



Fig. 2: QUIBELL's notebook on his excavations at Saqqara in 1907–1910, with mention of the Sale Room of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

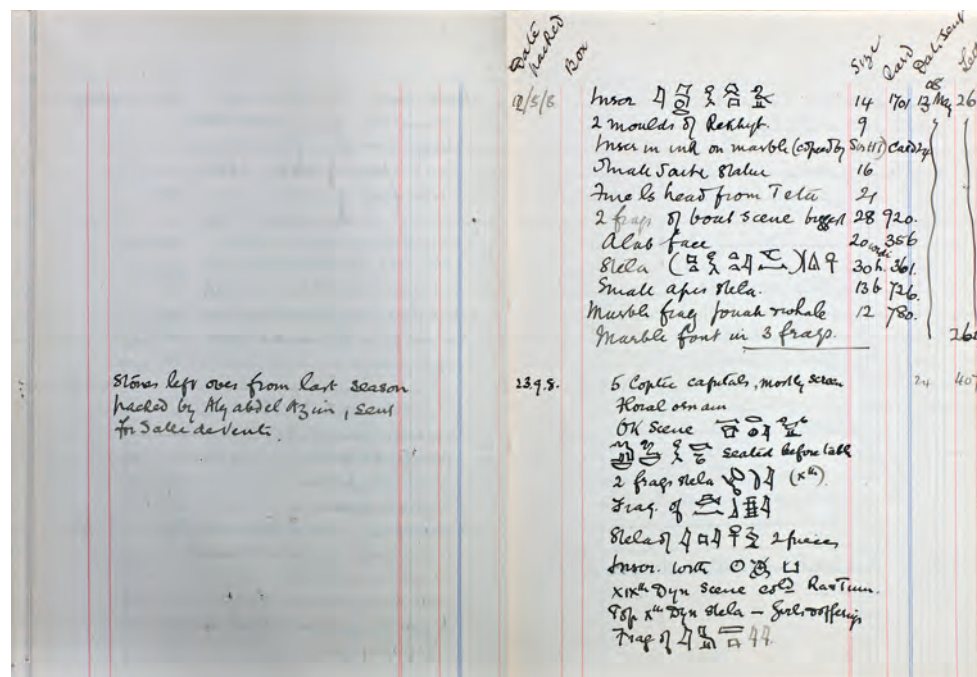


Fig. 3: Antiquities in the garden of the Bulaq Museum. Albumen print by ALEXANDRE BRIGNOLI.

In August 1881, AMELIA EDWARDS (1831–1892) wrote to GASTON MASPERO (1846–1916), then Director of the Antiquities Service and of the Boulaq Museum, to suggest that thefts and robberies would probably be reduced if the museum put on sale certified objects, and that travelers would prefer to buy their “souvenirs” at predetermined prices at Boulaq rather than to engage in bargaining with the locals<sup>6</sup>. According to the decree of 16 May 1883, the antiquities of the Boulaq Museum, as well as those that might be kept there in future or in other museums subsequently founded, were the property of the Egyptian state<sup>7</sup>. Regardless, probably that very year, Maspero, assisted by ÉMILE BRUGSCH (see SCHMIDT, this volume), began selecting ‘less significant’ pieces with the intention of selling them before they were accessioned in the Boulaq collection. Slowly, the director put into practice the official sale of antiquities to augment the finances of the Antiquities Service. Beginning in June 1884, the sale of various objects and mummies was duly registered in account books kept by BRUGSCH<sup>8</sup>. WILLIAM MATHEW FLINDERS PETRIE (1853–1942) relates in his autobiography that in the same year, some objects he had discovered in Tanis were sold at the museum<sup>9</sup>.

Nevertheless, at Boulaq there was neither a true Sale Room nor, as has been erroneously reported, a “museum shop”<sup>10</sup>. Instead, most of the objects not “necessary” for the collection nor yet registered were deposited near the museum’s entrance and the “Cabinet du nazir”, designated K on the plan included in

MASPERO's 1883 "Guide"<sup>11</sup>. This was probably the place where those interested in buying antiquities would go to choose them.

#### **Mummies and antiquities for sale: the case of SENNE- DJEM**

On 3 February 1886, the day after the opening of the tomb of SENNE-  
DJEM at Deir el-Medina (TT 1), MASPERO sent a letter to his wife LOUISE, describing the richness of the funerary equipment found. In conclusion he added that he intended to keep for the museum all the most important items, but to sell the mummies and the less significant objects, to finance further excavations<sup>12</sup>.

Almost thirty years later, GEORGES DARESSY (1864–1938) described SENNE-  
DJEM's funerary equipment as partly exhibited and partly kept off show in humid and dusty storerooms. Selling some of these objects provided a way to preserve them from deterioration. MASPERO decided to accept the initial offer from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and then bids from other museums and collectors<sup>13</sup>. Consequently, many objects from SENNE-  
DJEM's tomb went to the MMA, together with other antiquities from different sites<sup>14</sup>, as documented in the MMA's files with the note on provenance "sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art by the Egyptian government in 1886"<sup>15</sup>. The coffins of TAMAKET<sup>16</sup>, one shabti of SENNE-  
DJEM and one of KHONSU, as well as a box of Ramose were sold to the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin, and other items ended up in public and private collections<sup>17</sup>. MASPERO himself bought two shabtis and a shabti box (today in the Louvre) for his wife, as well as other small objects now in the Lyon collection<sup>18</sup>.

Information on sales can further be inferred from passages in some of MAS-  
PERO's letters to his wife which included details on the interest of selling antiqui-  
ties and mummies to finance excavations<sup>19</sup>. One case concerns the mummies<sup>20</sup> and other objects acquired by LUIGI PALMA DI CESNOLA (1832–  
1904) in 1886 on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art<sup>21</sup>.

#### **JACQUES DE MORGAN and the Sale Room at the Giza Palace**

The official sale of antiquities initiated by MAS-  
PERO proved to be financially very interesting for the Antiquities Service. For this reason, a Sale Room was opened in 1892 at the Giza Palace of ISMAIL PASHA – which became the location of the Egyptian Museum in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It occupied room 91 on the ground floor, immediately accessible from outside, as can be seen in a photograph preserved



*Abb. 4: Photograph of the inner court of the Giza Museum, with view of the entrance to the Sale Room on the ground floor.*

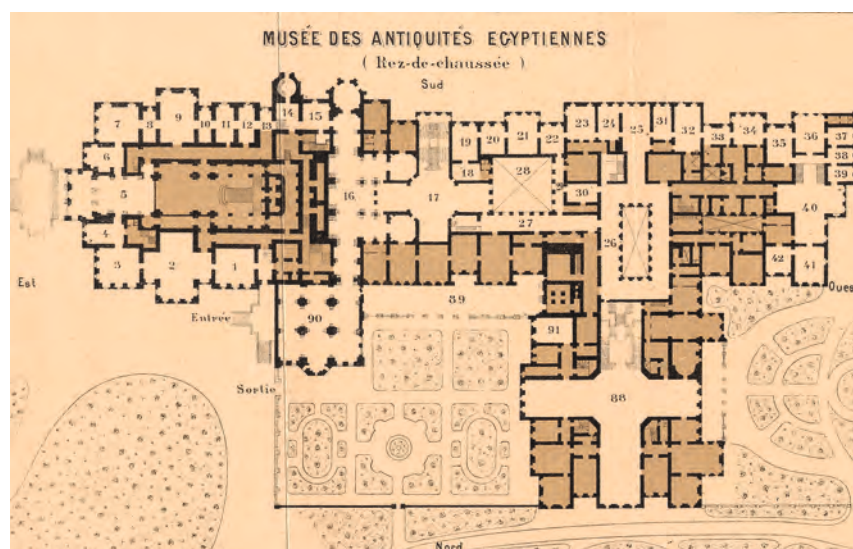


Abb. 5: Plan of the ground floor of the Giza Museum, in: J. De Morgan, *Notice des principaux monuments exposés au Musée de Gizeh, Le Caire 1892*.

in the LACAU collection in Milan, as well as on the floor plan of the museum. Since rooms 46-91 of the Giza Palace were inaugurated in autumn 1892<sup>22</sup>, the official activity of the Sale Room almost certainly started simultaneously.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE (1857–1934), in his autobiography, relates that it was the intention of JACQUES DE MORGAN (1857–1924), then Director of the Antiquities Service, to open a Sale Room in the museum, where “duplicates” of objects already present in the collection could be sold – in particular to important foreign institutions like the Louvre, the British Museum, and the Berlin Museums. For the Director, this was a

way of preserving them while increasing the funds of the Antiquities Service for excavations and conservation. But this idea met with strong opposition, especially from dealers who regarded the move as an attempt on the government’s part to monopolize the trade in antiquities and to put an end to all private dealing in them<sup>23</sup>. Despite these controversies, DE MORGAN, prompted by commercial and speculative reasons and unbothered by ethical concerns, officially opened the Sale Room. In his memoirs, he mentions some turning points in the “business of selling” antiquities<sup>24</sup>.

Numerous foreign visitors to Egypt in the first decades of the twentieth century were aware of the existence of the Sale Room and tried to keep in touch with DE MORGAN to purchase some good pieces. For example, in 1893 the traveler JOSEPH DÉCHELETTE (1862–1914) bought some antiquities in the Sale Room for the museum in Roanne, France – among them a mummy in its sarcophagus and several small objects such as bronzes, amulets, and pottery<sup>25</sup>.

The functioning of the Sale Room is well explained by de MORGAN in his letter of 8 February 1894 to VICTOR LORET (1859–1946), who was at the time interested in obtaining antiquities for the Lyon museum. If Loret wanted some objects, he must either buy them, send books in exchange to increase the holdings of the library of the Egyptian Museum, or carry on excavations<sup>26</sup>.

The role of DE MORGAN in the sale of antiquities is also mentioned in the memoirs of ALBERT NICOLE, who traveled in Egypt in 1896–1897 with his father, the papyrologist JULES NICOLE<sup>27</sup>.

### The supervisors of the Sale Room

ALESSANDRO BARSANTI (1858–1917), an employee of the Antiquities Service<sup>28</sup>, was the first to be appointed “salesman” of the museum, as PETRIE writes in his

memoirs of 1892<sup>29</sup>. É. BRUGSCH, as keeper of the antiquities of the museums at Boulaq, Giza, and Cairo, was very active in the sale of antiquities until his retirement in 1914 (see SCHMIDT, this volume); he had the authority to decide which objects might be legally exported. At some point, MASPERO named him supervisor of the Sale Room. An interesting case is the work BRUGSCH carried out in 1895 for Col. A. J. DREXEL<sup>30</sup> who paid him \$ 3,000 for assembling a collection. This was probably the only collection personally formed by BRUGSCH – accordingly, it reflects his connoisseurship. But it seems that he played a suspect role in the forgery of antiquities, too: some of them were even sold with the official seal of the museum<sup>31</sup>.

It is not yet clear who the direct successors of BARSANTI and BRUGSCH may have been, but we are sure that by 1936, around twenty years after both had retired, the function of “Responsable de la Salle de Vente” was in the hands of MOHAMED HASSANEIN, as attested by a photograph, among the LACAU archives today in Milan, which depicts the personnel of the Service at that time.

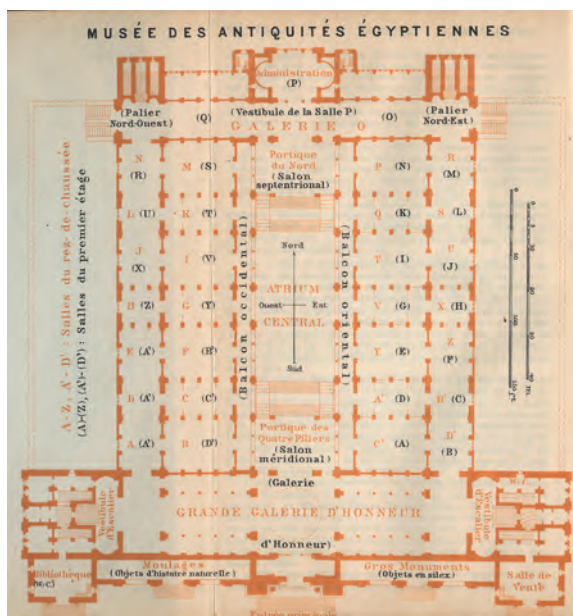


Fig. 6: Plan of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, in K. Baedeker, *Égypte et Soudan : Manuel du Voyageur*, Leipzig/Paris 1908.



Fig. 7: The exterior court of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. On the right, the entrance of the Sale Room.

### The Sale Room at the new Egyptian Museum

When in 1902 the museum opened in Midan Ismailiya – now Tahrir, the Sale Room was located in room 56 on the ground floor, accessible through the west entrance that leads today to the offices of the museum administration<sup>32</sup>. In the tourist guidebooks of the first half of the twentieth century, the shop is regularly mentioned and recommended<sup>33</sup>. Many objects now in private collections as well as in public museums were acquired in the shop. For example, three crates of

Egyptian antiquities were bought here by BONAVENTURA UBACH (1879–1960) in 1922 for the Museum Biblicum of the Montserrat Abbey near Barcelona, including a Dynasty XII coffin and another of Dynasty XXVI, complete with its mummy. They were accompanied by the export authorization of the Antiquities Service which still exists in the Ubach archives. Moreover, in the “Catalog dels objectes exposats en el Museum biblicum del Monestir de Montserrat” these objects were described as “Comprat al Museu del Caire l’any 1923”. In 1928, UBACH went to Egypt again. With the authorization of LACAU, Director of the Service, he visited the storerooms of antiquities with REGINALD ENGELBACH (1888–1946) to select some additional objects for purchase<sup>34</sup>.

Down until the 1970s dealers and collectors could bring antiquities for inspection to the museum on Thursdays; if there were no official objections, the items could be sealed and cleared for export<sup>35</sup>. We mention here the example of a scarab, which recently appeared on the market, sold by the well-known dealer ROGER KHAWAM to a French collector, accompanied by the certificate of authenticity issued by MOHAMMED MOHSEN of the Egyptian Museum in December 1970<sup>36</sup>.

After years of lengthy debate about the appropriate strategy for the sale of antiquities, the Sale Room was officially closed in November 1979, as BERNHARD V. BOTHMER clearly noted and which Judge ACHRAF AL-ACHMAWI<sup>37</sup> recently confirmed to me, even if sales had actually ceased some years earlier. Nevertheless, all sources agree with the fact that there was not a “shop” anymore at the Museum in the 1970s.

### Antiquities legally sold and exported

The creation of a museum devoted exclusively to Egyptian antiquities and the regulation of exports, followed by a law drafted by Maspero in 1902 and issued in 1912, did not prevent a great number of antiquities from leaving the country legally or illegally. Bothmer, in notes for a lecture on the art market now in the Milan University archives, wrote:

The moral aspects of such purchases have caused all of us a great deal of anxiety. Yet, we in museums preserve such treasures whereas in private collections they often disappear within a generation or two.

I will not list here all the various decrees promulgated and laws passed in Egypt from the time of MUHAMMAD ‘ALI down to the present since good studies of such material are available elsewhere<sup>38</sup>, but I will touch on some points related to the Sale Room.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the Sale Room was a very busy place and the “duplicates” found during excavations were regularly sold to finance the activities of the Antiquities Service as attested again by MASPERO in a letter to his wife dated 8 May 1900<sup>39</sup>.

To increase income and, simultaneously, to minimize theft and unfettered trade, the Antiquities Service decided to sell complete funerary chapels discovered at Saqqarah to museums in foreign countries, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City; Chicago's Field Museum; the British Museum, London; the Ägyptisches Museum in Berlin; the Louvre, Paris; and the *Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire*, Brussels. In the "Archaeological Report" of the Egypt Exploration Fund for 1902–1903, the motivations of this decision are explained:

It is hoped that when such [chapels] can be obtained at a moderate figure the directors of museums will be less eager to buy odd blocks and fragments broken out by robbers, and that so the robbers will give up their detestable trade.<sup>40</sup>

BUDGE, in his memories, described acquiring several large objects needed in the British Museum to fill gaps in the collection. He wrote that it was quite impossible for MASPERO to bring to Cairo, and exhibit in the Egyptian Museum, all the objects discovered in the tombs, which therefore ought to be taken to some large museum where they would be properly housed and preserved:

MASPERO suggested that it would be far better for the antiquities, and certainly much more economical for the Trustees of the British Museum, if they were to buy direct from him, as Director of the Service of Antiquities, the large sarcophagi and mastabah doors which they required to complete their Collection. He was very anxious to make some arrangement of this kind [...], for, apart from his desire to see valuable antiquities safely housed in Europe and cared for, he needed all the money he could get to supplement his meagre grant for excavations. And as a result of his liberal policy, I acquired the complete mastabah tomb of UR-ARI-EN-PTAH [...]; the fine mastabah door of ASA-ANKH [...]; one of the four granite pillars of the portico of the pyramid of King UNAS [...]; the basalt coffin of UAHABRA from "CAMPBELL'S Tomb" at Giza [...]; and the fine stone sarcophagus of QEM-PTAH [...].<sup>41</sup>

In 1908, QUIBELL carefully annotated in his journal, now in Milan, labelled 1907–1910 (Nov.): "Sent to Museum: Packing book, the boxes containing the blocks of the mastabas of UNISANKH and NETJERUSER acquired by the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago." Thanks to this notebook, detailed information can be added to the documentation in Chicago<sup>42</sup>.

In addition to entire mastabas, other objects of different kinds were also sold – reliefs, architectural elements, offering tables, coffins, complete or fragmentary statuary, heads or torsos of statues, headrests, columns, capitals (mostly Coptic), and canopic jars, as well as stone and glass vessels, ushabtis, weights, amulets, and scarabs. Despite the conviction that objects sold to public institutions were

more important than those sold to private collectors and dealers, the Register of the Sale Room documents that they could acquire very significant items, too.

### The Universal Exposition in Saint Louis, Missouri

In 1904, Egypt took part in the Universal Exposition in Saint Louis<sup>43</sup>. QUIBELL who was responsible for the practical organization and installation of the exhibition,



Fig. 8: Full size diorama of daily life in ancient Egypt at the Universal Exposition in Saint Louis, Missouri, 1904.

was helped by his wife and a certain Miss Cox. Egypt was allotted two large halls in the Anthropology Building; on the main floor, in Room 100 were exhibited full size dioramas of daily life in ancient Egypt which we can admire today in a series of photos among the QUIBELL material in the Milan archives. The figures, made of plaster, were cast from ancient statues, while the wigs and the furniture in the scenes were modern, but inspired by ancient objects. By contrast, the jewellery as well as the implements in the hands of the figures and the furnishings of the scenes were ancient. In Room 101, many antiquities were shown. The listing of them in the “Official Catalogue of Exhibitors” includes glass, faience, and bronze vessels; pottery from Predynastic to Roman times; ushabtis; a collection of beads; a New Kingdom coffin and a Ptolemaic mummy; the chapel and the false-door of the mastaba of KAIPURA from Saqqara;

the lid of a stone anthropoid coffin; an Old Kingdom sarcophagus from Giza; and a series of casts of reliefs in the Egyptian Museum<sup>44</sup>. These antiquities were sold at the end of the exhibition. The most important monument, the mastaba, was acquired by JOHN WANAMAKER (1838–1922) who donated it to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the end of 1904<sup>45</sup>.

### Notes on the history of “partage” of objects discovered during excavations

All types of objects on sale at the museum in Cairo were included also in the “partages” – i.e. the division of finds at the conclusion of excavations (see HAGEN/RYHOLT, this volume) – but the importance of the objects obtained by the excavators often depended on chance, or on personal or political relationships with the Director of the Antiquities Service<sup>46</sup>. It happened that foreign archaeologists exported objects even against a precise decision taken by the Egyptian authorities, as was the case with the “Chambre des ancêtres” (also known as the “Karnak King List”) that ÉMILE PRISSE D AVENNES (1807–1879) removed from Karnak Temple, despite the ban of the Egyptian authorities, in May 1843<sup>47</sup>. In PRISSE’s opinion, he acted to save the monument from destruction. The blocks were sawn in segments and crated in twenty-seven boxes but shipment to France was delayed until the spring of 1844, when, only after lengthy negotiations, Prisse obtained the Khedive’s permission to export them<sup>48</sup>.

It was also illegal to export antiquities not previously checked by the inspectors of the Service. In the years 1912/13, this matter became the subject of a controversy between ARTHUR WEIGALL, who was Inspector in Upper Egypt<sup>49</sup>, and MASPERO, since the latter usually allowed the missions to take much more than half of the objects they found. In November 1912, MASPERO summarized his conflict with Weigall in a letter to his wife Louise<sup>50</sup>. Some months later, in 1913, WEIGALL wrote to ALAN H. GARDINER (1879–1963) on the subject:

[In Upper Egypt] I generally made the selection of what the Museum wanted, visiting the excavations for this purpose and going through the finds in the rough before they were cleaned or shown to advantage. I had no idea what the Cairo Museum required [...] in any one class of objects, for my work gave me very little opportunities for visiting the Museum; and I therefore made a quite casual selection [...] of what happened to strike me as being needed by us. Other excavators, considering that I was severe in my selection, preferred to take their finds to Cairo, where often only a few boxes were unpacked for inspection. Other excavators did not show their finds at all, but the selection was made at Cairo by means of photographs.<sup>51</sup>

The same year, WEIGALL wrote again to GARDINER about the objects kept by the Antiquities Service during the “partage”, which the excavator could eventually buy later from the Service:

I quite agree that the excavator from whom we have taken our full half shall have the first right to buy any object which we have taken from him but which we do not intend to exhibit. I had not put that clause in, simply because I imagined that the thing would happen naturally; for the excavator would naturally say during the division, ‘I say, let me have first chance of buying that thing;’ and we should naturally say, ‘Certainly.’ However, I will put it in.<sup>52</sup>

Beginning in 1919, the rules for the “partage” of antiquities changed, and serious disputes arose between PIERRE LACAU (1873–1963), Director of the Antiquities Service in those years, and HOWARD CARTER on behalf of LORD CARNARVON (1866–1923) when the tomb of TUTANKHAMUN was discovered. The crisis arose not only regarding the destination of the rich material found but also due to the general political situation. In the end, as it is well known, the treasure of Tutankhamun stayed in Egypt, with CARNARVON receiving 34,971 Egyptian pounds in compensation for the cost of the tomb’s clearance<sup>53</sup>. In the popular Egyptian press, this resolution of the crisis, commonly linked to state sovereignty, was viewed as a victory of the Egyptian people<sup>54</sup>.

In the following years, foreign archaeologists continued to apply to obtain a part of their finds in accordance with the law. In the LACAU collection of the

Milan University archives, for example, we found some documents related to the excavations of GEORGE A. REISNER (1867–1942) at Giza and his request for some objects for the Boston collection. On 20 January 1930, he sent a list of his finds to ENGELBACH from the Harvard Camp at Giza with photographs and notes as LACAU had requested, claiming that the latter had promised to push the division to a decision<sup>55</sup>. As a matter of fact, LACAU decided to give REISNER some of the objects on the list that are now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston – such as numerous fragments of the offering table of ANKHAF (25-2-382.1-42, etc.), and fragmentary reliefs from the tomb G7752Z (29-12-141)<sup>56</sup>.

Although Law 14 of 1912 allowed the division of finds between the Egyptian Government and the foreign archaeological missions, LACAU was the first to be very strict in applying it, giving the authorization to export only a very small number of items. This situation obtained until the new Law 117 of 1983 was promulgated prohibiting the trade in antiquities while allowing the division of only ten per cent of newly discovered objects, exclusively for the purpose of scientific research or museum display. In addition, the Egyptian authorities had the right to make the first selection from any discoveries. Finally, in 1988, a ministerial decree banned any division. The new modified antiquities Law 3 of 2010 prohibited once again the division and imposed stiffer penalties on illicit traffic<sup>57</sup>.

For the history of the discoveries and of collections, the specific content of the lists of partage now preserved in public museums should be evaluated, keeping in mind that objects coming from a specific excavation could have been bought after the partage by the same museum or foreign mission, in the Sale Room of the Egyptian Museum.

### **The Sale Room, the market, theft**

After long debates on the objectives and organization of the Sale Room, one of the purposes of the law issued in 1951 for the protection of the Egyptian antiquities was to accomplish the intention already expressed during the *Conférence Internationale des Fouilles du Caire*, in 1937, that all countries could allow foreign museums legally to acquire antiquities similar to those already present in one collection, provided their destination was another public museum<sup>58</sup>.

Therefore, the law encouraged the sale of antiquities to public institutions to share knowledge, and established strict custom controls to prevent antiquities leaving the country illegally. In addition, it stated that the authenticity of the objects sold could be certified only by the Antiquities Service<sup>59</sup>. As a matter of fact, antiquities could be bought from the many dealers<sup>60</sup>, official or improvised, working mostly in Cairo, Alexandria, and Luxor (see HAGEN/RYHOLT, this volume). Such merchants purchased objects through the Sale Room, as can be seen from its Register, but might also easily acquire antiquities which had been illegally unearthed or stolen from excavations.

In 1976, at the first International Congress of Egyptology in Cairo, LABIB

HABACHI (1906–1984) presented a courageous paper on the robberies of Egyptian monuments in the first half of the twentieth century that opened the way for enforcing the laws on the protection of cultural heritage<sup>61</sup>. It was becoming evident that no antiquity could leave the country as in times past.



*Fig. 9: Improvised antiquities dealers in a photograph taken by Ch. Kuentz in the Thirties.*

### Gifts of State

Another aspect that deserves to be studied is related to the official gifts of antiquities made by the Egyptian government during a span of more than one and a half centuries, starting with MUHAMMAD 'ALI and continuing at least to ANWAR AL-SADAT (1970–1981)<sup>62</sup>. As is well known, many monuments left Egypt at the end of the 1960s as gifts of President GAMAL ABDEL NASSER to the nations that contributed to the salvage operation of the Nubian temples<sup>63</sup>. A new subject for research consists in the identification of objects presented during official visits of the Egyptian heads-of-state to foreign countries, or donated to heads-of-state visiting Egypt. This practice of offering native arts or prized antiques is well attested worldwide. The Italian President GIOVANNI LEONE, for example, offered an Etruscan “Bucchero” vase to the President of the United States GERALD R. FORD in September 1974<sup>64</sup>; in December 1975, the Israeli Defense Minister SHIMON PERES donated to the same American president a Roman glass vessel dating back to the I<sup>st</sup>–II<sup>nd</sup> centuries A.D.<sup>65</sup>; such cases could be multiplied.

As far as Egyptian antiquities are concerned, the initial results of a related research project were presented by AL-ACHMAWI in 2012<sup>66</sup>. The objects chosen as gifts-of-state were usually statuettes of divinities, alabaster vessels, amulets, or small items of this kind. There is no evidence that antiquities have been given away as state gifts after the presidency of AL-SADAT. By the way, it seems that since the early 1980s, the practice of offering antiquities as state gifts has nearly ceased throughout the world.

### Notes

- 1 This contribution is an updated and shortened version of an article previously published by the author – see Piacentini 2013/2014, 105–130 pls. XII-XXI.
- 2 On the Egyptological archives of the University of Milan, see Piacentini 2010, 61–114.
- 3 Gouvernement Égyptien 1894, 7; see also Griffith 1897, 24.
- 4 On some specific points of the present contribution, see Maget 2009; Hagen – Ryholt 2016.
- 5 On the Quibell Archives, see Orsenigo 2016/2017, 32–44.
- 6 Letter now kept in the archives of the Institut de France, ms 4006, folios 453–458.
- 7 Khater 1960, 281.
- 8 The account books of the Antiquities Service, June 1884 until January 1888, are now preserved in the archives of the Institut de France, ms 4052, folios 355–366.
- 9 Petrie 1931, 51; 59; 72.
- 10 Drower 1985, 84.
- 11 Maspero 1883, 7 plan s.n.
- 12 The text of the letter in David 2003, 144–145.
- 13 Daressy 1928, 7–9.
- 14 Daressy 1928, 10–11; see also Hayes 1959, 395–431.
- 15 See the objects from <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/544700?rpp=20&pg=1&ao=on&ft=Sennedjem&pos=2> to <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/561775?pos=34&rpp=20&pg=2&ao=on&ft=Sennedjem>, (14.03.2017) .
- 16 Daressy 1928, 8 note 1; Daressy 1920, 160.
- 17 Podvin 2002, 77–83; see also Eaton-Krauss 1997; Mahmoud 2011.
- 18 Podvin 2002, 79 notes 10–11.
- 19 For the text, see David 2003, 177; 216; 234.
- 20 Goyon 2007, 14–17. The author, because of a misunderstanding, writes that Maspero “organisa des *ventes publiques aux enchères* à l’intention des musées étrangers et des particuliers” (our Italics).
- 21 Wilson 1964, 80; see also Waxman 2008, 183–186.
- 22 De Morgan 1892, XVIII.
- 23 Budge 1920, II, 330–331.
- 24 Jaunay 1997, 380–381.
- 25 Gabolde 1990, 31.
- 26 For the text of the letter, now in the Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Unimi, Loret collection, see Piacentini 2013/2014, 114–115.
- 27 Roth-Lochner 2003, 252.
- 28 On Barsanti, who died in 1917, see Piacentini 2011b, 61–67; Bierbrier 2012, 42–43.
- 29 Petrie 1931, 140.
- 30 Harer 2008, 111–113.
- 31 Fiechter 2009, 85–90.
- 32 Piacentini 2011a, 3–42.
- 33 See e.g. Sladen 1911, 97; Baedeker 1929, 476.
- 34 Roure 2010, 182; Ramon Tragan 2013, 80–91.
- 35 Bothmer 1983, 104–105.
- 36 Bergé 2017, 74 lot 87.

- 37 Personal communication, 30 April 2013.
- 38 Khater 1960; Al-Achmawi, 2012.
- 39 For this text, see David 2003, 249.
- 40 Griffith 1903, 12.
- 41 Budge 1920, II, 361–363; see also Fagan 2004, 198–203.
- 42 Onderka 2009. On the mastaba chapels that the Antiquities Service sold to foreign museums, see Brovarski, 1996, 34–36; 42.
- 43 On the significance and role of international exhibitions, see Maget 2009, 205–212.
- 44 Skiff 1904, 1389–1390.
- 45 Silverman 1997, 170–175.
- 46 See, e.g., Bierbrier 1995, 10–11.
- 47 The exportation ban issued by the “moudir” d’Esneh, dated 1843, is still preserved in the archives of the Société archéologique et historique de l’arrondissement d’Avesnes, Musée Villien, Miscellanées-Prisse d’Avennes n° 3; see Andreu 1998, 28; see also Waxman 2008, 71–74.
- 48 Delange 2011, 55.
- 49 Hankey 2001, 183.
- 50 Cited by David 2003, 531–532.
- 51 Hankey 2001, 183.
- 52 Hankey 2001, 185.
- 53 Gady 2006, 60 note 53.
- 54 Colla 2007, 199–210.
- 55 Biblioteca e Archivi di Egittologia, Unimi, Lacau collection, Reisner correspondence.
- 56 In the MFA inventory books these items are described as “from Giza. Excavated by the Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts Expedition; assigned to the MFA by the government of Egypt” or “assigned to the MFA in the division of finds by the government of Egypt”.
- 57 Al-Achmawi 2012, 34–57.
- 58 Khater 1960, 231.
- 59 Khater 1960, 254.
- 60 On some antiquities dealers, see Gunter 2002, 89–119; Hagen – Ryholt 2016.
- 61 Habachi 1979, 271–275; Kamil 2007, 250–254; see also Waxman 2008, 23–24; 373–375.
- 62 See Auel 1996.
- 63 See e.g. Okasha 2010, 241.
- 64 <http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/museum/ArtifactCollectionSamples/Catagories/StateGifts/ClayPot.html>, (14.03.2017). This vase, found in Vulci (Italy) on 19 February 1962, is now in the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and Museum, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
- 65 [http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/staff\\_favorites/romanVessel%20.asp](http://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/staff_favorites/romanVessel%20.asp), (14.03.2017). This vessel is one of many state gifts, now in the Gerald R. Ford Presidential library and Museum, Ann Arbor, which were exchanged during the peace negotiations between the United States, Israel, and Egypt.
- 66 Al-Achmawi 2012, 122–130.