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BIFAO 91 (1992), p. 255-263

El-Hussein Zaghloul

An Agreement for Sale from the Reign of Ptolemy IX Sôter II in the Museum of Mallawi [avec 2 planches doubles].

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**AN AGREEMENT FOR SALE
FROM THE REIGN OF PTOLEMY IX SÔTER II
in the Museum of Mallawi ***

The group of seven papyri¹ in the Mallawi Museum discovered in Al-Kôm al-Ahmar Sawaris is probably all that survives of the archives of the priestly families who might have settled in the cemetery of the town of *Hwt-nsw* in the reign of the Ptolemies. They form a compact group dated from the end of the second century and the beginning of the first century B.C.².

The document published here for the first time is P. Mallawi inv. no. 602/7. It belongs to the period of the civil war between Cleopatra the Third (ruling with her son Ptolemy Alexander) and Ptolemy IX. It was acquired, like the rest of the collection, through the excavations conducted by the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation during the winter of 1976-1977³ in the necropolis of Al-Kôm al-Ahmar Sawaris, on the east bank of the Nile near Sharona in Middle Egypt. It was found in one of the subsidiary chambers of the Old Kingdom tomb of *G33/Mry*⁴.

This site is to be identified with the pharaonic centre of *Hwt-nsw* which was the metropolis of the XVIIIth nome of Upper Egypt (*'nty*). Some ruins of the Old Kingdom necropolis are still extant on the spot, and remains of the Middle and New Kingdoms have also been found there. The necropolis was still used in the Late Period, down to the Graeco-Roman times. Blocks in the archaeological area are inscribed with the

* My best thanks are due to my colleague Dr. Michel Chauveau who has read through my manuscript, and made many useful suggestions and corrections which I have included here.

1. Six of them are demotic documents, the seventh (inv. n° 602/8) is a Greek "tax receipt", according to Pr. A. Hanafy (Ain Shams University) who will publish it.

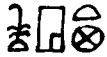
2. On the collection, see my paper: "Find of Demotic Documents in El-Kôm el-Ahmar Sawâris-Sharona", in *Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Papyrology*

II, Athens, 1988, p. 137-139. In this paper the collection is referred to as the Mallawi Papyri of Sharona.

3. Cf. *loc. cit.* Now the Tübingen University is continuing the excavations begun by the EAO; see the reports in *GM* 79, 1984, p. 73-84; 86, 1985, p. 55-68; 93, 1986, p. 65-83; 98, 1987, p. 23-43; 104, 1988, p. 53-70; 111, 1989, p. 7-18.

4. Cf. art. cited *supra*, n. 2; and compare F. Gomaà, "Bemerkungen zur Nekropole von El-Kôm el-Ahmar Sawâris", *WeltOr* 14, 1983, p. 137; J. Brinks *et al.*, *GM* 79, p. 80.

name of Ptolemy I Sôter and Ptolemy II Philadelphus⁵. The Mallawi papyri of Sharona now offer us glimpses of the community of the taricheuts of this town at the end of the ptolemaic period.

The name of the city, *Hw.t-nsw*, , which apparently means the “royal temple”, or the “residence of the king”, appears several times in our papyri⁶. The different graphies we encounter are :






I. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/6 :

 ;  (r° 2).

II. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/9⁷ :


 (r° 3);  (r° 4);  (r° 6).

III. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/10⁸ :

 (r° 3);  (r° 4);  (r° 5);
 (r° 12);  (r° 13).

IV. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/11 :

 (r° 2);  (r° 3);  (r° 5).

Curiously enough, the only site name we found in our papyrus must be read *Hw.t-nn-nsw* : . It is the well-known name of the great city of Herakleopolis

Magna, the capital of the XXth nome of Upper Egypt⁹. However, it seems unlikely that our text made reference to this big centre, some 60 km away to the north. We must therefore postulate that there was some kind of confusion between the names of the two towns. Such a confusion was suspected by Gardiner¹⁰, with very good reasons, in a sentence of the famous “Petition of Peteêsi” (P. dem. Ryl. IX, col. 13, l. 6), a sentence which Griffiths translated so : “Four stipends is that which is

5. Cf. *PM* IV, p. 125 sq.; Gomaà, *op. cit.*, p. 135-146; and the reports in *GM* cited *supra*, n. 3.

6. On the town, see *LÄ* III, col. 88 sq. It is noticeable that there are very few mentions of *Hw.t-nsw* in demotic documents except the Mallawi Pap.; cf. Chauveau, *Enchoria* 14, 1986, p. 29, n. 42.


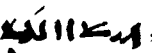
7. Ola el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 89, 1989, p. 89-92 and pl. XI.

8. *Id.*, *BIFAO* 88, 1988, p. 54 sq., 58 and pl. V.

9. On which see M.G. Mokhtar, *Ihnâsya el-Medina (Herakleopolis Magna)*, *BdE* XL, 1983.





10. *AEO* II, p. 108*.

given to the prophet of Hôr, lord of Hnês, and the prophet of Anûp, lord of Hartai”¹¹. As Gardiner pointed out, it is highly unlikely that Horus should have been the “Lord of Herakleopolis”, though his connection with *Hw·t-nsw* is well attested; we must then assume a scribal error and adopt the correction *Hw·t-^{nn}-nsw*. Such a confusion probably aroused here.


Dealing essentially with necropolis matters, the papyri of Sharona reveal few features about the topography of the town. Our papyrus mentions  a *Pr-Hw·t-Hr*, “temple of Hathor”, close to the tomb which is the object of the contract. This name also occurs in the P. Mallawi inv. no. 602/10 : , where the court of justice is said to be sitting in *Pr-Hw·t-Hr* of *Hw·t-nsw*¹². Nevertheless we cannot be sure that this *Pr-Hw·t-Hr*, apparently included in *Hw·t-nsw*, is identical with the *Pr-Hw·t-Hr nb·t ḥwy* “House of Hathor mistress of the two altars”, which is a well-known temple to the south of the XVIIIth nome¹³. There were also at least two different cemeteries : one of them is named *t3 ḥsy·t n t3 ḥy·t n ḥrš* (?), “the necropolis of the shrine of the (funerary or religious) service (?)”, and the other is known as the northern (?) necropolis of *Hw·t-nsw*, but the relationship and the whereabouts of these two cemeteries are of course unknown.

The predominant people in these necropoles were the entaphiasts or taricheuts whose main Egyptian title, *ḥtmw-ntr*¹⁴, is mentioned many times in the demotic documents from Sharona :



Papyrus Mallawi Inv. no. 602/1-5 :

 (r° 1, 1),  (r° 1, 19),  (r° 2, 1),  (r° 3, 1).

Papyrus Mallawi Inv. no. 602/6 :

 (r° 2).

Papyrus Mallawi Inv. no. 602/7 :

 (r° 1),  (r° 2).

11. *Cat. Dem. Pap. Ryl.* III, p. 90.



12. Ola el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 88, p. 54.

13. On which see A.H. Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 96*; *id.*, *P. Wilbour* III, p. 103; J. Vandier, *Pap. Jumilhac*, p. 50; P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte*



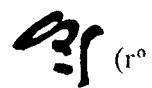
ancienne II, p. 177; W. Helck, *Die Altägyptischen Gaue*, 1974, p. 116. This temple hewn in the rock is still extant; cf. *PM* IV, p. 126 sq.

14. See *infra*, the commentary on our papyrus, s.v. *ḥtmw-ḥi* = *f-n-ntr* and *ḥtmw-ntr*.

Papyrus Mallawi Inv. no. 602/9 ¹⁵ :

 (r° 2),  (r° 3).

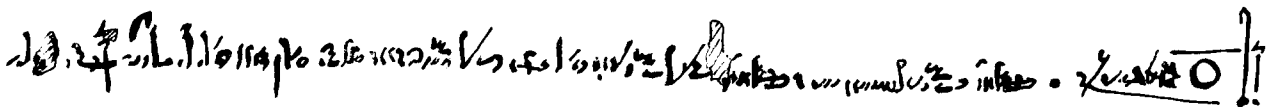
Papyrus Mallawi Inv. no. 602/11 :

 (r° 2),  (r° 3),  (r° 11).

Last, a word can be said about the divinities who were worshipped there according to our papyri. We have seen there were two occurrences of a *Pr-Hwt-Hr*, probably a temple dedicated to Hathor, at or very near *Hwt-nsw*. Besides, we encounter one single god who is labelled : “Horus son of Isis, lord of *Hwt-nsw*” in P. Mall. inv. no. 602/10 ¹⁶, and the onomastic data may confirm this fact : Horus is indeed included in most of the anthroponyms of our papyrus ¹⁷ : *Hr-pa-'Is-t*, *Hr*, *Hr-m-dr-t=f* (r° 2), *Hr-hy* (?), *Hr-Wn-nfr*, *Hr-wd* (r° 3), *Hr-'Iy-m-htp* (v° 1), *Hr-wr* (v° 6), *Hr-s3-'Is-t* (v° 8). We can remark there is only one anthroponym composed with the name of the chacal-god Anubis (*S3-'Inpw*, v° 5) which was the main divinity of the very near religious centre of Hardai (Cynopolis).

As for the resemblances between the demotic papyri of Sharona, one common feature worth to be noticed is the fact that the dating protocols are notably short, and not always very accurate. Not only the names of the eponymous priests are omitted — which is indeed not surprising for this period — but also their titles. It is interesting to compare the ways the different scribes of these documents wrote their protocols ¹⁸ :

I. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/1-5 :



II. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/6 :



15. Ola el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 89, p. 90 sq., and pl. XI.

16. *Id.*, *BIFAO* 88, p. 54. The same god appears in hieroglyphic inscriptions found on the site; cf. *GM* 93, p. 82, Abb. 2.

17. It must be also remembered that there

was a cemetery of mummified falcons in Al-Kôm al-Ahmar Sawaris; cf. *GM* 98, p. 36 sq.; *GM* 104, p. 59 sq.

18. For the protocols of P. Mall. inv. n° 602/9 and 602/10, cf. Ola el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 88, p. 53 sq.; *id.*, *BIFAO* 89, p. 90 and 92 sq.

III. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/7 :

IV. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/11 :

I. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/1-5¹⁹ :

*h̄t-sp 2-t ibd-3 šmw sw 29 n Pr-ʿ Ptlwm̄ys irm t̄ Pr-ʿt K̄lwptr̄-t mtw=w dd n=s
Trwphyn̄-t n̄ ntr-w mr-it=w mr-sn r-h̄ n̄ nty n R̄-kd*

II. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/6 :

*h̄t-sp 2[3] tpy h̄t sw 13 n Pr-ʿ Ptlwm̄ys nty iw=w dd n=f r̄ksntrs irm n̄ nty
iw=w sh̄ n-im=w (n) R̄-kd*

III. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/7 :

*h̄t-sp 16 tpy pr-t sw 2 n Pr-ʿ Ptlm̄ys p̄ ntr nty nh̄m irm n̄ nty iw=w sh̄ n-im=w
n R̄-kd*

IV. P. Mall. inv. no. 602/11²⁰ :

*h̄t-sp 8-t ibd-4 šmw sw 14 n t̄ Pr-ʿt K̄lwptr̄ ir̄m̄ Ptlw̄ms̄ p̄y<—s ?> šr irm Pr-ʿ
Ptlwms̄ n̄ ntr-w mn̄h̄w (sic)*

P. MALLAWI INV. No. 602/7

The present papyrus is of light brown colour and in good condition, with only slight breaks on the left side. It is split vertically and horizontally into three pieces, but it is clear that these join. The three pieces together measure 36 × 28.5 cm. That the papyrus was cut from a longer piece is shown by the edges on each side. The text is almost complete and well contrasted, but the hand is somewhat irregular and not very skilled, so the reading is sometimes difficult.

19. Cf. Zaghloul, *OrAnt* 25, 1986, p. 129. This important document will be published by Dr. Soad Sayed Abd el-Âl (Cairo University).

20. Cf. *id.*, in *Proceedings of the XVIIIth*

International Congress of Papyrology II, Athens, 1988, p. 139, but the date given there must be corrected; cf. in the present issue Chauveau, « Un été 145 — *post-scriptum* », p. 129 sq.

The text is a contract belonging to a type known in demotic studies as *sh n db3-hd*, “money document”²¹. It records a declaration made by a funerary priest named *Hr-pa-'Is-t* son of *Dhwti-iw*, together with his own son, *Dhwti-iw* (= party A), to another priest called *Hr* son of *Hr-m-dr-t=f* (= party B), concerning the sale of the stipends of a tomb located in the necropolis of *Hw-t-nsu*. On the back of the papyrus are the signatures of eight witnesses, preserved in whole or part, as usual.

Recto :

- 1) *H-t-sp 16 tpy pr-t sw 2 n Pr-3 Ptlmys p3 ntr nty nhm irm n3 nty 'iw=w' sh 'n-im=w' n R'-kd (a) dd [rmt] hr-ntr (b) htmw-'h=f-n-ntr (c) n t3 h3sy-t (d) n t3 'hy-t (e) n r3 (f)*
- 2) *H[r-pa-'I]s-t (g) s3 Dhwti-iw mw=t(=f) 'Is-t-wr-t hn' mi-nn (h) Dhwti-iw s3 Hr-pa-'Is-t mw-t(=f) Krs3s p3y=f sr r s 2 iw=w dd (n) w' r3 n rmt hr-ntr htmw-ntr (i) [n t3] h3sy-t n pr-mh-t (j) n Hw-t-nn-nsu (k) Hr s3 Hr-m-dr-t=f (l)*
- 3) *mw-t(=f) [T3-sr-t-n]-p3-Sy di=k mtr h3-t=n (n) <p3 hd> (m) (n) p3 s'nh n p3 'wy n Hr-hy (?) s3 Hr-Wn-nfr s3 P3-htr n Hr-wd3 (n) n (?) [...] hr (?) Pr-Hw-t-Hr (o) r p3 myt hn' n3y=w hm-t-t-w (p) n3y=w*
- 4) *{n3y=w} hrd-t-w n t3y h3-t-sp 16 r hry s' (q) dt r n3y=k hrd-t-w n-m-s3 n3y=w hrd-t-w r n3 hrd-t-w n3y=k hrd-t-w n-m-s3 n3 hrd-t-w n3y=w hrd-t-w (r) mtw=k p3 sty (s) r bdt 'k (?) n3y=w [...]*
- 5) *[...] mh3w (t) r-di=n n=k r-db3 hd mtw=k s-t di=n s n=k r-db3 hd di=n wwy-t-k (u) r-r=k n-im=w mn mtw=n md nb p3 t3 n-im=k n rn=w n-t3y p3 hrw r-hry p3 nty mtw=f 'iy'*
- 6) *r-r=k r-db3=w iw=n di-t wy=f r-r=k mtw=n di-t w'b=w n=k r md nb p3 t3 n htr iwty mn mi-nn (v) iw=n iy r-r=k r-db3=w hn' sh nb p3 t3 n rn=n iw=n r di-t hd 4000*
- 7) *t3y=w p3-t hd 2000 r hd 4000 'n r n3 gll-w n3 wtn-w n n3 Pr-3<w> n htr iwty mn iw=k m-s3=n 'n r di-t ir=n r-h-t md nb nty hry p3 bnr p3 hr (w) nty hry mtw=n di-t <s> r-db3-*
- 8) *n=k (sic) [...] n htr iwty mn sh Dhwti-i-ir-di-t-s s3 Sm3-t3-wy*

Verso :

- 1) *Hr-'Iy-m-htp (s3) Hr ...*
- 2) *'nh-Mr-wr (?) (s3) Dd-hr*
- 3) *Hr-... (s3) [...]-iw*
- 4) *Hr (?) -... (s3) ...*
- 5) *S3-'Inpw (s3) Pa-B3st-t (x)*
- 6) *Hr-... (s3) Hr-wr*
- 7) *Twtw (s3) Pa-n3-ht-w*
- 8) *'nh-Mr-wr (?) (s3) Hr-s3-'Is-t*



21. See E. Seidl, *Ptolem. Rechtsgesch.*, 1962, p. 51, 118-122, 173 sq.; K.Th. Zauzich, *Schreibertradition*, 1968, p. 129-149.

TRANSLATION — *Recto* :

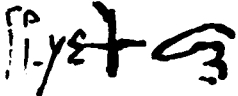
- 1) Regnal year 16, Tybi, second day, of King Ptolemy the god who saves, with those who are recorded in Rakotis (= Alexandria) (a). Hath declared the man of the necropolis (b), the *h̄tmw-ḥʿ=f-n-ntr* (c) of the necropolis (d) of “the chapel (e) of the funerary service (?) (f)”,
- 2) *H[r-pa-ʿ]s·t* (g), son of *Dḥwty-iw*, his mother being *ʿIs-t-wr-t*, and the similarly titled (h) *Dḥwty-iw* son of *Hr-pa-ʿIs·t*, his mother being *Krs̄s*, his son, (they) being two men speaking with one voice, to the man of the necropolis, the *h̄tmw-ntr* (i) of the northern (j) necropolis of *Hw·t-nn-nsw* (k), *Hr*, son of *Hr-m-dr·t=f* (l),
- 3) his mother [being *T̄s̄-r·t-n-]p̄s̄-šy* : thou hast satisfied our heart (with) <the silver> (m) (for) the endowment of the tomb of *Hr-ḥy* (?), son of *Hr-Wn-nfr*, son of *P̄s̄-ḥtr*, (and?) of *Hr-wḏ̄s̄* (n) ... [which is?] on (?) *Pr-Hw·t-Hr* (o), besides the path, (together) with their spouses (p), their
- 4) children from the regnal year 16 aforesaid for (q) ever, while thy children are after their children, and the children of thy children are after the children of their children (r). Thine are the stipend (s) consisting of emmer, bread, their (?) [...]
- 5) [from their?] familie(s) (t), which we have sold to thee (lit. “which we have given to thee on the account of the money”). We are far (u) from thee concerning them. We have nothing in the world respecting thee in their name from to-day onwards. He who will [come]
- 6) unto thee because of them, we shall cause him to remove from thee, and we shall purge them for thee from every claim in the world instantly, without a delay. Likewise (v), if we shall come unto thee because of them, with any document in the world in our name, we shall give 4000 (deben) of silver,
- 7) their half being 2000 (deben) of silver, which makes 4000 (deben) of silver again, to the burnt-offerings and the libations of the kings, instantly, without a delay, while thou shalt be after us again to cause that we act according to every word which is (mentioned) above, besides the penalty (w) which is (mentioned) above and which we shall give because of
- 8) thee [...], instantly, without a delay. Written by *Dḥwty-i·ir-di·t-s*, son of *Sm̄s̄-t̄s̄·wy*.

COMMENTARY

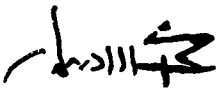
(a) *ḥ̄s̄-t-sp* 16 ... *R̄-kt* : for this dating protocole, see in *BIFAO* 92, M. Chauveau, « Du nouveau sur le front ... ». The document dates back to the 17th of January 101 B.C.


(b) [*rmt*] *hr-ntr* : this sequence is restored from the parallel in l. 2 *infra* :  ; it is here supplemented with a determinative  which is omitted in the other occurrence, the same sign being used also as a determinative for some personal names : *Hr-ḥy* (?), *P̄s̄-ḥtr* (l. 3). This title is unknown to me, though Erichsen,


Dem. Gloss., p. 247 and 386, mentions the expression *rmt hr ntr* which he translates “Gottesangehöriger”. The sequence *rmt hrt ntr* is found also in P. Louvre E 3229, 2, 11 and 19. (Cf. J. Johnson, *Enchoria* 7, 1977, p. 60, 67 and 78), but it denotes there a dead man. Is there any connection with the title *hr(t)-ntr*, “stone-mason”, P. Ryl. IX, col. 18, l. 15-16 (Griffith, *Cat. Dem. Pap. Ryl.* III, p. 381), which may have denoted at first a category of employees in the necropolis (cf. *Wb* III, 394)?

- (c)  *htmw-h' = f-n-ntr* : “sealer (i.e. “entaphiast” or “taricheut”)

who attends to the god”, with a Middle-Egyptian construction of the relative after a non-defined antecedent. For the meaning of *h' n*, cf. *Wb* I, 218, 11; P. Vernus, *RdE* 30, 1978, p. 125; Crum, *Copt. Dict.*, p. 537 a (ⲙⲁⲉ ⲛ). This whole sequence as a title seems new to me, but the meaning must not be very different from the one of the more used *htmw-ntr* (as we found here in l. 2), or the *htmw-ntr wyt* known in the Hawara archive (see E. Reymond, *Embalmer's Archives*, p. 23-29). For the *htmw-ntr*, see G. Vittmann in *LÄ* VI, col. 232-236, s.v. “Taricheut”.

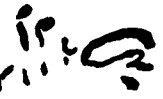
- (d)  *h3sy-t* “necropolis” : for the writing, compare P. Mall. inv. no. 602/9, l. 3-4 (cf. Ola el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 89, 1989, p. 93, n. c).

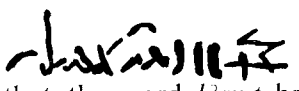
- (e)  *hy-t* : for the reading, compare, P. Louvre 3266, 6 (Fr. de Cenival, *BIFAO* 71, 1971, p. 54); cf. also P. Erbach 1, 7 : *h'*. For the meaning, see P. Gallo, « A proposito del termine demotico *hy-t* e dell'eventuale corrispondenza greca *ἱβιῶν* », *EVO* 9, 1986, p. 45-48; A. Egberts, *Enchoria* 15, 1987, p. 25 sq.

- (f)  *rs* : if the reading is right, the word must be identified with *rš*, “Kultdienst”; cf. Erichsen, *Dem. Gloss.*, p. 66.


- (g) *H[r-p3-T]s:t* : the restitution is certain from the patronyme of his son on the same line.

- (h) *mi-nn* : cf. P.W. Pestman, *OMRO* 44, p. 14.

- (i)  *htmw-ntr* : the writing seems abnormal, *ntr* being usually anteposed to *htmw*. Further, there is an extra-sign between *htmw* and *ntr*. Is this intended to be a determinative like the one after *rmt-hr-ntr* at the preceding line, or is this the article *p3* before *ntr*?


- (j)  *h3sy-t n pr-mh-t (?)* “necropolis of the north (?)” : notice that the word *h3sy-t* has only the house-determinative here.

- (k) *Hwt-t-nn-nsw* : for the reading and the identification with *Hwt-t-nsw*, cf. *supra*, p. 256.


(l)  *Hr-m-dr.t=f* : this is an unetymological writing of *Hr-nd-ṯ=f*; cf. J. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, 1976, p. 75, n. a.

(m) *p³ ḥd* is obviously omitted; it is probably a copist error aroused through a leap from the article of *ḥd* to the one of *s'nh*.

(n) *n Hr-wd³* : the meaning of the preposition *n* is not clear here. It is unlikely that it could have been an error for *s³*, “son”. Probably it links the name with *p³ 'wy*, Horudja being a further occupant of the tomb unrelated to the former. For the reading *Hr-wd³*, compare P. Mall. inv. no. 602/10, l. 3 (cf. Ola el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 88, 1988, p. 54).


(o) *hr (?) Pr-Ḥw.t-Hr* : unhappily, the lacuna prevents us from knowing exactly where the tomb in question was situated in connection with this *Pr-Ḥw.t-Hr*. The reading of the preceding sign  as *hr* is not quite obvious, but the article *p³* seems unlikely.

(p) *n³y=w ḥmt.t.w* : the *t* is superfluous, maybe the scribe had in mind the word *ḥrd.t.w* which appears many times in the next line.

(q) *š'* : notice the very unusual presence of a determinative : .


(r) *r n³y=k ḥrd.t.w n.m-s³ n³y=w ḥrd.t.w*, etc. : the meaning is that the stipend sold is transmissible to the heirs who will inherit the same rights with respect to the children and the grand-children of the deceased ones who are actually in the tomb. A similarly constructed sentence occurs in P. Phil. 5, 9 (El-Amir, *Family Archive*, p. 23) : *iw n³y=k ḥrd.t.w n.m-s³ n³y(=y) ḥrd.t.w iw n³ ḥrd.t.w n n³y=k ḥrd.t.w n.m-s³ n³ ḥrd.t.w n n³y(=y) ḥrd.t.w*. On the inheritance rights of the children, cf. E. Seidl, *Ptolemaïsche Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 178 sq.

(s) *šty* : for the meaning and the Greek equivalents, cf. E. Reymond, *op. cit.*, p. 31 sq. Notice it is here exceptionally in the singular.

(t) *mh³w* : though the determinative  is not relevant, it is probably the word *mh³w* “family” (Erichsen, *Dem. Gloss.*, p. 171). If so, the remaining traces may suggest the restitution *m-[dr.t n³y=]w mh³w*, “(coming) from their familie(s)”.

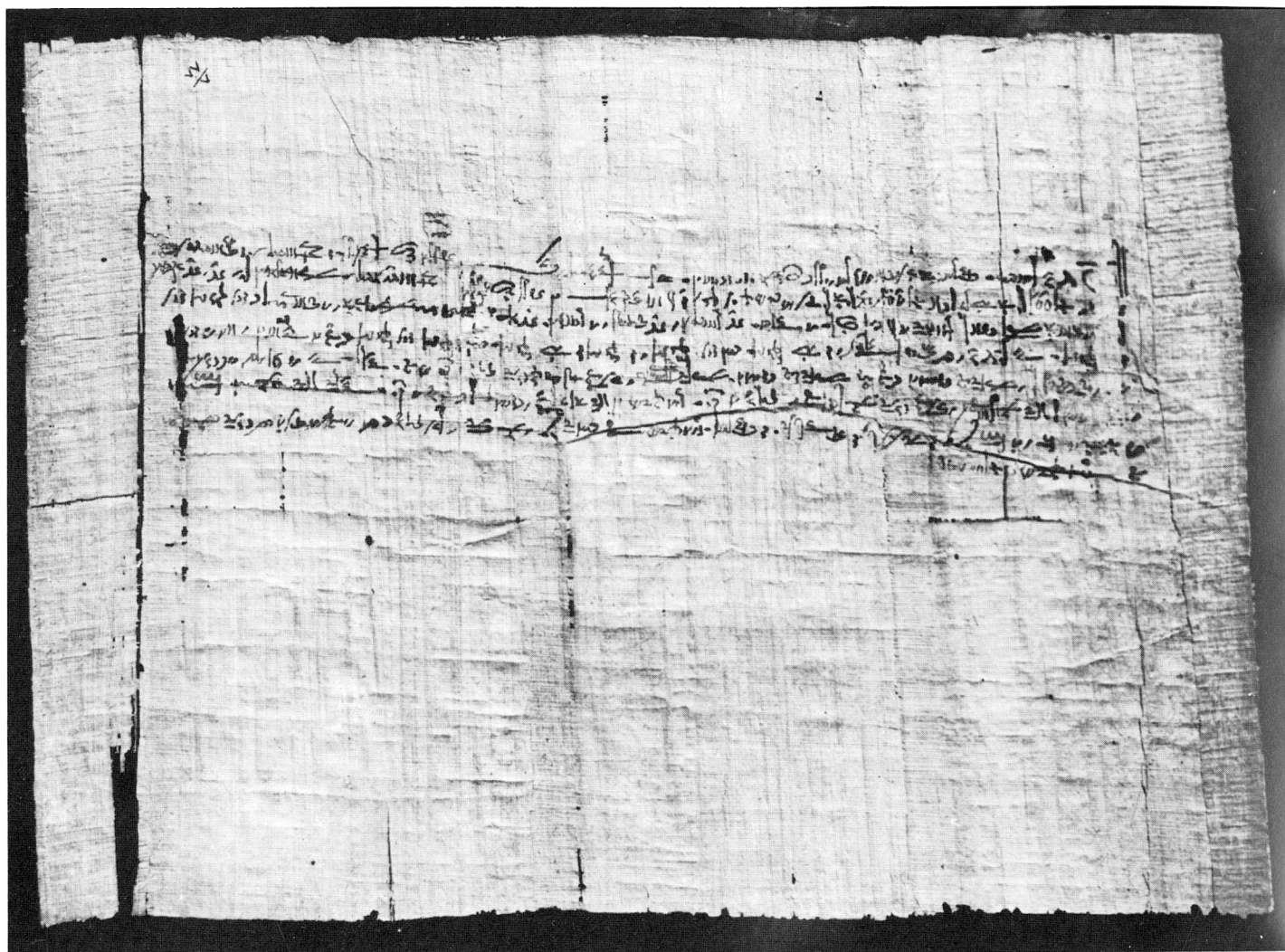
(u) Curiously enough the qualitative of *wy* is marked both by the reiteration of the initial *w*, and by a double (!) ending : *.t* and *.k(wy)*.

(v) *mi-nn* : for the use of *mi-nn* with the meaning “likewise”, “as before”, see R. Jasnow, *Enchoria* 11, 1981, p. 28-30.

(w)  *hr* : read *hl* on which see Erichsen, *Dem. Gloss.*, p. 395.

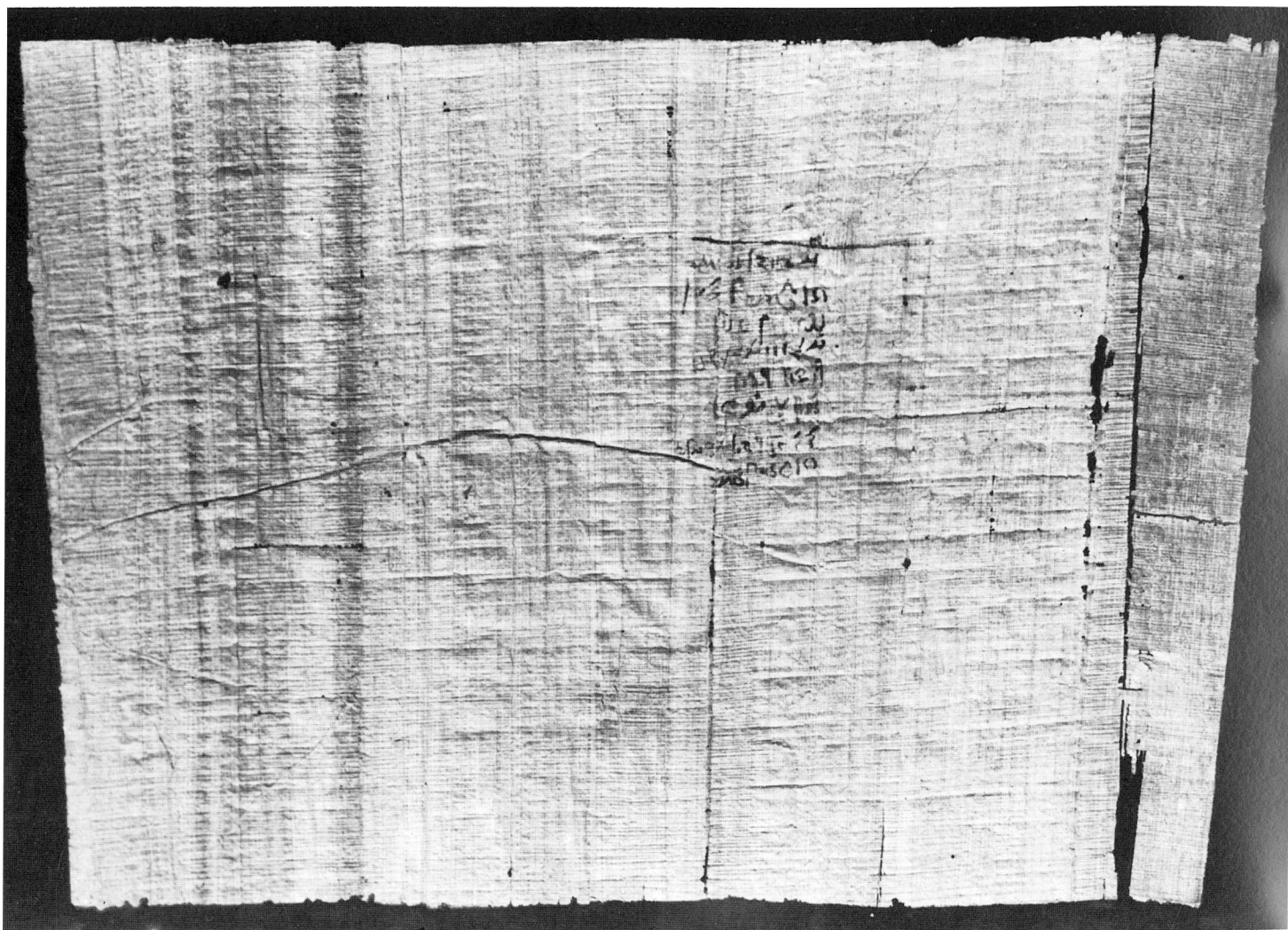
(x) *Pa-B³st.t* : the reading *B³st.t* is not assured, because the writing is blotted; instead *Dḥwty* is also possible.

PAPYRUS MALLAWI. Inv. no. 602/7



Recto.

PAPYRUS MALLAWI. Inv. no. 602/7



Verso.