

THE
INSCRIPTION OF MES

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF
EGYPTIAN JUDICIAL PROCEDURE

BY

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I. The text of Mes and the theory of M. Moret.

That so few records of private lawsuits have survived from Pharaonic times, is due to mere chance. Frequent reference to litigation is made in the texts of all periods, from which it may be gathered that the Egyptians were by no means averse to settling their disputes by that method. It is almost equally certain that every lawsuit was recorded in writing: for this we have not only the assurance of Diodorus, but also the testimony of the inscription of Rekhmere¹. Yet of the vast mass of documents which must thus have been created, only a few imperfect specimens have found their way into our museums. Much indeed may be learnt from the Abbott, Turin and other papyri as to the procedure in public prosecutions: but the affairs with which these records deal were doubtless of an exceptional character. It may be truly affirmed that until recently we possessed no single text which enabled us to follow, from start to finish, and with tolerable certainty, the course of any civil lawsuit.

Under these circumstances it is hardly possible to overestimate the importance of the text discovered by Prof. Loret in the tomb of Mes at Sakkara. Nor is it the juristic aspect of this inscription alone which commends it to our attention. In simple language, very different from the bombastic style to which we are more accustomed, it tells a tale of stress and struggle. Incidentally, sidelights are thrown upon many details of life under the early Ramessides: thus we learn something of the system of taxation in Egypt, and of the tenure of lands; something too of the corruption of Egyptian officials. And again, regarded from the linguistic side, the text is interesting as one of the few examples of New-Egyptian written in hieroglyphics.

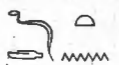
Professor Loret has laid Egyptologists under a great obligation by his excellent publication of the inscription (ÄZ 39 [1901] p. 1—10). The task was no light one, owing to the defective state of part of the text. However, Professor Loret has succeeded in reconstituting the original form of the south wall, of which eleven blocks, found face downward on the ground, are all that remains. The present writer has been enabled to check the published copy of the horizontal lines on the north wall by means of photographs most kindly lent by Prof. Loret himself and by Prof. Breasted: it is a pleasure to him to be able to testify to the accuracy of the publication; only one new reading of importance was thus recovered, and beyond this, only a few trifling errors were detected².

1) Newberry, Rekhmara 3, 21 "Every petition shall be put into writing". Of course it may be argued that this applies only to the court of the Vizier, and to the 18th. Dynasty. But the other view seems the more probable.

2) They are recorded in the Notes to the Translation (see p. 12 sqq.).

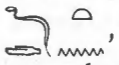
It fell to the lot of M. Moret to publish the first commentary and translation of the inscription of Mes (ibid. pp. 11—39). His in many respects excellent article is the necessary point of departure for any new treatment of the text. M. Moret has left his successors little to do in the way of restoring the defective passages, and his translation itself requires but slight modification. Not the least valuable portion of the essay is the commentary, in which sundry legal points are discussed with discernment and erudition.

Excellently as M. Moret has dealt with many matters of detail, we are unable to follow him in his interpretation of the text as a whole. The explanation advanced for the earliest stages of the litigation is probably not far wide of the truth: but the main topic of the inscription, namely the lawsuit brought by Mes, has, we believe, been wholly misunderstood by M. Moret. To criticise his theory in all its intricate details would be beyond the scope of the present treatise. We shall therefore confine our examination to two central positions, upon which the whole fabric of the hypothesis appears to be based. In the process of criticism certain positive conclusions will emerge, which we may then use as the foundation for a new reconstruction of the history of the litigation.

The structure of the section N 2—20¹ is the first point to be considered. M. Moret regards the whole passage as a consecutive narrative of the legal complications in which the family of Mes became involved, in the external form of a deposition spoken by Mes himself². But a closer scrutiny discloses the fact that the section N 2—20 is composed, not of a single deposition, but of two. The formula  is in N 21—36 repeatedly employed to introduce independent depositions: and this formula occurs twice in N 2—20, once in N 2 and again in N 11. Following up this clue, we must divide N 2—20 into two approximately equal parts, in the first of which (N 2—11) we find a deposition of Mes, and in the second (N 11—20) a deposition of Khay. It is true that M. Moret recognises a deposition of Khay in the two lines N 11—12: but he regards it as a quotation within the larger discourse of Mes N 2—20. The comparison, however, of N 2—11 with N 11—20 shows this position to be untenable: these divisions are seen to be precisely parallel to each other, alike in their composition and in their contents. Both begin with the name and parentage of their respective speakers, after which occurrences are related, which are said to have taken place in the time of Horemheb (N 3—4: N 11). Continuing the analysis onward from this point, we soon become aware that not merely similar, but *identical*, events are being recounted; in other words, that the same historical episode, though seen from two distinct standpoints, underlies N 5—11 and N 12—20. A central incident, common to both sections, is the appeal made by the woman Nubnofret to the evidence of certain official registers (N 7 : N 14). M. Moret, regarding N 2—20 as a consecutive narrative, is obliged to assume that this incident occurred *twice*; and he has framed the following theory to explain this supposition. On the first occasion that Nubnofret made her appeal to the official registers, she contrived to substitute forged documents in place of the genuine ones, and thus secured a verdict in her own favour: on the second occasion, her fraudulent conduct was unmasked by

1) In quoting the text of Mes, the example set by Prof. Loret has been followed. The north wall is designated by the letter N, the south wall by the letter S.

2) See especially Moret, *ÄZ* 39 (1901) p. 12, note 5.

the Vizier, and the previous verdict reversed. And since, according to M. Moret, it is Mes who narrates both these events, it is clear that Nubnofret must have been his adversary. To this corollary we shall revert in the next paragraph; here it is sufficient to say that the hypothesis of M. Moret appears to us to duplicate the real events. — The two sections N 2—11 and N 11—20, demarcated by the formula , have been shown to be similar both as regards length and structure: the events they record are in part merely parallel, but in part, as it appears, actually the same. It is a natural conclusion that they are the speeches of the plaintiff and the defendant¹ respectively: on this view Mes and Khay would be the two principals concerned in the lawsuit which is the main subject of our inscription².

The identity of Nubnofret with the adversary of Mes is obviously a central point in the theory of M. Moret, whereas the division of N 2—20 suggested above indicates Khay as the opponent of Mes. Now not only the inscription itself (N 12), but also unpublished scenes in the tomb of Mes³, prove that the name of the mother of Mes, the wife of his father Hui, was Nubnofret. It is of course impossible, as M. Moret has rightly observed, that the mother of Mes should be the same as the rival of Mes; were it so, she would never have been depicted upon the walls of his tomb. M. Moret accordingly postulates the existence of two women bearing the name Nubnofret. He finds them mentioned in close juxtaposition in the passage N 12—13, which he correctly⁴ translates as follows: — “Le scribe Houï et la ‘villica’ Noubounofrit se saisirent de cette portion de champs, et elle les donna à l’ouvrier Khâi⁵ Je fis rapport au Zat d’Héliopolis. Il me fit déposer avec Noubounofrit par devant le Zat dans le grand conseil des Qonbitiou”. The construction put upon these words is highly artificial. The first sentence is supposed to end the deposition of Khay, and in what follows it is Mes who resumes in the first person. M. Moret admits that the deposition of Khay, thus abruptly terminated, lacks clearness: and in truth the part supposed to have been played by this man is very far from obvious. The Nubnofret of the third clause (“avec Noubounofrit”) is thought to be the rival of Mes, whereas the mother of Mes is of course meant in the first clause (“et la ‘villica’ Noubounofrit”). Lastly, it is left unexplained why the text says that Hui and Nubnofret seized the estates, and *she* (not “they”!) handed them over to the artificer Khayiri. Such is the interpretation of M. Moret: against it we urge that the passage has every appearance of unbroken continuity; and if we regard it as belonging, in its entirety, to the deposition of Khay, all the difficulties vanish. On this view Khay relates how Hui and his wife Nubnofret seized his lands. Hui disappears from the story at this point, and Nubnofret hands over the lands to an artificer Khayiri to be cultivated on her

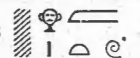
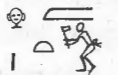

1) It will be shown that the lawsuit in question was the appeal against an earlier judgement, and therefore it would perhaps be more correct to employ the terms “appellant” and “respondent”. But as we shall see, the Egyptian appeal, being brought before the same tribunal which gave the verdict appealed against, was in reality a mere retrial. For this reason, and to avoid all possibility of confusion, the usual expressions “plaintiff” and “defendant” have been retained.

2) The greater part of this work was already written, when the essay of M. Revillout, *Revue Egyptologique* 9, p. 177—187 came to the author’s notice. To M. Revillout belongs the credit of having first divided N 2—20 between the plaintiff Mes and the defendant Khay.

3) See Moret, *ÄZ* 39 (1901) p. 17, note 4.

4) Except that we should substitute “mes champs” for “cette portion de champs”.

5) Read “Khayiri(?)”.

behalf. Khay thereupon reports the matter to the Vizier, and the Vizier calls upon Nubnofret to give an account of her conduct. This explanation dispenses altogether with a second Nubnofret. Still the disappearance of Hui would remain mysterious, but for the light thrown upon it by the parallel passage in the deposition of Mes (N 5 foll.). Hui and his mother Urnero are there said to have been engaged in litigation with their brothers and sisters — an incident not touched upon by Khay. After this comes a lacuna of no great length, succeeded in the copy of Prof. Loret by the enigmatic words . The text then proceeds to tell how Nubnofret, termed "my mother" by the narrator, went down to cultivate the portion of Neshi, and how she was bidden to desist. There follows a reference to the lawsuit between Nubnofret and Khay before the Vizier in Heliopolis. The last occurrences are clearly identical with those related in the passage from the deposition of Khay discussed above. From a photograph belonging to Prof. Breasted I was able distinctly to read  after the lacuna. Someone therefore died at this conjuncture. Evidently it was the scribe Hui; and this explains why, in both passages, Nubnofret is alone named in all the subsequent proceedings. Accordingly the Nubnofret of N 5 was the widow of Hui and the mother of Mes. Indeed, in arguing to the contrary, M. Moret is obliged, because of the words "my mother", to assume a change of speaker in the lacuna. But even if we admit that the lacuna is large enough to have contained a clause introducing the new speaker, an explanation has still to be found for the new and indubitable reading . All the facts therefore make towards the inevitable conclusion that there was but one Nubnofret, and that she, being the mother of Mes, cannot have been his adversary.

It has been suggested above that Khay was the defendant against whom the lawsuit of Mes was directed. This hypothesis has now to be put to the test: we must inquire whether by means of it, a more plausible and consistent explanation can be given to the text as a whole. For this purpose it has been found needful to print a new translation, accompanied by philological and other notes¹. In the Commentary an attempt has been made to discuss in all its details the history unfolded by the text: some space is devoted to the consideration of judicial and administrative points. In conclusion, in order to facilitate the use of this essay, the text has been reproduced afresh, fully emended and containing the suggestions made by Prof. Loret and M. Moret. The text given here is, the reader is asked to note, in no way intended to replace that of Prof. Loret, which will still retain all its value as representing an unbiassed record of the inscription.

1) In this part of the work I am indebted to Prof. Erman and Mr. Griffith for some valuable suggestions.

II. Translation.¹

1. Introduction (x lines + N 1, 2).

According to the estimate of Prof. LORET, 3 or 4 horizontal lines have been lost at the beginning of the inscription. Their probable contents were as follows: a) the date at which the *procès verbal* was drawn up, a *terminus a quo* being given by N 7, which names the 18th. year of Rameses II as the time when the lawsuit of Khay and Nubnofret took place; b) a narrative introductory to the depositions which commence in N 2. It was doubtless related how Mes laid a plaint before the Vizier and the Great Qenbet. A member of that court will have been sent as commissioner to the lands of Neshi, in order to examine the litigants and their witnesses. The only fragment of this narrative which remains states that some one (no doubt the commissioner of the Qenbet) brought the notables of the town to hear the depositions.

(N 2) officer(?) brought the notables of the town to hear their depositions¹.

2. Deposition of the plaintiff Mes (N 2—11).

a. The early history of the estates of Neshi (N 2—5).

What was said by² the of the bearer of weapons, who³
..... Rameses, [Mes].

As for me, I am⁴ the son of Hui, the son of Urnero, [the daughter] of Neshi. A division of property⁵ was made [for] Urnero and her brothers and sister⁶ [in] the (N 3) [Great] Qenbet [in the time of] Horemheb⁷. They sent the priest of the litter⁸ Iniy, who was an officer⁹ of the Great Qenbet, to the Uahit of Neshi: and a division was made for me and my brothers and sisters; and they made my mother, the dweller in the town, Urnero administrator¹⁰ for her brothers and sisters.

Then Takharu, the sister of Urnero, (N 4) [pleaded together with Urnero(?) before]¹¹ the Great Qenbet. The Qenbet officer was sent forth, and they caused each of the six heirs to take [cognisance] of his portion. Now the king Amosis I had [given¹² x arourae of land] as a reward to Neshi my father. And further, since king Amosis I, this land was held¹³ by one (heir) after another until [this day].

(N 5) Then Hui, my father, and his mother Urnero pleaded [together with their]¹⁴ brothers and sisters before the Great Qenbet and the Qenbet of Memphis. writing(?).
[Then my father(?) Hui] died¹⁵.

b. The litigation between Nubnofret and Khay (N 5—9).

And Nubnofret my mother came to till¹⁶ the portion of (N 6) Neshi¹⁷ my father, but she was not allowed to till (it). Then she laid a plaint against¹⁸ the administrator Khay, and they [caused them to appear before(?)] the Vizier¹⁹ [in] Heliopolis in the year 14 + x of king Rameses II. [Then laid a plaint saying(?)²⁰:] "Of a truth I am cast forth

1) For the notes see III (p. 12 sqq.).

from this land of Neshi my (N 7) father"²¹. Then she said: "Let there be brought to me the registers²² from the Treasury, and likewise from the Department of the Granary of Pharaoh. For I am well pleased to say²³, that I am the daughter of Neshi. Division was made for me together with them²⁴, but the administrator Khay does not know(?) my [right(?)?] as a sister(?)"²⁵.

The administrator Khay laid a plaint in the Great Qenbet in the year 18, and they sent forth (N 8) the priest of the litter Amenemiofet, who was an officer of the Great Qenbet, together with him, having a false register in his hand, (whereby) I ceased to be a child of Neshi²⁶. And they made the administrator Khay [administrator] for his brothers and sisters in the place of my heirship, although [I was]²⁷ an heir of Neshi my (N 9) father.

c. Mes appeals against the judgement in favour of Khay (N 9—11).

And now see! I am in the Uahit of Neshi my father, in which is the Hunpet of Neshi my father. Let me be examined and let me see whether(?)²⁸ Urnero was the mother of Hui my father, [who was] called [the son of(?)²⁹] Neshi, although she³⁰ is not duly enrolled in the register, (N 10) which the administrator Khay made against me together with the Qenbet officer who came with him. I³¹ bring a plaint saying: it is a false register that has been made against me. For verily when I was examined before, I was found to be inscribed³². Let me be examined together with my coheirs before the notables of the town, and let me (N 11) see whether(?)³³ I am the son of Neshi, or whether(?) it is not so(?)³⁴.

3. The deposition of the defendant Khay (N 11—20).

a. Khay's version of the early history of the estates (N 11—12).

What was said by the administrator Khay.

I am the son of the administrator Userhat, the son of Thaui³⁵ [the son of] Prê-hotep. He gave to me his³⁶ portion of lands in writing in the time of king Horemheb before witnesses: and it was the chief of the stable Hui (N 12) the son of Prê-hotep who had³⁷ tilled it since the time of king [Amenothēs(?)]. I succeeded to [him in]³⁸ the time of Horemheb unto this day. Then the scribe Hui and the dweller in the town Nubnofret seized my portion of lands: and she gave them to the artificer Khay[iri(?)]³⁹.

b. The lawsuit between Khay and Nubnofret (N 12—20).

Then I laid a plaint before the Vizier (N 13) in Heliopolis, and he caused me to plead together with Nubnofret before the Vizier in the Great Qenbet. I brought my [testimonies] in my hand⁴⁰ since Amosis I, and Nubnofret brought her testimonies in like manner. Then they were unrolled⁴¹ before the Vizier in the Great Qenbet. And the Vizier said to [her(?)]: "These documents were written by one of the two parties"⁴².

(N 14) Then Nubnofret said to the Vizier: "Let there be brought to me the [two registers from the Treasury and likewise from the Department of the Granary(?). And the Vizier] said to her: "Very good is that which thou sayest". Then they brought us(?)⁴³ downstream

to Per-Ramessu. And they entered into the Treasury of Pharaoh, and likewise into the Department of the Granary of (N 15) Pharaoh, and they brought the two registers⁴⁴ before the Vizier in the Great Qenbet. Then the Vizier said to Nubnofret: "Who is thy heir [among]⁴⁵ the heirs who are upon the two registers that are in [our] hand?" And Nubnofret said: "There is no heir in them". "Then thou art in the wrong" said the Vizier to her⁴⁶.

(N 16) Then the scribe of the royal table, Kha, the son of Mentuemmin, said to the Vizier: "What is the decision which thou makest with regard to Nubnofret?" And the Vizier said to Kha: "Thou belongest to the Residence. Go then to the Treasury, and see how the matter stands with her". And Kha went out, and he said to her: "I have examined the documents. Thou art not inscribed in them"⁴⁷.

(N 17) Then they summoned the priest of the litter, Amenemiofet, and they sent him forth, saying: "Call together⁴⁸ the heirs, and show unto them the lands, and make a division for them". So did they command him together with the Qenbet of Memphis⁴⁹.

Then I sent the, Ruiniūma(?)⁵⁰ (N 18) who was overseer of horses. And the officer of the Qenbet, Amenemiofet summoned Mesmen(?)⁵¹, saying, "Come": (N 19) Then they summoned him(?) to the West bank. And they gave to me 13 arourae⁵² of land and they gave lands (N 20) [to the coheirs(?) before] the notables of the town⁵³.

4. The evidence (N 20—S 16).

a. Sworn depositions of the litigants and the witnesses (N 20—36).

What was said by the goatherd Mesmen(?)⁵⁴.

(N 21) "[By Amon⁵⁵ and by the Prince,] I speak by the truth of(?) Pharaoh, and I speak not falsely; and if I speak falsely, may (N 22) [my nose and my ears] be cut off⁵⁶, [and may I be transported to] Kush. The scribe Hui was the son of Urnero, and, as they say, the son of Neshi. I saw (N 23) Urnero lands".

What was said by the administrator Khay.

"By Amon and by the Prince. The scribe Hui was the son of (N 24) [Urnero] the daughter of Neshi⁵⁷. And if [say(?): 'It is not truth'⁵⁸, then let me be put to confusion(?)⁵⁹. By Amon and by the Prince not (N 25) cultivate beyond them. Their harvest was taxed(?) (N 26)"

What was said by —(?)⁶⁰

"By [Amon and by] the Prince, if they examine and if they find that I cultivated (N 27) portion me, let me be put to confusion(?)."

What was said by the priest of the temple of Ptah⁶¹

"By Amon and by the Prince, I speak (N 28) [in truth, and I speak not] falsely; and if I speak falsely, may my [nose] and my ears be cut off, and may I be transported to Kush. I knew (N 29) [the scribe Hui(?) the son of Urnero. He cultivated [his] lands from [year] to year, and he cultivated them saying: 'I am the son of Urnero, (N 30) [the daughter of Neshi'(?)]".

[What was said by] the honey-maker of the Treasury of Pharaoh Hori(?)⁶².

"By Amon and by the Prince, if I speak falsely, may my nose and my ears be cut off (N 31) [and may I be transported to Kush. The scribe Hui] was the son of Urnero; and moreover, Urnero was the daughter of Neshi."

What was said by the chief of the stable Nebnefer.

Likewise, saying: "As for the scribe Hui, he used to (N 32) [cultivate his lands from year] to year, [doing] all that he desired⁶³. And they gathered in⁶⁴ for him the harvest of his fields year by year. Then he pleaded (N 33) [together with the dweller in the town⁶⁵] Takharu the mother of the officer Smentoui. And then he pleaded together with Smentoui her son, and they gave (N 34) [the lands to]⁶⁶ Hui, and they were duly confirmed (to him)."

What was said by the Buthartef.

Likewise, saying: "The scribe Hui was the son of Urnero and Urnero was (N 35) [the daughter of Neshi]".

What was said by the dweller in the town Peihay.

"By Amon, and by the Prince, if I speak falsely, may I be sent to the back of the house⁶⁷. The scribe (N 36) [Hui was the son of] Urnero; and moreover, Urnero was the daughter of Neshi".

What was said by the dweller in the town Pipuemuia.

Likewise.

What was said by the dweller in the town Tuy.

Likewise.

b. Documents cited as evidence (S 1-16).

Some 4 or 5 horizontal lines are entirely lost at the top of the S. wall. As to their contents nothing certain can be conjectured. But since S 7 foll. contain a document which Mes would naturally cite as evidence in his trial, it is to be presumed that the preceding lines likewise contained documentary evidence. It is impossible to say whether any sentence marking the transition from the oral to the documentary evidence was contained in the lost lines. It is even possible that some lines of historical narrative stood at the top of the S. wall.

(S 2)

What was said⁶⁸ by the dweller of the town Maia before the [Great] Qenbet in [the time of??]

"..... (S 3)..... Urnero his mother took the(?) (S 4)..... leave to me my grain. I brought to me the administrator (S 5)..... By Amon and by the Prince (S 6)..... in that I am deprived of my portion."

A copy was made, and [it was placed in] the judgement-hall⁶⁹ of Pharaoh.

..... (S 7) judges. List of the same: —

The overseer of the town and Vizier thereof(?)⁷⁰

The of the cavalry a.

The overseer of infantry Iia.

The chief of auxiliaries Hui.

..... (S 8)

The royal messenger(?)⁷¹ Runry.

The royal messenger(?)⁷¹ Amenmes.

The scribe of

The scribe of mes.

Before the Qenbet on this day.

Year 59⁷² under the Majesty of King Horemheb.

Copy of the examination, which (S 9) the priest [of the litter], Iniy, who was a Qenbet-officer, [made of]⁷³ the Hunpet of the overseer of vessels Neshi, [which is in]⁷⁴ the Uahit of Neshi.

"I came to the Uahit of Neshi [the place where] the lands are⁷⁵, concerning which the dweller in [the town] (S 10) Urnero, and the dweller in the town Takharu dispute. They called together the heirs of Neshi with the notables of the town, who make⁷⁶ [of] the Hunpet [of] Neshi, in order to hear their depositions. List (S 11) of the witnesses of Neshi: —

The dweller in the town, Kakay.

The dweller in the town, Hentudbu.

The

The Baka.

Total, 4 persons⁷⁷.

List of the witnesses who came⁷⁸ from the town to swear to them(?)

The field-labourer, Heriherneferher.⁷⁹

..... (N 12)

.....

.....

What they said with one voice:

"By Amon and by the Prince, we speak in truth (S 13)"

[What was said by

"As for me, I was in the town day. I⁸⁰ saw the Hunpet of the overseer of vessels Neshi, when it was held by the coheirs⁸¹.

..... (S 14) in the time of the Enemy of Ikhitaton⁸² Ikhitaton⁸⁰ [where] Pharaoh was(?). And the dweller in the town Sheritre, the mother of the dweller in [the town] (S 15) [Takharu] Iriy was for the Hunpet cultivating (S 16) Sheritre the mother of Takharu.

5. Verdict? (S 16).

Now after

(Here the inscription comes to an end.)

III. Notes to the Translation.

- 1) Read M. Moret's conjecture is thus confirmed by my reading from the photographs. — For "the notables of the town" see the Commentary (IV, 6) — *Sdm r3*, a technical expression "to hear a deposition", see Spiegelberg, Rechtswesen p. 26.
- 2) is the feminine of the past relative form, literally "that which (N) said"; always used technically in New Egyptian to introduce a legal deposition. Cf. below N 11, 20, 23, 26 etc.; Berlin pap. 3047, 8. 16. 18. 31. 33. 35 (= *ÄZ* 17 [1879] p. 71 foll.); Abbott 5, 21; Berlin pap. 8528, 7; Berlin pap. 9785, 17. The expression in Harris A 1, 16; 2, 11; 3, 16 etc. (= Newberry, Amherst pap. 8 foll.) is slightly different, since it is followed, not by the deposition itself, but only by the substance of what was said. Lastly, the phrase "deposition-list", Harris A 1, 4; Vienna pap. 30, 2, 10 is evidently related to the idiom here discussed, but defies a grammatical explanation.
- 3) *Sd rmt*, an obscure title. Men called are mentioned in the Decree of Horemheb, right side 1: Cf. M. Müller's note, *ÄZ* 26 (1888) p. 90, note 43.
- 4) Read Should we see in the varying forms of the pronoun *anor* and *anr* respectively? However, in S 13 is found, and in N 11 .
- 5) the regular expression for "to divide" an inheritance "among" the heirs: cf. Grébaud, *Mus. ég.* I, 2, 7 (also to be restored *ibid.* 17); Ostr. *Bibl. Nat.* = Ledrain, *Mon. ég.* 5).
- 6) = Geschwister: the names of the individuals are mentioned in S 11. Were they real brothers and sisters of Urnero? Cousins might also be meant. The text of Mes employs the terms of relationship very loosely: e. g. *mt* below (N 3) means "grandmother", *it* (N 4) "a remote ancestor", and in N 7 Nubnofret claims to be a "child" (*srjt*) of Neshi, being in reality only the wife of a descendant of his.
- 7) There is room for [] before *t3 knbt*. For the rest, the restoration proposed by M. Moret is doubtless correct.
- 8) The title has been translated tentatively "priest of the litter": cf. *Brit. Mus.* 10021 (= *Nav. Todtb. Av.*) ; *Bologna* 1094, 7, 2 . It is however open to doubt whether the portable chair in the word *knjt* is a determinative of *sense*, or of *sound*; there being a word meaning a "litter" or "palanquin" (e. g. *Westcar* 7, 12). *Knjt* has the appearance of a feminine word belonging to the type of *рмеш* or *снв*. It should probably be distinguished from the masculine word on which see Maspero, *Et. de Myth.* IV, p. 35–36.
- 9) M. Moret rightly "un des notables", for the members of the Great Qenbet were collec-

tively called cf. Spiegelberg, *Rechtswesen* p. 14–15. is here to be read *sr*, since it is always, in hieratic, written with a sign which differs from the sign employed for *wr*, *izw*, and *smšw* (for the latter, cf. *Pap. Golénischeff* I, 1): so for example Abbott 4, 8 and *passim*; Mallet I, 2; Anast. VI, 2, 8. 16; 6, 2; Anast. VII, 6, 1. 3 (contrast *wr* 8, 3); Lee 2, 4. The same sign is found in the M. K. as determinative of *sr*, cf. *Kahun Pap.* 13, 36; 28, 1 (contrast *izw*, *ibid.* 11, 18); *Boulak* XVIII, 16, 1 (probably *sr*, since the sign is different from *smšw*, *ibid.* 17, 16; *wr*, *ibid.* 17, 21). This distinction was first brought to light by Prof. Spiegelberg (*Rec. de Trav.* 21, p. 43–44), who showed that in the Abbott papyrus the sign in *n3 srw* was identical with that found in the name of the prince of the town, *P3sr* (written out, *Proc. SBA* 22, p. 65): on the other hand, his rival is written with the sign that elsewhere reads *wr* or *izw*¹.

10) On see the important remarks of M. Moret (*ÄZ* 39 [1901] p. 34), who quotes the same expression (*rwdw n snwf*) from Berlin pap. 3047. The *rwdw* of the *harim* (), who is frequently mentioned, may have been an official who protected the interests of the inmates of the *harim*. The usual translation "inspector" appears to me to imply a too passive function; I have therefore substituted for it the term "administrator".

11) About nine squares are lost. The sense may be restored with certainty, though not the exact wording. Perhaps is the right reading; cf. N 5.

12) For the restoration cf. *Boulak* X, recto, 15 = *in*, cf. Sethe, *Verbum* II § 752. The broken word may be emended . — The prenomen of Amosis I is twice in N 4, and again in N 13, curiously written , as in the Royal List of Sakkara.

13) Read ^{sic} ^{sic} . Mr. Griffith points out that is not the exact equivalent of : the latter preposition (*n*) conveys the meaning of absolute possession, while has a more qualified significance, "held by" or "in the tenure of". This distinction is of considerable importance in the present instance. All that is here affirmed, is that a single heir had hitherto held the lands. From various passages in the text it is plain that other persons besides the actual tenant were interested in the property: for these *coheirs* (N 4. 10. S 10) the holder of the estates, whether Urnero (N 3), or Mes (N 10), acted, or should have acted, as "administrator" (*rwdw*). By the sixfold division of the lands (N 4) an illegality was committed: instead of the lands being *hr w n w*, they were now wrongfully "in the tenure of the heirs", , an expression that occurs in S 13² — is probably to be compared with "year after year", in N 29, 32; the idea of the dative

1) Prof. Spiegelberg concludes that the name should be transcribed *P3izw3*; but surely *P3wr3* is more probable, for *orpo* is a far more frequent combination than *izw3*, although the latter can be paralleled.

2) See the Commentary p. 30.

being that of "handing on to", that is "being succeeded by" another. For the use of such a phrase after a preposition, cf. Petrie, Koptos 8, 6. 12 "as son after son, heir after heir".

14) Read — *Shn hi'* is a technical expression, meaning "to plead one's cause against" an opponent in a court of law; cf. below N 13. 32. 33; Anast. V 14, 4; Leyden pap. I 371.

15) Read and restore This sentence has already been discussed, p. 6. A repeated examination of the photographs has brought me to the following results: *mt* is quite certain, and so are the two , the space between which is just large enough for the name of Hui: the *t* and *f* of are indistinct, but probable; of the supposed only the top remains. For the restoration *p3yi'* there is just enough room. — The preceding sentence ended with ; it is difficult to guess its contents.

16) is another technical word. For the Egyptian, the expression "to till" lands, carried with it the implication of having certain rights over them, whether as proprietor or tenant: see especially Berlin pap. 8523 (translated by Erman, Aus den Pap. der kgl. Mus. pp. 92—93), where a man writes to his tenant () saying that he may continue to "till" his lands.

17) Prof. Loret gives the reading at the beginning of N 6. On the photograph only (or) is visible: at all events we should omit the lacuna before the name of Neshi.

18) is the technical term for the preliminary plaint which had to be made, before permission was granted to bring a suit before the court; see Erman, ÄZ 17 (1879) p. 73 and p. 153. So in N 7. 12. The plaint is brought to () the magistrate, cf. N 12; Salt 124, recto 2, 17. 18. *Smî* is construed with the accusative of the person against whom the plaint is brought; cf. Salt 124, recto 2, 17—18 "And the chief of workmen Neferhotep brought a plaint against him (sc. Panebi) before the Vizier Amenmose, and he inflicted punishment upon him. And he (Panebi) brought a plaint against the Vizier before Mose¹, and he made him cease to be Vizier, saying: 'He has chastised me'." So too we should emend in Berlin pap. 3047, 8 (= ÄZ. 17 [1879] p. 71 ff.) etc. In demotic, as Mr. Griffith informs me, *smî* is more usually construed with) and the name of the person accused: cf. John Rylands pap. IX 5, 1. 5. So Coptic *came e* "to accure (someone)".

19) The photograph shows The sense is: "They caused them to appear before the Vizier in Heliopolis"; cf. N 13. *M* is omitted before

1) A contraction of Rameses(?).

20) We may perhaps restore at the end of the lacuna . It is just possible that the *rwdw* Khay is to be considered as the subject of this sentence: if so, the words "Neshi, my father," in the next clause, would show that Khay laid claim to be descended from Neshi. On the whole, it is better to take Nubnofret as the subject, although the words will then be redundant. A third possibility is that Mes is the person meant by : in this case the sense must be restored as follows: "and she (Nubnofret) made this plaint, because I (Mes) was cast out from these lands of Neshi my father".

21) Read (N 7) : For the spelling of *p3yi'* cf. below, note 26.

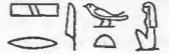

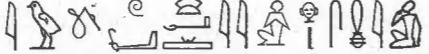
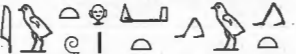

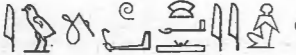
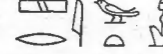
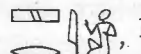
22) On the word see the excellent remarks of M. Moret (ÄZ. 39 [1901] p. 15 footnote 1). — cf. Sallier I, 9, 9.


23) Read M. Moret renders excellently: "Car mon coeur se plaît à dire". Cf. Decree of Horemheb, front 27 where the context is obscure. So too Green, Fouilles 2, 18—19: The enemy approached "Their hearts being contented and well pleased (saying): 'Our plans are being accomplished'".

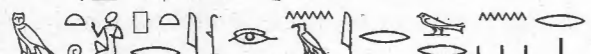





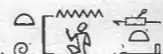

24) This assertion seems to be inaccurate, since, so far as we can see, no division of the estates had ever been made, in which a share was allotted to Nubnofret personally. She derived her right to be counted among the heirs solely through her husband Hui, and it was only after his death that she acquired a direct interest in the lands of Neshi (N 5). Nubnofret therefore refers in this sentence to the division which was made in favour of the line of Urnero, i. e. her son Hui and her grandson Mes (N 3). Several inaccuracies of the same kind occur in the deposition of Mes, for instance in N 3, on which see p. 26 footnote 1, and in N 10, on which see p. 28 footnote 1.

25) The traces which follow the name of Khay do not seem to confirm the reading proposed by M. Moret: for his we should certainly read . — The sentence is very obscure. Perhaps the most plausible rendering is that suggested by Mr. Griffith, who omits the of This however involves still another alteration: Nubnofret is speaking, and therefore would have to be changed into .


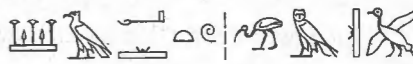

26) Read ; cf. N 6, see note 21 above. — The phrase *rwi m* for "to cease to be" (something), is extremely rare: it occurs in the passage of Salt 124 quoted above, note 18, in full, ; the more usual way of expressing this is found Salt 124, verso 1, 6—7 where *rwi m* means "to cease to have". — The construction

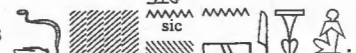

šwī and the pseudoparticle here defines the words *n dš*: the register was false, in so far as the name of Nubnofret was omitted from it. — The word  seems at first sight to be a conclusive proof that Nubnofret is still the speaker. But a comparison of the parallel passages of the deposition of Khay shows that this is not the case. In N 14 (cf. N 7) Nubnofret demands that the registers should be examined. In consequence of this, Khay and Amenemiopet are sent to Per-Ramessu to fetch them. In N 15 we read  to which occurrence  etc. in N 7 must correspond. In the same way N 7-8  etc.: "they caused the priest Amenemiopet to go with him (Khay)" corresponds to N 17 foll., where the events that followed the verdict of the Vizier are recounted. It is clear that Nubnofret, in making her appeal to the official registers, cannot have related events which took place subsequently to that appeal. It therefore follows that the speech of Nubnofret ends with the word  (N 7) and the next sentences  etc. must be part of the narrative of Mes. From this reasoning it follows still further that  in the sentence before us must be an error for , Mes being the speaker. The mistake may have originated in two ways. Either the scribe copied šrit in N 8 mechanically from šrit in N 7, which stands almost immediately above it. Or else the scribe thought of the sense: although Mes is speaking, it was Nubnofret whose title to the estate was suppressed by Khay in the false register produced before the Vizier.





27) Read  for which there is just sufficient room.


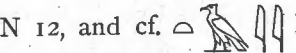

28)  etc., and similarly N 11. Professor Erman suggests that , which in New Egyptian is employed merely as , is here a writing of the interrogative particle . In this case translate: "let me see whether Urnero was the mother" etc. This gives a better sense than if we render: "let me see this: verily Urnero is the mother of the scribe Hui my father". There are a few passages, for the most part obscure, where  appears to mean "whether": Koller 5, 3  "thou knowest not whether it be death or whether it be life that awaits thee"; Turin 129, 10-11  "you have not sent [me a single letter to inform] me whether you are well or ill"; Anastasi VIII, 1, 6-8  "I have heard that the sailor šny son of (?) of Aper-êl, of "The great image of Rameses, Sun of Princes", has died, together

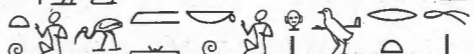

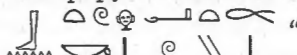


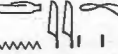







1) Emended by Spiegelberg, Correspondances p. 37.

with his children, whether by fair or by foul play (š?)¹; Pap. Golénischeff 1, 17-18  "Whether you are *dns* or whether you are *mnš*², — I do not understand this tale you have told me"; ibid. 1, 19-20  "until they find out (what) the name of your thief is". These passages have only an indirect bearing upon the present sentence, but they give, as we believe, the clue to the double  in N 11.

29) The photograph shows . Comparing N 32, we might emend "who was called the son of Neshi" or the like. The  at the top of the square before the name of Neshi, is however hard to account for. — The suggestion of M. Moret: "[Le notable des Qonbitiou me] dit", assumes a wrong interpretation of the next sentence, which is perfectly clear.


30)  must introduce a restriction (a concessive or exceptive clause) as always. —  for , as the feminine pseudoparticle shows. It is uncertain whether Urnero or Nubnofret is meant by the pronoun: but it is immaterial, because the claim of Nubnofret was identical with that of her husband Hui and of his mother Urnero. — The writing  for *epoi* is apparently unique.

31)  = : so too N 12, and cf.  N 12.

32) Read . Since there is no article before *w'rt* it is probable that  is a technical expression, "duly enregistered" or the like; cf. Erman, Neuäg. Gramm. § 27. In the papyrus Anastasi I (11, 8) one writer accuses the other of being no true scribe, and says:  "thou art not inscribed": his rival retorts by bidding him go to "the place of [the keepers] of the books" and adds  "thou wilt find my name inscribed"³. The resemblance with the present passage is very striking. Now M. Moret quotes (ÄZ 39 [1901] p. 16 footnote 4) a passage from the Dakleh stele, in order to show that  is used in connection with  there, just as *w'rt* here. We have therefore two distinct grounds for following M. Moret in his identification of  and . To judge from its masculine gender and its ending,  is a *nisbe*-form. We may thus assume as the primitive form of the word *w'rt* like , . The *r* naturally disappeared, cf. Sethe, Verbum I, § 236, 3: the initial *w* either changed places with *'* [*'w(r)l'(š)*] or else was lost [(*w*)*'(r)l'(š)*]. This *nisbe*-form may well be derived from , so that the word will have originally meant "the document belonging to the *w'rt*-land". Now the  was, as Mr. Griffith has shown in an important note to Kahun pap. 9, 2, a terri-

1) Or: "is it true or is it false?"

2) These words will mean "angry" and "good-tempered", "impatient" and "patient" or the like.

3) cf. too L. D. III, 229c.  of fields, quoted by M. Moret.

torial division of the public service: individuals are enrolled under the Middle Kingdom as belonging to this or that *w'rt*. We can now appreciate to the fullest extent the applicability of the word in respect of the registration of men or of lands, as exemplified in the above quotations. At a late date however seems to have become a simple word for "document", without any technical connotation.

33) In passing from N 10 to N 11, the scribe probably omitted which must be restored in order to make the parallelism with N 9 complete. — The twice-repeated may be compared with the idiom "whether" "or", discussed in note 28.

34) is a *crux*. M. Moret gives, "ces choses sont stupéfiantes"; this is a defensible rendering, but is not very probable. A nominal sentence of the type *n3 m b3st* belongs more to classical than to New Egyptian, and the double suggests another idiom; see the last note. *M b3st* occurs in New Egyptian in several obscure passages: Inscriptions in the Hier. and Dem. Char. 18, 8-9 One man urges the other to share with him the treasure they have found; "I said to him: 'Nay verily (?) [it is a crime worthy of] death (?)'; so said I to him"¹; another quite unintelligible example *ibid.*, 11-12; Anast. VIII, verso 1, 4-5 "On the contrary (?), it is loading it with straw that you have done". In these two instances, *m b3st*, literally "wonderfully", is apparently an exclamation, almost equivalent to a negative. So in our sentence perhaps; "let me see whether I am a child of Neshi, or whether (it is) in wondrous wise" i. e. "or whether it is not so".

35) Read . See Lieblein, Dictionnaire des noms propres, for names beginning *t3wi*.

36) Read . *P3yf*, the reading of M. Loret, would be a solecism, *p3st* being a feminine word (cf. N 5).

37) This is a nominal sentence, and *p3* in *p3 wnw* etc. is the copula, which, when not followed by a nominal form of the verb, is usually written (ne). Similarly, Pap. of Varzy (Nièvre)² "It is a name of a tenant's slave that he has". So too *t3* (te) in N 10 above:

38) Emend . For = see above, note 31. *Sp n* is a regular phrase for "to succeed to" someone as heir. Mr. Griffith, to

1) I owe this quotation to the Berlin dictionary. — The context of the sentence from Anast. VIII is quite uncertain, and I may have divided the sentence wrongly.

2) I owe a photograph of this interesting little document to the kindness of M. Pierre Rémon, conservator of the Museum of Varzy.

whom the discovery of this idiom is due, quotes the following instances: Athens, Tefnachtos stele 11 (= Rec. de Trav. 25, pp. 190-192) ; smaller Dakleh stele 12 (= *ibid.* pp. 194-5) ; and in demotic, John Rylands Pap. IX, 2, 9. Perhaps yet another passage may be compared, Turin pap. 51, 3 (= ÄZ 29 [1891], p. 74) "This prince received from them their property", where however not hereditary succession, but judicial confiscation is meant.

39) For which is not to be emended into or , see what has been said above pp. 5-6. — The proper name seems to be unknown, but the restoration is supported by the determinative .

40) Towards the end of the lacuna the photographs seem to show

41) *Pg3*, "to unroll" papyri, cf. Mar. Abyd. II, 28, 3. 29, 7; Newberry, Rekhmara, 2, 16.

42) Read . Note the difference of spelling between the substantive "writings" (cf. N 16), and the verb "to write". — for the two parties in a lawsuit, cf. Newberry, Rekhmara 4, 4 — Render literally: "As to these writings, one of the two parties wrote (them)".

43) The photograph appears to show but the first signs are uncertain: for *it3* "to bring" people, cf. Mayer B, 7 *Nsimn* "The 3^d *Nsimn* took us up", and showed us the tomb of Amenothos III. — Were the reading of Prof. Loret right we should have to emend

44) Not "la deuxième division cadastrale" (Moret). See Erman, Neuäg. Gramm. § 86.

45) The lacuna seems rather too large for the restoration . "Among" however probably gives the sense.

46) For the construction, see Erman, Neuäg. Gramm. § 327.

47) There is no reason to postulate a word as is done by M. Moret. is a not uncommon N. E. writing for "there", see Erman, Neuäg. Gramm. § 95. Literally: "thou art not there in writing".

48) usually means "to attend to" "take care of" or the like. This meaning is suitable here, but is not applicable in S 10: M. Moret is evidently not far from the mark in translating "rassembler". Cf. Pap. jud. Turin 4, 2 "Call together people, invoke enemies to rebel against their lord": also *ibid.* 5, 3; Newberry, Amherst Pap., 21, Frag. 1, 2 "Astarte betook herself to come before the divine cycle in [the place] where they were assembled".

49) The question as to whether *hn' t3 knbt Mnfr* is to be connected with *nf* or with *intw* is fully discussed in the Commentary (IV, 6). For the first alternative, we may compare N 3 The preceding singular is scarcely an argument against this rendering.

50) The title occurs again in N 34: its phonetic value and meaning are both unknown. — The strange-looking proper name here is equally obscure.

51) The determinative in is very curious; but there is no doubt that the plaintiff is meant. Cf. below, note 54.

52) is for , due to the similarity of the signs in hieratic, as M. Moret has rightly pointed out.

53) The restoration proposed by M. Moret (ÄZ 39 [1901] p. 20, footnote 1) is too long. Possibly we should emend .

54) = , as may be seen by comparing the epithet of Pharaoh L. D. III, 140d, 2 with Mar., Karn. 35, 62, where a photograph shows to be the correct reading. — The symmetry of the inscription (N 2–11, Deposition of Mes; N 11–20, Deposition of Khay; N 20–23, Sworn declaration of Mes[?]; N 23 foll., Sworn declaration of Khay) makes it probable that this Mes, or Mesmen (see above, note 51) is identical with the plaintiff. But if so, it is strange that he should here bear the low title “goatherd”, while in N 2 he is given other titles. On the walls of the tomb Mes is said to be a (see Loret, ÄZ 39 [1901] p. 1), an office mentioned neither here nor in N 2.

55) For judicial oaths in general, see Spiegelberg, Rechtswesen pp. 76 foll.: his collection may be supplemented very considerably from our text.

56) is not a contraction of , as M. Moret supposes; *sh* means “to beat”, not “to cut off” which is clearly the meaning here. is to be identified with below N 28. 30. has two senses in New Egyptian (1) “to cut off”, and (2) “to break”, both of which may be abundantly exemplified. For a similarly abbreviated spelling, see Decree of Horemheb, front face, 17 and 22 : see also M. Müllers note on the former passage (ÄZ 26 [1888] p. 78). Now it may be proved that at an early date is to be read *sw3*, *x* having the value *sw3* as in = in the common formula on stelae. In Newberry, Rekhmara 2, 13 we find “to cut off a limb”, and in the same text (3, 24) “to cut down sycamores”, where it is obvious that in both cases is to be read in the same way. Now in a scene from Beni Hasan L. D. II, 126 is “to cut off wood”; and on the M. K. sarcophagus of *Nfri* (= Lacau, Rec. de Trav. 26, p. 72) we read “This N. causes his head to be cut off”. By this reasoning we find that (probably only *s3*) is the New Egyptian

spelling of an older , at least in the cases where it means “to cut off”; there being a possibility that “to break” may come from an entirely different root.

57) There seems to be no place in the lacuna for more than a single word. We must read with M. Moret, and admit that Khay did not contest the lineage of the scribe Hui.

58) On , the Coptic *an*, see my forthcoming article in ÄZ 41 [1904] p. 73.

59) “to harm”, or the like, does not appear to occur in Louvre C 26, quoted by M. Moret. Compare however the Decree of Amon for Isiemkheb 21 (= Masp. Mom. Roy. pp. 704–706) [long lacuna] “We turn [the heart² (of certain men) in favour of Henttaui the daughter of] Isiemkheb, so that they do her no harm, so that they [do her] no evil [thing] by which men work mischief(?)”; *ibid.* 22 “But as to him who shall transgress the command, and conspire³ [to slay] Henttaui our handmaid, to work her harm, or to do unto her any evil thing, we will [slay him(?)].”

60) It looks as though a name has been omitted after , and that a new deposition begins here: so M. Moret. It is however possible that *ddtn* is erroneously inserted in this place: for the contents suggest that one of the litigants is speaking, especially the words “and if it be found that I cultivated”: and again, the word *s'*, used by Khay above, occurs nowhere else in the inscription. Therefore it is perhaps better to assume that Khay is the speaker in the whole passage N 23–27.

61) M. Moret reads “Papa”, whether rightly or not, I do not know.

62) For the title *bt3i* cf. Abbott, verso 8, 18; Harris I, 28, 3; 46, 1; 48, 2. Honey was stored in the treasuries (); cf. Newberry, Rekhmara, 12; 13; cf. too the title Berlin 7272 — The proper name is probably to be restored .

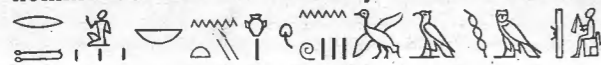
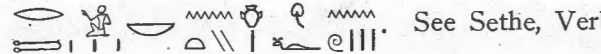
63) Read = ; *irt m* is an idiom, “to act according to”. Cf. Capart et Spiegelberg, Une statuette du Temple de Wazmose, 6–7 ; Anast. IV, 10, 5–6 ; Anast. V, 27, 2–3 ; Pap. Golénischeff I, 5 In the words *ib* is a de-

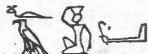
1) The readings are given from a Berlin photograph.

2) *Phr h3ti*, cf. Pap. Neskhons 4, 5., 8. 11; with following *r* and infinitive, *ibid.* 4, 14.

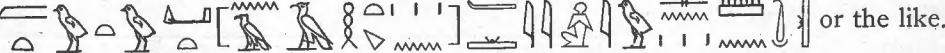
3) For *dnn* cf. Anast. III, 6, 10, Anast. VI, 6, 7. The meaning “conspire”, “rebel” suits excellently in both passages.

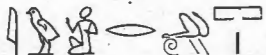
4) I owe this reference to the Berlin Dictionary.

nominative verb: cf. two very curious instances Pap. Neskons 4, 20 (= Masp. Mom. Roy 26)  "every man for whom P. wishes (it)"; and *ibid.* 6, 12 . See Sethe, *Verbum* II, § 568 c, β.

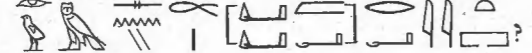

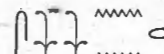
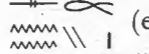
64) , not as M. Moret "emporter les grains". *F3* is regularly used of "gathering in" the harvest. Cf. Pap. Leyden I. 370, recto 8. 9.


65) Restore 




66) Restore  or the like.

67)  is part of a woman's oath. Just as the men ask to be sent to work as slaves in Kush, if they forswear themselves, so, it would appear, the woman requests that she may be relegated to a place among the menials "at the back of the house" of which she was once the mistress.

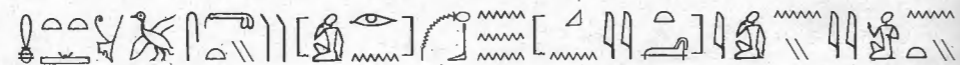
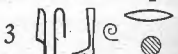
68) Note that the deposition here mentioned was made before the [Great] Qenbet, and thus differs from those on the N wall, which were heard by "the notables of the town". It doubtless belongs to a document cited as evidence by Mes. See the Commentary, p. 31.

69) Restore . This assumes a slight change of Prof. Loret's text. —  is the word for "copy", written  in the M. K. (e. g. Kahun pap. 12, 5) and later usually  (e. g. Sallier I, 9, 8). — The 'ryt (a word which occurs in the most varied spellings, cf. M. Müller, *ÄZ* 26 [1888] p. 90, note 45) was the judgement hall of the Qenbet: cf. Erman *ÄZ* 17 (1879) p. 72. Prof. Spiegelberg (*Rechtswesen* p. 53) had already drawn the conclusion that judicial documents were preserved therein.

70) No Vizier whose name begins with  appears to be recorded; it is possible that the word "thereof" is meant.

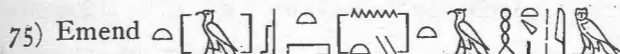
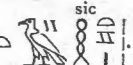
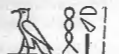

71) Prof. Erman suggests  *wprwti stn*, which is very probably the true reading. — Perhaps the two  below are to be compared with the  mentioned e. g. Newberry, *Rekhmara* 3, 26.


72) Prof. Loret (*ÄZ* 39 [1901] p. 4) has proposed as an explanation of the high date, year 59, that Horemheb reckoned the reigns of his heretic predecessors as belonging to himself. This is undoubtedly the correct view: so Meyer, *Äg. Chronologie* p. 90, note 2.

73) Restore . The comparison of S. 9 *ad finem* shows that the lacuna at the ends of these lines was very small, so that the emendation *irn* may be regarded as absolutely certain. Iniy was, as N 3 relates, "an officer of the Great Qenbet", not of an hypothetical Qenbet of *T3 hwnpt* of Neshi (cf. Moret, *ÄZ* 39 [1901] p. 37). So we should construe *t3 hwnpt* etc. as the object of *smtr*: for a precisely similar construction cf. Anast. V, 13, 3 

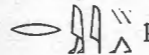
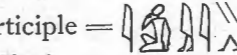









74) Restore , comparing N 9.

75) Emend . Compare N 5, . In the text of Mes  is feminine, as in O. E: elsewhere (e. g. Anast. V, 27, 4) it is masculine, like the Coptic *ερωρε* —  "dispute", cf. Boulak pap. X, verso 15; Pap. Berlin 8523, verso 1 (with *irm*).

76) M. Moret proposes to correct and restore  which gives a very good sense. The reading given by Prof. Loret, however, renders this emendation rather arbitrary.

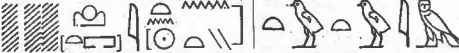
77) For these witnesses of Neshi, see the Commentary, p. 30.


78)  participle =  see Sethe, *Verbum* II, § 898, 3. For  as a substitute for the prosthetic  see *ibid.* I, § 2. — It is doubtful whether *sn* in 'rksn is object to the verb (this construction does not seem to occur elsewhere), or whether 'rksn is the *sdmf* form after , an uncommon form of expression even in the old language, and unknown in New Egyptian. The first suggestion is the more probable.


79) The proper name  is to be read *Hrhrnfrhr* i. e. "my face is towards the Beautiful of face (Ptah)": it occurs again, Flor. Cat. 1622: similar names, from the Berlin Dictionary, are:  (a woman); men, , .

80) It appears to me that the small block no. 4 (Loret, *ÄZ* 39 [1901] p. 5) ought to be placed in the angle formed by blocks 8 and 11. We thus obtain the readings: —

S. 13 

S. 14 

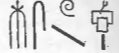
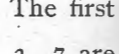
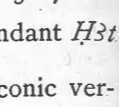

81) On the meaning of  cf. above note 13. — The incident here referred to is discussed in the Commentary, p. 30.


82) The interest and importance of this reference to Akhenaten need no elucidation. It may be asked whether another allusion to the heretic kings is not found in the geographical name  (Mallet pap. 2, 4-5; 3, 6: *temp.* Rameses II).

IV. Commentary.

1. The composition.

The reports of lawsuits have in all ages exhibited a natural form, in which there is but little variation. The kernel consists of the speeches of the plaintiff and defendant, or of their representatives. A section is usually devoted to the evidence of witnesses. And there will probably also be found a preface giving the date and locality of the proceedings, and a conclusion containing the verdict. For Egypt our material is exceedingly scanty, but the few remaining fragments of private suits correspond in all essentials with the scheme here traced.

In particular, a small unpublished Papyrus at Berlin (9785) may be quoted, as illustrating that scheme in its simplest form. It deals with a contract made by a herdsman of cattle , who is known from the "Gurob" papyri discovered by Professor Petrie¹. The first two lines give the date, and a single sentence introduces the plaintiff *Msw-s3-ib* (). From l. 7 to l. 17 the defendant *H3t* states his view of the case (). Then follows the laconic verdict: "The judges said: '*Msw-s3-ib* is in the right, and *H3t* is in the wrong' (). Three more lines (ll. 18—20) record the names of the judges and those of the witnesses present at the trial." data-bbox="435 245 475 285"/>

The inscription of Mes, though dealing with issues of far greater complexity, is not much less simply constructed. Its contents may be summarised thus²: 1. Introduction (chiefly destroyed: N 1—2); 2. Deposition of the Plaintiff Mes (N 2—11); 3. Deposition of the Defendant Khay (N 11—21); 4. Evidence, consisting a) of sworn depositions (N 21—36), b) of documents (S 1—16); and possibly 5. Verdict (S 16). Of these five divisions, the two last require some further discussion. By the fourth, the section devoted to the evidence, the question of the relation of the North and South walls is raised. The first half of this section, ending with the last line of the N. wall, is clearly homogeneous throughout, and comprises the oral depositions of the litigants and of the witnesses, of whom first the men, and then the women, are heard. Since these depositions grow shorter towards the end, and finally add no information to what has previously been given, it is evident that with the S. wall either a new section, or else a sub-section, must have begun. The topmost lines are either wholly or partly destroyed, and it is only in S. 7 that we begin to seize the drift of the context. From this point onward we find certain documents quoted, which deal with the lawsuits in which the direct ascendants of Mes were engaged. It is obvious that Mes, if he possessed documentary evidence of this kind as to the history of the lands claimed by him, would not have failed to produce it in the course of his lawsuit with Khay. We shall therefore not err in including these documents, and indeed the greater part of the S. wall as preserved to us, in the fourth section of evidence. Whether the matter contained in the lost first lines of the S. wall would have warranted its inclusion in the same section, is an unanswerable question, and for our purpose beside the point. — A fifth division may possibly have contained the verdict. It seems likely that this point, up to which the whole inscription leads, as it would seem, was mentioned at the end of the S. wall. It is not impossible that the words  in S. 16 may have introduced a brief account of the verdict." data-bbox="225 735 330 760"/>

We are now in a position to define the character of the inscription of Mes with some precision: It is the official *verbatim* report of a single lawsuit brought by Mes against a man named Khay. Some surprise may be felt that so formal a document should be found inscribed



1) Griffith, Kahun Pap. 39.

2) In agreement with M. Moret, we assume that the N. wall is to be accounted prior to the S. wall. This is necessary, for the special documents on the S. wall can only be understood by the help of the narrative on the N. wall; so that the reader is naturally supposed to have perused the latter first.

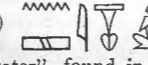

upon the walls of a tomb. But when we reflect that this suit was the means of raising Mes from the position of a pauper to one of considerable affluence, it will appear but natural that he should have caused the circumstances to have been recorded in his tomb. A more practical motive may also have swayed Mes: he had learnt by bitter experience how easily papyrus documents could be altered or forged; and therefore, with a wise forethought for the interests of his heirs, he may have determined to record his claims in a more monumental form.¹

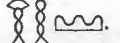
2. The contents.

The lawsuit, by which Mes won back his ancestral estates, was an appeal against the verdict awarded to Khay in previous legal proceedings. At a still earlier date, the same lands had occasioned much litigation between various members of the family to which Mes belonged. Constant reference is made in the text to all these contentions: but as is natural, the more remote issues are less fully and less clearly described than those which immediately affected Mes and his adversary. It is probable that the explanation offered by M. Moret for the earliest quarrels is in the main correct. In the following account, a modified form of this explanation is given. But it should be borne in mind that only the latest occurrences rest on really satisfactory evidence.


The founder of the family to which Mes belonged was one Neshi², an "overseer of vessels" ( S 9. 13). He had probably distinguished himself, like the famous Amosis of El Kab, in the war which ended in the expulsion of the Hyksos. However this may be, the king Amosis I conferred upon him, as a reward for his services, a tract of land subsequently known as the Hunpet of Neshi: it was situated not far from Memphis, in a district which also came to bear the name of Neshi, namely the Uahit of Neshi (N 4: and N 3 ). After the death of Neshi, his lands passed from the hands of one descendant to another; and a provision evidently existed by which the indivisibility of the estate was assured, however numerous the heirs who possessed an interest in it may have been (N 4—5). In the time of Horemheb, the surviving members of the family of Neshi seem to have numbered six, of whom a lady Urnero was apparently the eldest⁴. Probably as the result of some

1) The first of these motives is that to which are due the autobiographies often found in tombs. The second is similar to that which has given us the contracts of *H'pdt* at Siut.

2) . The determinative  is probably a corruption of the old determinative in the word *nh* ("to water", found in the inscription of *Wni* 9.

3) Whether Neshi or his family ever possessed the whole *W3hyt* of Neshi, is unknown. It seems fairly certain that the estate which gave rise to so much litigation was the *Hunpt* of Neshi, and not the larger district (cf. S 9. N 9). The site cannot be far distant from Memphis, whether it be near Heluan, as Prof. Loret thinks, or elsewhere. The facts that Mes had his tomb at Sakkarah, that the Qenbet of Memphis is named (N 5. 17), and that a priest of the house of Ptah appears among the witnesses (N 27), all point to the proximity of Memphis. — As to the names, we are not convinced with the etymologies proposed by Prof. Loret (*ÄZ* 39 [1901] p. 12). If *Hunpt* were identical with *gont* "spring", we might expect the determinative of water. For *w3hyt* (*whyi*) see the excellent remarks of Prof. Spiegelberg, *Rec. de Trav.* 26 pp. 150 foll., with which we are in entire agreement: *orape* "Oasis" is according to Prof. Sethe (*ÄZ* 41 [1904] p. 48) the equivalent of an Egyptian word .

4) The names are given in S 11. See note 6 to the translation, and below p. 30.
Gardiner, Inscription of Mes.

quarrel, the Great Qenbet was called upon to make a division of the property. That court despatched a commissioner, the priest Iniy, to investigate the matter in the Uahit of Neshi itself (N 3). As the consequence, the priority of Urnero and her descendants over the other heirs seems to have been recognised¹: and Urnero was made  "trustee" or "administrator" for her brothers and sisters (N 3). The meaning of this decision appears to be, that Urnero was made responsible for the cultivation of the indivisible estate, which she managed on behalf of herself and her brothers and sisters². From what follows, it is clear that this arrangement was one of special advantage to Urnero: for Takharu, a sister of Urnero, being discontented with the adjudication, appealed to the Great Qenbet for its revision; and in the 59th year of Horemheb the priest Iniy was again sent out, and after examining the heirs and making sundry enquiries, returned with a new report (S 9 foll.: N 4). The revised decision is thus expressed in the words of Mes: "they caused each of the six heirs to take [cognisance] of his portion" (N 4)³. The next sentences lay stress upon the indivisibility of the lands of Neshi: to judge from this consideration, and from the events that ensued, it seems that the estates were now parcelled out, in illegal manner, among the brothers and sisters of Urnero⁴. She and her son, the scribe Hui, lost no time in lodging a protest before the Great Qenbet (N 5). The litigation before the Great Qenbet and another court, the Qenbet of Memphis, seems to have dragged on for a considerable length of time: after the death of Urnero, Hui continued the struggle first with Takharu, and then with her son Smentoui (N 33). In the course of time Hui regained actual possession of the lands, and cultivated them year after year (N 29. 32). Finally his legal rights met with recognition (N 33—34), and from then onwards he seems to have been vexed with litigation no more.

On the death of Hui (N 5), the management of his estate devolved upon his widow Nubnofret, their son Mes being still a minor. At this point we become first acquainted with the administrator Khay, who was destined to play the part of the villain in the subsequent drama. When Nubnofret came to cultivate her lands, this man, who was apparently in no way connected with the family of Hui, compelled her to desist. Whether he gave himself out as a descendant of Neshi, is not clear: at all events he pretended that the scribe Hui and his wife had forcibly seized upon his land, which he claimed to have inherited, after his father, from his great-uncle, the chief of the stable Hui⁵ (N 11—12). Thereupon, in the 18th⁶ year of Rameses II, Nubnofret laid a plaint against Khay before the Vizier and the Great Qenbet in Heliopolis (N 6. 13). Of

¹ So we interpret the words of Mes "they made a division for me and my brothers and sisters". Mes was in all probability not born at the time of this decision.

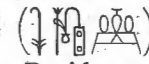
² In the same way it is clear that Mes did not later claim absolute proprietorship for himself; for he mentions his "coheirs" (N 10) and his "brothers and sisters" (N 3); he doubtless only claimed to stand to them in the same position as Urnero occupied towards her brothers and sisters: cf. note 13 to the translation.

³ See p. 25, footnote 4.

⁴ See note 13 to the translation.

⁵ There is no clear indication of the pretext upon which Khay contrived to fabricate his claim to the estate. Possibly the identity of the name of his great-uncle with that of the scribe Hui made his fraud easier to carry out. The widowhood of Nubnofret moreover, and the alienation of her relatives through the previous litigation, may have marked her out as a likely victim.

⁶ Or 16th, or 17th?

the circumstances of the trial we have a vivid account from the lips of Khay himself (N 13 foll.). Both parties came to court equipped with a formidable array of evidence¹, the documents reaching back to the time of Amosis I (N 13). When the Vizier opened the papyrus rolls, their statements were seen to be, not merely discrepant, but entirely contradictory. At a loss to find a more positive verdict, the Vizier declared that one of the two litigants must have fabricated his title-deeds (N 13). Thereupon Nubnofret, confident in the justice of her claim (N 7), appealed to the testimony of the registers preserved, for the purpose of taxation, in the Treasury and the Department of the Granary of Pharaoh (N 7. 14): this source of evidence could not fail, as she imagined, to establish the fact that the family of her husband Hui had possessed, and paid the dues upon, the lands of Neshi. The proposal met with the approval of the Vizier: and accordingly the priest Amenemiopet, a member of the Great Qenbet, was sent with Khay to fetch the registers in question from the Residence, then localised at Per-Ramessu in the Delta (N 14). The documents were brought and laid before the Vizier, with what result the inscription itself can best tell us. "Then the Vizier said to Nubnofret: 'Who is thy heir [among] the heirs who are upon the two registers that are in [our] hand?' And Nubnofret said: 'There is no heir in them'. 'Then thou art in the wrong' said to her the Vizier" (N 15). The explanation of these events may be read between the lines of the deposition of Mes (N 8—10). The title-deeds of Khay were forgeries, and the inspection of the official records, as proposed by Nubnofret, would have led inevitably to his exposure. Khay therefore had recourse to further strategy: he won over the priest Amenemiopet during the voyage to Per-Ramessu, and there, with his complicity, succeeded in tampering with the registers. When they were brought to Heliopolis, Nubnofret found to her amazement, that so far from vindicating her own claims, the registers supported those of Khay. Judgement of course went against her. The verdict however did not long remain undisputed: Kha, a scribe of the royal table ()², intervened on behalf of Nubnofret. He was informed that, as an official of the Residence, he was entitled to examine the registers for himself, did he care to do so. Returning from his quest, he had no better tidings for Nubnofret, than that the records in the Treasury and Granary did not substantiate her claims (N 16). The verdict was now put into execution (N 8. 17). Like Iniy on the two earlier occasions, Amenemiopet was sent to the Uahit of Neshi, and a new division was there made in the presence of the coheirs (N 17): Khay was appointed administrator for "his brothers and sisters" (N 8)², and thirteen arourae of land were allotted to him (N 19).

Thus was Nubnofret despoiled of her inheritance. It is possible that some years elapsed, ere Mes was of an age to reclaim the property; we are ignorant of the date of his appeal. It is a fair assumption³ that its preliminaries followed the same course as in the previous suits instituted by Takharu and Nubnofret; the verdict of a Vizier could hardly have been reversed

¹ The documents of Nubnofret were doubtless the same as those which Mes later produced, and the fragments of which are preserved on the S. wall.

² It is uncertain whether these coheirs were genuine descendants of Neshi, or the real brothers and sisters of Khay himself. Khay may have been supported by members of the hitherto defeated line of Takharu-Smentoui.

³ The introduction and conclusion of the inscription having perished, we are reduced to conjecture as to these points.

by a lesser tribunal than that of the Great Qenbet under the presidency of the Vizier himself. Mes doubtless laid a written plaint before this court, and a commissioner was once more despatched to the Uahit of Neshi: and we read that the notables of the town were summoned to hear the depositions of the litigants and witnesses (N 2). The line of argument adopted by Mes was practically the only one still left to him: in view of the forgeries perpetrated by Khay, it was useless for him to appeal to his documents alone; but many persons who had passed their lives in the Uahit of Neshi could testify to his descent, and to the litigation in which his forefathers had so long been involved. It is interesting to compare the depositions of Mes and Khay — perhaps the oldest examples of forensic oratory that we possess. After a rapid survey of events down to the death of Hui, Mes reaches the lawsuit between Nubnofret and Khay. He lays little stress on the trial itself: for him the consequences were the all-important point. Amenemiopet had been sent out with a forged register; and this it was that had enabled Khay to usurp the estates (N 8). And now, pleads Mes, here am I amid my ancestral lands: let me be examined, that my descent from Hui and Urnero and Neshi may be proved. True! Nubnofret is not inscribed in the register produced by Khay and Amenemiopet against me. But this register is a forgery: and when my fathers were examined before, their name was found enrolled¹. Therefore let me be put to the test before the notables of the town, together with my coheirs, and let me see whether I am truly the son of Neshi (N 9—10).

The defendant Khay now arose to speak. He indicated his lineage in few words, and without venturing to trace his origin back to Neshi. He alleged that he had inherited the estates from his father Userhat, and that they had been previously cultivated by his great-uncle, the chief of the stable Hui (N 11. 12). Then the scribe Hui and his wife Nubnofret had seized the lands by force, and he, Khay, thereupon brought an action against Nubnofret. With this scanty preface the following account of the trial stands in the greatest contrast: the proceedings are minutely and graphically described, culminating in the verdict of the Vizier: "Nubnofret is in the wrong". Khay lays stress on the fact that the scribe Kha, who intervened on behalf of Nubnofret, was unable to find confirmation of her claims. Finally, the new division of property is related, in which Khay received the lion's share. — Viewing the deposition as a whole, we notice that it brings no new arguments. Khay merely recapitulates the incidents of the previous trial; the Vizier had then given his verdict in favour of Khay, and of this fact Khay now makes skilful and effective use as a weapon of defence.

The sworn evidence was next heard. Are we to recognise the claimant in the Mes, or Mesmen², who, bearing the humble title of goat-herd, is the first to speak? However this question be answered, the testimony itself is free from all ambiguity: it affirms the descent of the scribe

1) The expression of Mes is more vivid, but less accurate: "I was examined before, and I was found enrolled". There is no trace of any earlier legal proceedings, in which Mes himself took part. On the other hand, the claims of his father Hui had been "established" in writing (N 34): and in her lawsuit with Khay, Nubnofret had produced documents confirming her title, which were however disregarded, because Khay produced other, but forged, documents, that appeared to substantiate his claim. Mes must here be referring to these previous legal examinations.

2) See note 54 to the translation.

Hui from Urnero and from Neshi (N 20—23). The respondent Khay is the second speaker¹: the drift of his evidence is very obscure, owing to the lacunae which abound in this part of the text. He appears to concede the parentage of Hui, as attested by the previous witness², but nevertheless adheres to his own claims (N 24—26). A long series of witnesses now deposes to the truth of the statements of Mes: first the men speak, and afterwards the women. Their evidence is unanimous as to the two points essential to the vindication of the title of Mes; it goes to prove 1. that the scribe Hui was, by Urnero his mother, descended from Neshi; and 2. that Hui, like Urnero before him, had successfully contended for his rights against his near kindred, and that he had moreover actually cultivated the disputed estates (N 27—36). From this testimony it followed as the logical and inevitable conclusion that the assertions of Mes were true, and that the pretensions of his rival were false.

Mes could now employ with advantage his documents, which owing to the machinations of Khay, had been brought into discredit at the trial of Nubnofret. The exact circumstances in which the deeds were produced can unfortunately no longer be determined, for a long lacuna occurs at this point (S. wall, top). There are two possibilities. 1. Perhaps the commissioner of the Great Qenbet had received plenary authority to settle the matter with the help of the notables of the town. In this case the examination of the written evidence will have directly followed the hearing of the depositions, and then the commissioner and the notables will have given their decision, without referring the suit again to the Vizier. This seems the simpler and more plausible hypothesis. 2. The alternative is to suppose that the evidence heard in commission was then reported to the Vizier, who thereupon summoned Mes and Khay to produce their documents before him. In this case, the ultimate decision will have been pronounced by the Vizier in the Great Qenbet at Heliópolis. But then, if we may draw an inference from the earlier trials, a commissioner must again have been despatched to the Uahit of Neshi to put the verdict into execution. The second theory is complicated and improbable. At least we may be sure that due attention was now accorded to the documents of Mes. So far as can be seen, these documents consisted exclusively of records of the earlier trials³. It is unlikely that Mes was able to produce the original deed of gift by which Amosis I conferred the lands upon Neshi⁴.

Whatever doubts and uncertainties may exist as to the final stages of the trial, its conclusion is not open to question. The verdict went in favour of Mes, and he was reinstated in the possession of his inheritance. But whether any punishment was meted out to Khay on account of his forgeries can no longer be ascertained.

3. The documents of the S. wall.

In discussing the composition of the inscription of Mes, and the divisions into which it naturally falls, we reached the conclusion that the S. wall contains certain documents, cited as

1) Thus apparently the plaintiff and the defendant both spoke twice. See Diodorus I. 75 (*ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν ἀντιδίκων τὰ γεγραμμένα δις τοῖς δικασταῖς δόντων*) where however it is said that written evidence was alone admissible.


2) Cf. note 57 to the translation.

3) They are discussed in the next section.


4) That such deeds always accompanied a gift, is abundantly testified by the monuments. See Moret, *ÄZ* 39 (1901)

evidence by Mes in the course of his lawsuit against Khay¹. Some space must now be devoted to the enquiry, whether the nature of these documents can be more closely defined. In view of the defective condition of this part of the text, no very positive results are to be expected: but without some detailed analysis we should not be justified in utilising the S. wall for historical purposes.

With the date "year 59 under king Horemheb" in S 8 a document begins, of which four and a half lines are preserved almost complete. Mention is made therein (S 9) of a priest Iniy, whom we find in N 3 as a commissioner of the Great Qenbet. We have here a report of the investigations which were made by this official in the Hunpet of Neshi, when a quarrel about that estate had arisen between Urnero and Takharu (S 8-9): and it is told how he assembled the coheirs and the notables of the town to hear the depositions of the litigants (S 10). Now in N 3-4 we find a lawsuit between Urnero and Takharu recorded, which is undoubtedly the quarrel to which the report alludes. In N 4 the name of the commissioner sent out by the Great Qenbet is not given, but since the legal proceedings of N 3-4 seem to have followed closely upon those of N 3, where Iniy is named, there is no difficulty in assuming that he was the "officer of the Qenbet" meant in N 4. Other considerations confirm the conclusion that the lawsuit of S. 8 foll. is identical with that of N 3-4. In S 11 two lists of "witnesses" are given: the first consists of "the witnesses of Neshi", and the second enumerates witnesses who came from the town to give testimony on oath. Now we might expect to find recorded the names of the "coheirs", said in S 10 to have been present, and it is therefore probable that it is they who are meant by "the witnesses of Neshi"². This probability amounts almost to certainty when we note that the "witnesses of Neshi" numbered four persons: together with the litigants, Urnero and Takharu, there would thus be six "coheirs"; and this is precisely the number mentioned in N 4, where it is said "they caused each of the six coheirs to take cognisance of his portion".

The document of S 8 foll. is therefore the report made by Iniy to the Great Qenbet concerning the quarrel between Urnero and Takharu (N 3-4), to which we shall henceforth refer as the *second* lawsuit. It is uncertain where the document ends. S 12 clearly belongs to it, and possibly also the following lines down to S 16. Almost the only clues than can help us to determine this question are 1. the words  in S 13 and 2. the references in S 14 to the times of Akhenaten. From 1. we might conclude that S 13 belongs to a document referring to the *third* lawsuit, brought by Urnero and Hui against their brothers and sisters (N 5); for we have the express authority of Mes (N 5) for the fact that, previously to the verdict of the *second* lawsuit (N 4), the property had never been held conjointly by the coheirs, but had always been in the tenure of a *single* heir³. There is however considerable difficulty in assuming a new document to have been begun between S 12 and S 13: the evidence

1) See above p. 24.

2) This conclusion cannot be opposed on the ground that the word "witnesses" implies that the persons who are named were not interested parties. For the Egyptian expression  appears to mean nothing more than "people who are present (at the trial)": the root *mt* is "to be present", very much like the Arabic *شهد*; cf. the Coptic *ⲙⲛⲉⲙⲧⲟ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲓ- coram*, and see Sethe, *ÄZ* 38 (1900), p. 145. If *rksn* meant "to swear to them", as is probable (see note 78 to the translation), this conclusion would be inevitable.

3) See note 13 to the translation.

sworn by the witnesses (S 12) would in this case be exceedingly curtailed, and there is no room for any introduction to the fresh document. It is better therefore to conclude that the coheirs contrived to bring about a partition of the lands between themselves, by *falsely* swearing that they had possessed them conjointly in the time of the heretic king (see clue 2. above). It must be admitted that this argumentation rests on a very precarious basis, but as a provisional hypothesis, intended more as a safeguard against deductions that are certainly false than to propound the right one, it will serve its purpose.

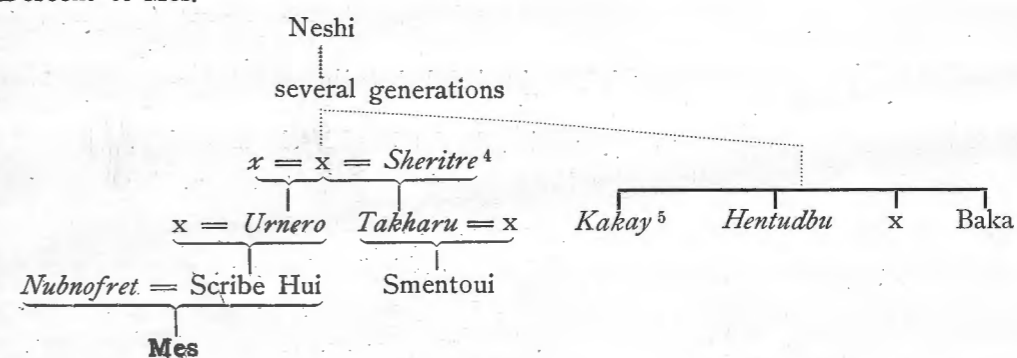
S 1-8 remain to be discussed. Of these lines, not more than a quarter of the first five has been preserved, and not more than the half of S 6 and S 7. In S 2 we find the deposition of a woman Maia, who is otherwise unknown, before the Great Qenbet. The naming of the court serves to disconnect this deposition from those of the N wall⁴. It is very possible that S 2-8 belong together: in this case they contain a document, which according to S 6 was written in duplicate, and deposited in the judgement-hall of Pharaoh. The list of judges in S 7-8, and the mention of the [Great] Qenbet in S 2 suggest that the document was a *procès verbal* belonging to one of the lawsuits of the deposition of Mes. Now it should be noted that an allusion is made to Hui (S 3 "Urnero his mother"), so that there is some probability that S 2-8 refer to the lawsuit brought by Urnero and Hui against their brothers and sisters, (N 5: N 32-33: the *third* lawsuit). The words "in that I was deprived of my inheritance" (S 6) suit this hypothesis well, for by the sixfold division which resulted from the *second* lawsuit, Hui was really bereft of the share which belonged to him.

To summarise our tentative results, S 1-16 (excluding the final words of S 16, which may introduce the verdict of the lawsuit of Mes²) comprise two documents:

1. S 1-8. Fragment of the *procès verbal* belonging to the *third* lawsuit (Urnero and Hui against their brothers and sisters).
2. S 8-16. Report made by the commissioner Iniy to the Great Qenbet, relative to the *second* lawsuit (Takharu against Urnero).

4. Genealogies.³

1. Descent of Mes.



1) See note 68 to the translation.

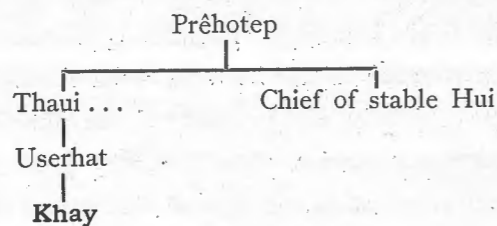
2) See above p. 24.

3) Women are indicated by italics.

4) Sheritre, and not her husband, may have been descended from Neshi: in this case she will have been the mother of Urnero, as well as of Takharu.

5) Urnero, Takharu, Kakay, Hentudbu, x, and Baka, are together the six heirs named in N 4. See note 6 to the translation, and above p. 30. The last four may have been either brothers and sisters, or else cousins, of the first two.

2. Descent of Khay.



5. Historical Synopsis.

Estates are given as a reward to Neshi (N 4).	Temp. Amosis I.
Unknown events in which Sheritre plays a prominent part (S 14).	„ Akhenaten.
[First Lawsuit.] Division of property for Urnero and her brothers and sisters in the Great Qenbet. Iniy sent out a first time. Urnero made administrator for her brothers and sisters (N 3).	„ Horemheb.
Second Lawsuit. Takharu appeals against this division in the Great Qenbet. Iniy again sent out, and the lands divided among the 6 heirs (N 4: S 9).	59th year Horemheb.
Third Lawsuit. Urnero and the scribe Hui litigate with Takharu etc. in the Great Qenbet and the Qenbet of Memphis (N 5). Urnero dies; Hui litigates with Takharu. Takharu dies; Hui litigates with Smentoui. Hui recovers his lands (N 33-34), and dies (N 5).	Exact dates unknown.
Fourth Lawsuit. Nubnofret essays to cultivate her estates: Khay seizes them. Lawsuit between Nubnofret and Khay before the Vizier and the Great Qenbet (N 5-6 : N 12 foll.). Verdict in favour of Khay (N 15). Amenemiopet sent out, and the estates handed over to Khay (N 17-20).	18th year Rameses II.
Fifth Lawsuit. [Mes appeals against the last verdict in the Great Qenbet.] An officer sent out and the case investigated before the notables of the town (N 2 : N 10). Documentary evidence then heard. [Mes rehabilitated.]	Exact date unknown.

6. The judicial details.

According to the preceding synopsis, the lands of Neshi were the subject of contention in no less than five distinct lawsuits. The propriety of the term lawsuit will hardly be called in question for the last four instances (2-5), since in all of them terms are employed which unmistakably suggest litigation, and the names of the two parties are in each case known. The proceedings which we have called the first lawsuit are perhaps less-certainly entitled to the appellation, for we are ignorant who were the plaintiff and defendant, as well as the cause of dispute. But unless some dispute had existed, it is hardly likely that the division of lands should have required the intervention of the Great Qenbet (N 3). And on the other hand, the sending out of a commissioner, mentioned here, is a trait that we find in more than one of the other lawsuits. It may be concluded that the term lawsuit is rightly applied here too, and if

some essential details are lacking, it is because they had no bearing upon the subsequent quarrels, and Mes did not need to relate them.

In connection with these five lawsuits four judicial bodies¹ are mentioned, to whose nature and respective functions some attention must now be given. They are the Great Qenbet, the Vizier, the Qenbet of Memphis, and the Notables of the Town.

The Great Qenbet (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏) and the *Vizier* (𓂏𓂏𓂏). — It is noticeable that in two of the three places² outside our inscription where the Great Qenbet is named, it is in connection with the Vizier, who is mentioned as the presiding member of the court. In the text of Mes S 7-8, a list of judges is given, at the head of which the Vizier is placed. The comparison of the similar lists in the Mayer and Abbott papyri makes it highly probable that the Great Qenbet is here intended. Moreover, if S 2-8 be a connected document³, it is evident that the [Great] Qenbet of S 2 must be meant by the list of S 7-8. Again in N 7 Khay is said to have brought a plaint in the Great Qenbet. In the corresponding passage of the deposition of Khay (N 12 foll.), it is said that this plaint was brought before the Vizier and the Great Qenbet in Heliopolis. All the evidence therefore points to the fact that *the Great Qenbet was the court over which the Vizier presided.*

Now throughout the New Kingdom, and apparently as early as the reign of Thutmosis III, it was customary for there to be two Viziers in Egypt⁴. To one of them was entrusted the administration of the South, whose centre was in Thebes. The other exercised his authority in the North⁵. From an inscription in the tomb of Rekhmere it is clear that a court was

1) To these M. Moret adds a fifth, which however rests upon a grammatical misapprehension. See note 73 to the translation.



2) Abbott, 7, 2-3; Mayer A, 1, 6 foll. — Bologna 1086, 18 mentions the Great Qenbet, but without throwing any light on its character. — See too Newberry, Rekhmara 8, 26 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 (the context is lost), where 's' is probably a mere epithet. — On the Great Qenbet in general, see Spiegelberg, Rechtswesen, p. 58.

3) See above p. 31.

4) See Erman, Ägypten p. 158 and Newberry, Rekhmara pp. 17-18. — Mr. Newberry, to whom I owe an interesting letter on the subject of the Viziers, concludes that Rekhmere (under Thutmosis III) was the Vizier of the South only, from three considerations: 1) he bears the title 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏; 2) Siut is the northernmost town mentioned in the scene of taxation; 3) in his funeral procession the priest of Upuat of Siut is the last represented. — The two Viziers are named or depicted in the following places: Munich papyrus (communicated to me by Prof. Schäfer; see below note 5; Thutmosis IV); Dümichen, Hist. Inscr. II, 40e (Horemheb); Berlin 12411 (19th Dyn.); Dümichen, Hist. Inscr. I, 26-27 (Ram. III); Daressy, Ostraca, 25 123 (Ram. IV). — For the period from Ram. V to Ram. IX there was probably only one Vizier: for in Abbott 6, 22-23 the journey of the Theban Vizier in the North ('mht) is referred to as something quite usual. — The tradition contained in the hieroglyphic papyrus of Tanis (see below, note 5) is the strongest proof that the co-existence of two Viziers was the rule, and not the exception, in the early New Kingdom.

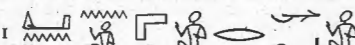
5) That Egypt was divided between the two Viziers, is clear from many proofs. Besides the expression 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 nt R_s mentioned above, we find in Harris I (10, 10) 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 and in the Tanis hieroglyphic papyrus 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 and 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏. — In the New Kingdom the whole organisation of Egypt seems to have been based on this twofold division: thus, to give but one example, the decree of Horemheb speaks of the two armies which are in the North and South, and mentions their two 𓂏𓂏-officers. — In the Munich papyrus mentioned above, however, the two Viziers Hepu and Ptahhotep are found sitting in judgement together at Thebes. This may have been an exceptional instance, due to circumstances of which we know nothing. More important is the title 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 borne by two Viziers of the reign of Rameses II (Prehotep, cf. Rec. de Trav. 24, p. 164; and Khay, on a stele in the Gardiner, Inscription of Mes.

early placed at the disposal of the Theban Vizier¹, though its conspicuous absence from the long technical inscription seems to imply that at the time that document was composed² this court either did not exist, or else was of small importance. When a second Vizier was created in the North of Egypt, it is probable that functions and a staff similar to those previously assigned to the sole Vizier were now accorded to him within his governmental sphere. Thus we must postulate for him a court which assisted him in his judicial duties. That this northern court actually existed is proved by the inscription of Mes: like its Theban counterpart, it was styled the Great Qenbet, doubtless in opposition to the minor local courts of which we shall speak later. A passage from the great decree of Horemheb seems to indicate that increased importance was given to the two courts in his reign. It runs³: —

 "..... (men) perfect of speech, excellent of utterance(?), skilled to judge the secret thought, hearkening to the word of the palace, to the laws of the hall of judgement. I have appointed them to judge the two lands, to pacify [their] inhabitants(?) I place them in two great cities of the South and North: every land comes(?) forward(?)⁴ in them, without exception. I have enjoined rules upon them, and laws in a day-book” The Great Qenbet is not expressly mentioned in this passage, but unless  be an error of the Egyptian scribe, it seems highly probable that the reference is to the two courts⁵ of the Viziers above described.


The evidence in connection with the courts of the Great Qenbet is so scanty, that it cannot be maintained with any certainty that the two courts co-existed at all periods of the New Kingdom; but such testimony as we have points to the theory here suggested. In the Abbott and Mayer papyri, towards the end of the 20th Dynasty, we find a Great Qenbet that sits in Thebes. On the other hand, in the text of Mes it is a northern Great Qenbet, localised in Heliopolis, with which we have to deal. The mention of Heliopolis brings us face to face with a new difficulty. It has hitherto been supposed that the northern Vizier had his headquarters in Mem-




Amherst Collection, as Mr. Newberry informs me). From these two examples, I think we may conclude with certainty that from about the middle to the end of the reign of Rameses II there was but one Vizier. But the authorities quoted in note 4 above show that this state of affairs was anomalous in the New Kingdom.

1) Newberry, Rekhmara 7, 11 : and see *ibid.* 8, 26.

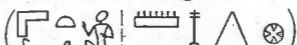
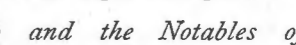

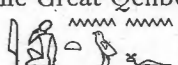
2) The compilation of the two long inscriptions of the tomb of Rekhmara dates from at least a generation before that Vizier. The elements of which they are composed may even go back as far as the Middle Kingdom.

3) *Rec. de trav.* 6, pp. 41 foll., right side 4. I quote from my own copy of the original.

4)  possibly an ethical dative, such as sometimes occurs with verbs of movement; so especially in Coptic, cf. Stern, *Kopt. Gramm.* § 503.

5) They are elsewhere in the decree mentioned as  (right side 6), and   (*ibidem*).

phis¹. The evidence for this view is not very satisfactory, but it cannot be ignored. Just as the Theban Vizier sometimes bears the title of High Priest of Amen², so the northern Vizier is occasionally found as High Priest of Ptah³. However this fact may be explained, it seems certain that in the period covered by the text of Mes, the Vizier and his Great Qenbet exercised their authority in Heliopolis⁴. For not only is the Great Qenbet distinguished from the Qenbet of Memphis (N 5), but also it is distinctly stated that Khay and Nubnofret brought their plaints before the Vizier und Great Qenbet in Heliopolis (N 6 and 13). So far as our text is concerned, therefore, the localisation of the northern high court is not open to question⁵.


The Qenbet of Memphis () and the Notables of the Town () — One of the functions of the latter body is mentioned in S 10  from which only thus much may be gleaned, that it was a local board empowered to deal with the disputed estate. They appear in the second (S 10), fourth(?) (N 20), and fifth (N 2, 10) lawsuits, and in each case in the same capacity: they acted as assessors to the commissioner of the Great Qenbet, and aided him in his local investigations. — The Qenbet of Memphis is named only twice, in connection with the third (N 5) and the fourth (N 17) suits. The earlier mention (N 5) is too summary to be of much assistance, merely stating that the lawsuit took place “in the Great Qenbet and the Qenbet of Memphis”. — The second passage (N 17) is thus worded:  “so said they (the Vizier and Great Qenbet) to him (Amene-niopot) together with the Qenbet of Memphis”. There is a grammatical ambiguity in the sentence, which renders it doubtful whether the words “with the Qenbet of Memphis” are to be coupled with “they” or with “him”. The former view is taken by M. Moret⁶, who accordingly thinks that the Qenbet of Memphis sat in judgement together with the Great Qenbet on the two occasions where allusion is made to it. This interpretation, which the passage in N 5 seems at first sight to favour, is open to a very serious objection. The court which heard the lawsuit of Nubnofret against Khay is thrice mentioned in N 13—15, only the Vizier and the Great

1) See Newberry, Rekhmara p. 18.

2) *E. g.* Hepusenb (Thutmose II); Ptahmes I (Amenothos III); Paser (Sethos I—Rameses II); see Wresziński, *Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, index, p. 61.

3) *E. g.* Ptahmes II (Amenothos III), cf. Petrie, *History* 2, p. 200; Neferronpet (Rameses II), see Berlin 2290, Leyden D 44, Turin 129; Hori, (19th Dyn. [?]), Louvre A 72 = Pierret, *Inscr. II*, p. 58. — Prehotep too, under Rameses II, held important offices in the temple of Ptah, cf. Petrie, *Abydos* 2, 37. — The names Ptahhotep and Ptahmes have also their significance.

4) A distorted recollection of the judicial importance of Heliopolis may perhaps be found in Diodorus I 75, where a permanent high court is said to have existed, to which ten judges were contributed by each of the three towns Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis.

5) According to Erman, *Ägypten* p. 158, the Vizier is supposed to have been attached to the residence of Pharaoh, whether this was at Memphis or at Per-Ramessu in the Delta. This hypothesis is based on the title  which certainly meant overseer of the king's town in the O. K., but was probably a meaningless survival in the N. K. Besides Berlin 2290 (Neferronpet, a high priest of Memphis; see above, note 3). Prof. Erman quotes Mar., *Cat. d'Abyd.* 1138, which however proves nothing more than that the Vizier in question originated from Per-Ramessu.

6) Moret, *ÄZ* 39 (1901) p. 38.

Qenbet being named. It is after the trial proper is over, that reference is for the first time made to the Qenbet of Memphis (N 17). — Taking the same grammatical rendering, we might propound another hypothesis, according to which the Qenbet of Memphis would have ratified the verdict of the Great Qenbet, before orders to execute it were given to the commissioner of the Great Qenbet Amenemioptet. But this theory is equally open to objection. Khay relates the circumstances of the trial with the fullest detail, and had so important a stage intervened between the verdict and its execution, he would not have dismissed it with a mere cursory mention. — We have therefore to fall back on the second grammatical possibility¹, which yields the translation “so said they to him *and to the Qenbet of Memphis*”. The sense then is, that after the verdict had been given, the Great Qenbet gave orders for the making of a new division of property by its commissioner Amenemioptet, who was to act in cooperation with the Qenbet of Memphis. But elsewhere, as we have seen, it is the notables of the town who assist the commissioner in his local arrangements. The simplest solution of the problem is to identify the Qenbet of Memphis and the notables of the town. The very phrase “the notables of the town” of itself suggests this identification: it has not the appearance of a technical term, and moreover, the word “town” cannot well refer to any place but Memphis².

Thus the four judicial bodies which encountered us in the text of Mes have dwindled into two: 1. the Great Qenbet, or the court of the Vizier in Heliopolis; and 2. the Qenbet of Memphis, more ordinarily called the notables of the town. Until this reduction was made, it seemed impossible to discover any system in the procedure of the various lawsuits. Why, for example, should the Vizier have exerted his authority only in the third(?) (S 7) and the fourth lawsuits? and why do we find the Qenbet of Memphis in the third and fourth suits, and in none other? But now we see that the procedure in all five suits was essentially the same. This procedure shows three leading characteristics: 1. the trial before the Great Qenbet or the Vizier; 2. the sending out of a commissioner from the Great Qenbet; 3. the cooperation of a local court, namely the Qenbet of Memphis or the notables of the town. Of these characteristics, 1 and 2 are expressly recorded for the first lawsuit (N 3); 1, 2 and 3 for the second lawsuit (N 4 : S 8 foll.); 1, 3, for the third (N 5); 1, 2 and 3 for the fourth (N 8 : N 12 foll.); and for the fifth lawsuit, only 3 (N 2 : N 10). The reason why all the suits do not show the full number of characteristics is obviously due to the fragmentary way in which they are related to us: it is only the fourth lawsuit of which we have a relatively complete description. But the general agreement as exhibited in the above enumeration of characteristics permits us to argue from one trial to the other in reconstructing a picture of the course pursued in suits relative to the inheritance of land.

It would be a mistake to regard the Great Qenbet as a mere court of appeal, though it may have acted as such in some cases. At any rate, important lawsuits as to the division of lands were brought directly to the notice of the Great Qenbet in Heliopolis, or in Thebes. First a written plaint was laid before the Vizier³. If the charge was deemed to be of suffi-

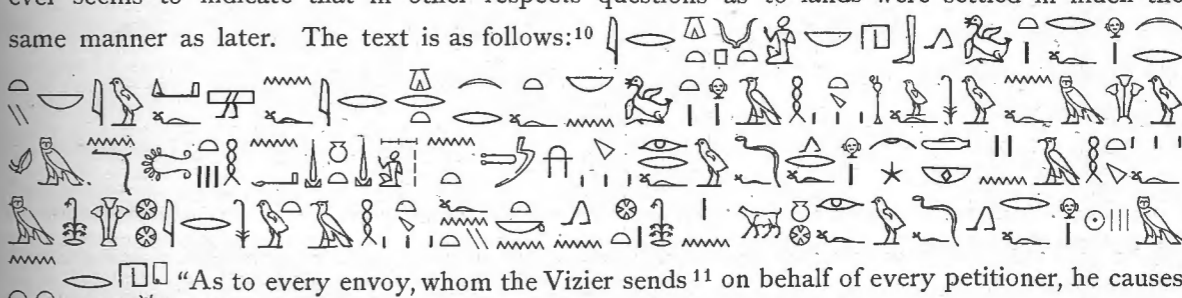
1) See note 49 to the translation.

2) The grounds for thinking that the *W3hyt* of Neshi was situated at no great distance from Memphis have been given above p. 25 footnote 3.

3) N 6. 8. 12. See note 18 to the translation.

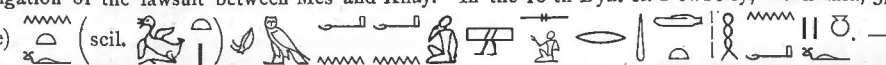
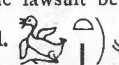
cient importance, permission was given to the litigants to appear before the Great Qenbet¹. It is probable that both the plaintiff and the defendant were allowed to state their claims². Then such evidence as could be brought before the Great Qenbet, whether documentary³ or oral⁴, was examined, and if it was sufficient to admit of a conclusion being drawn from it, the Vizier at once pronounced his verdict⁵. But in deciding the details of a partition of lands, a further local settlement was usually necessary: to effect this, a commissioner of the Great Qenbet was sent out, and charged to arrange the details together with the nearest local court⁶. — Sometimes it happened that a number of local witnesses had to be heard before any decision could be made. In this case, their evidence was heard in commission by the representative of the Great Qenbet and by the local court⁷: and on the same occasion the litigants made speeches upholding their respective claims⁸. It is uncertain whether the result of this local investigation had to be reported to the Vizier, before a final verdict was given⁹. It is at all events probable that the verdict was carried out under the supervision of the commissioner and the local court.

In enquiring whether a similar judicial system prevailed at a still earlier date, we naturally look for information to the great inscription of Rekhmere. In that document no mention is made of the Great Qenbet; whence we may conclude that at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty that court either did not exist or else was of little importance. It is moreover certain that there was but one Vizier at the time that the inscription was composed. A passage however seems to indicate that in other respects questions as to lands were settled in much the same manner as later. The text is as follows:¹⁰



“As to every envoy, whom the Vizier sends¹¹ on behalf of every petitioner, he causes

1) N 13. “He caused me to plead with Nubnofret.”

2) This is not explicitly stated, but may be inferred from the analogous proceedings in other documents, and from the local investigation of the lawsuit between Mes and Khay. In the 18th Dyn. cf. Newberry, Rekhmara, 3, 27 (completed from duplicate)  (scil. ).

3) N 13.

4) S 2.

5) N 15. Such was the procedure in the fourth suit, where the incident of the official registers may be neglected as a quite abnormal interlude.


6) E. g. N 17 foll.

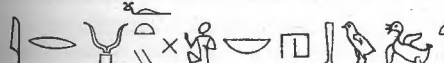
7) So in the third (S 8 foll.) and fifth lawsuits.

8) Speech of Mes before the local court (N 2—11): speech of Khay (N 11—20).

9) The question is discussed in connection with the end of the lawsuit of Mes; see above p. 29.

10) Newberry, Rekhmara 2, 17, 3, 18, 19.

11)  is a difficulty. It is unlikely that it is the particle. On the other hand the passage *ibid.* 2, 9

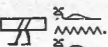
 makes it improbable that we should render, “every envoy to whom the Vizier sends”: such a rendering moreover gives a poor sense.

him¹ to go to him. As to everyone who shall make petition to the Vizier concerning lands, he sends him (scil. the envoy) to him, over and above the hearing of the overseer of lands and the magistracy of *tm3*-lands². He assigns a stay of execution³ with regard to him of two months for his lands in the South and the North. But with regard to his lands which are near to the Southern town and to the Residence, he assigns a stay of execution of three days in accordance with the law". The passage is obscurely worded, and some details in our translation may very possibly be incorrect. Nevertheless several certain conclusions may be drawn from it.

1. The Theban Vizier exercised direct jurisdiction over the North as well as over the South of Egypt. 2. He employed an envoy for this purpose, who was sent to the lands concerning which there was a dispute. 3. If these lands were far distant from Thebes, two months were allowed to the envoy to perform his part; if they were near Thebes, only three days were granted to him. It is not difficult to see in the envoy here mentioned the counterpart of the official of the Great Qenbet who plays so important a rôle as commissioner in the inscription of Mes. Thus in the 18th Dynasty certain lawsuits as to lands were subject to the jurisdiction of a centralised judicial authority, who, so far as we can see, exercised his office in much the same fashion as in the 19th Dynasty.

It is of course not to be assumed that the methods of procedure that have here been discussed were applied to all lawsuits of whatever kind: we have indeed direct evidence to the contrary. For instance a petty quarrel as to a debt was, in the reign of Akhenaten, settled by a local Qenbet⁴. Again another matter in which lands leased to a temple were involved, seems to have been submitted to a purely religious court⁵. All that can at present be safely said is that questions as to the inheritance of land were settled in the manner described, and of these probably only the more important cases.

The obvious defect of this system lay in its excessive centralisation. To bring a lawsuit must often have necessitated long journeys, both for the litigants and for the commissioner of the court. An appeal in the modern acceptance of the term, as the demand for a new adjudication by a superior tribunal, was out of the question, since the highest court had been consulted in the first instance; the Egyptian appeal was a mere re-trial. Again, too much power was thus given to the commissioner of the Great Qenbet, over whom neither that court nor the local Qenbets can have exercised an adequate control. And that such commissioners were not always above the suspicion of corruption is sufficiently attested by the story of Khay and his accomplice Amenemipet.

1) Emend 

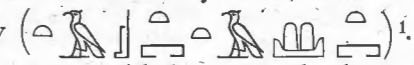

2) This can be taken in two ways, according as it is meant that the Vizier heard the overseer of lands etc., or that these authorities heard the petitioner.

3) For *wdf* cf. Kahun Medical Pap. 3, 14: in a legal document, Grébaud, *Mus. Egypt.* I, 2, 18.

4) Berlin pap. 9785: unpublished.

5) Berlin pap. 3047 (ÄZ 27 [1879] p. 71 foll.).

7. The taxation of crown-lands under Rameses II.

The deadlock created by the forgeries of Khay gave rise to an incident, from which some interesting information may be gathered as to the system of taxation in the 19th Dynasty. Unable to utilise her own title-deeds to advantage, Nubnofret demanded that the official registers dealing with the lands of Neshi should be consulted (N 7: N 14). The detailed description of the manner in which this proposal was carried out (N 14 foll.) enables us to draw the following conclusions. The lands of Neshi, although originally a gift of Pharaoh, were not exempted from all taxation: they had to contribute grain to the royal Granary, and other products to the royal Treasury. These departments were centred at Per-Ramessu in the Delta: they must each have had its own separate organisation and staff, for they kept separate books. The register of the Treasury was preserved in the Treasury itself, while that of the Granary was preserved in the "office" of the Granary (¹). It appears that any official attached to the royal Residence was entitled to consult these documents at his pleasure (N 16): this seems to result from the words of the Vizier to the  Kha, who intervened on behalf of Nubnofret. The particular official here named, however, was quite specially connected with the revenues of the Residence. He is found, for instance, in the baking accounts published by Prof. Spiegelberg: it was his business to control the amount of grain given to the bakers who made bread for the consumption of the Court². — From the few observations here made, it seems probable that the administration which dealt with the royal revenues was just as much centralised as we found the judicial administration to be. We might have expected to find that the census-lists dealing with the lands of Neshi were preserved in the local Treasury and Granary of Memphis: on the contrary, they were kept in Per-Ramessu. It remains for future investigators to determine whether Egypt was at this time divided into two halves for the purposes of taxation, with centres respectively at Per-Ramessu and at Thebes. For the 18th Dynasty, this conclusion is suggested by the scenes in the tomb of Rekhmere³, whatever view be taken of the nature of the revenues depicted there.

Postscript.


Thanks to the kind offices of my friend Mr. D. Randall MacIver, I have been enabled, at the last minute, to make a fresh collation of the inscription of the N. wall with some excellent large-scale photographs of the original in the Cairo Museum. The photographs, which are due to the skill of Dr. E. Brugsch Bey, show that the text has suffered severely since the time of its discovery: numerous blocks are missing, and those remaining have been grievously damaged in many a critical passage. The few remarks which I have to add refer mainly to the extent of the lacunae at the top of the vertical lines N 18—N 36, where the smaller photographs had offered me little help. In this portion of the text, the great accuracy of Prof. Loret's


1) Cf. Sallier I 9, 9, which deals with the transference of some royal lands from one possessor to another: a record was to be "established" in "the office of the Granary of Pharaoh".

2) Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen* pp. 11. 45.

3) Newberry, *Rekhmara*, 5. 6.


publication has been further confirmed. We may therefore place full reliance in his copy of the S. wall, which I have been unable to control.

N 5. In this important passage the new photographs seem to show , suggesting as a restoration *iw p3y2 it(f) hr mt.* Note 15 to the translation should be altered accordingly. The sense remains the same.

N 11. Read , as proposed by M. Moret.

N 14. The lacuna is just long enough for the entire restoration suggested by M. Moret.


N 17. The curious name given by Prof. Loret at the end of the line appears to be confirmed by the photograph: only the fish is uncertain.

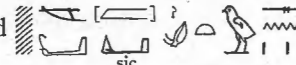
N 18. The length of the lacunae in this and the next line is probably about 7 squares, not 4 or 5 as stated in the Text. — At the end of N 18 read .

N 20. The lacuna is nearly twice as long as is indicated in the Text. The beginning should doubtless be restored: "They gave [*x arourae*] of land [to the coheirs]". In the following words it was either stated that this took place "[before the] notables of the town", or else these functionaries were named as being assembled to hear the following depositions. It is thus uncertain whether the words "the notables of the town" belong to the deposition of Khay, or whether they form part of an introduction to the following section.


N 21. The restoration of M. Moret fills only about half the lacuna. I fancy I can see traces of *hk3* before *iddi*.

N 22. M. Moret's conjecture suits the length of the lacuna well.

N 24. Certain traces of *dd* before *bn*. — Read .

N 25. Read  "let them not be heard". This reading well agrees with the interpretation suggested on p. 29, that Khay "appears to concede the parentage of Hui,, but nevertheless adheres to his own claims".

N 28—36. The restorations proposed at the beginnings of these lines suit the lacunae well: perhaps the conjecture in N 30 is a trifle too short, and that in N 31 a trifle too long. But it is impossible to speak with great certainty on these points.

N 32 *ad finem*. Read .

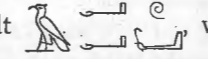
The following corrections and additions should also be noted.

P. 10, line 14. For "Peihay" read "Tentpeihay".

P. 14, line 3 from bottom. For "accure" read "accuse".

P. 17, note 28, end. The last example, from Pap. Golénischeff I, 19—20 is to be explained otherwise. *N rnf* is a phrase meaning "named" or "aforesaid", and occurs sometimes in Demotic; cf. Mr. Griffith's note on I Khamuas 3, 6.

P. 20, note 54. For the reading *s3w*, see von Bergmann, *ÄZ* 28 (1890), p. 40, note 2.

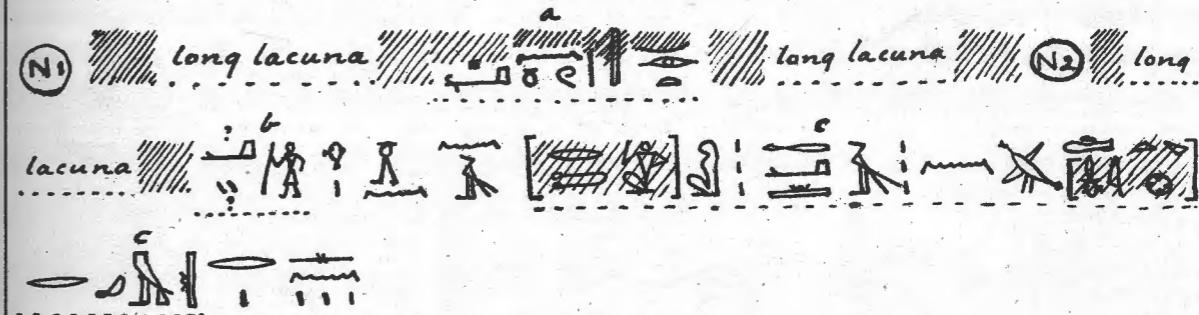
P. 21, note 59. Another instance of the extremely rare verb *s'*, spelt  will be found in the decree of Horemheb, front, 29.

V. The Text.

Abbreviations. — L = Loret. M = Moret. G = Gardiner. Conj. = conjecture of. Phot. = photograph. Restorations are placed within square brackets. Letters above the text (a. b. c. etc.) refer to the notes below; the entire passage dealt with in the note being underlined with dots.....

1. Introduction. (x + N1-2)

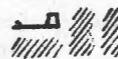

3 or 4 long horizontal lines are lost at the beginning.

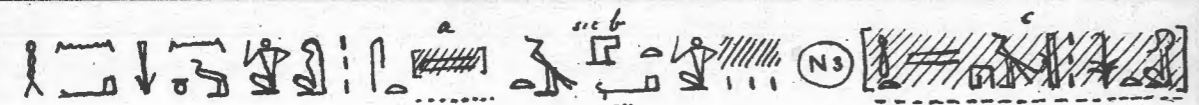
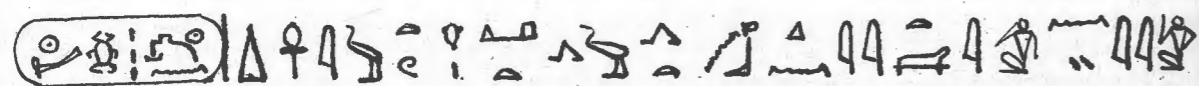

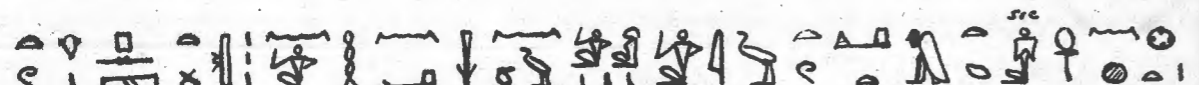
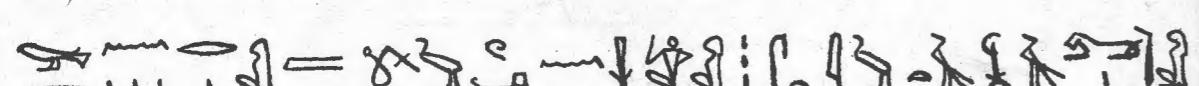
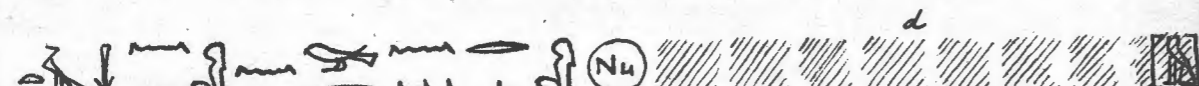
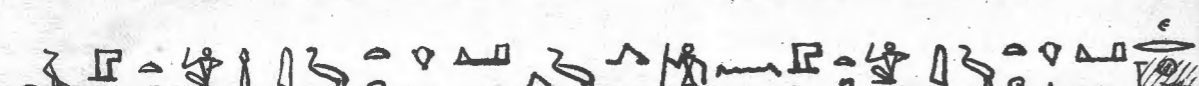
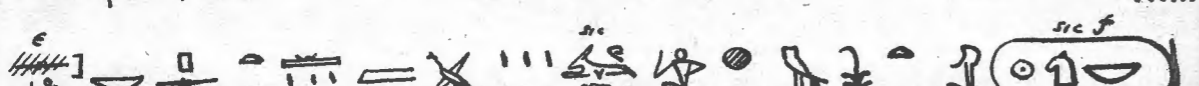
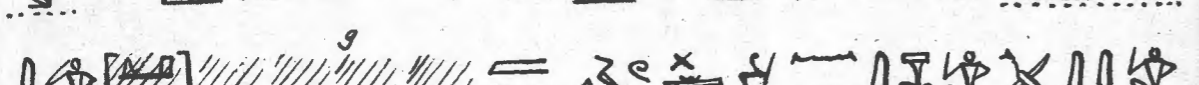
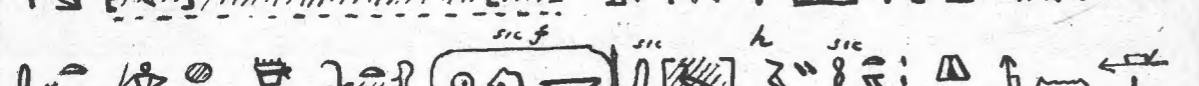
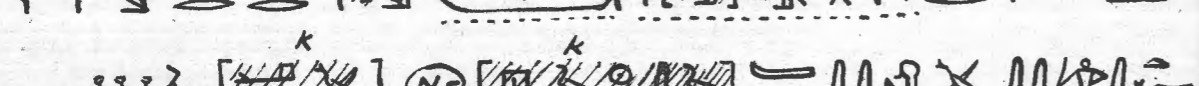
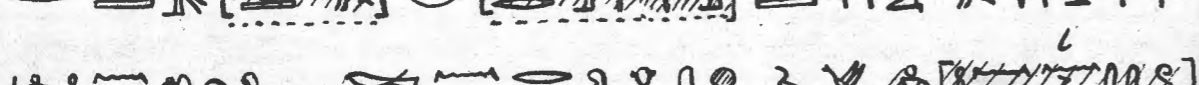
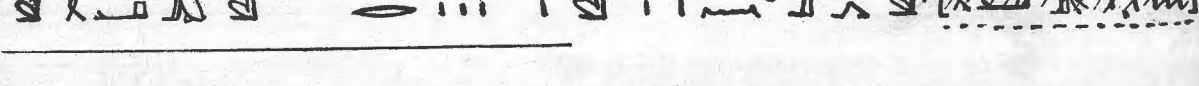


2. Deposition of Mes. (N2-11)

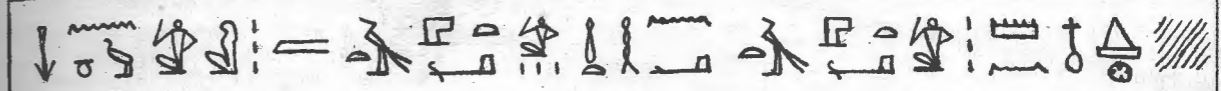


(a) The early history of the estates of Neski. (N2-5)



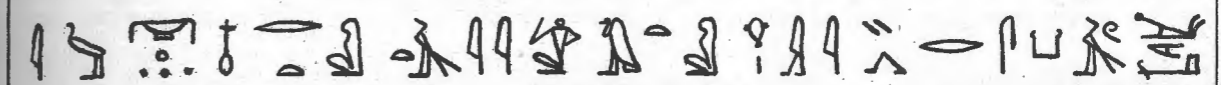
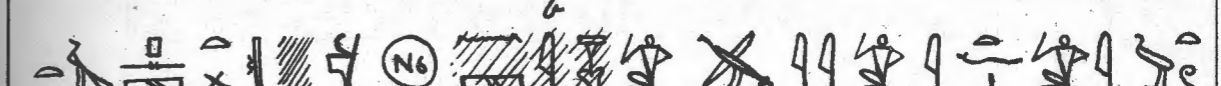
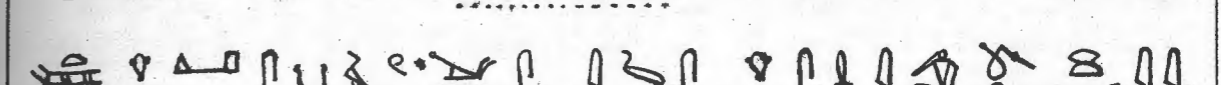

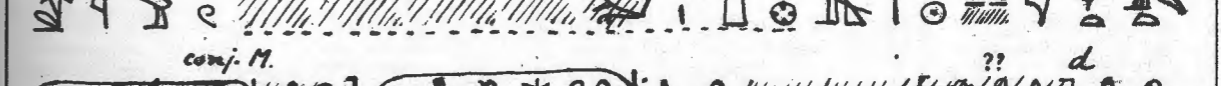

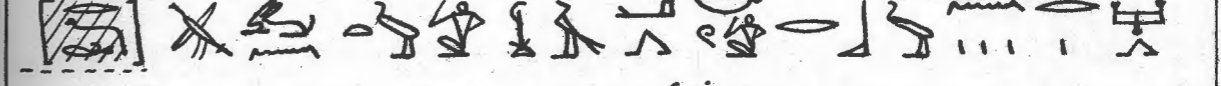

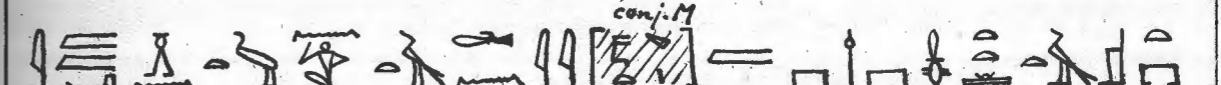
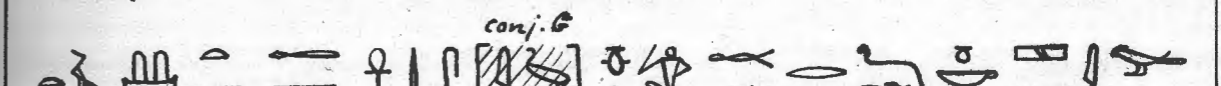
^a Phot. ^b Phot.; L  ^c Phot. and conj. M. ^d Phot. ^e The name of Mes to be restored; so M. ^f Phot. ^g So phot. throughout, wherever L has  ^h Conj. M; "fille de"

^a Phot.//////; conj. G; L gives no lacuna. ^b Phot. so always. ^c Conj. M.
^d Restore *he sbr(w) hnc Wrrr m*, or the like, G; M. fit [rapport? par devant] ^e Conj. M. ^f Phot. ^g G had [given \pm arouae of land] as a reward; M. [avait donné ce domaine] comme "donation". ^h Phot. and conj. G. ^k Conj. M. ^l Conj. M; "(contrairement avec, leurs"

(b) The litigation between Nubnofret and Khay. (N5-9)

^a So phot. and conj. G; L //////////////// ? = e. ^b Phot. only ////////////////; L //////////////// ^c Phot. so; sense to be restored: "[caused them to appear before(?)]", G; "on fut [à faire rapport au Lat]", M. ^d Conj. G; M. "[Voici] ce que je [dis]". ^e Phot. ^f Phot.

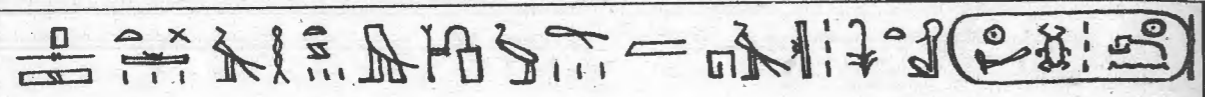

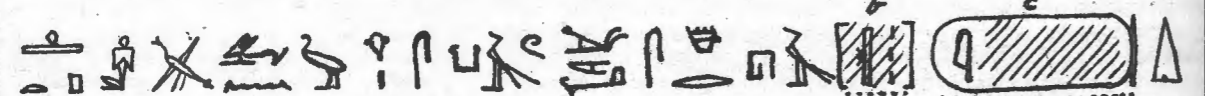
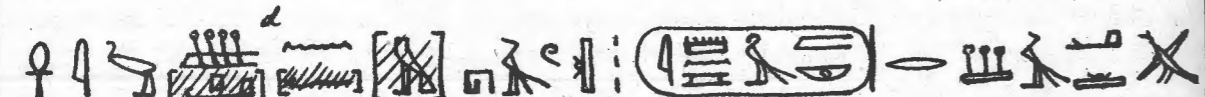
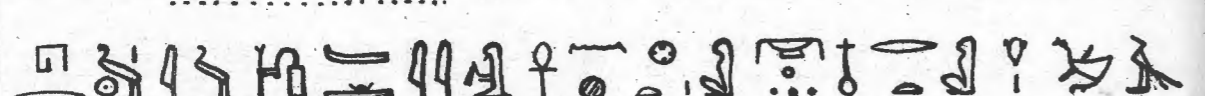
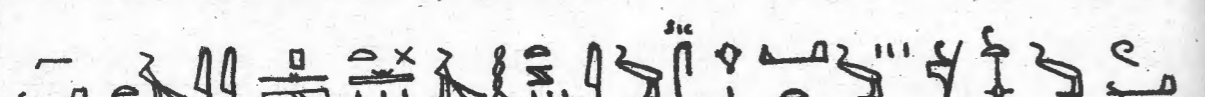

(c) Mes appeals against the judgement in favour of Khay. (Nq-11)

^a So phot.; L ; M writes: "D'après les photographies je crois pouvoir lire: ^b Conj. M; L ; phot. ^c Phot. ^d So L and phot. ^e Conj. M: "l'inspecteur (roudou)" ^f Phot. ^g Conj. G; M "mon héritage, qui était l'héritage"

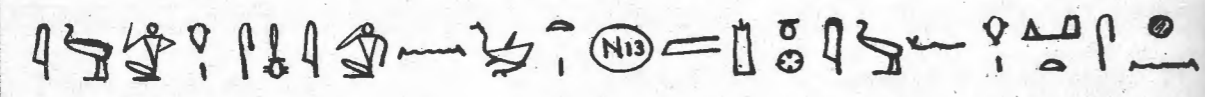
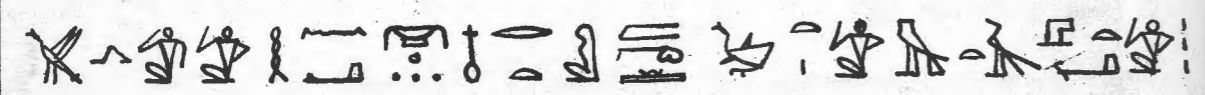
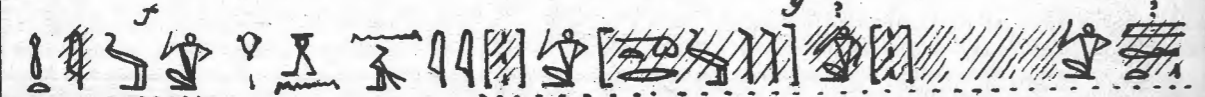
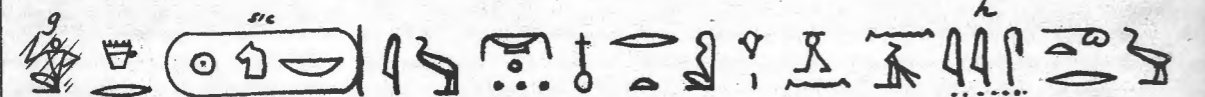
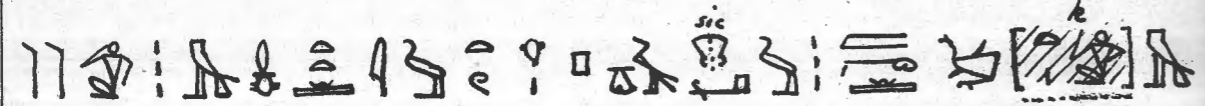
3. Deposition of Khay. (N11-20)

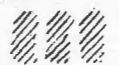

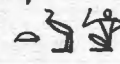
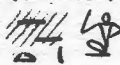
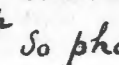
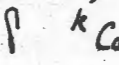
(a) Khay's version of the early history of the estates.

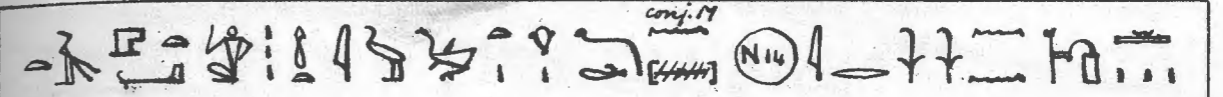
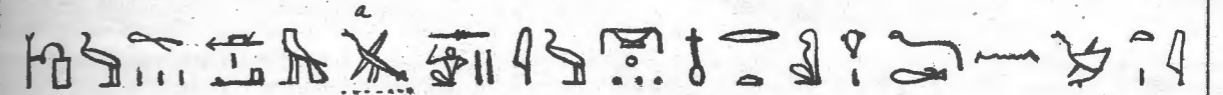
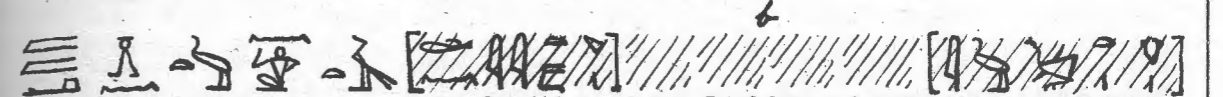

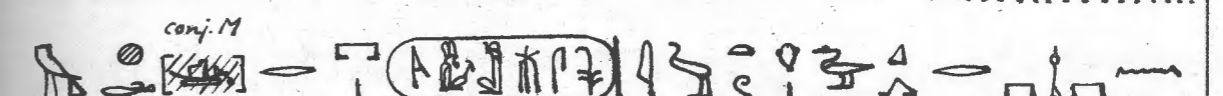


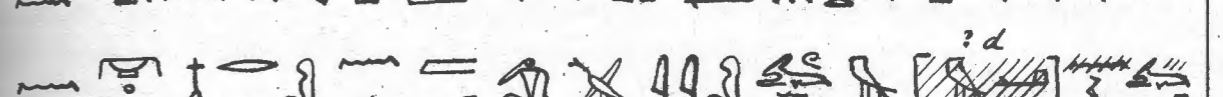
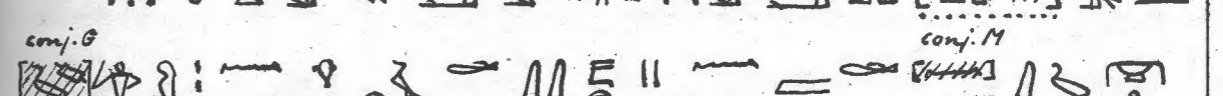

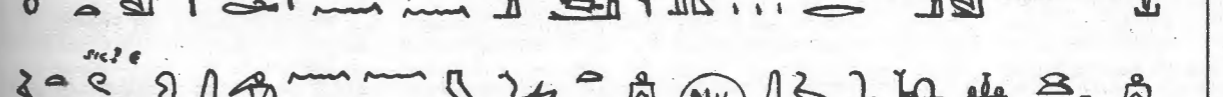
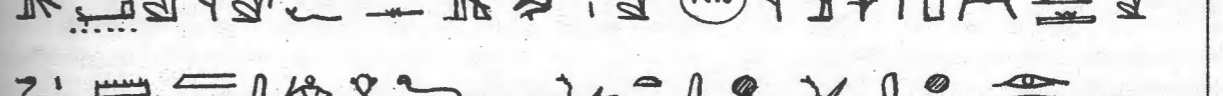
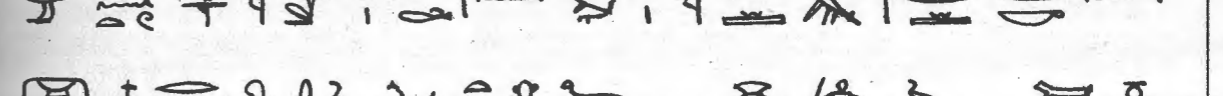

^a L ; Phot. : is m possible? ^b So phot.; sense "[who was] called [the son of(?)]" G; M proposes ^c So phot. ^d Conj. G: L ^e Phot. ^f Phot. ^g Phot. ^h Phot.; L omits w ⁱ Phot. and conj. M: "Zaoui, [fils de Phrâ]-hotpou." ^j Conj. G; L ; Phot. .

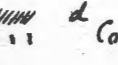
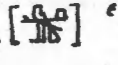








(b). The lawsuit between Khay and Nubnofret. (N12-20)

^a Phot.; L omits ^b Conj. G: L  ^c Conj. M  ;
^d G, [Amenothas (?)] ^e Conj. Griffith ^f Conj. G ^g So phot.; L
^h  ⁱ Phot. and conj. G; similarly M, "mes témoignages
 qui étaient du temps de"; at end of lacuna Phot. shows
^j  ^k So phot.; L  ^l Conj. M; L  ; Phot. illegible.

^a Phot.; L omits. ^b Conj. M: [division cadastrale de la double maison de l'argent et du bureau du double grenier de Pharaon. v. s. f. "Le 2at]" "So phot. apparently; L  ^c Conj. M:  "So L; phot. illegible.

1. 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. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

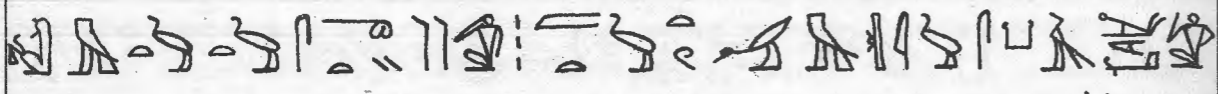
4. The evidence. (N20-S16)

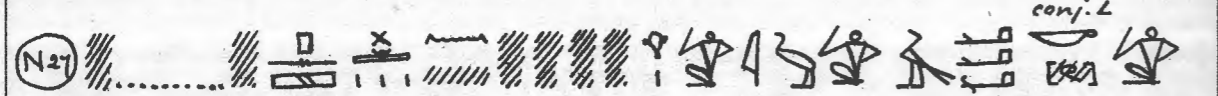
(a) Sworn depositions of the litigants and the witnesses. (N20-36)

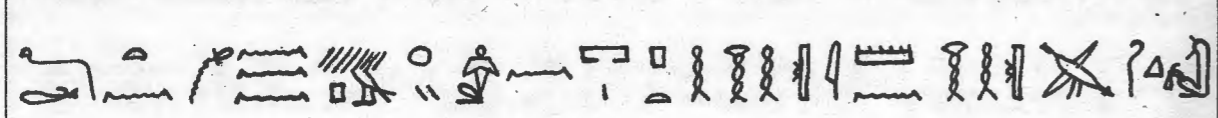
^a Phot. not collated further. ^b Conj. G.

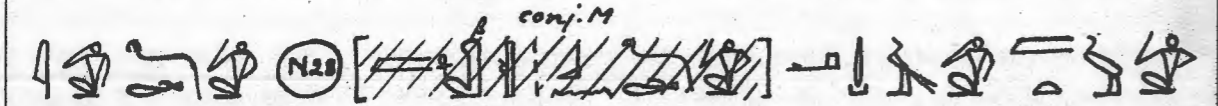
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.


^a Conj. M. ^b Conj. M; perhaps too much? ^c Conj. M: "Le formule.... semble être ^d Conj. M: [Durnouro].

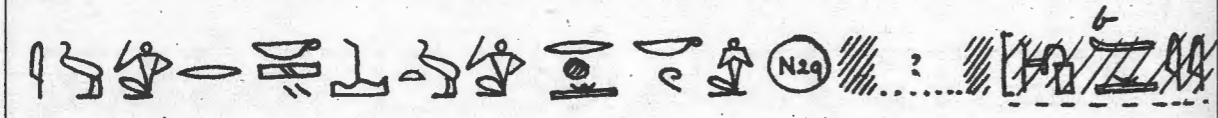


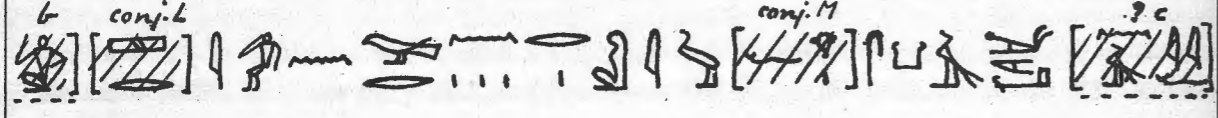
 (N27)  ^{conj. L}

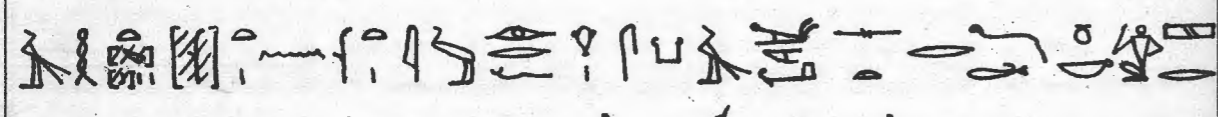


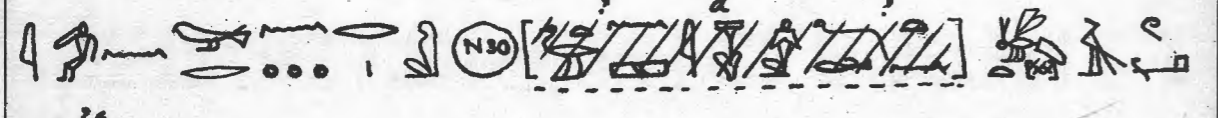
 ^{conj. M}

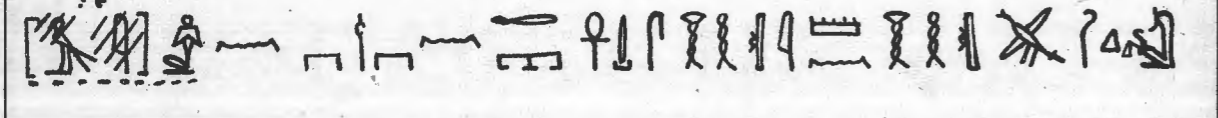
 ^{conj. L}

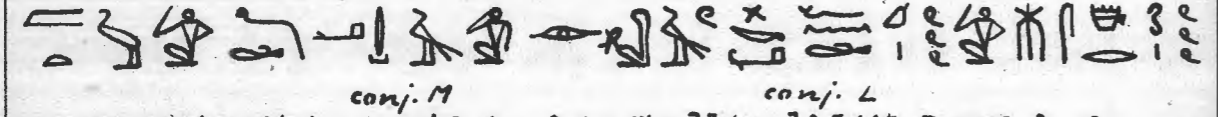
 (N28) ^a

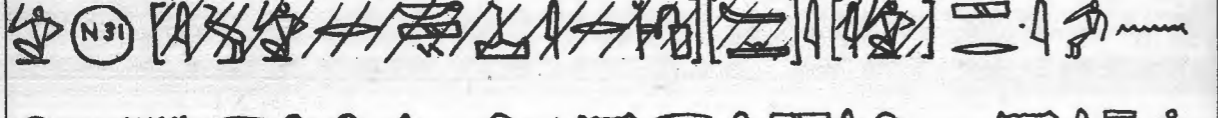
 ^b ^{conj. L} ^{conj. M}

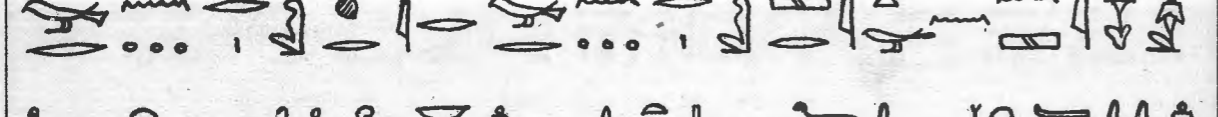


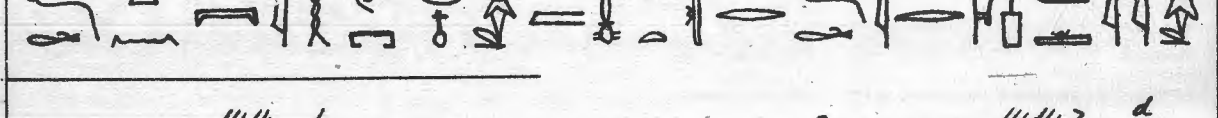
 (N29) ^c

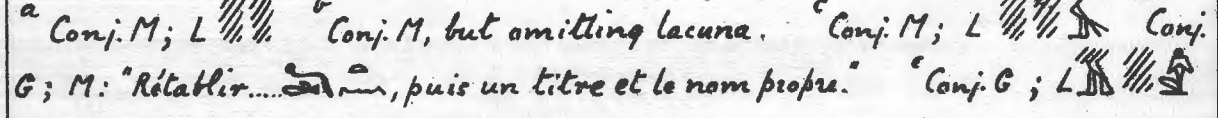




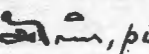



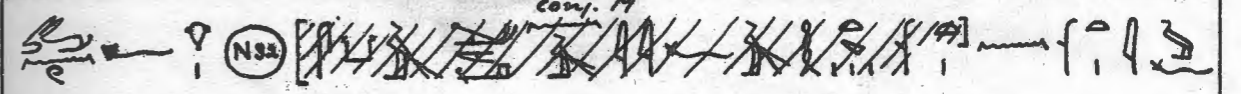
 (N30) ^d

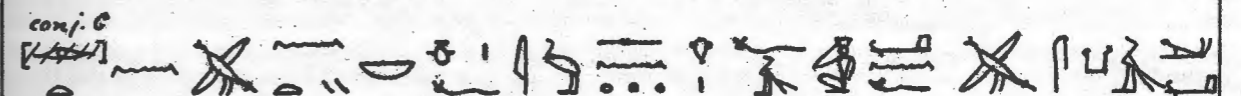


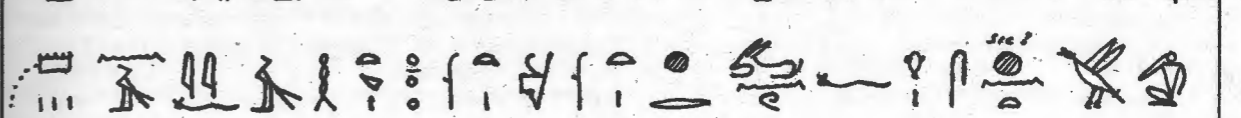


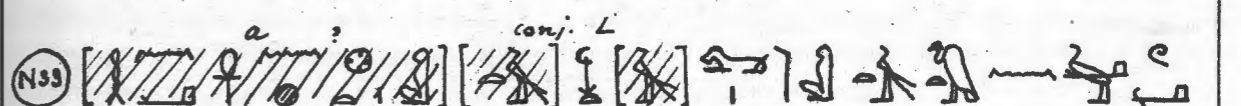



^a Conj. M; L  ^b Conj. M, but omitting lacuna. ^c Conj. M; L  ^d Conj. G; M: "Rétablir....  , puis un titre et le nom propre." ^e Conj. G; L 


 ^{conj. M}

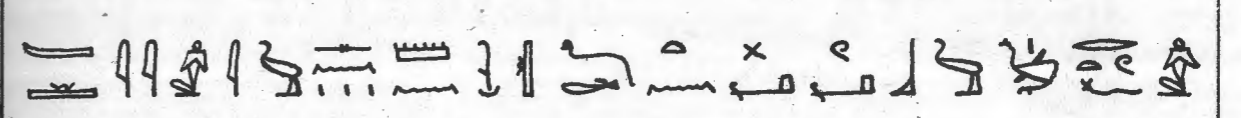
 ^{conj. G}

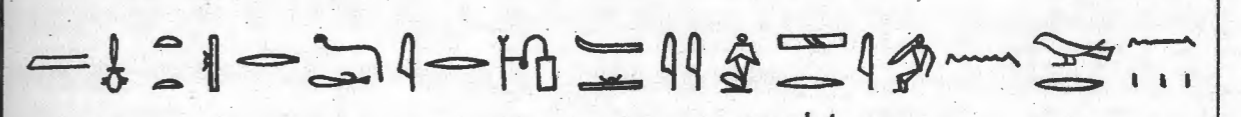



 (N33) ^{conj. L}





 (N34)

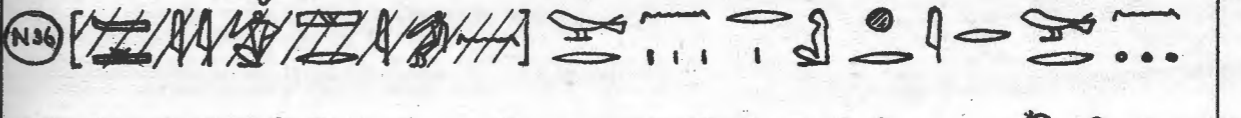


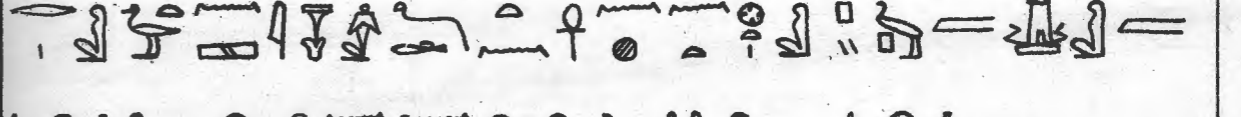


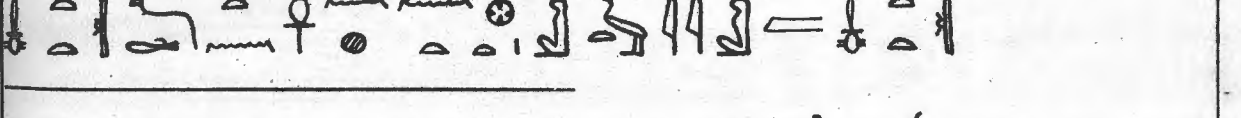
 ^{conj. L} (N35)

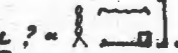





 (N36) ^{conj. L}





^a Conj. G; M "derant les Gonbitiou? = ." ^b Conj. G; M: "Rétablir....  (e)"

(b) Documents cited as evidence. (S1-16)

5 or 6 long horizontal lines are lost at top of South wall.

S1 // long lacuna // long // S2 // lacuna //

// long // // long

S3 // lacuna // // long

S4 // lacuna // // long

// long // S5 // lacuna //

// long // S6 // lacuna //

// long // S7 // lacuna //

// long // // line? // S8 //

// long // // long // S9 // lacuna //

// long // // long // S10 // lacuna //

// long // S11 // lacuna //

// long // S12 // lacuna //

// long // S13 // lacuna //

// long // // lacuna of uncertain length

^a Conj. G; L // ^b Conj. G; but perhaps only // ^c Conj. Eiman; L

// long // // long // S9 //

// long // // long // S10 //

// long // // long // S11 //

// long // // long // S12 //

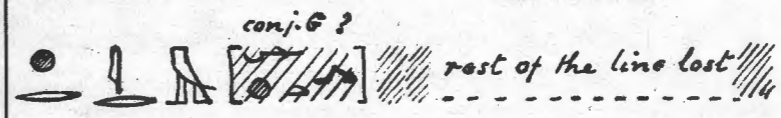
// long // // long // S13 //

// long // // long // // lacuna of uncertain length

^a Conj. G; M. "qui est le domaine de Neshâ." ^b So L; M // // La restitution // est conjecturale.



? 5. Verdict? (S16)



^a Placed here, from block no. 4, by G. and completed by G.

^b From block no. 4, placed here