

Tutankhamun's Tomb Dispute: From its Discovery in 1922 until the Agreement of Early 1925

Doaa M. Elkashef¹

Asaad A. Zaki²

^{1,2}*Department of Tourism Guidance-Faculty of Tourism and Hotels-University of Sadat City*

Abstract

The present study focuses on the difficulties of Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter with the press and the Egyptian Government in the period from Tutankhamun's tomb discovery in November 1922 until the agreement of early 1925. This paper highlights the dispute between Lord Carnarvon and the press following his exclusive agreement with *The Times*. It also focuses on the dispute between Carter and the Egyptian Government in the 1923-1924 season and the suspension of the work in the tomb in February 1924. The dispute was settled amicably, and Carter was granted a new concession and the work was resumed in the tomb in early 1925, but under the Egyptian conditions regarding the ownership of the discovered artifacts and the distribution of news to the press.

Keywords: Tutankhamun's tomb publicity rights; Tutankhamun's tomb dispute; *The Times* exclusive rights; Tutankhamun's tomb press coverage

Introduction

The discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter in 1922 was a great event in the history of Egyptology. According to Howard Carter's account of the discovery, the first step of the staircase was discovered on 4 November 1922. On 6 November he telegraphed Lord Carnarvon, who was in England informing him that he had made a great discovery in the Valley of the Kings. Lord Carnarvon arrived in Luxor with his daughter, Lady Evelyn Herbert, on 23 November. The final clearing of the staircase of sixteen steps was completed on 24 November. Carter stated that the Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt Reginald Engelbach arrived in the Valley on that day and "witnessed part of the final clearing of rubbish from the doorway." The removal of the first sealed doorway was followed by clearing the passage which was wholly filled with stones and rubbish. A second sealed doorway was revealed on 26 November. Then followed the removal of this second sealed doorway and the official opening of the tomb on 29 November. The excavators obtained permission from the Egyptian Government to use the tomb of Seti II (KV15) for storing the objects to be removed from the tomb of Tutankhamun. By 27 December they started the actual removal of the objects to Seti II's tomb and by the middle of February 1923 the contents of the antechamber had been removed.¹

The current study focuses on Lord Carnarvon's exclusive agreement with *The Times*, the foreign newspapers' protest at the difficulties which the correspondents in Luxor

¹ Howard Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

were encountering in regard with obtaining information related to the discoveries in Tutankhamun's tomb, the attitude of the British authorities in Egypt towards Lord Carnarvon, and the difficulties of the Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt Reginald Engelbach with Lord Carnarvon and Carter. This paper highlights the official opening of the burial chamber of Tutankhamun's tomb and the subsequent closing of the tomb at the end of February 1923, *The Times* campaign in support to Lord Carnarvon and Carter, and the reappearance of the publicity rights dispute following Lord Carnarvon's death in April 1923. It also focuses on the dispute between Carter and the Egyptian Government in the 1923-1924 season and Carter's decision to suspend the work in February 1924, the negotiations for a new concession, and the reopening of the tomb and the resumption of the work in early 1925.

This paper depends on the historical and analytical research methods. It relies mainly on investigating the relevant historical documents which are archived in the National Archives of the United Kingdom.

Lord Carnarvon's Exclusive Agreement with *The Times*

The discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb by Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter in November 1922 had aroused a world-wide interest never witnessed before in the history of excavations in Egypt or in any other country. The exclusive agreement of Lord Carnarvon with *The Times* for the distribution of all news and illustrations of his discoveries in Tutankhamun's tomb throughout the world press was announced in *The Times* on 10 January 1923. Lord Carnarvon and Carter agreed to employ a single agency for the purpose of supplying news and illustrations of their discoveries to every newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication in the world, because they found it impossible to supply the newspapers individually with the news and illustrations demanded. Arrangements had been made in Egypt and in London to dispatch all the material supplied by Lord Carnarvon and Carter to *The Times*. It was arranged that all the news and illustrations to be published should bear the following acknowledgement: ["The Times" World Copyright, by arrangement with the Earl of Carnarvon]. Carter was engaged in removing and preserving the objects found in the antechamber during the absence of Lord Carnarvon in London. The opening of the burial chamber behind the sealed doorway guarded by two life-size statues of Tutankhamun was intended to be undertaken soon after the arrival of Lord Carnarvon at Luxor.¹

The Times announced in January 1923 that all applications from newspapers in Great Britain and Ireland for *The Times* news service of Lord Carnarvon's discoveries at Tutankhamun's tomb must be submitted to the Manager at Printing House-square.² The *New York Times* had entered into an agreement with *The Times* for the circulation of *The Times* service of news and photographs of Lord Carnarvon's discoveries in Egypt among the press of Canada and the United States. This agreement was

¹ "The Tomb of the King: Contract Given to 'The Times,' Exclusive Service of News, Lord Carnarvon's Plans," *The Times*, Wednesday, January 10, 1923, 11.

² "The Egyptian Discoveries: Applications for 'The Times' News Service," *The Times*, Wednesday, January 17, 1923, 11.

announced in *The Times* of 1 February 1923.¹ *The Times* also announced on 21 February that twelve Egyptian newspapers published in Cairo had jointly submitted applications for *The Times* service.²

The first photographs of the interior of Tutankhamun's tomb appeared in *The Times* of 30 January 1923.³ These photographs and those which appeared in *The Times* of February 2 and February 6 were taken by Harry Burton, the photographer of the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York at Thebes, who assisted in the recording of Tutankhamun's tomb. It should be noted that the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum at Thebes assisted Carnarvon's expedition by providing the services of its experts in various important phases of the work at Tutankhamun's tomb.⁴

The most complete arrangements had been made by the Egyptian State Telegraphs before the opening of the sealed burial chamber of Tutankhamun's tomb. It was arranged to have three direct lines between Luxor and Cairo to deal with the expected traffic on or after the opening. High-speed transmitting instruments together with a special telegraph staff had been brought up to Luxor.⁵

However, the announcement of 10 January 1923 that *The Times* was the sole agent of Lord Carnarvon and Carter for the distribution of all news and illustrations to the press of the world had caused attacks on Lord Carnarvon.⁶

The Foreign Press in Egypt against *The Times*

The Ministry of Public Works had sent a representative of the Press Bureau of the Egyptian Government to Luxor in early February 1923 to provide a daily communiqué of the progress of work and the contents of Tutankhamun's tomb to satisfy the public curiosity. Accordingly, the information would be communicated by the Press Bureau to all newspapers.⁷ It was stressed that that apart from this general official communiqué, the excavator, whose right of publication must remain intact according to the custom followed in Egypt and in all the countries where there were excavations, would remain entirely free to give to any newspaper of his choice all the scientific information and the illustrations which he would like to make known before the full publication. Additionally, the Antiquities Service would not intervene on this matter

¹ "Treasures from the Tomb: Experts' Work at Luxor, King's Wonderful Sandals," *The Times*, Thursday, February 1, 1923, 11.

² "Public View at Luxor: Significant Features, Sarwat Pasha's Appreciation," *The Times*, Friday, February 22, 1923, 10.

³ "Interior of Tutankhamun's Tomb: First Photographs," *The Times*, Tuesday, January 30, 1923, 14.

⁴ "Moving Luxor Treasures: A Royal Throne, King's Exquisite Shrine," *The Times*, Saturday, February 10, 1923, 8. Carter and Mace, *Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen* 1, xiii-xiv, 107-8.

⁵ "Tutankhamun's Tomb: Preparing to Open Sealed Chamber," *The Times*, Tuesday, January 30, 1923, 12.

⁶ "LD. Carnarvon's Death: 16 Years' Work in Egypt, the Luxor Tomb," *The Times*, Friday, April 6, 1923, 12.

⁷ Letter from R. Engelbach to Clark Kerr on 3 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

between the excavator and newspapers.¹ It should be noted that the Ministry of Public Works and the Antiquities Service, which was a branch of that Ministry, were the competent Egyptian authorities in charge of antiquities. The Antiquities Service was headed by a Frenchman according to the agreement of 1904 between Britain and France.²

There was trouble in the British press on the subject of *The Times* monopoly of the news concerning the tomb of Tutankhamun. According to *The Times* contract with Lord Carnarvon, no reporter would be admitted into the tomb. The Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt, Reginald Engelbach, and the official of the Press Bureau, Hasan Hosny Nagib, arranged with Sir Henry Perry Robinson, *The Times* correspondent at Luxor, to meet him at the Winter Palace Hotel to talk over the preparations for the day of the opening of the burial chamber. Before their meeting with Sir Robinson, they were accosted by all the pressmen, who insisted on knowing the date of the opening of the burial chamber and whether the Press Bureau representatives would be allowed to make a statement as to the general state of the chamber at the moment when *The Times* would be given the news. The pressmen announced their intention to start a campaign against Lord Carnarvon, especially stressing the commercial side of his archaeological research. Engelbach pointed out to Clark Kerr, Principal Secretary at the British Residency (High Commission) in Cairo, that there were fears on the part of the press that the discoverers could enter the tomb when they liked and so would obtain their scoop, especially no infraction was listed in their contract with the Egyptian Government if they would do so. Engelbach suggested that Clark Kerr or his delegate should meet the anti-*Times* party or the two parties together to settle this matter.³

In an attempt to calm the Egyptian press down, Sir Robinson claimed that Lord Carnarvon's agreement with *The Times* would not affect the interests of the Egyptian press and that he was responsible for delivering the news to *The Times* and distributing them to the Egyptian newspapers so that they would be published in London and in Egypt at the same time. He also claimed that all correspondents had equal access to the news of the discovery and that the agreement did not discriminate *The Times* correspondent.⁴

In a meeting with the Egyptian Minister of Public Works, Ismail Sirry Pasha, in the Egyptian cabinet, Lord Carnarvon told him that Sir Robinson would send the news concerning Tutankhamun's tomb to *The Times* which would in turn distribute them to the Egyptian press. However, the Egyptian Minister asked that the news to the

¹ Communiqué du Bureau de la Presse in January 1923. Les Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Donald M. Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums & the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2015), 21, 278, 280.

³ Letter from R. Engelbach to Clark Kerr on 3 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

⁴ محمود أبو الفتوح، "حديث عن آثار وادي الملوك: عقد لورد كارنارفون والحكومة، التيمس والصحف والآثار"، الأهرام، 27 يناير 1923، 4.

Egyptian press should be given to the official of the Press Bureau. The Egyptian press also asked that they should be provided with the news together with the illustrations through the representative of the Press Bureau at the same time *The Times* correspondent would be supplied. They asked the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works to publish the contract between the Antiquities Service and Lord Carnarvon stressing that the Egyptian public had the right to know about this contract.¹

Arthur Weigall, who was an Egyptologist writing archaeological articles for the *Daily Mail*, was of the opinion that Carnarvon's contract with *The Times* was a threat to Egyptology and would lead to the possible suspension of European or American archaeological expeditions in Egypt. His argument against *The Times* contract was that introducing the commercial element into excavations was against the elementary scientific principles. He explained that Carnarvon's sale of the exclusive information to *The Times* for a large sum of money and his acceptance of the highest offer made to him, in what he described as an auction, would encourage all kinds of similar commercial enterprises and would turn Egyptology into an investment, which would force the Egyptian Government to issue new laws against all excavators. He added that the contract with *The Times* forced Carnarvon's excavators to refuse admitting people into the tomb and to keep silent in a way which had given the impression throughout Egypt "that they are trying to obtain some of the objects for sale abroad." He predicted that their attitude would force the Government to show hostility to all later excavations.²

Under *The Times* contract any Egyptologist who had any connection with or was writing articles for a newspaper was prevented from entering the tomb or obtaining any information from the excavators. This would cut the excavators off from the help of experts. Weigall argued that Carnarvon's claim that his contract with *The Times* was to protect himself from the disturbance of journalists was not true as the number of European and American correspondents in Luxor was very small and their only request was a short daily bulletin compared to the long reports given to *The Times* correspondent. He stated that his best service to Egyptology was to assist the other pressmen who represented the leading London papers and Reuters in breaking *The Times* monopoly to prevent any future arrangement for similar contracts. From his point of view, this would be achieved by obtaining information on the day of the opening of the burial chamber which would cause those "who have paid so heavily for *The Times* exclusive service to feel that their money has been wasted."³

Weigall stressed the fact that the tomb and its contents belonged only to the Egyptian Government and not to Lord Carnarvon and that knowledge should be available to the whole world. He stated that the Government had made some arrangements to show the

¹ محمود أبو الفتوح، "حديث عن آثار وادي الملوك: عقد لورد كارنارفون والحكومة، التيمس والصحف والآثار"، الأهرام، 27 يناير 1923، 4.

² Letter from Arthur Weigall to M. Amos on 3 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ Letter from Arthur Weigall to M. Amos on 3 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282/25.

tomb to the press, but almost all the contents of the antechamber were removed to the storeroom (Seti II's tomb), to which only *The Times* was admitted. He added that the representative of the Press Bureau was instructed to send the news in a sealed envelope to the Egyptian press in Cairo and to prevent Egyptian or European correspondents on the spot from obtaining news. He suggested to the British Residency in Cairo that the Government should announce that a full bulletin would be issued immediately on entering the burial chamber.¹

The situation in Luxor regarding the press was very strained. The representatives of the *Daily Mail*, Arthur Weigall, the *Daily Telegraph*, Vallentine Williams, the *Daily Express*, H. V. Morton, and the *Morning Post*, H. A. Bradstreet, who were sent to Luxor on the occasion of the opening of Tutankhamun's tomb, complained against the preferential treatment given to *The Times* and its representative. They expressed their claim to equal opportunity of photography as was granted to *The Times* and demanded entry into Seti II's tomb to obtain notes on the antiquities removed from Tutankhamun's tomb and stored there. They decided at a meeting held at the Winter Palace Hotel in Luxor on 3 February 1923 to approach Lord Carnarvon once again with a request for facilities and in case of refusal to appeal to the British High Commissioner for Egypt, Lord Allenby, and the Egyptian Government. They argued that in the past the press was free to photograph and describe any discovery of equal importance and that they should be given reasonable access to Seti II's tomb and fair treatment stressing that the treasures of Tutankhamun belonged to the Egyptian Government and not to the discoverer.²

The correspondents complained that they were refused admission into the tomb on the plea of annoyance and waste of time, while a number of foreigners were granted entry permits by the Ministry of Public Works. Bradstreet and Morton had threatened to start a campaign in the English Press against Lord Carnarvon under the slogan of commercialized archaeology and an attack on the discoverer as a mere money grabber. The arrival of an official representative of the Press Bureau at Luxor caused more displeasure because of the correspondents' fear that his communiqué would be issued from Cairo and that *The Times* representative Sir Robinson would be the only other person permitted to telegraph from Luxor an authoritative statement of the contents of the burial chamber. However, arrangements had been made for special telegraphic facilities on the day of the opening of the burial chamber.³

The correspondents at Luxor were not allowed to gain access to any sort of information in connection with Tutankhamun's tomb. G. C. Delaney, who was in charge of Reuters in Cairo, sent a letter to the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior protesting against the exclusive access to information gained by *The Times* correspondent at Luxor, Sir Henry Perry Robinson, and not allowing the

¹ Letter from Arthur Weigall to M. Amos on 3 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282/25.

² Note to the High Commissioner on 6 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282/3.

³ Note to the British High Commissioner on 6 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

correspondent of Reuters, Vallentine Williams, who had been specially sent out from England to telegraph all information related to the tomb and its contents, to carry out his functions by *The Times* representatives at Luxor and the Egyptian police. He stated that Vallentine Williams was prevented by the police from entering the tomb of Seti II (KV15) which was being used as a laboratory for storing the antiquities removed from Tutankhamun's tomb, while Sir Robinson was allowed access. He even asked who gave instructions to the police to do this. He stated that the information should be provided by the Inspector of Antiquities through the Press Bureau representative to Reuters and other European correspondents. He asked for satisfactory assurances, so that "the interests of all correspondents without distinction shall be respected." He asked the Ministry to send telegraphic instructions to the Inspector of Antiquities, Engelbach, to provide Reuters and other correspondents with all the information which he would obtain. He also asked that definite instructions concerning the distribution of news should be carried out by the representative of the Press Bureau at Luxor.¹

Clark Kerr, Principal Secretary at the British Residency in Cairo, sent a letter to Ismail Sirry Pasha, the Minister of Public Works and therefore the responsible for antiquities, asking for a permission for Vallentine Williams of Reuters to visit Tutankhamun's tomb on the occasion of the press visit to the tomb on 6 February 1923.²

Various correspondents of foreign newspapers sent a protest on 6 February 1923 to the Minister of Public Works, the Under-Secretary of State for Public Works, the Director of the Press Bureau at Cairo, and Keown Byod, Ministry of the Interior, against the difficulties which they were encountering in Luxor, particularly being prevented by the police from having access to the tomb of Seti II, where the antiquities from Tutankhamun's tomb were stored, a privilege which was afforded to *The Times* correspondents. They asked them to give immediate orders that a representative of the Antiquities Service should provide them with a daily bulletin on the spot, that they should be given proper facilities to fulfill their mission at the opening of the burial chamber, and that they should not be prevented from obtaining immediate information. They even asked that the representative of the Antiquities Service at Luxor should inform them of the date of the opening of the burial chamber once he would receive information.³

Royal and very high ranked people from all over the world arranged to be present at the opening of the burial chamber of Tutankhamun's tomb, like the Queen of the Belgians and the Duke of Brabant.⁴

¹ Letter from G. C. Delaney to the Ministry of the Interior on 4 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Letter from Clark Kerr to Ismail Sirry Pasha on 3 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ Telegram from various newspaper correspondents to the High Commissioner for Egypt on 6 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

⁴ Letter from C. Wingfield to the High Commissioner Allenby on 7 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

On 7 February 1923 G. C. Delaney, Reuters agent in Cairo, reported to the British High Commissioner at the Residency in Cairo that he was informed by the Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Works that the news concerning the opening of the burial chamber of Tutankhamun's tomb would be distributed on the morning following the opening. He requested that they should be given the news by the Press Bureau the same day, but he was informed that the Government offices were closed in the afternoons. Delaney stated that the Egyptian Government was supporting *The Times* by excluding them from news until they would be too late and useless. He asked the intervention of the High Commissioner in the matter of the unfair treatment of the Reuters correspondent and other correspondents at Luxor, arguing that the Egyptian Government should protect them against the attempts of *The Times* to exclude or delay them from vital information. He requested that the representative of the Egyptian Government at the tomb should be given orders to provide without favour all correspondents on the spot with all the information he could secure, and that all important information should be available to the whole press.¹ Delaney also asked Clark Kerr of the Residency for equality, explaining that the news would be useless if they received them after *The Times* correspondent.²

On 8 February 1923 Reuters and Editors of British newspapers (*Daily Mail*, *Morning Post*, *Daily Express*, and *Daily Chronicle*) protested to the High Commissioner for Egypt against the attempts to prevent the majority of the British press from obtaining news at Luxor in connection with the opening of the burial chamber of Tutankhamun's tomb.³ The Chairman of Reuters, Roderick Jones, asked the High Commissioner for assurances as to fair and impartial treatment of all correspondents, given the unparalleled international interest in this event and the importance of ensuring that several newspapers all over Europe and the rest of the world supplied by Reuters should obtain independent record of news.⁴

As regard to the American Press, the *New York World* and sixty-eight American newspapers were represented in Luxor by Arthur Weigall. On 15 February 1923 the *New York World* asked the High Commissioner to use his influence to prevent the attempt by *The Times* to monopolize the news regarding the opening of the burial chamber and to make arrangements so that the news of this great event in Egyptian history would be available to all newspapers impartially.⁵

The Egyptian *Al-Ahram* newspaper stated that Lord Carnarvon aroused the hostility of most influential newspapers in the world when he considered the burial chamber as a

¹ Letter from G. C. Delaney to the High Commissioner for Egypt on 7 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Memorandum for Mr. Clark Kerr regarding Luxor dated the 7th of February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ Telegrams from the Editors of the *London Daily Mail*, *Morning Post*, *Daily Express*, and *Daily Chronicle* to the High Commissioner for Egypt on 8 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

⁴ Telegram from the Chairman of Reuters to the High Commissioner for Egypt on 8 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

⁵ Telegram from John L. Balderston to the High Commissioner for Egypt on 15 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

secret of his own. *Al-Ahram* was concerned with illustrating the campaign of the world press against what it called *The Times* monopoly of the news of the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb. They quoted the telegraph of the correspondent of Reuters' office in Cairo, in which he stated that if the Egyptian Government gave up its right that no one opposed it, this would cause the criticism of the Egyptian public. They stated that *The Times* ignored the campaign of the foreign press against its monopoly.¹

Al-Ahram was particularly concerned with publishing the news of the British press campaign against Lord Carnarvon. While the British newspapers expressed their appreciation for the value of the work carried out by Lord Carnarvon and Carter in the tomb, they, however, protested against the difficulties encountered by their correspondents at Luxor. *Al-Ahram* reported the statement of the *Morning Post* that the Egyptian Government insisted on refusing the violation of the custom followed in Egypt that would provide a fair opportunity for all newspapers without discrimination. *Al-Ahram* also delivered the point of view of the *Daily Express* which considered that Lord Carnarvon dealt with the tomb of Tutankhamun as a business and not a scientific work.²

The Attitude of the British Residency in Cairo towards Lord Carnarvon

The relevant documents showed that the British High Commissioner Lord Allenby paid interest to the protests he had received regarding the difficulties between Lord Carnarvon and the press representatives. Lord Allenby consulted M. Amos and Ross Taylor, Legal Department of Public Works, who indicated to the right of Lord Carnarvon to make what arrangements he pleased regarding publication and that the Egyptian Government could not set aside or override those arrangements, unless with his approval, without exposing themselves to an action in the Mixed Tribunals. Lord Allenby was advised that he would not be justified in putting pressure on the Egyptian Government to curtail Lord Carnarvon's rights in this issue. It was suggested, however, that the press correspondents should leave Luxor, and that Lord Carnarvon would give information to the representative of the Press Bureau at Luxor at the same time he would supply *The Times* correspondent. The representative of the Press Bureau could then telegraph the news to the Bureau at Cairo to be issued at once to the correspondents.³

Lord Allenby sent a letter to Lord Carnarvon stressing his rights in making the arrangements he would prefer concerning the publication of his discoveries in Tutankhamun's tomb and informing him that he requested the Foreign Office to inform Reuters Agency in London and the Editors of the British newspapers. However, he asked him to consider the suggestion that the representative of the Press Bureau at Luxor should be allowed to telegraph to the Bureau at Cairo, for the

¹ "حملة الصحف على اللورد كارنارفون"، الأهرام، 12 فبراير 1923، 1.

² "الصحف الانجليزية واحتكار التيمس لآخبار الاكتشاف"، الأهرام، 12 فبراير 1923، 4.

³ Minute by E. Scott of 9 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

circulation to the press correspondents, the information he would obtain from him at the same time as the representative of *The Times* would telegraph.¹

Lord Allenby told Reuters correspondent in Cairo that he saw no reason for the British Residency to intervene as requested in his letter of 7 February 1923.² He also replied to the telegrams of the British newspapers through the Foreign Office. He clarified that the Egyptian Government could not intervene in Carnarvon's arrangements regarding the publication of news without his approval and that they would not expose themselves to an action in the Mixed Tribunals. He stated that the Government's main concern was the preservation of antiquities and that they were unwilling to being dragged into a foreign dispute. Accordingly, he thought that he was not justified in intervening in this matter.³

Engelbach's Dispute with Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter

At the time of the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb, the Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt Reginald Engelbach was at Dendera and hurried to Luxor on receiving Carter's message that he believed that he had made a good discovery. Under the excavation permit, the opening of any tomb should be in the presence of a representative of the Antiquities Service. On his arrival in the Valley of the Kings on 24 November 1922,⁴ Engelbach found that a hole had been made in the outer door. He indicated to Carter that this was a breach of the contract, but Carter remarked "We only took a peep." Engelbach noticed that the seals were intact on the top of the door, but one on the bottom left-hand corner was removed without being damaged. He stated the fact that he did not receive the news of the discovery by telegraph, but by letter. It appears then that Carter was trying to delay his arrival for the opening of the tomb. Other causes for Engelbach's resentment were that the control of the Police in the Valley of the Kings was left in Carter's hands and not the local Mudir and that a number of Luxor notables were not listed among the visitors at the opening of the tomb.⁵

During Lord Carnarvon's absence in London, Engelbach observed Carter's increasing dictatorial manner until one day he had to argue with him for giving orders to the Police. After Lord Carnarvon's return there were rumours in Luxor of his intention to open the burial chamber secretly without waiting for the authorization of the Antiquities Service as stated in the contract. This caused Engelbach to take due precaution to protect the interests of the Department of Antiquities. He had to stay at the door of the tomb and to keep entering (about once every half-hour) and watching

¹ Letter from the High Commissioner Allenby to Carnarvon on 9 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Letter from the First Secretary of the High Commissioner to G. C. Delaney on 10 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ Telegram from the High Commissioner for Egypt to the Foreign Office on 10 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

⁴ Tutankhamun: Anatomy of an Excavation, Howard Carter Diaries and Journals, the First Excavation Season in the Tomb of Tutankhamun, part I: October 28 to December 31, 1922. Oxford: The Griffith Institute.

⁵ Memorandum concerning the relations between Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Engelbach dated the 7th of February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

the proceedings. On the other hand, Lord Carnarvon did not trust Engelbach and believed that he was responsible for the leakage of news.¹

The Arrangement for the Opening of the Burial Chamber

On 7 February 1923, a meeting was held between Lord Carnarvon and representatives of the Egyptian Government concerning the difficulties between Lord Carnarvon and the press representatives. The representatives of the Egyptian Government included Abdul Hamid Suliman Pasha, Ministry of Public Works, Ross Taylor, Legal Department of Public Works, Keown Boyd, Ministry of the Interior, Mr. Glen from the Residency, and Pierre Lacau, the French Director General of the Egyptian Antiquities Service. When Suliman Pasha suggested that some form of communication should be made to the press on the day of the opening of the burial chamber, Lord Carnarvon protested that he should not be bound to any particular procedure and that his main interest was the safety of the treasures. Lacau clarified that the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb had aroused a great interest throughout Egypt, and that the Egyptians for the first time had become interested in the Egyptian antiquities. He added that the Egyptian press had stated that the discovered objects were Egyptian national treasures and had claimed that the Egyptians had the right to the earliest and fullest information concerning them.²

Lord Carnarvon requested the removal of the Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt Engelbach from his office, arguing that he was disturbing the men engaged in delicate work in the tomb and that he gave the impression that he was spying on Lord Carnarvon's party all the time. He believed that Engelbach was at the bottom of all the trouble with the press, and that he was responsible for the communication of news. He even proposed to stop the work until the removal of Engelbach, but Lacau and Suliman Pasha refused to remove him. Lord Carnarvon then suggested that Engelbach should be transferred to another place and replaced by another official. However, Lacau refused to remove or transfer a valued official and stressed that he should be present at the opening of the burial chamber. It had been decided at the meeting that the tomb would be open to visitors and pressmen every Tuesday, with permits to be issued by the Under-Secretary of State for Public Works to no more than forty for every Tuesday. Permits for notabilities were arranged to be issued by the Under-Secretary to no more than twenty a month.³

Accordingly, the public was admitted to apply to the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works for permission to visit the tomb on Tuesdays. The British Residency in Cairo sent letters to the Ministry of Public Works asking permission for a number of British people to visit the tomb and the storeroom (the tomb of Seti II).⁴

¹ Memorandum concerning the relations between Lord Carnarvon and Mr. Engelbach dated the 7th of February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Memorandum concerning the meeting between Lord Carnarvon and representatives of the Egyptian Government dated the 7th of February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ Memorandum concerning the meeting between Lord Carnarvon and representatives of the Egyptian Government dated the 7th of February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

⁴ Letter from the British Residency in Cairo to Abdul Hamid Suliman Pasha on 9 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

Suliman Pasha clarified that according to the unwritten law followed in Egypt the excavators should be permitted to give the information they like to the press. When it was arranged that a representative of the Government should reside in Luxor and issue communiqués at intervals through the Press Bureau to appease public curiosity, the position of Lord Carnarvon was made clear as follows:¹

“It goes without saying that, apart from this official general communiqué, the excavator – whose right of publication remains intact, in conformity with the practice followed in Egypt and all other countries where excavation is undertaken – will remain entirely free to give any journal or review any scientific information and illustrations which he desires to have published before “la publication intégrale”. The Antiquities Department are not concerned to intervene on this point between the excavator and the Press.”

Suliman Pasha’s arrangement for the official opening of the burial chamber was as follows: 1) making a hole in the wall between the two chambers by a very small party on a day to be fixed; and 2) the clearing of a proper aperture if important discoveries appear and the official opening of the burial chamber. During this time no press representatives, even *The Times* representative, would be admitted. It had been arranged that after tidying the chamber up, a day would be fixed for the visits of a limited number of press representatives, and that the Egyptian Government representative should issue a communiqué next morning in Cairo through the Press Bureau, enabling Lord Carnarvon to give *The Times* representative the news in advance. The Egyptian Government representative would be instructed to keep silent and send the news up to Cairo by the night train. Suliman Pasha confessed that these arrangements had been reached to satisfy Lord Carnarvon. He hoped that the journalists would be satisfied to receive news twelve hours later. However, he thought that there was no compromise acceptable to both parties, because the journalists were fighting against any arrangement which would give *The Times* a start. He concluded that Lord Carnarvon was perhaps going rather far in interpreting his unwritten rights as giving him a monopoly in so sensational facts. He pointed out that Lord Carnarvon had spent large sums of money over many years and that he always argued: “why could he not be left in peace, like all other archeologists?”²

The Formal Opening of the Burial Chamber

The sealed burial chamber of Tutankhamun’s tomb was opened on 17 February 1923. This day was fixed for the official opening of the burial chamber by eminent Egyptologists and representatives of the Egyptian Government.³ *The Times* published King Fuad’s message to Lord Carnarvon, telegraphed from the Abdein Palace, Cairo, on the occasion of the formal opening of the burial chamber of Tutankhamun’s tomb as follows:

¹ Minute to Robert A. Furness of the British Residency on 9 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Minute to Robert A. Furness of the British Residency on 9 February 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ “LD. Carnarvon’s Death: 16 Years’ Work in Egypt, the Luxor Tomb,” *The Times*, Friday, April 6, 1923, 12; Carter and Mace, *Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen* 1, 178.

“A l’occasion de la découverte des inestimables trésors dont vous enrichissez la science et l’Egypte, il m’est très agréable de vous adresser le témoignage de mes félicitations les plus vives au moment où vos efforts sont couronnés de succès, et où vos efforts cueillent si justement le fruit de vos longues années de travail.—FOUAD.”¹

King Fuad appointed the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Public Works as his official representative at the opening ceremony of February 18. *The Times* denied the claims that there were misunderstandings and a disagreement between Lord Carnarvon and the Egyptian Government on the basis of King Fuad’s attitude and the friendliness of the Egyptian public people invited to the ceremony.²

Lord Carnarvon and his daughter, Lady Evelyn Herbert, Carter, Lacau, the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Public Works, the High Commissioner Lord Allenby and his wife, accompanied by a number of the Residency staff, the Queen of the Belgians and her Crown Prince Leopold, the American Minister at Cairo, Morton Howell, and a number of Egyptian notables were present at the opening ceremony of February 18. Lord Carnarvon received too numerous telegrams of congratulations and private messages on the formal opening of the burial chamber.³ The tomb of Tutankhamun was subsequently closed at the end of February 1923 as a result of Lord Carnarvon’s decision to suspend the work until the next autumn.⁴

***The Times* Campaign in Support to Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter**

A campaign had been directed against Lord Carnarvon in the early days of the discovery of Tutankhamun’s tomb for his decision to circulate news of his discoveries at the tomb to the world press through the agency of *The Times*. Certain people argued for the sacred rights of the press and the immediate distribution of news to all the papers. They asked for the Egyptian Government’s intervention to cancel Lord Carnarvon’s excavation concession, if he did not cancel his agreement with *The Times*. Consequently, *The Times* started a campaign defending Lord Carnarvon and Carter on 14 March 1923, stating that the archaeological work in Egypt was controlled by the Egyptian Antiquities Law and the Antiquities Service. They clarified that the Egyptian Government granted the excavation concession only under strict conditions. They argued that Lord Carnarvon was the holder of the excavation concession in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes, that his work at the tomb of Tutankhamun was always subject to inspection by the representative of the Antiquities Service, and that he was under the obligation to submit to the Antiquities Service a summary report of the progress of work and the discovered objects at the end of each excavation season and thus he had the right to prevent access to the tomb as long as he was the

¹ “Lord Carnarvon’s Story: Fresh Details, More Wonders in Store, Yesterday’s Formal Opening,” *The Times*, Monday, February 19, 1923, 12.

² “Lord Carnarvon’s Story: Fresh Details, More Wonders in Store, Yesterday’s Formal Opening,” *The Times*, Monday, February 19, 1923, 12.

³ “Lord Carnarvon’s Story: Fresh Details, More Wonders in Store, Yesterday’s Formal Opening,” *The Times*, Monday, February 19, 1923, 12.

“عجائب وغرائب في مدفن توت عنخ آمون،” *لسان الحال*، 22 فبراير 1923، 1.

⁴ “LD. Carnarvon’s Death: 16 Years’ Work in Egypt, the Luxor Tomb,” *The Times*, Friday, April 6, 1923, 12.

concessionaire. They added that he had fulfilled his duties and had reported the updates to the public through the intermediary of *The Times* and had not concealed his discovery for some months from the public like so many other excavators. They stated that the work was carried out by eminent men with the assistance of scholars belonging to various nationalities. They asked the public to wait until the excavator would announce the result of his work at the time and in the manner he might choose.¹

The Times called for leaving Lord Carnarvon and Carter and his assistants in peace in order to complete the task of removing and preserving the wonderful objects found in the tomb and for respecting their choice of the manner in which they wish to report to the public the result of their discoveries. *The Times* published a letter addressed by A. C. Mace, Associate Curator of the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York and the senior member of the Museum's staff working at Tutankhamun's tomb, to the Editor of the *Morning Post*. In this letter Mace denied the statement of their correspondent at Luxor on 10 February 1923 that members of the staff of the Metropolitan Museum were annoyed for not being permitted to send news to the American newspapers. He asserted their cordial relations with Lord Carnarvon and Carter and their pure scientific interest in the tomb. He stated that they never had the desire to communicate details of the work to the press and refused being exploited in this way.²

The Publicity Rights Dispute Following Lord Carnarvon's Death

Following Lord Carnarvon's death on 5 April 1923,³ *The Times* had arranged with the executors of Lord Carnarvon for the continuance of the agreement, which was made at the beginning of 1923, for the distribution throughout the press of the world of the news and photographs of Carter's discoveries in the tomb of Tutankhamun. In September 1923, *The Times* announced that the executors had confirmed the arrangement by which *The Times* was given the whole of the serial publication rights of the expedition, which included all the material relating to the several parts of the tomb. Accordingly, Carter and members of his team would not supply any news, articles, or illustrations to any other newspaper or agency. This arrangement had been confirmed because the discoverers found it impossible to supply the international press individually and decided to employ a single agency to protect themselves from any interruptions to their work. *The Times* announced that the resumption of the work in the tomb would be early in November 1923, and offered its service of news and photographs of the discoveries at the disposal of every newspaper, magazine, or other periodical publication in the world which would wish to have it.⁴

The organization which was established by *The Times* in the spring of 1923 for the distribution of the material relating to the tomb all over the world and which secured

¹ "Tutankhamen: Press and the Treasure, Plain Words from Dr. Capart," *The Times*, Wednesday, March 14, 1923, 13.

² "Tutankhamen: Press and the Treasure, Plain Words from Dr. Capart," *The Times*, Wednesday, March 14, 1923, 13.

³ "LD. Carnarvon's Death: 16 Years' Work in Egypt, the Luxor Tomb," *The Times*, Friday, April 6, 1923, 12.

⁴ "The Times Luxor Service: Arrangements for Next Season," *The Times*, Friday, September 21, 1923, 11.

publication in the London and British newspapers, as well as European, North and South American, South African, and Australian ones, was still available for the next season. The Egyptian press was provided, at its own request, with the service by a separate arrangement.¹ By arrangement with Carter, the *Illustrated London News* was given the exclusive rights for the reproduction in colour of photographs of the interior of Tutankhamun's tomb in October 1923.²

On 21 September 1923, Carter delivered his first lecture in London on the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb at the New Oxford Theatre. The audience was invited by Lady Almina Carnarvon. The lecture was presided by the President of the Egypt Exploration Society, Sir John Maxwell, who gave a short introductory speech about Lord Carnarvon, the valuable work of archaeologists in general for the sake of science, and the services of *The Times* in providing the world with accurate news of the discoveries.³

Lady Carnarvon was granted authorization to continue the work of her late husband in the tomb of Tutankhamun in July 1923 with the sole condition that "The Antiquities Department reserves the right of control over the works so as to avoid the press criticisms of last year and protect the workers as far as possible from unnecessary visits." The work in Tutankhamun's tomb was resumed on 22 October 1923.⁴ It should be noted Pierre Lacau proposed the combination with the Metropolitan Museum of Art by appointing two members of the staff of this Museum to the Egyptian Museum to help arrange the treasures which were expected to be discovered in Tutankhamun's tomb in years 1923, 1924 and 1925. James E. Quibell, Keeper of the Egyptian Museum and Secretary-General of the Antiquities Service, clarified that the new expected treasures would cause excessive publicity and that any failure to handle them would cause international criticism. He stated that the staff of the Egyptian Museum were not qualified enough to deal with them.⁵

Al-Ahram recorded the attitude of the Egyptian Minister of Public Works, Abdul Hamid Suliman Pasha, when he stressed the right of the Egyptian Government to have full control over the distribution of all news concerning the tomb in the course of his negotiations with Carter in the first week of November 1923. *Al-Ahram* affirmed its support of the right of the Egyptian public to obtain immediate information about the tomb and asked that a British newspaper should not be singled out by giving it breaking news about the tomb and not giving the same news to Egyptian newspapers at the same time. *Al-Ahram* also stressed its opposition against *The Times* and

¹ "The Times Luxor Service: Arrangements for Next Season," *The Times*, Friday, September 21, 1923, 11.

² "Tutankhamen's Tomb: Work Restarted," *The Times*, Tuesday, October 23, 1923, 12.

³ "Tutankhamen: Mr. Carter's Lecture, a Notable Audience," *The Times*, Saturday, September 22, 1923, 8.

⁴ "Luxor Tomb Closed: Mr. Carter's Action, Reply to Official Discourtesy," *The Times*, Thursday, February 14, 1924, 12.

⁵ Letter from the Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Works to Tweedy on 19 September 1923 (with enclosed Note prepared by Quibell). United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

Carnarvon in their attempt to tamper with the Egyptian rights, and asked the Minister of Public Works to provide a clear evidence as to the freedom and rights of the Egyptians in their country.¹

It was arranged that there should be a press view every fortnight. The first press view was on 3 December 1923, when a party of four journalists representing British and American newspapers visited the tomb. They were only admitted to the antechamber because the partition wall was not completely demolished in time.²

The dispute concerning the Tutankhamun publicity rights emerged again towards the end of 1923. P. M. Tottenham, the Under-Secretary of State in the Egyptian Ministry of Public Works, Lacau, and Quibell prepared a note which included some suggestions which should be decided by the Minister of Public Works. They suggested the presence of a representative of the Antiquities Department to oversee the operations. This duty would be carried out by the Chief Inspector at Luxor and three Egyptian officials from the Department. This suggestion was to meet the criticisms of the Arabic press. They also suggested that the Egyptian Government should not issue a daily bulletin, which would make the excavators and in effect *The Times* the provider of all news and would exclude the rival press organizations from news. An alternative was suggested that the Government should provide a short communiqué daily to a representative of the Press Bureau which would allow the journalists to publish it in the morning papers of the following day, at the same time *The Times* would publish their much fuller news. This alternative was requested by the rival press organizations, which claimed the right of the press to obtain news without distinction. The *Morning Post* Group threatened that if the bulletin was not issued, they would obtain their news by any means available. On the other hand, Carter claimed the right of the excavator to choose his own channel of publication, and that he had chosen *The Times*. He threatened that if the Government would issue a bulletin, he would stop his work, and this would be followed by a “gigantic lawsuit,” that the Government would be dragged in. It was stated that Lord Carnarvon had chosen *The Times* for his preliminary publication of news in return for a certain payment to protect him from the interruptions of the press. Carter claimed that the sum of money received from *The Times* was not large and that it was expended on the excavation work. The rival press desired to break the monopoly.³

The third suggestion was the admission of representatives of the press to the tomb once a fortnight (no more than 10 with numbered and dated tickets obtained from the Ministry of Public Works). This suggestion was to provide fair treatment to all pressmen. The fourth suggestion was the interruption of the work for a week or more and the admission of certain number of visitors to the tomb (with numbered and dated

¹ “في وادي الملوك: موقف وزير الأشغال العمومية ومساعي مراسل التيمس،” *الأهرام*، 15 نوفمبر 1923، 4.

² “Tutankhamen’s Tomb: A Press View,” *The Times*, Tuesday, December 4, 1923, 11.

³ Letter from the Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Works to C. M. Patrick of the Residency on 10 November 1923 (with enclosed Note signed by P. M. Tottenham, P. Lacau, and J. E. Quibell). United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

tickets from the Ministry of Public Works) when it was possible after the removal of the great shrines. This suggestion was to reduce interruptions to a minimum.¹

Tottenham, Lacau, and Quibell stated that the Egyptian Government's main responsibility was to secure the interests of the Egyptian public and press and those of the Antiquities Service. They stressed the Government's legal right of issuing information of non-scientific nature to the public and of admitting the public to see the treasures of Tutankhamun at reasonable times without interrupting the work of the excavators. It was therefore stressed that the Government had the right to enforce the issue of a bulletin. However, they were of the opinion that it was not advisable to insist on this right. They predicted that not issuing a bulletin would cause attacks on and criticism of the Government in Egypt and abroad by the rival press and that the greatest criticism would be as follows: "What a weak government is this, to cede to the importunities of *The Times* and the diggers and protect their financial interests by giving up the issue of a daily bulletin, thus waiving its own unquestionable right and damaging the interests of the independent press! Would any other Government, having given a concession for a railway or a petroleum field, give up with it to the concessionaire the exclusive right to inform the public of the progress of the work."²

On the other hand, there were fears that if the Government insisted on its right to issue a bulletin, Carter would do as he said with the support of *The Times*. The Antiquities Department would have to complete the work in the tomb in case of his refusal to do it, but they would appear as robbing him of the fruit of his work and the final publication would be almost impossible. They stated that the Government did not intend to interfere with or prejudice the rights of scientific publication which it always intended to cede to the excavators. They added that the work in the Valley was made at a cost of time and money that they could not even think of asking the Egyptian Finance Ministry to authorize. They finally presented the following alternatives for the Government: a) to give up (for the moment) its right to issue a periodical bulletin, or b) to issue a short daily or periodic bulletin. It was stated that the Government owed to the excavators and would consider their interests in all possible ways, while they owed nothing to the foreign press. Accordingly, they were inclined to the first mentioned alternative which would result in the publication of all information related to the tomb through the excavators. However, it was advised that the Government should not under-estimate the danger of the foreign press which would prevent the Government from working smoothly in various ways.³

Delaney of Reuters informed the Residency that the Egyptian Government officials Tottenham, Quibell, and Lacau had made negotiations with *The Times* concerning the

¹ Letter from the Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Works to C. M. Patrick of the Residency on 10 November 1923 (with enclosed Note signed by P. M. Tottenham, P. Lacau, and J. E. Quibell). United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Letter from the Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Works to C. M. Patrick of the Residency on 10 November 1923 (with enclosed Note signed by P. M. Tottenham, P. Lacau, and J. E. Quibell). United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ Letter from the Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Works to C. M. Patrick of the Residency on 10 November 1923 (with enclosed Note signed by P. M. Tottenham, P. Lacau, and J. E. Quibell). United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

publicity rights of the tomb. He reported that he had made strong representations to the higher authorities in Egypt and had succeeded in holding up the publication of a decree by the Ministry of Public Works on behalf of *The Times*. He remarked that these officials had negotiated a matter of public interest with *The Times* only and had almost succeeded in creating a “fait accompli” without reference to those affected by the decision taken. Vallentine Williams of Reuters also criticized Tottenham’s handling of the whole matter. Delaney stated that he would make every effort to ensure that any action of the Egyptian Government would be taken by the Council of Ministers and not by the Ministry of Public Works, and that the Egyptian Government would not be bound by an agreement between Tottenham and Carter which was not endorsed by the Ministry. On the other hand, the Residency preferred not to intervene in the dispute and to leave the matter entirely to the Egyptian Government to settle.¹

Delaney and Vallentine Williams had a meeting with the Egyptian Prime Minister Yahia Ibraheem Pasha concerning *The Times*. The Prime Minister stated that it was the responsibility of the Egyptian Government to take the right decision. The Minister of Public Works, Abdul Hamid Suliman Pasha, replied that a decision should then be taken by the Council of Ministers. The Prime Minister, however, asked Suliman Pasha to nominate a commission to study the question of *The Times*. It was arranged that Suliman Pasha would nominate three members and submit their names to the Prime Minister for his approval.²

The Dispute between Carter and the Egyptian Government (Season 1923-1924)

The permits to visit Tutankhamun’s tomb were only granted by the Egyptian Government and were controlled by the Egyptian Minister of Public Works. The applications for permit should have been forwarded to this competent Egyptian Department. British people were writing to the High Commissioner asking for permits to visit the tomb. Most cases had recommendations from some exalted circle in England. In January 1924 Owen Tweedy, Assistant Oriental Secretary in Cairo, asked Tottenham, the Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Public Works, about the policy adopted by the Ministry concerning the permits.³ Tottenham replied that the issue of permits was limited to exceptional cases, except in the period of opening the tomb to the public, which was supposed to be early in February 1924, during which the Ministry would grant as many permits as possible. Tottenham asked Tweedy to

¹ Minute to Mr. Wiggin, the Residency, on 16 November 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Letter to Robert A. Furness on 19 November 1923. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282. Furness was the second secretary in the British Residency in Cairo who dealt with issues concerning the Antiquities Service, T. G. H. James, *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun* (London, Kegan Paul, 1992), 320.

³ Letter from Tweedy to P. M. Tottenham on 11 January 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

transmit the applications for permission to visit the tomb to him (with his comments) for careful consideration.¹

Since the start of the work of the 1923-1924 season in Tutankhamun's tomb on 22 October 1923 constant interruptions were delaying the scientific work on which Carter and his team were engaged. Among the difficulties which Carter was encountering this season was the claim of the Ministry of Public Works to the right of control of visitors to the tomb. Carter complained that, contrary to the authorization given to Lady Carnarvon, the Egyptian Government permitted unnecessary visits by press representatives to the tomb. He stated that these unnecessary visits as well as the fruitless discussions with the Government had wasted their time. No one was admitted to the tomb without the permission of the Ministry of Public Works. In his letter addressed to the Director General of the Antiquities Service Pierre Lacau on 3 February 1924 Carter opposed the suggestion that he should first apply to the Ministry for permission every time he wished to consult experts on urgent detail work.²

Carter also opposed the Government's claim to the right of control of employment of his staff, and its insistence on his submitting a list of the names of his collaborators. He clarified that the main motive of this action was to exclude Lady Carnarvon's publicity agent, and thus encroach on the right of publication, which entirely belonged to her.³

Another difficulty of this season was Carter's arrangement that the objects discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamun should be listed in a special inventory instead of being placed in the regular Journal d'Entrée of the Egyptian Museum. This arrangement would have been interpreted by the Antiquities Department as an indirect claim to at least part-ownership. On the other hand, Carter considered the Egyptian Government's publication of information about the objects discovered in the tomb in the Museum Guide as an encroachment on the rights of Lady Carnarvon. He claimed that the objects described were not yet, and perhaps some of them would never, be part of the Museum collection.⁴

The eminent Egyptologists James H. Breasted, Alan H. Gardiner, Albert M. Lythgoe, Director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and Percy E. Newberry of Liverpool addressed a letter to the Director General of the Egyptian Antiquities Service on 30 January 1924, copies of which were sent to the High Commissioner Lord Allenby and the Minister of Public Works. They stated that the work of Carter and his team in the tomb of Tutankhamun had been repeatedly interrupted in the 1923-1924 season by the regulations concerning visitors and the unnecessary delays. They

¹ Letter from P. M. Tottenham to Tweedy on 12 January 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² "Luxor Tomb Closed: Mr. Carter's Action, Reply to Official Discourtesy," *The Times*, Thursday, February 14, 1924, 14.

³ "Luxor Tomb Closed: Mr. Carter's Action, Reply to Official Discourtesy," *The Times*, Thursday, February 14, 1924, 12, 14; "Case for Mr. Carter: Culmination of Continuous Difficulties," *Egyptian Gazette*, February 16, 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

⁴ "Luxor Tomb Closed: Mr. Carter's Action, Reply to Official Discourtesy," *The Times*, Thursday, February 14, 1924, 14.

argued that this was affecting the regular progress of the work in the tomb and was endangering the scientific record resulting from that work.¹

In a letter addressed to Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Gardiner stated that Carter was frequently interrupted by the imposition of new regulations concerning the admission of visitors to the tomb, the composition of his staff, and other matters. He added that Carter's constant travel to Cairo to discuss these matters with the Minister of Public Works and with Lacau would affect the scientific record of such unique discovery. Gardiner reported that Carter received an ultimatum, threatening that if he would not accede to these regulations, the work would be stopped. He condemned the attitude of the Egyptian Government towards Carter whose skillful work would greatly contribute to science and would add the most valuable treasures to the Egyptian Museum. There was fear of Carter's refusal to make any more concessions. Gardiner suspected that the Antiquities Service intended to take the work from Carter and his staff by making successive pinpricks to cause Carter to behave in a wrong way. He asked for the Prime Minister's help in the measure that was practicable according to the then existing conditions.²

Having been informed of the difficulties which Carter was encountering in his excavations in the Valley of the Kings, the British Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary Ramsay MacDonald replied to Gardiner that the British Government would not interfere in a matter between a private individual and the Egyptian Government.³ He also expressed this opinion in his answer to a parliamentary question; he stated in the House of Commons that Carter's excavations in Egypt were subject to the provisions of the Egyptian Antiquities Law.⁴

In an interview with the new Egyptian Minister of Public Works, Morcos Hanna Pasha, Gardiner complained that all regulations concerning visitors and staff were new and had never been imposed on excavators before, and were not included in the contract or the law.⁵

Carter's Decision to Suspend Work

Carter went to Cairo to arrange with the Egyptian authorities for the opening of the sarcophagus. According to the satisfactory arrangement reached, a representative of the Ministry of Public Works, responsible officials of the Antiquities Service, the members of Carter's staff, and the leading archaeologists would be present on the opening day that was 12 February 1924. The morning of the next day was arranged for

¹ Letter from James H. Breasted, Alan H. Gardiner, Albert M. Lythgoe, and Newberry to Lord Allenby on 30 January 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Letter from Alan H. Gardiner to British Prime Minister on 1 February 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ Letter from W. Selby, Foreign Office, to Alan H. Gardiner on 23 February 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

⁴ Extract from Parliamentary Debates of 12th February 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

⁵ Letter from Alan H. Gardiner to James H. Breasted on 2 February 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

the press visit and then the tomb was to be left open to visitors with permits for ten days. On the day before that fixed for the ceremony Carter received a notification from the Government that, outside the Government representatives, no more than 12 people, including the staff, should be admitted to the tomb, which was contrary to the arrangement made at Cairo and was a direct insult to the leading archaeologists who had been invited.¹

After Carter's conversation with the Under-Secretary of State for Public Works, the Government permitted the admission of those invited to the tomb on the day of the ceremony. In the course of his conversation with the Under-Secretary, Carter informed him that he had invited the wives of his collaborators to visit the tomb on the day of the press visit, 13 February 1924, as a kind of courtesy to them. The Under-Secretary immediately raised an objection and stated that he must inform the Minister of Public Works at Cairo. In the early morning of February 13, Carter received a letter from the Under-Secretary of Public Works informing him of the Minister's refusal of the visit of the wives of his collaborators to the tomb at the press view. As a result of the Minister's refusal, culminating the continuous interference throughout the season (the issue of permits to visitors by the Government without reference to Carter, and the delegation of Egyptian inspectors to watch his work), Carter and his team all agreed that they must suspend the work in the tomb until a satisfactory settlement would be reached, securing freedom from foreign interference. Consequently, Carter closed the tomb at the noon of 13 February 1924 immediately after the press view.² Shortly after, the Egyptian Government put a guard over the tomb to prevent Carter and his staff from access either to the tomb or the laboratory (tomb of Seti II).³

Carter announced to the public that all his collaborators had refused to continue the scientific investigations of Tutankhamun's tomb because of the impossible restrictions on the part of the Ministry of Public Works and the Antiquities Service.⁴

The Times stated that the Egyptian Government's action in keeping Carter and his staff out of the tomb and laboratory was partly due to his protest against the Government's refusal to allow the admission of the wives of his collaborators, despite the fact that they were the guests of Lady Carnarvon, the concessionaire, and partly to political reasons—the Government's desire to show the Egyptian public that it was stronger than its predecessors. *The Times* accused the Egyptian authorities who were responsible for safeguarding the Egyptian monuments and for encouraging scientific

¹ "Luxor Tomb Closed: Mr. Carter's Action, Reply to Official Discourtesy," *The Times*, Thursday, February 14, 1924, 12; "Case for Mr. Carter: Culmination of Continuous Difficulties," *Egyptian Gazette*, February 16, 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² "Luxor Tomb Closed: Mr. Carter's Action, Reply to Official Discourtesy," *The Times*, Thursday, February 14, 1924, 12, 14; "Case for Mr. Carter. Culmination of Continuous Difficulties," *Egyptian Gazette*, February 16, 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ "Luxor: Risk of Injury to Coffin, Anti-British Press Outburst," *The Times*, Monday, February 18, 1924, 12.

⁴ "Luxor Tomb Closed: Mr. Carter's Action, Reply to Official Discourtesy," *The Times*, Thursday, February 14, 1924, 12.

research of the failure to carry out their duties in an intelligent, reasonable and helpful manner.¹

The Times placed the responsibility for any damage to the contents of the tomb and laboratory on the Egyptian Government and its Antiquities Service. They clarified that the preservation of some objects was not adequate for long periods, because there was no intention on the part of Carter and his staff to suspend the work and their decision was taken as a protest against the Government's attitude. They warned that the Government's order preventing Carter and his staff from entering the tomb and laboratory may cause serious consequences. They criticized the Government's attitude, arguing that Carter should have been allowed to carry out precautionary measures, or that the Government should have taken steps to ensure adequate protection of the contents of these two tombs.²

On the other hand, the Arabic press criticized Carter for allowing wealthy and influential people to visit Tutankhamun's tomb for entertainment, thus transforming the tomb into a mere place for visitors' entertainment. They stated that his attitude resulted in the problem that led to the cancellation of the concession given to Lord Carnarvon's wife and Carter, and the resumption of the work in the tomb by the Egyptian Government at its expense.³

Support and Active Intervention of Eminent Archaeologists

In a letter addressed to Sir Frederick Kenyon, Director of the British Museum and Head of the Joint Archaeological Committee in Great Britain, Gardiner clarified that the concession contract to Lord Carnarvon clearly stated: "In the case of an intact tomb, all the contents are reserved by the Government. Where the tomb is not intact, it is provided that the mummies of kings, royal personages, and high priests shall be regarded as the property of the Egyptian Government, as well as all objects 'of capital importance for history and archaeology'; for the rest, the Egyptian Government shall share with the concessionaire."⁴

Gardiner stated that Lord Carnarvon and Carter were both of the opinion that their first duty was to complete the scientific record and that they could leave the question of division to the end, particularly that Lord Carnarvon was given a private assurance by Lacau that he would be given a quantity of duplicates. Gardiner rejected Lacau's statement in public that the tomb was "intact" and that the Egyptian Government would therefore keep all the discovered objects, arguing that this contradicted with any straightforward interpretation of the contract. Gardiner's argument that the tomb was not intact as stated by Lacau was based on his claim that the "Annex" was left in confusion by the robbers and that the "Treasury" was only slightly plundered. On the

¹ "Luxor: Risk of Injury to Coffin, Anti-British Press Outburst," *The Times*, Monday, February 18, 1924, 12.

² "Luxor: Risk of Injury to Coffin, Anti-British Press Outburst," *The Times*, Monday, February 18, 1924, 12, 14.

³ "مدفن توت عنخ آمون،" *لسان الحال*، 12 مارس 1924، 3.

⁴ Letter from Gardiner to Frederick Kenyon on 18 February 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

other hand, Lacau's rules and stipulations were based on the affirmation that the tomb belonged to the Egyptian Government which had the right therefore to make whatever arrangements it pleased. Carter's refusal of all the regulations concerning visitors and staff was based on the supposition that he was the concessionaire and that the Government should not interfere until he would hand over and the division would be made. Gardiner asked for the support of Frederick Kenyon to use his influence with the Foreign Office. He was afraid that Carter would take a legal action which would result in the imposition of all kinds of regulations on the archaeologists working in Egypt and the modification of the Antiquities Law.¹

The Times reported that the Egyptian Government had been most anxious for an amicable settlement with Carter. However, the Government had arranged the necessary steps to take over the tomb and continue the work in case no settlement was reached. Accordingly, the Prime Minister and all ministers would go to Luxor after the elections of 23 February 1924 for the official reopening of the tomb, to which the Egyptian diplomats, eminent Egyptologists and others would be invited. It was reported in the Egyptian newspapers that the Government would propose to Carter to reopen the tomb and continue the work, but at the expense of the Egyptian Government, and with the condition that he would cancel his contract with *The Times*, and that the Egyptian Government would assume the sole and entire publicity rights. *The Times* expected that the Government would propose to Carter soon, and in case of his refusal would inform him that his concession would be considered cancelled as a result of his closing of the tomb, and would take over the tomb and continue the work with its own staff.²

Negotiations for a New Concession

Following the suspension of the work in the tomb in February 1924, there were negotiations between the Egyptian Government and Breasted who was acting as mediator. Breasted hoped to secure satisfactory terms in a new concession including Carter's reinstatement. Lawyers of both sides agreed to postpone the case for a few days, but Carter refused. Carter's lawyer John Maxwell was of the opinion that "Carter will obtain far more by settlement out of court than he could hope to gain by legal action." The High Commissioner was afraid that Carter's refusal would make negotiations impossible. He suggested to the Foreign Office that Lady Carnarvon should send dispatch to Carter's lawyer in Cairo instructing him to delay the case. He also suggested that she should inform the Egyptian Prime Minister Saad Zaghlul that she would accept the concession he offered, given that the Egyptian Government granted conditions satisfactory to Breasted, and that she would be willing to withdraw the legal action in case Carter would be placed in charge of field work.³ The High Commissioner reported to the Foreign Office privately that Carter was in a state of so

¹ Letter from Gardiner to Frederick Kenyon on 18 February 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² "Luxor Tomb Dispute: Egyptian Government's Terms," *The Times*, Tuesday, February 19, 1924, 12.

³ Telegram from the High Commissioner to W. Selby, Foreign Office, on 6 March 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

serious nervous collapse and that he was totally incapable of taking the appropriate decisions.¹ The tomb of Tutankhamun was closed to the public on 21 March 1924 and would not be reopened to visitors before the next winter.²

Lady Carnarvon negotiated with Lacau, the Director General of the Antiquities Service, and Morcos Hanna Pasha, the Minister of Public Works, for the renewal of the concession in May and June 1924. The Egyptian Government was prepared to give a new concession only in the case where Lady Carnarvon, the executors of Lord Carnarvon, and Carter would abandon all claims against the Government. However, Lady Carnarvon refused because of the expenses already paid of approximately £ 45000, and because of her belief that her husband had a right to a share of the discovered objects which should be given to his representatives.³

The Arabic press expressed their satisfaction with the news that Carter would resume the work in Tutankhamun's tomb, but under the conditions of the Egyptian Government, which included that no one would be allowed to visit the tomb without the permission of the Ministry of Public Works, and that the news of discoveries in the tomb belonged to the Egyptian nation and the Egyptian Government, so it was not allowed to monopolize them. They stated that the Government obligated Carter to send the news of discoveries to the Ministry before anyone would obtain them.⁴

In September 1924 Lady Carnarvon sent a letter to Morcos Hanna Pasha including a proposal of amicable settlement. She asked for a fair treatment of Lord Carnarvon's executors, like all archaeologists and scientific institutions who were granted a considerable reward in return for the discovery of important objects. She suggested that "the share of those objects to which Lord Carnarvon's Executors are equitably entitled under the terms of the original concession should be referred to the arbitration of two independent archaeologists of recognized standing, one to be appointed by your Government and the other by the Executors, with liberty of course to them to appoint an umpire should it be necessary" at the end of the work.⁵ The Ministry of Public Works rejected Lady Carnarvon's proposal in October 1924. In his letter to Lady Carnarvon the Under-Secretary of State for Public Works referred to the fact that John Maxwell on behalf of the executors in the course of the discussions this year simply asked that the Egyptian Government should grant the British Museum and the Metropolitan Museum certain duplicates of the discovered objects in appreciation for the contributions of Lord Carnarvon and his collaborators. However, it was stressed

¹ Telegram from the High Commissioner to W. Selby, Foreign Office, on 6 March 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Letter from the Acting First Secretary, the Residency, Cairo, to Captain H. E. Pease, Commandant of the Military School at Khartoum, on 28 March 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ Letter to Robert A. Furness on 7 December 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

⁴ "عودة مستر كارتر إلى مصر،" لسان الحال، 14 يوليو 1924، 4.

⁵ Letter from Lady Almina Carnarvon to Morcos Hanna Pasha in September 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

that a new concession could only be granted under the conditions recently decided by the Egyptian Government, which had already been accepted by her lawyer.¹

In December 1924 Lady Carnarvon desired to renew her proposal and was ready to continue the expenses of the tomb, if she was certain of being repaid either in cash or in kind. She asked the British Residency in Cairo to help to reach an amicable settlement which would protect the interest of the science, the rights of the Egyptian Government, and the right of those who had spent years of work and a considerable amount of money and had made the most important discovery in the Egyptian archaeology.²

In early 1925, Carter negotiated with the Minister of Public Works Mahmoud Sidkey for a new concession. He informed him that he had addressed a letter to the Egyptian Prime Minister, Ahmed Ziwar Pash (1864-1945), on 29 December 1924, in which he proposed to resume the work in Tutankhamun's tomb on the basis of the conditions included in the concession draft which was communicated to Lady Carnarvon in June 1924. The Minister of Public Works therefore accepted to grant a new concession to Lady Carnarvon to resume the work in the tomb.³

The Egyptian Government's condition to sign the new concession was that Carter would hand over to the Government a document confirming that Lady Carnarvon and the executors of Lord Carnarvon had finally abandoned all claims. This concession would allow Carter to resume the work immediately in the tomb. The main terms of the new concession included that all the discovered objects belonged to the Egyptian Government which had the absolute right to give to Carter for scientific purposes such duplicates which would not affect the scientific value of the collection. Additionally, the Government would control the publicity, except for the scientific publication, and would open the tomb every Tuesday for visitors with special permits from the Government.⁴ The official reopening of the tomb and the resumption of the work took place on 25 January 1925.⁵

Carter returned to Luxor, after obtaining a two-year concession from the Egyptian Government to complete the work in Tutankhamun's tomb. The tomb was handed over to him by the Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Public Works, the representative of the Egyptian Government, and the officials of the Antiquities Service. Carter entered the tomb and examined its contents and found that everything was in order.⁶

¹ Letter from the Under-Secretary of State for Public Works to Lady Almina Carnarvon on 20 October 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

² Letter to Robert A. Furness on 7 December 1924. United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

³ Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen: Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*, Vol. II (London: Cassell & Company Limited, 1927), xv-xviii.

⁴ "Tutankhamun's Tomb to Be Reopened: Mr. Carter's Concession," *The Times*, Wednesday, January 14, 1925, 13.

⁵ Carter, *Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen II*, xviii.

⁶ "فتح مدفن توت عنخ آمون،" *لسان الحال*، 30 يناير 1925، 1.

Conclusions

The discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb led to a world interest in the Egyptian antiquities in general and in the news of this discovery in particular, and therefore Lord Carnarvon's granting *The Times* the exclusive right to distribute news and illustrations of the discoveries in Tutankhamun's tomb caused outrage among the international press community. Due to the importance of this discovery, one of the most famous American newspapers, *The New York Times*, compelled to conclude an agreement with *The Times* newspaper to circulate news and photographs of the discovery first-hand in the USA and Canada press.

The correspondents of other rival newspapers in Egypt asked for granting impartial opportunity to the whole press without distinction regarding the discoveries in Tutankhamun's tomb. They demanded the necessity of knowing the date of the opening of the burial chamber and obtaining a statement regarding its condition at the time of opening at the same time *The Times* would obtain its news.

As an attempt to put pressure on Lord Carnarvon to dissuade him from his decision, the press representatives considered that *The Times* monopoly of the news concerning Tutankhamun's tomb was a threat to Egyptology, as Lord Carnarvon introduced the commercial aspect into archaeological excavations, which was a dangerous precedent that might negatively affect the future of Egyptology which might be treated as an investment rather than a science. Some correspondents had come to say that Lord Carnarvon's contract with *the Times* might lead to the suspicion that the excavators were trying to secretly obtain some artifacts from the tomb and to sell them abroad, as the agreement with *the Times* stipulated that no one was permitted to enter the tomb.

When it was suggested that some form of communication should be made to the press on the day of the opening of the burial chamber, Lord Carnarvon protested. He only agreed that the tomb would be opened to visitors and pressmen every Tuesday, with permits to be issued by the Under-Secretary of State for Public Works to no more than forty for every Tuesday.

The representatives of foreign press requested the intervention of the British High Commissioner for Egypt Lord Allenby to use his influence to accommodate matters and to prevent *The Times* attempts to monopolize the news of the opening of the burial chamber. However, the response of Lord Allenby was disappointing for them, as he affirmed the right of Lord Carnarvon to make the arrangements he deemed appropriate regarding the publication of news of the tomb, and preferred not to intervene in a matter to be settled by the Egyptian Government. On the other hand, the Egyptian Government refused to violate the custom followed in Egypt which gave the excavator the right of publication of his discoveries. Although the foreign correspondents in Egypt submitted complaints against Lord Carnarvon's attitude, the most that the Egyptian Government did to appease them was to promise to give them information the next morning of the opening of the burial chamber, which means that *The Times* had the priority for obtaining information.

Carter opposed the Egyptian Government's claim to the right of control of visitors and staff in the 1923-1924 season, claiming that the Government wanted by this measure

to exclude Lady Carnarvon's exclusive agent for distributing the news. The Egyptian Government's refusal to allow the admission of the families of the staff whom Carter had invited to visit the tomb on 13 February 1924, the day following that of the opening of the sarcophagus, caused Carter to suspend the work in the tomb until a satisfactory settlement was reached. *The Times* launched a press campaign against what it called the unjustified interference of the Egyptian Government in Carter's work and the Government's refusal to admit Carter and his staff into the tomb, and held the Egyptian Government responsible for any damage to the contents of the tomb and the laboratory.

The dispute was settled amicably in January 1925 between Carter and the Egyptian Government, and Carter was granted a new concession to work in the tomb. The new settlement stipulated that all the discovered objects belonged to the Egyptian Government and that the Government had the right to grant such duplicates which would not affect the collection and distribute the news related to the tomb, except for the scientific publication.

Bibliography

Sources

Foreign Office Records in the United Kingdom National Archives, FO 141/483/16282.

References

- Carter, Howard. *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen: Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*, Vol. II. London: Cassell & Company Limited, 1927.
- Carter, Howard and A. C. Mace. *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*, Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- “Case for Mr. Carter: Culmination of Continuous Difficulties.” *Egyptian Gazette*, February 16, 1924.
- “Interior of Tutankhamun's Tomb: First Photographs.” *The Times*, Tuesday, January 30, 1923.
- James, T. G. H. *Howard Carter: The Path to Tutankhamun*. London, Kegan Paul, 1992.
- “LD. Carnarvon's Death: 16 Years Work in Egypt, the Luxor Tomb.” *The Times*, Friday, April 6, 1923.
- “Lord Carnarvon's Story: Fresh Details, More Wonders in Store, Yesterday's Formal Opening.” *The Times*, Monday, February 19, 1923.
- “Luxor Tomb Closed: Mr. Carter's Action, Reply to Official Discourtesy.” *The Times*, Thursday, February 14, 1924.
- “Luxor: Risk of Injury to Coffin, Anti-British Press Outburst.” *The Times*, Monday, February 18, 1924.

- "Moving Luxor Treasures: A Royal Throne, King's Exquisite Shrine." *The Times*, Saturday, February 10, 1923.
- "Public View at Luxor: Significant Features, Sarwat Pasha's Appreciation." *The Times*, Friday, February 22, 1923.
- Reid, Donald M. *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums & the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser*. Cairo: AUC Press, 2015.
- "The Egyptian Discoveries: Applications for 'The Times' News Service." *The Times*, Wednesday, January 17, 1923.
- "The Times Luxor Service: Arrangements for Next Season." *The Times*, Friday, September 21, 1923.
- "The Tomb of the King: Contract Given to 'The Times', Exclusive Service of News, Lord Carnarvon's Plans." *The Times*, Wednesday, January 10, 1923.
- "Tutankhamen: Mr. Carter's Lecture, a Notable Audience." *The Times*, Saturday, September 22, 1923.
- "Tutankhamen: Press and the Treasure, Plain Words from Dr. Capart." *The Times*, Wednesday, March 14, 1923.
- "Tutankhamen's Tomb: A Press View." *The Times*, Tuesday, December 4, 1923.
- "Tutankhamen's Tomb: Work Restarted." *The Times*, Tuesday, October 23, 1923.
- "Tutankhamun's Tomb to Be Reopened: Mr. Carter's Concession." *The Times*, Wednesday, January 14, 1925.
- "Tutankhamun's Tomb: Preparing to Open Sealed Chamber." *The Times*, Tuesday, January 30, 1923.

- "الصحف الانجليزية واحتكار التيمس ل اخبار الاكتشاف،" الأهرام، 12 فبراير 1923.

- "حملة الصحف على اللورد كارنارفون،" الأهرام، 12 فبراير 1923.

- "فتح مدفن توت عنخ آمون،" لسان الحال، 30 يناير 1925.

- "في وادي الملوك: موقف وزير الأشغال العمومية ومساعدى مراسل التيمس،" الأهرام، 15 نوفمبر 1923.

- "عجائب وغرائب فى مدفن توت عنخ آمون،" لسان الحال، 22 فبراير 1923.

- "عودة مستر كارتر إلى مصر،" لسان الحال، 14 يوليو 1924.

- محمود أبو الفتوح، "حديث عن آثار وادى الملوك: عقد لورد كارنارفون والحكومة، التيمس والصحف والآثار،" الأهرام، 27 يناير 1923.

- "مدفن توت عنخ آمون،" لسان الحال، 12 مارس 1924.

النزاع على مقبرة توت عنخ آمون: منذ الاكتشاف عام 1922 وحتى اتفاق أوائل عام 1925

دعاء محمد الكاشف¹ أسعد عرفة زكي²

^{1 2} قسم الإرشاد السياحي – كلية السياحة والفنادق – جامعة مدينة السادات

الملخص العربي

تركز الدراسة الحالية على الصعوبات التي واجهها اللورد كارنارفون وهوارد كارتر مع الصحافة والحكومة المصرية في الفترة منذ اكتشاف مقبرة توت عنخ آمون في نوفمبر 1922 حتى اتفاق أوائل عام 1925. تسلط هذه الورقة البحثية الضوء على الخلاف الذي نشب بين اللورد كارنارفون والصحافة نتيجة اتفاق اللورد كارنارفون الحصري مع جريدة التايمز البريطانية لنشر أخبار الاكتشافات في المقبرة. تتناول الدراسة أيضاً النزاع الذي حدث بين كارتر والحكومة المصرية في موسم 1923-1924 وتعليق العمل بالمقبرة في فبراير 1924 إلى أن تم تسوية الخلاف ودياً ومنحت الحكومة المصرية كارتر امتيازاً جديداً للعمل بالمقبرة حيث تم استئناف العمل بالمقبرة في أوائل عام 1925 ولكن بشروط مصرية تتعلق بملكية القطع الأثرية المكتشفة وتوزيع الأخبار على الصحافة.

الكلمات الدالة: حقوق النشر لمقبرة توت عنخ آمون؛ نزاع مقبرة توت عنخ آمون؛ الحقوق الحصرية لصحيفة التايمز البريطانية؛ التغطية الصحفية لمقبرة توت عنخ آمون