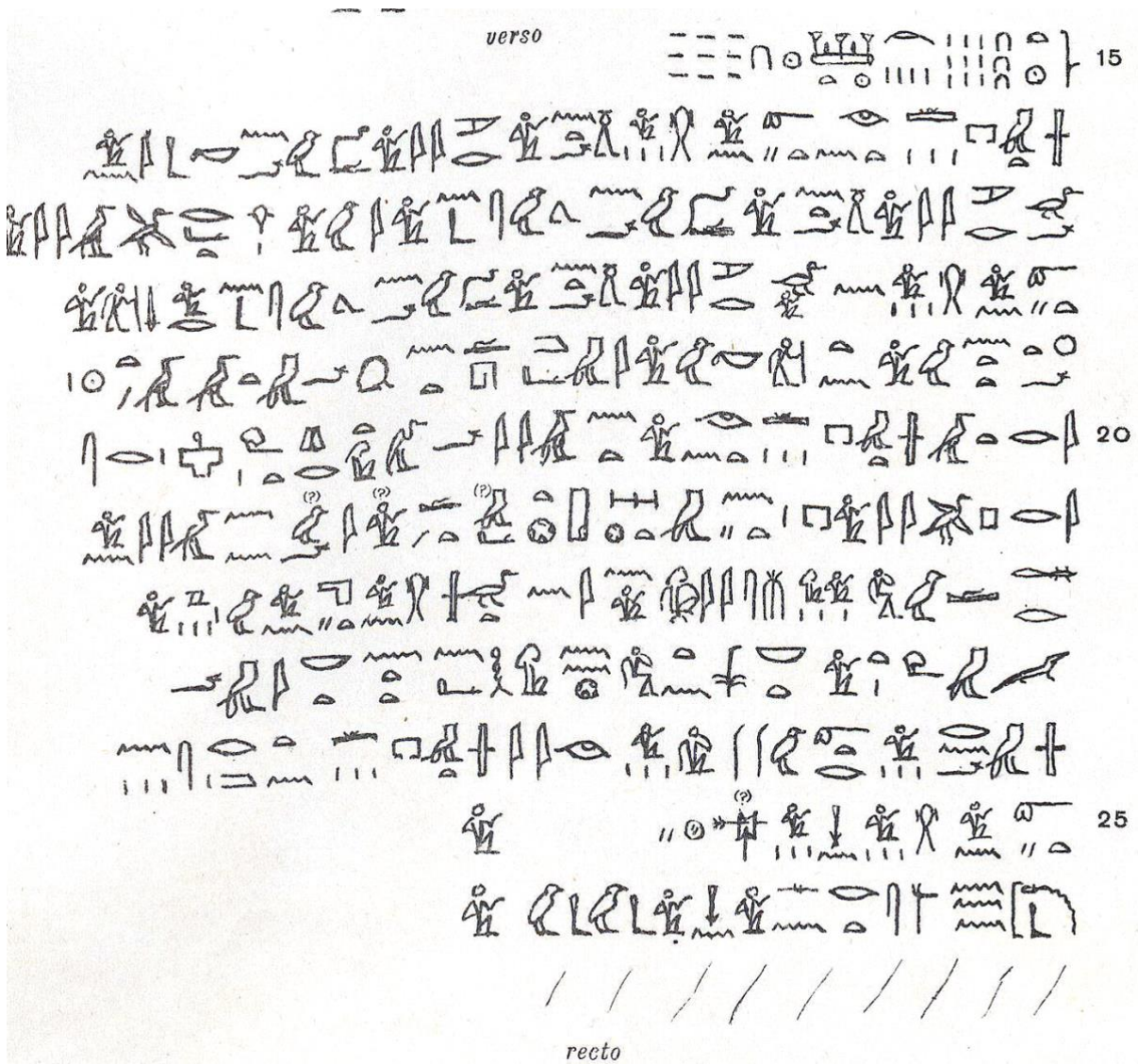
Pl. 17



pKahun VII.1

GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri: hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob; principally of the Middle Kingdom*, II, pl. 11.

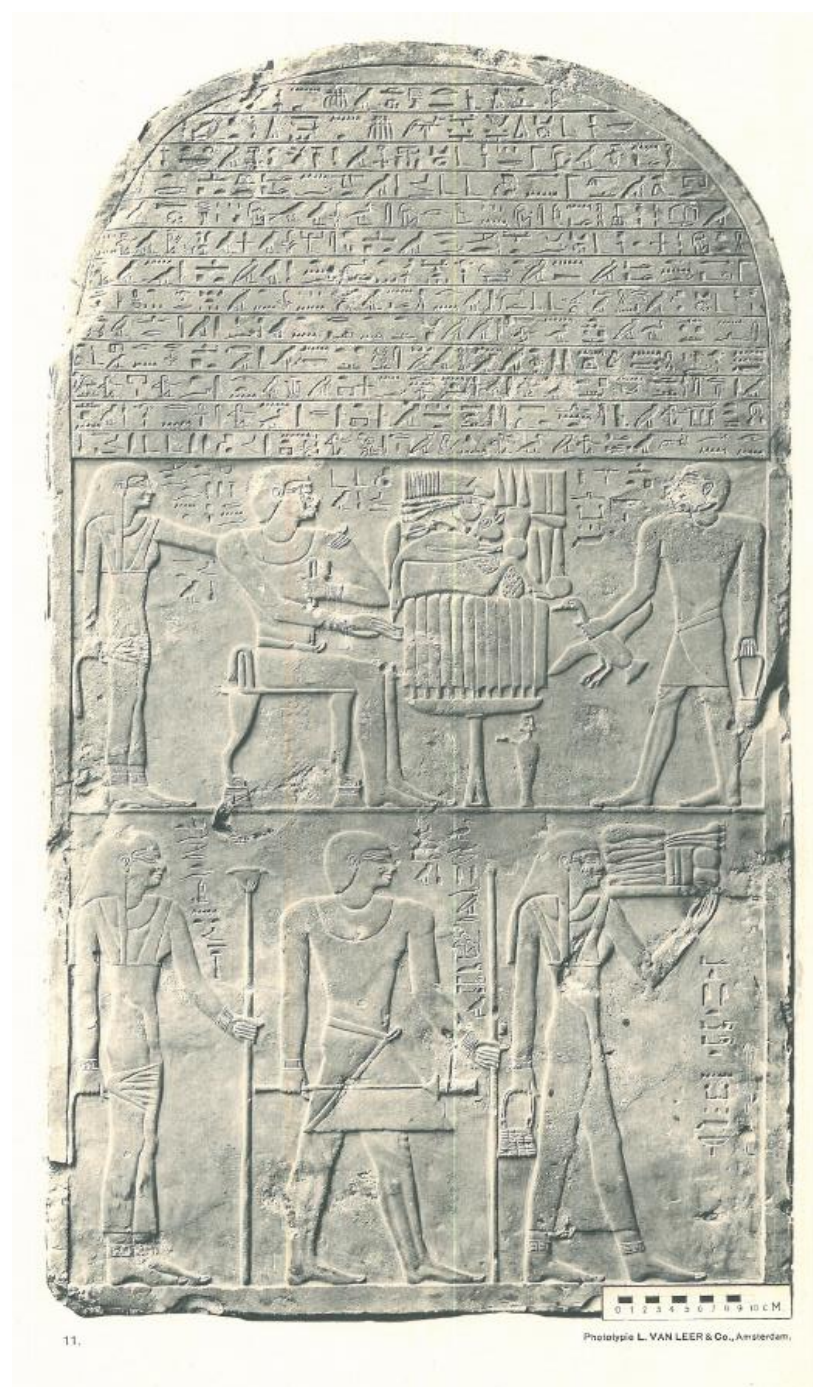
Pl. 17a



pKahun VII.1

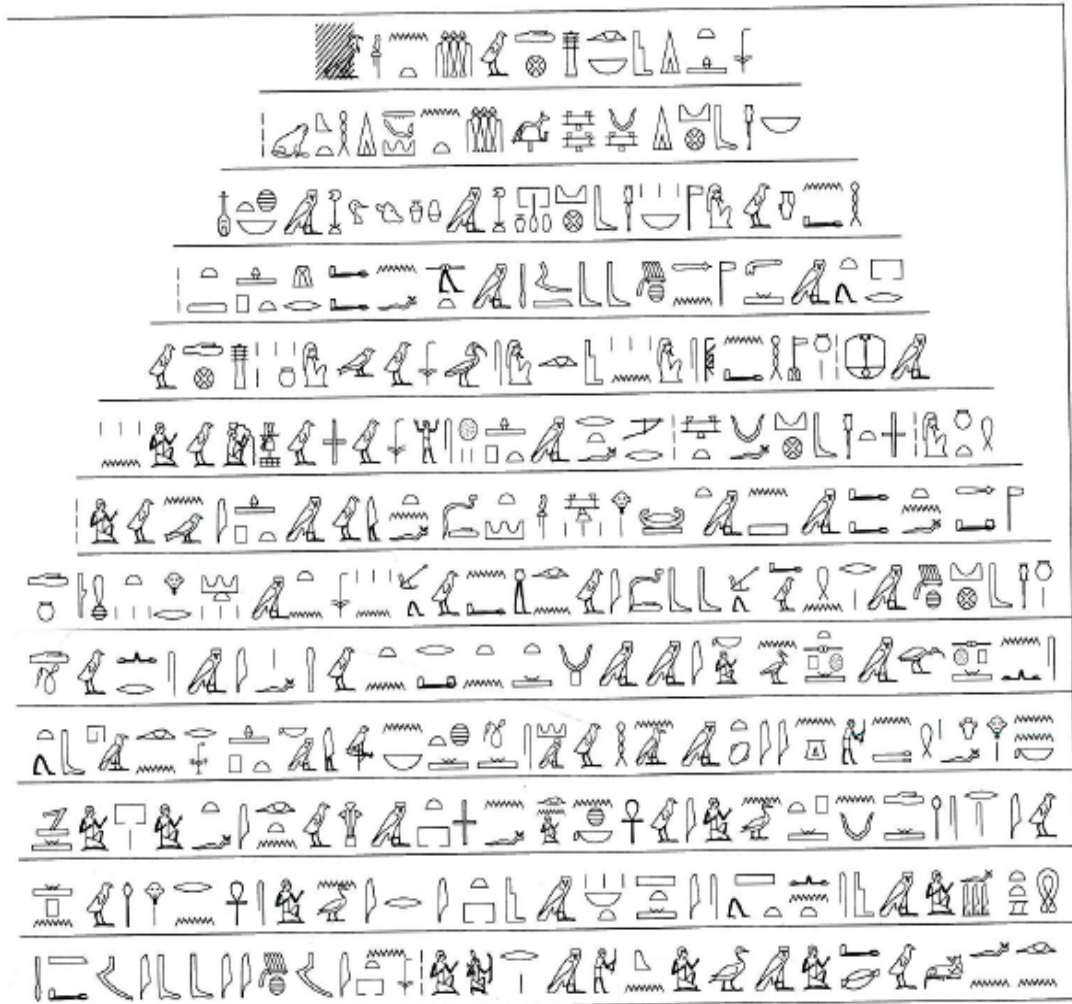
GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri: hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob; principally of the Middle Kingdom, II* (London 1898) pl. 11.

Pl. 18

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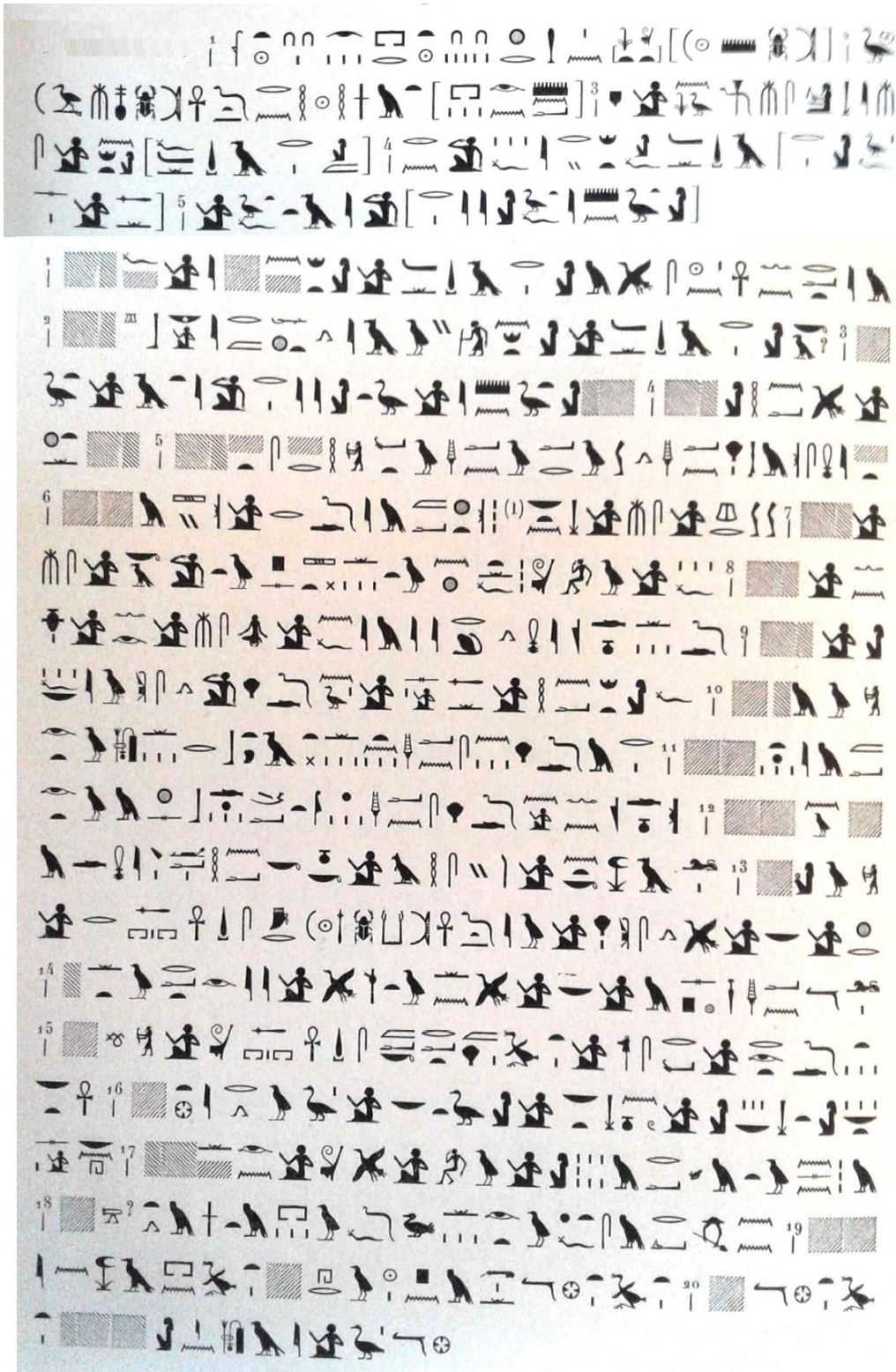
Pl.18a



Ste. Leiden V 88 (ste. Bb)

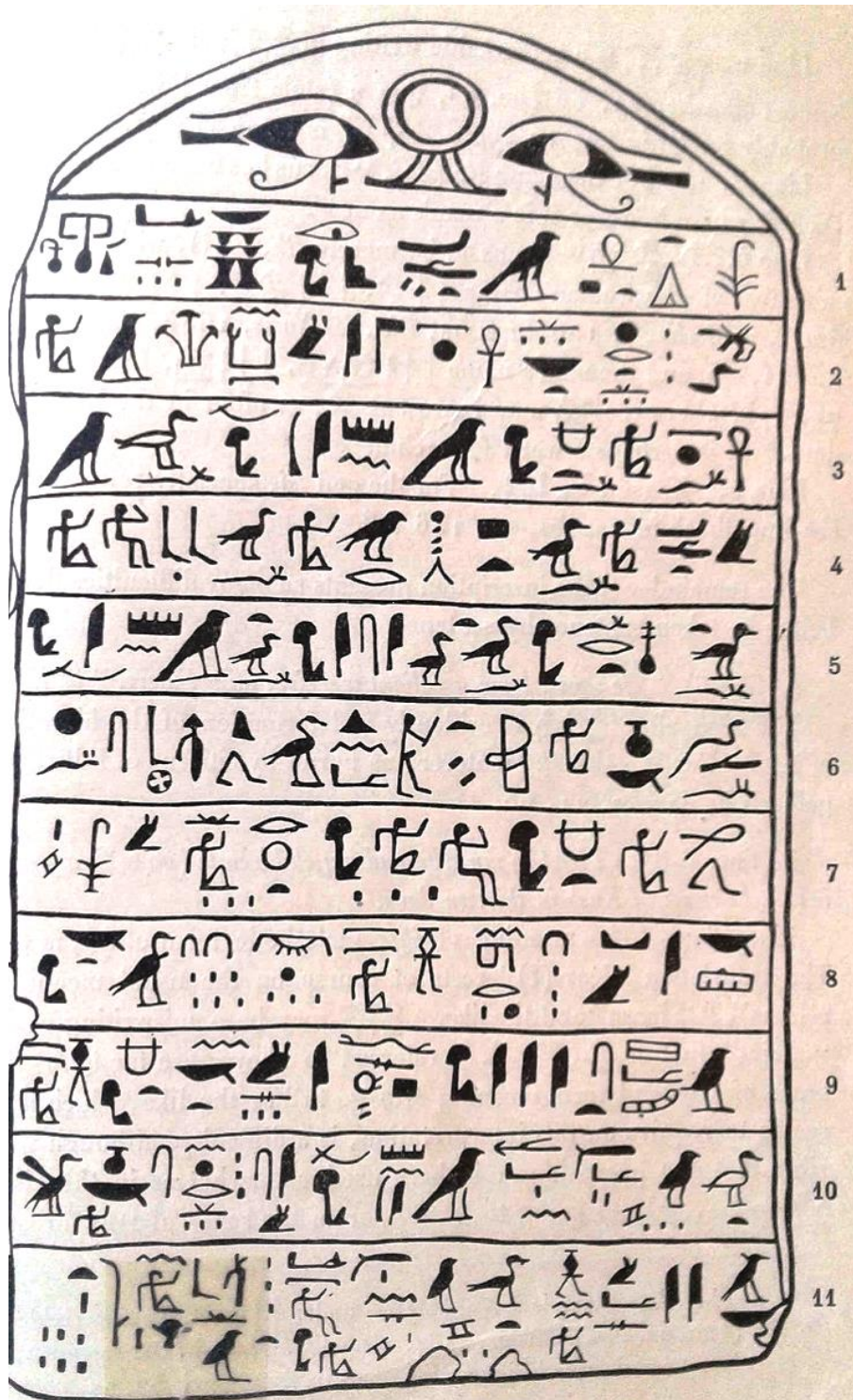
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Pl. 19



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Pl. 21

¹ →
 ΔΔΙΩ... []
² ΠΠΙ = ... [] ΔΡ
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⁴ ... []
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Ste. Juridique

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Pl. 21c

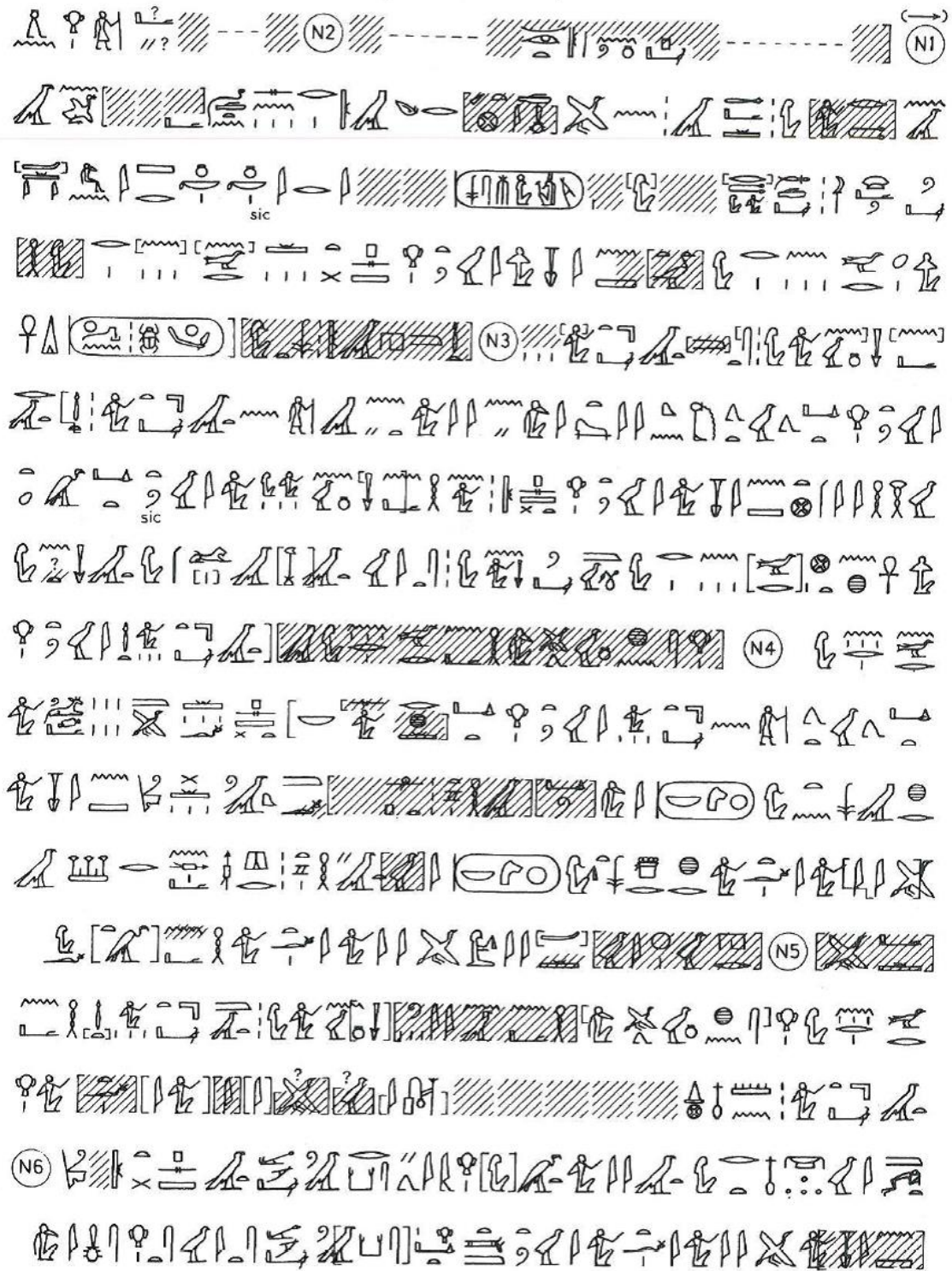
𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔𓆕𓆖𓆗𓆘𓆙𓆚𓆛𓆜𓆝𓆞𓆟𓆠𓆡𓆢𓆣𓆤𓆥𓆦𓆧𓆨𓆩𓆪𓆫𓆬𓆭𓆮𓆯𓆰𓆱𓆲𓆳𓆴𓆵𓆶𓆷𓆸𓆹𓆺𓆻𓆼𓆽𓆾𓆿𓇀𓇁𓇂𓇃𓇄𓇅𓇆𓇇𓇈𓇉𓇊𓇋𓇌𓇍𓇎𓇏𓇐𓇑𓇒𓇓𓇔𓇕𓇖𓇗𓇘𓇙𓇚𓇛𓇜𓇝𓇞𓇟𓇠𓇡𓇢𓇣𓇤𓇥𓇦𓇧𓇨𓇩𓇪𓇫𓇬𓇭𓇮𓇯𓇰𓇱𓇲𓇳𓇴𓇵𓇶𓇷𓇸𓇹𓇺𓇻𓇼𓇽𓇾𓇿𓈀𓈁𓈂𓈃𓈄𓈅𓈆𓈇𓈈𓈉𓈊𓈋𓈌𓈍𓈎𓈏𓈐𓈑𓈒𓈓𓈔𓈕𓈖𓈗𓈘𓈙𓈚𓈛𓈜𓈝𓈞𓈟𓈠𓈡𓈢𓈣𓈤𓈥𓈦𓈧𓈨𓈩𓈪𓈫𓈬𓈭𓈮𓈯𓈰𓈱𓈲𓈳𓈴𓈵𓈶𓈷𓈸𓈹𓈺𓈻𓈼𓈽𓈾𓈿𓉀𓉁𓉂𓉃𓉄𓉅𓉆𓉇𓉈𓉉𓉊𓉋𓉌𓉍𓉎𓉏𓉐𓉑𓉒𓉓𓉔𓉕𓉖𓉗𓉘𓉙𓉚𓉛𓉜𓉝𓉞𓉟𓉠𓉡𓉢𓉣𓉤𓉥𓉦𓉧𓉨𓉩𓉪𓉫𓉬𓉭𓉮𓉯𓉰𓉱𓉲𓉳𓉴𓉵𓉶𓉷𓉸𓉹𓉺𓉻𓉼𓉽𓉾𓉿𓊀𓊁𓊂𓊃𓊄𓊅𓊆𓊇𓊈𓊉𓊊𓊋𓊌𓊍𓊎𓊏𓊐𓊑𓊒𓊓𓊔𓊕𓊖𓊗𓊘𓊙𓊚𓊛𓊜𓊝𓊞𓊟𓊠𓊡𓊢𓊣𓊤𓊥𓊦𓊧𓊨𓊩𓊪𓊫𓊬𓊭𓊮𓊯𓊰𓊱𓊲𓊳𓊴𓊵𓊶𓊷𓊸𓊹𓊺𓊻𓊼𓊽𓊾𓊿𓋀𓋁𓋂𓋃𓋄𓋅𓋆𓋇𓋈𓋉𓋊𓋋𓋌𓋍𓋎𓋏𓋐𓋑𓋒𓋓𓋔𓋕𓋖𓋗𓋘𓋙𓋚𓋛𓋜𓋝𓋞𓋟𓋠𓋡𓋢𓋣𓋤𓋥𓋦𓋧𓋨𓋩𓋪𓋫𓋬𓋭𓋮𓋯𓋰𓋱𓋲𓋳𓋴𓋵𓋶𓋷𓋸𓋹𓋺𓋻𓋼𓋽𓋾𓋿𓌀𓌁𓌂𓌃𓌄𓌅𓌆𓌇𓌈𓌉𓌊𓌋𓌌𓌍𓌎𓌏𓌐𓌑𓌒𓌓𓌔𓌕𓌖𓌗𓌘𓌙𓌚𓌛𓌜𓌝𓌞𓌟𓌠𓌡𓌢𓌣𓌤𓌥𓌦𓌧𓌨𓌩𓌪𓌫𓌬𓌭𓌮𓌯𓌰𓌱𓌲𓌳𓌴𓌵𓌶𓌷𓌸𓌹𓌺𓌻𓌼𓌽𓌾𓌿𓍀𓍁𓍂𓍃𓍄𓍅𓍆𓍇𓍈𓍉𓍊𓍋𓍌𓍍𓍎𓍏𓍐𓍑𓍒𓍓𓍔𓍕𓍖𓍗𓍘𓍙𓍚𓍛𓍜𓍝𓍞𓍟𓍠𓍡𓍢𓍣𓍤𓍥𓍦𓍧𓍨𓍩𓍪𓍫𓍬𓍭𓍮𓍯𓍰𓍱𓍲𓍳𓍴𓍵𓍶𓍷𓍸𓍹𓍺𓍻𓍼𓍽𓍾𓍿𓎀𓎁𓎂𓎃𓎄𓎅𓎆𓎇𓎈𓎉𓎊𓎋𓎌𓎍𓎎𓎏𓎐𓎑𓎒𓎓𓎔𓎕𓎖𓎗𓎘𓎙𓎚𓎛𓎜𓎝𓎞𓎟𓎠𓎡𓎢𓎣𓎤𓎥𓎦𓎧𓎨𓎩𓎪𓎫𓎬𓎭𓎮𓎯𓎰𓎱𓎲𓎳𓎴𓎵𓎶𓎷𓎸𓎹𓎺𓎻𓎼𓎽𓎾𓎿𓏀𓏁𓏂𓏃𓏄𓏅𓏆𓏇𓏈𓏉𓏊𓏋𓏌𓏍𓏎𓏏𓏐𓏑𓏒𓏓𓏔𓏕𓏖𓏗𓏘𓏙𓏚𓏛𓏜𓏝𓏞𓏟𓏠𓏡𓏢𓏣𓏤𓏥𓏦𓏧𓏨𓏩𓏪𓏫𓏬𓏭𓏮𓏯𓏰𓏱𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷𓏸𓏹𓏺𓏻𓏼𓏽𓏾𓏿𓐀𓐁𓐂𓐃𓐄𓐅𓐆𓐇𓐈𓐉𓐊𓐋𓐌𓐍𓐎𓐏𓐐𓐑𓐒𓐓𓐔𓐕𓐖𓐗𓐘𓐙𓐚𓐛𓐜𓐝𓐞𓐟𓐠𓐡𓐢𓐣𓐤𓐥𓐦𓐧𓐨𓐩𓐪𓐫𓐬𓐭𓐮𓐯𓐰𓐱𓐲𓐳𓐴𓐵𓐶𓐷𓐸𓐹𓐺𓐻𓐼𓐽𓐾𓐿𓑀𓑁𓑂𓑃𓑄𓑅𓑆𓑇𓑈𓑉𓑊𓑋𓑌𓑍𓑎𓑏𓑐𓑑𓑒𓑓𓑔𓑕𓑖𓑗𓑘𓑙𓑚𓑛𓑜𓑝𓑞𓑟𓑠𓑡𓑢𓑣𓑤𓑥𓑦𓑧𓑨𓑩𓑪𓑫𓑬𓑭𓑮𓑯𓑰𓑱𓑲𓑳𓑴𓑵𓑶𓑷𓑸𓑹𓑺𓑻𓑼𓑽𓑾𓑿𓒀𓒁𓒂𓒃𓒄𓒅𓒆𓒇𓒈𓒉𓒊𓒋𓒌𓒍𓒎𓒏𓒐𓒑𓒒𓒓𓒔𓒕𓒖𓒗𓒘𓒙𓒚𓒛𓒜𓒝𓒞𓒟𓒠𓒡𓒢𓒣𓒤𓒥𓒦𓒧𓒨𓒩𓒪𓒫𓒬𓒭𓒮𓒯𓒰𓒱𓒲𓒳𓒴𓒵𓒶𓒷𓒸𓒹𓒺𓒻𓒼𓒽𓒾𓒿𓓀𓓁𓓂𓓃𓓄𓓅𓓆𓓇𓓈𓓉𓓊𓓋𓓌𓓍𓓎𓓏𓓐𓓑𓓒𓓓𓓔𓓕𓓖𓓗𓓘𓓙𓓚𓓛𓓜𓓝𓓞𓓟𓓠𓓡𓓢𓓣𓓤𓓥𓓦𓓧𓓨𓓩𓓪𓓫𓓬𓓭𓓮𓓯𓓰𓓱𓓲𓓳𓓴𓓵𓓶𓓷𓓸𓓹𓓺𓓻𓓼𓓽𓓾𓓿𓔀𓔁𓔂𓔃𓔄𓔅𓔆𓔇𓔈𓔉𓔊𓔋𓔌𓔍𓔎𓔏𓔐𓔑𓔒𓔓𓔔𓔕𓔖𓔗𓔘𓔙𓔚𓔛𓔜𓔝𓔞𓔟𓔠𓔡𓔢𓔣𓔤𓔥𓔦𓔧𓔨𓔩𓔪𓔫𓔬𓔭𓔮𓔯𓔰𓔱𓔲𓔳𓔴𓔵𓔶𓔷𓔸𓔹𓔺𓔻𓔼𓔽𓔾𓔿𓕀𓕁𓕂𓕃𓕄𓕅𓕆𓕇𓕈𓕉𓕊𓕋𓕌𓕍𓕎𓕏𓕐𓕑𓕒𓕓𓕔𓕕𓕖𓕗𓕘𓕙𓕚𓕛𓕜𓕝𓕞𓕟𓕠𓕡𓕢𓕣𓕤𓕥𓕦𓕧𓕨𓕩𓕪𓕫𓕬𓕭𓕮𓕯𓕰𓕱𓕲𓕳𓕴𓕵𓕶𓕷𓕸𓕹𓕺𓕻𓕼𓕽𓕾𓕿𓖀𓖁𓖂𓖃𓖄𓖅𓖆𓖇𓖈𓖉𓖊𓖋𓖌𓖍𓖎𓖏𓖐𓖑𓖒𓖓𓖔𓖕𓖖𓖗𓖘𓖙𓖚𓖛𓖜𓖝𓖞𓖟𓖠𓖡𓖢𓖣𓖤𓖥𓖦𓖧𓖨𓖩𓖪𓖫𓖬𓖭𓖮𓖯𓖰𓖱𓖲𓖳𓖴𓖵𓖶𓖷𓖸𓖹𓖺𓖻𓖼𓖽𓖾𓖿𓗀𓗁𓗂𓗃𓗄𓗅𓗆𓗇𓗈𓗉𓗊𓗋𓗌𓗍𓗎𓗏𓗐𓗑𓗒𓗓𓗔𓗕𓗖𓗗𓗘𓗙𓗚𓗛𓗜𓗝𓗞𓗟𓗠𓗡𓗢𓗣𓗤𓗥𓗦𓗧𓗨𓗩𓗪𓗫𓗬𓗭𓗮𓗯𓗰𓗱𓗲𓗳𓗴𓗵𓗶𓗷𓗸𓗹𓗺𓗻𓗼𓗽𓗾𓗿𓘀𓘁𓘂𓘃𓘄𓘅𓘆𓘇𓘈𓘉𓘊𓘋𓘌𓘍𓘎𓘏𓘐𓘑𓘒𓘓𓘔𓘕𓘖𓘗𓘘𓘙𓘚𓘛𓘜𓘝𓘞𓘟𓘠𓘡𓘢𓘣𓘤𓘥𓘦𓘧𓘨𓘩𓘪𓘫𓘬𓘭𓘮𓘯𓘰𓘱𓘲𓘳𓘴𓘵𓘶𓘷𓘸𓘹𓘺𓘻𓘼𓘽𓘾𓘿𓙀𓙁𓙂𓙃𓙄𓙅𓙆𓙇𓙈𓙉𓙊𓙋𓙌𓙍𓙎𓙏𓙐𓙑𓙒𓙓𓙔𓙕𓙖𓙗𓙘𓙙𓙚𓙛𓙜𓙝𓙞𓙟𓙠𓙡𓙢𓙣𓙤𓙥𓙦𓙧𓙨𓙩𓙪𓙫𓙬𓙭𓙮𓙯𓙰𓙱𓙲𓙳𓙴𓙵𓙶𓙷𓙸𓙹𓙺𓙻𓙼𓙽𓙾𓙿𓚀𓚁𓚂𓚃𓚄𓚅𓚆𓚇𓚈𓚉𓚊𓚋𓚌𓚍𓚎𓚏𓚐𓚑𓚒𓚓𓚔𓚕𓚖𓚗𓚘𓚙𓚚𓚛𓚜𓚝𓚞𓚟𓚠𓚡𓚢𓚣𓚤𓚥𓚦𓚧𓚨𓚩𓚪𓚫𓚬𓚭𓚮𓚯𓚰𓚱𓚲𓚳𓚴𓚵𓚶𓚷𓚸𓚹𓚺𓚻𓚼𓚽𓚾𓚿𓛀𓛁𓛂𓛃𓛄𓛅𓛆𓛇𓛈𓛉𓛊𓛋𓛌𓛍𓛎𓛏𓛐𓛑𓛒𓛓𓛔𓛕𓛖𓛗𓛘𓛙𓛚𓛛𓛜𓛝𓛞𓛟𓛠𓛡𓛢𓛣𓛤𓛥𓛦𓛧𓛨𓛩𓛪𓛫𓛬𓛭𓛮𓛯𓛰𓛱𓛲𓛳𓛴𓛵𓛶𓛷𓛸𓛹𓛺𓛻𓛼𓛽𓛾𓛿𓜀𓜁𓜂𓜃𓜄𓜅𓜆𓜇𓜈𓜉𓜊𓜋𓜌𓜍𓜎𓜏𓜐𓜑𓜒𓜓𓜔𓜕𓜖𓜗𓜘𓜙𓜚𓜛𓜜𓜝𓜞𓜟𓜠𓜡𓜢𓜣𓜤𓜥𓜦𓜧𓜨𓜩𓜪𓜫𓜬𓜭𓜮𓜯𓜰𓜱𓜲𓜳𓜴𓜵𓜶𓜷𓜸𓜹𓜺𓜻𓜼𓜽𓜾𓜿𓝀𓝁𓝂𓝃𓝄𓝅𓝆𓝇𓝈𓝉𓝊𓝋𓝌𓝍𓝎𓝏𓝐𓝑𓝒𓝓𓝔𓝕𓝖𓝗𓝘𓝙𓝚𓝛𓝜𓝝𓝞𓝟𓝠𓝡𓝢𓝣𓝤𓝥𓝦𓝧𓝨𓝩𓝪𓝫𓝬𓝭𓝮𓝯𓝰𓝱𓝲𓝳𓝴𓝵𓝶𓝷𓝸𓝹𓝺𓝻𓝼𓝽𓝾𓝿𓞀𓞁𓞂𓞃𓞄𓞅𓞆𓞇𓞈𓞉𓞊𓞋𓞌𓞍𓞎𓞏𓞐𓞑𓞒𓞓𓞔𓞕𓞖𓞗𓞘𓞙𓞚𓞛𓞜𓞝𓞞𓞟𓞠𓞡𓞢𓞣𓞤𓞥𓞦𓞧𓞨𓞩𓞪𓞫𓞬𓞭𓞮𓞯𓞰𓞱𓞲𓞳𓞴𓞵𓞶𓞷𓞸𓞹𓞺𓞻𓞼𓞽𓞾𓞿𓟀𓟁𓟂𓟃𓟄𓟅𓟆𓟇𓟈𓟉𓟊𓟋𓟌𓟍𓟎𓟏𓟐𓟑𓟒𓟓𓟔𓟕𓟖𓟗𓟘𓟙𓟚𓟛𓟜𓟝𓟞𓟟𓟠𓟡𓟢𓟣𓟤𓟥𓟦𓟧𓟨𓟩𓟪𓟫𓟬𓟭𓟮𓟯𓟰𓟱𓟲𓟳𓟴𓟵𓟶𓟷𓟸𓟹𓟺𓟻𓟼𓟽𓟾𓟿𓠀𓠁𓠂𓠃𓠄𓠅𓠆𓠇𓠈𓠉𓠊𓠋𓠌𓠍𓠎𓠏𓠐𓠑𓠒𓠓𓠔𓠕𓠖𓠗𓠘𓠙𓠚𓠛𓠜𓠝𓠞𓠟𓠠𓠡𓠢𓠣𓠤𓠥𓠦𓠧𓠨𓠩𓠪𓠫𓠬𓠭𓠮𓠯𓠰𓠱𓠲𓠳𓠴𓠵𓠶𓠷𓠸𓠹𓠺𓠻𓠼𓠽𓠾𓠿𓡀𓡁𓡂𓡃𓡄𓡅𓡆𓡇𓡈𓡉𓡊𓡋𓡌𓡍𓡎𓡏𓡐𓡑𓡒𓡓𓡔𓡕𓡖𓡗𓡘𓡙𓡚𓡛𓡜𓡝𓡞𓡟𓡠𓡡𓡢𓡣𓡤𓡥𓡦𓡧𓡨𓡩𓡪𓡫𓡬𓡭𓡮𓡯𓡰𓡱𓡲𓡳𓡴𓡵𓡶𓡷𓡸𓡹𓡺𓡻𓡼𓡽𓡾𓡿𓢀𓢁𓢂𓢃𓢄𓢅𓢆𓢇𓢈𓢉𓢊𓢋𓢌𓢍𓢎𓢏𓢐𓢑𓢒𓢓𓢔𓢕𓢖𓢗𓢘𓢙𓢚𓢛𓢜𓢝𓢞𓢟𓢠𓢡𓢢𓢣𓢤𓢥𓢦𓢧𓢨𓢩𓢪𓢫𓢬𓢭𓢮𓢯𓢰𓢱𓢲𓢳𓢴𓢵𓢶𓢷𓢸𓢹𓢺𓢻𓢼𓢽𓢾𓢿𓣀𓣁𓣂𓣃𓣄𓣅𓣆𓣇𓣈𓣉𓣊𓣋𓣌𓣍𓣎𓣏𓣐𓣑𓣒𓣓𓣔𓣕𓣖𓣗𓣘𓣙𓣚𓣛𓣜𓣝𓣞𓣟𓣠𓣡𓣢𓣣𓣤𓣥𓣦𓣧𓣨𓣩𓣪𓣫𓣬𓣭𓣮𓣯𓣰𓣱𓣲𓣳𓣴𓣵𓣶𓣷𓣸𓣹𓣺𓣻𓣼𓣽𓣾𓣿𓤀𓤁𓤂𓤃𓤄𓤅𓤆𓤇𓤈𓤉𓤊𓤋𓤌𓤍𓤎𓤏𓤐𓤑𓤒𓤓𓤔𓤕𓤖𓤗𓤘𓤙𓤚𓤛𓤜𓤝𓤞𓤟𓤠𓤡𓤢𓤣𓤤𓤥𓤦𓤧𓤨𓤩𓤪𓤫𓤬𓤭𓤮𓤯𓤰𓤱𓤲𓤳𓤴𓤵𓤶𓤷𓤸𓤹𓤺𓤻𓤼𓤽𓤾𓤿𓥀𓥁𓥂𓥃𓥄𓥅𓥆𓥇𓥈𓥉𓥊𓥋𓥌𓥍𓥎𓥏𓥐𓥑𓥒𓥓𓥔𓥕𓥖𓥗𓥘𓥙𓥚𓥛𓥜𓥝𓥞𓥟𓥠𓥡𓥢𓥣𓥤𓥥𓥦𓥧𓥨𓥩𓥪𓥫𓥬𓥭𓥮𓥯𓥰𓥱𓥲𓥳𓥴𓥵𓥶𓥷𓥸𓥹𓥺𓥻𓥼𓥽𓥾𓥿𓦀𓦁𓦂𓦃𓦄𓦅𓦆𓦇𓦈𓦉𓦊𓦋𓦌𓦍𓦎𓦏𓦐𓦑𓦒𓦓𓦔𓦕𓦖𓦗𓦘𓦙𓦚𓦛𓦜𓦝𓦞𓦟𓦠𓦡𓦢𓦣𓦤𓦥𓦦𓦧𓦨𓦩𓦪𓦫𓦬𓦭𓦮𓦯𓦰𓦱𓦲𓦳𓦴𓦵𓦶𓦷𓦸𓦹𓦺𓦻𓦼𓦽𓦾𓦿𓧀𓧁𓧂𓧃𓧄𓧅𓧆𓧇𓧈𓧉𓧊𓧋𓧌𓧍𓧎𓧏𓧐𓧑𓧒𓧓𓧔𓧕𓧖𓧗𓧘𓧙𓧚𓧛𓧜𓧝𓧞𓧟𓧠𓧡𓧢𓧣𓧤𓧥𓧦𓧧𓧨𓧩𓧪𓧫𓧬𓧭𓧮𓧯𓧰𓧱𓧲𓧳𓧴𓧵𓧶𓧷𓧸𓧹𓧺𓧻𓧼𓧽𓧾𓧿𓨀𓨁𓨂𓨃𓨄𓨅𓨆𓨇𓨈𓨉𓨊𓨋𓨌𓨍𓨎𓨏𓨐𓨑𓨒𓨓𓨔𓨕𓨖𓨗𓨘𓨙𓨚𓨛𓨜𓨝𓨞𓨟𓨠𓨡𓨢𓨣𓨤𓨥𓨦𓨧𓨨𓨩𓨪𓨫𓨬𓨭𓨮𓨯𓨰𓨱𓨲𓨳𓨴𓨵𓨶𓨷𓨸𓨹𓨺𓨻𓨼𓨽𓨾𓨿𓩀𓩁𓩂𓩃𓩄𓩅𓩆𓩇𓩈𓩉𓩊𓩋𓩌𓩍𓩎𓩏𓩐𓩑𓩒𓩓𓩔𓩕𓩖𓩗𓩘𓩙𓩚𓩛𓩜𓩝𓩞𓩟𓩠𓩡𓩢𓩣𓩤𓩥𓩦𓩧𓩨𓩩𓩪𓩫𓩬𓩭𓩮𓩯𓩰𓩱𓩲𓩳𓩴𓩵𓩶𓩷𓩸𓩹𓩺𓩻𓩼𓩽𓩾𓩿𓪀𓪁𓪂𓪃𓪄𓪅𓪆𓪇𓪈𓪉𓪊𓪋𓪌𓪍𓪎𓪏𓪐𓪑𓪒𓪓𓪔𓪕𓪖𓪗𓪘𓪙𓪚𓪛𓪜𓪝𓪞𓪟𓪠𓪡𓪢𓪣𓪤𓪥𓪦𓪧𓪨𓪩𓪪𓪫𓪬𓪭𓪮𓪯𓪰𓪱𓪲𓪳𓪴𓪵𓪶𓪷𓪸𓪹𓪺𓪻𓪼𓪽𓪾𓪿𓫀𓫁𓫂𓫃𓫄𓫅𓫆𓫇𓫈𓫉𓫊𓫋𓫌𓫍𓫎𓫏𓫐𓫑𓫒𓫓𓫔𓫕𓫖𓫗𓫘𓫙𓫚𓫛𓫜𓫝𓫞𓫟𓫠𓫡𓫢𓫣𓫤𓫥𓫦𓫧𓫨𓫩𓫪𓫫𓫬𓫭𓫮𓫯𓫰𓫱𓫲𓫳𓫴𓫵𓫶𓫷𓫸𓫹𓫺𓫻𓫼𓫽𓫾𓫿𓬀𓬁𓬂𓬃𓬄𓬅𓬆𓬇𓬈𓬉𓬊𓬋𓬌𓬍𓬎𓬏𓬐𓬑𓬒𓬓𓬔𓬕𓬖𓬗𓬘𓬙𓬚𓬛𓬜𓬝𓬞𓬟𓬠𓬡𓬢𓬣𓬤𓬥𓬦𓬧𓬨𓬩𓬪𓬫𓬬𓬭𓬮𓬯𓬰𓬱𓬲𓬳𓬴𓬵𓬶𓬷𓬸𓬹𓬺𓬻𓬼𓬽𓬾𓬿𓭀𓭁𓭂𓭃𓭄𓭅𓭆𓭇𓭈𓭉𓭊𓭋𓭌𓭍𓭎𓭏𓭐𓭑𓭒𓭓𓭔𓭕𓭖𓭗𓭘𓭙𓭚𓭛𓭜𓭝𓭞𓭟𓭠𓭡𓭢𓭣𓭤𓭥𓭦𓭧𓭨𓭩𓭪𓭫𓭬𓭭𓭮𓭯𓭰𓭱𓭲𓭳𓭴𓭵𓭶𓭷𓭸𓭹𓭺𓭻𓭼𓭽𓭾𓭿𓮀𓮁𓮂𓮃𓮄𓮅𓮆𓮇𓮈𓮉𓮊𓮋𓮌𓮍𓮎𓮏𓮐𓮑𓮒𓮓𓮔𓮕𓮖𓮗𓮘𓮙𓮚𓮛𓮜𓮝𓮞𓮟𓮠𓮡𓮢𓮣𓮤𓮥𓮦𓮧𓮨𓮩𓮪𓮫𓮬𓮭𓮮𓮯𓮰𓮱𓮲𓮳𓮴𓮵𓮶𓮷𓮸𓮹𓮺𓮻𓮼𓮽𓮾𓮿𓯀𓯁𓯂𓯃𓯄𓯅𓯆𓯇𓯈𓯉𓯊𓯋𓯌𓯍𓯎𓯏𓯐𓯑𓯒𓯓𓯔𓯕𓯖𓯗𓯘𓯙𓯚𓯛𓯜𓯝𓯞𓯟𓯠𓯡𓯢𓯣𓯤𓯥𓯦𓯧𓯨𓯩𓯪𓯫𓯬𓯭𓯮𓯯𓯰𓯱𓯲𓯳𓯴𓯵𓯶𓯷𓯸𓯹𓯺𓯻𓯼𓯽𓯾𓯿𓰀𓰁𓰂𓰃𓰄𓰅𓰆𓰇𓰈𓰉𓰊𓰋𓰌𓰍𓰎𓰏𓰐𓰑𓰒𓰓𓰔𓰕𓰖𓰗𓰘𓰙𓰚𓰛𓰜𓰝𓰞𓰟𓰠𓰡𓰢𓰣𓰤𓰥𓰦𓰧𓰨𓰩𓰪𓰫𓰬𓰭𓰮𓰯𓰰𓰱𓰲𓰳𓰴𓰵𓰶𓰷𓰸𓰹𓰺𓰻𓰼𓰽𓰾𓰿𓱀𓱁𓱂𓱃𓱄𓱅𓱆𓱇𓱈𓱉𓱊𓱋𓱌𓱍𓱎𓱏𓱐𓱑𓱒𓱓𓱔𓱕𓱖𓱗𓱘𓱙𓱚𓱛𓱜𓱝𓱞𓱟𓱠𓱡𓱢𓱣𓱤𓱥𓱦𓱧𓱨𓱩𓱪𓱫𓱬𓱭𓱮𓱯𓱰𓱱𓱲𓱳𓱴𓱵𓱶𓱷𓱸𓱹𓱺𓱻𓱼𓱽𓱾𓱿𓲀𓲁𓲂𓲃𓲄𓲅𓲆𓲇𓲈𓲉𓲊𓲋𓲌𓲍𓲎𓲏𓲐𓲑𓲒𓲓𓲔𓲕𓲖𓲗𓲘𓲙𓲚𓲛𓲜𓲝𓲞𓲟𓲠𓲡𓲢𓲣𓲤𓲥𓲦𓲧𓲨𓲩𓲪𓲫𓲬𓲭𓲮𓲯𓲰𓲱𓲲𓲳𓲴𓲵𓲶𓲷𓲸𓲹𓲺𓲻𓲼𓲽𓲾𓲿𓳀𓳁𓳂𓳃𓳄𓳅𓳆𓳇𓳈𓳉𓳊𓳋𓳌𓳍𓳎𓳏𓳐𓳑𓳒𓳓𓳔𓳕𓳖𓳗𓳘𓳙𓳚𓳛𓳜𓳝𓳞𓳟𓳠𓳡𓳢𓳣𓳤𓳥𓳦𓳧𓳨𓳩𓳪𓳫𓳬𓳭𓳮𓳯𓳰𓳱𓳲𓳳𓳴𓳵𓳶𓳷𓳸𓳹𓳺𓳻𓳼𓳽𓳾𓳿𓴀𓴁𓴂𓴃𓴄𓴅𓴆𓴇𓴈𓴉𓴊𓴋𓴌𓴍𓴎𓴏𓴐𓴑𓴒𓴓𓴔𓴕𓴖𓴗𓴘𓴙𓴚𓴛𓴜𓴝𓴞𓴟𓴠𓴡𓴢𓴣𓴤𓴥𓴦𓴧𓴨𓴩𓴪𓴫𓴬𓴭𓴮𓴯𓴰𓴱𓴲𓴳𓴴𓴵𓴶𓴷𓴸𓴹𓴺𓴻𓴼𓴽𓴾𓴿𓵀𓵁𓵂𓵃𓵄𓵅𓵆𓵇𓵈𓵉𓵊𓵋𓵌𓵍𓵎𓵏𓵐𓵑𓵒𓵓𓵔𓵕𓵖𓵗𓵘𓵙𓵚𓵛𓵜𓵝𓵞𓵟𓵠𓵡𓵢𓵣𓵤𓵥𓵦𓵧𓵨𓵩𓵪𓵫𓵬𓵭𓵮𓵯𓵰𓵱𓵲𓵳𓵴𓵵𓵶𓵷𓵸𓵹𓵺𓵻𓵼𓵽



Bowl Pitt Rivers Museum

GARDINER/SETHE, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdom* (London 1928) pl. 9.

Pl. 23



Inscr. Ms

GABALLA, *The Memphite tomb-chapel of Mose* (Warminster 1977) pl. 58.

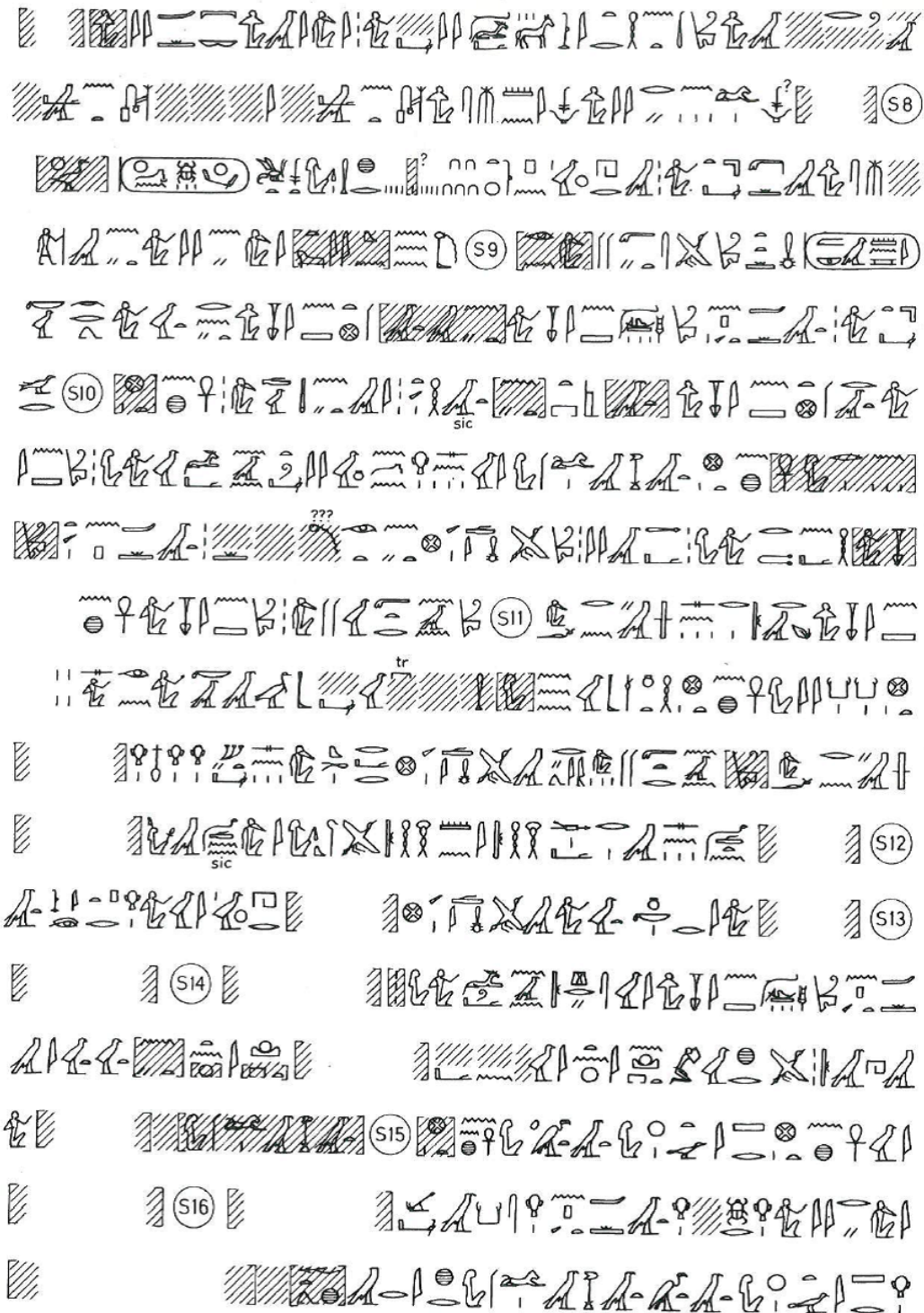
Pl. 23a

Hieroglyphic text from the Memphite tomb-chapel of Mose, consisting of 20 lines. The text is written in black ink on a light background. It contains several circled numbers (N7, N8, N9, N10, N11) and some words are marked with "sic" or "tr". The text is arranged in a regular grid pattern.

Inscr. Ms

GABALLA, *The Memphite tomb-chapel of Mose*, pl. 59.

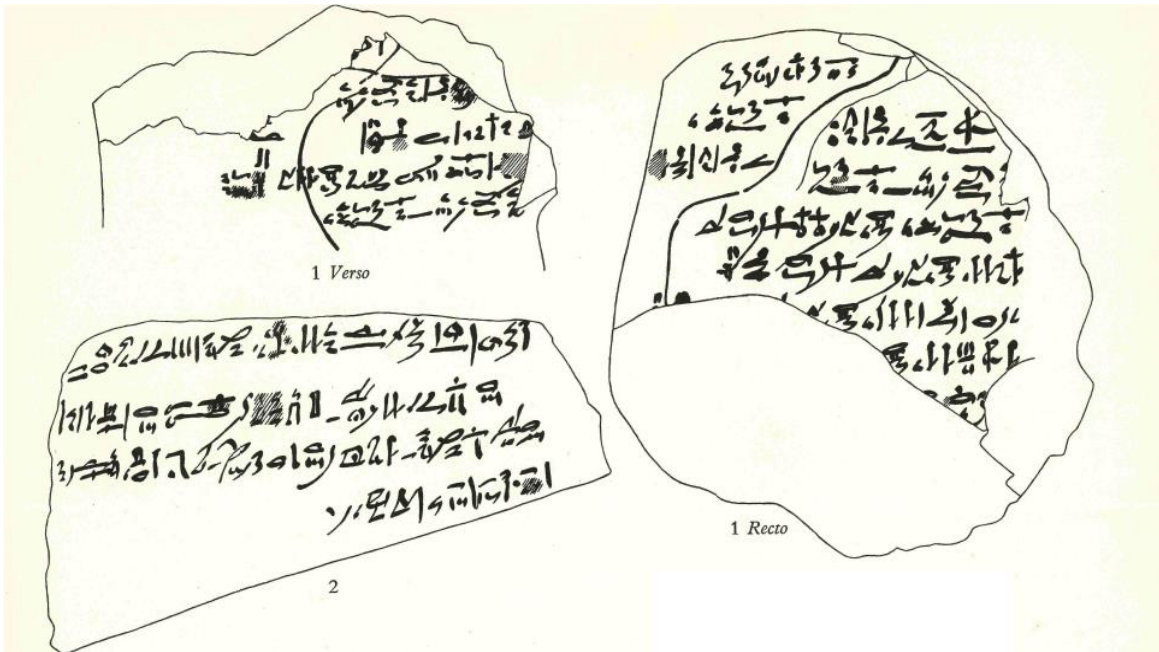
Pl. 23e



Inscr. Ms

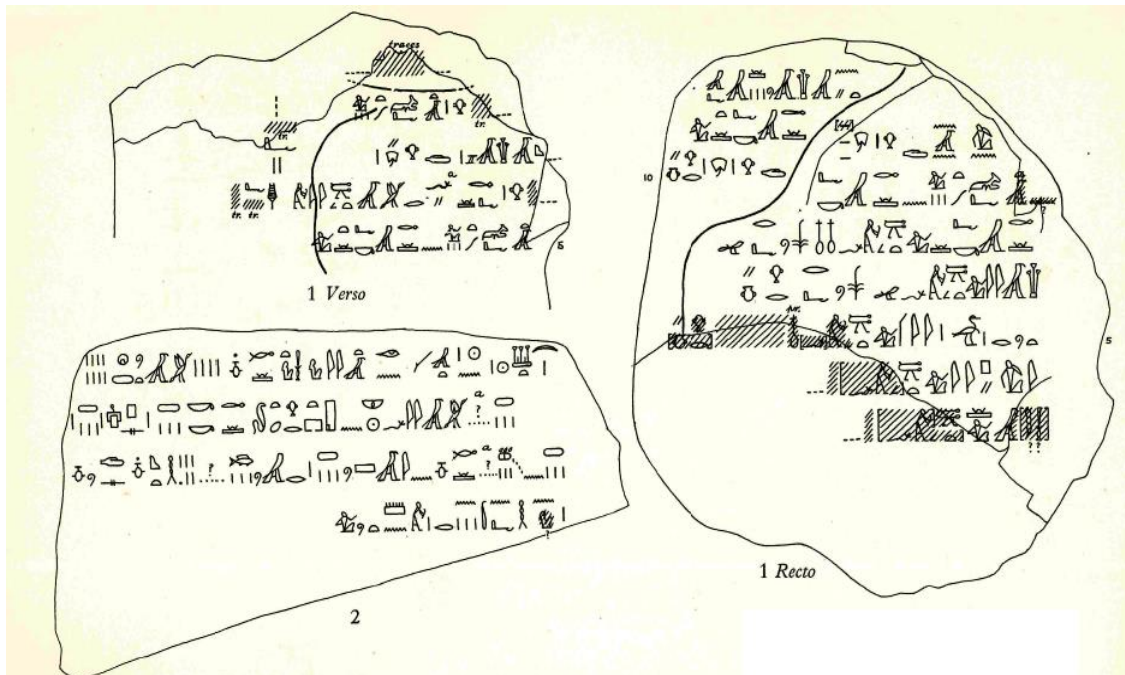
GABALLA, *The Memphite tomb-chapel of Mose*, pl. 63.

Pl. 24



oGardiner 89
ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, 60. 1

Pl. 24a

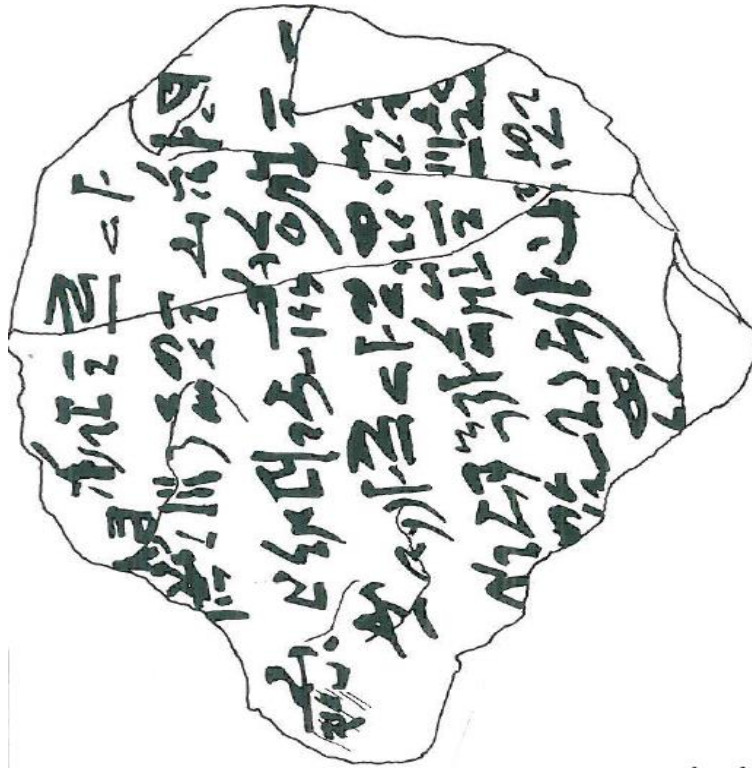


oGardiner 89
ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, 60. 1

①
 10
 15
 15
 12
 13

oBerlin P 10627
 KITCHEN, *KRI* VI, 155-156, §88 A.105.

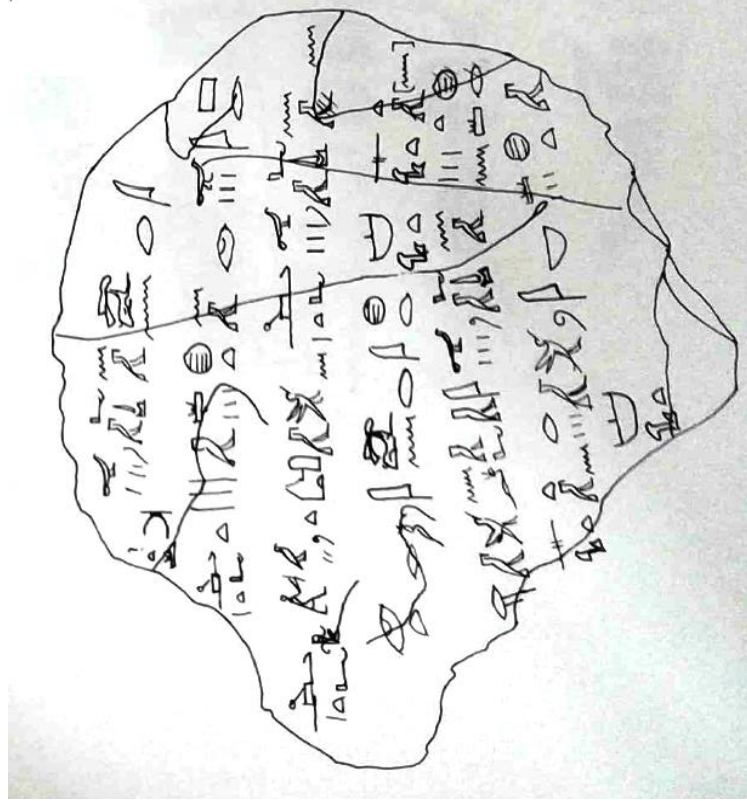
Pl. 27



oDeM 764

GRANDET, *Catalogue des ostraca hiéroglyphiques non-littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh*, 8 (Cairo 2000) 166.

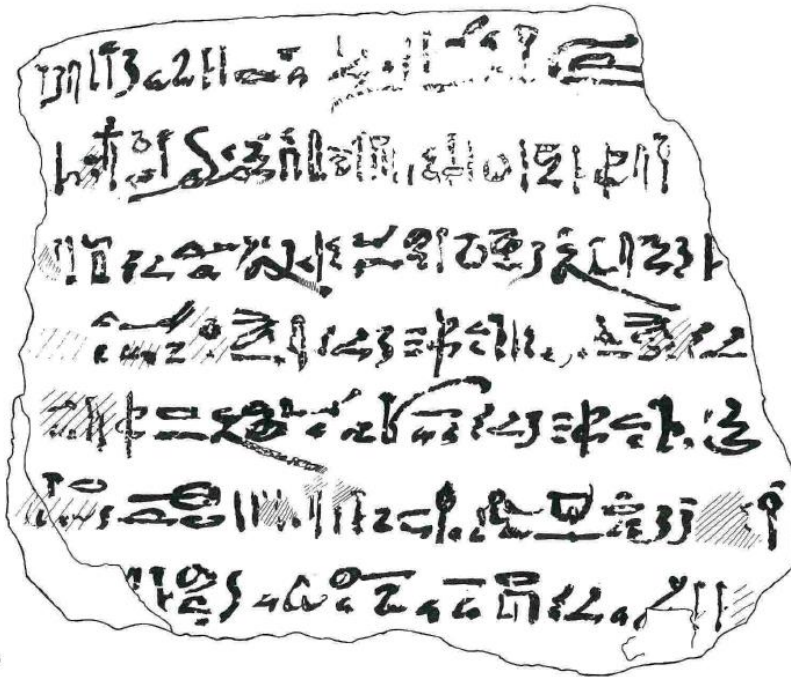
Pl. 27a



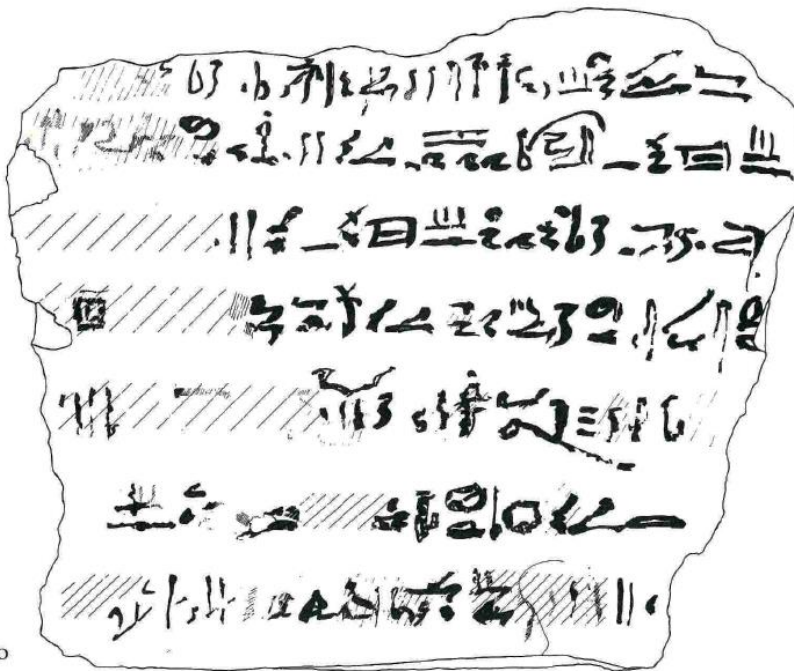
oDeM 764

GRANDET, *Catalogue des ostraca hiéroglyphiques non-littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh*, 8, 166.

Pl. 28



recto

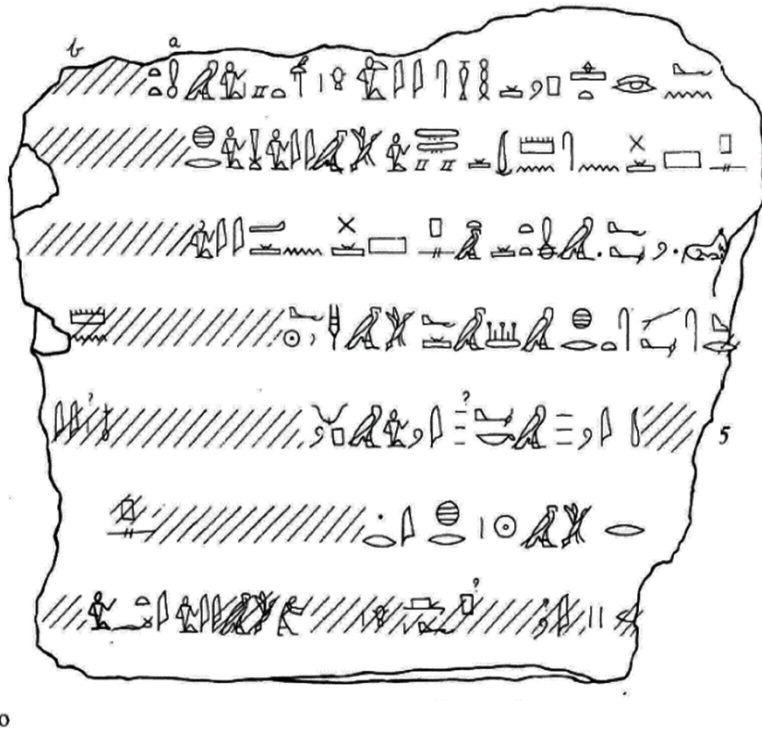
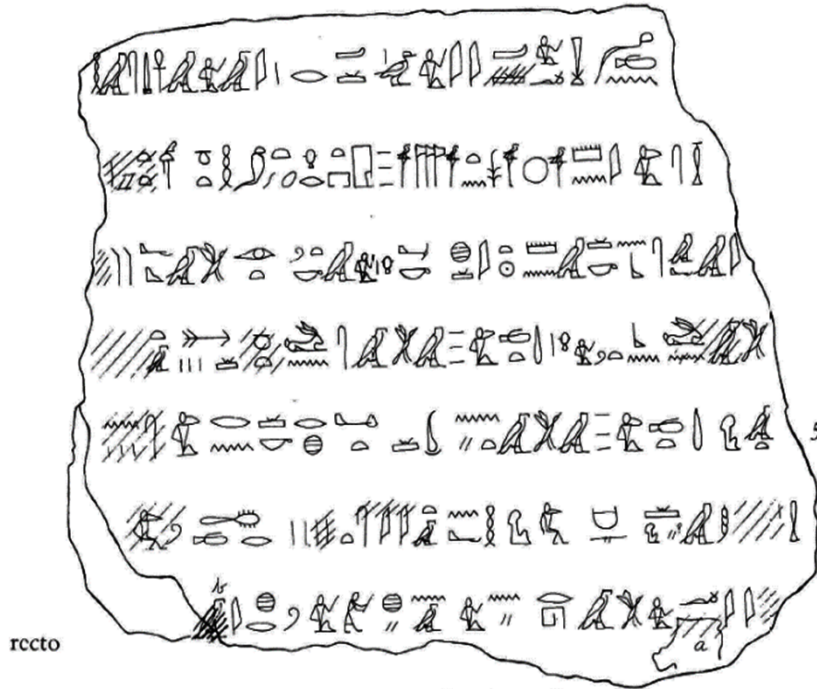


verso

oGlasgow D. 1925.83

MCDOWELL, A. G., *Hieratic ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow*, pl. 25.

Pl. 28a



oGlasgow D. 1925.83

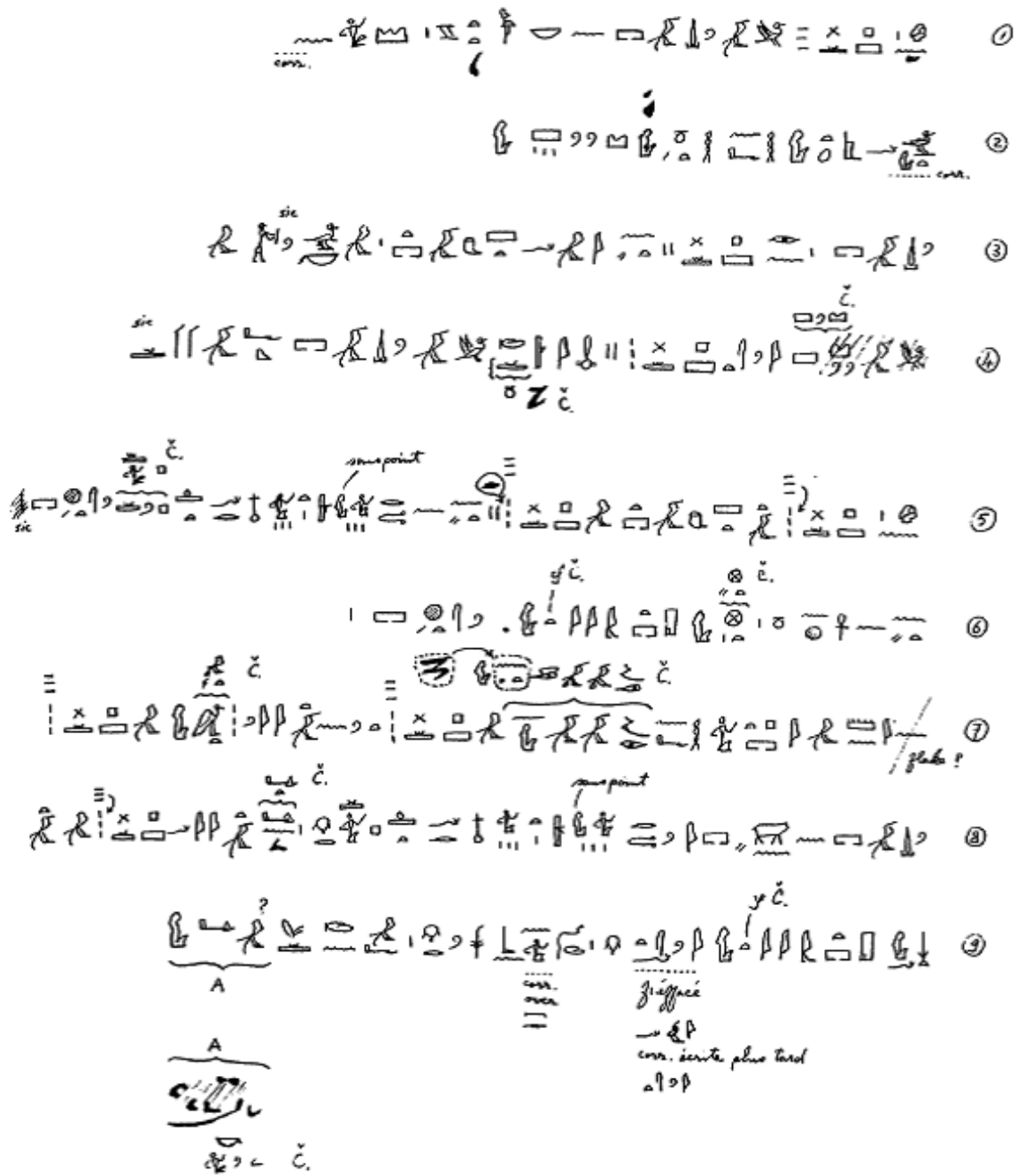
MCDOWELL, A. G., *Hieratic ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow*, pl. 25a.

Pl. 30



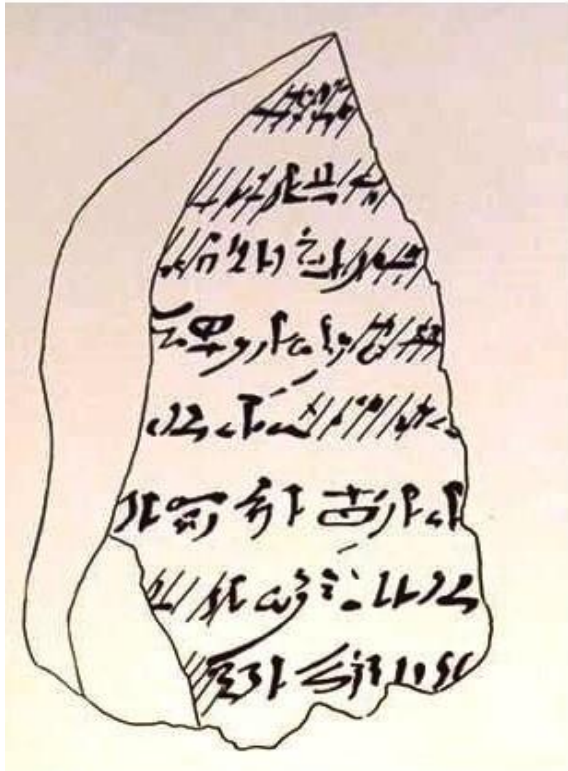
oLouvre E 2425
ALLAM, *HOPR*, pl. 60.

Pl. 30a



oLouvre E 2425
ALLAM, HOPR, pl. 61.

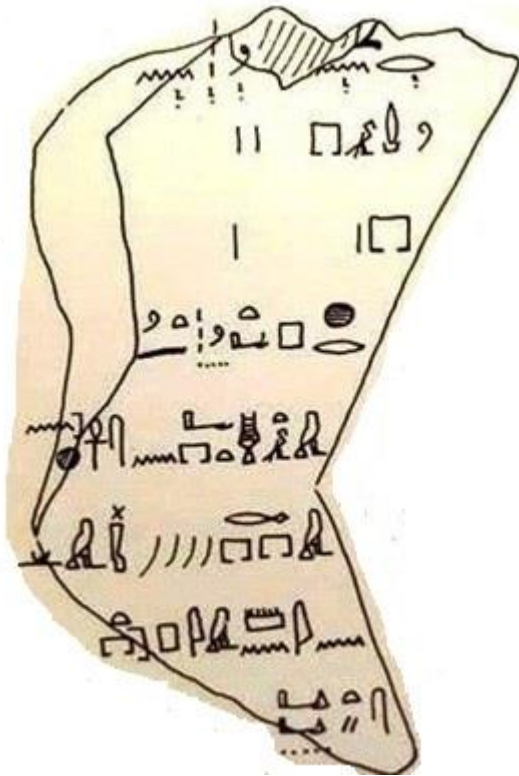
Pl. 31



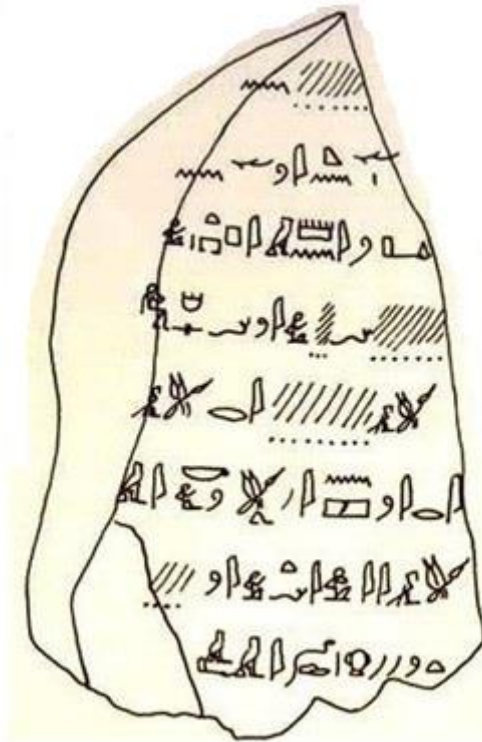
oMichaelides 4

Goedicke, H./and Edward Frank Wentz, E. F., *Ostraka Michaelides*, 53.

Pl. 31a



verso

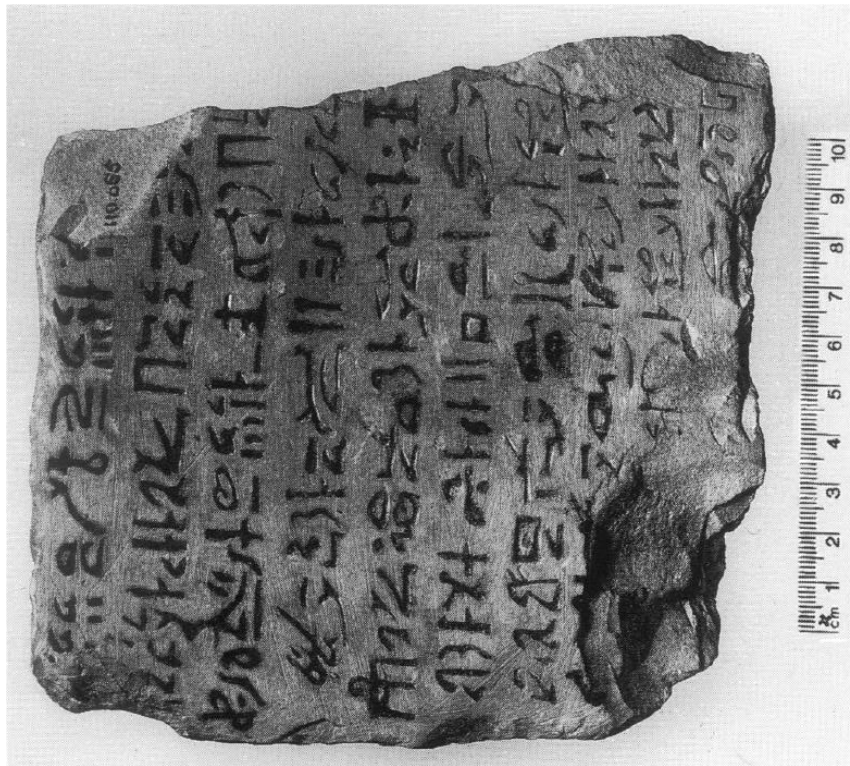


recto

oMichaelides 4

GOEDICKE, H./and Edward Frank Wente, E. F., *Ostraka Michaelides*, 5..

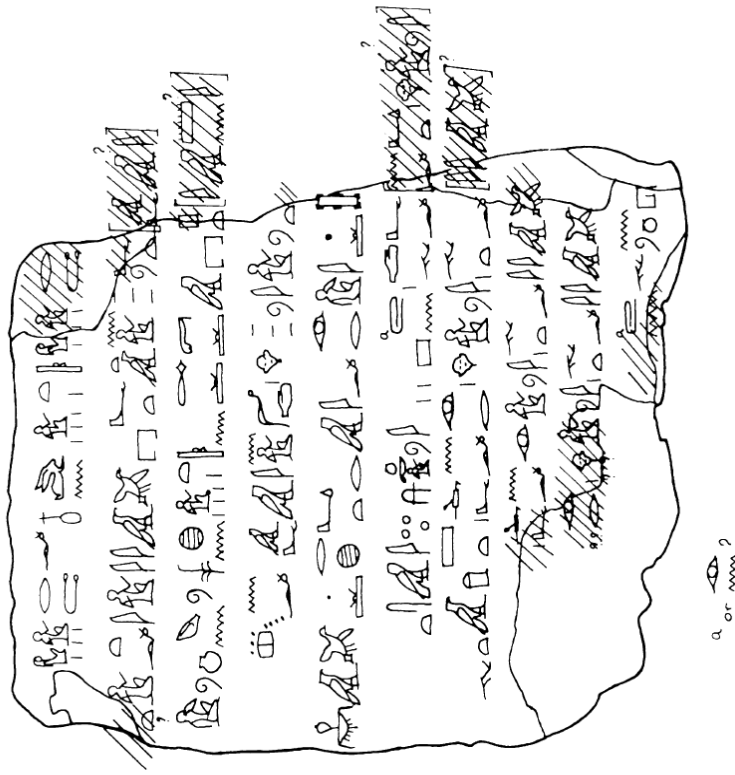
Pl. 32



oAshmolean 655

MCDOWELL, A. G., 'An Incised Hieratic Ostracon (Ashmolean HO 655)', *JEA* 81 (1995) pl. 20.

Pl. 32a

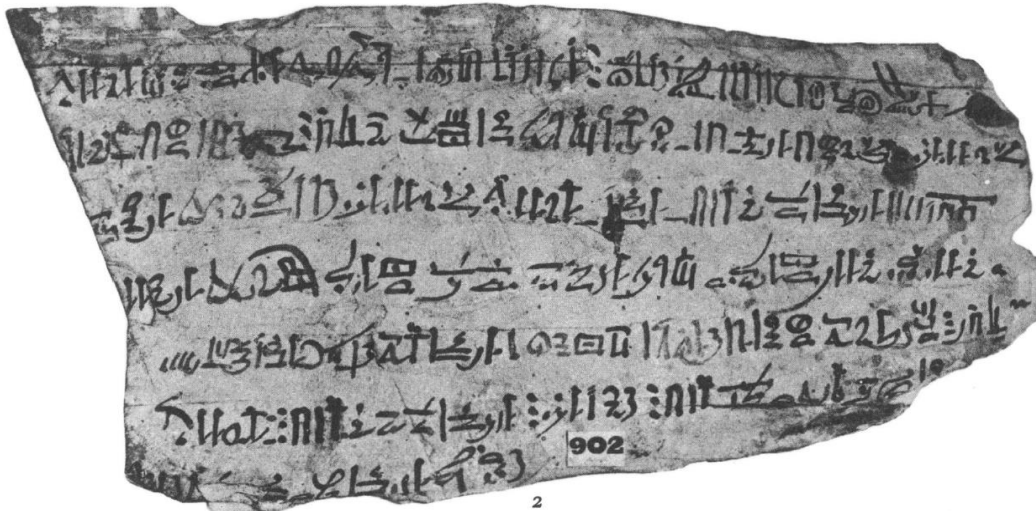


oAshmolean 655

MCDOWELL, A. G., 'An Incised Hieratic Ostracon (Ashmolean HO 655)', *JEA* 81 (1995) pl. 20.



1



2

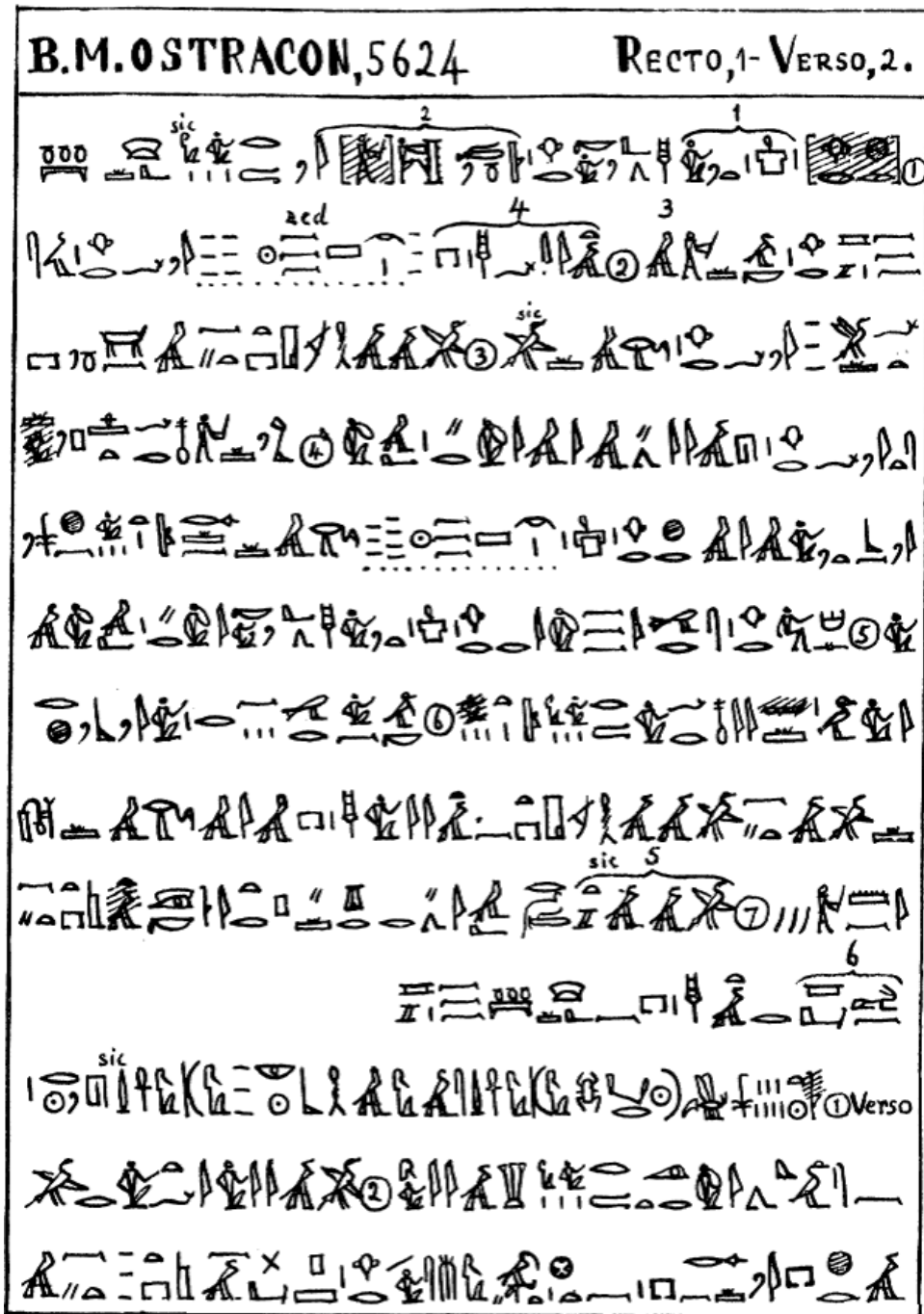
B.M. Ostrakon 5624.

1. Recto. 2. Verso.

oBM 5624

BLACKMAN, 'Oracles in Ancient Egypt II', *JEA* 12 (1926) pl. 40.

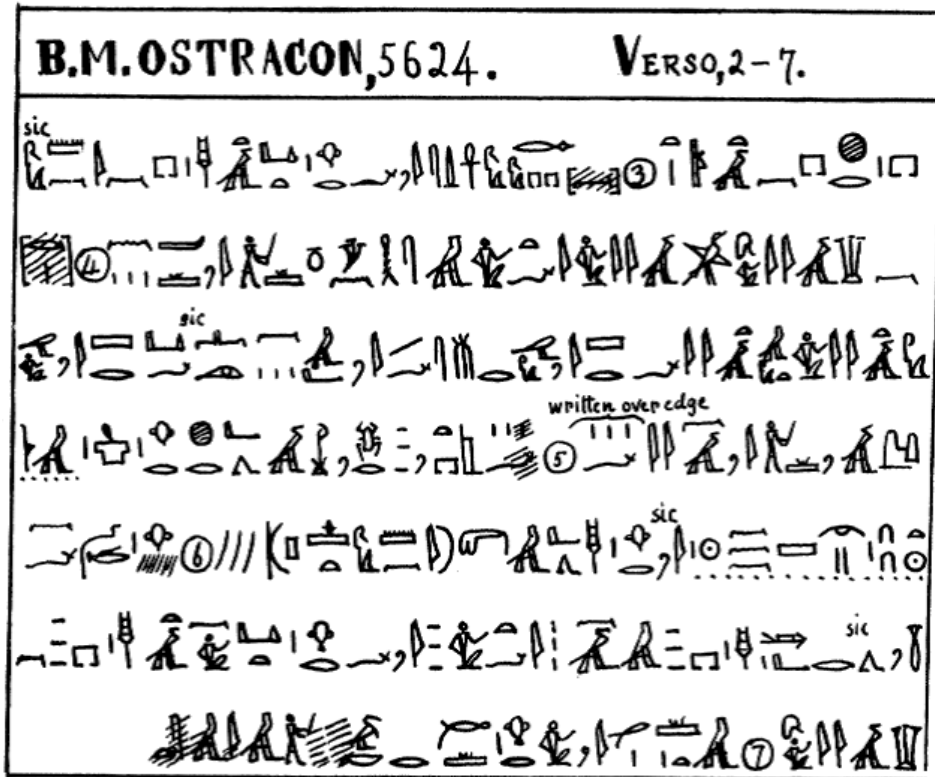
Pl. 33a



oBM 5624

BLACKMAN, 'Oracles in Ancient Egypt II', JEA 12 (1926) pl. 34.

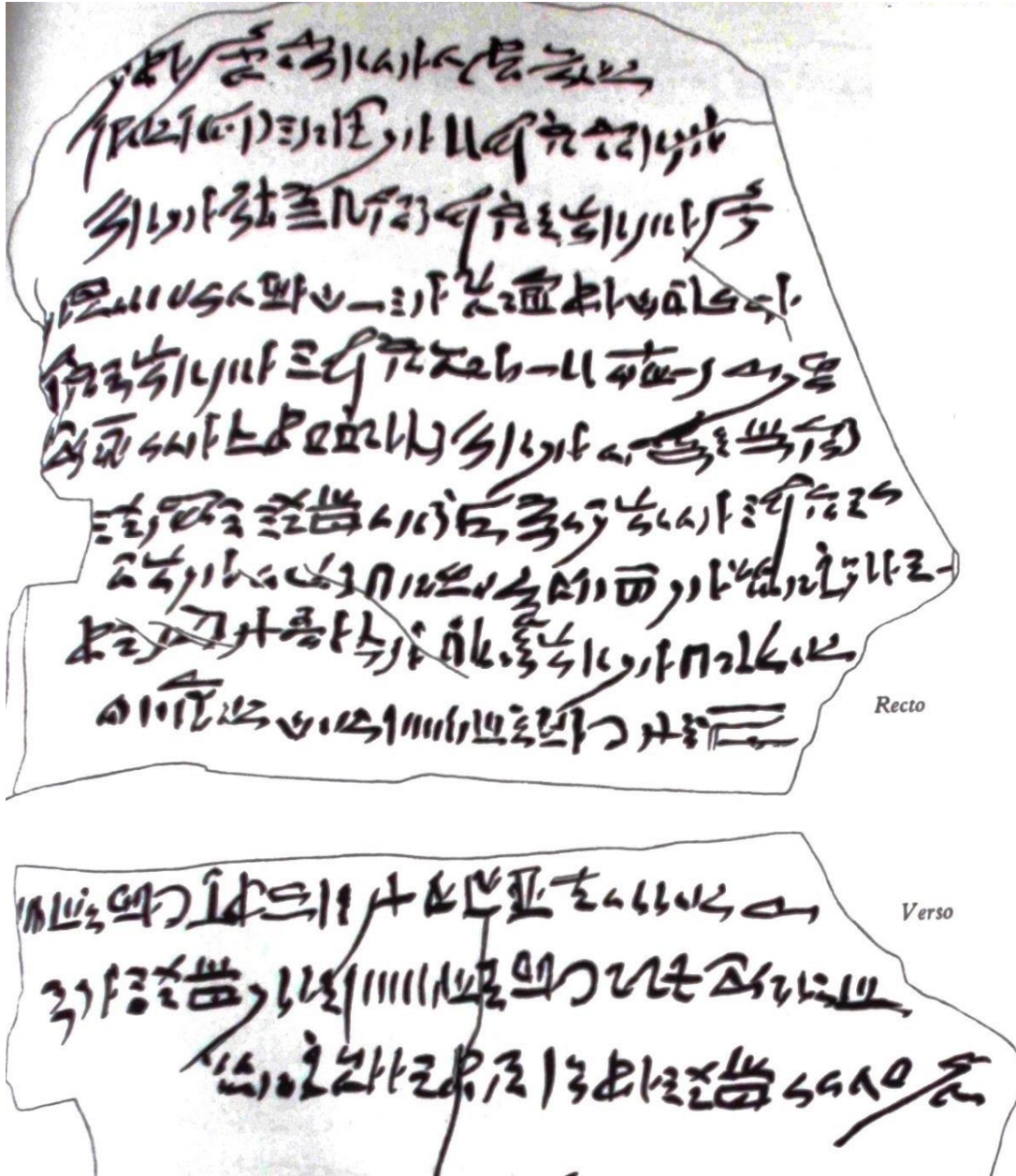
Pl. 33b



oBM 5624

BLACKMAN, 'Oracles in Ancient Egypt II', *JEA* 12 (1926) pl. 35.

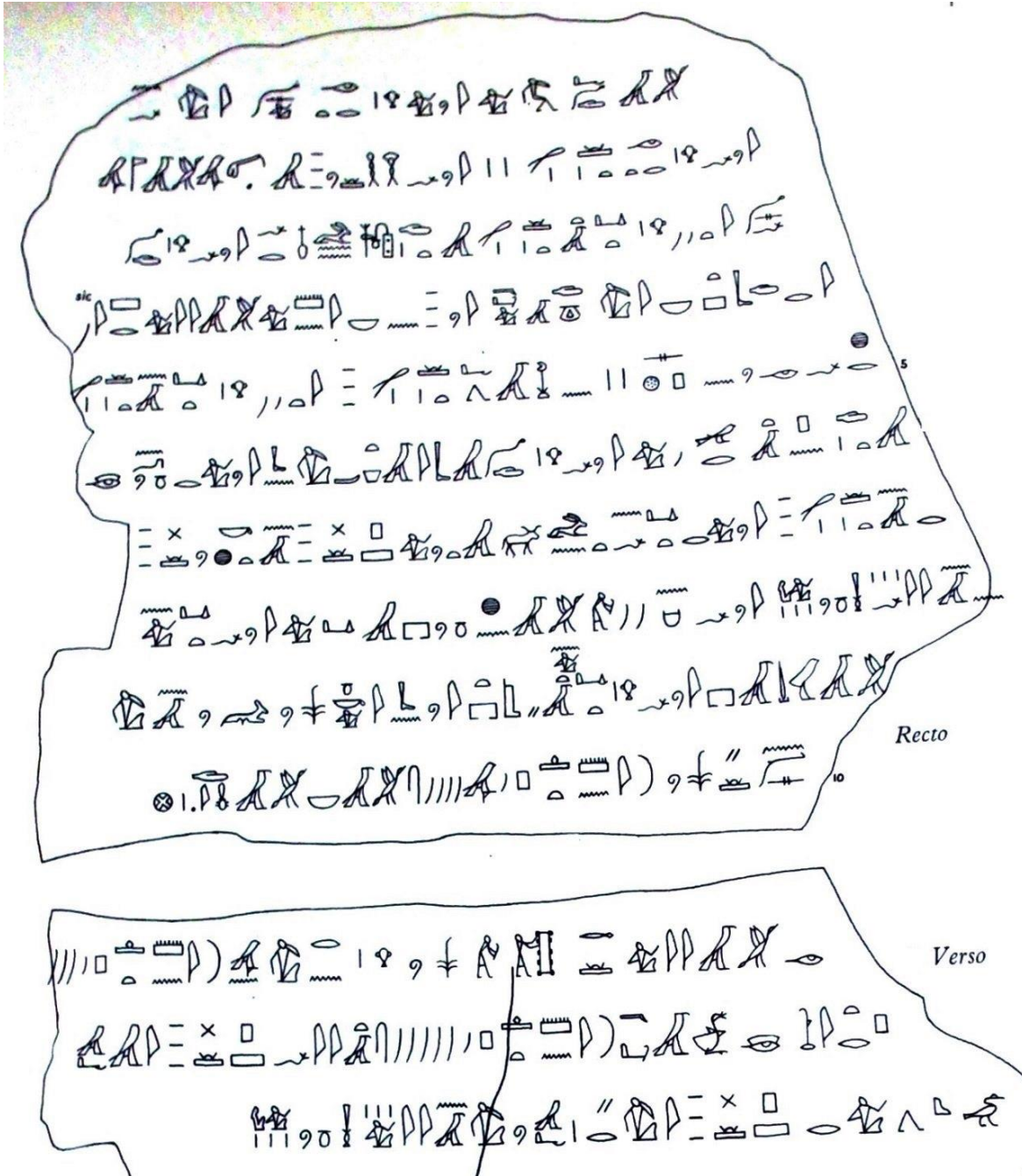
Pl. 34



oGardiner 103

ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 52A. 2.

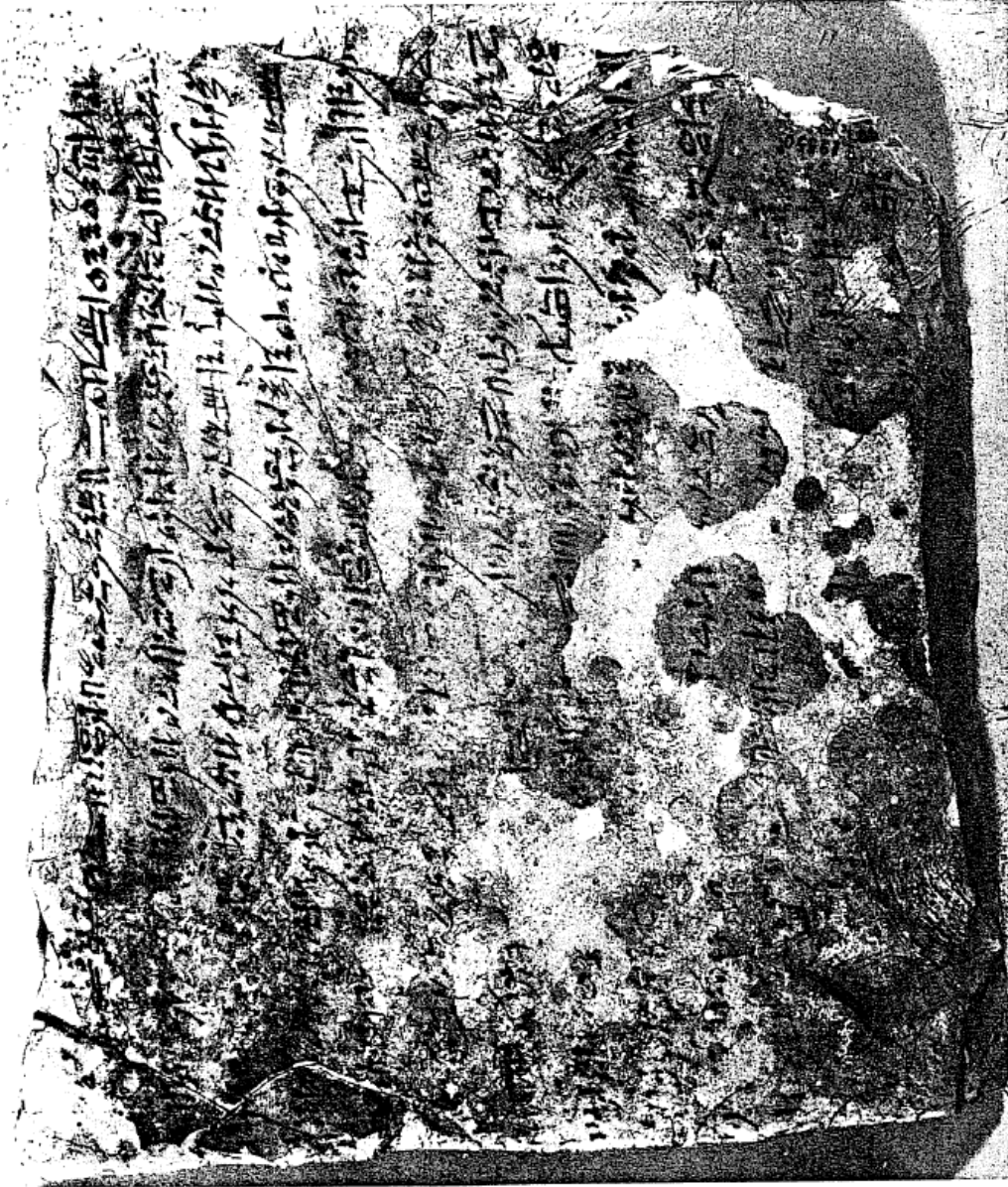
Pl. 34a



oGardiner 103

ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 52. 2.

Pl. 35



oGenf 12550
ALLAM, *HOPR*, pl. 54.

Pl. 35a

11 lines in red as in ...
Fig. 35a's note-book
neto

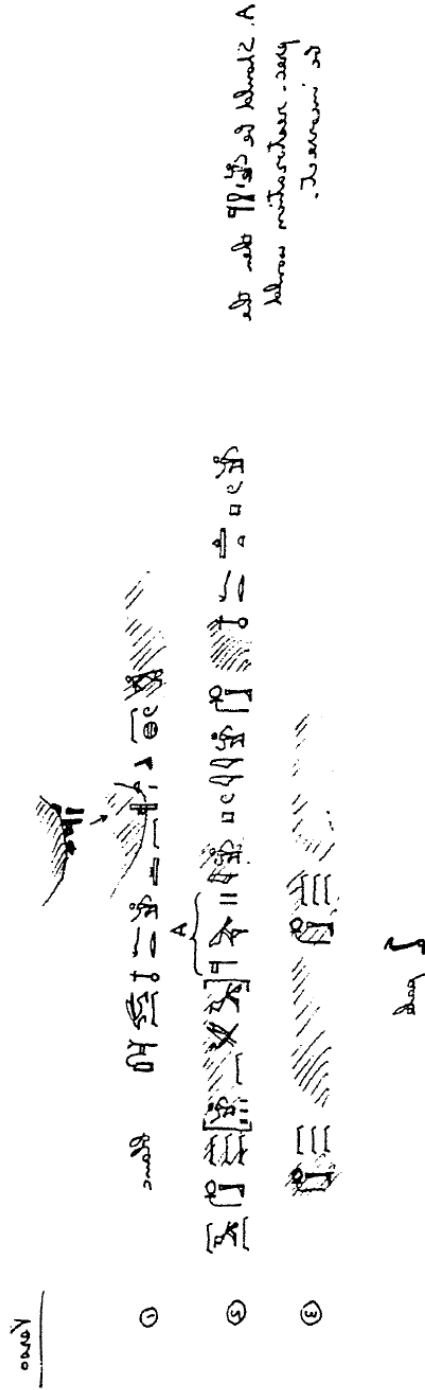
31 x 47.5 cm, both sides, very pale and neglected.
11 lines in red as in ...
Fig. 35a's note-book
neto

Hieroglyphic text on papyrus, with red ink used for certain lines. The text is arranged in approximately 11 horizontal lines. Some lines are marked with circled numbers (1-11) on the right side. The text includes various hieroglyphs and signs, some of which are annotated with small letters (a, b, c, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, q, r, s, t, u, v, w, x, y, z) and numbers (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11). There are also some vertical lines and symbols interspersed within the text.

oGenf 12550

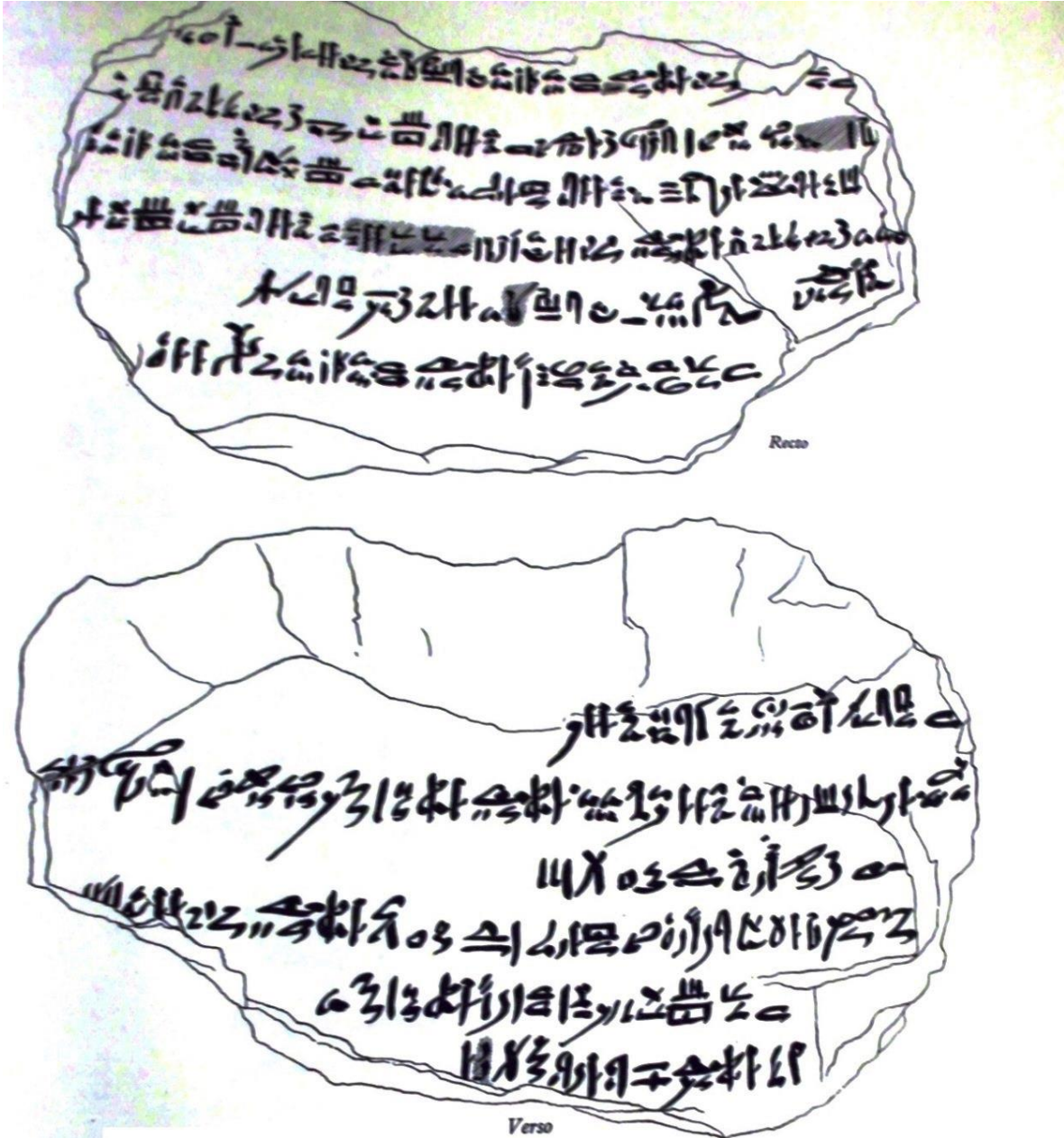
ALLAM, HOPR, pl. 55.

Pl. 35b



oGenf 12550
ALLAM, HOPR, pl. 56.

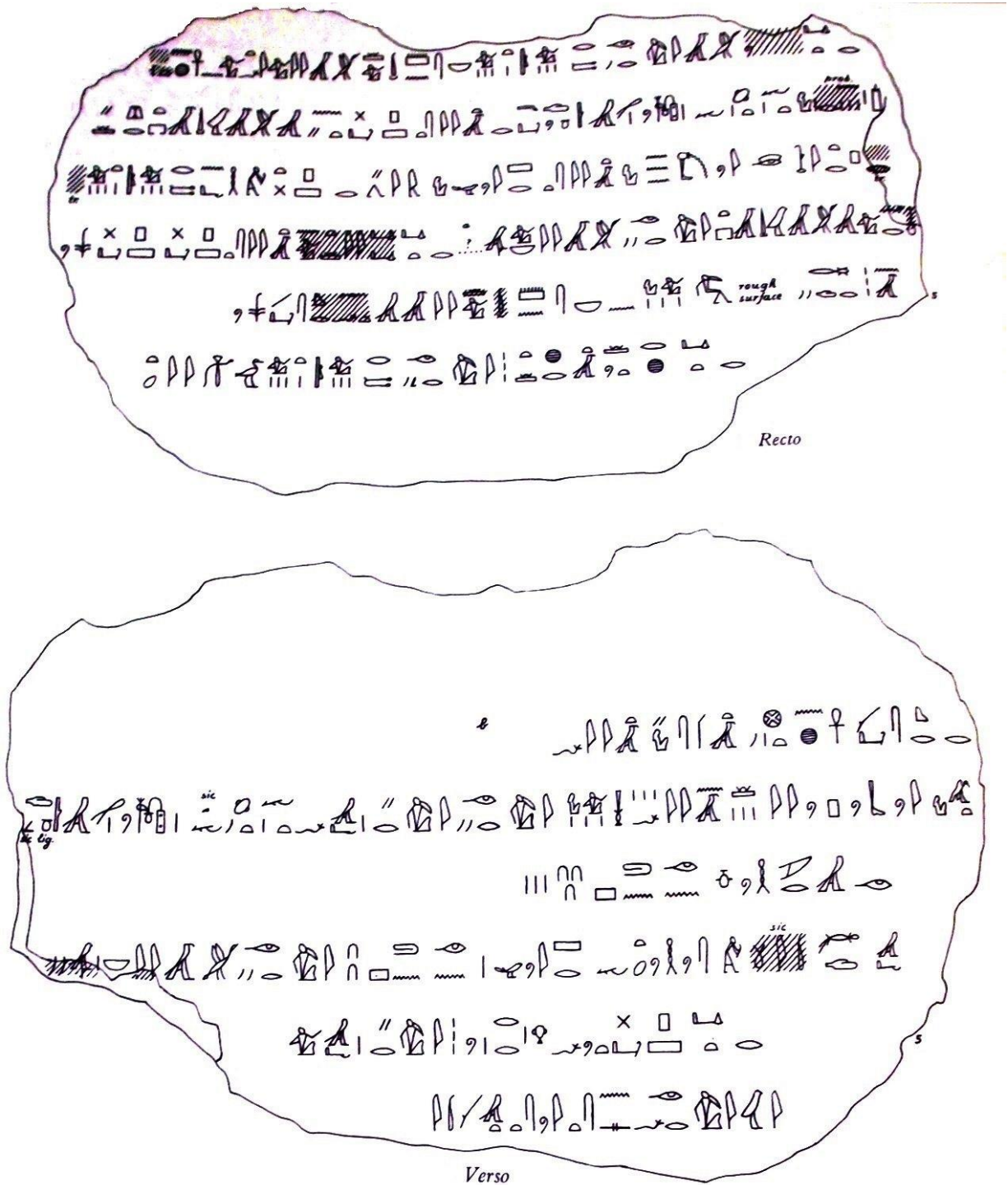
Pl. 36



oPetrie 16

ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 21A. 1.

Pl. 36a



oPetrie 16

ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 21. 1.

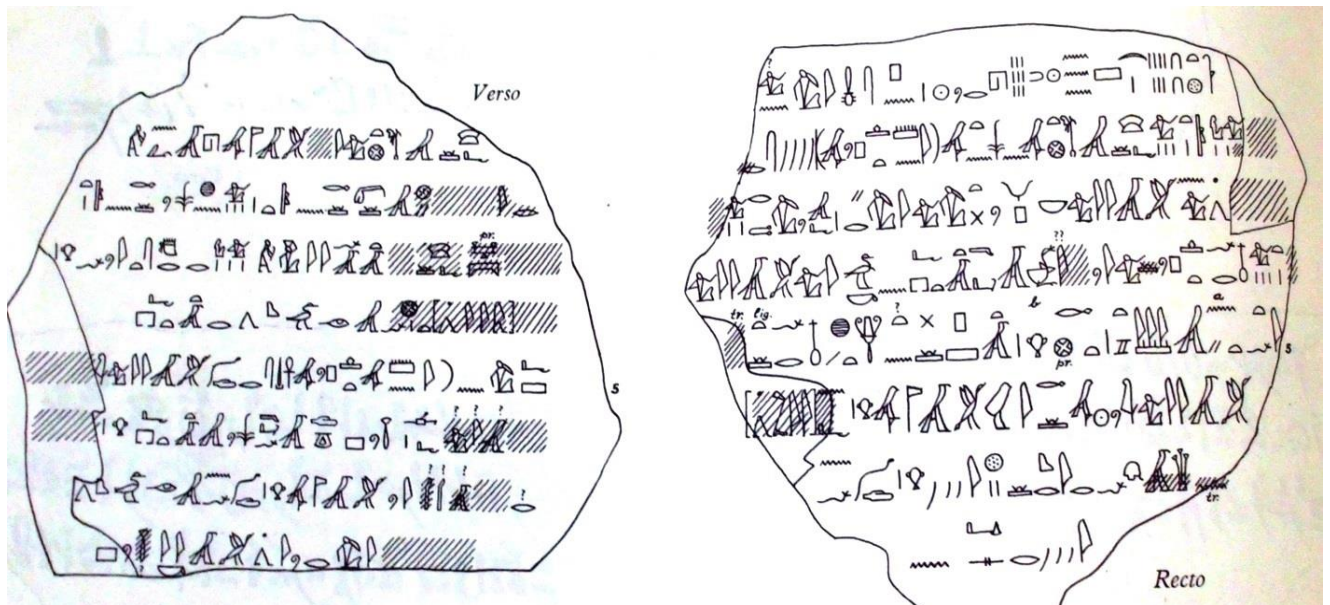
Pl. 37



oPetrie 21

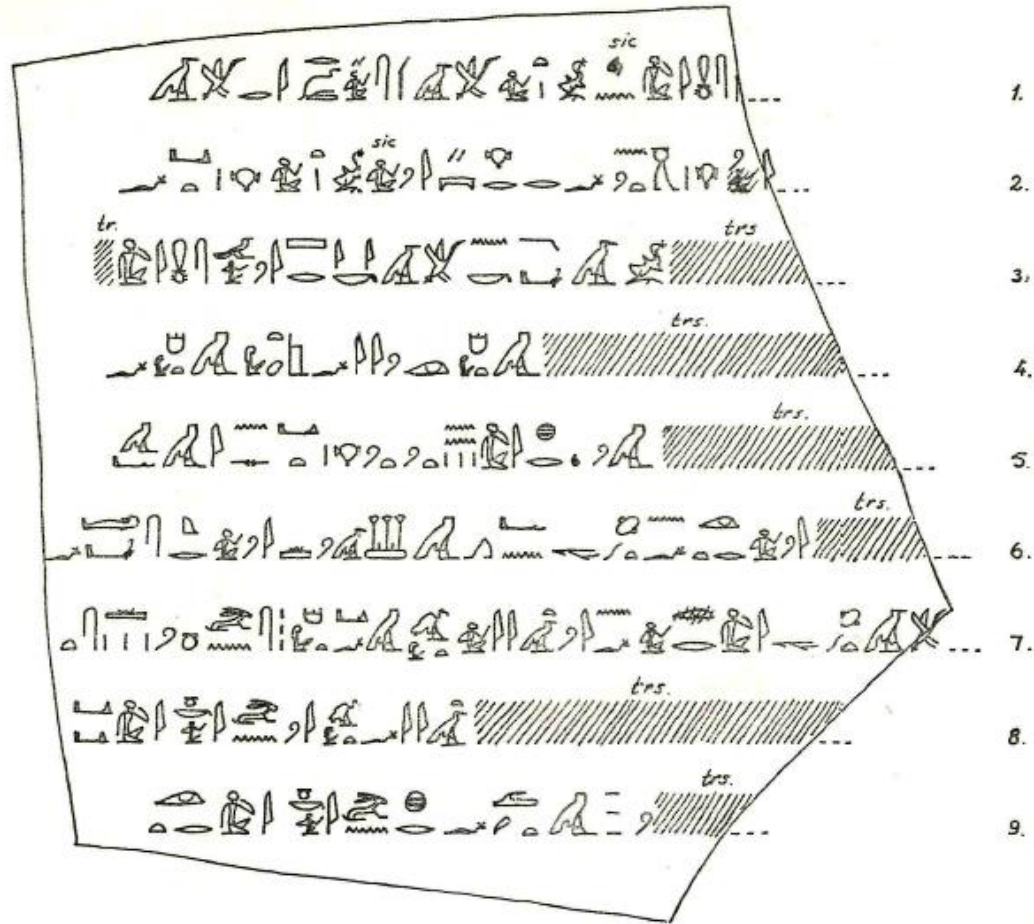
ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 16A. 4.

Pl. 37a



oPetrie 21

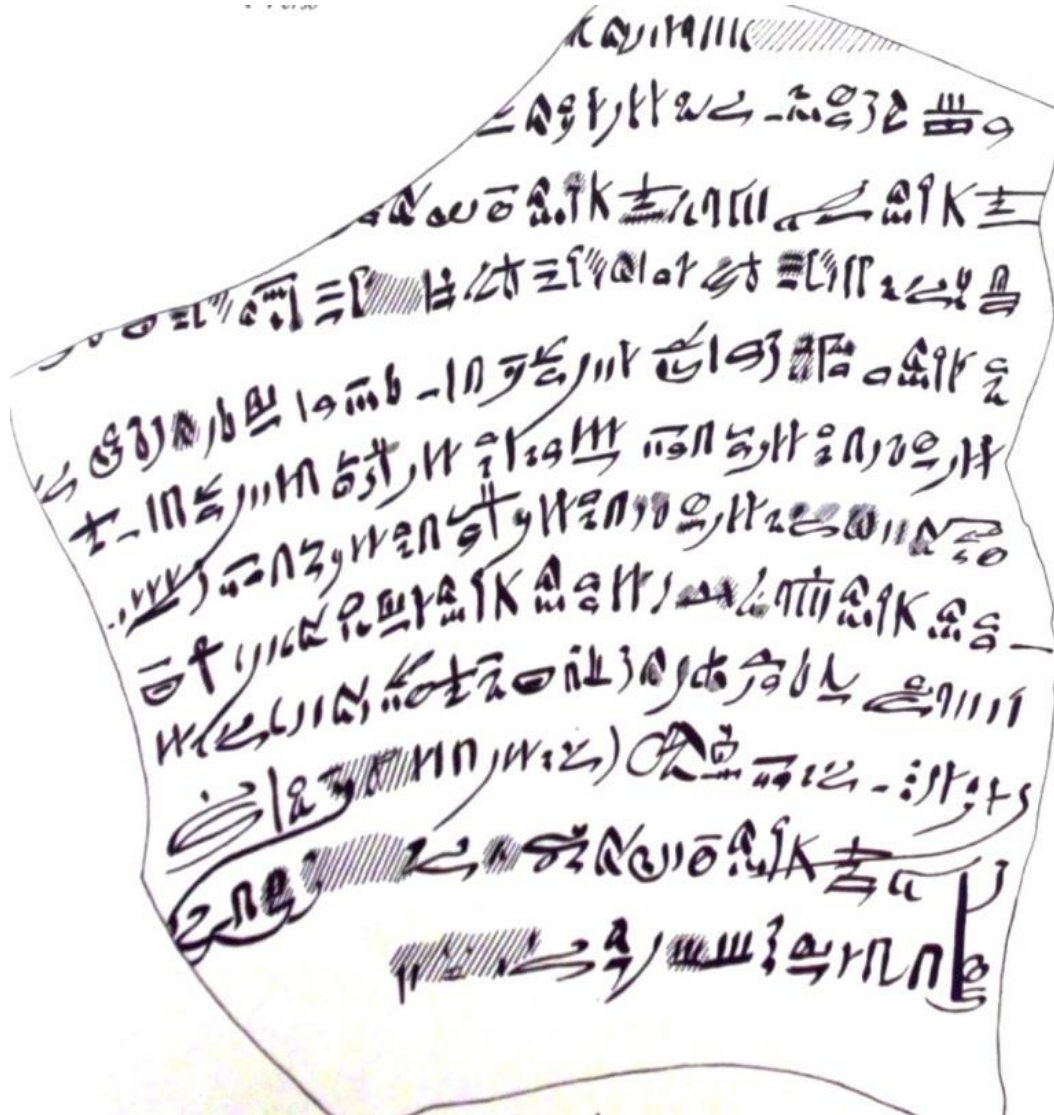
ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 16. 4.



oDeM 663

ČERNÝ, Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Medineh: nos. 624-705, vol. 6, (=DFIFA 14) pl. 17

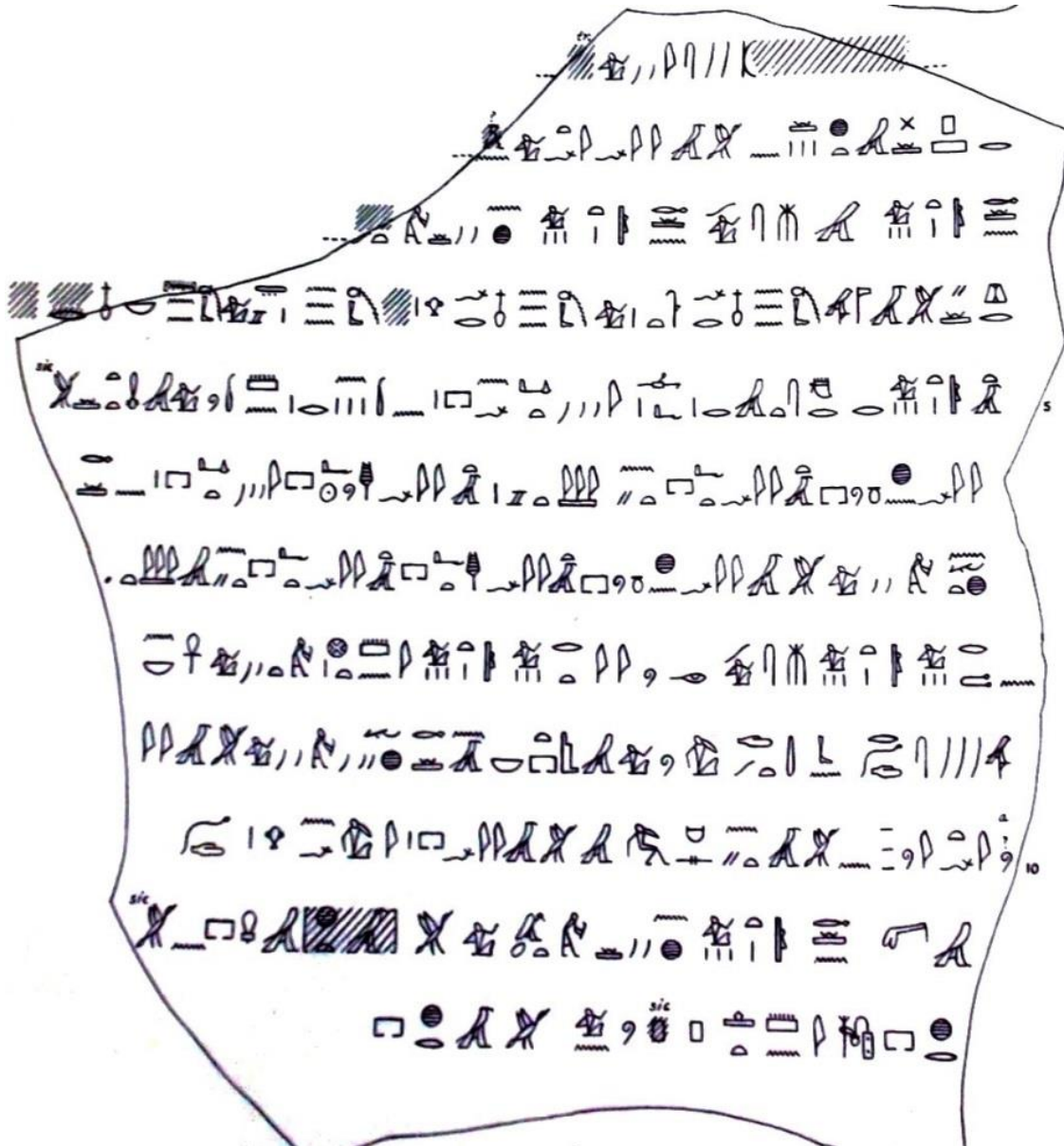
Pl. 40



oGardiner 23

ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 43A. 4.

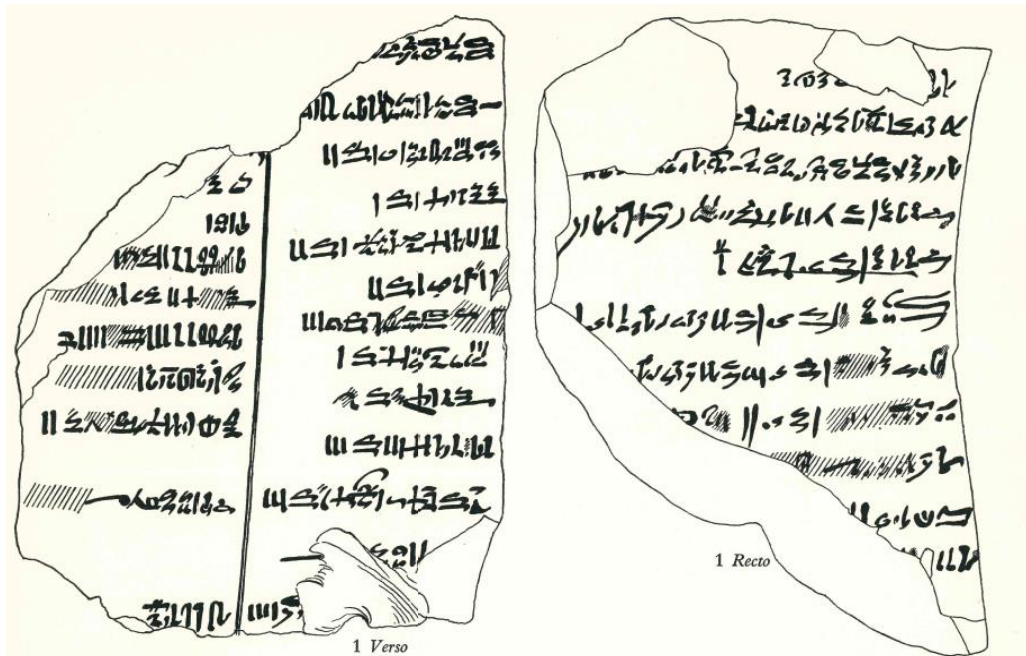
Pl. 40a



oGardiner 23

ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 43. 4.

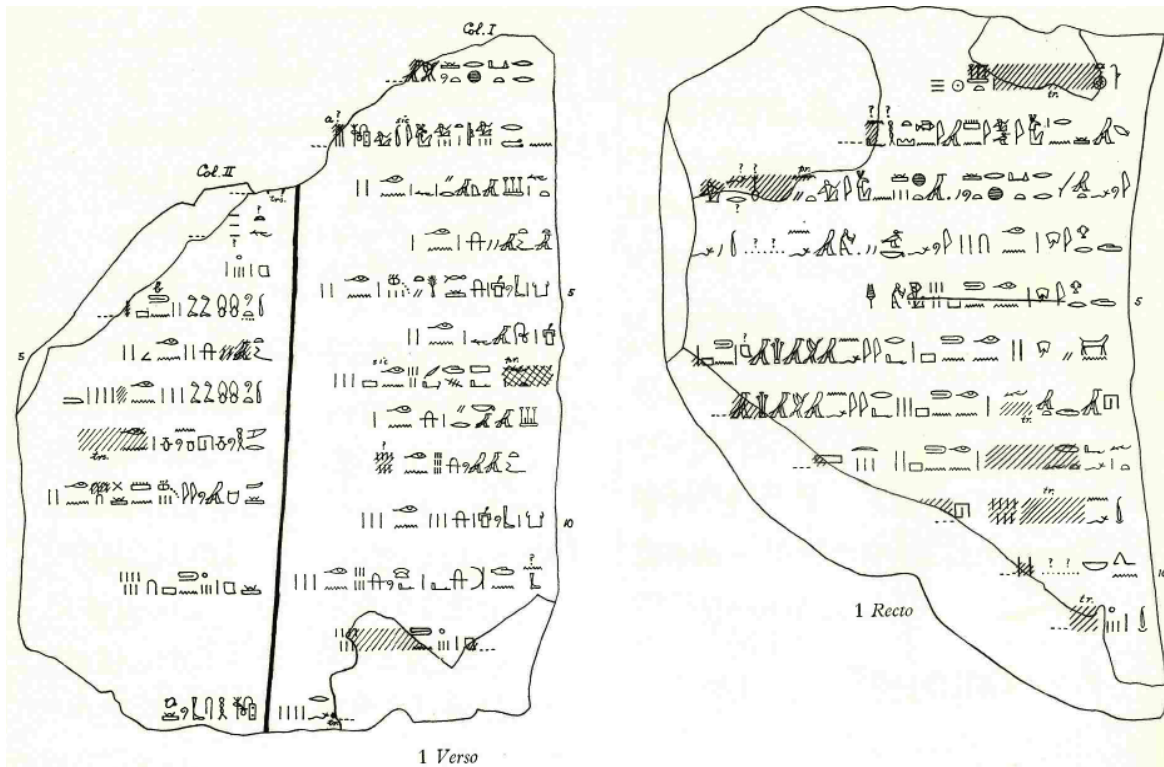
Pl. 41



oGardiner 36

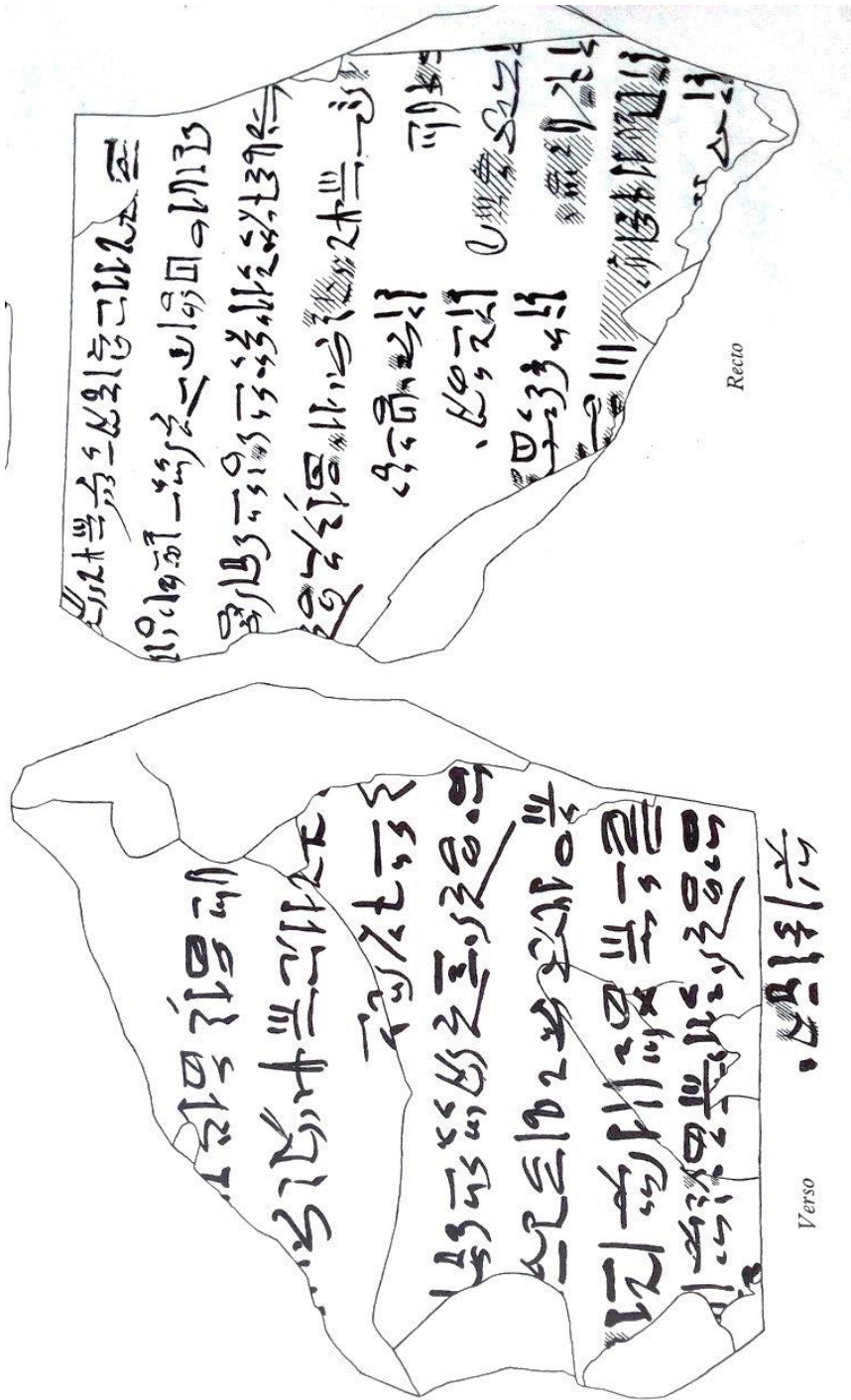
ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 36.1.

Pl. 41a

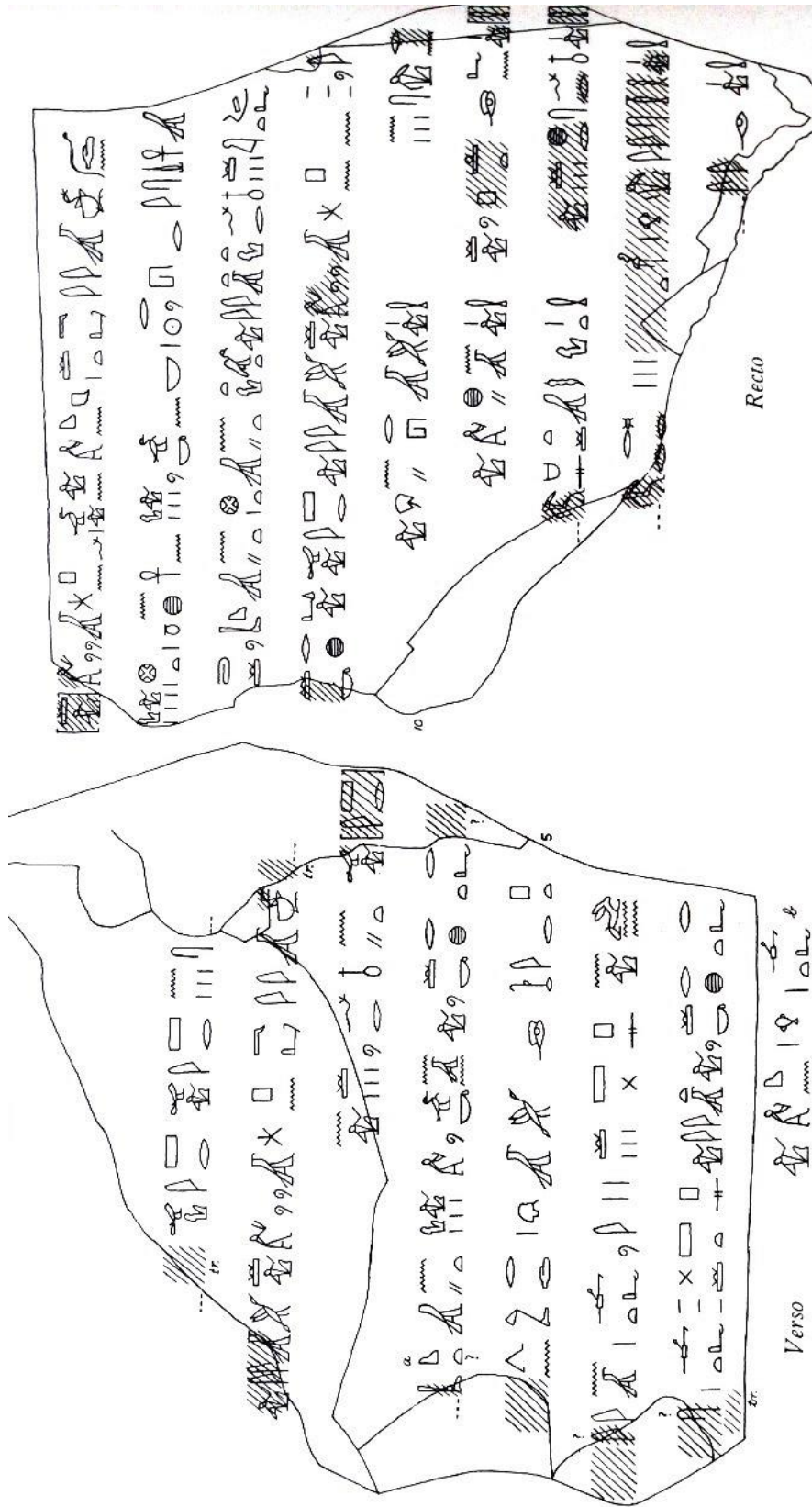


oGardiner 36

ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 36.

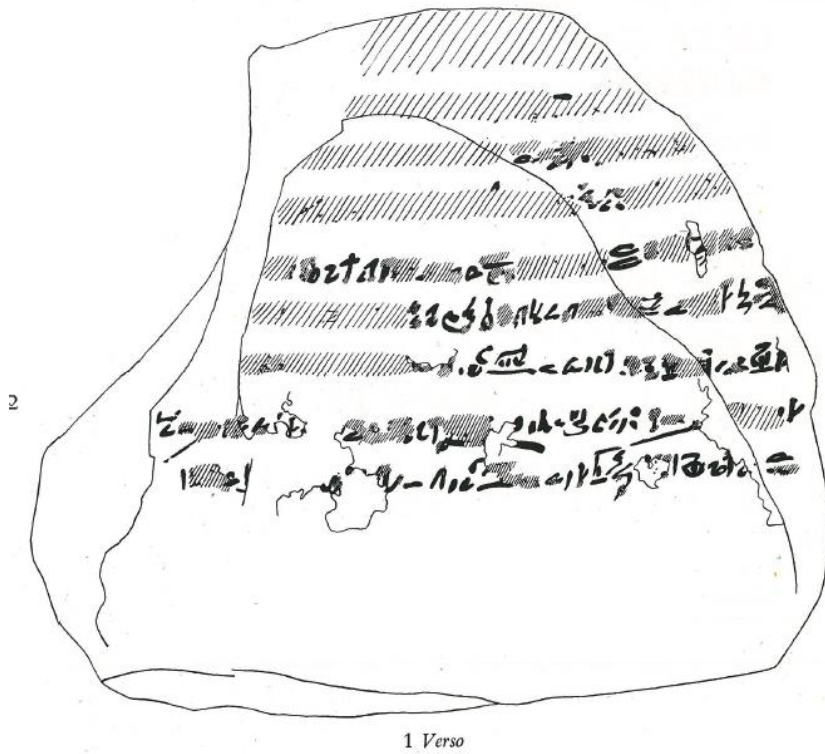
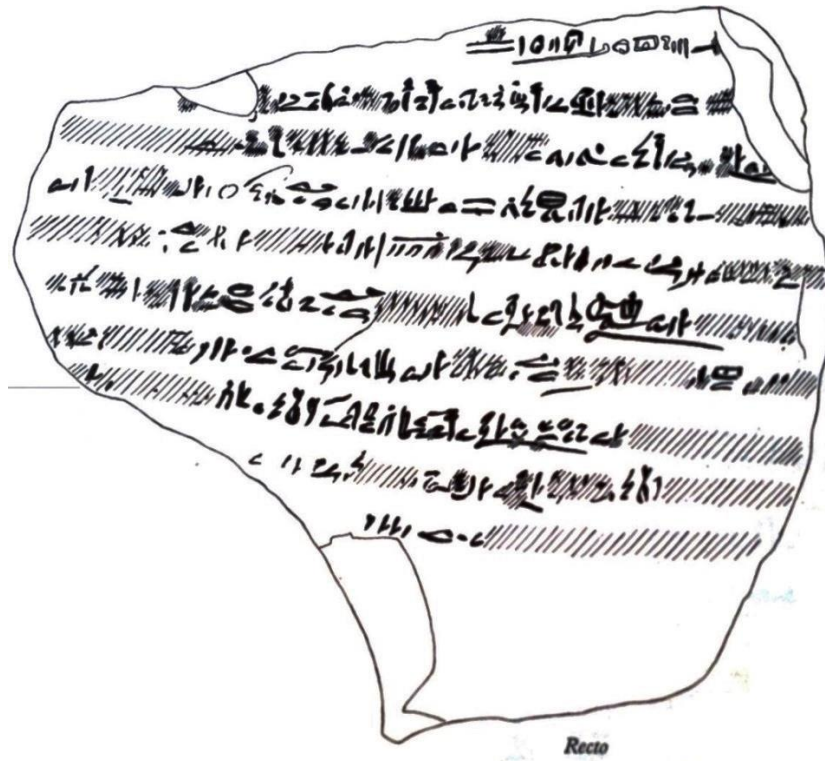


oGardiner 90
 ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 51A. 2.



oGardiner 90
ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 51. 2.

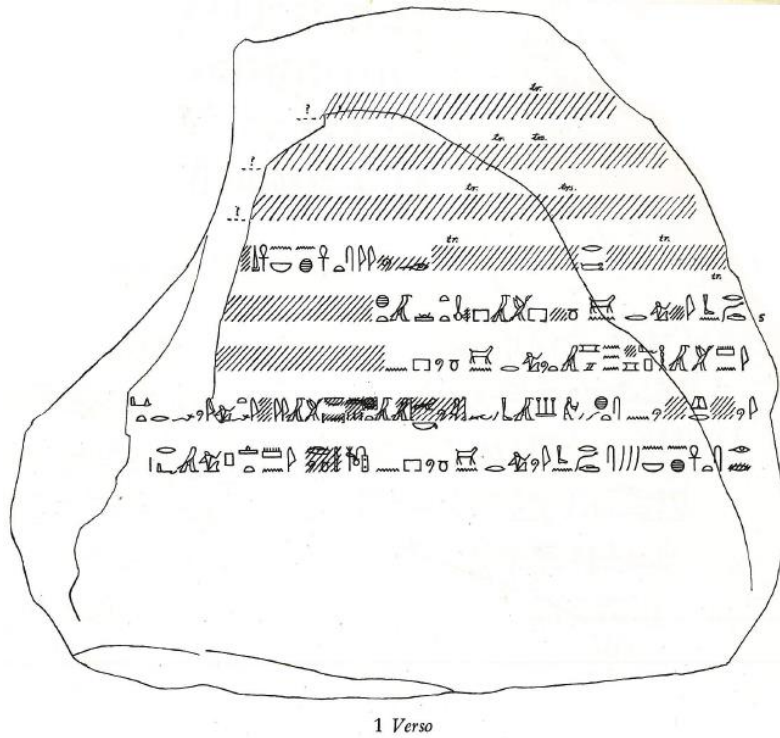
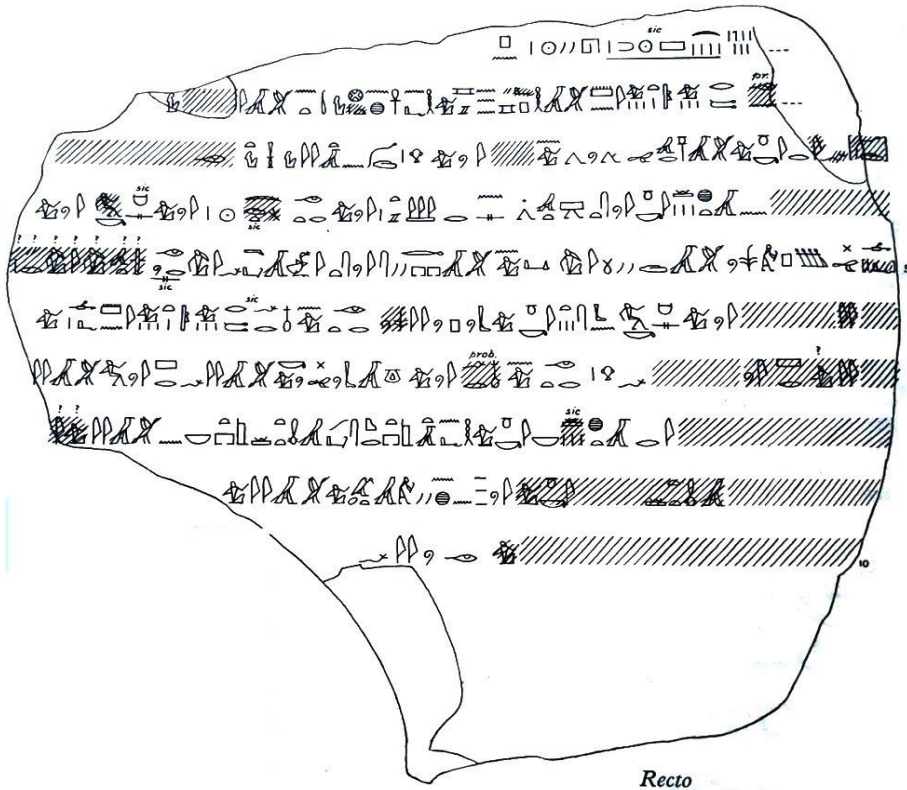
Pl. 43



oPetrie 18

ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 70A. 1.

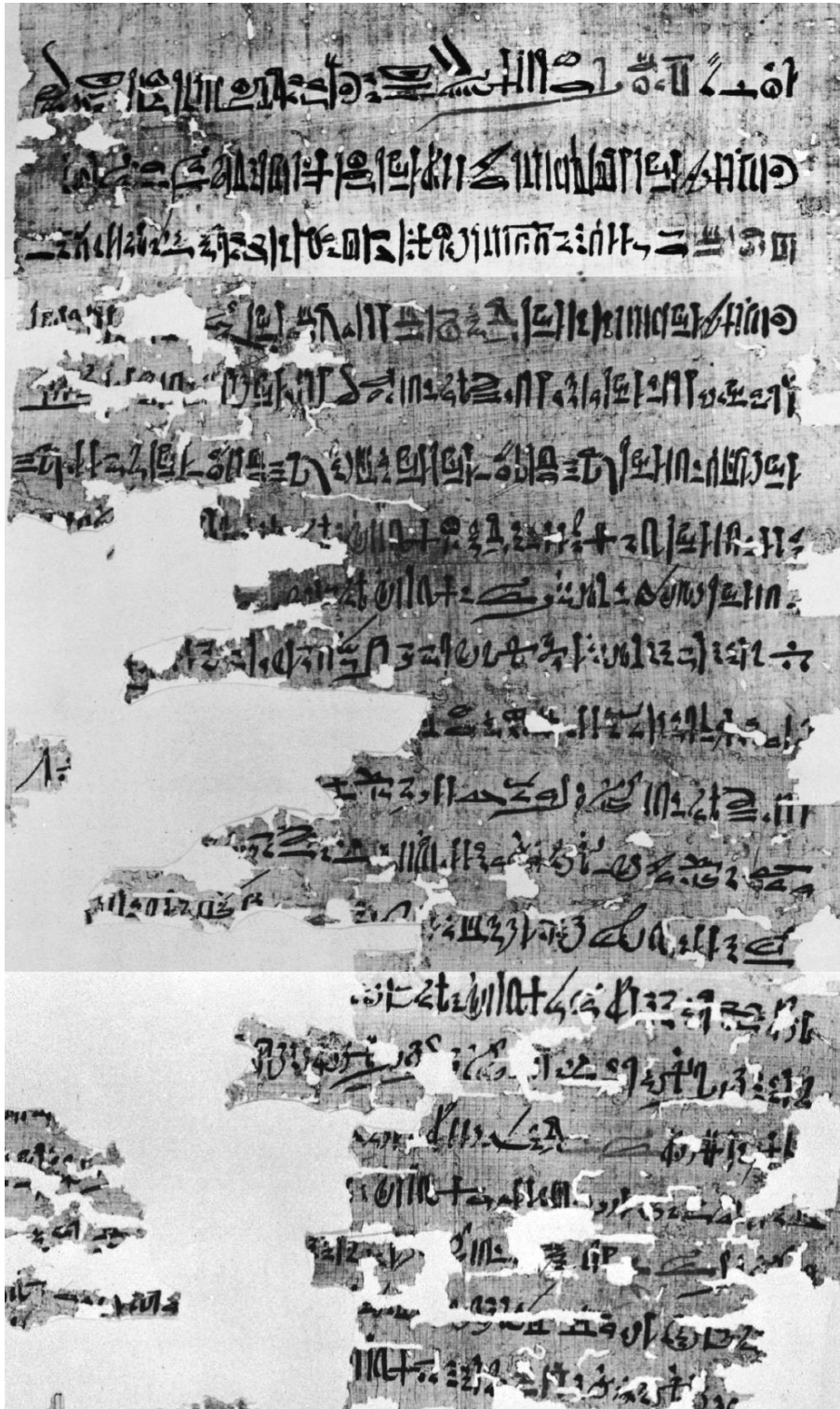
Pl. 43a



oPetrie 18

ČERNÝ/GARDINER, *HO*, pl. 70. 1.

Pl. 44



pBerlin P 3047

cols. 1-20

HELCK, 'Der Papyrus P 3047', *JARCE* 2 (1963) pls. 9-11.

Pl. 44a



pBerlin P 3047

lines 21-36

HELCK, 'Der Papyrus P 3047', *JARCE* 2 (1963) pls. 11-12.

Pl. 45



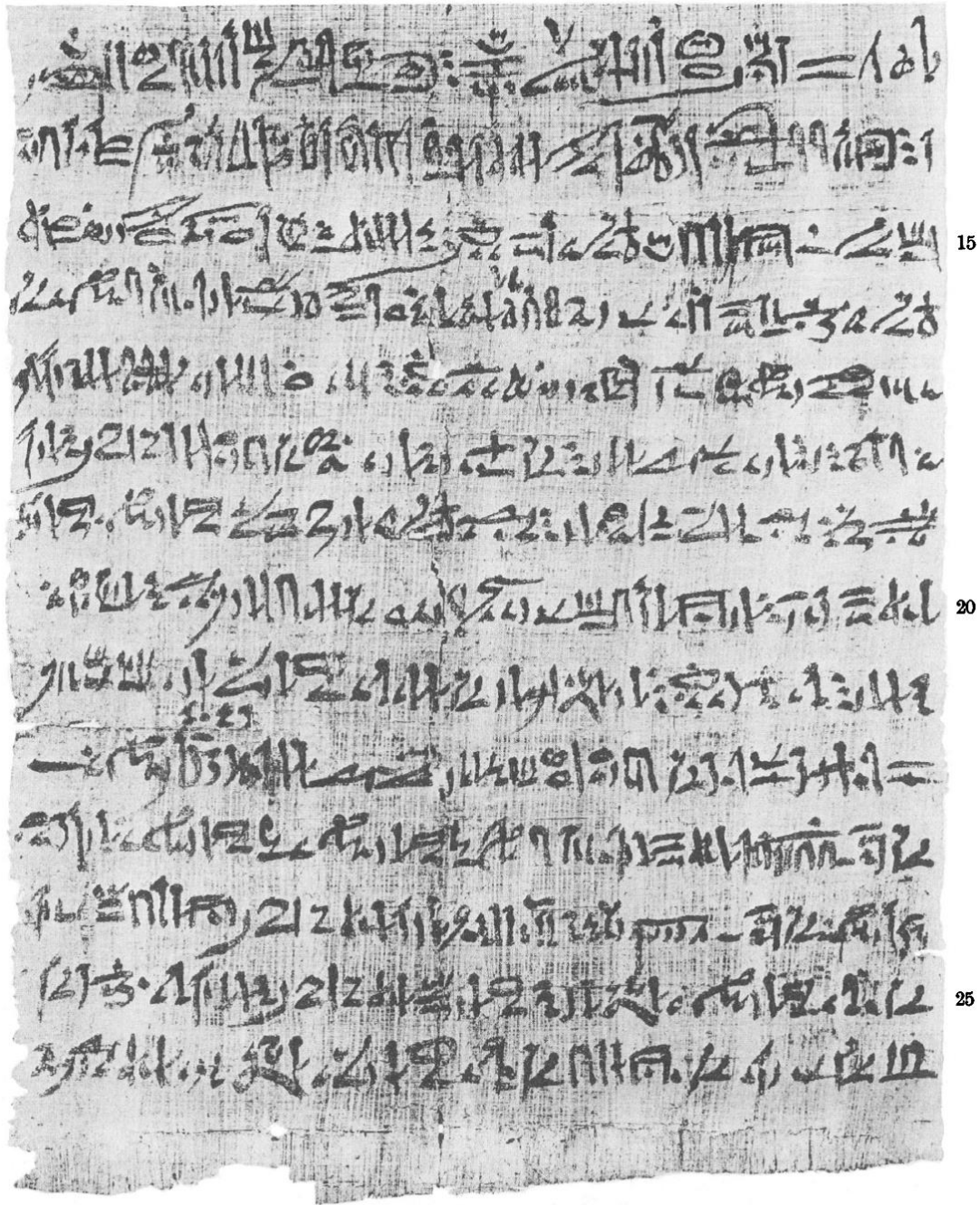
recto, ll. 1-14

pAshmol. Mus. 1945.96

recto 1-12

GARDINER, 'Adoption extraordinary', *JEA* 26 (1940) pl. 5.

Pl. 45a



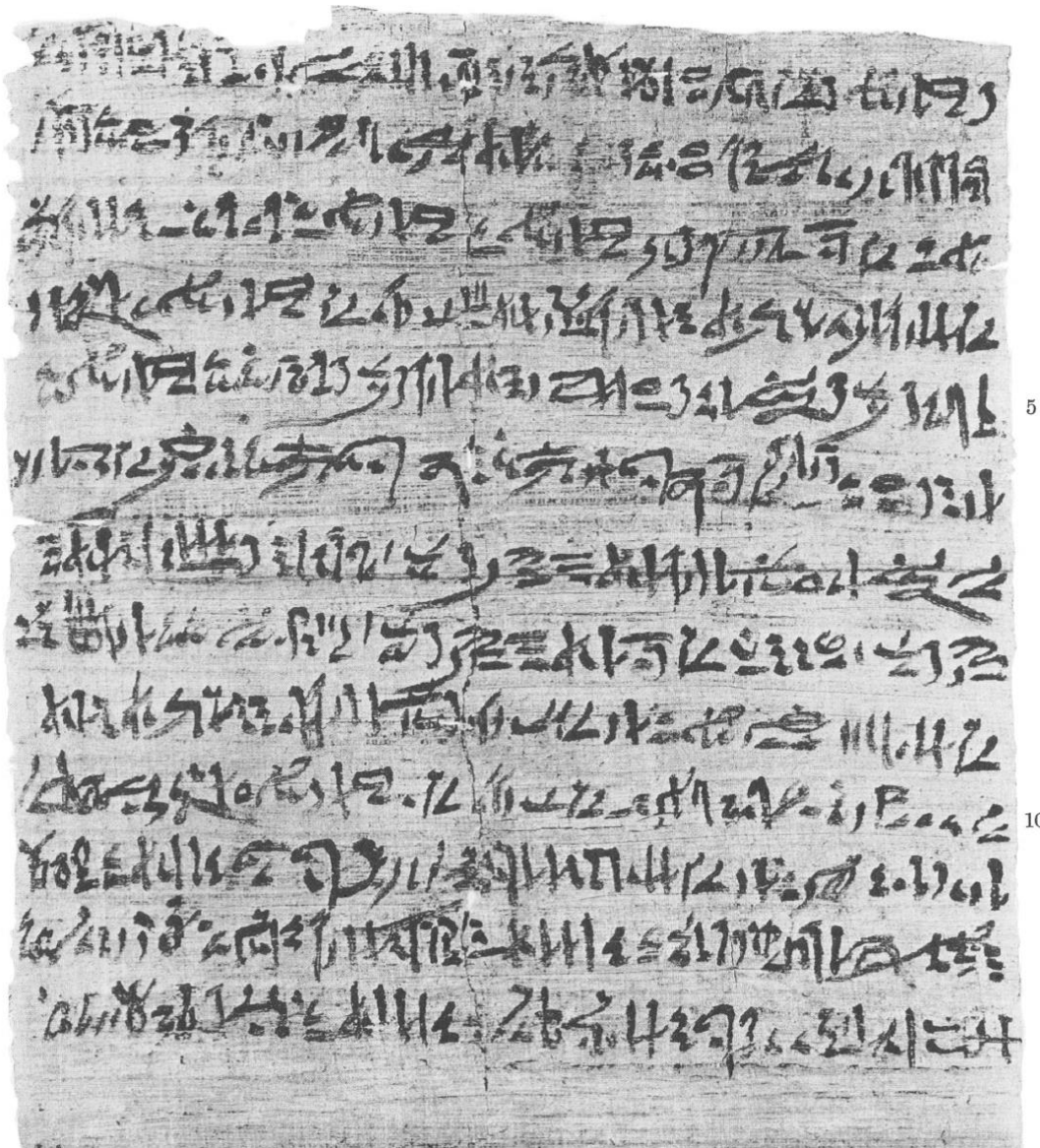
recto, ll. 15-26

pAshmol. Mus. 1945.96

recto 12-26

GARDINER, 'Adoption extraordinary', *JEA* 26 (1940) pl. 6.

Pl. 45b



pAshmol. Mus. 1945.96

verso 1-13

GARDINER, 'Adoption extraordinary', *JEA* 26 (1940) pl. 7.

Pl. 45c

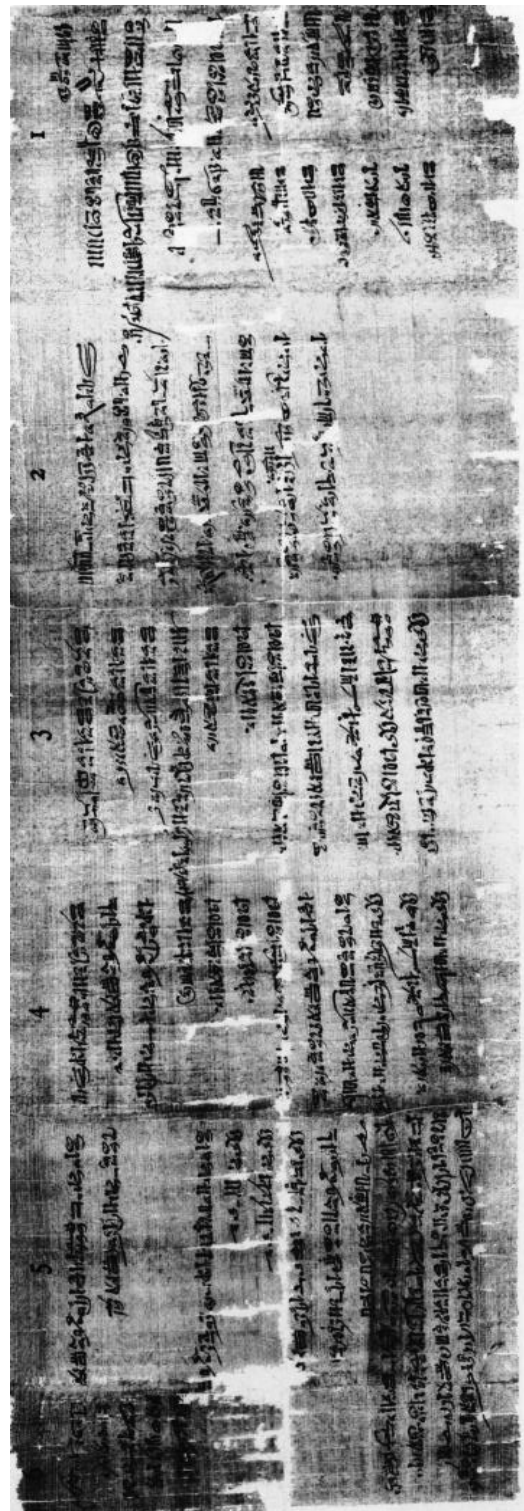
Hieroglyphic text from pAshmol. Mus. 1945.96, recto 1-12. The text is arranged in 12 horizontal lines. The first line is followed by a blank line. The second line is followed by a blank line. The third line is followed by a blank line. The fourth line is followed by a blank line. The fifth line is followed by a blank line. The sixth line is followed by a blank line. The seventh line is followed by a blank line. The eighth line is followed by a blank line. The ninth line is followed by a blank line. The tenth line is followed by a blank line. The eleventh line is followed by a blank line. The twelfth line is followed by a blank line.

pAshmol. Mus. 1945.96

recto 1-12

GARDINER, 'Adoption extraordinary', *JEA* 26 (1940) pl. 5a.

Pl. 46



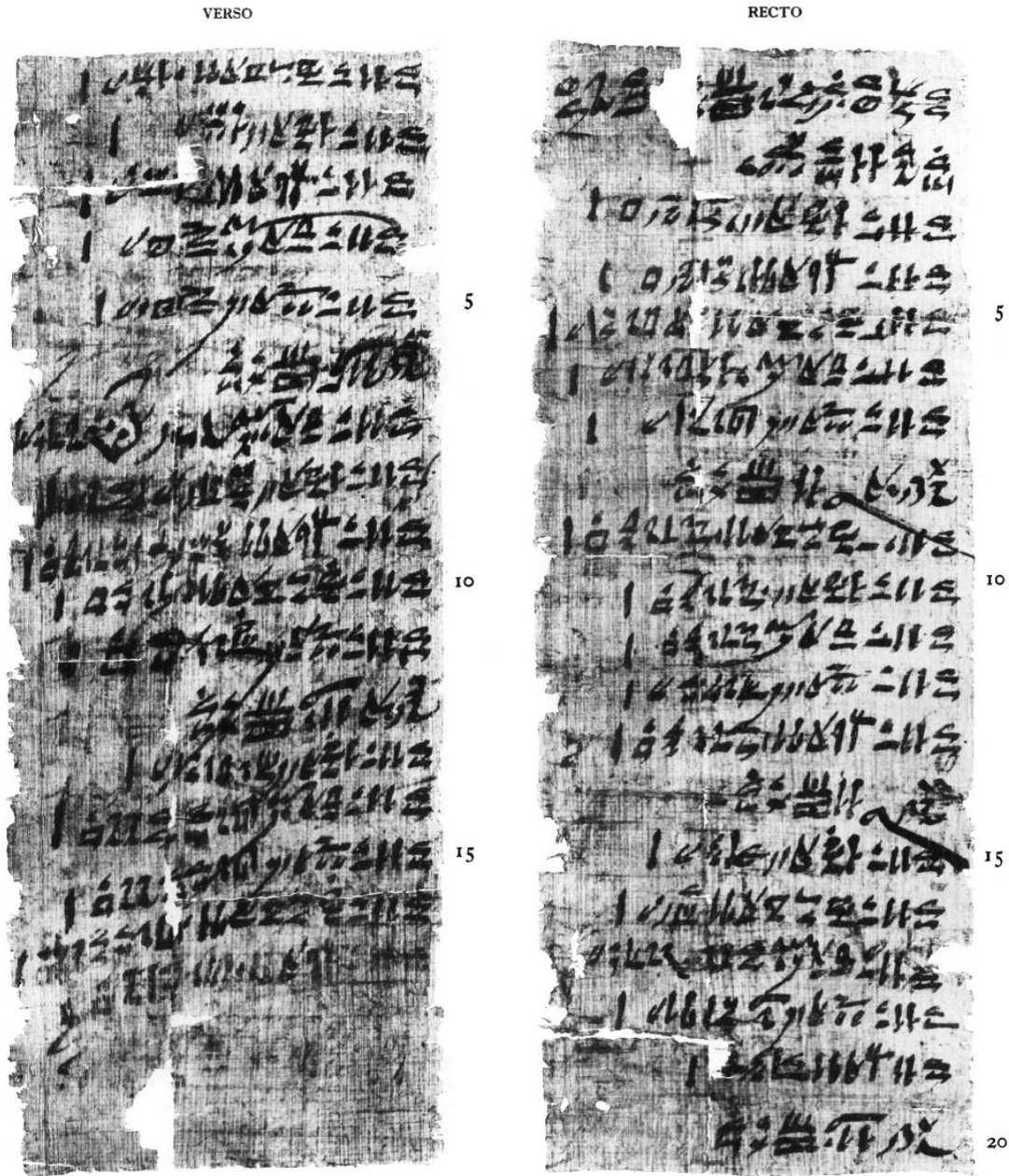
DOCUMENT I, RECTO

pAshmol. Mus. 1945.97

Document 1 cols. 1-5

ČERNÝ, 'The Will of Naunakhte and the related documents', *JEA* 31 (1945) pl. 8.

Pl. 46a

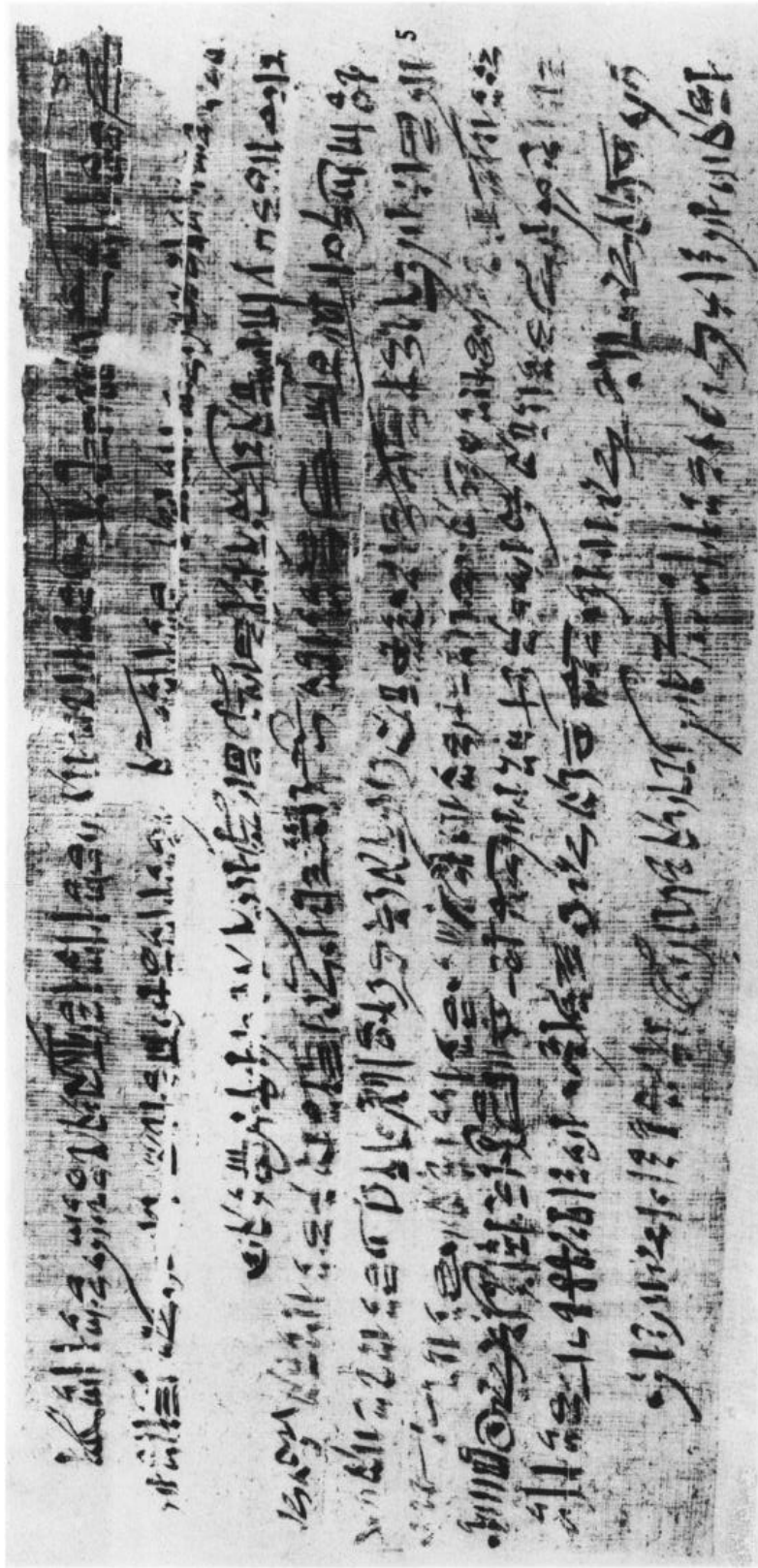


pAshmol. Mus. 1945.97

Document III

ČERNÝ, The Will of Naunakhte and the related documents, *JEA* 31 (1945) pl. 11.

Pl. 46b

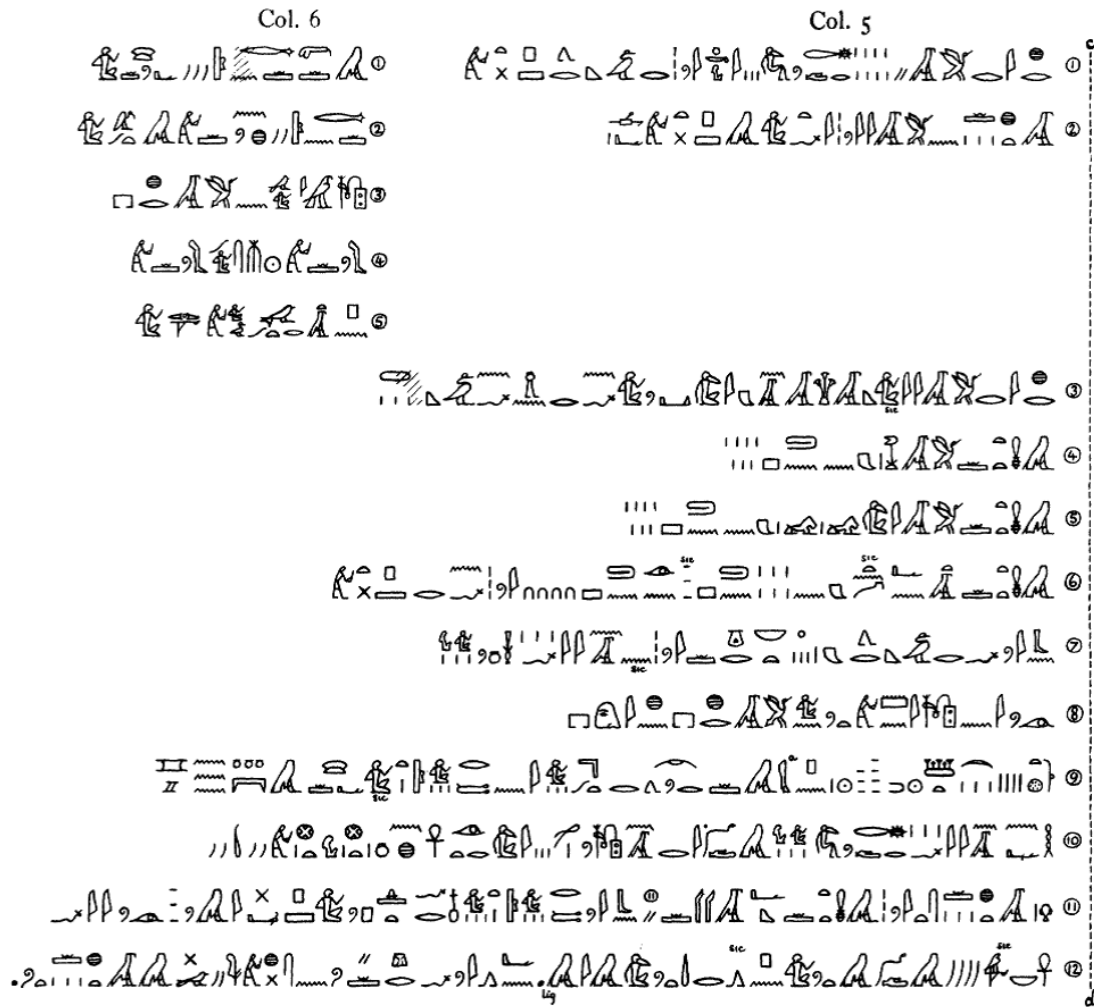


pAshmol. Mus. 1945.97

Document IV

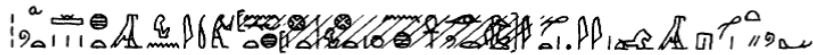
ČERNÝ, 'The Will of Naunakhte and the related documents', *JEA* 31 (1945) pl. 12.

Pl. 46d



5.9a. A is made like A in 6.4.

COLS. 5 AND 6



a) Read A

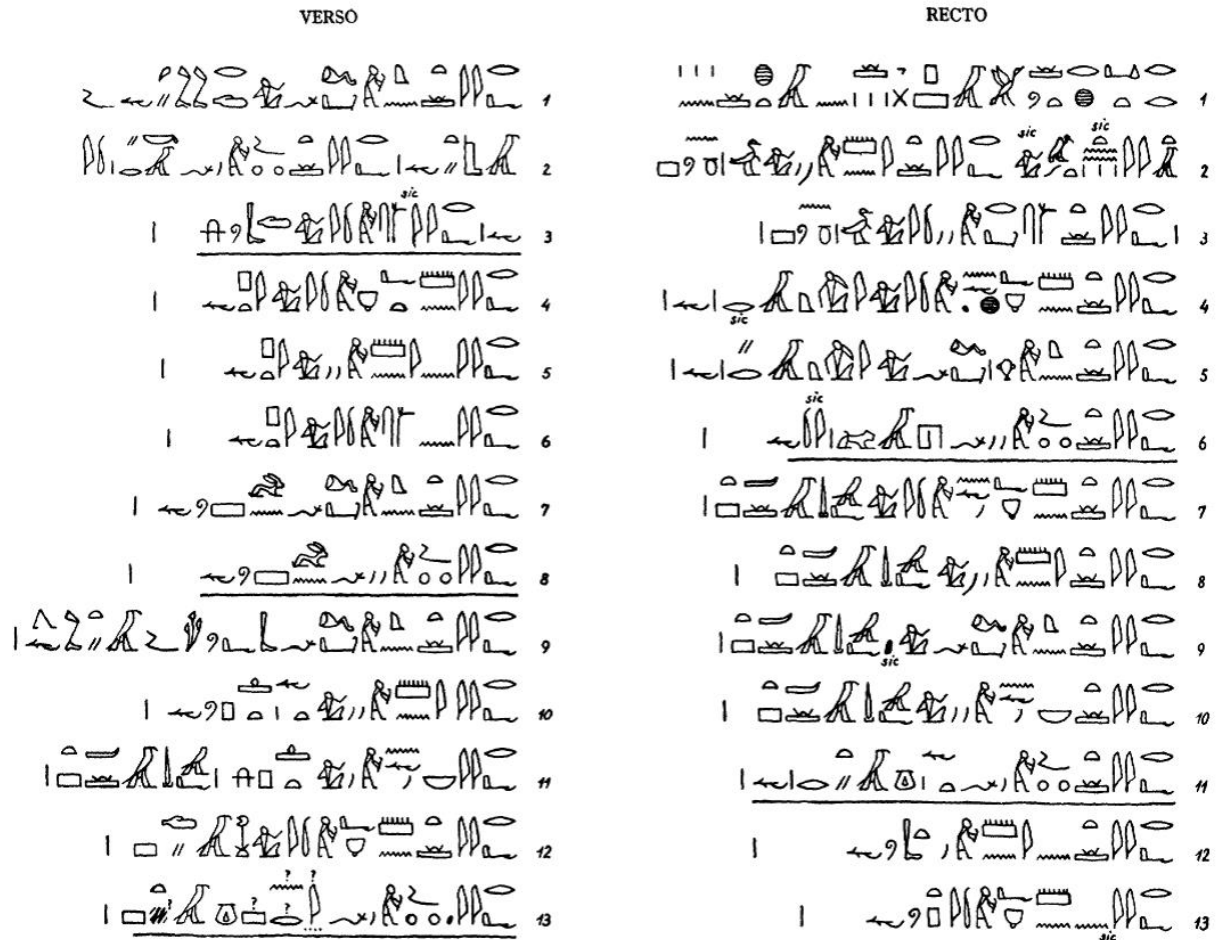
DOCKET ON THE VERSO

pAshmol. Mus. 1945.97

Document 1 cols. 4 and 5

ČERNÝ, 'The Will of Naunakhte and the related documents', *JEA* 31 (1945) pl. 9.

Pl. 46e

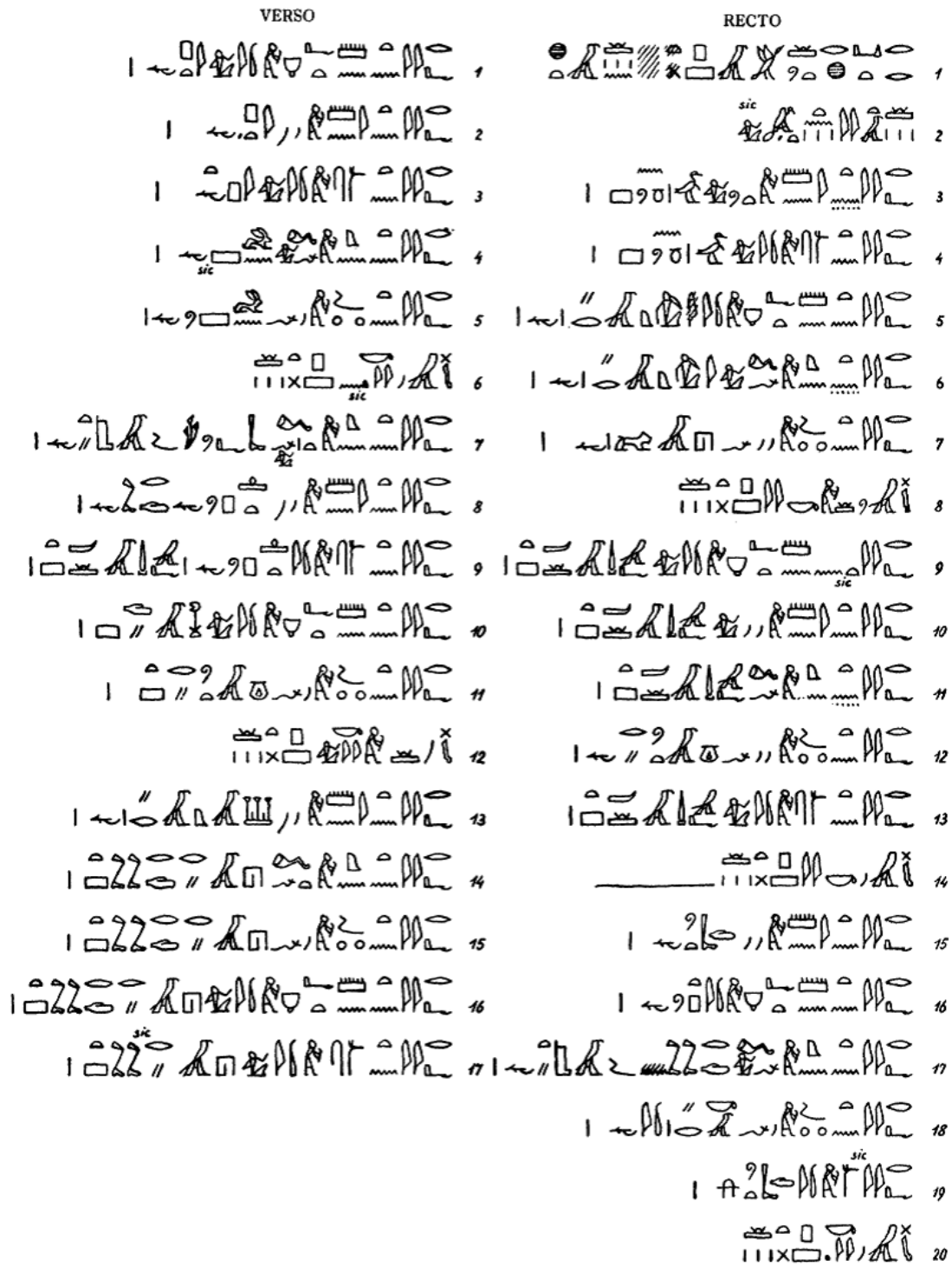


pAshmol. Mus. 1945.97

Document II

ČERNÝ, 'The Will of Naunakhte and the related documents', *JEA* 31 (1945) pl.10.

Pl. 46f



pAshmol. Mus. 1945.97

Document III

ČERNÝ, 'The Will of Naunakhte and the related documents', *JEA* 31 (1945) pl. 10a.

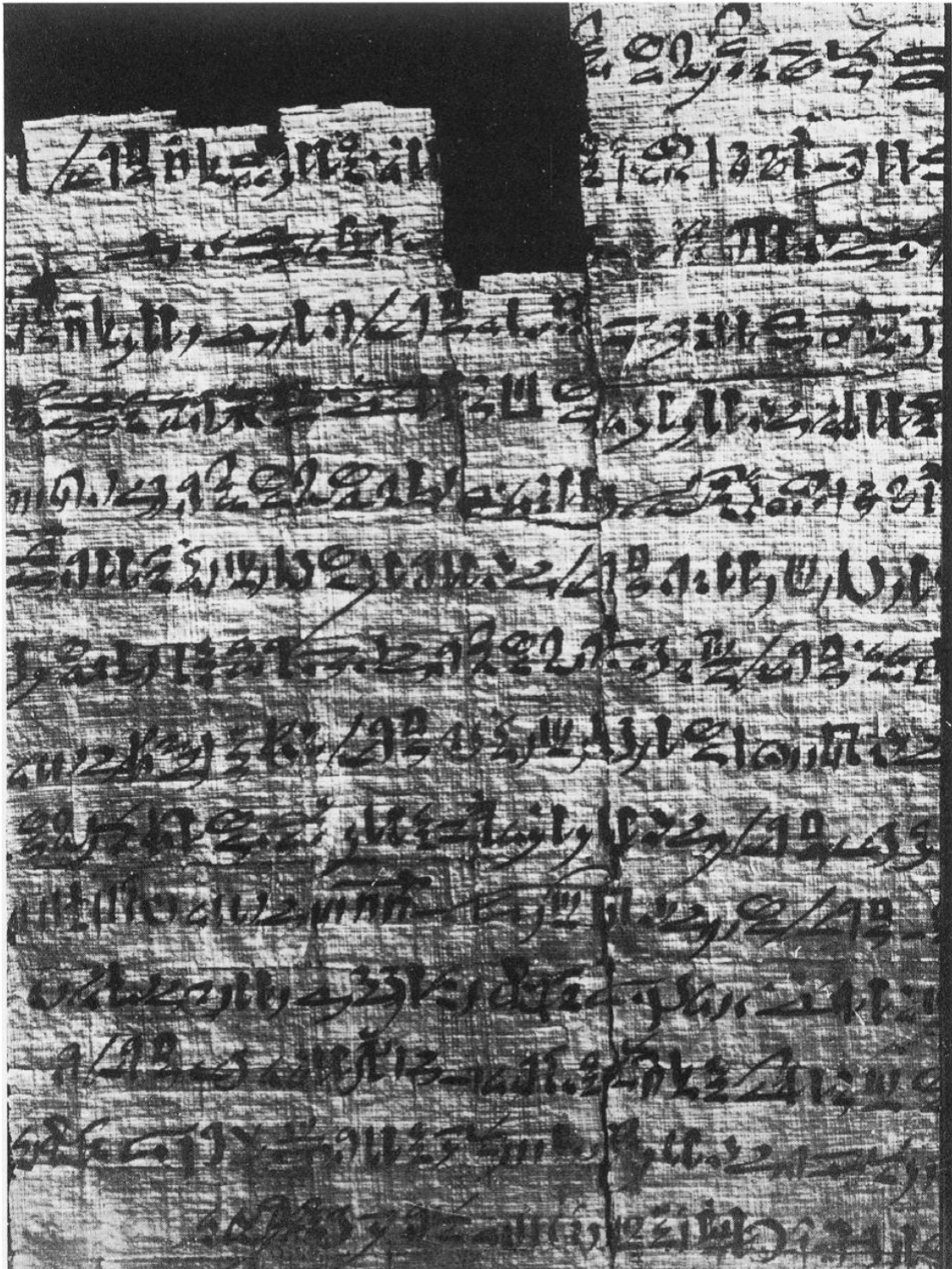
Pl. 46g

Hieroglyphic text from pAshm. Mus. 1945.97, Document IV. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines, written from right to left. The characters are stylized and densely packed. The text appears to be a legal document, likely a will, as indicated by the caption.

pAshm. Mus. 1945.97
 Document IV

ČERNÝ, 'The Will of Naunakhte and the related documents', *JEA* 31(1945) pl. 12.

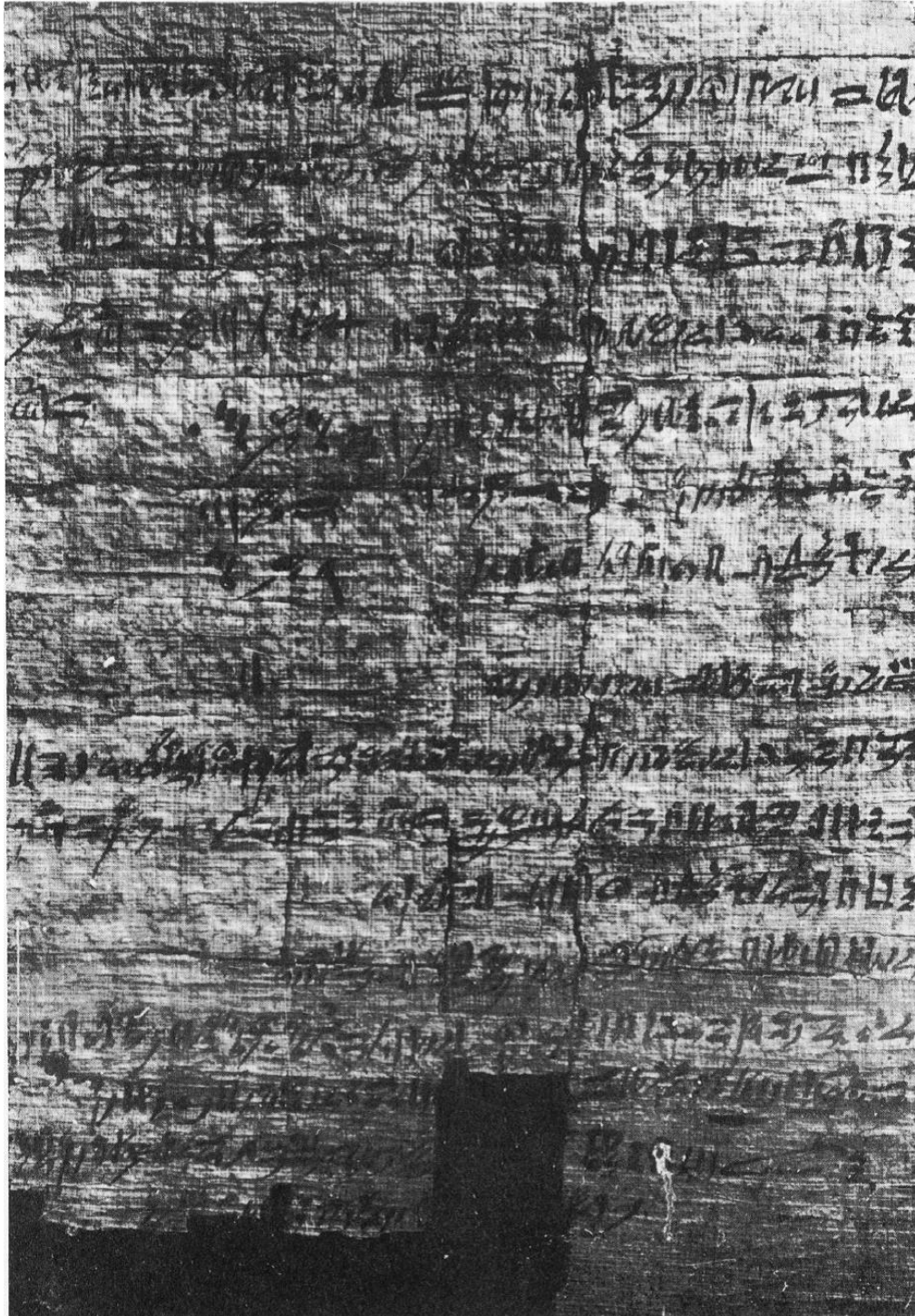
Pl. 47

**pBulaq 10**

recto

JANSSEN/PESTMAN, 'Burial and inheritance in the community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes', *JESHO* 11 (1968) pl. I.

Pl. 47a



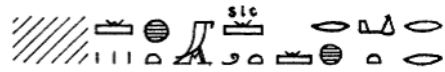
pBulaq 10

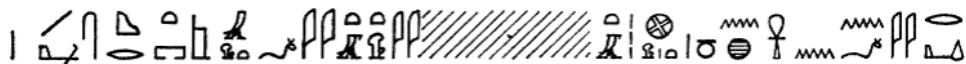
verso

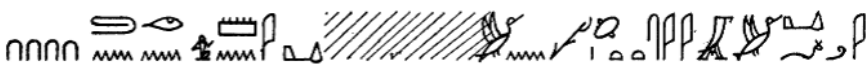
JANSSEN/PESTMAN, 'Burial and inheritance in the community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes', *JESHO* 11 (1968) pl. II.


Pl. 47b



Recto.




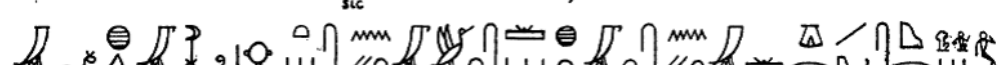
 1
 

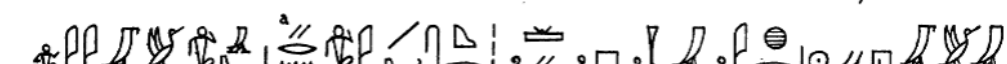


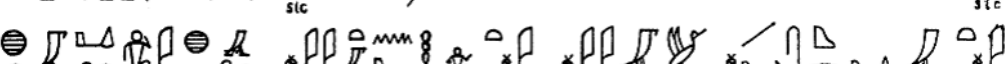
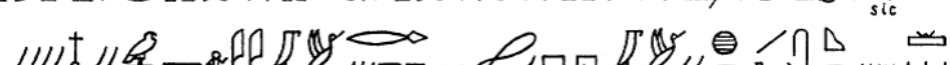
 2
 

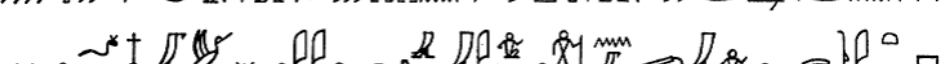

 5
 

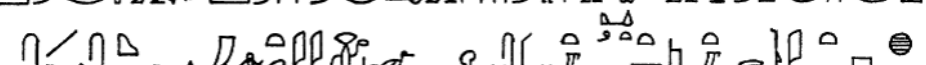


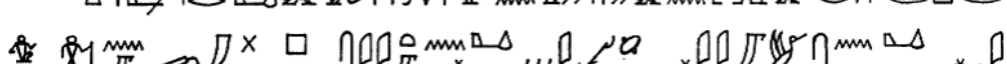


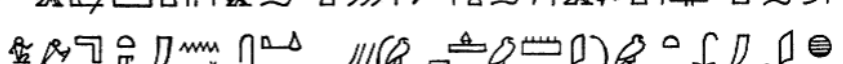



 10
 








 15

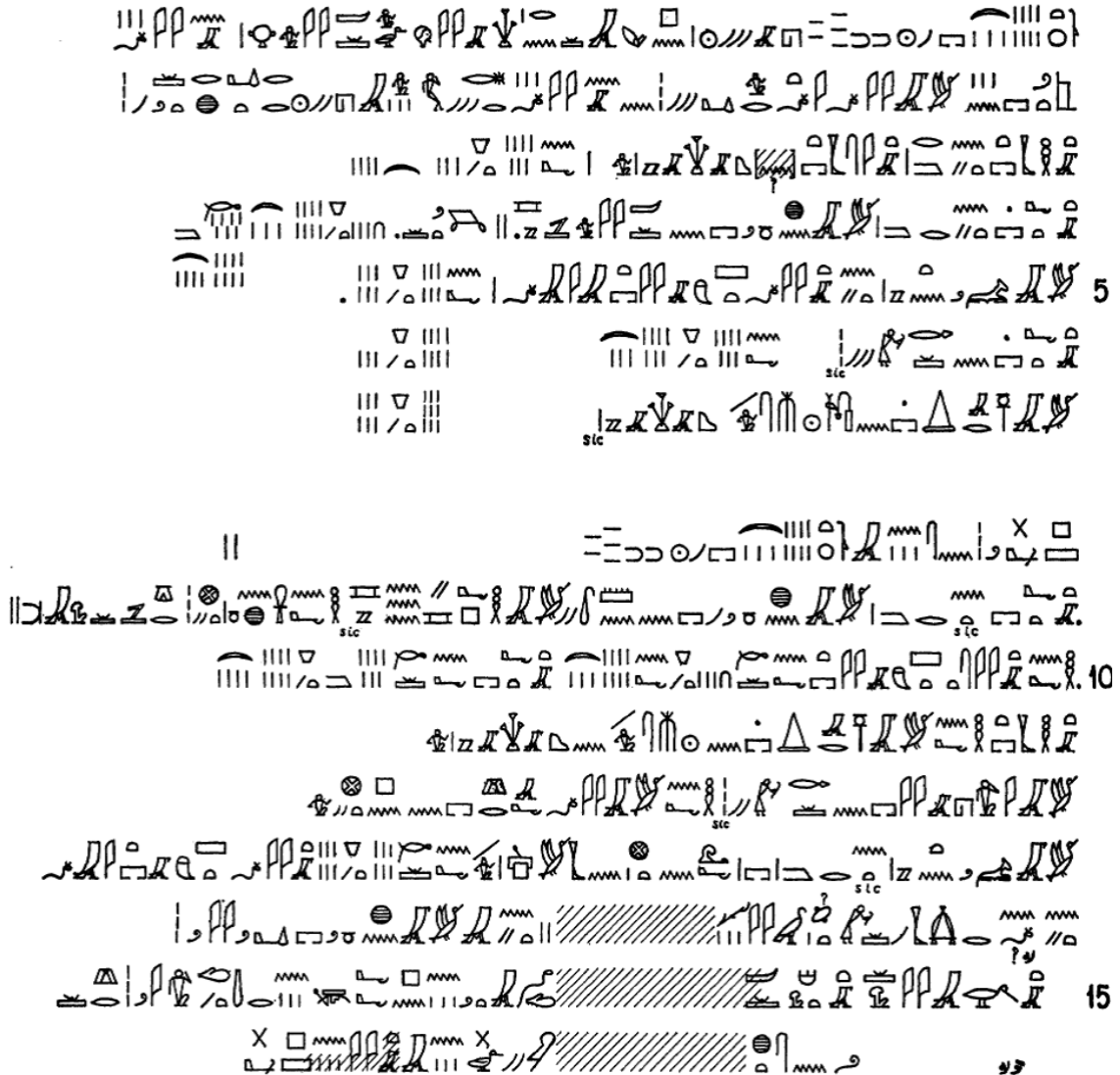
pBulaq 10

recto

JANSSEN/PESTMAN, 'Burial and inheritance in the community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes', *JESHO* 11 (1968) 144.

Pl. 47c

Verso

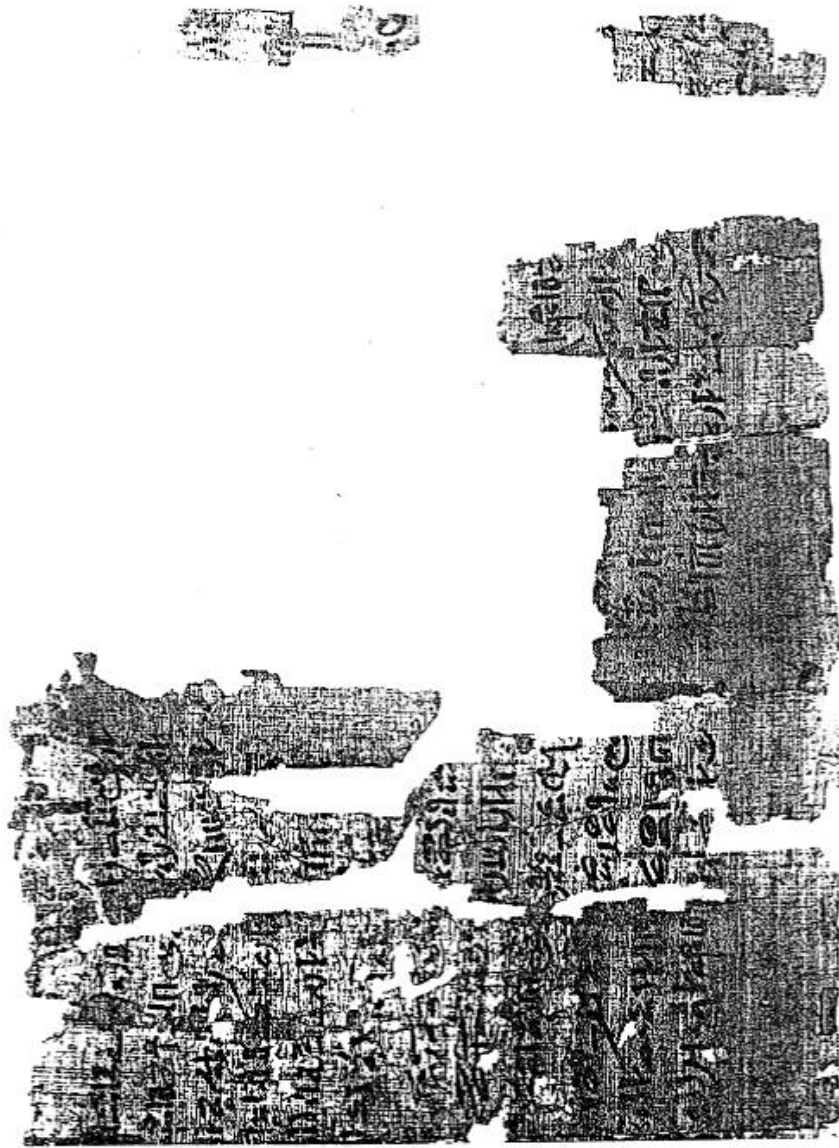


pBulaq 10

verso

JANSSEN/PESTMAN, 'Burial and inheritance in the community of the Necropolis Workmen at Thebes', *JESHO* 11 (1968) 145.

Pl.48



pTurin 2021+pGeneva D 409
ALLAM, *HOPR*, pl. 112.

Pl. 48a



pTurin 2021+pGeneva D 409
ALLAM, *HOPR*, pl. 114.

① ^{no det!} ② ③ ④

⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧ ⑨

⑩ ⑪ ⑫ ⑬

⑭ ⑮ ⑯ ⑰

⑱ ⑲ ⑳ ㉑

㉒ ㉓ ㉔ ㉕

㉖ ㉗ ㉘ ㉙

㉚ ㉛ ㉜ ㉝

㉞ ㉟ ㊱ ㊲

㊳ ㊴ ㊵ ㊶

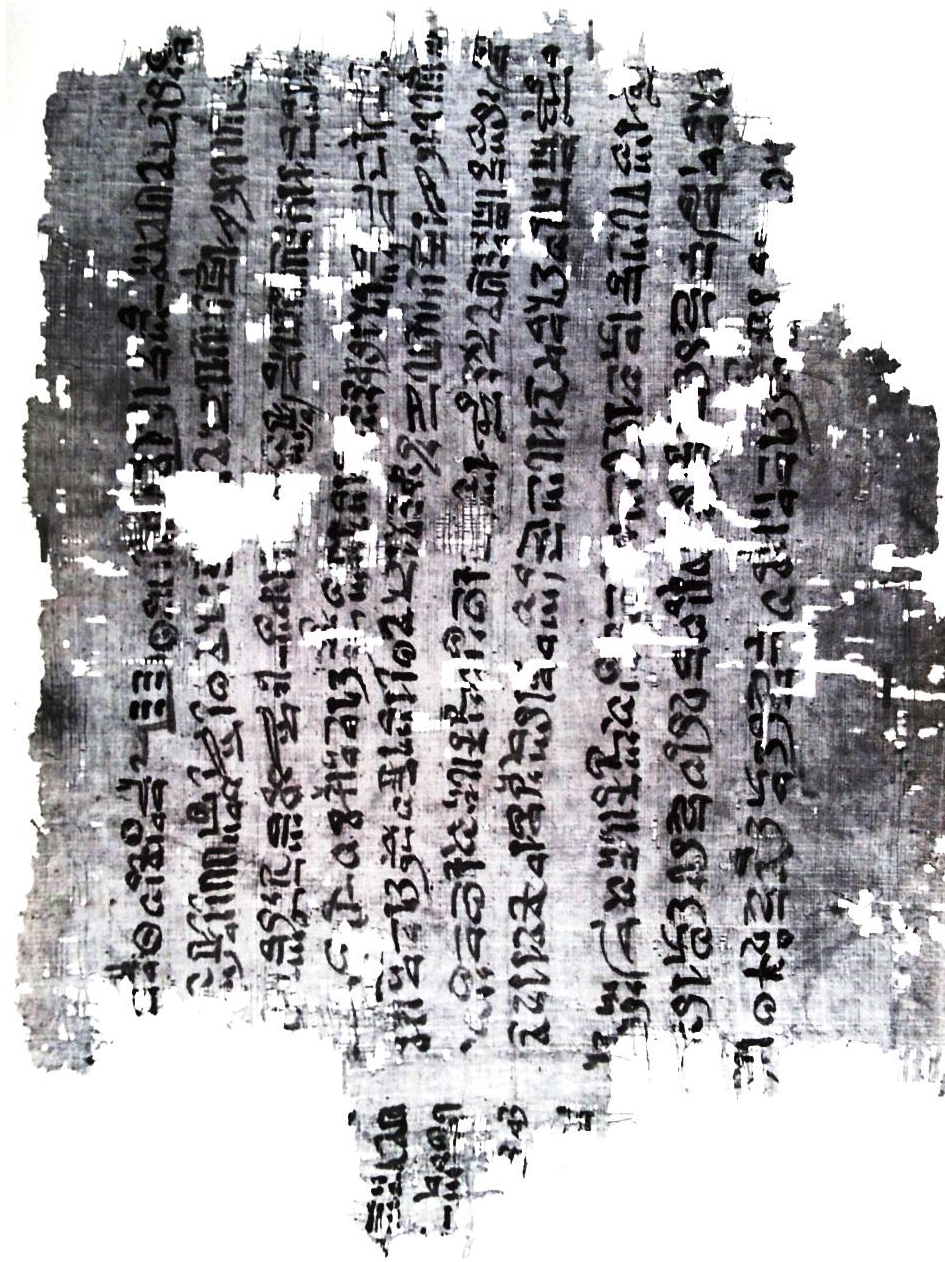
㊷ ㊸ ㊹ ㊺

㊻ ㊼ ㊽ ㊾

㊿

① a trace of *not sign. visible*
 ② hardly possible
 ③ *no det?*
 ④ *no det*
 ⑤ *is quite uncertain and has a long tail. not paleographically possible. makes no sense.*
 ⑥ / *no det?*
 ⑦ *no det*
 ⑧ *no det*
 ⑨ *no det*
 ⑩ *no det*
 ⑪ *no det*
 ⑫ *no det*
 ⑬ *no det*
 ⑭ *no det*
 ⑮ *no det*
 ⑯ *no det*
 ⑰ *no det*
 ⑱ *no det*
 ⑲ *no det*
 ⑳ *no det*
 ㉑ *no det*
 ㉒ *no det*
 ㉓ *no det*
 ㉔ *no det*
 ㉕ *no det*
 ㉖ *no det*
 ㉗ *no det*
 ㉘ *no det*
 ㉙ *no det*
 ㉚ *no det*
 ㉛ *no det*
 ㉜ *no det*
 ㉝ *no det*
 ㉞ *no det*
 ㉟ *no det*
 ㊱ *no det*
 ㊲ *no det*
 ㊳ *no det*
 ㊴ *no det*
 ㊵ *no det*
 ㊶ *no det*
 ㊷ *no det*
 ㊸ *no det*
 ㊹ *no det*
 ㊺ *no det*
 ㊻ *no det*
 ㊼ *no det*
 ㊽ *no det*
 ㊾ *no det*
 ㊿ *no det*

① The small *traces above* = *no det. accidental* ② *no det* ③ *no det* ④ *no det* ⑤ *no det* ⑥ *no det* ⑦ *no det* ⑧ *no det* ⑨ *no det* ⑩ *no det* ⑪ *no det* ⑫ *no det* ⑬ *no det* ⑭ *no det* ⑮ *no det* ⑯ *no det* ⑰ *no det* ⑱ *no det* ⑲ *no det* ⑳ *no det* ㉑ *no det* ㉒ *no det* ㉓ *no det* ㉔ *no det* ㉕ *no det* ㉖ *no det* ㉗ *no det* ㉘ *no det* ㉙ *no det* ㉚ *no det* ㉛ *no det* ㉜ *no det* ㉝ *no det* ㉞ *no det* ㉟ *no det* ㊱ *no det* ㊲ *no det* ㊳ *no det* ㊴ *no det* ㊵ *no det* ㊶ *no det* ㊷ *no det* ㊸ *no det* ㊹ *no det* ㊺ *no det* ㊻ *no det* ㊼ *no det* ㊽ *no det* ㊾ *no det* ㊿ *no det*



pBM 10568

ALLAM, Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven (Papyrus BM 10568) ZÄS 128 (2001) pl. 19.

Pl. 49a

col. I

H
V

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10

col. II

a. not geschrieben b. Spuren c. dies an statt

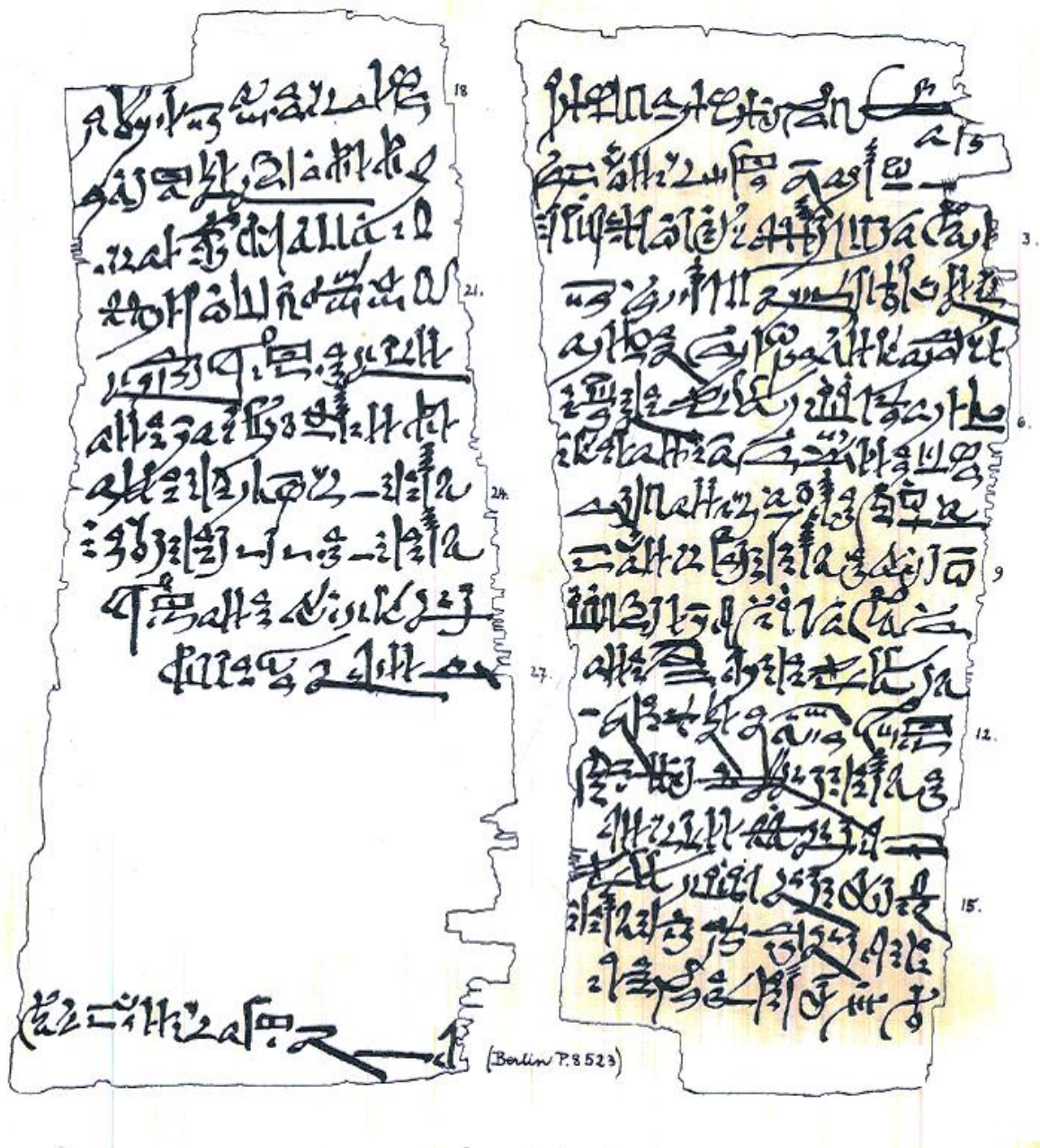
d. C. liest Rm e. C. liest # f. ob nicht

g. vielleicht h. über Zeile

pBM 10568

ALLAM, 'Ein Erbstreit um Sklaven (Papyrus BM 10568)', ZÄS 128 (2001) 90.

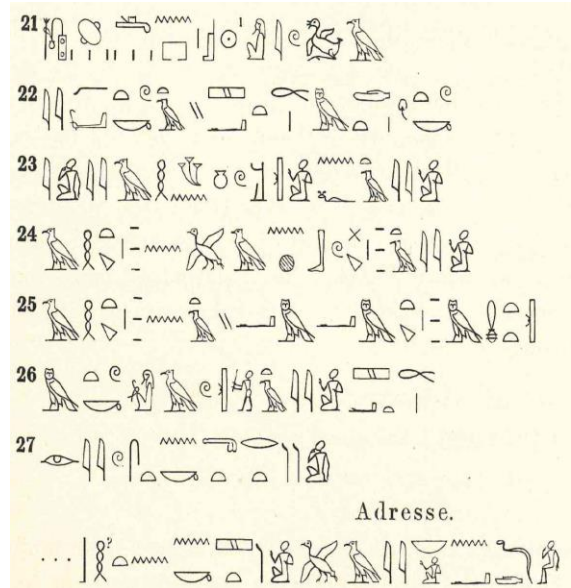
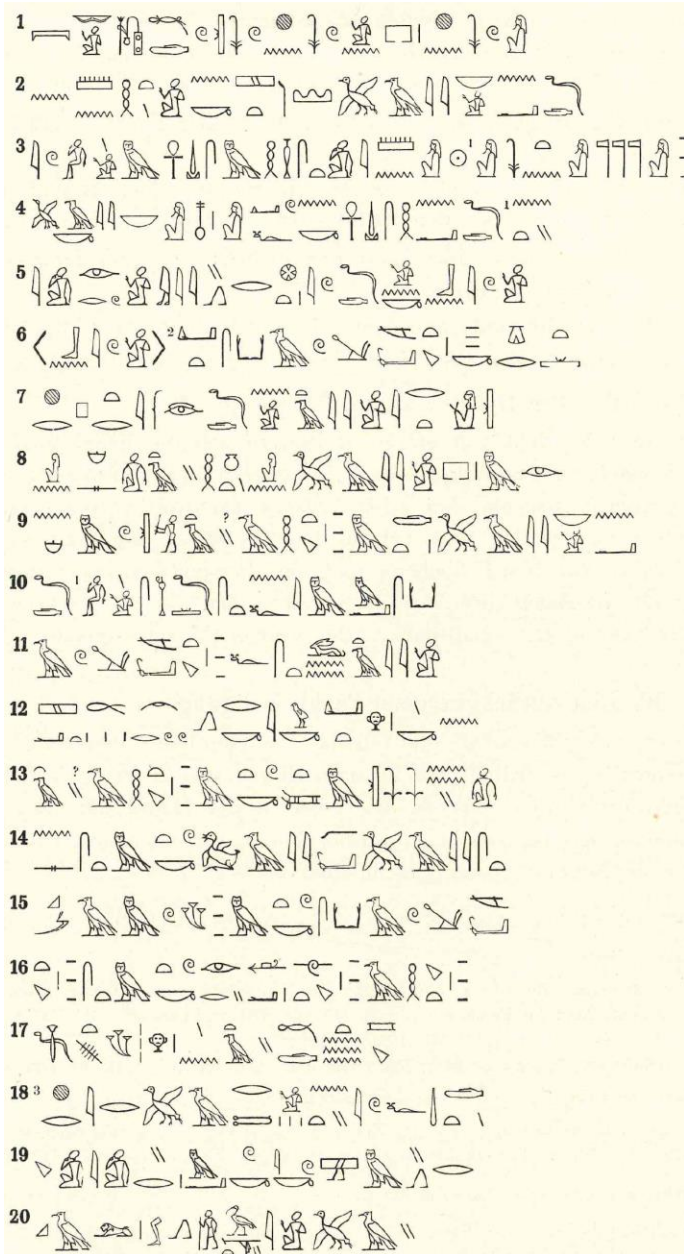
Pl. 51



pBerlin 8523

MÖLLER, *Lesestücke* III, 12.

Pl. 51a



pBerlin 8523

SPIEGELBERG, 'Eine zurückgezogene Pachtkündigung', ZÄS 53 (1917) 108-9.



Ste. Ahmose-Nefertari

TRAPANI, ' Une nouvelle enquête sur la stèle d' Ahmès-Néfertari ' , ZÄS 129 (2002) pl. 33.

Pl. 52a



Ste. Ahmose-Nefertari

TRAPANI, 'Une nouvelle enquête sur la stèle d'Ahmès-Néfertari', ZÄS 129 (2002) pl. 32.

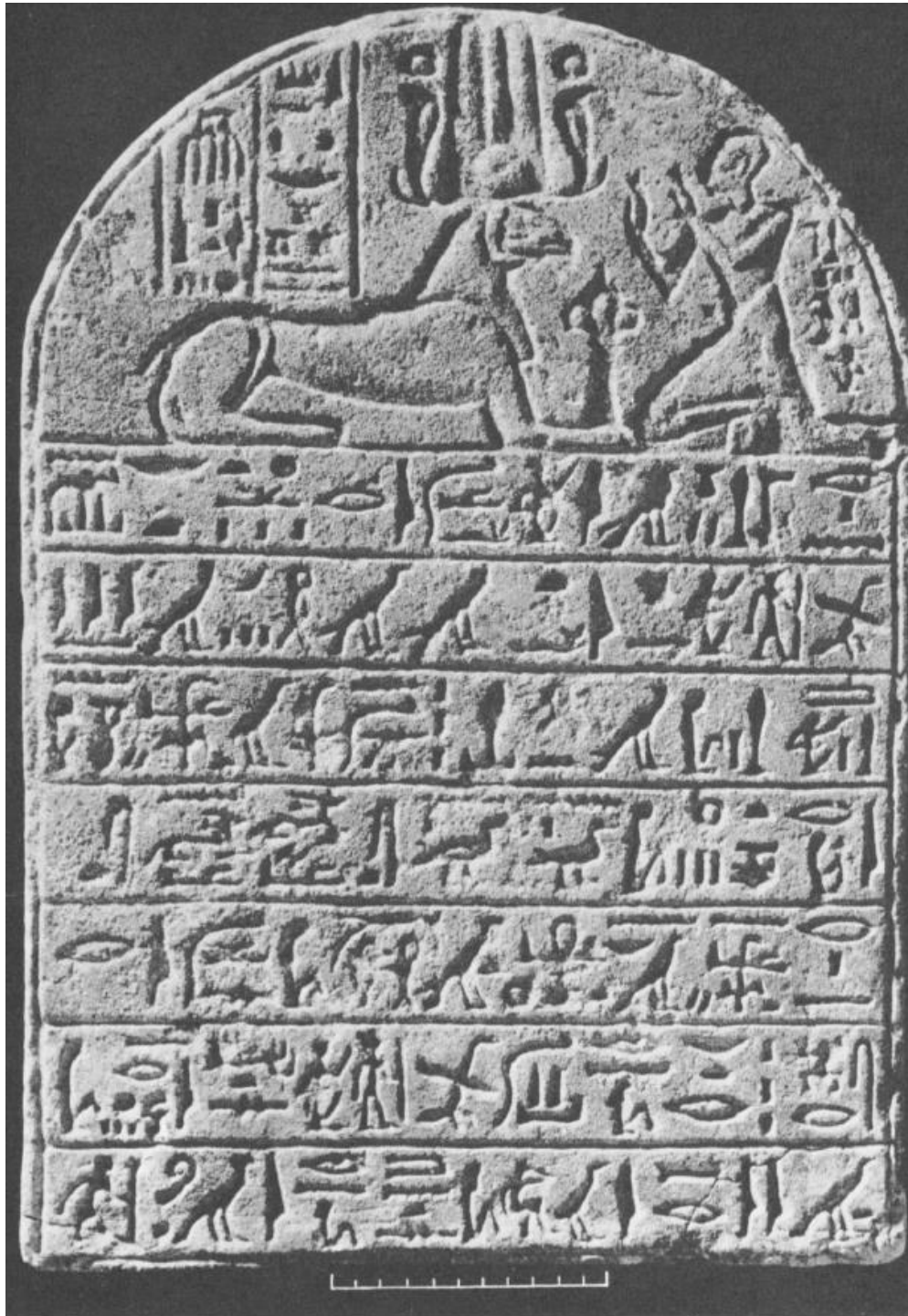


Pl. 52b

Ste. Ahmose-Nefertari

TRAPANI, ' Une nouvelle enquête sur la stèle d' Ahmès-Néfertari ' , ZÄS 129 (2002) pls. 34.

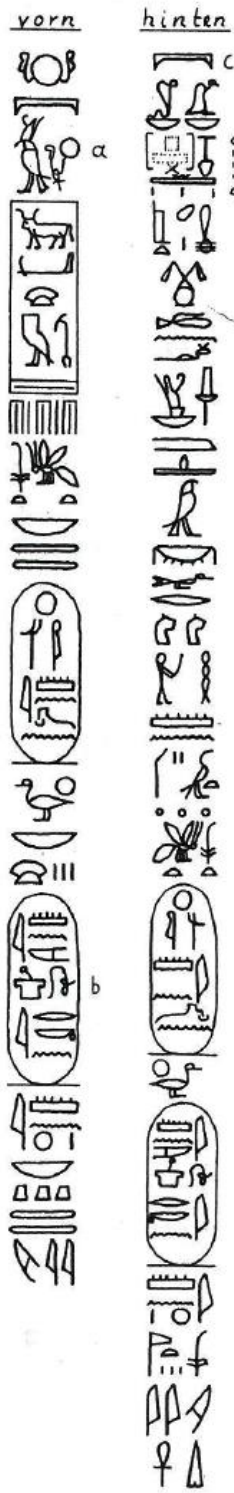
Pl. 53



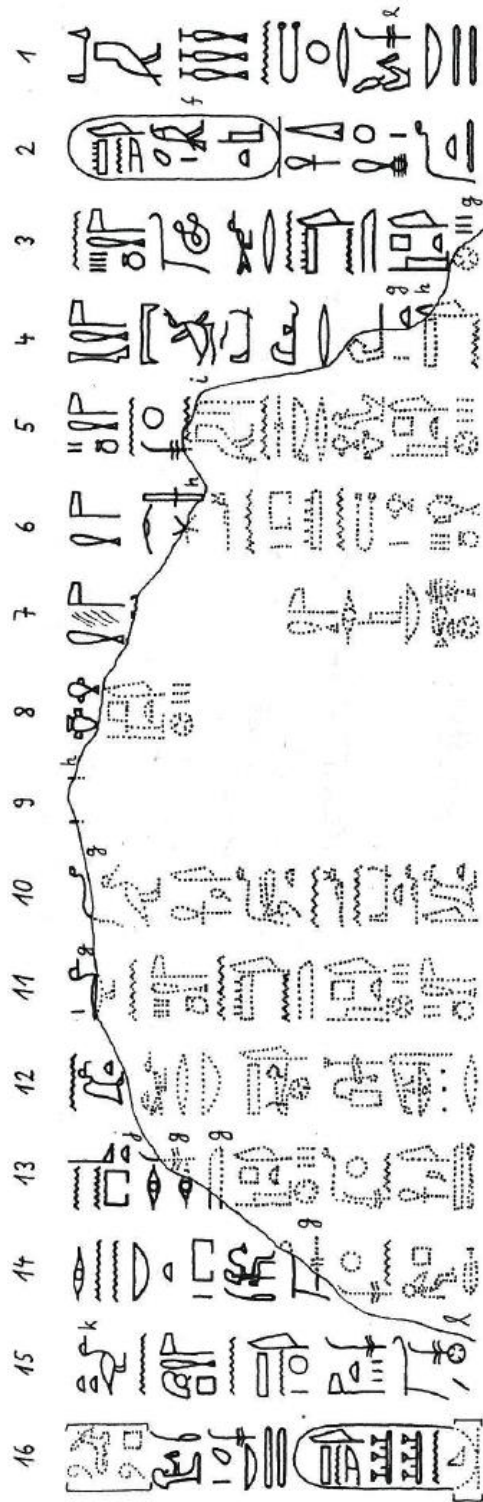
Ste. Amarah

FAIRMAN, 'Preliminary report on the excavations at Sesebi (Sudla) and 'Amārah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1937-38', *JEA* 24 (1938) pl. 11.3.

a) Auf dem Pantherfell



b) Auf dem Oberrand der Stele



Sta. Cairo CG 42208

JANSEN-WINKELN, Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie II, 453.

c) Vorn auf der Stele



Sta. Cairo CG 42208

JANSEN-WINKELN, Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie II, 454.

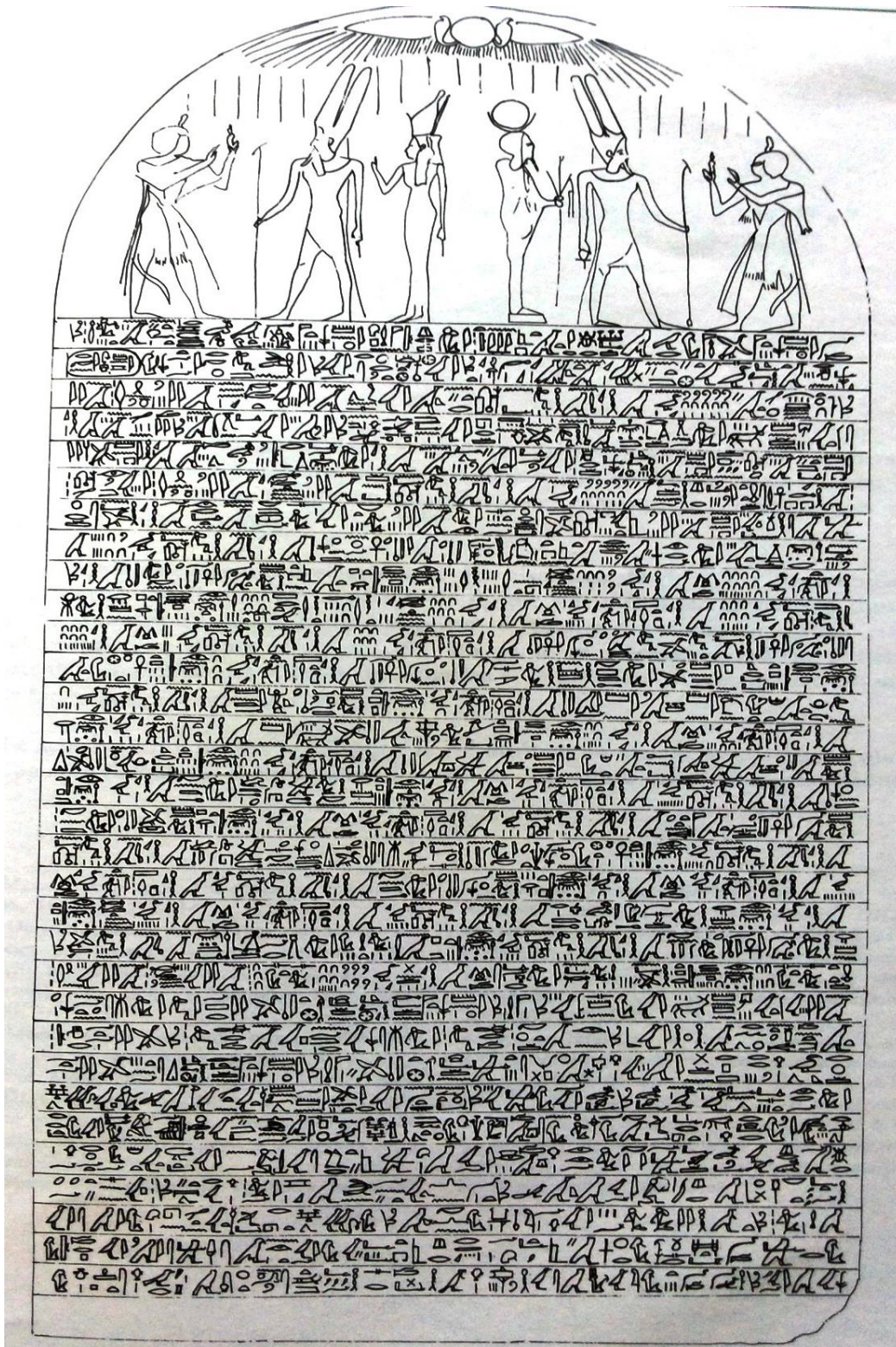
Pl. 54c

c) (Fortsetzung)

Hier sind die hieroglyphischen Zeichen in sechs horizontalen Zeilen dargestellt, die von links nach rechts gelesen werden. Die Zeichen sind in Gruppen unterteilt, die durch kleine Buchstaben (a.u., a.f., h., a.v., a.c., a.x., p.) markiert sind. Die 20. und 25. Zeile sind rechts mit den Nummern 20 und 25 beschriftet.

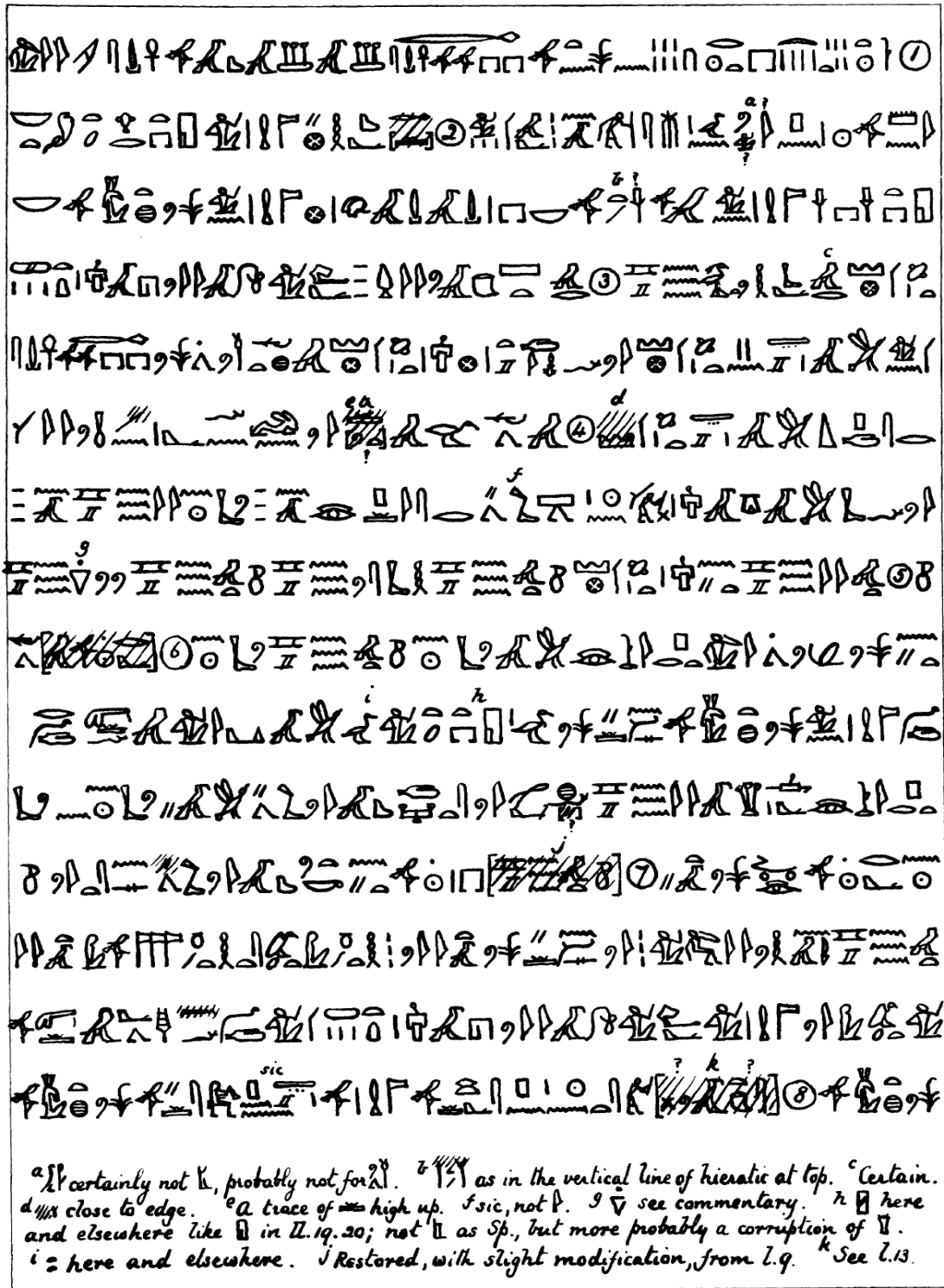
Sta. Cairo CG 42208

JANSEN-WINKELN, Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie II, 456.



Ste. Apanage

MENU, 'La stèle dite de l'apanage', *BdE* 122 (1998) fig. 13.

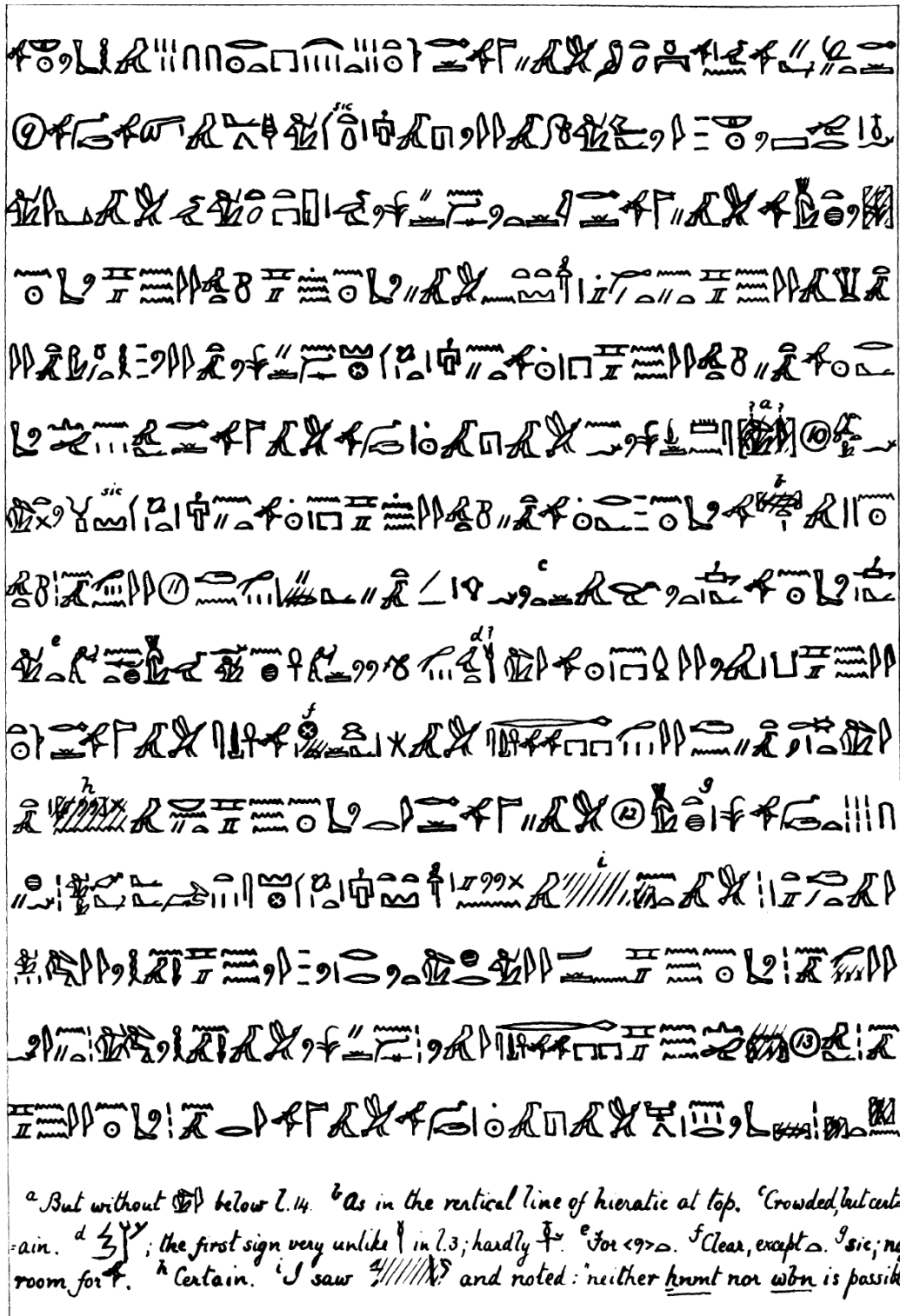


Ste. Dakhleh

Lines 1-8

GARDINER, 'The Dakhleh Stela', JEA 19 (1933) pls. 5.

Pl. 56a

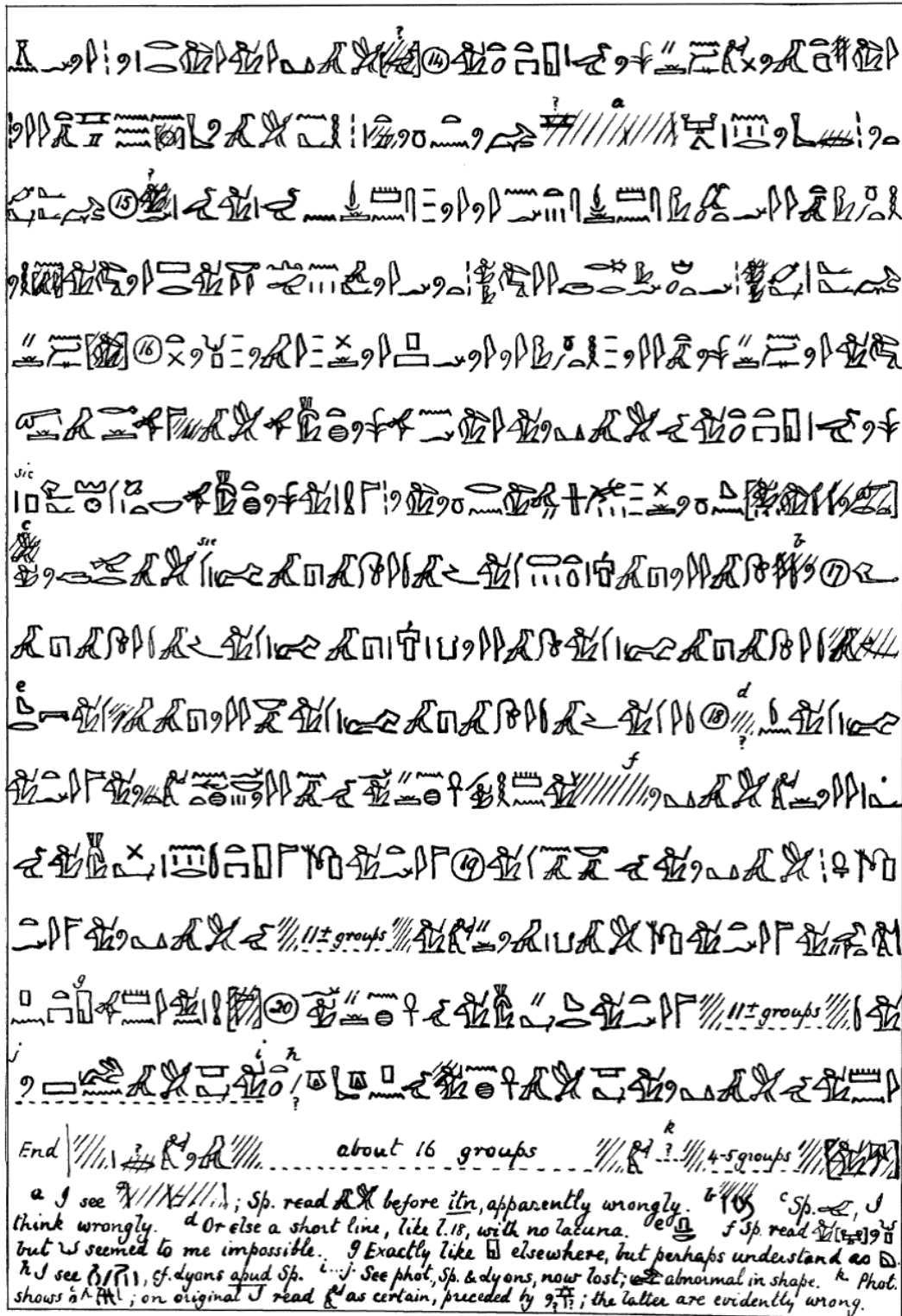


Ste. Dakhleh

Lines 8-13

GARDINER, 'The Dakhleh Stela', JEA 19 (1933) pls. 6.

Pl. 56b

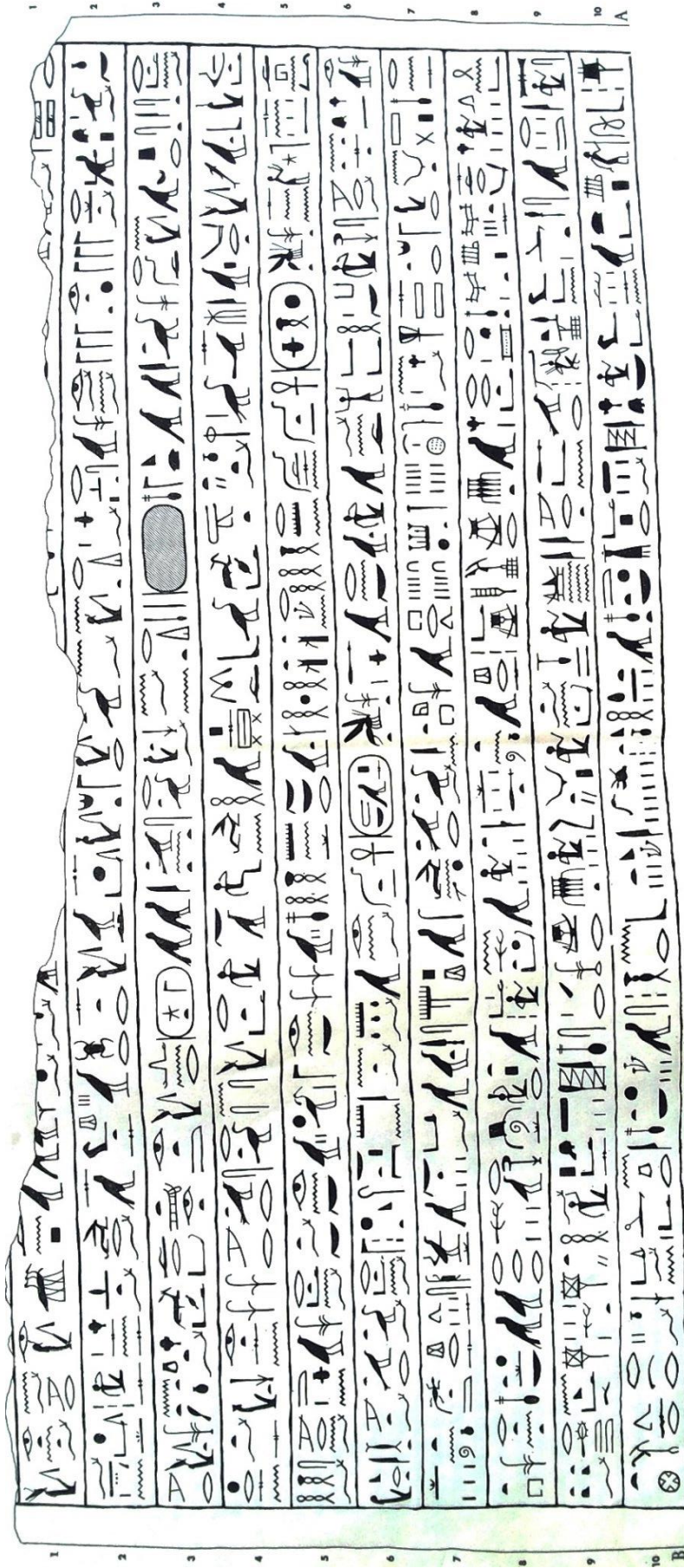


Ste. Dakhleh

Lines 13-20

GARDINER, 'The Dakhleh Stela', JEA 19 (1933) pls. 7.

Pl. 57



Ste. Nitocris Adoption

CAMINOS, 'The Nitocris Adoption Stela', *JEA* 50 (1964) pl. 8.

Pl. 57a



Ste. Nitocris Adoption

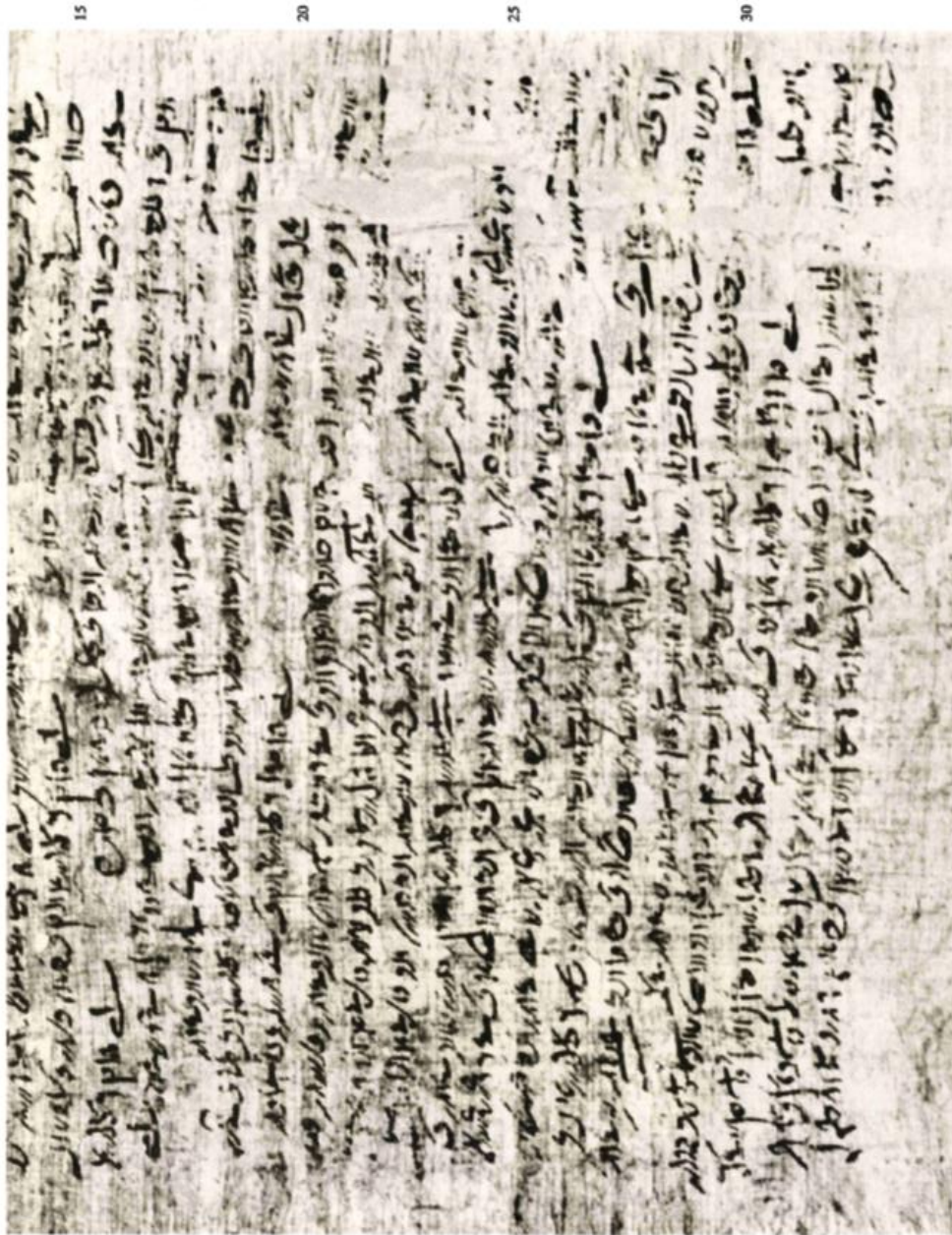
CAMINOS, 'The Nitocris Adoption Stela', *JEA* 50 (1964) pl. 9.



Ste. Nitocris Adoption

CAMINOS, ' The Nitocris Adoption Stela' , *JEA* 50 (1964) pl. 10.

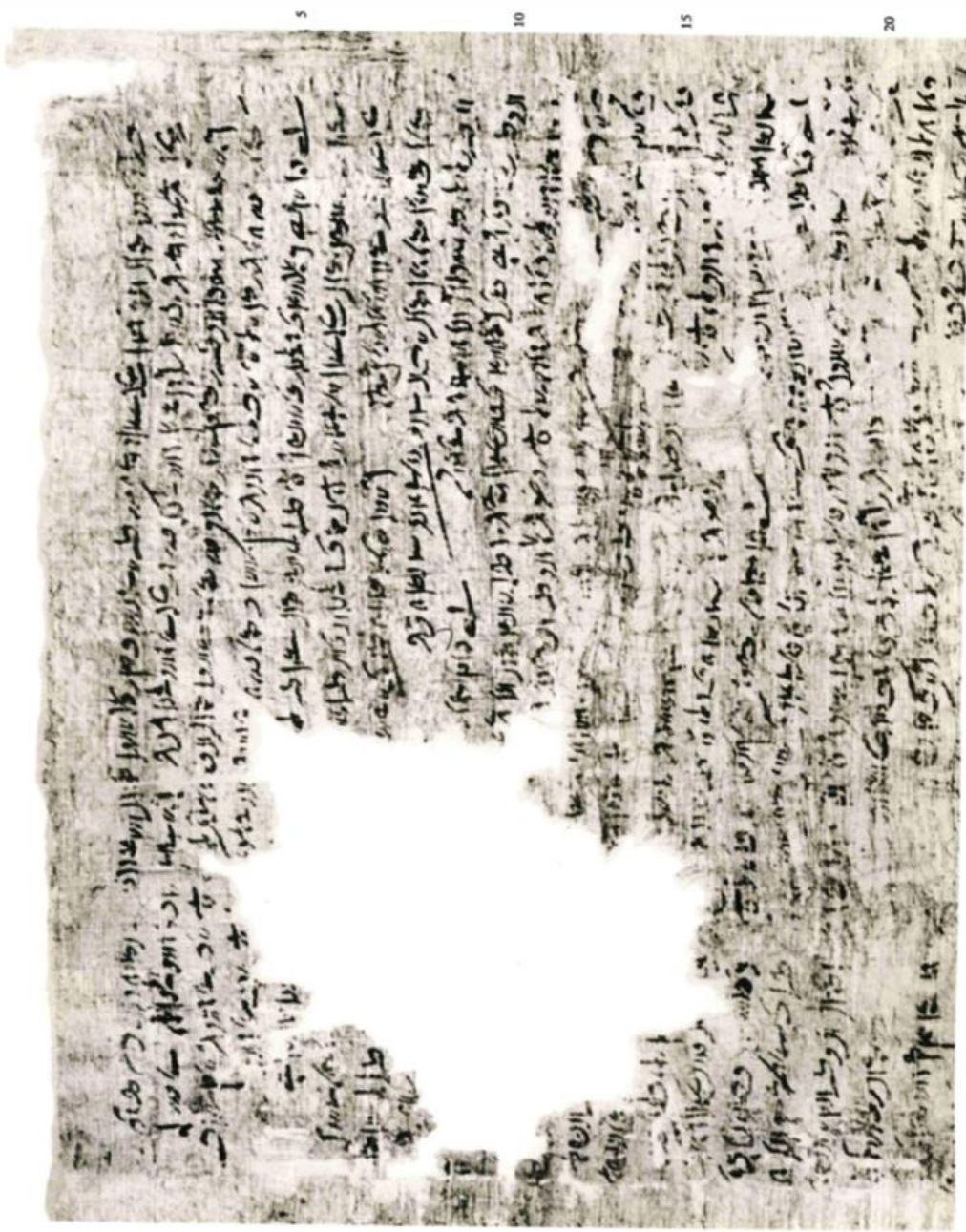
Pl. 58



pMattha, col.8 (15-33)

MATTHA, *The Demotic legal code of Hermopolis West*, pl. 15.

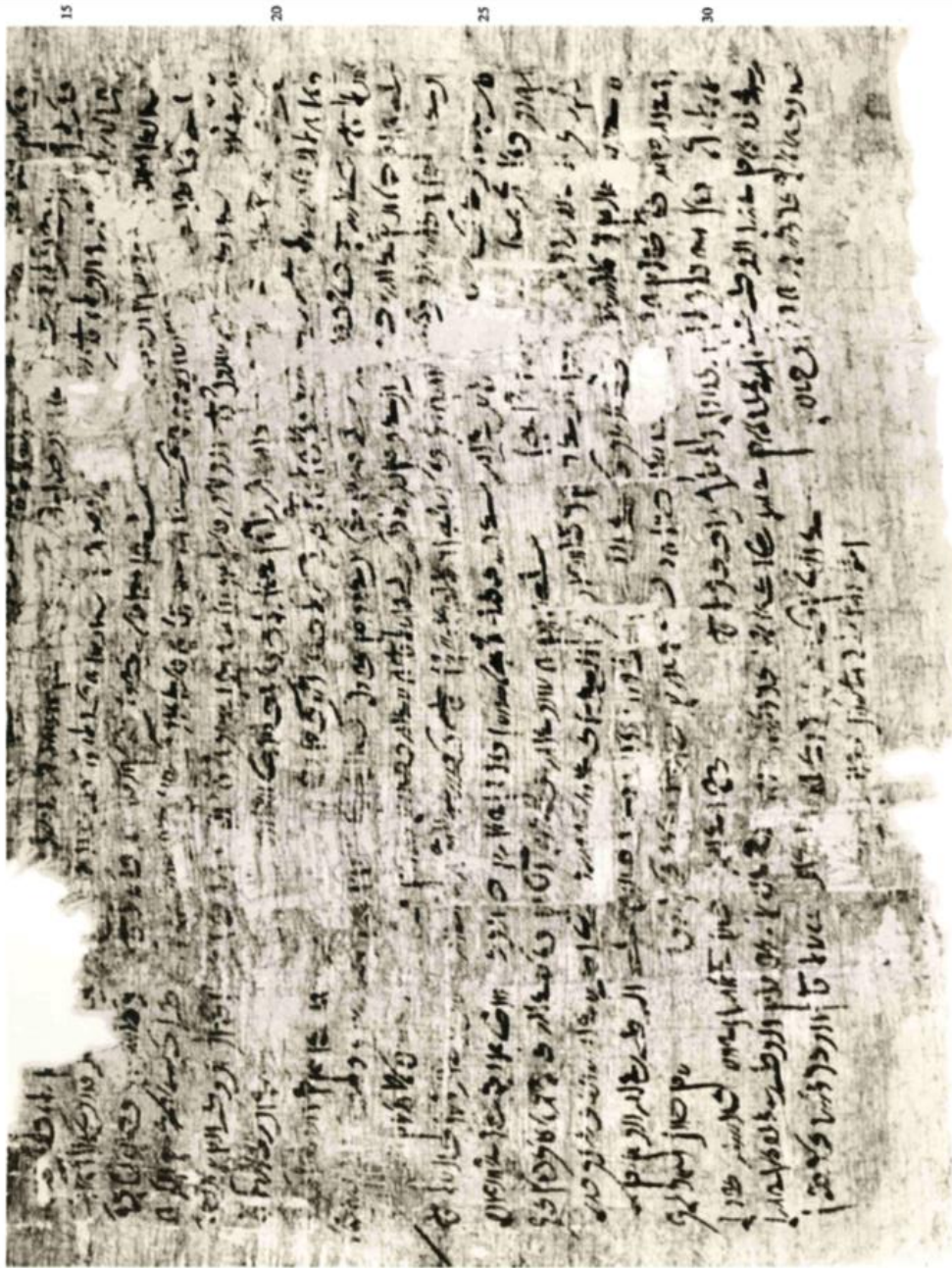
Pl. 58a



pMattha, col.9 (1-21)

MATTHA, The Demotic legal code of Hermopolis West, pl. 16.

Pl. 58b



pMattha, col.9 (15-33)

MATTHA, *The Demotic legal code of Hermopolis West*, pl. 17.

Handwritten Demotic script from pMattha, I, Faksimile 0801-0833. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines, with some lines containing multiple columns of writing. The script is dense and characteristic of the Demotic period. Marginal numbers 0805, 0810, 0815, 0820, 0825, and 0830 are visible on the left side of the page, corresponding to specific lines of text.

pMattha, Faksimile 0801-0833
 BIRGIT, J., Die demotischen Wissenstexte (Recht und Mathematik) des pMattha, I, Faksimile 0801-0833.

0905
 0910
 0915
 0920
 0925
 0930

Faksimile auf 87 % verkleinert.

Pl. 58d

pMattha, Faksimile 0801-0833
BIRGIT, J., Die demotischen Wissenstexte (Recht und Mathematik) des pMattha, I, Faksimile 0901-0933.