

Convicting “Great Criminals”

A New Look at Punishment in the Turin Judicial Papyrus

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THE RECORDS of the “Harem Conspiracy trials”, ostensibly conducted under Ramesses III, are perhaps the most famous ancient Egyptian legal documents currently preserved. First published in the 19th century², they provide a uniquely detailed insight into the 20th Dynasty royal judiciary, describing how high-ranking courtiers were tried and punished for attempting to murder the Pharaoh. Over the years, the original translation has undergone many revisions³. Considerable work has also gone into determining the possible sacral aspects of the documents, and indeed the events, in a context of perceived cosmic instability⁴. However, this tight focus on refining linguistic and esoteric understanding is yet to be matched by equally thorough study of the possible legal inferences available. Only one small part of the record boasts an extensive commentary – these are the short Papyri Lee and Rollin, both almost exclusively concerned with magical rites apparently carried out by the conspirators⁵. The bulk of the legal content, found in the Turin Judicial Papyrus, has been subjected to little more than a cursory treatment in larger volumes⁶. This paper is a

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² Th. DEVÉRIA, *Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin et Les Papyrus Lee et Rollin. Étude Égyptologique*, Paris, 1868.

³ The first of the later translations is in J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt. Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest IV*, Chicago, 1906, p. 208-221. Subsequent translations have appeared in A. DE BUCK, “The Judicial Papyrus of Turin”, *JEA* 23/2, 1937, p. 152-164; I.M. LUR'Е, *Очерки Древнеегипетского Права XVI – X Веков до Нашей Эры*, Leningrad, 1960; J.A. WILSON, “Documents from the Practice of Law”, in J.B. Pritchard (ed.) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (3rd edn.), Princeton, 1969, p. 212-216; A.J. PEDEN, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*, Jonsered, 1994, p. 195-210; and most recently KRI V, (*Setnakht, Ramesses III and Contemporaries*), p. 297-305.

⁴ For a theory on the sacral use of the documents as a means of protecting the king and bringing divine wrath on the conspirators, see Y. KOENIG, “À propos de la conspiration du harem”, *BIFAO* 101, 2001, p. 293-314. The possibility of magical practices being used by the conspirators is discussed in H. GOEDICKE, “Was Magic Used in the Harem Conspiracy against Ramesses III?”, *JEA* 49, 1963, p. 71-92. See also R.K. RITNER, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, Chicago, 1993, p. 192-214. For further discussion of fragmentary texts potentially of relevance to ritual practices in the conspiracy, see S. SAUNERON, J. YOYOTTE, “Le texte hiéroglyphique Rifaud”, *BIFAO* 50, 1952, p. 107-117; and Y. KOENIG, “Nouveaux textes Rifaud II”, *CRIPPEL* 11, 1989, p. 53-58.

⁵ H. GOEDICKE, “Was Magic Used in the Harem Conspiracy against Ramesses III?”, *JEA* 49, 1963, p. 71-92; R.K. RITNER, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, Chicago, 1993, p. 192-214.

⁶ P. GRANDET, *Ramsès III, Histoire d'un Règne*, Paris, 1993, p. 330-341; P. VERNUS, *Affairs and Scandals in Ancient Egypt* (trans. by D. Lorton), Ithaca, London, 2003, p. 108-120.

contribution towards setting that record straight, providing a first step in the analysis of the punishments recorded and thereby posing some wider questions about Egyptian crime and punishment.

Background: the Turin Judicial Papyrus

The papyrus was most probably discovered in a cache of 20th Dynasty administrative documents in Western Thebes⁷, although the original publication merely says that it came from the Turin museum⁸. The document was probably intended for display rather than just archive storage, being written in exceptionally large and well-formed hieratic signs up to 30mm high⁹. It may have been displayed at the funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, publically highlighting the punishments of those who plotted against the Pharaoh¹⁰.

Regarding content, the opening section and date formula are lost. However, based on what follows they can be safely reconstructed to the final year of Ramesses III¹¹. The first preserved section contains a speech by this Pharaoh, where he distances himself from proceedings and instructs various judicial officials to try and punish the conspirators fairly¹². This is followed by five lists of the accused. These name and condemn 31 male conspirators, as well as six of their wives who remain unnamed. The lists seem to be arranged by punishment imposed and are discussed below.

An analysis of the punishments applied

Four types of punishment are recorded in the papyrus: execution, (possibly forced) suicide, mutilation of nose and ears, and verbal reprimand. Their relative commonality and distribution is summarized below [fig.1]:

Punishment	Original wording ¹³	Place in text	No. of instances
Execution ¹⁴	<i>iw.w dit dmi n.f tzy.f sbzyt</i> They caused his punishment to befall him.	List I	22 ¹⁵
(Forced) Suicide	<i>iw.w w3h.f hr st.f iw.f mt n.f ds.f</i> They left him in his place and he killed himself.	List II, List III, List IV ¹⁶	11

⁷ P. GRANDET, *Ramsès III. Histoire d'un Règne*, Paris, p. 341.

⁸ T. DEVÉRIA, *Le Papyrus Judiciaire de Turin et Les Papyrus Lee et Rollin: Étude Égyptologique*, p. 1.

⁹ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁰ P. GRANDET, *Ramsès III. Histoire d'un Règne*, p. 341.

¹¹ A.J. PEDEN, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*, p. 196-197.

¹² For a discussion of the possible sacral aspects of this speech, see Y. KOENIG, "À propos de la conspiration du harem", *BIFAO* 101, p. 296-302.

¹³ All transliterations in this paper are taken from *ibid.*, p. 195-210.

¹⁴ Although the phrasing does not explicitly mention death, this seems certain considering both the other verdicts and the severity of the crime committed. For more on this see D. LORTON, *The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt: Through the New Kingdom*, *JESHO* 20/1, 1977, p. 2-64, and P. GRANDET, *Ramsès III. Histoire d'un Règne*, p. 338.

¹⁵ This includes the six unnamed wives of the conspirators.

¹⁶ One conspirator in List IV endured (forced) suicide after mutilation.

Mutilation	<i>rmꜥ ỉryt n.w sbꜣyt m sꜣw fndw msdrw</i> People to whom was done punishment by severing noses and ears.	List IV	4
Verbal only	<i>ỉw.tw ỉꜣꜣ m-dỉ.f m mdwt binw dꜣrỉ ỉw.tw wꜣꜣ.f bw ỉryt ỉꜣꜣ r.f</i> He was reprimanded thoroughly, with very severe words, and he was left. No act was done against him.	List V	1
			Total: 38 ¹⁷

Summary of list contents
 List I (Executions) – 16 + 6 unnamed women List II (Suicides) – 6
 List III (Suicides) – 4 List IV (Mutilation) – 4 List V (Verbal reprimand only) – 1

Fig. 1. Summary of the punishments recorded in the Turin Judicial Papyrus.

As well as providing the names and punishments of conspirators, each list also states the crimes committed¹⁸.

A study relating crime to punishment yields the following results [fig.2¹⁹]:

Punishment	Criminals who were...		
	i) Actively involved in plot to overthrow Pharaoh	ii) Aware of plot, but not actively involved (failed to report it)	iii) Judges at trial, but on overly friendly terms with the accused
Execution	7	9	0
(Forced) Suicide	7	3	1
Mutilation	0	0	4
Verbal only	0	0	1
Total	14	12	5 ²⁰

Fig.2. Summary of punishment breakdown based on crime committed.

Several key observations can now be made:

1. Judges guilty of inappropriate contact with the accused, in this case by attending a party seemingly hosted by the conspirators²¹, were mutilated. Only one escaped with a

¹⁷ The numerical discrepancy between conspirators (37) and punishments (38) is explained by the two punishments suffered by the conspirator in List IV.

¹⁸ In lists I and III, the crime is stated after the name of each criminal. In list II, the crime of all the criminals is stated before the list names. See A.J. PEDEN, *op. cit.*, p. 196-207.

¹⁹ Table excludes the six unnamed wives. Their involvement in the conspiracy is only mentioned very briefly and their exact role is unspecified, so it would be overly speculative to assign them to either category (1.) or (2.).

²⁰ As one of those mutilated then committed suicide, the total is 5, not 6.

verbal reprimand, despite still being found guilty. It is unclear why he received this special treatment – one suggestion is that this was a reward for voluntarily reporting the indiscretion of the whole group²². Likewise, it is unclear why one of the mutilated judges also committed suicide, but the others presumably remained alive.

2. There was clearly a distinction between male and female conspirators, but its nature is difficult to determine. While the men are all named, the six female convicts are not only unnamed, but even the exact nature of their offence is unspecified. Indeed, most of the male conspirators have more papyrus space dedicated to them individually than to all the women combined²³. This could just indicate that the women were considered less noteworthy from an administrative perspective, although their punishment of execution equalled that of many male conspirators. An extra dimension is added by the presence of one named woman in the document – Tiye, mentioned as both a key figure in the plot and as the mother of one of the conspirators²⁴. Paradoxically, her name is not among the list of those convicted. There was thus no blanket rule against naming women – and it remains unclear why one was named when the others were not. Different prior status within the court may have been a factor, as Tiye likely had a higher rank.

3. Out of the 26 men accused of somehow aiding the conspiracy, all were either executed or committed suicide. However, it is most interesting that while those directly involved suffered an equal number of executions and suicides (7 in both cases), those guilty of more passive involvement through concealing information suffered execution much more frequently (9 executions and 3 suicides). This suggests that not only were there important distinctions between execution and suicide, but also that active involvement and passive concealment may have been viewed as two distinct crimes, punishable in different ways.

Suicide: better or worse than execution?

Understanding why some conspirators were executed while others were left to commit suicide presents a fundamental challenge key to interpreting punishment frameworks in the text²⁵. At first sight, suicide seems a less severe punishment: in the introduction to List II, it is highlighted that it permitted a death that was, at least in writing, voluntary:

*iw.w w3h.w hr 'w.w m st-smtr iw.w mt n.w ds.w iw bw irt gy r-r.w*²⁶

They (the judges) left them (the conspirators) in their (own) hands in the Place of Examining, and they died of themselves without action being done against them.

²¹ A.J. PEDEN, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*, p. 206-209. Unfortunately no details of this party are given. It either occurred before the conspirators were arrested, or the conspirators enjoyed significant liberty during the trial (if they could arrange social events, perhaps they were not even imprisoned?). For now the question remains unanswered.

²² P. GRANDET, *Ramsès III. Histoire d'un Règne*, p. 339.

²³ A.J. PEDEN, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*, p. 202-203.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 199, 207.

²⁵ For a discussion of possible theological aspects behind attitudes to capital punishment, including the issue of bearing responsibility for death, see Y. KOENIG, "À propos de la conspiration du harem", *BIFAO* 101, p. 300-302.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 204, §5, 4.

This is in stark contrast to execution, where the emphasis is clearly on punishment being brought upon criminals by an external force. This is shown in the introduction to List I:

*iw.w dīt dmi n.w tzy.w sbzyt iw nzy.w btzw itz.w*²⁷

They (the judges) caused their punishment to befall them (the conspirators) and their crimes seized them.

However, although the right to kill oneself rather than be killed has often been seen as a lighter punishment in western cultures²⁸, it is far from certain that this also applied to Egypt. Ancient Egyptian attitudes to suicide remain poorly understood²⁹, and indeed it has instead been argued that suicide was a harsher sentence, imposed on criminals deemed too bad to even be touched by executioners³⁰. The latter view holds that suicide also carried an extra psychological dimension, forcing convicts to condemn themselves mentally before transforming into the executioners of their own selves. Although it is impossible to say which interpretation is correct, the matter may be investigated further by considering the extent to which these suicides really were “forced”. The key phrase here is:

*iw.w wzh.f hr st.f iw.f mt n.f ds.f*³¹

They left him in his place and he killed himself.

This phrase describes the fate of each conspirator in List III, and a collective variant of it describes the combined fates of all those in List II. From this, it appears that the suicides were very much forced – after being left by the condemning court, all the convicts die without exception and seemingly without alternative. However, this pattern is then seemingly disrupted by a single case given in List V [see also fig.1]:

*iw.tw wzh.f bw iryt tzy r.f*³²

He was left. No act was done against him.

There are two possible interpretations of this. One is that this individual was given an opportunity to kill himself (denoted by “being left alone” – *wzh*), but chose not to. The other is that he was simply sentenced to a different punishment – and a possible alternative is indeed offered shortly before the clause above:

*iw.tw h3 m-dī.f m mdwt binw dri*³³

He was reprimanded thoroughly, with very severe words.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198, §4, 1.

²⁸ For a general treatment of attitudes to suicide, see A.A. LEENAARS, “Suicide and Human Rights: A Suicidologist’s Perspective”, *Health and Human Rights* 6/2, 2003, p. 128-148. For a case study in the emergence of favourable views towards suicide in a late modern society, see C. GOESCHEL, “Suicide at the End of the Third Reich”, *Journal of Contemporary History* 41/1, 2006, p. 153-173.

²⁹ A. MURRAY, *Suicide in the Middle Ages II. The Curse on Self-Murder*, Oxford, 2000, p. 585.

³⁰ P. GRANDET, *Ramsès III. Histoire d’un Règne*, Paris, 1993, p. 339.

³¹ A.J. PEDEN, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*, p. 206, §5, 7-10.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 208, §6: 6

³³ *Loc. cit.*

In view of this, the most likely explanation is that this particular convict was just sentenced to verbal punishment and nothing more, and so this is not evidence in favour of suicides being truly “voluntary”. However, this yields a stronger case for suicide being a lighter punishment than execution: the suicide convictions are almost identical in wording to the non-lethal conviction discussed above (both containing the verb *w3h* and the phrase *bw iryt t3y*), but are entirely different to the wording used for executions. This may mean that forced suicide was a mechanism for killing criminals deemed worthy of death, but not considered evil enough to actually be sentenced to death³⁴. This matches a legal formulation of a non-capital sentence, but a practical consequence of death.

Was concealing crime worse than committing crime?

In the light of the findings above, one can look again at the differences in punishment between those actively involved in the conspiracy (7 executed and 7 suicides) and those merely concealing knowledge of the facts (9 executions and 3 suicides). These figures suggest that suicide was less likely among the latter group. One potential explanation is that those directly involved were expecting a harsher sentence, and so were more likely to kill themselves on their own initiative, while those involved in concealment only had greater expectations of clemency, choosing not to kill themselves in an ultimately futile hope of avoiding death altogether. However, such a solution is largely unsatisfactory when the aforementioned textual evidence is considered: some criminals were left to kill themselves by court order, and others were executed by court order. Both appear to have been fully-fledged sentences in their own right. If so, suicide could indeed represent a milder punishment, which could mean that passively withholding information was a more serious offence than actually participating in the plot. Such a conclusion is difficult to explain – why would just knowing about a crime be worse than committing it? At this point, one must remember that the Turin Judicial Papyrus is exceptionally concise in describing the activities of the accused individuals, and thus may omit significant details³⁵. Decisions to execute or enforce suicide may have also been affected by other unrecorded considerations, such as prior status or any earlier indiscretions. However, the greater prevalence of executions among the passive non-informants must still be highlighted – even if for now it remains unclear why this should be so.

An extra punishment: renaming the wicked

Having discussed the physical punishments imposed on conspirators, one must not forget that some were punished in another way too: by having their names changed. Although these name changes have been highlighted before in a broader piece on Egyptian renaming practice³⁶, this did not feature a detailed analysis of the names themselves. The Turin Judicial Papyrus contains seven names unequivocally changed to display hatred:

³⁴ For more on the possible sacral aspects of the death sentence, see Y. KOENIG, “À propos de la conspiration du harem”, *BIFAO* 101, p. 296-302.

³⁵ The primary function of the may not even have been judicial, with sacral considerations potentially outweighing legal details. See especially *ibid.*, p. 296-302.

³⁶ G. POSENER, “Les Criminels Débaptisés et les Morts sans Nom”, *RdE* 5, 1946, p. 52-54. See also Y. KOENIG, “À propos de la conspiration du harem”, *BIFAO* 101, p. 300-301.

Name	Translation	Location in pap.	Level of guilt	Sentence
<i>P3y-b3k-k3mn</i>	This blind servant	1 st in List I	Actively involved	Executed
<i>Msd-sw-R^c</i>	Ra hates him	2 nd in List I	Actively involved	Executed
<i>P3-in-iwk</i>	The snake-demon ³⁷	3 rd in List I	Actively involved	Executed
<i>Bin-m-W3st</i>	Evil one in Thebes	16 th in List I	Actively involved	Executed
<i>P3-R^c-k3mn-f</i>	Ra blinds him	3 rd in List II	Actively involved	Suicide
<i>Š^cd-msdr-f</i>	His ear is cut off	6 th in List II	Actively involved	Suicide
<i>Pn-Hwy-bin</i> ³⁸	This evil Huy	Not indicted	Actively involved	Unknown

Fig.3. Summary of conspirators who underwent name change, alongside their level of guilt and sentence.

As can be seen, all these people were actively involved, rather than just guilty of concealing information. This may indicate that active involvement was, after all, seen as the worst of these two crimes. The fact that the first three criminals listed – who were perhaps the most active ringleaders – were all renamed in this way seems to support such an interpretation. However, this view is probably somewhat simplistic: after all, ten other conspirators are also listed as actively involved, but do not suffer such name changes. Moreover, the name changes seem to bear no clear correlation with the physical punishments – they could complement both execution and suicide. Finally, the very notion that such name changes were reserved for active participants only may not be as solid as first appears, especially when the following examples are considered:

Name	Translation	Location in pap.	Level of guilt	Sentence
<i>Sthy-m-pr-Dhwty</i>	Seth in Thoth’s temple	9 th in List I	Concealed awareness	Executed
<i>Sthy-m-pr-Imn</i>	Seth in Amun’s temple	10 th in List I	Concealed awareness	Executed

Fig.4. Conspirators bearing unusual Seth-names.

Although Seth is a common component in New Kingdom personal names³⁹, the names above are not among the conventional Seth-names attested elsewhere⁴⁰. Seen as very powerful and destructive, Seth-names usually have a second element associated with strength, and not with the temples of another god. Indeed, the presence of Seth inside a temple was often seen as very dangerous, to the extent that names mentioning Seth could be suppressed when written inside a temple⁴¹. Overall, it is therefore improbable that these conspirators received such names at birth. However, a name with the meaning of a destructive entity within a sacred space would probably be a good fit for a renamed criminal. Furthermore, Seth was also

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 53, suggests a probable connection to Apophis.

³⁸ Although mentioned as a conspirator in the indictment of another criminal in List I, *Pn-Hwy-bin* himself is not listed among the accused. In P. GRANDET, *Ramsès III. Histoire d’un Règne*, p. 340, this is seen as an accidental omission, but ultimately the reason for his absence is unknown. Perhaps he was already dead at the time of the trial.

³⁹ D. SCHORSCH, M.D. WYPYSKI, “Seth, ‘Figure of Mystery’”, *JARCE* 45, 2009, p. 184.

⁴⁰ H. TE VELDE, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of his Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*, Leiden, 1967, p. 135-138.

⁴¹ E. CRUZ-URIBE, “Seth, God of Power and Might”, *JARCE* 45, 2009, p. 203.

associated with Apophis⁴² – the destructive serpent-demon alluded to in one of the other changed names; *P3-în-îwk*. Unlike the previous seven, the two conspirators with these Seth-names were both guilty of concealing information rather than active involvement. This might imply that a more complex mechanism determined the name changes, and this is yet to be understood⁴³.

Finally, it should be noted that the absence of conspicuous markers of opprobrium in the names of the other criminals is not necessarily proof that they are unchanged. An analysis of several name changes in the Demotic Papyrus Dodgson concluded that names could be changed in more subtle ways⁴⁴. Most notably, references to protector gods might be removed if people were deemed unworthy of divine connections, but the resulting names would not necessarily sound offensive as a result. It is highly likely that such less noticeable name changes also occur in the Turin Judicial Papyrus – indeed, it is explicitly said that a conspirator referred to with the seemingly inoffensive name *Pn-t3-wrt* had previously used a different (unstated) name⁴⁵. Other conspirators with very simple given names, such as *P3y-îs* or *P3y-îry*⁴⁶, may also have undergone name changes. However, this is by no means universal, with names like *P3-t3w-m-di-Îmn* or *Îmn-h'î* belonging to conspirators facing the same charges⁴⁷, but nonetheless containing positive links to divinity indicative of original names⁴⁸. Overall, the only inference can therefore be that renaming was probably not limited to the examples tabulated above, but pinpointing all the extra changed names is exceptionally difficult.

Conclusion

Much of the findings above initially seem inconclusive. Other than the obvious inference that judges guilty of mishandling important cases were mutilated, few clear patterns emerge. Perhaps most strikingly, analysis of the noted penalties suggests that criminals convicted of failing to disclose information had a greater likelihood of execution than those actively involved in the conspiracy itself, who had a higher chance of suicide. There are three possible explanations here:

1. Non-disclosure was considered worse than direct involvement
2. Suicide was considered worse than execution
3. The available dataset withholds crucial information

It is impossible to know which one is correct. However, considering the gravity of the offences and the case-based common law approach characteristic of broader Egyptian

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 207; R.H. WILKINSON, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, New York, 2003, p. 198.

⁴³ In Y. KOENIG, “À propos de la conspiration du harem”, *BIFAO* 101, p. 300-302, it is suggested that the name changes may have transformed the conspirators from earthly criminals into rebels against the gods and cosmic order, thereby justifying the death penalty. However, this does not explain why a significant number of conspirators were apparently not renamed, while almost all were compelled to die.

⁴⁴ G. POSENER, “Les Criminels Débaptisés et les Morts sans Nom”, *RdE* 5, 1946, p. 53.

⁴⁵ A.J. PEDEN, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty*, p. 206-207.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 204-207.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 200-201, 206-207.

⁴⁸ J.A. WILSON, *Documents from the Practice of Law*, in J.B. Pritchard (ed.) *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (3rd edn.), Princeton, 1969, p. 216.

justice⁴⁹, it seems likely that individual circumstances would have played a part in determining each sentence. Unfortunately, the Turin Judicial Papyrus mentions these only very briefly. That said, one very important conclusion can be made notwithstanding all the ambiguities. This relates to the difference between execution and suicide: whereas the former was viewed as a punishment imposed externally, the latter was viewed as a punishment self-imposed by the individual, specifically without external intervention and in some ways resembling a non-capital verdict. This does not unequivocally prove that suicide was deemed a milder punishment, but it does give an important new insight into the poorly understood workings of the Egyptian death sentence. Put simply, how and by whom convicts were killed mattered. Details beyond this are currently elusive, but at least these findings provide a springboard for further research in this area.

A similarly tantalizing picture emerges with the name changes – while it is almost certainly no coincidence that the first three criminals mentioned display some of the harshest name changes, any further conclusions would descend into speculation. Further progress is also hindered by uncertainty over which names were, or were not, changed. Once again, it seems likely that name changes took into account other unrecorded factors, such as the previous name, status, and other deeds of each criminal. There may also have been important theological undertones here – and it is striking that five out of the nine changed names given in fig. 3 and 4 in some way represent enemies of Ra. Perhaps these names were meant to attract further supernatural justice, somehow intermeshing with and complementing the earthly penalties of execution or suicide. Whatever the case, the Turin Judicial Papyrus clearly points to a multi-faceted criminal justice system, punishing through both word and deed. It is hoped that future legal-Egyptological research may yet investigate these words and deeds in more depth.

⁴⁹ The key reference here remains E. SEIDL, *Einführung in die Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches*, Glückstadt, 1951. For more recent treatments, see R. JASNOW, “Egypt: New Kingdom”, in R. Westbrook (ed.), *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law*, Leiden, 2003, p. 289-359 ; and p. 4-6 in S. LIPPERT, *Law Courts*, in E. FROOD, W. WENDRICH (ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Los Angeles, 2012: <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002djg21>.