

Form and Formula of the Legal Papyri in the Late Middle Kingdom at El-Lahun

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الملخص العربي:

لعبت الكتابة دور مهم في المؤسسة القانونية في اللاهون خلال عصر الدولة الوسطى حيث تم العثور على مجموعة من البرديات التي تتعامل مع مختلف القضايا مثل عقود البيع (swnt)، وثائق نقل الملكية والميراث (imt-pr)، وقوائم تعداد السكان لأغراض قانونية (wpwt). إلى جانب هذه الوثائق وجدت أيضا برديات تتعامل مع الشكاوى والنزاعات والقضايا الجنائية وكذلك موقف المسؤولين منها.

وكان لكل نوع من هذه الفئات سمات مميزة له من حيث الشكل والتصميم العام للبرديه بالإضافة إلى الصيغ والتعبيرات التي غطت جوانب قانونية مختلفة في هذا المجتمع.

Abstract:

Our knowledge of ancient Egyptian law remains incomplete¹. Setting aside the question of the existence of written laws, it is evident that law played a significant role in Egyptian society². Egyptian society did not have professional judges; nobody adjudicated conflicts professionally or exclusively, almost everyone seems to have been eligible to serve as a judge³.

According to the El-Lahun papyri, there were more than a few signs related to the legal practices in this society, whether through legal papyri⁴ or non-literary documents⁵.

This paper sheds light on the civil documents in El-Lahun society which were represented in imt-pr, swnt, and wpwt documents and that through study the form, layout and formulae because these documents have distinctive features in presentation and contents.

0. Legal practices in El-Lahun

Although the term civil law applies to the law in the current era than in the ancient Egyptian times, as Lippert refers: "The distinction between civil and criminal law, something that seems obvious to modern societies, is hard to transfer to ancient Egyptian practice; we expect crimes to be prosecuted by the authorities and punished in a way that shows not only the victim but society as a whole was injured by the

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¹Logan, T., "The Imyt-pr Document: Form, Function, and Significance", in *JEA* 37 (2000), 49.

²VerSteeg, *Law in Ancient Egypt*, Chicago, (2002), 7-10.

³Van loon, A.J., *Law and Order in Ancient Egypt: The Development of Criminal Justice from the Pharaonic New Kingdom until the Roman Dominate*, 15; McDowell, A., *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir-el-Medina*, Leiden, (1990), 65-69; VerSteeg, R., *Law in Ancient Egypt*, 37-38, 54.

⁴For El-Lahun legal papyri see Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical*, (2004).

⁵For example, the remarks which are found in letters see Collier, M., & Quirke S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, (2002).

criminal”¹, however, we can use it to give a kind of clarification and separation of legal types. Therefore, the El-Lahun legal issues can be divided into two types of law: civil and criminal law.

The civil law is the law which related to the civil matters, such as payment, sale and loan of objects. Some litigation concerned family law and inheritance². This type is very clear in the El-Lahun legal papyri, where it was found that two papyri were concerned with the transfer of property and inheritance, known as deeds of conveyance (*imt-pr*)³, one was a sale document (*swnt*)⁴, two were groups of family household lists (*wpwt*)⁵, and another set of papyri, included legal issues, such as pay debts owed⁶ and reports⁷.

In addition to the legal documents, there were signs relating to the civil law in non-literary documents, such as letters which dealt with compliments⁸ and disputes⁹.

1. The Form and formulae used in the El-Lahun Legal papyri

1.1 *imt-pr* Documents

The term *imtpr* has been translated as “that which is in the house” or “that which the house is in”¹⁰, but the meaning closest to the interpreted character is deed transfer or conveyance¹¹ or transfer-document¹². Another translation is (land) transfer document¹³ when made in anticipation of death, it functioned as a will¹⁴, it could also function as something approaching a marriage contract¹⁵.

¹Lippert, S., "Law: Definitions and Codification", *UCLA Encyclopaedia of Egyptology*, Los Anglos, (2012), 2. For more on the problem of distinction between civil and criminal law see: Allam, S., "Un Droit Penal existait-il Stricto sensu en Egypte Pharaonique?" in *JEA* 64, (1978), 65-68; Verhaegen, J., "Faute Penale et Faute civile", in: *Archives de Philosophie du droit*, T.28, (1983), 17-28.

²Allam, S., "Egyptian Law Courts in Pharaonic and Hellenistic Times" in *JEA* 77, (1991), 111.

³UC32037, UC32058, see Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 101-102, 104-105.

⁴UC32167, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 119-120.

⁵UC32163, UC32164, UC32165, UC32166, for these *wpwt* see Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 111-118.

⁶UC32055, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 103-104.

⁷UC32098 D, UC32286, see Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 107-108, 121-122.

⁸Letters UC32203, Collier, M. & Quirke S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, 115-118; Berol.10065B, see Luft, U., in Quirke, S., *Lahun Studies*, 23; Berol.10024, see Scharff, A., in *ZAS* 59 (1924), 40; and Berol.10017, see Scharff, A., in *ZAS* 59 (1924), 40, Wente, E., *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, 77-78.

⁹UC32128, Collier, M. & Quirke S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, 67; UC32106, Collier, M. & Quirke S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*, 16.

¹⁰Allen, J. P., *The Heqanakht Papyri [Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, Vol. XXVII]*, New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art), (2000), 90 – 91.

¹¹Collier, M & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 101-105; Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 30.

¹²Logan, T., in *JEA* 37 (2000), 71

¹³Janet, H. Johnson, J. H., *Women's Legal Rights in Ancient Egypt*, the Oriental Institute, (2002).



¹⁴Trigger, B.G., Kemp, B. J., O'Connor, D. and Lloyd, A. B., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, Cambridge, (1983), 314; Theodorides, A., "Le Testament dans l'Egypte Ancienne." *RIDA* 17, (1970), 117; Theodorides, A., "Les Textes Juridiques" *Textes et Langues de l'Egypte Pharaonique*, in *IFAO LXIV/3* (1974), 27; Theodorides, A., "L'acte de Disposition de la Statue Stélephore Cairo CG 42.208 et son Execution." *CdE LX* (1985), 322-46.

¹⁵Lloyd, A. B., *Ancient Egypt: State and Society*, Oxford, (2014), 215; Johnson mentions: "Wah use a future tense construction and refers to children "who will be born", implying that the document was made relatively early in the marriage", see Johnson, J. H., "Speculations on Middle Kingdom Marriage", in Leahy, A., Tait, J., *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H. S. Smith*, London, (1999), 171.

A deed is any legal instrument in writing which passes, confirms an interest, right, or property and that is signed, attested, and delivered. It is commonly associated with transferring the title of a property. A deed can be unilateral or bilateral¹. The name of the document suggests that only the contents "that which is in the house" could be transferred; but this is not the situation. Besides contents, land and houses, sometimes with appurtenant personnel, and even jobs could be transferred². We can say that the *imtp_r* was a deed which recorded the legal transfer of property from one individual to another "relative"³ and that a standard deed was employed for transference of property of all kinds⁴.

No document of the Old Kingdom on papyri⁵ identified itself as an "imtp_r" but is mentioned in hieroglyphs in inscriptions of the 3rd and 4th Dynasties⁶. The oldest legal document preserved from Egypt coming to us from El-Lahun in the 12th Dynasty⁷. Among them were found three papyri concerning the *imtp_r* (UC32037, UC32058 and UC32055)⁸. The *imtp_r* manuscripts continued to be used in the New Kingdom⁹ and survived into the Late Period¹⁰ but most of the legal *imtp_r* documents in the Old Kingdom and the New Kingdom were written in tombs and on temple walls¹¹.

The papyri are precise legal texts and follow a precise form. Namely an *imtp_r* consists of the following form:

<p>Dating: the deed of conveyance beginning with the date of the deed</p>	 <p>rnpt-sp 39 Abd 4 Axtsw 19 Year 39, month 4 of flood, day 19</p>
<p>Title of the document: containing Name of the testator and Name of inheritor</p>	

¹O'Connor, E. R., *The Irish Notary*. Dublin: Professional Books, (1987), 83.

²Logan, T., in *JEA* 37, (2002) 69.

³Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 29.

⁴Trigger, B.G., Kemp, B. J., O'Connor D., and Lloyd, A. B., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 314.

⁵For an inventory study of the *imtp_r* sources from the Old Kingdom until the New Kingdom see, Logan, T., in *JEA* 37 (2000), 49-72.

⁶"Inscription A of Metjen" see, Gödecken K., *Eine Betrachtung der Inschriften des Metenim Rahman der Sozialen und Rechtlichen Stellung von Privatleuten im ägyptischen Alten Reich*. *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 29, (1976), 11; Porter and Moss, "Memphis" *Topographical Bibliography III (3rd edition)*, Oxford: Griffith Institute, (1978), 493-94.


⁷Lippert, S., in Frood, E., Wendrich, W. (Eds.), *UEE, Los Angeles*, (2013), 6.

⁸Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical*, (2004).

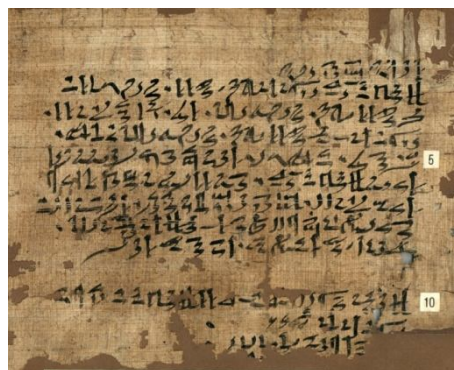
⁹Draft of one on an Ostrakon (O. DeM 108) during the 19th Dynasty and a transcript of another on a stela (Stela Cairo CG 34016) dating to 18th dynasty. See Lippert, S., *Einführung in die Altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie*, Berlin, (2008), 73; about (O. DeM 108) see: Allam, Sch., *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit. Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im Alten Ägypten*, Tübingen. (1973), 89 - 91, no. 57; Cerny, J., "Ostraca Hieratiques non Litteraires de Deir el Medeneh", *DFIFAO* 3, Cairo, (1935), 28, pl. 60; Kitchen, K. A., *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated*, Vol. I, Oxford: Blackwell, (1993), 337 - 338; and as for (Stela Cairo CG 34016) see: *Urk. IV: 1065 - 1070*; Spalinger, A., "Will of Senimose", *Studies to W. Westendorf, Vol. I*, (1984).

¹⁰The last appearance can be found on the *Adoption Stela of Nitocris*, see Caminos, R. A., "The Nitocris Adoption Stela", in *JEA* 50, (1964), 71-100.

¹¹Logan, T., in *JEA* 37, (2002), 66; Lippert, S., in Frood, E., Wendrich, W. (eds.), *UEE, Los Angeles*, (2013), 6.

	imt-prirt.nnty n sAintfsAmryDdwn.fkbi n sA.fmrysAintfDdwn.fiw-snb Deed of conveyance made by the controller of the watch Intef's son Mery called Kebi for his son Mery's son Intef called Iuseneb
Contents of the deed:	It represents the actual acts of text, mention enumeration of the property, sometimes from where the testator acquired his property, and the inheritors whom will the property be shifted to them.
List of witnesses*: involving the people whose presence the deed.	 imy-rn.fmtryiryimt-prtn r-gs.sn Namelist of witnesses in whose presence this deed of conveyance has been written
Verso	The Endorsement

Additional elements are sometimes found, such as the place of recording the text (UC32058). As for UC32055, the papyrus is slightly different in its form from the other two imt-pr document.



UC 32037

1.1.2 The imt-pr Formulas

a- Dating Formulae

The El-Lahun imt-pr documents usually start with the dating formula; including the year of which this deed made, the month, the season and the specific day. The two dated imt-pr papyri with hardly any doubt, belongs to the reign of the king Amenmhat III, as the date (Year 39, month 4 of flood, day 29) in papyrus UC 32037¹ and the date (Year 44, month 2 of summer, day 13) in the imt-pr document of Wah's brother to Wah², refers to the rule of a long time, and this does not apply to the XIII th Dynasty, where the reigns in that dynasty having been presumably short³. In

*The witness is referred to on a Cairo JE 42787 stela from Old Kingdom, probably of the Sixth dynasty, recording the purchase of a house. See Goedicke, H., "Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich." *Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 5, (1970), 149-73.

¹Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 101-102.

²Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 104-106.

³Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 29.

addition, most of the papyri found in the archive of the town were belonging to the reign of this king¹.

b- Title Formulae

imt-prirt.n NN n NN

This formula usually appeared in the title of the deed and in the endorsement on verso. The formula consists of the title of the document imt-pr follows by irt.n "made by" then the name of the first part in the deed "n" for the second part. The parties are mentioned by their full names, parentage, origin such as imt-prirt.nmtyn n sAintfsAmryDdwn.fkbi n sA.fmrySAintfDdwn.fiw-snb" the deed of conveyance made by the controller of the watch Intef's son Mery called Kebi for his son Mery's son Intef called Iuseneb"²

c- Introductory Formulae

1-iw.i Hr rd.t X n NN

The title of the imt-pr follows by the formula iw.iHr rd.t X n NN which means "I am giving+ property+ to+ the name of the heir", can be called an introductory formula and because they offer the content of the property in deed as well as the party that will receive the property. For instance:



iw.iHrrditpAy.imty n sA n sA.imrySAintfDdwn.fiw-snb

"I am giving my (position of) controller of the watch Mery's son Intef called Iuseneb"³

2- iw.iHrirtimt-pr n NN m X

The second form in which this formulae appeared was in UC32058 iw.iHrirtimt-pr n NN m X" I am making *imt-pr* to+ name of the second part+ m+ property", the text states:



iw.iHrirtimt-pr n Hmt.isAntgs-iAbsAt-spdwsAtSfdwDdtn.stti m xtnbtrdit.nn.i pAy.sn

"I am making an imt-pr for my wife, a woman of Gesiab," the daughter of Sat-Sopdu, Sheftu, called Teti, consisting of everything which my brother gave to me"⁴.

3- ir.n.fimt-pr m

This formula appeared in UC32055 when the text is the record of a legal dispute between the son of a man (Senbebu?) and a Iyemiatibin the form it.iir.n.fimt-pr m wabHrySA n spdwn "my father drew up a deed of conveyance covering the (position of) wab-priest in charge of the protection? ofSopdu"⁵.

d- The Subject Matter Or The Text

Papyrus	Type	Testator	Hires	Property
UC 32037	Deed of	mtyn n	1-his	1-pristely office

¹Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 28-9.

²Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, UC 32037, 101-102.

³Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 101-102.

⁴Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 104-106.

⁵Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 103.

	conveyance (original) between father and son	sAintfsAmryD dwn.fkbi	wife"intfmoth er", but the deed canceled 2-his son sA.fmrysAin tfDdwn.fiw- snb 3-his children from his wife sAtimy-sA n qnbtyn wsbk-m- HAtsAtnbt- nn-nswt	2-all house contents
UC 32058	Deed of conveyance (copy) between brother and brother+ husband and wife	1-the first owner was wAH brother xtmwqfA-ib n xrpKAtSpstsA iHy- snbDdwn.fanx -rn	1-his brother wAH	1-all his properties in countryside, in town 2-all his staff
		2-then the actual owner become wabHrySA n spdwabiAbttS pstsAiHy- snbDdwn.fwAH	1-wAH's wife sAt- spdwsAtSftw Ddtn.stti	1-all his property given to him by his brother 2-four Asiatics 3-his house and chambers

We notice in UC32037 that Mery, transferred to his son his property, house and contents gratuitously¹, and Mery's gives his priestly office to his son and in return Intef should support him when he is in his 'staff of old age'.

Mery also mentioned in his deed of conveyance that an older imt-pr document for his first wife (Intef's mother) is canceled irtAimt-prirt.n.i n tAy.fmwtXr-HAtsAr.s" As for the deed of conveyance which I made for his mother previously - it is cancelled"² and a new one in favor of the children of a second wife put in its place.



irpAy.iprnty m spAtHwt ..-t iw.f n nAy.i n Xrdwmsyn.i in
sAtimy-sA n qnbtyn w sbk-m-HAtsAtnbt-nn-
nswtHnanttnbtim.f

¹Lippert, S., in *Frood, E., Wendrich, W. (eds.), UEE, Los Angeles, (2013), 5.*

²Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal, 101-102.*

"As for my house which is in the district of Hut-...t, it is for my children born to me by the daughter of the guard of the district counselor Sobekemhat's daughter Nebetnennisut, with all its contents"¹.

But Mery did not mention the reasons behind its abolition a wife's deed²: maybe he divorced her and married another³, "Nebetnennisut" or maybe she has died in her husband's life and thus became her former deed void and was canceled by Mery when he made a new one, or whether with at least one son grown up there was no longer a need for special arrangement for a widow⁴. In any case, all these are just assumptions especially as they are not mentioned in the papyrus.

The second *imt-pr* papyrus is UC32058 consist of two deeds, belonging to members of one family. The deed of conveyance of Ankh-ren, the trustworthy sealer of the director of works, He leaves all his property his Asiatic slaves, and his officials to his brother Wah, and this *imt-pr* was placed in the office of the Second Reporter for the South. Another *imt-pr* in the same papyrus by Wah who was the wab-priest and overseer of the phylae of Sopdu⁵, in his deed, Wah in his turn transfers this property to his wife, the daughter of Sat-Sopedu, Shefet, called Teti, giving her the freedom to pass it on to any of their children as she likes⁶. At the end of the transfer there appeared a statement as a later addition to the transfer document, reflecting the birth of the couple's first son and subsequently added to their deed. The man named Geb with the title *idnw* is formally appointed to be guardian to Wah's son if something happens to both parents⁷.

The last one is UC32058, the first known original legal *imt-pr* document drawn up in connection with a payment⁸, most likely as a security⁹. The document about a man pursues a debt owed his father and it is the record of a legal dispute between the son of a man (Senbebu?) and a certain Iyemiatib. The latter received a priestly office by means of an *imt-pr* but never paid the son's father the price agreed to. It does not appear which, if any, kinship relation there was between both parties.

The papyrus also does not refer to *imt-pr* document itself but to the dispute, the underlying *imt-pr* document of which the text is an additional provision to serve the case.

The dispute ends up in court and begins with an extract of the *imt-pr* which transferred the office. This papyrus is different in its shape from the others where the

¹Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 101-102.

²In *Pashed ostrakon* from Deir el Medinah, dating to the 19th Dynasty, reign of king Seti I, the ostrakon mentions six people who are Pashed's children, with Amenmose being the eldest son. Conspicuous by her absence is his wife Makhy; is she perhaps deceased? About the ostrakon see Kitchen, K. A., *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated*, Vol. I, 337-38; Cerny, J., in *DFIFAO 3*, Cairo, (1935), pl. 60

³Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 29.

⁴Eyre, CH., *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, 271.

⁵Translated as wab-priest-at-the-back of Sopdu lord of the East by Collier and Westendorf. See Collier, M., Lots I and II from Lahun, 209; Westendorf, W., "Der Priestertitel wabHri-sa" in H. Altenmüller, H. and Germer, R. (eds.), *Miscellanea Aegyptologica*, Wolfgang Helck zum 75. Geburtstag, Hamburg, (1989), 189-93.

⁶Collier, M & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 104-105.

⁷Johnson, J. H., Speculation on Middle Kingdom Marriage, 172.

⁸The papyrus similar to Stèle Juridique de Karnak Cairo JE 52453: the stela is a lapidary commemorative document of the 17th Dynasty (Second Intermediate Period) from the Thebes area, written in hieroglyphic script, and relating to the sale of an administrative function and the settlement of a dispute concerning its payment.

⁹Lippert, S., in *Frood, E., Wendrich, W. (eds.), UEE, Los Angeles*, (2013), 5

text is divided into the reasons for the dispute then the witnesses and at the end the court case

e- Witnesses List

`imy-rn.frmTiryynn r-gs.sn`

After the testator or the owner of the deed lists his property and the parties who will divide the property between them, he ended this deal with a list of witnesses who were present at this agreement. The formula `imy-rn.frmTiryynn r-gs.sn` "Name list of the people in whose presence these (stipulations) have been written"¹ and it appeared in UC 32037 in the form:

¹UC32058, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 105-105.



imy-rn.fmtryiryimt-prtn r-gs.sn

"Name list of witnesses in whose presence this deed of conveyance has been written".

Although it does not appear to us through these contracts clearly the office or the place where it was documented, but they recording the list of witnesses, a procedure that offers some guaranties concerning the identity of the testator and heirs¹; mediators and judges provide the same for the parties in case of litigation²

Name	Title	Papyrus
sA-bAsttsAspsn Sa-bastet's son ditto	mty n sA Controller of the watch	UC32037
snwsrtsAsnbwbw Senusret's son Senbubu	ibH Li[bationer?]	UC32037
Liem.....	sS Scribe	UC32055
.....nu	-----	UC32055
Ar.....	-----	UC32055
km.n.i Kemeni	sSwHaw Scribe of fishermen	UC32058
anx-ty.fysA i.pw Ankhtyfy son of Ipu	iry-aA n HwtTr Temple doorkeeper	UC32058
snbsAsnb Seneb son of Seneb	iry-aA n HwtTr Temple doorkeeper	UC32058

Table (2): List of the El-Lahunimt-pr Witnesses Names

Through this table, we notice that the witnesses list in El-Lahunimt-pr document is often composed of three witnesses.

£- The Endorsement Formulae

This formula found a short synopsis for the members of the deed, mostly identical with the title, in the form imt-prirt.n NN n NN " Deed of conveyance made by NN for NN", for instance,



imt-prirt.nmty n sAintfsAmry n sA.fmrysAintfDdn.fiw-snb

"Deed of conveyance made by the controller of the watch Intef's son Mery for his son Mery's son Intef called Iuseneb"³.

The endorsement usually appears in a rectangle form on the back of the right-hand end, below⁴ or above⁵ the middle.

¹See Papyrus UC 32037, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 101-102.

²See Papyrus UC 32055, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 103-104.

³Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 101-102.

⁴Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 101-120.

⁵Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 104-105.






The verso of UC 32058 and UC 32037

1.2 The Technical Form used for the El-Lahunswnt Document

The swnt-Document

In UC32167 there appeared another kind of document or legal transaction, and that according to the title of the papyrus "swnt" which appeared in the formula swnt NN with NN. In the Middle Kingdom the word swnt appeared to mean 'reward', 'wages'. But through this document Griffith argues that the document was a memorandum of the price paid, or to be paid for the services of the two brothers¹. Stephen Quirke has defined it as a deed of Cession² or transfer of labour³, Arlette David came to the same interpretation for this document, noting it an administrative record concerning a deed of transfer of labour⁴, while Eyre mentions that the document was probably a transfer of rights over service rather than a simple purchase of their physical labour⁵.

By any way we can say, the El-Lahun UC32167 records the sale or transfer "swnt" of two Asiatic women and two children between brothers⁶.

Dating formula	 rnpt-sp 29 Abd 3 Axtsw 7 Year 29, month 3 of flood, day 7
Place of recording	 ir m xA n TAty m-bAHimy-r niwtTAtyXty Done in the bureau of the vizier before the overseer of the city and vizier Xty
The scribe who wrote the deed	 in sSHryxtm n xA n ddrmTimn-m-HAtsAimny by the scribe in charge of the seal of the bureau for issuing people imnmHAt's son imny

¹Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 35-36, pl.13.


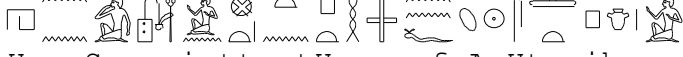
²Quirke, S., in Hamilton S., Whitehouse R. D., Katherine (eds.), *Archaeology and Women: Ancient and Modern Issues*, (2007), 255.

³Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 119.

⁴David, A., "Identification in Ancient Egypt from the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom" (2500-1100 BCE), 6-7.

⁵Eyre, CH., *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, 265.

⁶Quirke, S., in Hamilton S., Whitehouse R. D., Katherine (eds.), *Archaeology and Women: Ancient and Modern Issues*, (2007), 255; Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 35-36, pl.13.

Title of the document: containing names of the two parties	 swntXr a n imy-r xtmtSpstsAiHy-snb wart mHtt HnawabHrySA n spdwnbiAbttSpstsAiHy-snb Transfer deed of the assistant to the treasurer Spst's son iHysnb of the northern sector, with the priest in charge of the protection of %pdw, lord of the East, Spst's son iHysnb.
Approving	 HnnsS n niwttntptH-wnn.fsAsHtp-ib-ra Assent of the scribe of this town ptH-wnn.fsonsHtp-ib-ra
Movables	Four Asiaticlabours

1.2.2 Using the swnt-Document

This document reflects on the waiver of any of the property to someone else, whether from relatives or others, and according to this document may transfer the property to someone else, on the contrary, the *imt-pr* was not in itself have the force to execute the transfer of property but had to be accompanied by a sale (*swnt*) or contract (*xtmt*) document¹. Tom Logan emphasizes the contractual nature of the two documents "if you bought property from me and simply wanted to use it during your lifetime, all we would need would be a sales-document (*swnt*). Yet if you wanted to pass it to your heirs, you would also need an *imt-pr* document"².

1.2.3 Place of Recording

The legal texts of the late Middle Kingdom were written in the bureau, transcribing declarations made in the presence of the vizier or bureau official, and then officially sealed³.

This papyrus was recorded and authenticated in the bureau of the vizier before the overseer of the city and vizier Xty. It was written by the scribe in charge of the seal of the bureau for issuing people *imn m HAtsonimny*, and it was approved by the scribe of this town *ptH-wnn.fsonsHtp-ib-ra*.⁴

1.2.4 Personal Names and Titles in the El-LahunswntPapyrus

We notice through this table that the deed parties (the brothers) and the scribes have been writing their full names, filiation, gender, and their occupation before their names. The parties of the deed are the assistant to the treasurer *SpstsoniHy-snb* and the priest in charge of the protection of *spd*, lord of the East, *SpstsoniHy-snb*, the two brothers have the same name. If we look to the names as well as the occupation, we will find that they are identical between the parties of *wAHimt-pr* document, as the first brother being named *SpstsoniHy-snb* called *anxr* and the second one *SpstsoniHy-snb* called *wAH*⁵, so we suggest that the two papyrus

¹Harari, I., "Nature de la Stele de Donation de Fonction du Roi Ahmosis a la Reine Ahmes-Nefertari", in *ASAE* 56, (1959), 154-55, 163.

²Logan, T., in *JEA* 37 (2000), 71.

³Eyre, CH., *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, 267.

⁴*hnn* appeared in *swnt* document, meaning assent or approve of the document, in the form *sS n niwttn NN hnn* (the *swnt*) the scribe of this town NN approved the sale.

⁵Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 104-105.

(UC32058 and UC32167) belong to the same people, but in the *swnt*-document the title and official name was mentioned rather than the social name which is used in

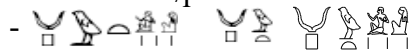
Name	Title and Occupation
Xty	TAtyimy-r niwt The vizier the overseer of the city
imn m HAtsonimny	sSHryxtm n xA n ddrnT The scribe in charge of the seal of the bureau for issuing people
ptH-wnn.fsonsHtp-ib-ra	sS n niwttn the scribe of this town
SpstsoniHy-snb	Hry a n imy-r xtmt The assistant to the treasurer
SpstsoniHy-snb	wabHrySA n spdwnbiAbtt wabpriest in charge of the protection of spdwn lord of the East

daily life¹ preceded by the expression Ddwn . f² .

1.3 The Technical Form used in the El-Lahunwpwt- Documents.

1.3.1 The wpwt-Documents

The third type of the El-Lahun legal documents, is known as the wpwt-list,



which Griffith identified as "specification, particulars"³, it was translated as a household document by Stephen Quirke⁴ or recording households⁵, while Barry Kemp⁶ and Parkinson⁷ considered them as a House Census, Gardiner pointed out that wpwt has the meaning "specifications" or "schedules", but technically used of the "census-lists" made of people's household⁸.

Opinions have varied in determining the primary purpose of these lists; Valbelle mentioned that the wpwt-lists did not reflect the census, but they played the role of titles to property and Legal documents, and noticed most of these lists are copies in private possession, so these records could express a secondary use by the family members to certify property rights⁹, while Eyer suggested that they were written and kept because they were of benefit to the family, as such a document might provide a

¹David, A., Identification in Ancient Egypt from the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom (2500-1100 BCE), 6-7

²UC32037, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 101-102; Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 104-105.

³Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 20

⁴Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 111-117.

⁵Griffith, in: W. M. F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, 48; Gardiner, A. H., *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus from Leiden*, Leipzig (1909), 48; Berlev, O., D., *Obscestvennye Otnosenija v Egipteepoxi Srednego Carst'va: Socialnyisloj 'carskixhmww'*, Moscow, (1973), 50-52; Ward, W., A., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Tides of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut (1982).

⁶Kemp, B., *Ancient Egypt*, 157.

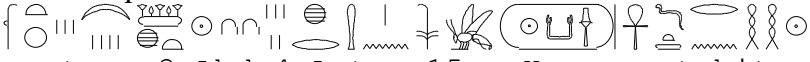
⁷Parkinson, R. B., *Voices from Ancient Egypt*, 111.

⁸Gardiner, A. H., *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden*, 48.

⁹Valbelle, D., "Éléments sur la Démographie et le Paysage Urbain, D'après les Papyrus Documentaires d'époque Pharaonique", in *CRIPPEL* 7, (1985), (note 50), 77.

degree of protection from conscription or revenue assessment¹. While Kóthay states the function of the wpwt-list could possibly be to control manpower². But through the the El-Lahun papyri the wpwt-lists were lists of Household members. These gave the names of the family members, and their serfs and slaves in the groups in which they were acquired and these lists were not part of a population census but were prepared for such legal purposes as property transfer and inheritance³. These El-Lahunwpwt lists are considered the first examples of ancient Egyptian census activities⁴.

The general form of these documents as follows:

Dating formula	For example:  rnpt-sp 3 Abd 4 Axtsw 15xr Hm n nswt bity sxm kA raanxDt r nHH Year 3, month 4 of flood, day 15 under the person of the dual king sxm kA ra living forever and eternity ⁵
Title of the document	wpwtnt NN The household document of NN (household's head)
Household members	The lists are drawn up in double columns, one written in black and the other in red ⁶ , to accommodate the two personal names which Egyptians usually had ⁷ . They include the names of the householder with title, followed by wife, young children and female relatives but without filiations; sometimes in richer households, female slaves and their children are mentioned ⁸ .
Registering and swearing	The lists of an extended household, written out as sworn depositions before officials in bureau ⁹ . Sometimes the line of registration is located in the beginning of the papyrus after the title ¹⁰

¹Eyre, CH., *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, 221.

²Kóthay, k., A., "Houses and Households at Kahun: Bureaucratic and Domestic Aspects of Social Organization During the Middle Kingdom." in Györy, H. (szerk.): "Le lotus qui Sort de terre", *Mélanges Offerts à Edith Varga*, Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts Supplément, (2001), Budapest, 362.

³Valbelle, D., in *CRIPPEL* 7, (1985), (note 50), 77.

⁴Kóthay, K. A., "Categorisation, Classification and Social Reality: Administrative Control and Interaction with the Population": in *García J. C. (szerk.): Ancient Egyptian Administration*, Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.104, Leiden–Boston, (2013), 511.

⁵Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 111-112.

⁶See UC32166 (Kahun IV.1) in Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, transcription on fold-out, CD files: T32166rTO, T32166Rbo.

⁷David, A., *Identification in Ancient Egypt from the Old Kingdom to the End of the New Kingdom (2500-1100 BCE)*, 1-12.

⁸Eyre, CH., *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, 218.

⁹See UC32163, UC32164, and UC32166 in Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 111-113, 116-117.

¹⁰See UC32166, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri Legal*, 116-117.

two set of individuals' wpwt-lists survive from El-Lahun, the first group consist of six lists belonging to the same family were found together, rolled up and sealed¹, these documents lists over a number of years the household goods of a soldier called Hori which later become that of his son Senferu². While the second set the seventh, is wpwt-list for the household of the priest Khakaura-Sneferu, a priest in the mortuary temple of Senusret II. He is listed with one son and one daughter, together with at least twenty-one servants³.

1.3.2 Hori's wpwt-Lists

They list the members of the household of two soldiers; father (Hori) and son (Sneferu) over an unstated period of time⁴. The chronological sequence of these wpwt-lists can be set up after Griffith⁵:

1.4 <i>recto</i> (UC32164)	wpwt-lists of the family of the father DHwt y at his death
1.4 <i>verso</i> (UC32164)	wpwt-lists of Hori's family at the death of his father
1.5 (UC32165)	wpwt-list of Hori's family a year after the death of his father+ DHwt y's household
1.6 <i>recto</i> (UC32312)	wpwt-list of the family at the death of Hori in thesecond year of Sekhemkare
1.6 <i>verso</i> (UC32312)	[supposed wpwt-list of the family Sneferu at his father's death] ⁶
1.3 (UC32163)	wpwt-list of the family of Sneferu a year after his father's death (third year of Sekhemkare)

The legal wpwt- lists of Hori's family passed through three stages andthe lists were modified according to specific needs by change of the family head, representing in the following:

- The first stage: show us through UC32164*recto*(I.4) that probably was an imt-pr document, referring to transfer Hori's fatherDjehuty his property to his only son and heir, and it may be accompanied with wpwt-list of Djehuty's family. In the verso of the same document, the wpwt-list of Hori consist of three persons, Hori as he his household head with his wife Hmt. fsAt-spdwsAtSpststntgs-iAb"his wife Satsopdu's daughter Shepset, woman of Gesiab", and his young child Sneferu.It is noticed that the documentation of

¹The seal was apparently the same as that used for a swnt-document which belongs to Shepset's son Ihysonob, in papyrus UC32167, See in Collier, M & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 119.

²Hori's household papyri are UC32163, UC32164, and UC32165, See Collier, M.,& Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 111-115.

³Khakaura-Sneferu' household papyrus is UC32166, See Collier, M.,& Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 116-117.

⁴Kemp, B., *Ancient Egypt*, 157.

⁵Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 24.

⁶Represented in UC32312, as it is a number of very small fragments, connected with Hri'swpwt lists, they very fragmentary and giving isolated signs. See Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 23. About that fragments Collier states: "The fragments are still undergoing conservation and are not yet available to be scanned or studied", Collier, M., Lots I and II from Lahun, 212.

the wpwt-list appears at the beginning of the document in contrast, the UC32163 this element occupies the last part of the document. The document takes this form¹:

Date	-----
Documentation	xA] n TAty m iAm n wp[wt] [w]r mdwSmasry in imy-r prHsbiHwnb.h-pw sAkf.....sS n sDm [s]nbrthtysn.....sA-prbbw the bureau] of the vizier, in the section for household- documents, [grea]test of tens of Upper Egypt Sery, By the steward, accountant of cattle Nebipu son? of Kef ? Scribe of the assessor [S]eneb baker? Sen?.... estate guard Bebu
Title+ household head	wpwtntaHAwty DHwty sAHri...[sn-nwtnt] DAmwsr [wd....] The household-document of soldier Djehuty's son Hori...[the se]cond (unit) of troops installed (in?)....sector
Household members	His wife sAt-spdwdaughter'sSpst woman of Gesiab His son snfrw infant

- The second stage: described in UC32165 (I.5), after the death of Hori's father. When exactly this happened, cannot be inferred with certainty². Hori appears as the head of a household also encompassing nine people, his widowed mother and five of his aunts. Thus suggesting that, in fact, Hori's family and that of his father (DHwty's family) shared a residence, that multiple family households were acknowledged by the administration if only one male family head was present in the household and, consequently, that two adult males in one household represented two unconnected units from an administrative point of view³.

The document takes this form⁴:

Title+ household head	wpwtntaHAwty DHwty sAHri...[sn-nwtnt] DAmwsr [wd....] The household-document of soldier Djehuty's son Hori...[the se]cond (unit) of troops installed (in?)....sector
Household members	His wife satsopdu'sdaughter Shepset woman of Gesiab His son Snefru child His mother Harekheni Her daughter Iset Her daughter Qatsenut Her daughter Rudet child Her daughter Mekte Her daughter Snferu child

¹Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 113-114.

²Kraus, J., *aus Kassel Die Demographie des Alten Ägypten Eine Phänomenologie anhand altägyptischer Quellen*, PhD dissertation, the University of Göttingen, (2004), 78

³Kóthay, K., A., in Győry H. (szerk.): "Le Lotus qui Sort de Terre." *Mélanges Offerts à Edith Varga*, Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts Supplément, (2001), Budapest, 354-355.

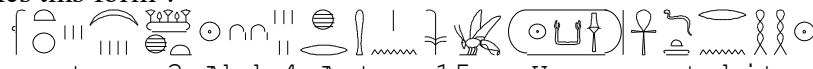
⁴Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical*, 115.

- The third stage: presented in UC32163 (1.3), after Hori's death we see his son Sneferu¹ becoming head of a new list being composed of six persons, his mother, paternal grandmother and three paternal aunts. The family is entered under the term Xrw, wherethis word refers to the family, household unit². Griffith mentioned that this word may be related to snfrw only as he was inferior³. While Burt Kasparian states the term Xrw is strictly members of the stem family, and certainly included the servants of an individual, who are under its protection and receive support⁴.

This word is referring to a unit which is well-defined in space (household), when the word refers to a family it must be seen as describing a co-resident domestic group⁵. The term has appeared in the list of snfrw namely, after his father's death, the two families may have shared a home (Hori and his father's family) and thus became snfrw is the head of the family, which is dubbed Xrw⁶.

The document takes this form⁷:

Dating formula


 rnpt-sp 3 Abd 4 Axtsw 15xr Hm n nswt bity
 sxm kA raanxDt r nHH

Year 3, month 4 of flood, day 15 under the person of the dual king sxm kA r aliving forever and eternity

Title+ household head



wpwtntaHAWtyHrisAsnfrwit.fHrsn-nwtntDAmw
 The household-document of soldier Hori's son Sneferu, his father being on the second (unit?) of troops

Household members

His mothersatsopdu'sdaughter Shepsetpure priest of Gesiab
 His mother of his father Harekheniward of the Her cemetery workers, northern sector
 sister of his fatherQatsenutward of the Her cemetery workers, northern sector
 sister of his father Isetward of the Her cemetery workers, northern sector
 sister of his father Satsneferuward of the Her cemetery workers, northern sector
 (with two checkmarks written in red)

¹About the child and his rights in Ancient Egypt see Kasparian, B., "La Condition de L'enfant et du FilsAînédansl'ÉgypteAncienne", in *Enfant et Romanité, AnalyseComparée de la Condition de l'Enfant, coll. Méditerranées*, (2007), 17-64.

²Kóthay K. A., in J. C. Moreno García (szerk.): *Ancient Egyptian Administration*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 1.104. Leiden–Boston, (2013), 513; Collier, M.,& Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 111-112; Eyre, CH., *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, 218.

³Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 22.

⁴Kasparian, B., "La Condition de l'Enfant et du FilsAînédansl'ÉgypteAncienne", 30.

⁵Kóthay, k., A., in Györy H. (szerk.), *Le Lotus qui Sort de Terre*, 353-354.

⁶Collier, M.,& Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 111-112.

⁷Collier, M.,& Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 111-112.

Documentation Swearing of this household in the bureau of the vizier in year 5, month 1 of winter, day 8, as the household of a dead man (?).
 Drawn up in the bureau of fields, northern sector, armyscribe Sanehat, northern sector
 In the presence of the greatest of tens of Upper Egypt Montemhat son of Imyerkhenret
 By the estate overseer, accountant of cattle, northern sector
 Scribe of the board Senbef son of Aau
 [estat]guard [...]

This *wpwt*-list is the only one of Hori's lists that has dating formula, at the beginning of the *wpwt*-list the date of the list being: year 3, month 4 of flood day 15, under the king of Upper and Lower Egypt *sxm kA ra*¹living forever and eternity (Amenemhet V) of the XIIIth Dynasty². This date refers to the primary *wpwt*-list of *snfrw*, dated to year 3. It is noted that his father's registration had been entered (*aq*)³ in year 2. Although written as a distinct and separate annotation in vertical line from the left of the household names, this clearly belongs with the primary entry. The third is a date of oath: year 5, month 1 of winter day 8⁴. It is noticed that there are two years between the compilation of the *wpwt*-list and the oath. Kóthay mentions on this matter that the general registration and censuses have been compiled perhaps every second year, and these dates in the *wpwt*-list and oaths show that these two years between the two dates are only relevant within the context of documents concerning one family, and do not connected with the general registration, occurring at the same time at every place⁵.

1.3.3 The Lector Priest Khakaura-Sneferu*wpwt*-List

Another set of the *wpwt*-lists⁶ is the *wpwt*-list of the lector priest Khakaura-Sneferu⁷, and preserves a unit larger than Hori's household (*xrw*)⁸. The family head and his two children apart from, three non-familial groupings attached to the list at different times and are enumerated as to who are designated by the term *Dt*⁹.

1.3.3.1 The Technical form for Khakaura -Sneferu*wpwt*-List

It is noticed from the layout of the papyrus that the first part consists of the data about the household head and his family. In addition to the short list of the nuclear family of the priest there were also a considerable number of his subordinates listed. They are divided into three groups and are recorded separately on the *wpwt*-list. The layout of the registrations divides into four columns, the first column for the first name of the

¹He was a second king of the XIIIth dynasty, he ruled for six years. See Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 20.

²Griffith, F., *The Petrie papyri - Hieratic papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, 22-25; Collier, M., in Silverman, D., Simpson, W. K. and Wegner, J. (eds.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 211.

³The term *aq* translated as "entered", sometimes *aq* used as a term implying official investigation and hearing, rather than entry into a register, see *UrkIV*, 1021, I.

⁴Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 111-112.

⁵Kóthay, K., A., in Györy H. (szerk.): *Le Lotus qui Sort de Terre*, 358.

⁶Two letters attest the word *wpwt* both of them are concerned with management of manpower P. Berol 10037, x+19: Scharff, H.A., *ZÄS* 59 (1924), (note 16), 33-35; Kaplony-Heckel, *Handschriften*, (note 16), no. 27. P. Berol 10067, 3: Scharff, H.A., *ZÄS* 59 (1924), 44.


⁷Griffith, (IV. I); Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, UC32166, 116-117.

⁸Quirke S., women of Lahun (Egypt 1800 BC), in Hamilton S., Whitehouse R. D., Katherine (eds.), *Archaeology and Women: Ancient and Modern Issues*, (2007), 253.

⁹Kóthay, K., A., in Györy H. (szerk.), *Le Lotus qui Sort de Terre*, 355.

person, the second for (his, her) second name, the third column for the gender and the last one used for notes.

A series of dots, and in some cases a symbol that looks like the wab-sign, are written to the right of the main name lists. They look to be check-marks, but the reason for their presence is quite unclear.¹

	Dating				
				Address	
	Documentation (dating+ made by)				
	Data about the owner of the papyri				
The sworn	Gender	nickname nickname nickname	The first name of the owner		
*note about the wife of the owner of the papyri beside lines 5-6			Name of his son		
			Name of his daughter		
	Names of the first group of servants (Dt-people), start with line 7			A dots, and the signs	
*note about one servant's son beside line 17	Gender	nickname	1		
			2		
			3		
	Names of the second group of servants (Dt-people), start with line 21				
*note about one servant, beside line 24	Gender	Nickname	1		
			2		
			3		
	Names of the three group of servants (Dt-people), in the second page				
	Nickname		1		
			2		
			3		

1.3.3.2 The Documentation

In the third line of the wpwt-list we read the sentence of the register as follow:
 rnpt-sp 1 xrHm n nswt bity sxm-raxw-tAwyaxDt r
 nHHirt.nimy-r Sntsbk-wr n tp n rs "regnal year 1 under the agency of
 the dual king Sekhemrakhutawy living forever and eternity drawn up by the overseer
 of disputes Sobekwer, the first of the south"².

Through this phrase appear that this papyrus was written by the overseer of disputes, but the list did not indicate the office or the bureau of the documentation, but through the position of the priest as the regular lector of sxmsnw-srtmAa-xrw, the assessments appear to have been carried out by the temple at Sekhem-senwosret³.

Concluding Remarks

This essay has proposed some key features, as follows

- 1- Legal documents in El-Lahun varied between imt-pr, swnt, wpwt.

¹Eyre, CH., *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt*, 221.

²Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 116-117.

³Kóthay, K., A., in Györy H. (szerk.), *Le Lotus qui Sort de Terre*, 358.

- 2- El-Lahun legal documents were written in horizontal lines except one written vertically and another is mixed between horizontal and vertical lines.
- 3- Written in black and red ink.
- 4- Some of these documents show that these legal documents were stored and executed by the bureau of the vizier, thus possibly indicating a level of approval from that institution, if not the vizier himself. In addition to the vizier office, the bureau of the second reporter and the bureau of fields the places where the legal procedures were held.
- 5- According to the El-Lahun legal documents there were a large number of employees mentioned with their names and titles who had a role in the completion of the legal proceedings, whether they were witnesses or for approving or writing of the documents.
- 6- The *imt-pr* papyri had a fixed form, consisting of date, title, text, list of witnesses and the endorsement.
- 7- The text wrote on recto, while the endorsement appeared in rectangle form on verso of right-hand edge, below or above the middle.
- 8- El-Lahun *imt-pr* papyri were dated to the reign of king Amenmhat III
- 9- The list of witnesses consists of three officials, they are mentioned with their titles, and all of them were men.
- 10- The use of *imt-pr* to transfer an office appears the same as its use for transferring physical property alone, the person giving up the office would receive compensation, either for himself (UC32037) or for his heirs (UC32055), in exchange for giving up the income that was attached to the office, rather than for the designation of the title itself or the duties involved with that title¹.
- 11- The *imt-pr* documents use titles and honorifics, filiation, kinship or alliance, occupational, social status epithets, and origin for identification as well as names.
- 12- The El-Lahun *imt-pr* made it eligible for women to inherit and then make a disposition or to bequeath her property to whom she wanted from her children.
- 13- From the E-lahun *imt-pr*, there are attestations that slaves could be inherited.
- 14- It is clear from the El-Lahun *wpwt*-list that each *wpwt* was headed by a man, who was a title-holder and a family head.
- 15- In the El-Lahun *wpwt*-lists also noted that the ownership over the household servants is stated in addition to the residents.
- 16- Nuclear families of male title-holders, which, in cases, could be extended by widowed or single, mostly female, relatives, and individuals with or without children, who could be attached as dependents to a title-holder, but did not absolutely live in his household.
- 17- Women left without a male household head were entered in the *wpwt*-list of a male relative.
- 18- Social status epithets for non-officials, filiation, occupation, geographical information, and physical description. The necessity for precise identification is clear in the case of registers and lists of households
- 19- The lists helped in tracing the structure of the family and the sequence of genealogy that have been registered.

¹Nelson-Hurst, M. G., *Ideology and Practicality in Transmission of Office during the Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 440.

- 20- Lists showed the technique in writing names where the first column is for the first name and the second column for the nickname or the social title and was usually written in red ink.
- 21- Children were described in the wpwt-lists of more than one term (xrd, ms, ms in, ms+ age).