

The Egyptian Role in the Excavation and Conservation of Tutankhamun's Collection (1923-1930)

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The significance of Tut collection comes from not just being fabulous wealth that was hidden away more than thirty centuries ago in the Valley of the Kings, but the discovery itself appeals as an addition to our knowledge in uncounted fields. So far its effect has been to force the scholar and the man in the street to take an interest in the civilization that was capable of producing such perfect works of art (Smith 2013, 44).

Abstract

The discovery and excavation of the tomb of King Tut by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon continued for nearly seven years, from 1923 to 1930, with some intervals. The Egyptian contribution to Carter's excavation mission has always been neglected. The only reference to the Egyptian role in Carter's archaeological expedition concerns the work of Dr. Saleh Bey Hamdi, who participated in the examination of and the writing up of the report on Tut's mummy. The importance of Egypt's contribution to the clearance and conservation of Tut's matchless treasures from 1923 to 1930 is highlighted in this article. Despite the fact that Egypt's role may appear modest for a variety of reasons, the Egyptian public's attitude toward it was enormous. So much so that it encouraged Egypt's government to invest in Egyptology and archaeology education. Moreover, Egyptian participation in the excavation of Tut's tomb inspired the Egyptians to improve their knowledge of, and expand their own presence in, the excavation works.

Keywords: Carter, Tut, Reis, inspector, mummy, entomology, Alfieri, Saleh Hamdi.

Introduction

On 5th November 1922, Carter wrote in his pocket diary: "*Discovered tomb under tomb of Ramesses VI investigated same & found seals intact*".⁽¹⁾

Yet the official opening of the tomb was on 29th November 1922. The clearance of the tomb and the preservation of its treasures took almost one decade.⁽²⁾ Many obstacles hampered the excavation and preservation efforts, and Carter lost contact with Egyptian authorities. The sale of exclusive press rights to the Times of London by Lord Carnarvon, the cancellation of the division of Tut's collection, which was considered a unique national treasure,⁽³⁾ and, finally, the Egyptian Antiquities Service's supervision and surveillance of Carter's work are among the most significant of these roadblocks.⁽⁴⁾ Though legal, the press arrangement with the Times of London was seen as an affront not only to Egypt's news media, but also to the foreign press. Carter lost the support of an effective personality who used to enjoy power on the High British Commissioner when Lord Carnarvon died in April 1923. With the British Protectorate no longer in place, the Egyptian Antiquities Service began to assert greater supervision over the excavation of Tut's tomb. Carter resented the loss of power over his discovery, which had been put in the Cairo Museum on May 14, 1923, with the arrival of the first artefacts of the excavation work.⁽⁵⁾

Lady Carnarvon had not only renewed the excavation concession in her own name (from July 12th to November 1st 1924), but she had also renewed the exclusive press rights contract with the Times of London, causing significant consternation among the world news media.⁽⁶⁾ Carter allowed select people to see and inspect Tut's mummy in February 1924, which resulted in the mummy's wrappings being removed. Carter also requested that the excavators' spouses (22 ladies) visit the tomb before the press conference, a request which Pierre Lacau, Egypt's director of antiquities from 1914 until 1936, forwarded to the Minister of Public Works. When Carter's request was denied by the Minister of Public Works, he went on strike and left the large stone lid on Tut's mummy in an insensitive manner. As a result, Egyptian officials accused Carter of incompetence and negligence; nonetheless, Carter requested a letter of apology from Egypt for what he saw as the Egyptian government's disdain for him and his employees.⁽⁷⁾ The Egyptian government required Carter and Lady Carnarvon to sign a waiver

agreeing not to lay a claim on the Tutankhamun artefacts. Carter went to a “mixed court” and then to his English lawyer, F. M. Maxwell, who made an ill-advised remark about the Egyptian government, declaring, “*The Egyptian Government had acted like bandits*”. This occurred at a pivotal juncture in Egypt’s anti-British sentiment.

More issues arose as a result of the official inspection of Carter’s store room on March 30, 1924, which revealed an un-inventoried and documented wooden head of King Tut. Winlock, who oversaw the Metropolitan Museum’s Egyptian Expedition, did everything he could to justify Carter’s actions. The Egyptian Antiquities Service accepted his argument, despite it being less than convincing.⁽⁸⁾ Carter created a new critical problem by compiling his “*The Tomb of Tutankhamun. Statement, with Documents as to the Events Which Occurred in the Winter of 1923–24, leading to the ultimate break with the Egyptian Government (For Private Circulation only)*”. Early in June 1924, the first copies arrived fresh off the press, with a print run of only a few dozen copies. Despite its limited circulation, the Statement sparked outrage among Carter’s opponents and allies alike, including Winlock, who swiftly withdrew his support. Carter offered to have the offending language removed from the Statement’s remaining copies. He was presumably aware that he was alone, that he had gone as far as he could, and that his wrath had come to an end. Carter also pledged to give up all personal rights to Tut’s collection, and Lady Carnarvon did the same, but the Carnarvon estate refused to give up its claim to reimbursement. Carter also declined to renew the Times of London’s exclusive contract for a third season, however he did agree to Egyptian government surveillance in the presence of an Antiquities Service Inspector. The Egyptians appear to have reclaimed full control of the excavations.⁽⁹⁾

In January 1925, Carter returned to the tomb and resumed his excavations. He proceeded about his work of removing the coffins. Unwrapping the mummy revealed a quandary that demanded the involvement of an Egyptian doctor and coordinator. The artefacts were ultimately rescued, packaged, and transported to the

Cairo Museum. They removed the last object from the tomb on November 10, 1930, almost eight years after it was discovered.⁽¹⁰⁾ Carter's conflict with Egyptian officials, as well as the clearance and conservation of Tut's collection, became well-known.

Literature Review

There have been several publications written about the excavation of Tut's tomb, but none has concentrated on the Egyptian contribution. Egypt's role in keeping the Tut's collection intact and undivided was constantly in the spotlight. *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun*, by T.G.H. James, has meticulously collected the Griffith Institute's archives in London, the Metropolitan Museum of Art's files, and other private collections relating to Tut's tomb or Howard Carter.⁽¹¹⁾ *The Gold of Tutankhamen* by Kamal el-Mallakh delves deeper into Tut's tomb.⁽¹²⁾ By contacting Gerigar and other Qufitis, Ibrahem Kamel was able to gather oral history about the tomb's excavation.⁽¹³⁾ In her "Shouldering the Past: Photography, Archaeology, and Collective Effort at the Tomb of Tutankhamun",⁽¹⁴⁾ Christina Riggs fully examined Burton's photos based on the archives of the Griffith Institute in London and the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York.⁽¹⁵⁾ Thomas Hoving offered a thorough examination of Carter's misdeeds.⁽¹⁶⁾ Maximilian Georgee has chronicled and recorded the history of Egyptian workers in contemporary archaeological missions in Egypt in his article "Antiquity Bound to Modernity: The Significance of Egyptian Workers in Modern Archaeology in Egypt".⁽¹⁷⁾

In a series of influential publications, including the *Indigenous Egyptology*,⁽¹⁸⁾ *Contesting for Antiquities*,⁽¹⁹⁾ and *Remembering and Forgetting Tutankhamun*,⁽²⁰⁾ Donald Reid provided many profound insights into the excavation work of Tut's treasures. In his *Luxor in the Eyes of Egyptian Journalism*, Ahmed Abdel Raheem has documented highly informative yet scattered articles about Luxor, Tutankhamen, and tourism history.⁽²¹⁾ In his unpublished PhD dissertation on *The Role of Egyptians in Archaeological Excavations*, Hosam el-Din Shalaby has

surveyed many published reports of archaeological missions in Egypt, yet he escaped Tut's tomb.⁽²²⁾

So far, there is no serious discussion of the Egyptian contribution to the clearance and conservation of Tut's Collection from 1923 to 1930. The goal of this study is to look at the frequently overlooked Egyptian workers in Carter's mission through the records of the Service des Antiquities employees who monitored Carter's work for over seven years. After that, Saleh Hamdi's examination of Tut's mummy and the society of entomology's analysis of the tomb's insects will be discussed. Anastasi Alfiri's entomology report was not included in Carter's volumes, which is a dissimulation that needs to be justified. The final element presented in this article will be Egypt's financial contribution to Tut's tomb excavation work and Egyptian endeavours to invest in Egyptology education.

During the preparation of this study, many valuable archives have been generously placed at my disposal.⁽²³⁾ Files of the employees of the "*Antiquities de Service*" at *Dar Al-Mahfouzat* (the National Archives at the Citadel) and the Griffith Institute Archive are key sources for writing this article.⁽²⁴⁾ From 1923 through 1930, the Egyptian parliament sessions and official reports on Egypt's budget added a lot to this article. The Times and Al-Ahram archives are also valuable sources of information. The families of several people who were involved in the removal and excavation of Tut's tomb contributed extremely valuable rare documentation and oral histories about the tomb's discovery.⁽²⁵⁾ Let us now consider the role of Egyptian foremen, labourers, and inspectors in the clearance of Tut's tomb.

The Egyptian Workforce in Tut's Tomb

Carnarvon and Carter's foremen and labourers primarily came from the various villages around al-Qurna.⁽²⁶⁾ The number of Carter's labourers who were involved in the clearance and excavation of Tut's tomb ranged from 75 to 175. They were largely villagers from the surrounding villages. The primary source of information on these labourers comes from their

descendants. Carter, on the other hand, only revealed a few names of his foremen on rare occasions, as recounted in his second volume: “*Last of all come my Egyptian staff and the Reises who have served me throughout the heat and burden of many long days, whose loyal services will always be remembered by me with respect and gratitude and whose names are herewith recorded Ahmed Gerigar, Hussein Ahmed Saide, Gad Hassan and Hussein Abou Owad*”.⁽²⁷⁾ In later stories about Tut, other names of the workers arose. Kamal el-Mallakh,⁽²⁸⁾ however, gave a completely different list of Carter’s reises, with no clear justification: “*Carter and Carnarvon employed 3 reises who remained at their side through the years: Ali Hassan, Mansur Mohamed el Hasbash and Mohammed Abdel-Ghaffar*”.⁽²⁹⁾ Unlike earlier Egyptologists such as Flinders Petri, who recorded the names of Egyptian workers in their archaeological missions (Fig. 1), Carter’s and Burton’s photographs of the Tut’s tomb excavation work unfortunately do not provide clear information about the identification of the anonymous Egyptian workers who appear in the photographs.



Fig. 1: In Petrie’s photographs, two boys working in Petrie’s excavation are referred to as “*Abd el Hamed Abdel Gani*” and “*Smeim Suleiman*”, Tanis series no. 366, Petrie Album 7 in the Griffith Institute, Copyright Griffith Institute, and University of Oxford.

None of the workers who took part in the excavations of Tut's tomb are identified either in Burton's or the Times of London's photographs. However, one photograph (Fig. 2) published by the Times admits the work done by the –Egyptian– small boy is incredibly challenging. The boy's name and any other essential facts are missing from the Times, though Burton and Carter could easily fill in the blanks. The identification of Egyptian labourers is out of Burton's camera's focus.⁽³⁰⁾

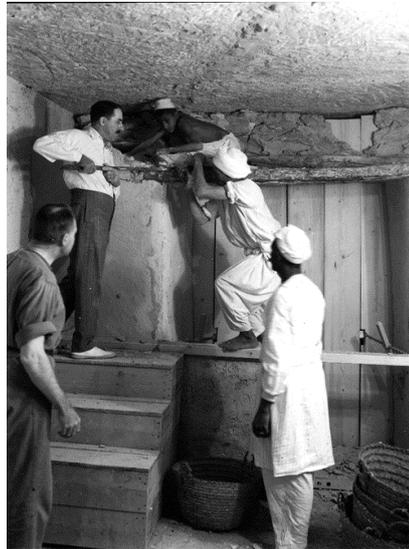


Fig. 2: Removing the Partition Wall- An early task at Luxor this season was the removal of the wall separating the ante-chamber and the funerary shrine. Mr. Carter and Mr. Callender at work. The small boy seen crouching on the wall played an important part in this difficult operation. (The Times, Friday, December 28, 1923: Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford).

The photograph and written statement in The "Times" expressed complete respect and admiration for the boy's contribution, while no attempt was made to include his identity. Carter's job of clearance and discovery of Tut's unparalleled collection included a large number of Egyptian workers. Carter made no attempt to identify them in his images or in his volumes on Tut's tomb for unknown reasons. Only shots of Egyptian

employees at work are included in Carter's image archive and Burton's camera. Other cameras captured human glimpses in Carter's camp. For example, the camera of Mace's wife captured a birthday celebration for Harkness, which depicts the unnamed indigenous and the team of the Metropolitan Museum of Art sharing jubilee celebrations (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3: Watching the “fantasia” organised for Mr. Harkness on his birthday on 22nd January 1924, the collection of Margaret Orr (Lee, Christopher 1992, 127).³¹

Boutros Tadros

From a variety of sources, a few names of Carter's Egyptian staff could be gathered. Many Egyptians claimed to have worked for Carter, despite the fact that they are not mentioned in Carter's diaries or books. *Boutros Tadros* (Fig. 4) was one of the Egyptian labourers who worked with Carter for a few years; when the tomb of Tut was uncovered, he was only 14 years old. *Tadros* commented in a long interview with Cecil Beaton for the Illustrated London News: “*I remember it so vividly to this day! it was a joy to work for Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Carter. They were both so high-spirited full of jokes and enthusiasm. They were very kind and considerable to their 200 helpers, and they fired me with my lifelong passion*”.⁽³²⁾



Fig. 4: The full transcript of Cecil Beaton's conversation with Tadros Botros was published in the Illustrated London News, Friday 1 June 1973.

Tadros emphasized that he was a boy working for Carter, when the tomb was discovered “*I Do everything he suggests, listen to every word and hang the expense which will not be much...*” . *Tadros* was then elevated to the position of timekeeper, which meant he was in charge of scheduling the workforce's shifts. He was also the link between Carter and Egyptian labourers.⁽³³⁾ *Tadros* worked for 5 years with Carter,⁽³⁴⁾ who took him to England for a four-months holiday in 1927.⁽³⁵⁾ Carter, *Tadros* maintained, cared about his employees both during and after the conflict. *Tadros* became a tour guide after the unearthing of Tutankhamun's tomb, although tourism inflow was halted for many years due to WWII. As a result, he worked for the British government, paving roads. This is partly due to his superb command of the English language, and possibly due to Carter's endorsement. Later on, *Tadros* didn't need celebrity because he was hired as a tour guide by Thomas Cook, who had a big waiting list. Carter ignored not only *Tadros*, but a slew of other professional Egyptian workers as well.

Hussein Ahmed and Hussein Awad

According to Carter, two workers with the first name *Hussein* were praised by him: *Hussein Ahmed* and *Hussein Awad*. Thanks to Al-Ahram,⁽³⁶⁾ *Hussein Ahmed* became well-known when both Lord Carnarvon's family and the Egyptian government asked for a reward for him. According to Al-Ahram, *Hussein Ahmed* went against Carter's instructions and discovered Tut's tomb as a result of his personal initiative.⁽³⁷⁾ When Carter went on strike and left Egypt in 1924, an Egyptian ad hoc committee led by Lacau was formed to catalogue the tomb's contents. Rex Engelbach agreed to have assistant foreman Hussein present throughout the inspection, and Winlock asked him to send a daily written report on the commission's operations. *Hussein* was a dependable member of the Metropolitan team. *Hussein* was told by Winlock to keep a close check on the situation and keep submitting reports.⁽³⁸⁾ A certain *Hussein* appeared in several of the iconic images documenting the finding of Tut's tomb and Carter's excavation operations (Figs. 5-6).



Fig. 5: In October 1925, Carter and a worker examined Tut's pure gold innermost sarcophagus (Image: Burton, [the Griffith Institute, Oxford](#). Colorized by Dynamichrome)



Fig. 6: Carter, Mace,³⁹ and an Egyptian worker meticulously roll up the linen pall covering the second shrine on 30th Dec. 1923 (Image: Harry Burton ©, The Griffith Institute, Oxford. Colorized by Dynamichrome).

Mrs. Burton claims that there was another *Hussein* who worked as Harry Burton's assistant. *Hussein* approached her after Burton's death and begged for her assistance in finding work. Mrs. Burton commented "*I didn't know what he was fit for – having, as far as I knew, done nothing but camera work for 20 years or so*".⁽⁴⁰⁾ Mrs. Burton's letter to the Metropolitan Director, informing him of *Hussein's* whereabouts, was riddled with problems. It is unclear why a photographer trained by Burton, the dean of photographers, could not find work in Egypt in the 1940s, when the Egyptianizing movement of fieldworks was at its peak and excavation missions opened the way for the inclusion of more and more Egyptians.

Ahmed Gerigar

Reis Ahmed Gerigar was probably the most famous of Carter's Egyptian workforce. He was the Chief *Reis* (foreman) and the sender of the famous letter, in English, which he wrote in 1924, wishing Carter to come back: "*Beg to write this letter hoping you are enjoying good health and ask the Almighty to keep you and bring you back to us in safety, all the Reises and ghaffirs, he added, beg to send their best regards... My best remarks to your honorable self... longing to your early coming*".⁽⁴¹⁾ *Gerigar* was from *Quft* (in Qena Province), and he began working in the Valley of the Kings with Carter in 1922, and he continued until the entire collection of Tut's tomb was transferred to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. A few days before the discovery of Tut's tomb, Howard Carter expressed his negative feelings: "*This was to be our final season in the Valley. Six full seasons we had...and found nothing, and only an excavator knows how desperately depressing that can be; we...were preparing to leave the Valley and try our luck elsewhere*".⁽⁴²⁾

Gerigar was confident that they would be rewarded and that they were on the verge of making a breakthrough. So, on that day, he crossed the Nile, saw Carter at the Winter Palace Hotel, and persuaded him to continue digging the next day. *Gerigar* noticed an ancient chiselling in place, and the untouched chips that began to surface in the course of labour toward the end of October, and it was the Egyptological sense that he had developed through tens of years of hard efforts. *Gerigar* swore to Carter that if the excavations returned nothing after two days, he would pay all of the workers' wages on his behalf. Carter's labourers, directed by the highly skilled *Reis Ahmed Gerigar*, cleaned the trash beneath Ramesses' tomb on November 1, 1922. Then they cut through a 3-foot layer of what Carter refers to as "soil" or "heavy rubbish" in his diary. They uncovered the beginning of a flight of sixteen stone steps three days later, when Carter was away from the site.⁽⁴³⁾

Many of the Egyptian workforce confirmed Carter's absence at the time of Tut's tomb discovery, this fact was managed in London in the 1930s, and a confirmation that Carter

was present was released.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Carter did not accept being away during the discovery of Tut's tomb, even though it was not expected of Carter as the excavation team's director to be present on the site at all times.⁽⁴⁵⁾ When the steps leading down to the tomb were first cleaned, however, Carter was compelled by the tomb's exceptional importance to prevent any indication of his absence. During the years that followed, this reality was buried, along with Carter's workforce's role.

Abd el-Aal Ahmed

As the faithful servant of Carter,⁽⁴⁶⁾ Since he monopolized Carter's affection and interest, *Abd el-Aal Ahmed* was always paid the highest wage. *Abd el-Aal Ahmed* was one of the few labourers who appeared in Carter's diaries and notebooks at the Griffith Institute on several occasions. Carter's diaries and journals from the time he worked in Tut's tomb includes a short list of the wages paid to staff such *Rehan*, *Mohamed Baba* (Carter's personal cook), and *Taha Ahmed*. Despite this, *Abd el-Aal Ahmed* was constantly at the top of the list, earning the most money. The following is a list from March 1924:⁽⁴⁷⁾

Abd el-Al Ahmed 3.000

Taha Ahmed 2.000

Ibrahim 2.000

Rehan 2.100

Due for. Feb. 9.100

It is unclear whether Carter paid the workers himself or if they were added to the Metropolitan payroll list. The explanation for *Abd el-Aal Ahmed* receiving the highest payment is equally illogical. Perhaps he was Carter's bodyguard and keeper of secrets. Carter was grateful for *Abd el-Aal Ahmed's* efforts and help. So much so that he provided in his will, written in London on July 14, 1931, that if *Abd el-Aal Ahmed* was still "in my service at my death in appreciation of his many years' service", he would be granted £150.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Gad Hassan

Carter knew *Gad Hassan* before the excavation of Tut's tomb. *Gad Hassan* was a Qurnawi from *al-Tarif*. Carter benefited greatly from *Gad Hassan* as an antiquities trader, ⁽⁴⁹⁾ who was later on employed in the service of Carter during the excavation work on Tut's tomb.⁽⁵⁰⁾ *Gad Hassan* was one of Carter's four highly praised labourers in Volume 2.⁽⁵¹⁾

Abdel Maaboud Abdalla

Abdel Maaboud Abdalla (Fig. 7) was the ex-chief guardian of the Theban Necropolis and a sub-photographer for Carter.⁽⁵²⁾

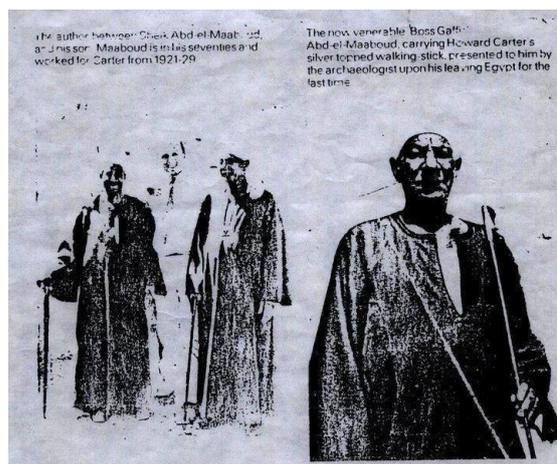


Fig. 7: To the right is *Hag Abdel Maboud* (Courtesy of Mr. Mohamed Nagdy, grandson of *Hag Abdel Maboud*).

The Relation between Carnarvon, Carter, and Egyptian Workforce

Lord Carnarvon was eager to demonstrate his good and friendly attitude toward the Egyptian labour, writing in the Times: “Thanks, however, to the infinite care, patience, and skill of the little band of workers, everything that has so far been handled has been removed without any damage.”⁽⁵³⁾ Even during the strike, Carter maintained contact with his Egyptian employees, indicating that he wanted to end the disagreement for his own sake. He wanted to

maintain a close relationship with the workers because he was still paying their wages. *Reis Ahmed Gerigar, Hussein Ahmed, Gad Hassan, and Hussein Awad* received their paychecks due on December 31, 1924, via check,⁽⁵⁴⁾ though the strike began on 15th February 1924.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Carter and his Egyptian staff looked to find common ground in the year 1925. On the 11th of October 1925, he characterised the work in the tomb of Tut in a positive light, praising the efforts and hard work of the workers: *“Considering the heat and the amount of the rubbish that covered the entrance... the Reises and workmen have carried out this piece of work in a quick and thoroughly efficient manner, for which they deserve great praise.”*⁽⁵⁶⁾ However, it appears that this harmony did not last, as Carter noted in his diaries shortly after that *“Having a lot of trouble from stupidity on the part of the Reises & men. It seems that they get more stupid as they get older - and slacker having been perhaps too long with me.”*⁽⁵⁷⁾

Generally speaking, Carter mostly maintained good relations with his Egyptian foremen and workmen, and seemed to have an understanding of them which was greatly appreciated by them in return. As the work continues, it seems that the misunderstanding and dispute changed into strong cooperation and interdependence.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Carter mentioned in his 1930 diaries that *“Although it is a fortnight since I requested the Inspector, Tewfik Effendi, to obtain skillful stone cutters to carry out this enlarging of the entrance passage and doorways, there are no signs of them yet! Such a state of affairs makes things all the more difficult, for until the sections are removed we are in want of space to continue our reparation and packing work. 22 - 31 Oct. The stone cutters arrived on the 22nd and commenced cutting away the south side of the passage and entrance door-ways to allow the larger sections of the shrines to pass out. This was not completed until the 31st of the month, although five masons were employed”*. In his late diaries, he described how at ease he was in the company of the people of Western Thebes, and indeed of Egyptians in general. Carter spoke their language, lived with them, and socialised with the Qurna people. His previous successful excavation and experience at Tikh el-Qarnus may bolster this

opinion.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Having considered the role of some well-known Egyptian labourers, who helped clear and excavate Tut's tomb, let us now turn into the roles of governmental officials.

The Antiquities Service Inspectors

The Antiquities Service inspectors were not part of Carter's team that cleared Tut's tomb. The inspectors' names appear only as official observers of Carter's work in the work reports. Carter's views and comments on the Egyptian inspectors are mostly negative, despite the fact that some of them previously worked under his supervision as an antiquities inspector. The dispute between Carter and Egyptian authorities most likely left a negative impression on Egyptian inspectors, who included the following names:

Mohamed Bey Chaban (1866-1930)

Mohamed Bey Chaban (Fig. 8) was an Egyptian archaeologist who also worked as a local antiquities inspector at a number of sites. After his uncle *Ahmed Kamal* retired, he worked as an assistant curator at the Cairo Museum.⁽⁶⁰⁾ He published 11 articles for the ASAE.⁽⁶¹⁾ He assisted Edgar,⁽⁶²⁾ who was appointed chief inspector of the Delta in 1905, and he had cleaned up the *Tukh el-Qaramus* finds.⁽⁶³⁾



Fig. 8: *Mohamed Chaban* (Bierbrier 2012, 74-75, 112).

Maspero has already admitted his positive role “*Mohamed Effendi Chaban is among our old inspectors and most distinguished this year: promoted to the first class of his post⁽⁶⁴⁾ ... he was excellent assistant for Mr. Edgar in his excavations at Toukh-el-Qarmous and in the recovery of the Zagazig treasure*”. From May 1912 to Dec. 1916, *Mohamed Chaban* served as an inspector at Giza before he worked as an assistant curator in the Cairo Museum. Maspero commented on *Chaban* academic publications during the first decade of the 20th century “*Mohamed Effendi Chabân, was a student of our school, he could read easy texts, and he was able to publish in our Annals some of the monuments that he had discovered*”.⁽⁶⁵⁾ Although *Chaban* attended the unwrapping of the mummy of Tut in 1925,⁽⁶⁶⁾ he was not praised for his role or presence by Carter, who, on the contrary, complained that “*Chaban Effendi, the Museum delegate, endeavored to get me to show his friends the tomb today - though they hadn't any permits*”.⁽⁶⁷⁾ Carter complained that the inspector holds possession of the tomb's keys. He wished he had the keys himself or at least one of the “*ghaffirs*” or guards of the tomb. He complained of time waste due to this action, and kept asking Lacau for remedies. Yet the latter decently and firmly kept refusing his unconvincing requests.⁽⁶⁸⁾ Such official procedures which did not win the favoritism of Carter might have hindered any potential educational benefits for the Egyptian inspectors.

Tewfik Boulos

Boulos has been a promising individual since his early childhood in *Asyut*, where he obtained his Primary Certificate in 1900 as the 23rd of 700 successful applicants. He graduated from *Asyut* College and began working as a temporary clerk for the Antiquities Service for 6 months. In 1902, Carter, as Chef Inspector of Upper Egypt, requested permission from the Antiquities Service to hire *Boulos* as a permanent employee.⁽⁶⁹⁾ *Boulos* worked as Carter's secretary from 1902 to 1905. *Tewfik Effendi Boulos* and *Chehata Ayoub* were Carter's provisional secretaries.⁽⁷⁰⁾ In 1905, *Tewfik* was permanently appointed and received an annual salary of LE 60 as an inspector at *Sohag*. In

1905, he moved to *Minya* to replace *Arif*; then he acted as an inspector at Thebes in 1914-6; he then replaced Chaban as an inspector at Giza until 1924.⁽⁷¹⁾ He published many articles for the ASAE.⁽⁷²⁾ Lacau kept reporting positively about *Boulos* who became Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt from 22 Oct. 1924 to the first of July 1925.⁽⁷³⁾ He continued Chef Inspector of Upper Egypt until 1934.⁽⁷⁴⁾

The strong relation between Carter and Engelbach paved the way for *Boulos* to become the Chef Inspector of Upper Egypt, while Engelbach was responsible for Middle and Lower Egypt, except for Saqqara.⁽⁷⁵⁾ On 12th Jan. 1925, *Tewfik* applied for Ancient Egyptian and Coptic languages exams at the Egyptian University, where he scored 28 marks out of 30 for each exam. Before obtaining this high position, *Tewfik* was re-evaluated because he was last evaluated on 7th Jul. 1923 before he joins the Cairo Museum, where he was praised for his administrative abilities, but criticized for his low academic level. The American College at Luxor testified to his ability and success as an efficient instructor. In 1929, *Tewfik* acted as the Chef Inspector of Upper Egypt. Probably the most distinguishing contribution of *Tewfik* was his suggestion to conserve the Great Hypostyle Hall of Karnak, where he sent a written proposal to *Othman Bey Fahmy*, the Director of *Qena*, to encourage him to find some way to put his proposal into action.⁽⁷⁶⁾

During the clearance of Tut's tomb, the inspectors of Antiquities Service were the communication medium between Carter's team and the Egyptian authorities. The inspectors willingly kept doing their duty for the sake of the Egyptian authorities, though Carter in many cases criticized their late arrival as he had to wait for them to open the tomb and the lab. Generally, the overall performance of the inspectors of Antiquities Service was acceptable by Carter, who sometimes expressed in his diaries a negative tone towards the inspectors: "*Find work very tiring when having an inspector watching one and asking questions as to one's actions the whole time!*" The next day, as if in small part to moderate this criticism, he writes: *Getting along very well with*

Tawfik Effendi and Edward Effendi notwithstanding they kept me waiting (they being late) and both told me how to do my work – reparation of chair 351 and the removal of the shrines from the Tomb!!!”⁽⁷⁷⁾ In 1934, Tewfik, with other antiquarians, were granted *Officier de L’ordre de la Couronne d’Italie* by the Italian king who was in an official visit to Egypt.⁽⁷⁸⁾ Tewfik was a special case as he was recommended by different and sometime contradicting individuals along his career life beginning with Carter, Daressy, Cecil Firth,⁽⁷⁹⁾ and Lacau.⁽⁸⁰⁾ The latter wrote very positive reports for the period 1925 to 1935, except for 1928, evaluating Tewfik as “*of extreme, authoritarian treatment with his employees*”. In 1929, Lacau praised Tewfik and his treatment with his employees “*His behaviour with his employees is much better than before*”.⁽⁸¹⁾

Abadir Effendi Michrqui

Abadir was sent to monitor Carter’s excavation of the tomb of Tut. In Carter’s reports, *Abadir Effendi Michrqui* is referred to as a negative example of the employees of the Antiquities Service. Yet *Abadir*’s file as an employee does not support Carter’s negative view and claims. It is known that *Abadir* continued to act as an antiquities inspector after the end of the work on Tut’s tomb. A dispatch was sent to *Abadir* by Winlock, asking for his permission to begin excavation work at the Khargeh Oasis, where *Abadir* served as an inspector and Winlock was authorized to clear Christian chapels and used the rest house of the Antiquities Service.⁽⁸²⁾ Upon his own request, *Abadir* retired in 1935 when he was 55 years old. He spent nearly 33 years as an employee at the Antiquities Service; he passed away 20 years after his retirement.⁽⁸³⁾

Ibrahim Mohamed Habib

In 1923, *Ibrahim Mohamed Habib* served as an inspector for the Antiquities Service at Luxor. He was often praised by the Egyptians as a highly qualified inspector and hard worker individual, who guided the Egyptians during their visits to Luxor after the excavation of Tut’s tomb: “*Mr Ibrahim exhausted himself in*

*showing & explaining the different tombs of Luxor, for us so **we thank him deeply for his great deeds***".⁽⁸⁴⁾

Saleh Hamdi from the Minister Technical Office

Saleh Hamdi (fig. 9) was the Egyptian coordinator and representative during the crisis of examining King Tut's mummy. The examination of Tut's mummy had represented a major challenge to Carter due to the refusal of the examination from almost all Egyptians, as well as from a large number of foreign groups. Carter sought an effective communicator with the Egyptian public to gain their support of the examination of the king's mummy. Saleh was probably the most convenient coordinator between the Egyptian authorities, the Egyptian public, and Carter.



Fig. 9: *Saleh Hamdi* (1888-1957). Courtesy of *Mahmoud Sadek*, grandson of *Saleh Bey Hamdi*

Saleh Hamdi was invited to share Dr. Derry in his mission of unwrapping and examining Tut's mummy. *Saleh* left his job as General Secretary of the Egyptian University on 9th Aug. 1925 for a position at Alexandria Municipality Sanitary. *Saleh* was known to the governmental administration even before 1925, for he was delegated on November 1923 to the technical office of the Health Ministry.⁽⁸⁵⁾ He wrote a weekly article for the "*Al-Syassa*" journal. Given his high administrative abilities, *Saleh* occupied many positions. It is more reasonable that the addition of his name to Carter's teamwork was

not a result of a recommendation letter or due to Saleh's strong connections with the official authorities. Rather, he was known for both sides of the dispute, i.e. the supporters of the mummy's unwrapping and examination and the opponents, mainly the Egyptians, who denied this action. Apart from the examination of Tut's mummy, *Saleh Hamdi* achieved many reforms in the Sanitarian administration, for which he was venerated and appreciated by the Egyptian government. In the 1960s, and as a sign of gratitude for his own deeds and achievements, the official authorities gave his name to one of the Alexandrian streets at *Sedi Beshr*.⁽⁸⁶⁾

Breaking into the tomb of Tut and stripping the mummy initiated an unprecedented debate over the relationship between archaeology and the rights of the dead.⁽⁸⁷⁾ Most of the Egyptians refused the unwrapping and the examination of the king's mummy. Egyptian Egyptologists such as *Selim Hasan* tried to relief the attack by publishing on Al-Ahram pages "*If examining the burial of King Tut is something that hurts the soul of the king, then there is something that raises a new spirit in an entire nation*".⁽⁸⁸⁾

Ten years later, the national feelings towards Tut's tomb became more reasonable, and different attitudes towards the examination of Tut's mummy appeared in *Haggagy's* Arabic book in 1938.⁽⁸⁹⁾ *Haggagy* fully described the mummy, where he justified the unwrapping of the mummy because the X-rays did not penetrate the linen wrappings. Carter described the day of dissection as follows: "*On 11 Nov. Today has been a great day in the history of archaeology, I might also say in the history of archaeological discovery, and a day of days for one who, after years of work, excavating, conserving & recording has longed to see in fact what previously has only been conjectural. At 9.45am. H.E. Saleh Enan Pasha, U.S.S. P.W.M.; M. P. Lacau D.G. Depart. Antiq.; Dr. D. Derry, Prof. Antq. School of Medc., Kasr El Eini, Cairo; Dr. Saleh Bey Hamdi, formerly Dir. of the same school,*⁽⁹⁰⁾ *H.E. Sayed Fuad Bey El Kholi, Mudir of Keneh; Mr. A. Lucas; Mr. H. Burton; Tewfik Eff. Boulos, Chief Insp. Up. Eg. For the Antiq. Depart; Mohamed Eff. Shaban, Ass. Cur. Cairo Mus.; Hamed Eff. Suliman, Tech. Sec. to the U.S.S.; and*

the Egyptian staff attached to our expedition; ⁽⁹¹⁾ arrived in the Valley of the tombs of the Kings (Fig. 10).⁽⁹²⁾



Fig. 10: The attendance of the mummy dissection, The Griffith Institute. Courtesy of Mr. *Mahmoud Sadeq*, grandson of *Saleh Bey Hamdi*. From left to right, *Mohamed Chaban* (Assistant Curator at Cairo Museum), *Saleh Pasha Anan or Enan* (Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Works, Douglas Derry (Professor of Anatomy School of Medicine, *Kasr El Eini*, Cairo, *Saleh Bey Hamdi* (Chief Inspector of Alexandria Sanitary Services), *A. Lucas* (Governmental chemist, Cairo Museum), *Sayid Fuad Bey el-Kholi* (Governor of Qena Province) (with his hands in his pockets), *Tewfik Effendi Boulos* (Chief Inspector of Upper Egypt), *Hamid Eff. Suliman* (member of Technical Office of Public Works Ministry), Howard Carter, and Pierre Lacau (Director of Antiquities Service).

The attendance consisted wholly of Egyptian government employees and local officials, members of the Antiquities Service and Carter's staff.⁽⁹³⁾ Carter mentioned in his diaries and volumes the names and positions of all Egyptians who witnessed the unwrapping of Tut's mummy. This is mainly to protect himself from any attack by those who were against the idea of the mummy's examination. The Times also emphasized the partnership of *Saleh Hamdi* and Douglas Derry in the examination of and report on the mummy.⁽⁹⁴⁾ It seems that *Saleh's* mission included more than sharing in unwrapping the mummy of Tut. Carter sent to *Saleh* a letter of gratitude (Fig. 11), in which he thanked Saleh for the troubles he bore on behalf of Carter, who welcomed *Saleh's* proposal of publishing a simplified edition of the report on Tut's mummy. Carter wanted to inform the Egyptian public with the original full report. Yet *Saleh* seems to have recommended an abbreviated version that would appeal more to the public. The mummy was sent back to the tomb on 31st Oct. 1926 in the presence of *Mohamed Shaban* (Assistant Curator of Cairo Museum) and *Mahmoud Roshdy* (Luxor Antiquities Inspector)⁹⁵

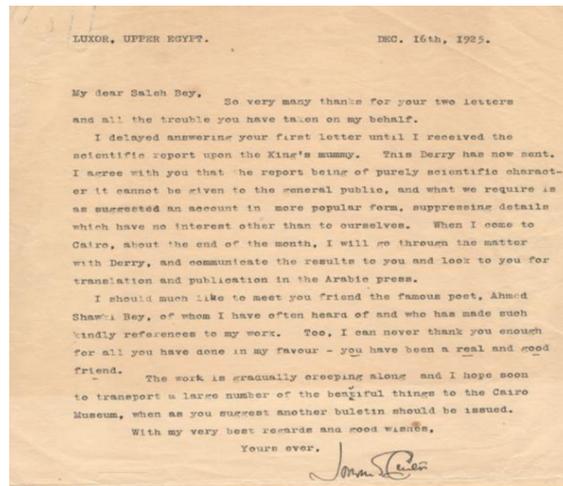


Fig. 11: A letter of thanks from Carter to Saleh Bey Hamdi (Dec. 16 1925). Courtesy of Mr. Mahmoud Sadeq, grandson of Saleh Bey Hamdi.

Anastasi Alfieri from the Royal Society of Entomology

In his second volume, Carter wrote “As a matter of scientific interest specimens were collected and were submitted to Mr. E. W. Adair,⁽⁹⁶⁾ who passed them to Mr. A. Alfieri (Fig. 12) entomologist of the Royal Agricultural Society,⁽⁹⁷⁾ by whom they were identified’.⁽⁹⁸⁾ Alfieri was an employee of the Ministry of Agriculture, where he worked for the Entomological Society for more than 62 years. He published nearly 34 papers in the *Entomological Society Bulletin*. His research interests are primarily on “*Coleoptera*”, which is the largest order of insects and represents 40 percent of the known insect species.⁽⁹⁹⁾ Yet he also examined other species from different areas in the world. As sign of gratitude for his achievements

and explorations in the field, specialists have named certain species after Alfieri's name.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾



Fig. 12: Anastasi Alfieri, 1892-1971,
(*Société entomologique d'Egypte*, Bulletin, Volume 54 1971).

Alfieri wrote his informative report on the beetles of Tut's tomb in English, and he expected that it would be published in the second volume of Carter's *The Tomb of Tut Ankh-Amen*.¹⁰¹ After the publication of the volume in 1927, Alfieri was disappointed to find that his note was aggrievedly summarized in a few lines, thus neglecting the scientific names of the insects which he has identified. Therefore, Alfieri decided to publish his entire note, in French as most of his publications, in the *Bulletin de la Société*

Royale Entomologique d'Egypte.⁽¹⁰²⁾ Being a short preliminary report and unrelated to Ancient Egypt, Carter could justify the absence of Alfieri's report from the volume. Yet, Alfieri's report seems to have been quite adequate for Carter's purpose as he was asked to define the types of beetles sent to him, a task that he professionally carried out, or to put it in *El-Hennawy's*⁽¹⁰³⁾ wording:⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ "*Carter published his second volume with no identification for the found beetles but after Alfieri published his report in 1931, Carter returned, in his 1933 third volume, and depended on Alfieri's report to identify, in full, the found beetles. Alfieri's report is quite sufficient to what was required as he was asked to define the types of beetles sent to him and this did not need longer one.*"⁽¹⁰⁵⁾

Gilbert⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ commented on Alfieri's report on the insects uncovered from Tut's tomb: "*Alfieri was the top coleopterist in Egypt at the time, and really the only content of the paper is a set of identifications, for which he would have been the best person in Egypt to carry out. The species involved are, all perfectly reasonable identifications.*"⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ In his comment on Carter's refusal of the inclusion of his report on Tut's beetles, Alfieri adds that "*it is remarkable that they are identical to modern specimens apart from the reasonable changes after preservation for 3500 years*". *More recently than 1925, beetle remains can be identified in semi-fossil sediments from 100,000 years ago, so 3500 years does not seem to be so remarkable now. Many papers of the period are very short and are simple identifications, so I don't think this one is unusual. I cannot think of any reason why Carter would refuse, except perhaps because it was not really very interesting.*"

Being an employee for the Egyptian government, Alfieri's examination and identification of Tut's beetles can be justifiably considered as an effective part of the Egyptian contribution in the works of Tut's tomb. The publication of Alfieri's report at the Bulletin of the Entomological Royal Society in Egypt,⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ which has been placed under the sponsorship of Egypt's king since 1923, may support my argument..

Alfred Lucas from Cairo Museum

Alfred Lucas, the conservation scientist and chemist of Cairo Museum, was lent to Carter by the Egyptian Government. In his 1932 introduction of his second volume, Carter states that “*I received each winter the good assistance of Mr. A. Lucas, the government chemist, attached to the Cairo Museum*”.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ Lucas (1867-1945) (Fig. 13) was an analytical chemist by training, with a strong background in forensic science. Perhaps he was the best reader of the technical achievements of the ancient Egyptians.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ Lucas set up a laboratory at Cairo Museum,⁽¹¹⁰⁾ where he used to exert all his efforts to teach the keen Egyptians, such as Zaki Iskander (1916-1979), the fundamentals of conservation.⁽¹¹¹⁾

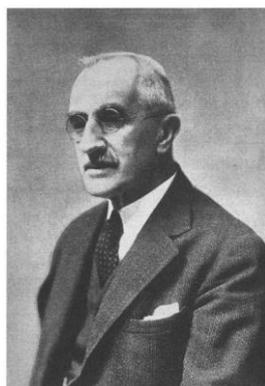


Fig. 13: Alfred Lucas (Bierbrier 2012, 341).

In 1922, the Egyptian Gazette described Lucas as “*EGYPT’S SHERLOCK HOLMES*”.⁽¹¹²⁾ During the excavation of the tomb of Tut, Lucas was on a three-month terminal leave before his retirement of the Egyptian government service. On 20th December 1922, Lucas joined Carter’s team as an employee of the Antiquities Service.⁽¹¹³⁾ He was appointed as chemist for the Antiquities Service in the period 1923-31 and got an extension for more one year 32.⁽¹¹⁴⁾ As an Honorary Consulting Chemist from 1932 to 45, he remarkably put all his expertise in the cleaning, consolidation, and conservation of Egyptian antiquities.¹¹⁵ When his contract with the Antiquities Service was not renewed in 1932,

he worked as a volunteer in Cairo Museum until December 1934, when he was given an official status with a small salary. ⁽¹¹⁶⁾

The arrangement of the tomb's list of visitors was a matter of dispute between Carter and the Egyptian authorities. Equally, it was an opportunity for clarifying the position of Lucas as a representative of the Egyptian government in Carter's mission. According to Arthur Mace: "*Mohamed Pasha Zaghlul (The Public Works Ministry representative) arrived in the morning of 12 Feb 1924.... After argument Zaghlul & Lacau agreed to the list of visitors*". They made a particular point of the fact that Lucas was a government official, and insisted that he should be placed on the government side of the list of visitors, and not on Carter's.⁽¹¹⁷⁾ From 1923 to 1932, Lucas supervised all the issues related to chemical and preservation processes throughout the years of Tut's tomb clearance.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ However, Lucas was already associated with the Egyptian government prior to his appointment as chief antiquities conservator. When he was in the Chemistry Administration, he was given an additional annual allotment of LE120 for renting a house rather than for his position.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Lucas' outstanding contribution to Tut's excavation mission encouraged Carter to admit that "*For Chemical and preservation section of the work I had the continued advice and valuable assistance of Mr. A. Lucas, Government Chemist to the Cairo Museum*".⁽¹²⁰⁾ Lucas offered considerable help and support in the conservation of Tut's collection both as a member of Carter's team or as an employee or volunteer in the Egyptian Museum.⁽¹²¹⁾ The opening and separation of the various coffins of Tut and the removal of the king's mummy tested the ingenuity and scientific skills of Lucas. The contribution of Lucas was acknowledged by Petrie, who wrote in 1923 to Newberry: "*We can only say how lucky it is all in the hands of Carter and Lucas*". ⁽¹²²⁾

Egypt's Financial Contribution to the Works on Tut's Collection

Different funds ensured the completion of the clearance and conservation of the tomb of Tut. In 1932, Carter gives a full account

of sponsors and the total cost of the excavation and other related works on Tut's tomb: "*The cost of the preliminary excavations and the work done in dealing with the contents of the tomb, borne by the Carnarvon estate and Almina, (...) amounted to 36.000 sterling and the labour lent by the Metropolitan Museum of Art was estimated at 8.000 sterling, thus making a total cost of 44.000 sterling. The cost of consolidating the four great shrines for transport to Cairo, which occupied the last 2 seasons, ending in February 1932, was covered by the Egyptian government and myself*".¹²³

The Carnarvon estate and Almina secured funding resources necessary for excavating the tomb and uncovering its contents. The Metropolitan Museum of Art sponsored the expenses on labour work. Together, the Egyptian government and Carter covered the cost of consolidating the four great shrines and of transporting them to Cairo. Official reports on the Egyptian budget make it clear that the annual expenditure of different works on Tut's tomb is amounted to L.E 18710. From 1924 to 1929, the Egyptian government continued to provide the same annual sum, which was directed to the relocation, restoration, and organization of Tut's collection.⁽¹²⁴⁾ An extra fund of 5000 LE from the Ministry of Finance covered the Antiquities Service works, including Tut's tomb and collection.⁽¹²⁵⁾

In 1930, the *Nahas* cabinet decided to revoke the promise of giving duplicates to Lady Carnarvon; the question of financial recompense remained to be settled in the early summer of 1930. Egypt, namely the parliament and the cabinet, decided to grant Lady Carnarvon £35,867 and the lady accepted.⁽¹²⁶⁾ Carter received £8558 of them. It was a proposal offered to, and approved by, the senate's Committee of Finance in 1931, which allocated LE 34.971 in the budget of the Ministry of Public Instruction for the Carnarvon family. The senate's Committee of Finance justified their decision and viewed the allocation as a "*compensation for Carnarvon Family expenditures in the excavation of Tut's tomb. The Egyptian government always cared positively about the excavators. Many Different cabinets*

discussed the point of compensation and they supported the decision because half of this sum was paid voluntary for conservation of the excavated pieces of Tut collection, the concession did not oblige them and it did not include doing conservation of excavated pieces. Besides the Egyptian government requested Carter with allowing visitors to see the tomb during work seasons of the last seven years, Carter accepted so their work time was doubled and also the expenditures of work. In the same time, the income of Antiquities Service increased as result of visiting Tut's tomb by the tourists whose numbers were activated for many seasons. The committee, for these reasons and for encouraging archaeological scientific excavations which reveal and promote Ancient Egypt's civilization, recommends granting the family L.E 34.931".⁽¹²⁷⁾

However, the long lasting dispute over the financial compensation was brought to an end due to agreement with the Carnarvon Estate and Howard Carter. The £8000 of the Metropolitan Museum of Art was deferred, and the duplicates were not granted.⁽¹²⁸⁾ The Egyptian government decision of 1931 depended entirely on Carter's estimations and admitted it in full. In addition to the above-mentioned Egyptian funding of the consolidation and transportation of the four shrines of Tut and the financial reimbursement of the Carnarvon family, the Egyptian government spent many other expenditures in relation to the discovery of Tut's tomb. For example, in 1923, on the occasion of the transference of Tut's antiquities to the Cairo Museum, the Ministry of Public Works allocated L.E 12.000 for expanding and improving the display area and the exhibition of Tut's collection at the Cairo Museum.⁽¹²⁹⁾ Moreover, the Egyptian government generously continued to sponsor important conservation works of Tut's collection in the Museum of Cairo for many decades. The umbrella of Tut is an early example of this kind of long run conservation work.⁽¹³⁰⁾ The Egyptian government's cost on the collection and conservation of Tut's collection in Cairo Museum surpassed the 44.000 sterling offered by foreign institutions and personalities.

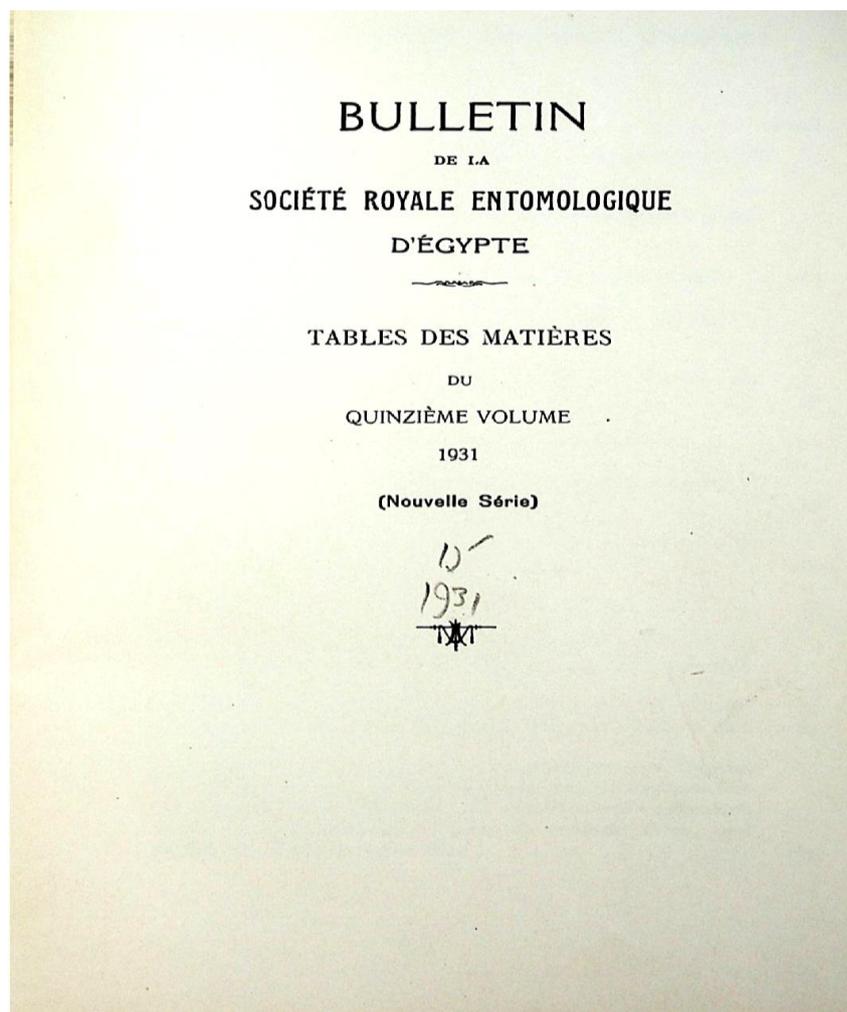
Conclusion

The Egyptian contribution to the clearance and conservation of Tut's tomb has frequently been overlooked or underestimated. The Egyptian government generously funded some of Tut's discovery projects, including the consolidation and transportation of the four shrines to the Cairo Museum and the conservation of Tut's collection, particularly the umbrella. From 1924 to 1929, Egypt continued to allocate an annual sum of LE 18710 as a contribution to the costs of Tut's tomb construction. Furthermore, in 1931, the Egyptian parliament and government agreed to provide financial compensation to the Carnarvon estate.

The Egyptian workforce, including foremen (*Reises*) and workers, were extremely helpful to Carter throughout the excavation and clearance of the tomb, as Carter himself acknowledged in his diaries. Another aspect of Egyptian involvement in the discovery and conservation of Tut's tomb and treasures is the involvement of foreign scientists and specialists working for the Egyptian government. As a result, it was assumed that they joined Carter's scientific and excavation mission as Egyptian government representatives. The Egyptian government sent Alfred Lucas, a British chemist and Cairo Museum employee, to Carter to assist with the work on Tut's tomb. As a representative of the Egyptian Royal Entomological Society, Anastasi Alfieri was also present. Alfieri was an Egyptian Agriculture Ministry employee who was originally a Greek entomologist. Alfieri's involvement in Carter's mission can be seen in the reports he left on the identification of the beetles discovered in Tut's tomb. Carter also ignored these reports. As a result, Alfieri had to publish them in the Royal Entomological Society of Egypt. Equally significant is the participation of the Egyptian *Saleh Bey Hamdi* in the examination of Tut's mummy.

The Egyptian absence of in the clearance and conservation of Tut's tomb is due to a lack of qualified practical Egyptology and archaeology educational institutions. Furthermore, Egyptians only served as foremen and workers on foreign archaeological and excavation missions. This is because most foreign missions bring specialists in almost every field, so they only needed foremen and workers. Several Egyptian attempts were made to address the lack of Egyptian intellectuals in Egyptology and archaeological excavations. Many academic institutions and schools of Egyptology and archaeology were established, and scientific missions were dispatched to complete Egyptian students' Egyptological and archaeological studies abroad. Throughout Carter's years of work in Tut's tomb, the Egyptians (both the King and the people) had ascertained their strong attachment to Ancient Egypt in general and King Tut in particular. Although Egypt probably did not share widely in the scientific works of Tut's tomb, the tomb's discovery fueled national interest in Egyptian antiquities and propelled Egyptology education forward.

Appendix 1
Report of Beetles in the Tomb of Tutankamun
Prepared By : Anastasi Alfieri



Les insectes de la tombe de Toutankhamon

par ANASTASE ALFIERI

En 1923 Monsieur E. W. A d a i r m'avait demandé d'identifier les insectes qui avaient été recueillis dans l'antichambre de la tombe de Toutankhamon et qui lui avaient été confiés, à cet effet, par Monsieur A. L u c a s.

La note que j'ai rédigée à cette époque, en langue anglaise, n'a pas été publiée in extenso dans l'ouvrage de Howard Carter (1), Vol. II, Appendice II, p. 166, les savants de la mission C a r n a v o n ayant jugé inutile d'insérer des noms d'insectes dans une publication archéologique. C'est pourquoi je me décide à publier ici les résultats de mon examen.

1° Insectes obtenus du vase en albâtre No. 16 :

Lasioderma serricorne Fabr. (Anobiidae), très nombreux, et quelques *Sitodrepa panicea* L. (Anobiidae), tous englués dans une substance dure de couleur foncée, probablement de la résine.

2° Insectes obtenus du vase en albâtre No. 58 :

Lasioderma serricorne Fabr., englués dans une substance grasse de couleur foncée.

3° Insectes obtenus du vase en albâtre No. 60 :

Lasioderma serricorne Fabr., très nombreux, et *Gibbium psylloides* Czemp. (Ptinidae) observé en trois exemplaires.

Ce vase contenait une matière sèche très effritable qui facilita le recouvrement des insectes qui y étaient enchassés.

4° Insectes obtenus du vase en albâtre No. 61 :

Seulement quelques exemplaires de *Lasioderma serricorne* Fabr., englués dans une substance grasse de couleur foncée et légèrement aromatique.

5° Insectes obtenus du coffret en bois No. 115 :

Une douzaine de spécimens de *Lasioderma serricorne* Fabr., quelques exemplaires de *Sitodrepa panicea* L., des centaines de *Gibbium psylloides* Czemp., ainsi qu'une paire d'élytres impossible à identifier.

Le coffret était presque vide, contenant seulement quelques minuscules fragments rouges de poterie.

(1) Howard Carter : The Tomb of Tut Ankh-Amen. — 2 Volumes, 1923-1927, éditeurs Cassel and Company Ltd., London.

Séance du 1er Décembre 1931

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La présence de ces insectes en Egypte depuis l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours indique qu'ils sont indigènes au pays. Ils appartiennent tous à la famille des Coléoptères et sont de ceux qui se nourrissent de substances alimentaires, matières organiques animales ou végétales. Il est aussi très remarquable de constater, à l'exclusion de la différence dans la couleur chez quelques spécimens de la tombe de Toutankhamon, différence due sans doute à la vétusté, ou plus probablement encore à l'action des substances avec lesquelles ils étaient en contact, que 3500 ans d'existence n'ont guère modifié les caractères morphologiques ou les dimensions de l'espèce actuelle.



Appendix 2

The decision of compensating Carnarvon Family

ملحق للوقائع المصرية العدد ٦٣ - الصادر في يوم الاثنين ٤ صفر سنة ١٣٤٩ الموافق ٣٠ يونيو سنة ١٩٣٠

٦٠١

مجلس الشيوخ

مشروع قانون

بفتح اعتماد ائراف بمبلغ ٣٤٩٧١ جنيا بميزانية وزارة المعارف العمومية لسنة ١٩٣٠ - فرغ ٢ - ادارة عموم الآثار المصرية باب ٣ - "اعمال جديدة" لكافة أسرة اللورد كارنارفون

نحن فؤاد الأول ملك مصر

قرر مجلس الشيوخ ومجلس النواب القانون الآتي نصه وقد صلغنا عليه وأصدرناه :

مادة ١ - يفتح اعتماد ائراف بمبلغ ٣٤٩٧١ جنيا (أربعة وثلاثين ألفاً وتسعمائة وواحد وسبعين جنيا مصريا) في ميزانية وزارة المعارف العمومية لسنة المالية ١٩٣٠ - فرغ ٢ "ادارة عموم الآثار المصرية" باب ٣ "اعمال جديدة"

ويؤخذ هذا الاعتماد من المال الاختياطى .

مادة ٢ - على وزيرى المسالية والمعارف العمومية تنفيذ هذا القانون كلى منها فيما يخصه ويعمل به من تاريخ نشره بالجريدة الرسمية .

نأمر بأن يصمم هذا القانون بخاتم الدولة وأن ينشر في الجريدة الرسمية وينفذ كقانون من قوانين الدولة .

مذكرة مرفوعة الى مجلس الوزراء

جاء في كتاب من وزارة المعارف العمومية تاريخه ٣٠ مارس سنة ١٩٣٠ أن مصلحة الآثار المصرية رخصت في سنة ١٩١٥ للورد كارنارفون بالتنقيب في وادى الملوك . وفي سنة ١٩٢٣ رخصت لليدى كارنارفون بالاستقرار في العمل الذى بدأه زوجها . وقد أسفر التنقيب عن اكتشاف مقبرة توت عنخ آمون التى حوت من نفوس الجوف الأثرية ما كشف عن صفحة جديدة من تاريخ مصر القديم وأضاف الى كتوف المتحف المصرى أكبر ذخيرة تركه الماضى المخاضر .

وقد كان المقوم دائما أن الحكومة المصرية مستعدة للنظر في أمر المتعيقين بعطف ورعاية . وبالفعل بحثت وزارات مختلفة في هذا الموضوع ، فالتجتهت البية طورا الى أن جهامل الحكومة المالية بمبلغ من المال ، وطورا الى أن تمنح الحكومة عائلة كارنارفون جمعا مختارا فاق قيمة كل قدر المستطاع من الأشياء المزدوجة التى لا يشرب على اعراجها من المجموعة ضبر على .

ومعذ حين طلبت عائلة اللورد كارنارفون أن تمت الحكومة في تعويضها مما احتمته من النفقات والمتاعب . وقد قدرت النفقات بمبلغ ٤٣٢٣١ جنيا

ملحق رقم ١٧٥

(جلسة ١٦ يونيو سنة ١٩٣٠)

تقرير لجنة المسالية

عن مشروع القانون الخاص بطلب فتح اعتماد اضاف بمبلغ ٣٤٩٧١ جنيا بميزانية وزارة المعارف العمومية لسنة ١٩٣٠ - فرغ ٢ - ادارة عموم الآثار المصرية - باب ٣ - "اعمال جديدة" لكافة أسرة اللورد كارنارفون

(المقرر حضوره الشيخ المحترم عبد الحمود خليل بك)

أحال المجلس بجلسته المنعقدة في يوم الاثنين ٩ يونيو سنة ١٩٣٠ على لجنة المسالية - بطريق الاستعجال - بحث مشروع القانون الوارد من مجلس النواب - بعهد الواقفة عليه - والخاص بطلب فتح اعتماد اضاف بمبلغ ٣٤٩٧١ جنيا بنضاف الى مصروفات قسم ٧ - وزارة المعارف العمومية فرغ ٢ - ادارة عموم الآثار المصرية - باب ٣ - "اعمال جديدة" لسنة ١٩٣٠ - المسالية لكافة أسرة اللورد كارنارفون .

وقد بحثت اللجنة مشروع هذا القانون في جلستها التى انعقدت في ١٠ يونيو سنة ١٩٣٠ وانطلعت على مذكرة اللجنة المسالية المرفوعة الى مجلس الوزراء (الجنة صودتها في نهاية هذا التقرير) تبين لها أن الاعتماد المطلوب إنما هو لمعويض أسرة اللورد كارنارفون عما أضفقت في اكتشاف مقبرة توت عنخ آمون . وأن الحكومة المصرية كانت مستعدة دائما للنظر في أمر المتعيقين بعطف ورعاية وأن وزارات مختلفة بحثت موضوع هذا التعويض الى أن انتهى الرأى على التعويض الخالى برد ما قاموا به من النفقات، خصوصا أنه تبين أن نصف هذه النفقات تقريبا إنما صرف في ترميم وإصلاح ما استخرج من المتحف الأثرية من غير أن يكون هذا وأجبا على المتعيقين بقضى الرخصة او الاتفاق المفقود مهمهم ولكنهم تطوعوا به مجرد تطوع وأن الحكومة طلبت الى المتعيقين الاذن للمجهور بزيارة المقبرة أثناء مواسم العمل في سبع سنين متوالية وقد قبلوا ذلك تقضا من ضمن التعقيب وزادت زيادته النفقات اللازمة لانعام العمل، كما أن إيرادات مصلحة الآثار زادت فيما لذلك وتشتعل السياحة الى مصر مواسم متعددة .

وترى اللجنة لهذه الأسباب وتشيحا للباحث العلمية الأثرية التى تكشف عن حضارة مصر وعجدها العظيم واعترافا بمجمل المتعيقين في هذا الشأن الموافقة على الاعتماد المطلوب وعلى مشروع القانون بالصيغة التى أقرها مجلس النواب .

وفى على نص مشروع القانون الذى توافق عليه هذه اللجنة :
رئيس اللجنة
عبد الحمود خليل

١٢ يونيو سنة ١٩٣٠

٦٠٢

حسب ما هو مفصل في تقارير المستر كاتر التي قام بالتنقيب عنها مبلغ ٧٩٦٠ جنيهاً
يوبروك ما احتله متحف نيويورك الذي طوّن في أعمال التنقيب . وترى
معدلة الآثار أن الأحمال السنوية التي قام بها المنقبون كانت تقتضي
في الواقع النفقات المرسومة لها في العاشر .

وترى وزارة المعارف العمومية أن المشيرين أهل لمصنف الحكومة وأن
جهودهم المتواصله التي كانت بالتتابع تقتضي أسس يكافؤها على ما تلوه
من المناصب والنفقات . ولا ترى النظر في مكافأتهم بمجموعة من التحف
المكتشفة ولو أمكن الاستثناء عن بعضها بلا ضرر على ، فإن الأحيى
بمصر أن تحتفظ بمجموعاتها الثمينة وأن تنسحبها من التجزئة .

ولذا السبب تقترح وزارة المعارف أن يكافأ المنقبون بما صرفوه من
النفقات في أعمال التنقيب خصوصاً أنه تبين أن نحواً من نصف هذه
النفقات إنما صرف في ترميم وإصلاح ما استخرج من التحف الأثرية .
وهذا الترميم لم يكن واجباً على المنقبين بمقتضى الرخصة أو الاتفاق ولكنهم
تطوعوا به مجرد تطوع . يضاف إلى ذلك أن الحكومة طلبت إلى المشتريين
الآن لجمهور زيارة المقبرة أثناء مواسم العمل في سبع سنين متتالية . وقد
قول المنقبون ذلك تضاعف زمن التنقيب وزادت إيرادات النفقات اللازمة
لإتمام العمل .

ويلاحظ فوق ما تقدم أن اكتشاف المقبرة زاد في إيرادات مصلحة الآثار
ونشط السياحة إلى مصر مواسم متعددة .

وبما أن مجموع النفقات قد بلغ ٤٣٩٣١ جنيهاً احتل منها متحف
نيويورك ما يساوي مبلغ ٧٩٦٠ جنيهاً . لهذا تقترح وزارة المعارف أن يرعى
الآن النظر في أمر المبلغ الأخير وأن يتبع اعتماد بمبلغ ٣٤٩٧١ جنيهاً لرد باقي
نفقات التنقيب التي أسفرت عن اكتشاف مقبرة نوت عنج آتون .

وقد بحثت اللجنة المسالية حسناً الطلب وهي ترى الموافقة عليه وتشرف
يرفعه إلى مجلس الوزراء حتى إذا ما أقره عرض الأمر على البرلمان
لإفادة على فتح اعتماد بالمبلغ المطلوب (٣٤٩٧١ جنيهاً) ليضم إلى قسم ٧
(وزارة المعارف العمومية) فرع ٢ (إدارة عموم الآثار المصرية) باب ٣
(أعمال صديقة) .

ورفقة هذه المذكرة مشروع مرسوم بمشروع قانون ما

تحريراً بتاريخ ١٩٢٠ في أول أبريل سنة ١٩٢٠

السكبر
الزئيس (بالنيابة)
امضاء : الجليل
امضاء : محمود فهمى القفراوى

إلى وزارة المسالية

وافق مجلس الوزراء في ٣ أبريل سنة ١٩٣٠ على رأى اللجنة المسالية
الذين في هذه المذكرة وقد أبلغت وزارة المعارف العمومية هذا القرار .

وطيه صورة من المرسوم الصادر في ٥ منه بمشروع القانون الخاص بفتح
الاعتماد المطلوب ما

رئيس مجلس الوزراء
مصطفى النحاس

NOTES

- (1) See, <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringtut/> (last access on 9th January 2022).
- (2) Reeves 1990, 58.
- (3) Throughout the article, "Tutankhamun" will be simply abbreviated as "Tut".
- (4) Reid 2015a, 63.
- (5) Reeves 1990, 210.
- (6) Mohamed 2000, 208.
- (7) James 2000, 339.
- (8) When the inquiry discovered the un-invented wooden head, Hussein defended Carter by telling the commission that the head could have come from one of the tomb's chambers and been mistakenly placed in the back of the lunch tomb. His statements were met with quiet at first. Then a member of the commission asked the obvious question: if that was the case, why hadn't Carter provided the object with notes and numbers like he had done with all the others? Reis Hussein could only shrug his shoulders. Hussein told Winlock that the discovery of the head drew the most "serious views." Carter had stolen the sculpture from the tomb, according to one of the Egyptians. Lacau had tried to maintain order among his coworkers by defending Carter and trying to come up with a logical excuse for him (Hoving 2002, 320).
- (9) Carter and Reeves 1998, xi-xxix.
- (10) Reeves 1990, p 210.
- (11) James 2000.
- (12) El-Mallakh and Brackman 1978.
- (13) Kamel 1981.
- (14) Riggs 2017.
- (15) Harry Burton (1879-1940) was an English Egyptologist and archaeological photographer best known for his early twentieth-century images of excavations in Egypt's Valley of the Kings.
(<https://digitalmuseum.org/021037461049/burton-harry-1879-1940>)
- (16) Hoving 2002
- (17) George 2018.
- (18) Reid 1985.
- (19) Reid 2015b.
- (20) Reid 2014.
- (21) Abdel Raheem 2018.
- (22) Hosam el-Den 2013.
- (23) All thanks to the Griffith Institute, which has been the primary repository for Tut's excavation records. Mrs Catherin Warsi, Fredrick Abecasis, Hana

Navratilova, Donald M. Reid, Francis Gilbert, Magdi el Hawagry, Felix Relat, Rezk Nory, Ahmed Snosy, EES Carl Graves, Essam Nagy, Mahmoud Sadek, Gehad Mohamed, Eslam Moatamed, Al Ahram Association: Dr. Doaa Korany, Ms Fatma Emara, Ms Rasha Ahmed.

IFAO: Agnès Macquin, Omnéya Abdelnaby, Marianne Refaat, Nermine Nabil.Val McAtear from Royal Entomological Society. Hisham el-Hennawy generously also provided me with several materials relating to Alfieri and freely commented on Alfieri's report.

⁽²⁴⁾ Carter's journals and diaries have been scanned and transcribed by the Griffith Institute, Oxford University: www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/, they were deposited shortly after Carter's death by his niece Miss Phyllis Walker (Riggs 2016).

⁽²⁵⁾ I am so grateful for Mr. Mahmoud Sadek, grandson of Dr. Saleh Bey Hamdy, Mr. Mohamed Nagdy, grandson Reis Abdel Maaboud, Mr. John, son of Tadros Botros, and Mr. Samy AbdelMalak who was permanent guide and helpful to reach to many private archives.

⁽²⁶⁾ Van der Spek 2011, 29 confirmed that all the workforce of Carter comes from Qurna, but as far as I know Gerigar comes from Qift.

⁽²⁷⁾ Carter 1927, 29.

⁽²⁸⁾ Egyptologist Kamal el-Mallakh uncovered the Cheops' 4,600-year-old boat adjacent to his Great Pyramid at Giza. El-Mallakh was a journalist, architect, movie critic, and author in addition to being an archaeologist (New York Times October 31, 1987, Section 1, Page 33).

⁽²⁹⁾ El-Mallakh and Brackman 1978, 35.

⁽³⁰⁾ Riggs 2017.

⁽³¹⁾ Edward Harkness was an American philanthropist who lived from 1874 until 1940. In the Northeastern United States, he donated to a number of private hospitals, art museums, and educational organizations. He was a key figure in the discovery and excavation of Tut's tomb. He paid several visits to Carter at the site, and Carter even allowed Harkness to watch the unveiling of Tut's sarcophagus on February 3, 1924. (Howard Carter Journal)

(<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4sea2not.html>)

⁽³²⁾ Beaton 1973, 24.

⁽³³⁾ An interview with Mr. Eshaq, the eldest son of Tadros Boutros.

⁽³⁴⁾ Wrenjan 1979.

⁽³⁵⁾ Sattin 2011, 239-240.

⁽³⁶⁾ Carter's pocket diaries (transcripts and scans) before the 3rd season, December 7th to 31th 1924.

⁽³⁷⁾ Al-Ahram 23 May, 1929.

⁽³⁸⁾ Hoving 2002, 318-320.

⁽³⁹⁾ Arthur Mace was W. M. Flinders Petrie's student and cousin. Mace started his excavation career working for Petrie at Dendera, Hiw, and Abydos. Then he went

to Giza and Naga el-Deir with George Reisner to excavate. He joined the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York as an Assistant Curator of Egyptian Art in 1901. He was a member of Howard Carter's team and was of great assistance to Carter during the excavations and drafting of the first volume of Tut's tomb in 1923. Mace left Egypt for health concerns in 1924 and died on April 6, 1928.

(40) Riggs 2017.

(41) El-Mallakh and Brackman 1978, 107.

(42) Kamel 1981, 57-68.

(43) Tyldesley 2012, 62.

(44) In the Cambridge Daily News of October 21, 1932, James Ogden (a Harrogate jeweler and well-known Egyptologist who served on the committee of the Egypt Exploration Society in the early 1930s) was quoted as saying in a public lecture that when the steps leading down to the tomb were discovered, Carter had gone to Cairo for a week and had left a foreman to supervise the clearance of debris. Because this foreman disobeyed orders and cleared trash in a southerly rather than northward manner, the tomb was uncovered by coincidence. Carter asked his solicitors to obtain an apology from Ogden and to seek the printing of a retraction in the Times and the Cambridge Daily News after learning of the remarks. Ogden immediately consented to do what was asked of him as soon as he was contacted, claiming that he had seen the announcement about the discovery in an English or Egyptian newspaper and had quoted it to indicate that what was claimed in the article was not accurate. Carter might have sympathized with him because of the negative press he had received. His On the 9th of December, he submitted a retraction to the two newspapers mentioned, and he covered all costs associated with the situation. He also expressed his appreciation for the way the matter had been handled to the solicitors. However, one could readily believe that mailing a private letter to Ogden would have yielded a satisfactory result. He was too quick to use the sledgehammer in his personal problems, despite his preference for a soft touch in his professional duties (James 2000, 433).

(45) Abdel Raheem 2018, 216.

(46) James 2000, 192.

(47) <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/season-2/diary.html>

(48) James 2000, 469.

(49) Van der Spek 2011, 424.

(50) James 2000, 195.

(51) Carter 1927, 29.

(52) Kamel 1981, 57-68.

(53) The Times 31/1/1923. Lord Carnarvon 30 Jan. 1923.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Excavation journals and diaries made by Howard Carter and Arthur Mace. Howard Carter's pocket diaries (transcripts and scans) Before the 3rd Season, December 7th to 31st of 1924.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Reeves 2005, 210.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Howard Carter's excavation diaries (transcripts and scans) 4th Season, September 28th 1925 to May 21st 1926.

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/>

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Howard Carter's excavation diaries (transcripts and scans) 7th Season, September 20th to December 4th 1928.

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/>

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Howard Carter's excavation and pocket diaries (transcripts and scans) 9th Season, September 24th to November 17th 1930.

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/>

⁽⁵⁹⁾ *Tukh el-Qaramus*, about 25 miles north of Cairo, where a cache of valuable temple equipment was discovered, including a large silver Greek bowl, a number of Egyptian-style incense burners, and a bronze royal head. A few days later, a more valuable cache of gold jewelry, silver vessels, and gold and silver coins was discovered. The second discovery was made when one of the farmers' donkeys stepped on a pottery vessel containing some of the treasure. Carter was brought to Tukh by the local civil authorities, and he was able to retrieve a large portion of what had been discovered. It was a substantial coup for the Antiquities Service and was to provide the Cairo Museum with a notable acquisition. Carter's personal records contain not a hint of this success, yet it was thought by Maspero at least to herald the transition of Carter from recent discomfiture to the promise of a successful inspectorate in the Delta. Maspero was at the time on leave in France, but Brugsch wrote to tell him of the discovery, sending photographs of the best pieces. He was delighted: 'They are splendid some of them, and the whole is very valuable. I told him [Brugsch] to give £E400 to be distributed among the finders as a reward, and I hope that the prospect of getting money from us will encourage them to be honest.' He asks Carter to send him a report that he can present to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. 'It is a good thing for you that you were able to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Antiquities dealers. I will insist on it in the Comité d'Archéologie and in conversation with Sir William Garstin.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ Bierbrier 2012, 112.

⁽⁶¹⁾ Reid 2015b, 379.

⁽⁶²⁾ Campbell Cowan Edgar (1870-1938), a British Egyptologist and Greek scholar, went to Cairo and worked for the Catalogue Commission in 1900. He was appointed Chief Inspector of Antiquities in the Delta, 1905-20; Ass. Keeper, Cairo Museum, 1920; Keeper 1923 and Secretary-General, 1925; retired 1927 (Bierbrier 2012).

- (63) The great hoard of treasure found at Tukh el-Karamus in 1905 included a group of 108 trichrysa of Ptolemy I and II (Emile 1941, 135-137).
- (64) There were three inspector degrees, arranged descendingly, with the first degree inspector being the highest and the third being the lowest (employees' files at *Dar al-Mahfouzat*).
- (65) Gouvernement Egyptien 1912, *Rapports sur la Marche*, 204.
- (66) Bierbrier 2012, 74-75.
- (67) The 3rd Season, January 19th to March 31st 1925, [Journal](#) and [Diary](#).
- (68) James 2000, 435-436.
- (69) A letter from Carter as reply for A.S. inquiry, 18/6/1902 (file46507/folder4077/shelf 1/386DOLAB/).
- (70) Gouvernement Egyptien 1912, *Rapports sur la Marche*, 181.
- (71) Bierbrier 2012, 74-75.
- (72) E.g. Boulos 1919, 145-148.
- (73) Upper Egypt here refers to Gergeh, Qena, Aswan, and Nubia.
- (74) File of *Tawfik Boulous*, Cupboard 386, rack 2, portifilo 4077, file no. 46507, National Archives (*Dar Al-Mahfouzat*).
- (75) According to an undated letter from Carnarvon to Carter, Carnarvon and probably Gardiner and Breasted tried to have Engelbach replaced by Tewfik Boulous. Lacau found great difficulty in the proposal (M.M.A., Department of Egyptian Art, Carter files, of late January 1923).
- (76) File of *Tawfik Boulous*, Cupboard 386, rack 2, portifilo 4077, file no. 46507, National Archives (*Dar Al-Mahfouzat*).
- (77) Tutakhamun: Anatomy of an Excavation, Howard Carter's diaries, the ninth excavation season in the tomb of Tutankhamun, September 24 to November 10, 1930, the Griffith Institute, Oxford. <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringtut/>
- (78) *Al-Waqaae Al Masrya* no. 73, 23/8/1934.
- (79) Chief Inspector of Saqqara in 1923.
- (80) He was recommended by Daressy in 1916-17 to get rise in his annual salary about 24 LE (an increase from 168 to 192 LE). File of *Tawfik Boulous*, Cupboard 386, rack 2, portifilo 4077, file no. 46507, National Archives (*Dar el-Mahfouzat*).
- (81) File of *Tawfik Boulous*, Cupboard 386, rack 2, portifilo 4077, file no. 46507, National Archives (*Dar Al-Mahfouzat*).
- (82) Winlock and Hauser with Service des Antiquités, March 1925, 1930-1931. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/manuscript-collections/excavations-of-the-late-roman-and-early-byzantine-sites-in-the-kharga-oasis>
- (83) File of *Abadir Michrqui*, Cupboard 297, portifilo 3281, file no. 11240, National Archives (*Dar Al-Mahfouzat*).
- (84) *Al-Ahram* 6/2/1923. Trip of the Engineering School (Irrigation Department).

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- (85) File of *Saleh Hamdi*, Cupboard 239, portifilo 4728, file no. No. 50697, National Archives (Dar Al-Mahfouzat)
- (86) An interview with Mr. *Mahmoud Saleh*, grandson of Dr. *Saleh Bey Hamdi*.
- (87) El-Mallakh 1978, 116-119.
- (88) Mohamed 2000, 133.
- (89) Al-Haggagy 1938, 101.
- (90) Dr. Saleh Bey Hamdy was director of the administrative affairs for the school of medicine (File of Saleh Hamdi, Cupboard 239, portifilo 4728, file no. No. 50697, *Dar Al-Mahfouzat*, Egypt).
- (91) Carter used the expression "Egyptian staff" for the workforce of Egyptian labourers and *Reises*.
- (92) Carter's excavation diaries (transcripts and scans) 4th Season, September 28th 1925 to May 21st 1926. <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/>
- (93) James 2000, 399.
- (94) The Times, Monday, November 1925
- (95) Mohamed 2000, 308.
- (96) Adair Ernest was well known entomologist, Vice-president (1921-22) of Entomological Society of Egypt, then member of the society board until his death in 1927. (Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques Institut rattaché à l'École nationale des chartes, <http://cths.fr/an/savant.php?id=126284>)
- (97) There were 3 destinations in Egypt concerned with agricultural, zoological and entomological studies & researches; The Agriculture Ministry, Royal Agricultural Society, Entomological Society and Zoological Society.
- (98) Carter 1927, 166.
- (99) <https://www.britannica.com/animal/beetle>.
- (100) Société entomologique d'Egypte, Bulletin, Volume 54 1971.
- (101) Carter 1927.
- (102) Alfieri 1931.
- (103) *Hennawy* 2022.
- (104) Hisham El-Hennawy, Serket and Arachnid Collection of Egypt. <http://serket1987.blogspot.com>; <http://HishamElHennawyCV.blogspot.com>.
- (105) Appendix 1, Alfieri 1931, 188-189.
- (106) Electronic correspondence via emails with Professor Francis Gilbert on 8 and 9 October, 2019 (He is Professor of Ecology, School of Life Sciences, University of Nottingham).
- (107) *Lasioderma serricornis* Fabr (*Coleoptera: Anobiidae*), called the *Cigarette*, Cigar or Tobacco beetle, is a very common pest of stored products worldwide, centred on warmer climates. *Stegobium paniceum* L. (= *Sitodrepa panicea*) (*Coleoptera: Anobiidae*), called the Bread, Biscuit or Drugstore beetle, a well-known and serious pest that damages wood and dried plant products worldwide, centred on warmer climates.

Gibbium psylloides Czenpinski (Coleoptera: Anobiidae), called the Hump, Smooth or Shiny spider beetle, is native to North Africa and the Palaearctic. It is commonly found in stored products, causing minor damage but as a nuisance rather than a damaging pest.

(108) Carter et al. 1963, vi-vii.

(109) The importance of his "Ancient Egyptian Materials" cannot be overestimated. At the time of its publication, few archaeometric studies of ancient Egyptian materials had been conducted with any degree of rigor, and inferences were often made based on incomplete or inconclusive evidence. Lucas succeeded in dispelling a number of prevailing myths or misconceptions, particularly with regard to the true nature of Egyptian faience and the materials used in Egyptian mummification, as well as the use of antimony (Gilberg 1997).

(110) Caldararo 1987.

(111) Iskander 1994, 9.

(112) For years, he had maintained a small chemical laboratory at his flat at Gresham House in Garden City (Brunton 1947). It was there, with the aid of a small electric furnace, that he was able to reproduce ancient faience, the composition of which was a matter of great dispute.

(113) Hoving 2002, 105.

(114) 0075-050106, National Archives Egypt (*Dar al Wathaeq al Qawmya*)

(115) Collection TAA - Tutankhamun Archive, Griffith Institute Archive.

<https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/tutankhamun-archive>

(116) Gilberg 1997.

(117) Arthur C. Mace's excavation diaries (transcripts and scans) 2nd Season, November 14th 1923 to February 23rd 1924.

<http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/discoveringTut/journals-and-diaries/>

(118) James 2000, 268.

(119) 0075-001554, National Archives Egypt (*Dar al Wathaeq al Qawmya*).

(120) Carter 1927, xx.

(121) For more technical details: Notebook on 'Archaeology, Register of samples, and analyses. Tutankhamen and others.' (TAA i.2.11). Notebook 'Examination of Materials: (a) Tutankhamen. (b) Various.' (TAA i.2.12).

https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/informationobject/browse?creators=10044&sort=lastUpdated&sf_culture=en&levels=223&topLod=0&limit=30&sortDir=asc

(122) James 2000, 389, 396.

(123) James 2000, 438.

(124) Ministry of Finance, Budget of Egyptian Country, Reports of 1925- 1926 / Budget of 1926-1927/ Budget of 1927-28.

(125) File of *Youssef Mossawar*, Cupboard 352, rack 2, portifilo 3266, file no. 41585, National Archives (Dar Al-Mahfouzat).

⁽¹²⁶⁾ Senate Council Session no. 16 for 1930, App. 175, Al-Waqae Al-Masrya no.63 for 30th June 1930.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ Appendix 2.

⁽¹²⁸⁾ James 2000, 432-434.

⁽¹²⁹⁾ Al-Ahram 17/10/1923.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ The umbrella is a sort of canopy consisting of a light rectangular piece of wooden lattice work. Rex Englebach, the Keeper of the Museum, hit upon its real purpose and with the help of Mr. Brunton, the Assistant Keeper, after much patient work succeeded in piecing it together (The Times 6/2/1934).

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