

The textile centre Akhmîm-Panopolis in Late Antiquity. Recent research and new perspectives

RAFED EL-SAYED & CÄCILIA FLUCK

City of linen weavers

As one of humankind's most basic requirements, textiles play a crucial role in both ancient and modern cultures. Usually a regional product they are nevertheless deeply embedded in transregional cultural and socio-economic contexts. Their traditions tie yesterday to today. Only in Egypt's Nile Valley has abundant material spanning five millennia of textile craft survived. This legacy constitutes the main source for understanding the significance of textiles in ancient societies around the Mediterranean.

The town of Akhmîm (Panopolis) enjoyed a reputation as a 'city of linen weavers' since antiquity, not only within Egypt's borders but well beyond. Its fame reached a new peak during the 19th century when its cemeteries yielded abundant finds of Late Antique and Islamic textiles. The growing interest of European and American museums and collectors led to the dispersal of thousands of Akhmîm's textiles to destinations globally. Exact provenances are difficult to pin-point since the textiles were mainly unearthed during ill-documented digging during the early days of archaeological exploration in Egypt. Finding a reliable means of establishing provenance, however, would pave the way to reconstructing – for the first time – the development of a single local textile culture through time at a single location.

Recent research on the material culture of Akhmîm

The material culture of the Akhmîm district has been a focus of research at the Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie of the Georg-August-Universität, Göttingen. Within the framework of the Mîn-Panos-Project (www.min-panos.uni-goettingen.de), directed by Rafed El-Sayed, the archaeology of the changing sacred landscapes of the Akhmîm-Panopolis region were subject to intensive study between 2012 and 2018, focusing particularly on late antiquity. Essential cooperation existed between the Mîn-Panos-Project and the Museum für

Byzantinische Kunst in Berlin, represented by Cäcilia Fluck.

The project aimed to study religious change, based on the material culture and landscapes of a region well-known for its special, indeed unique contribution to religious and cultural change in Late Antique Egypt and the Mediterranean world in general. An archaeological information system, the AIS Mîn-Panos, was developed at Göttingen to serve as a fundamental resource for long-term research on the Akhmîm area. The AIS will allow for the digital processing of huge amounts of archaeological data in a spatial context and shall provide a working platform for interdisciplinary research.

Since 2012 objects originating from Akhmîm-Panopolis are being recorded and added to the AIS within the framework of the project and in close cooperation with various museums to provide the material basis for a number of in-depth studies conducted by the project collaborators. Further key aspects of the project are the history of research concerning Akhmîm and the establishment of a catalogue of criteria for assigning objects to the region. Textiles form a major category under consideration.

By contrast to other types of objects, textiles are preserved in great quantities and are distinguished by a variety of materials, techniques, functions, and, in particular, decoration. Starting in the 19th century, European and American collectors began to show great interest in textiles which made their acquisition a significant motivation for the exploitation of Egypt's post-pharaonic cultural heritage.

Initiating collaborative research on Akhmîm textiles

To provide a framework for the complex endeavour of textile research focusing on the Akhmîm region, Cäcilia Fluck and Rafed El-Sayed initiated in 2016 the 'Akhmîm Textiles Study Group' comprising textile experts and experts on the archaeology of Akhmîm from around the globe. As a first measure, an international

symposium was organised, in cooperation with Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, and hosted at Göttingen in September 2017. This volume presents the results of this conference to which established scholars and young academics were invited, requested to present their research relevant to the subject, and to join the textile study group, which was officially, formally founded at the conclusion of the conference.

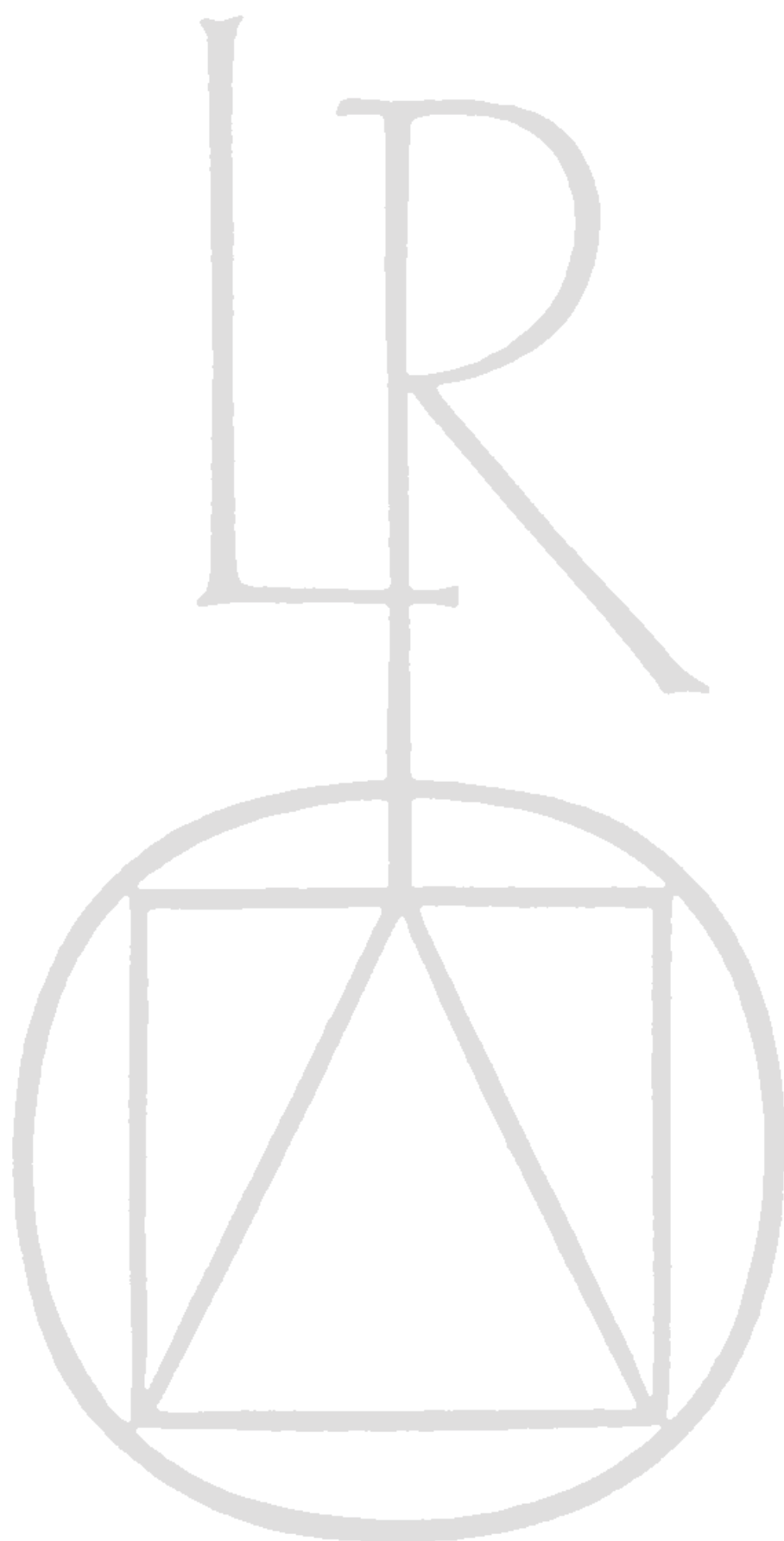
The revised, expanded, and up-dated versions of 15 lectures (from a total of 18¹) presented during the conference are included in this volume. The titles and authors of those lectures not published here are cited in the conference programme pages 21–22. The lectures were assigned to four thematic sections – I. History of research, II. Society and religion, III. Industry and trade, and IV. Museums and collections – covering multiple aspects of an ancient regional textile industry as identified by the editors.

1 The two papers read by Rafed El-Sayed resulted in one article.

I.
HISTORY OF RESEARCH AND ARCHAEOLOGY



Plate 5. 'Der Mumientransport'. After R. Forrer, *Mein Besuch in El-Achmim. Reisebriefe aus Ägypten* (Straßburg, 1895), pl. IX.



The archaeology of textiles and textile production at Akhmîm.

Find spots, finds, and their contexts

RAFED EL-SAYED

Abstract

Akhmîm's renown as one of Egypt's major regional textile centres stems from literary and documentary sources and the thousands of textiles unearthed in the region during the late 19th century, today dispersed around the globe. Sadly, the archaeological contexts of these finds went unrecorded and to this day Akhmîm remains a white spot on the map of textile archaeology in the Mediterranean. However, the Akhmîm region not only provided a multitude of textile finds but also other archaeological evidence related to local production and consumption of textiles, and trade in them, including tools, raw materials, etc.; installations for weaving or dyeing; and remains/artefacts with representations of textiles. These came to light during the past ca. 200 years at many different places in the Akhmîm district, which in antiquity covered an area of more than 600 km² with a considerable number of sites where textiles were produced, consumed, and disposed of during more than 4,000 years of uninterrupted history. Yet, the spatial-temporal aspects of textile archaeology at Akhmîm have largely been ignored by scholars studying the textiles today held in museum collections. This article presents an overview of sites investigated in the area, as well as of those individuals involved in the exploration and the dissemination of textiles and textile-related finds from Akhmîm.

Introduction

Since antiquity, Akhmîm's fame as a center of textile production has been well established. Finds of papyri from Late Antique times document that textile production was among the most important industries in Panopolis during Late Roman Imperial times.¹ The great many textiles uncovered in the cemeteries of Akhmîm since the 1880s are material evidence that the region was at the very least a region of intensive consumption of textiles during the Late Antique and Islamic Periods.²

Coptic sources – above all, the writings of Shenute, the abbot³ – furnish evidence that considerable quanti-



Fig. 1. Athribis, Late Antique vats in Ptolemaic temple, © Y. El-Masry (2010).

- 1 Recently summarised by K. Geens, *Panopolis, a Nome Capital in Egypt in the Roman and Byzantine Period (ca. AD 200–600)* (Trismegistos Online Publications Special Series 1; Diss. Leuven 2007, Leuven, 2014), esp. 290–300. See also the contribution of I. Bogensperger in this volume.
- 2 C. Fluck, 'Akhmim as a Source of Textiles', in G. Gabra and H. N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, Vol. 1: *Akhmim and Sohag* (Cairo, New York, 2008), 211–23; T. K. Thomas, 'Coptic and Byzantine Textiles Found in Egypt: Corpora, Collections, and Scholarly Perspectives', in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700* (Cambridge, 2007), 137–62.
- 3 See the contribution of J. Cromwell in this volume, as well as B. Layton, *The Canons of Our Fathers. Monastic Rules of Shenute* (Oxford, 2014), 81 nn. 14–5 and R. Krawiec, *Shenoute and the Women of the White Monastery. Egyptian Monasticism in Late Antiquity* (New York, 2002), 81 with notes 14–5.

ties of textiles were produced in the monasteries of the Akhmîm area during the Late Antique Period. The oldest archaeological remains of these monasteries also provide abundant material evidence for the production (**Fig. 1**) and use (**Figs. 2–3**) of textiles in late antiquity.⁴ But this

- 4 R. El-Sayed, *Petrie's 1907/08 Dig Season Near Sühâg. Part I: The Photographic Record* (Studia Panopolitana Occasional Paper 2; Wiesbaden, 2017), 54–7; R. El-Sayed and Y. El-Masry, *Athribis I. General Site Survey 2003–2007. Archae-*



Fig. 2. Limestone relief, London, The British Museum (BM) inv. EA69016 from Akhmîm depicting Christ and four apostles: a) photo: R. El-Sayed (2016), courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum; b) drawing: © K. C. Lakomy (2016).

material awaits systematic study and evaluation.⁵ Less well known is that some finds of textiles in the 9th nome of Upper Egypt are datable to the Old Kingdom,⁶ the New

Kingdom,⁷ the Late Period,⁸ and the Ptolemaic Period,⁹ documenting the antiquity and enduring significance of local textile production, and confirming Strabo's characterisation of Akhmîm as an "old city of linen weavers".¹⁰

ological & Conservation Studies. The Gate of Ptolemy IX. Architecture and Inscriptions (Cairo, 2012), 110, pls. VIIIc, IX; D. L. Brooks Hedstrom, 'The White Monastery Federation Project: Survey and Mapping at the Monastery of Apa Shenoute (Dayr al-Anba Shinūda), Sohag, 2005–2007', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65/66 (2011–2012), 333–64.

- 5 For comparable finds at Amarna see J. Sigl, 'Weaving Copts in the North Tombs of Tell el-Amarna', *SAK* 40 (2011), 357–86; for the 9th Upper Egyptian nome: El-Sayed, *Petrie's 1907/08 Dig Season I*, 21, 54 and El-Sayed, El-Masry, *Athribis I*, 110, pls. VIIIc, IX; for Dendera: S. Cauville, 'Dendera: Du sanatorium au tinctorium', *BSFE* 61 (2004), 28–40. A quantity of a variety of finds including modern documentation related to the production, processing, and use of textiles is in the process of compilation in museums and archives worldwide under the direction of the author in the context of the Min-Panos-Project (www.min-panos.uni-goettingen.de) generously funded by Volkswagenstiftung.
- 6 Y. El-Masry, 'Rock Tombs from the Late Old Kingdom in the 9th Nome of Upper Egypt', *SAK* 36 (2007), 183–215; Y.

El-Masry, 'Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Gohaina', *BACE* 15 (2004), 89–106; A. McFarlane, 'A Pleated Linen Dress from El-Hawawish', *BACE* 2 (1991), 75–80; N. Kanawati, *The Tombs of El-Hagarsa*, vol. II (ACE Reports 6; Sydney, 1993), 11–12, 62–6, pls. 29–52; N. Kanawati, *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish. The Cemetery of Akhmim*, vol. IX (Sydney, 1993), 64, pl. 11.

- 7 Th. Whittemore, 'The Sawāma Cemeteries', *JEA* 1 (4) (1914), 246–7. See further below in the catalogue under 'aš-Ṣawāmi'a'.
- 8 Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung inv. 8513. Cf. R. Germer et al., *Berliner Mumien geschichten. Ergebnisse eines multidisziplinären Forschungsprojektes* (Regensburg, 2009), 122.
- 9 K. P. Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Achmîm* (SDAIK 11; Mainz, 1983), 71; R. Forrer, *Reallexikon der prähistorischen, klassischen und frühchristlichen Altertümer* (Berlin, 1907), 9.
- 10 Strabo XVII, 813.



Fig. 3. Limestone relief from Atripe depicting monastics: a)–c), photo: © Y. El-Masry (1996); d)–f) drawings: © K. C. Lakomy (2019).

However, the specific provenance of hardly any of the many thousands of textile artefacts now widely dispersed and attributed to or labeled ‘Akhmîm’ can be associated with any degree of certainty to a specific find spot. In the majority of cases, a provenance ‘Akhmîm’ will be at best a very general link of a textile or some other artefact to the Akhmîm region, a topographical, administrative, and cultic contiguous entity, known in pharaonic Egyptian sources as the 9th nome (Egyptian: *Mn.w*) of Upper Egypt and as Nomós Panopolites or Chemmites in Greek sources (**Map 1**).¹¹ Within the territory of this district, a number of sites and toponyms are attested archaeologically or mentioned in documents. As will be illustrated below, many of them can actually be linked to textile and related finds in one way

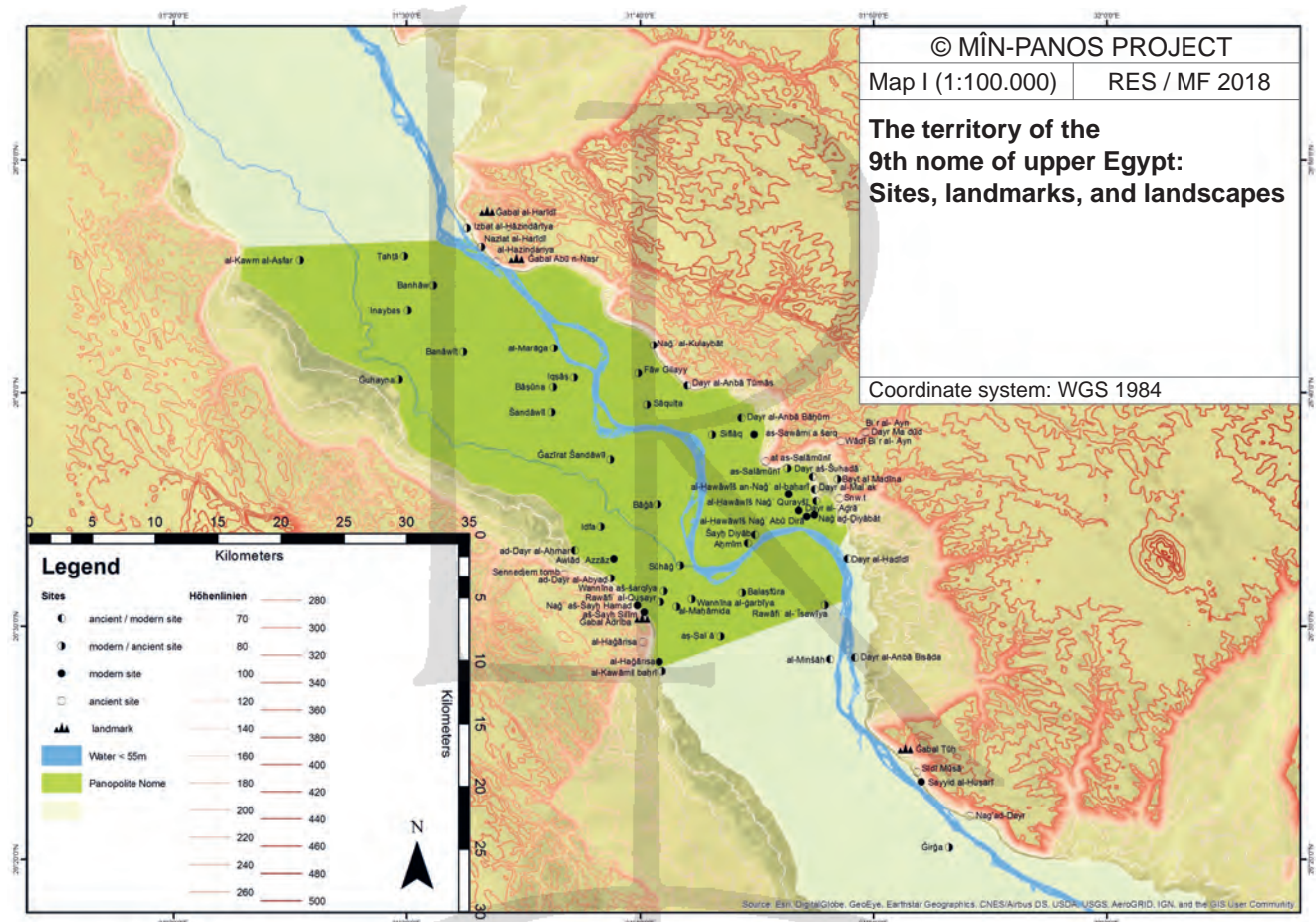
or another, although only a few are usually mentioned in museum records or scholarly publications as find spots of Akhmîm textiles.

The goal of this contribution is to provide a picture of the spatial and chronological relationships of the textile archaeology of the Akhmîm region, based on the work to date of the Mîn-Panos Project.¹² The author’s recent in-depth study and description of the topographic and toponymic situation of the Akhmîm region¹³ has

11 M. Weber and A. Geissen, *Die alexandrinischen Gaumünzen der römischen Kaiserzeit. Die ägyptischen Gaue und ihre Ortsgötter im Spiegel der numismatischen Quellen* (SSR 11; Wiesbaden, 2013), 120–6.

12 For which see R. El-Sayed et al., ‘Developing an Archaeological Information System for the Panopolite Nome (Akhmîm) in Upper Egypt’ (Studia Panopolitana Occasional Paper 1; Göttingen, 2016) <webdoc.sub.gwdg.de/pub/mon/2016/1-el-sayed.pdf>. The project was funded, starting in 2012 and continuing through 2018, by Volkswagenstiftung; I gratefully acknowledge this support here.

13 R. El-Sayed, *Die Archäologie des religiösen Wandels* (Habilitation thesis, University of Göttingen; Göttingen, 2020). See also Kuhlmann, *Materialien*, 52–4 (Nekropolen) and H. Gauthier, ‘Notes géographiques sur le nome Panopolite’, in *BIFAO* 4 (1905), 39–101; H. Gauthier, ‘Nouvelles notes géo-



Map 2. Map showing ancient and modern sites, landmarks, and landscapes in the territory of the Panopolite Nome, © Rafed El-Sayed.

shown that the frequently cited provenance “Akhmîm” in inventories and publications actually lumps together many sites in the area with its extent of over 600 km².¹⁴

The confusion and amalgamation of locales where finds were made, which began right with the initial plundering of the Akhmîm necropoleis in the later 19th century (see below), occurs commonly nowadays.¹⁵

graphiques sur le nome Panopolite’, *BIFAO* 10 (1912), 89–130; H. Gauthier, ‘Index aux notes géographiques sur le nome Panopolite’, *BIFAO* 11 (1914), 49–63.

14 This number results from setting the north border at the height of Taḥṭā – al-Kawm al-Aṣḥar and to the south at al-Munṣāh – al-Ḥaḡārīsa, also including the desert zone to a height of the landscape of 70 m above NN (see also **Map 2**).

15 Cf. e.g., the designation of Necropolis B (al-Madīna) as al-Ḥawāwīš in N. Kanawati’s fundamental publications (N. Kanawati, *The Rock tombs of El-Hawawish. The Cemetery of Akhmîm*, I–X [Sydney, 1980–1992]). Maspero used ‘al-Hawawish’ to refer to Necropolis (A) on the desert plain near the bordering locality of al-Ḥawāwīš at the edge of the eastern border of the cultivation. (See also the text here further below and cf. B. Verbeek’s conjecture about a necropolis near the rivers of ‘Sohag’, in *LÄ* IV, 1052–4. (See also in this connection ‘Athribis’ in the catalogue.)

This contribution provides for initial orientation a preliminary listing in the form of an annotated catalogue and a map (**Map 2**) of find spots in the Akhmîm region where down to and including the present¹⁶ a connection to textile archaeology can be demonstrated.

The topography of Akhmîm: historic landscapes, ancient places, and the sites where digging occurred in modern times

A sound knowledge of the regional topography is basic for any historical reconstruction of local textile industries and the history of their archaeological exploration, but in general little attention has been paid to topography in the study of “Akhmîm” textiles.¹⁷ The territorial scope of the historic 9th nome of Upper Egypt, today

16 J. P. Maury, *Akhmîm. Au fil des femmes, broderies et tissages de Haute-Égypte* (Souyri, 2014).

17 For example, R. Germer and G. Körbelin, *Kleider aus dem Wüstensand. Die Koptischen Textilien des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg* (Bremen, 2012), 13, remarking that the “mound of graves” (*Gräberberg*) investigated by R. For-



Fig. 4. a) Ġabal Harīdī, view from south-west, © R. El-Sayed (2015); b) Ġabal Adrība, view from north-east, © R. El-Sayed (2003).



Fig. 5. The Nile valley near Akhmîm, aerial view looking west down the escarpment of Cemetery B. After N. Kanawati and R. Scannell, *A Mountain Speaks. The First Australian Excavation in Egypt*, (Sydney, 1988), 48.

located in the district of Sūhāḡ,¹⁸ remained almost unaltered throughout history.¹⁹ It comprised areas east and west of the Nile with its northern border at Ṭaḥṭā (east) and al-Kawm al-Aṣfar (west) and its southern border from al-Haḡārīsa in the west to al-Munṣāh (Ptolemaïs) and Sīdī Mūsā in the east (**Map 2**). These boundaries extended between major landmarks that determined the Panopolite landscape: the promontories of Ġabal Harīdī (east) (**Fig. 4a**) and Ġabal Ġuhayna (west) to the north, and, to the south, Ġabal Adrība (west) (**Fig. 4b**) and Ġabal Ṭūḡ (east), comprising in antiquity an area of more than 600 km². Akhmîm, the ancient urban centre of the region, is situated very much to the south on the east bank of the Nile where the river makes its distinctive double change of course (**Fig. 5, Map 2**).

The provincial town's Arabic name (Ekhmeem, Ikhhim, Aquemin etc.²⁰ in earlier accounts; correctly

transcribed Aḡmîm/ Iḡmîm according to DMG²¹ standard) goes back to ancient Egyptian *Hnt-Mnw*, as the town's main sanctuary, dedicated to the Egyptian god Mîn,²² was known. In Greek sources beginning in the 4th century BC, *Hnt-Mnw* is transcribed Chemmis²³. From the Ptolemaic to the Late Roman Periods the town's name is rendered Pano(s)polis²⁴, Pano²⁵, or Panos²⁶ (**Plate 4**), since the Egyptian god Mîn was identified with the Greek Pan with whom he shared many characteristics.²⁷ One of the many other ancient settlements of the Panopolite nome is of special significance both with respect to the cultic topography and textile archaeology of the Akhmîm region: the village of Athribis-Atrîpe²⁸ (Tripheion) on the west bank (see further below). Among those places mentioned in papyri and other documentary and literary sources, not all could be located nor identified with a specific site.²⁹ On the other hand, some place names exist as ghost words only in scholarly publications and should be deleted from the onomasticon.³⁰

The first dig sites mentioned in contemporaneous accounts are the burial sites located in the low desert and cliffs on both the east and west banks of the Nile (**Figs. 3–5**)³¹. It will have been clandestine digging here which yielded the first textile artefacts.³² Single textile finds are also likely to have resulted from “quarrying”

not exist in Arabic. By adding the Arabic article (al- or El-) to the town's name, Forrer probably intended to make it sound more Arabic.

- 21 Cf. <https://www.dmg-web.de/page/transliteration_de/denkschrift.pdf>.
- 22 Kuhlmann, *Materialien*, 9.
- 23 Herodotus II 91. Cf. Geens, *Panopolis*, 332.
- 24 A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, IV (Cairo, Madrid, Milano, 1983), 41–4; idem., Suppl. 1, 218; Suppl. 2, 149; Suppl. 3, 118–19; Suppl. 5, 78.
- 25 Calderini, Daris, *Dizionario*, IV, 46.
- 26 Calderini, Daris, *Dizionario*, IV, 42.
- 27 On the *interpretatio graeca* of Mîn–Pan cf. K. S. Kolta, *Die Gleichsetzung ägyptischer und griechischer Götter bei Herodot* (Tübingen, 1968), 151.
- 28 El-Sayed, El-Masry, *Athribis I*.
- 29 For instance, the village of Krokodelopolis (see El-Sayed, El-Masry, *Athribis I*, 4–5) and the town of Neapolis, mentioned by Herodotus, see K. A. Worp, ‘Observations on Some Military Camps and Place Names in Lower Egypt’, *ZPE* 87 (1991), 294–5.
- 30 For instance, K. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Text*, Hrsg. von E. Naville et al., vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1904) (im Folgenden LD, Text, II).
- 31 El-Sayed, El-Masry, *Athribis I*, 36–55.
- 32 Nestor L'Hôte in his 1839 letters mentions unwrapped mummies in the cemeteries of Tripheion and Panopolis, see N.

rer lay northwest of the town. They are actually located to the northeast!

- 18 Ġirḡā governorate was renamed Sūhāḡ in 1960 with the city of Sūhāḡ as its capital (which had been Ġirḡā).
- 19 W. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue (TAVO 1, Reihe B, Beiheft 5; Wiesbaden, 1974)*, 93–5.
- 20 The variant ‘El-Achmim’ as used by R. Forrer, *Mein Besuch in El-Achmim. Reisebriefe aus Ägypten* (Straßburg, 1895), does

limestone for reuse at temple sites.³³ However, there is no mention of such finds in early accounts. During the 19th century activities concentrated on the burial sites in the eastern desert about six kilometres north-east of the town of Akhmîm. This led to the “great success”³⁴ which, with Klaus P. Kuhlmann, must be reckoned among “... den traurigsten Kapiteln in der Geschichte der archäologischen Entdeckungen”.³⁵ Simultaneously with the plundering of the desert cemeteries of Akhmîm in the decade between 1884 and 1894, those on the west bank were also looted.³⁶ Among them was the second largest Roman era cemetery of the Panopolite nome, that of Athribis-Atrîpe (Tripheion).³⁷ This site was known since the days of Johann Michael Vansleb; later on, John Gardner Wilkinson, Nestor L'Hôte, and others visited it.³⁸ William Flinders Petrie, who excavated Athribis in 1907/08, recognised the site's importance for Late Antique textile production (Figs. 1, 9).³⁹ Textiles from these sites were collected and traded on-site or sold at dealers' shops in Akhmîm, Sūhāḡ, Luxor, Cairo, and other locations (see below). Precise provenance information was very often either ignored or deliberately concealed by those involved in their discovery and trade.

On the nature of textile archaeology and collecting at Akhmîm: people, activities, and events

The history of exploration of the Akhmîm region can be considered paradigmatic for Egyptian archaeology.⁴⁰ Aside from those explorers with – at least some – schol-

arly interest, local traders and foreign collectors were involved in the exploration and exploitation of Egypt's cultural heritage from the very beginning. Visitors to the Akhmîm region mention archaeological sites as early as the 17th century.⁴¹ Artefacts from Akhmîm found their way into European collections at the latest in the early 18th century.⁴² It can be presumed, although not documented, that textile finds were made at this time and thus long before the desert cemeteries of Akhmîm were discovered in the late 19th century.⁴³

In the first half of the 19th century, missionaries who controlled the local trade in antiquities (e. g., the Franciscan Stanislas Amadei Romano⁴⁴) and the French consular official Auguste Frénay⁴⁵ set the stage for the great discoveries of 1883 when Akhmîm became a center in Middle Egypt for dealing in antiquities.⁴⁶ The local dealers and middle men became part of the country-wide network with links to Luxor, Cairo, and Alexandria.⁴⁷ The Sales Room⁴⁸ in Cairo's Egyptian Museum was also a place where finds from Akhmîm, after official certification as “duplicates” by the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, might be acquired. (Some such items had been purchased by the Service itself; others derived from their own excavations or from seizure operations.⁴⁹)

L'Hôte, *Lettres écrites d'Égypte en 1838–1839* (Paris, 1940), 126–8 and El-Sayed, El-Masry, *Athribis* I, 48–50.

33 On limestone quarrying in the Akhmîm district see El-Sayed, El-Masry, *Athribis* I, 74.

34 J. Capart (ed.), *Travels in Egypt [December 1880 to May 1891]. Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour* (New York, 1936), 300.

35 Kuhlmann, *Materialien*, 50.

36 Most mummy labels – especially those which were on the market in the last quarter of the 19th century – came from the necropolis of Tripheion, on which see Forrer, *Mein Besuch*, 59–60.

37 El-Sayed, El-Masry, *Athribis* I, 71–2. See also ‘Athribis-Atrîpe’ at the end of the annotated catalogue at the conclusion of this contribution.

38 El-Sayed, El-Masry, *Athribis* I, 36–56.

39 W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Athribis* (London, 1908), 11.

40 J. Thompson, *Wonderful Things. A History of Egyptology, 2: The Golden Age: 1881–1914* (Cairo, New York, 2015); F. Hagen and K. Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930. The H. O. Lange Papers*. (Scientia Danica. Series H, Humanistica 4, 8; Copenhagen, 2016).

41 Cf. J. M. Vansleb, *Nouvelle relation en forme de journal d'un voyage fait en Égypte* (Paris, 1677), 372 and R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, I, *Observations on Egypt* (London, 1743), 79–80, for instance.

42 E. g., by Sonnini de Manoncourt, see C. N. S. Sonnini de Manoncourt, *Voyage dans la Haute et Basse Égypte fait par ordre de l'ancien gouvernement*, III (Paris, 1799), 143.

43 Neither in the reports of the Napoleonic commission nor in those of Lepsius's expedition are there any references to finds of textiles.

44 See in this regard G. Basetti-Sani, ‘La mission franciscaine de Haute-Égypte’, *CHE* 4 (1950), 367.

45 Frénay ran a mill at Akhmîm and was one of the most important middlemen dealing with antiquities from Akhmîm in the second half of the 19th century.

46 Above all Abū Tīḡ and Qīnā, in addition to Akhmîm; cf. Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 123 and 101–2.

47 Down to the present there has been no comprehensive study of the history of exploration of Akhmîm and of the trade in antiquities from Akhmîm; cf. Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 123, 263.

48 See Hagen, Ryholt, *The Antiquities Trade*, 45–52; P. Piacentini, ‘The Antiquities Path: from the Sale Room of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, through Dealers, to Private and Public Collections: a Work in Progress’, *EDAL* 4 (2013/14), 105–30, pls. XII–XXI.

49 For a vivid description of the activities during the 1880s see Capart, *Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour*, 348–9.