# Smntyw "Prospectors" in the Middle Kingdom of Egypt

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## **Abstract**

The aim of this paper is to highlight the gang of the smnt(yw) or "prospectors" who were mainly commissioned to search for gemstones, minerals, and precious metals, such as gold and silver. The present study deals with archival texts in the Middle Kingdom and the relevant titles showed the role of the gang of the smnt(yw) or "prospectors" in the ancient Egyptian economy. These individuals played an important role in the expeditions sent to Nubia and the gold mines in the Eastern Desert. The study illustrated the social rank of the smnt(yw) in ancient Egyptian society. It also discussed the wages of the foremen of smnt(yw) and the gangs of workers. Moreover, it sets forth the economic status and the social rank of the smnt(yw) in ancient Egypt in an attempt to highlight the role of the prospectors in ancient Egyptian society at the time.

**Keywords:** Prospector, Inspector, Administration, Gold, Precious Stones, Wages

#### 1- Introduction

Ancient Egyptian kings sent mining expeditions since the Early Dynastic Period. For example, King Wadji of the First Dynasty sent an expedition to the Eastern Desert to bring gold according to a rock inscription at Wdi Abbad (Gundlach,R.,1977,col.1155). The Egyptian expeditions were supervised by prominent officials. They included some specialized phyles from the workforce whose activities related to minerals, such as gold and silver, or with the semi-precious stones. For instance, the phyle of Ikyw Quarrymen had special training in cutting galleries for stone extraction and *Msw-c3t* stone cutters who had special skills in the extraction and refinement of gemstones] (Darnell,C., 2013,p.805). Ikyw and *Msw-c3t* participated in mining expeditions in Gebel El- Asr according to the stela of Cairo Museum no. JE59499 dating back to the time of Amenemhat III, which described an expedition to Gebel El- Asr in Lower Nubia to bring *limnt* stone

under the leadership of Dedusobek and his father Sabastet (Darnell, C.& (Manassa, C., 2013, p.61).

*smnty*(*w*) prospectors had various tasks. They participated in mining expeditions to search for gold and silver. They also took part in building activities and played an important role in the Egyptian external trade with Pwnt.

With the rise of the Old Kingdom in Egypt, there was enough evidence that the *smnty(w)* phyle accompanied commercial and mining expeditions to Nubia and other desert mining regions in the Eastern Desert (Yoyotte , J., 1975,p.48.). The oldest attestation of the term *Smnty* dates back to the Early Dynastic Period of Egypt as it appeared on a seal impression from Abydos dating back to the Second Dynasty, Fig. (1). This impression bears the Horus name of the king Skhem-ib(Petrie, W.M.F.,vol,II, 1901,pl.20,no.171), (the sixth king of the Second Dynasty) ] (Leprohon, R. J., 2013,p.29),together with the title *smntyw* (Petrie, W.M.F., 1901,pl.20,no.171). The text reads

Shm {ib} "Skhm-ib"

 ${Imy-} r smntyw$ 

"overseer of prospectors"



Fig. (1): A seal impression from Abydos, the Second Dynasty (after Petrie, W.M.F., vol,II, 1901,pl.20,no.171).

# 2-The Meaning of the Term Smnty and its Related Titles

According to *Wb*, the term smnty means "informant or searcher" from the territory of incense as shown in the texts of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty (Erman, A., & Grappow,H.,Vol,4, 1982,s.135,18.) .While Hanig translates the same term as "explorer" or as a "searcher for gold" (Hannig, R., 1995,s.707)., Lesko recognizes it as the "prospector of gold" (Lesko , L.H., vol,II, 2004,p. 43), Faulkner argues that *smnty* means a "messenger" (Faulkner , R.O. , 1976,p.228).

The term *Smnty* usually ends with some determinatives, e.g., the sign that is represented by the oldest determinative attached to the word and appears as a seated man holding a bundle (Yoyotte, J., 1975,p.45). It is also attached with some signs since the Old Kingdom, e.g. that represents a linen sac. It was used as a determinative of the word *sšr* "cloth or linen" (Gardiner, A.H., 1975,p.526,V.33). This sign was depicted in a scene of weighting and receiving the gold in the Tomb of Pahery, the mayor of El-kab in the reign of King Thutmose III. Noticeably, the gold rings appear in heaps in the upper and the lower row in addition to three sacs that might be filled with metal (Tylor,J.J & Griffith,F., 1894,pl.3).. In Fig. (2), the caption reads

šsp nbw in hryw Kwrw llllll "receiving gold by the chiefs of gold miners"

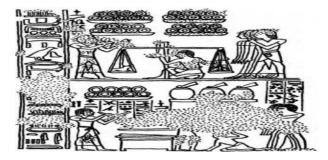


Fig (2): Weighting and receiving gold in the Tomb of Pahery, the mayor of El.kab (after (Tylor,J.J & Griffith,F., 1894,pl.3)

It is noticed also that the sign joined with the term *smnty* refers to three hills. It comes as a determinative for the word *smt* that means a desert(Gardiner, A.H., 1975). It might be used to signify the activities of *smnty* at the desert, but the

determinative how was joined by the term since the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Erman, A., & Grappow, H., 1982 s.135,18), representing a man with a stick upon his shoulder ended with a linen sac(Gardiner, A.H., 1975,p,445,A.33).

The title Imy-r *hprw skw* smntyw "the overseer of the managers of gangs was recorded in the archival sources in the Second Dynasty. of explorers" (Zaba,Z., 1974,P.225), a good example of this title was found in Wadi Barramia rock Graffito no. A1 attributed to Hesy-min, dating back to the Old Kingdom (Dynasties 6-8). According to Zaba, the text reads

Imy-r hrp(w) skw smnty(w) sšmw w3wt nfrt Ḥsy-mnw

"The overseer of the managers of the gangs of explorers, one who guides to the good routes Hesy-min" (Rothe, R.D., & Miller, W.K.& Rapp, G., 2008,P.178) on the other hand". Espienl reads the title *Imy-r hrp(w) skw smnty(w)* as imy-r *is smnty(w)* "the overseer of the gang of explorers" (Espinel, A.D., 2014, p.35).

One of the titles related to the chiefs of the prospectors is the title

imy-r s3 n smntyw "the chief of a phyle of prospectors". The title was attested in the late Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period and was related to the expeditionary activities in the Eastern Desert(Yoyotte, J., 1975,p.48

Cheverau,p., M. 1987,p.17,no.23). imy-r sr(w) smnt(yw)"the overseer of the officials of prospectors"(Jones.D., 2000,230,no.851) was another title that appeared in the late Old Kingdom concerning the rock inscriptions in Wadi El Hamamat (Goyon,G., 1957,p.74,no.49).and Lower Nubia (Lopez,J.,

1966,p.53,no.27).,such as *Nfri nfr* at Lower Nubia(Goyon,G., 1957,p.74,no.49),

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There were also directors and inspectors of the prospectors in the Old Kingdom, such as was attested and associated with silver on a rock inscription no.12 of *Whm-K3* in Wadi El Hamamat dating back to the Old Kingdom (Goyon,G., 1957,p.50,no.12&Espinel,A.D., 2014,p.32).

On the contrary, other titles were associated with low-ranking officials in the Old Kingdom, including assistants and scribes, e.g. imy-ht smnt(yw)" who was under the supervision of prospectors" and the office  $\frac{1}{2}$  where  $\frac{1}{2}$  where  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  where  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1}{2}$  and  $\frac{1}{2}$  are  $\frac{1$ smntyw "assistant of the explorers" (Jones.D., 2000,p.779,no.2842). The title is well known from a seal impression dating back to the reign of Re-neb in the Second Dynasty (Kaplony, P., 1981, pl. 134, no. 147).. In addition, the title of the office sš smntyw "scribe of the prospectors" was discovered in the Old Kingdom the rock inscriptions of Dakke in Lower Nubia (Hintze, Von&Reineke, W.F., 1989, no. 597), such as Ti K3 (Old Kingdom) (Goyon, G., 1957,p.49,no.10)and *Hnw*, *Htpw* (the reign of Sahure) (Eichler, E., 1993,p.190).

The above-mentioned titles give allude to an administrative organization of the gang of *smntyw* (Engel,E., 2013,p.33)that has been confirmed by discovering a vase under the Step Pyramid in Saqqara bearing the expression"the *pr smnt(yw)* administration of prospectors" (Lacau,P.,&Lauer,Ph.,1965,p.56,fig.82a,c). In the Old Kingdom, most of the references to the *smnt (yw)* were inscriptions that belonged to the most eminent members of this group who were the "chiefs of the prospectors" (Espinel,A.D.,2014,p.29-34).

# 3- smnt (yw) in Archival Texts in the Middle Kingdom Period

Despite the further occurrence of the inscriptions of *smntyw* associated with the chiefs, we came across a reference to the lower-rank persons of this group in the Middle Kingdom. This is true of the twin stela of *Ḥ<sup>c</sup>py* and *S3-Imn* (fig. 3), which belongs to two ordinary members of the gang of prospectors. This limestone stela, which was sold in London in 1948, comes from unknown provenance and its place of preservation remains unknown. It dates back to the reign of King Montuhotep (Neb-hebt-re) (Waser,G.H.,Zurich,A.G.,1978, p.149). in the Eleventh Dynasty. Thus, it constitutes the earliest known reference to the *smnt* (*yw*) in the Middle Kingdom. The stela is divided into two sections. In each section, a person seated at an offerings-table is depicted. The upper part is dedicated to someone called H<sup>c</sup>pi [a] The text reads

htp di nsw (n) Wsir nb 'nh-t3wy

n k3 n smnty Ḥ̄'py iry n Itṭw m3'-ḥrw

"An offering which the king gives (to) Wsir, the lord of the life of two lands, to the ka of the prospector  $H^cpy$ , justified".

In the lower half of the stela, the second member of prospectors *S3-Imn* is depicted. [b] The caption in front of him reads

htp di nsw Imn-R' nsw-bity (Mntw-htp),nsw-bity (Nb-hpt-R')

ntrw nbw {w3st} di .f krst nfrt m st imntt n K3 n

smnty S3-Imn m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw

"An offering which the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (*Mntw-htp*), the King of Upper and Lower Egypt (*Nb-hpt-R<sup>c</sup>*) and all gods of Thebes give. He may grant a beautiful burial in the Necropolis to the *ka* of the prospector *S3-Imn*, justified".



Fig. (3): A limestone stela of two prospectors dating back to the reign of King Montuhotep (Neb-hebt-re) ( *after* Waser, G.H., Zurich, A.G., 1978, p.155)

In the above-mentioned stela, each of the two persons is referred to as *smnty* "prospector", which means that he was no more than a normal member of this gang. In addition, both prospectors are represented and described in the inscription as *m3<sup>c</sup>-brw* "justified or deceased". Therefore, the text undoubtedly dates back to the reign of Montuhotep (Neb-hebt-re). These two prospectors are deemed to serve in the late First Intermediate Period and the early Eleventh Dynasty until the reign of Montuhotep (Neb-hebt-re) himself when they passed away(Cassirer,M.1952,PP.42-43).

It is noticed that the stela is associated with two owners. Consequently, it might refer to the twin burial to them. It suggests the rank of the ordinary workers as they couldn't erect a tomb and established a twin burial. They were buried together. This finding may be because they were normal members of prospectors or because the prospectors as a group had a low rank. Moreover, the use of one stela for both persons was not common in Ancient Egypt. Baines listed two cases for using one stela. The first case is in Abydos and dates back to the Middle Kingdom. It was attributed to two women named Sat-Amun bearing the same title (his beloved daughter). The second case is in Thebes. It is kept at the Britsh Museum no.EA.826. It was assigned to two brothers Hor and Suty, holding the same title (an overseer of the works in the southern city (Baines, J., 1985, pp.461-482).

With the rise of the reign of King Sesostris I in the Twelfth Dynasty, some other references were introduced to the gang of prospectors from Lower Nubia and Wadi

El-Hammat, respectively. These references are the Lower Nubia inscription no. 53 and the Wadi El-Hammat no. 64. Inscription no. 53 in Lower Nubia dates back to the 7<sup>th</sup> regnal year of King Sesostris I. The text reads

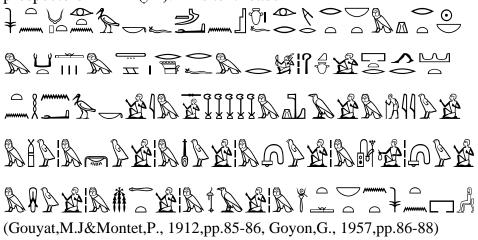
*Ibs s3 Idi s3 Ibs ḥry sp3t//////Ddw-Ḥnmw ii//////smntyw/////* 

 $phr \{.n.i\}$  m h3t-sp 7 3bd,1  $prt hd .n.i hn^c smntyw$ 

nn h3 (.i)nn in (.i)smntyw m t3 Nhsy

"Ibes the son of Idi the son of Ibes who was in the Nome///////Ddw-chnmw, I brought \\\\\\propoonup prospectors and went around in the regnal year 7, the first month of the winter season, with prospectors, I will not fight and I will not bring prospectors from the Land of Nubia" (Ibsomer,C.,1995,p.653). The text might refer to a mining expedition, especially of cutting in Wadi El-Hammat.

Some years later, another inscription was engraved on the rocks of Wadi El-Hammat, i.e., no. 64. It dates back to the 16<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Sesostris I and constitutes a further attestation of the prospectors from his reign (Seyfried,K.,1981,s.263). It remarkably includes a reference to the scribe of prospectors *sš smnt(yw)*. This text reads



Wpt-nsw irt (i) n b3k f m3<sup>c</sup> n st ib.f irr(w) mrrt nbt m hrt hrw nt r<sup>c</sup>n b imy-r k3wtm t3 m dr f imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> hk3-ib prt r h3st tn hn t03k im s 5000 m hrtyw-ntr m ikyw m

'prw m nbww m nfrw m htmw m sš smnt(yw) htmw m tbw m msw-3t m hmwtywm i3t nbt nt pr-nsw.

"The royal mission has been done by his true servant, his trust one, who makes all what he loves in the course of every day in the entire Land. The overseer of the army, *Heqa-ib* went to this desert with this servant, 5000 men from necropolisworkers, quarrymen, and a crew from goldsmiths, recruits, seal bearers, scribes of the prospectors, seal bearers, sandal-makers, prospectors, craftsmen, and from every office of the palace".

The aforementioned text indicates the participation of an ordinary member of the prospectors and the scribe of the prospectors to count and weigh precious minerals, such as gold mainly because the royal mission involved the crew of goldsmiths.

The term *smnt*(*yw*) in the Middle Kingdom was recorded on the rock inscription no. 211, which was assigned to Khsbed who was a prospector of minerals and precious stones. The text reads



(h3t-sp) 28 smnty n Wnt [c] Hsbd msy n Htp-tw m3c-hrw nb im3h

"(year) 28 the prospector of Hare Nome Khsbed the son of Heteptw justified, the revered one"

The text involves the title *smnty n Wnt* "prospector of Hare Nome", which was attested since the Middle Kingdom (Ward,W.K.,1982,p.151,no.1298a& Leprohon, R., 1993,p.432).. It might be used to designate professional workers specialized in searching for precious stones and minerals from the 15<sup>th</sup> Nome of Upper Egypt. Moreover, some terms were related to wnt, such as <u>d3mw n h3wty n Wnw d3mw</u> troops of warriors of Hare Nome", which was used to denote professional fighters levied from Hare Nome (Newberry,P.,1898,p.21). On the contrary, some rock

inscriptions dating back to the Middle Kingdom involved the title in Lower Nubia, such as

"prospector Ddw" (Hintze, Von & Reineke, W.F., 1989, s.41, Nr.78).

smnty Wsr"prospector Wesr" (Hintze, Von&Reineke, W.F., 1989, s.51, Nr.137).

## 4-Discussion

It is noticed that the expeditions sent to the mines and quarries included some professional groups, such as *Smntyw* "prospectors" and *ikyw* "quarrymen", They might receive special training (Katary,S., 2011-12,pp.138-139). Thus, Vercoutter suggested that the latter were working as stone cutters at first. After that, they were employed as prospectors (Vercoutter,J.,1959,p.142,not.196). In contrast, some scholars compared both *ikyw* and *smntyw* in the Middle Kingdom's quarry texts and argued that both titles appeared on the same expedition. Their tasks included searching for precious metals, e.g., gold, and cutting stone (Katary,S., 2007,pp.138-139). They might also act as scouts to guide to the good ways to the mines according to the titles of Hesy –min (Zaba,Z., 1974,p.179).

*smntyw* played a role in building activities, as illustrated in the rock inscription no. 169 in Wadi El Hamamat that gives a positive monumental source, showing the role of *smntyw* in constructing the Pyramid of King Ity [d]. They participated in an expedition to Wadi Hamamat to cut stone. (Gouyat,M.J&Montet,P., 1912,p.94,no.169) The text reads

h3t-sp tpy 3bd 4 3ht sw 2 iwt imy irty \centsprw wi3 Ipi Ny-k3w- Pth

r irt k3t nt (Ity) b3w ḥn<sup>c</sup> skdw 200, smntyw200,rtn200.

"The first year, the fourth month of the inundation season, the second day, coming the pilot of the crew of the boat Ipi and Ny-kaw-ptah to make the construction of the Pyramid of Ity with 200 sailors, 200 explorers, and 200 rtn".

The text doesn't mention the main task of this expedition. Therefore, Yoyotte suggests that the main task of the first group was to cut stone to make statues and

vases, but the second group had to bring gold to make sacred vases (Yoyotte, J., 1975,p.48). In the meanwhile, Goedicke presented a new translation of the passage as he considered the *skdw* as transportation workers, the second group as serfs, and the third as foreigners (Goedicke,H.1990,pp.69-74). However, *smntyw* played an important role in the ancient Egyptian economy as they were explorers or gold porters who were searching for gold in the desert (Katary,S., 2007pp.138-139), and they were associated with metals, such as gold and silver. They might collect mineral deposits, including gold in the gold mines region according to a rock inscription dating back to the Old Kingdom in Dakke that included two chiefs of prospectors and only one scribe (Hintze,Von&Reineke,W.F., 1989, s.180,Nrs.596-598&Kitchen,K., 1993,pp.592,607&(Peden,A.J., 2001,p.12).

Egypt began to mine for gold in Lower Nubia in the Reign of Senusret I. It smelt gold in Kuban and loaded it to Egypt by ships (Torek, L., 2009,p.85). A scale and weights used for weighing gold were discovered in Uronarti and Semna (Vercoutter,J.,1959,p.133). Furthermore, there was a link with silver in the graffito of whm-K3 in Wadi El Hamamat, which dates back to the Old Kingdom entitled hrp smntyw hd "director of silver prospectors" (Goyon,G., 1957,p.50,no.12).

*smntyw* also shared in the large military and economic operations since the Old Kingdom. It is noteworthy that they were like  ${}^cw(w)$  "interpreters" as they could speak foreign languages to facilitate the economic transaction in Byblos, Pwnt, the routes of two deserts, and Nubia to bring the exotic products(e) (Yoyotte , J., 1975,p.48). Saleh argues that *smntyw* played an important role in the trade of incense, describing them as Bedwin working as trade intermediaries for the queen Hatsbsut in trade operations between Egypt and Punt. They might be scouts or guides sent by the queen to collect information about incense terraces(Saleh,A.A, 1973,p.372). The researcher agrees with the view of Saleh because Puymere who served under the reign of Thutmosis III held the Title *smnty nswt* "the prospector of the king" (Davies,N.,1922,p.42).

The individuals who held the title *smntyw* had high-rank positions in ancient Egyptian society, Its holders were sometimes joined with the overseers holding military functions or treasurers of the gods(Fischer,H.G., 1985,pp.30-31),such as *Hwi* (the reign of Pepy,II) who bore the title seal-bearer of the god(Rothe, R., Miller, W., Rapp, G., 2008,p.23). and *Grḥi* (late Old Kingdom) (Fischer,H.G., 1985,pp.30-31),and St-ka who held the titles *imy-r mš<sup>c</sup>*,*imy-r smntyw* the overseer of expedion and an

overseer of *smntyw*(Espinel,A.D., 2014,p.31). However, this title rarely came as a single title (Fischer,H.G., 1985,p.31).

It is noteworthy that no tomb is attributed to the members of *smntyw*. Only a stela was discovered at Thebes, its place of preservation remains unknown datedback to the MiddleKingdom (Waser,G.H.,Zurich,A.G.,1978,p.155), according to Fischer its owner was a member of *smntyw* and he didn't bear the title an overseer of *smntyw*(Fischer,H.G., 1985,p.32). Furthermore, a stone headrest kept in Cairo Museum no JE26501, assigned to the late Old Kingdom, was attributed to *Grḥi*, the seal-bearer of the god and an overseer of *smntyw* (Fischer,H.G., 1985,p.28).

As for the wages of *smntyw*, no known archival texts refer to the rations of food distributing neither to the overseers of *smntyw* nor to the gang of *smntyw*. The best known example of the allowance of expeditions was assigned to year 38 of king Sesostris I (Simpson,W.K., 1959,p.29). According to the rock inscription in Wadi-El-Hammamat no.61, this expedition comprised 17000 men under the command of the herald Amni accompanied by three of the greatest of tens of Upper Egypt, 20 mayors, 4 scribes...etc. However, the text is divided into three parts. The third covers the wages distributed to the members of the workforce, since the text reads:

wḥmw Tmny t 200 ḥnkt ds 5 ,wr mdw šm<sup>c</sup>w t 100 ḥnkt 3,šmsw n ity <sup>c</sup>.w.s t30 ḥnkt 1 h3ty-<sup>c</sup> t 100 ḥnkt 4 ,imy-r mš<sup>c</sup> n ḥrtyw-ntr t 100 ḥnkt 3, imy-r pr n d3d3t <sup>c</sup>3t t 50 ḥnkt 2, imy-r pr n pr ḥd t 50 ḥnkt 2,sš t 30 ḥnkt 1, imy-r <sup>c</sup> ḥnwty t 30 ḥnkt 1,htmw t 15 ḥnkt ////,s³wty t 15 ḥnkt ////,nww t 15 ḥnkt ////,hmww t 20 ḥnkt ½ ḥsb nb mš<sup>c</sup> t 10 ḥnkt////.

"the herald Ameny (received) 200 units of bread and 5 pots of beer,the greatest of ten of Upper Egypt has received 100 units of bread and 3 jars of beer,the retainer of the sovergn l.p.h obtained 30 units of bread and pot of beer,the mayer received 100 loaves and 4 jars of beer, the foreman of the gang of stone-cutters got 100 loaves and 3 pots of beer,the steward of the great council got 50 loaves and 2 units of beer, the scribe obtained 30 loaves and pot of beer,the overseer of the audience hall received 30 loaves and pot of beer,the seal-bearer,hunter and guardman have obtained 15 of bread loaves and //// of beer,and the craftsman received 20 of bread loaves and ½ unit of beer,every worker of the gang received ten of bread loaves and //// of beer."

the foremen, and the gangs of workers. Every person received according to his rank. While the chief obtained 200 loaves of bread +5 units of beer, the mayors and the greatest of tens got100 loaves of bread+ 3units of beer, the skilled workers had 15-20 loaves of bread +½ units of beer, and the unskilled workers had10 loaves+½ units of beer daily (Goyon,G., 1957,no.61), Mueller,D., 1975,p.253).

According to the mentioned texts, the chiefs of the gangs of prospectors received 100 loaves of bread and 2 units of beer, and the members of prospectors obtained the same as craftsmen 20 loaves of bread and ½ unit of beer daily.

#### 5-Results

Analyzing the aforementioned data reveals that the gang of *smntyw* shared in the large military and economic operations since the Old Kingdom. They were associated with metals, such as gold and silver. They might collect mineral deposits, including gold in the gold mines region. There was adequate evidence for the organization of the gang of *smntyw*. *smntyw* could speak foreign languages to facilitate the economic transaction in Byblos, pwnt, the routes of two deserts, and Nubia to bring the exotic products. Moreover, the persons who held the title *smntyw* had a high-rank position in Ancient Egyptian society.

The wages of the chiefs of the gangs of prospectors were 100 loaves of bread and 2 units of beer. The members of prospectors received the same wage as craftsmen 20 loaves of bread and ½ units of beer daily). Although there were numerous occurrences of the chiefs of *smntyw* in the inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, there were no references for them in the Middle Kingdom. Moreover, there was adequate evidence for the existence of ordinary members of this phyle.

#### **Endnotes**

- [a] The name of Hapi was relatively common in the Middle and New Kingdoms, see Ranke, H., (1935). Die Ägyptischen Personen Namen, Band, I, Augustin Verlag, Glückstadt. s.234,Nr.7
- [b] Persons with the name *S3-Imn* occurred frequently in Middle and New Kingdom periods, see Ranke, H., (1935). Die Ägyptischen Personen Namen, Band, I, Augustin Verlag, Glückstadt,s.280,Nr.22.
- [c] Wnt denotes the 15<sup>th</sup> Nome of Upper Egypt, see Gomaa, F. (1986). Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittlern Reiches, Band, I, Oberägypten und Das Fayyüm, Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden,s.287ff.

- [d] Ity was the third king in the Eighth Dynasty, see von Becrath, J., (1984). Handbuch der Ägyptischen Kõnigs Namen, MÄS, 20, Deutscher Kunstverlag, Berlin,s.71.
- [e] *smntyw* were associated with the Egyptian external trade with Pwnt according to the texts of Hatsbsut expedition to the God's land to bring incense,and The text illustrates that the incense terraces were not known to the Egyptians. Amun himself guided the queen to the ways of the Land of Punt. (Urk, IV, 344,12-16),on the otherhand ,Amun was described as the protector of the routes of trade and the sailors, see Gilli, B., (2010). Under the Protection of the Gods: Divine Role for the Good outcome of Trade and Mining Expeditions, In: Hudec, Z. & Petrik, M. (eds.)., Commerce and Economy in Ancient Egypt, British Archaeological Reports, Budapest, pp:55-62.

#### **List of Abbreviations**

ASAE:	Annales du Service des Antiquités de L'Egypte, Le
TISTIL .	Caire
BSFE:	Bulletin dela Société Française d'Egypto-
BST E.	logie,Paris.
GM:	Göttinger Miszellen, Göttingen.
GOF:	Göttinger Orient-Forschung, Wiesbaden.
HÄB:	Hildesheimer Ägyptologische
HAD:	
IEA O	Beiträge, Hildesheim.
IFAO :	L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Le
	Caire.
JSSEA:	Journal of Society for The Study of Egyptian
	Antiquities, Toronto.
JAOS:	Journal of The American Oriental Society, New
	Haven
JEA:	Journal of The Egyptian Archaeology, London.
JNES:	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
KUSH:	Kush.Journal of Sudan Antiquities
	Service,Khartum.
RdE:	Revue d'Egyptologie, Paris.
URK:	Seth,K., Urkunden des Alten Reichs, Leipzig,
	1932-1933.
WB:	Erman, A., & Grappow,H., Wörterbuch der
	Ägyptischen Sprache, 6 Bde, Berlin, 1926-1931.
ZÄS:	Zeitschrift Für Ägyptische Sprache und
	Altertumskunde Leipzig, Berlin.
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