

Provenance Research for Mediterranean Antiquities

Methods and Resources

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J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

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Foreword

The practice of provenance research has developed at a remarkable pace in recent decades, establishing guidelines for researching ownership histories, and the past twenty-five years have witnessed a flourishing of provenance initiatives. These are rooted in the scholarly turn towards “object biographies,” as well as the scrutiny of artworks and collections around the world by nation states, Indigenous communities, individual claimants, law enforcement agencies, and the press. This focus on provenance has been bolstered further by advances in digital technologies, including accessible digitized archives, data analysis, and open-access digital publications, which have not only transformed the speed and scale of conversations about the topic, but have also established new expectations and opportunities.

These trends provide a backdrop to the J. Paul Getty Museum’s restitutions of antiquities to Italy, Greece, and Türkiye. The returns have received close attention from academics and journalists alike, and the Museum has responded in a variety of ways, revising its acquisition policy and initiating a substantive review of its collections. The latter provides the impetus for this publication, over a decade in the making. While there are numerous guidelines from professional bodies regarding what should be published or purchased, as well as handbooks and reference sources that support provenance research, none are tailored specifically to Mediterranean antiquities—it is that gap that this book seeks to fill. It builds upon an ongoing Getty project that was initiated in 2012 to document the ownership histories of all objects in the Antiquities collection. The exceptional rapidity with which the collection developed—particularly in the 1970s and 80s—reflects the specific motivations and methods of its curators. In important aspects, however, it remains representative of similar antiquities collections formed during the twentieth century, offering insights into histories of taste, scholarship, and museum practice, as well as the market forces and individual actors whose legacies we have inherited. Curatorial staff have a duty of care to study and document every object as fully as possible, and the challenges that they continue to encounter have further highlighted the need to establish a robust program of provenance research at the Museum. Beyond the ownership histories that are now accessible online for every item in the Getty’s Antiquities collection, the provenance research project has reframed our department’s understanding of the institution, revealing previously untold stories about objects and the individuals who owned or encountered them, and fostering new

directions for future study and collaboration. By gathering key resources, illustrative case studies, and effective research strategies, this open-access digital publication offers a constructive framework for others who are undertaking the essential work of provenance research.

I wish to thank the editors and contributors for this much-needed book, and to acknowledge the generous support of the Getty's Villa Council throughout the course of the project. May this publication find the large audience and reception it deserves.

Verena Lepper

Anissa and Paul John Balson II Senior Curator of Antiquities

J. Paul Getty Museum

Provenance Research for Mediterranean Antiquities: An Introduction

Judith Barr
Nicole Budrovich
David Saunders

Over a century and a half ago, long, thin linen strips inscribed with ritual spells from the Egyptian Book of the Dead were removed from the mummified remains of three individuals whose subsequent fate is unknown. The wrappings were divided up, transported out of Egypt, and entered into a variety of European collections over the course of the nineteenth century. Today, they can be found all over the world—California, New Zealand, Australia, England, Italy, Belgium—in collections both public and private. One group of twelve, dating to the third to first centuries BCE and all mistakenly thought to come from a single mummified individual, was donated to the J. Paul Getty Museum in 1983 (83.AI.47; fig. 1)¹. Their first documented appearance was as part of the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), an obsessive English collector of books and manuscripts. Following his death, the wrappings passed through the family and various booksellers in England and thereafter were sold, in 1977, to Hans P. Kraus in New York. Kraus and his wife, Hanni, donated them to the J. Paul Getty Museum six years later.



Figure 1 Detail of Linen Wrapping of Petosiris, son of Tetosiris, with Book of the Dead Spells, Egyptian, 300–100 BCE (83.AI.47.1.1), one of the twelve linen wrappings with texts and vignettes acquired by the Getty Museum in 1983.

The research process for studying the provenance—the ownership history—of these Ptolemaic wrappings may appear straightforward:

distinguishing between what is known, what remains unknown, and what is still to be confirmed. But the undocumented removal of the bandages from three deceased individuals and the character of their dispersal cannot be considered in a neutral manner. How should we acknowledge the loss of the ancient bodies, and the splintering of the wrappings through subsequent sales? How might we best convey the interventions of successive collectors and the different ways in which they studied, handled, and valued these wrappings? How to articulate these events within the standardized format for provenance in a database record, which defaults to treating the bandages as objects subject to ownership transfers over time?

Even a brief consideration of these funerary wrappings makes clear that provenance research entails not only the documentation of previous owners but also the positioning of that information within much broader histories of collecting, display, and scholarship. Furthermore, these inquiries must also recognize the ancient individuals with whom these artifacts were connected—in this case, physically enwrapped. Although the bandages were torn and cut up, some preserve the names of the deceased, and recent research has allowed us to retitle them in our records, thereby acknowledging the identities of the individuals for whom they were prepared: Petosiris, son of Tetosiris; Petosiris, son of Nanesbastet; and Nanefbastet, son of Taneferher. In turn, through collaboration with institutions that hold joining fragments, we can begin to digitally unify the separated elements in order to reconstruct them as a set (fig. 2).²

But how to embark upon this work? What are the most effective ways to track down fragments that have been scattered around the world, or conveyed along branches of a family tree with scarcely a mention? What are the challenges and opportunities particular to working with Mediterranean antiquities? As the linen wrappings demonstrate, these are objects that have been collected for centuries and are entangled in the overlapping—and sometimes conflicting—domains of scholarship, archaeology, and museum practice. Ethical standards and legal precedents have fallen in and out of step, and evidence for illicit looting and calls for repatriation influence both teaching priorities and public perceptions. When we began a sustained project to document the Getty Museum's antiquities collection in 2012, there was no convenient handbook for navigating these many fields. To that end, we have developed this publication to provide a compendium of materials and strategies that we have found useful. We do not presume to prescribe best practices, but over the course of numerous conversations with colleagues and students, we believe this resource meets a significant need.

For the purposes of this volume, we use “Mediterranean antiquities” to cover Greek, Etruscan, and Roman artifacts that date prior to ca. 500 CE, preferring it to the value-laden “Classical.” However, the Getty's antiquities



A



B

Figure 2 A: Fragment of Wrapping of Petosiris, son of Tetosiris, Egyptian, 300–100 BCE, linen, Teece Museum, Christchurch, New Zealand, James Logie Collection (121.73). B: Detail from a composite image showing the join between fragments (Getty Museum 83.AI.47.1.1 at left; Teece Museum 121.73 at right). Photos: Foy D. Scalf / Courtesy Teece Museum of Classical Antiquities, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand

collection also includes objects from Egypt (such as the wrappings discussed above), South Arabia, central Asia, and Spain. The art market has typically been even less rigidly defined, and auction sales of “antiquities” or “ancient sculpture and works of art” may include Egyptian, Near Eastern, and Byzantine objects. With this in mind, we acknowledge the limits of our experience and expertise but anticipate that many of the methods and approaches addressed in this volume can be fruitfully applied to material beyond Greece, Etruria, and the Roman Empire.

The Antiquities Provenance Project at the Getty

Our project began in 2012 as part of a broader institutional initiative to render our collections and their documentation more accessible. The Getty’s return of objects to Greece and Italy in 2007 was the impetus to prioritize provenance research for its collection of Mediterranean antiquities. Yet there was at that time little in the way of a practical framework for doing this work. In comparison to our peers researching World War II-era provenance or those following protocols

established by the North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), we lacked the web portals, digitized archives, agreed-upon standards, and effective means of sharing information with colleagues. Granted, there was already a rich tradition of study that addressed the history of collecting, and extensive bibliography existed for many Grand Tourists who traveled in Italy and sometimes farther east, but objects from their renowned collections often stand, like the Getty Museum's Lansdowne Herakles (70.AA.109),³ as exceptional, precisely because of their well-documented histories. Far less easy to track are smaller or less distinctive objects, such as terracotta figurines, gemstones, or pottery and glass vessels. Furthermore, while there is substantial scholarship on the market for Mediterranean antiquities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the twentieth century, and particularly its second half, remains relatively underexplored. This is precisely the period in which the Getty and many other North American museums were actively collecting and will be the particular focus of this book.

Our brief was to undertake a complete review of the collection—which, if counted piece by piece, numbers more than 45,000 items.⁴ With the benefit of hindsight, the experience might be compared to excavating at a vast site that had been poorly dug decades previously: stratigraphies of information were disordered, records scanty or altogether lacking, and conjectures and assumptions had long taken root. In short, we inherited the judgments, speculations, and obfuscations of our predecessors and were tasked with piecing together paper trails that had long been dispersed, or, worse, that had never existed. There is, admittedly, much about the Getty that is exceptional and idiosyncratic, but a brief overview of its collecting practices is instructive, for it not only informs our priorities in preparing this book but can also draw attention to some of the trends and key events that have shaped other collections of Mediterranean antiquities.

The Getty's Antiquities Collection

J. Paul Getty (1892–1976) stands squarely within the tradition of wealthy North American collectors. The dispersal of European, and especially British, estates between World Wars I and II offered rich pickings to buyers who were flush with funds, keen to assert their cultural standing, and entranced by the art and history of the ancient Mediterranean. Getty's interests were narrow, primarily spanning European old master paintings, furniture and decorative arts, and Greek and Roman antiquities. Even within these categories, his tastes were limited, and his earliest purchases—starting in 1939 and resuming after World War II—were mostly of Roman sculpture, often depictions of women or goddesses. Marbles from well-known collections, such as those of Lords Lansdowne and Elgin, brought an obvious cachet, and one that Getty prized. Through time spent in

Italy, he was able to buy from dealers in Rome, but the bulk of his early purchases came from established firms in New York and London, such as Spink & Son, the Brummer Galleries, and French & Company. In 1954, having established the J. Paul Getty Trust the previous year, he opened the J. Paul Getty Museum in his Ranch House, his residence in Malibu (today the Pacific Palisades), and the same year marked the first of what would be many purchases from the Paris- and Geneva-based dealer Nicolas Koutoulakis.⁵ From here on, most of Getty's acquisitions were intended for the museum's collection, and in fact he had left the United States for Europe in 1951, never to return to California. Acquisitions continued, albeit sporadically, during the 1950s and '60s, advised by specialists such as Burton Fredericksen, Bernard Ashmole, and Jean Charbonneaux. But the decision in 1968 to build the Getty Villa prompted a major shift, with a dedicated building to fill and a desire to present a more comprehensive array of ancient Mediterranean art. The expanded scope brought with it new approaches to collecting (notably the purchase of the entire stock of Royal Athena Galleries in 1971), and new sources, including donations. From his appointment as curator of antiquities in 1973, Jiří Frel was the motivating force behind acquisitions, especially following Getty's death in 1976. Frel's disregard for documentation, coupled with a desire to establish both himself and the still-young collection, during a period in which the looting of archaeological sites in Italy and other source countries was rampant, saw the collection grow exponentially.

Frel obtained much of this material—particularly in the form of large batches of pottery fragments, terracotta figurines, and coins—through a scheme involving inflated appraisals.⁶ Increased scrutiny of the museum's acquisitions during the early 1980s prompted Frel's dismissal and, in turn, the development of a policy for collecting that was adopted in 1987.⁷ In addition to relinquishing the institution's right to protection under the statute of limitations, this required the Getty to notify foreign governments of an acquisition so that they could establish a claim, compare the proposed acquisition against the International Foundation for Art Research's database of stolen and missing objects, print an illustrated entry in the next acquisitions supplement of the museum's journal, and publish a scholarly study of the object within a year of acquisition or as soon as possible thereafter. Vendors were required to warrant that they had good title, free from any claims or disputes about ownership; that the object had been legally exported from its country of origin; and that all other customs and patrimony laws of relevant countries had been met. This policy was revised eight years later under Marion True, then curator of antiquities, committing the museum to purchasing objects that had been published prior to 1995 and that were part of "established, well-documented collections."⁸ The museum framed these reforms as positive steps, building also upon its engagement in researching and returning material from the extensively looted site of Francavilla Marittima in southern Italy, which

had been acquired during the late 1970s and early '80s.⁹ But the changes fell short of the revision's first draft, which had stipulated 1972 as the key date—following the Archaeological Institute of America's recognition of the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.¹⁰

The museum continued to add to its collection, notably with the acquisition of the collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman in 1996, but the discovery of the “organigram” in 1995 proved transformative for many museums and collectors, and the Getty in particular.¹¹ This chart, hand drawn by an Italian antiquities dealer, documented a network of middlemen and *tombaroli* (Italian for “tomb-robbers”) who were supplying the market, and led to a raid on the storage space of Giacomo Medici at the Geneva Freeport on September 13, 1995. A dossier of photographs and documentation furnished critical evidence that many museums and collectors had obtained objects illicitly and occasioned a series of legal cases and restitutions. Following the conviction of Medici in 2004, Marion True was charged in Italy with receiving stolen antiquities and conspiring with Medici and the dealer Robert Hecht (the trial was abandoned in 2010 following the expiration of the statute of limitations on the charges).¹² In 2006, in the course of negotiating the return of objects to Italy, the Getty revised its acquisition policy again, identifying the signing of the 1970 UNESCO convention as the decisive date for determining whether an object could be considered for acquisition.¹³

Investigations and raids on the premises of other prominent figures in the market during the past twenty-five years, notably Gianfranco Becchina, Robin Symes, Shelby White, and Michael Steinhardt,¹⁴ have further increased the scrutiny of existing collections, as well as items appearing at auction. Throughout this period the Getty has continued to return objects, whether as a result of research by curatorial staff, the presentation of new evidence by scholars, officials, and archaeologists, or, most recently, in cooperation with investigations pursued by the Manhattan District Attorney.¹⁵ Concurrently, we have—in the course of our Antiquities Provenance Project—studied the ownership history for every object in the collection and published information online.¹⁶ The fruits of this research have also appeared in articles,¹⁷ online blogs,¹⁸ collections catalogues,¹⁹ conference sessions and workshops, and, during the reinstallation of the Getty Villa between 2015 and 2018, the development of a gallery dedicated to Collecting Histories.²⁰

We see this publication as another step in this project and draw upon our experiences of working with the Getty's collection to provide a set of strategies and resources for researching the provenance of Mediterranean antiquities. We hope that these provide a tool kit for anyone working with similar material—especially those doing so for the first time, who may find themselves faced with a

bewildering variety of institutional policies, professional guidelines, and publishers' stipulations. Nor is this research solely the purview of museum staff, scholars, or students. Dealers and collectors should be aware that the provenance of ancient objects for sale on eBay or at Renaissance fairs requires diligent analysis and verification, just as it does for artworks that are famous bequests or that are sold at major auction houses. Anyone engaged with material culture should query where an object has come from and what information surrounds its history, and these questions lead to consideration of legal frameworks, ethical practice, scholarly critique, and public debate.²¹ These are themes that will be variously addressed by contributors to this volume; for the remainder of this introduction, we turn to some key themes in provenance research.

On "Provenance" and "Provenience"

We use "provenance" to indicate an object's history of ownership but recognize that the word's meaning is highly variable and dependent on context (e.g., it can be used when describing a geographical source of marble or clay). As an art historical term, it can also fall short for antiquities, as it may only encompass an artifact's modern history and not its ancient production and use. Furthermore, by focusing on the chain of possession the term privileges a particular set of events and individuals in an object's history and risks overlooking its broader "cultural biography" or "object itinerary."²² This is especially pertinent for an ancient object, which may have functioned in many different ways before its deposition.

Confounding matters further, "provenance" is sometimes seen along with the similar sounding "provenience." The latter refers to an archaeological object's findspot and thus references a singular event; as Rosemary Joyce summarizes, "provenience is a fixed point, while provenance can be considered an itinerary that an object follows as it moves from hand to hand."²³ Yet despite the clarity of this distinction, "provenience" is still often perceived to be a dialectical variant or specialist term and remains only in sporadic use. As such, we prefer to use clearer language in this volume, such as "excavated in," "place found," or "findspot." And just like any other facet of ownership history, this kind of information is susceptible to doubt when documentation is lacking. Anyone undertaking research on Mediterranean antiquities will soon encounter a "said to be" or "reportedly," and—in part to address this—Elizabeth Marlowe has proposed two alternative terms: "grounded" and "ungrounded." Objects with a known findspot are "grounded"; anything else is "ungrounded." An object may have centuries of recorded ownership, but if its place of discovery is not recorded or verifiable, it should not be considered in the same way as a find from a documented

excavation, whose authenticity is assured and whose context furnishes a secure basis for interpretation.²⁴

The 1970 UNESCO Convention and Guidelines for Provenance Research

Newspaper exposés from the 1960s to the early 2000s brought to public attention the rampant market for Mediterranean antiquities and the looting that often fueled it,²⁵ and Marlowe's approach is rooted in a rigorous concern not only for the intellectual consequences of the antiquities trade but also for its material effects. Fundamental in this regard is the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property,²⁶ which is discussed in detail in the essays by C. Brian Rose and by Stephen Clark and Stephen Urice in this volume. For present purposes, we note that while 1970 is now established in museum policies and professional guidelines as an important line in the sand when assessing provenance information, the date may have only limited significance. Ratification and implementation of the UNESCO Convention varies by country (in the United States, the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act was only passed in 1982 and signed into law in 1983), and even if 1970 is seen as a watershed moment for acknowledging the need to protect cultural heritage, there had long been calls for the recognition of the consequences of looting, particularly in regional newspapers and by concerned archaeologists.²⁷ Furthermore, archaeologically rich countries have invoked national patrimony laws that substantially predate 1970 in making claims for restitution (see Rose, in this volume), while a recent collection of essays on the fate of Mediterranean antiquities during World War II highlights the need to determine an object's whereabouts between 1933 and 1945.²⁸

In addition, while the 1970 UNESCO Convention serves as a basis for acquisition guidelines established by the likes of the American Alliance of Museums (AAM, formerly the American Association of Museums) and the Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD), it does not entail retrospective surveys of existing collections. In this it differs from the 1990 North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and 1998 Washington Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art, both of which have had profound effects on the methods and resources applied to provenance research—at least for those who work with materials that fall under their purview. NAGPRA requires that museums and other institutions receive federal funds to inventory Native American human remains, funerary and sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony, while the Washington Principles, although nonbinding, have fostered the establishment of searchable databases, the digitization of archival materials,

and the creation and funding of research projects. We note these here in part to make clear that such frameworks, resources, and requirements have not been established for Mediterranean antiquities, and also to acknowledge the precedents and expectations they set.

A case in point is the publication of research guides. For American audiences perhaps the most formative has been *The AAM Guide to Provenance Research* (2001), which has served as a blueprint for treatments of provenance methodology, the development of “red flag” name lists, and resources guides.²⁹ Published soon after the 1998 Washington Conference, the *AAM Guide* is primarily concerned with tracing European works of art during the Nazi era and thus has only indirect applications for Mediterranean antiquities. Other research guides for specific categories of objects have followed, together with studies dedicated to aspects of provenance research and outlines for best practices promulgated by professional bodies (detailed here in Appendix 1). All provide useful strategies, case studies, and resources, but none has focused on Mediterranean antiquities.

Moreover, at the time of writing, there are no formal American organizations for provenance research, and so there are no guidelines produced by the practitioners of this work.³⁰ Whereas some countries have robust national initiatives for provenance projects, in the United States the field is fragmented across public and private organizations that do not (with the exception of collections under the scope of NAGPRA) fall under a federal umbrella of research. So there are no American equivalents to the 2018 Sarr-Savoy report on the restitution of African cultural heritage objects in France,³¹ or to the joint Franco-German Fund on the Provenance of Cultural Objects from Sub-Saharan Africa (2024),³² or to government restitution bodies for World War II art cases.³³ Provenance research in American museums has thus been shaped by the character of individual collections, institutional priorities, and the availability of resources, and while professional bodies such as the AAM and AAMD provide guidelines, there are overlapping and sometimes conflicting interpretations as to how provenance research should be practiced and implemented. This means that while the acquisition or publication of Mediterranean antiquities may be tightly regulated,³⁴ research—particularly as a retrospective project for existing collections—is not. This disparity is all the more striking given the sheer quantity of Greek, Roman, and Etruscan material that has circulated over the past five centuries. The scale of this market is challenging to comprehend, and while there are case studies that map and quantify many aspects,³⁵ there is little that weaves these threads together to produce a holistic overview of the modern trade in Mediterranean antiquities. Researchers seeking clear and complete documentation of who was selling and buying which kinds of objects and where are likely to have to survey gallery guides, exhibition catalogues, legal documents,

archival sources, and dealer ephemera (see Barr and Budrovich, in this volume)—a patchwork of evidence reliant on published materials that still fails to provide a comprehensive record of the actual markets involved.

Provenance in the Public Eye

Advocacy around the protection of cultural heritage over the past fifty years has profoundly—if slowly and sporadically—changed the course of museums, their acquisitions, and their displays.³⁶ Even over the time that we have been preparing this book, many institutions have established new roles for research specialists or expanded the responsibilities of existing staff.³⁷ Outreach—through exhibits, blogs, permanent gallery installations, and social media—has paved the way for greater dialogue, and these trends are also apparent in academia, where provenance, once largely the realm of cultural heritage classes, has now become a subject for dedicated study.

Individuals and communities have also adapted to this changing landscape, whether in collaboration with museums or through grassroots movements to advocate for the return of their cultural patrimony.³⁸ General audiences are coming to museums with a new vocabulary around provenance and restitution, and while the Elgin Marbles remain perhaps the best-known case, visitors are familiar with a much richer and broader picture. The “Killmonger” scene from the 2018 movie *Black Panther*—in which the film’s antihero reminds a curator of the violence of colonial collecting before forcibly removing an African object from a museum display—has become a familiar point of reference and provides just one basis for new generations of visitors to question how and why museum collections were formed, the agency of objects, and who has the right to display cultural artifacts.³⁹

Using This Book

The preceding paragraphs merely scratch the surface of this rapidly evolving field, and more detail on many of the topics considered here can be found throughout the following chapters. Taking advantage of the publication’s online format, and recognizing that readers will approach it with different needs and levels of experience, each chapter can be read independently, but together they complement one another. C. Brian Rose’s essay, “Mediterranean Archaeology and Provenance Research: A Diachronic Perspective,” presents the *longue durée*, drawing from his own experiences as a scholar, archaeologist, and curator. His survey spans triumphal commemoration in the ancient Near East and the Roman taste for Greek antiquities, the burgeoning interest in the Greco-Roman past during the Renaissance, and the development of archaeological methods and the

founding of the first museums, through to the legal cases, scholarly studies, and shifting ethical norms that have shaped where we stand today.

The second chapter, “Methods and Resources,” moves from survey to practice and forms the heart of the book. Judith Barr and Nicole Budrovich provide a structured guide to initiating a project, undertaking research, and processing and documenting the information that results. They articulate the many—and sometimes unexpected—sources of information that an effective provenance researcher may need to consider, such as abbreviated markings on the objects themselves, variant titles and descriptions in scholarly discussions, or glimpses of objects in the pages of high-end lifestyle magazines. The authors detail ways of working with these diverse materials, for example how to manage correspondence and paperwork that is split between different archives and then triangulate that information with a note from a conservator in the object file. Throughout, Barr and Budrovich use examples from the Getty collection to highlight the types of discoveries that can be made, but also the challenges and complexities involved. These case studies have been selected to call attention to a specific research strategy or to demonstrate how a single link in the chain of ownership history was verified, and a number of the objects still have unresolved gaps in their provenance histories. They are presented not with an intent to elide these unknowns but to call attention to the difficulties posed by objects acquired on the art market. Furthermore, while some of the case studies do bring to light lost information and demonstrate the potential of work that is often time-consuming and resource-intensive, others complicate matters, bringing into question a seemingly well-established provenance, or leading to negative results or dead ends. But these uncertainties are just as necessary to document and share, for what is not known is just as consequential as what is.

The “Methods and Resources” chapter is supported by two appendices that provide additional information and resources to facilitate and expedite research. Appendix 1, “Annotated Resource Guide,” begins with the top-level resources that are essential for getting started and then collates material under three broad themes: object-focused, event-focused, and individual-focused. Entries under these headings provide a short overview of the content of each archive or database, accompanied by suggestions for further reading. These resources are hyperlinked whenever possible. Appendix 2, “Dealer Biographies,” provides a list of dealers whose names we have regularly encountered during our work with the Getty’s collection. These individuals can be considered significant players in the market for Mediterranean antiquities during the twentieth century, at least in Europe and North America, and each entry is supported by a short description of their activity and references for further reading.

In assembling these resources, we do not seek to provide legal guidance in any form, and broader institutional priorities and prerogatives will shape how a

researcher might act on their findings. But an awareness of historical legal standards can, for instance, clarify why certain questions were or were not asked at a particular time, and Stephen Clark and Stephen Urice, in “Legal Perspectives on Acquisitions of Mediterranean Antiquities” (chapter 3), offer an analysis of the legal perspectives that govern acquisitions of antiquities in the United States. The authors provide definitions of relevant legal terminology, review statutes that inform U.S. law, and address acquisition policies and their legal and ethical considerations.

Each chapter in this publication approaches provenance research in distinct ways, looking back across centuries of collecting, deeply into the lives of objects and their owners, or forward to prospective acquisitions. In this, they reflect the training and priorities of their authors, but all demonstrate how much this work is shaped by change. Standards and policies have evolved, ethical concerns and legal norms are in constant dialogue, and digitization projects and Linked Open Data (LOD) models herald remarkable opportunities to access archives and understand the market in innovative ways. This is a highly dynamic field, one that we believe is both indispensable and invigorating. Provenance research should be not only a reactive undertaking—a belated endeavor to rectify historical wrongs—but a proactive initiative that recognizes diverse understandings of objects and their histories, as well as the many individuals they may have encountered.

Notes

1. 83.AI.47; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105Z4V>.
2. See further Scaif forthcoming, and an online discussion between Judith Barr and Heba Abdel Gawad, “‘Unwrapping’ the Book of the Dead at the Getty,” on January 26, 2024; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=enL-UWsHZ9k>. Three of the wrappings were featured in the Getty Villa exhibition *The Egyptian Book of the Dead* (November 1, 2023–January 29, 2024; March 4–November 30, 2026); https://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/book_of_dead/.
3. 70.AA.109; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103QSP>.
4. About 20,000 of these are pottery fragments, 8,700 are coins, and 1,000 are mosaic tesserae; approximately 1,200 items are on view at the Getty Villa.
5. The first being the Mazarin Venus (54.AA.11; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SNC>), on which see Barr 2019.
6. See Felch and Frammolino 2011, 26–37.
7. See True 2000, 138–39, and <https://www.documentcloud.org/documents/97242-1987-acquisition-policy>.
8. Quoted from Getty Trust 2006.
9. See further van der Wielen–van Ommeren and de Lachenal 2007–2008.
10. The AIA would pass their official Resolution on the Acquisition of Antiquities by Museums on December 30, 1973: <https://www.archaeological.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Resolution-on-the-Acquisition-of-Antiquities-by-Museums.pdf>; on UNESCO, see UNESCO 1970.
11. See Watson and Todeschini 2007, 17–18; <https://traffickingculture.org/encyclopedia/case-studies/organigram/>.
12. See Eakin 2007; Eakin 2010.
13. See Getty Trust 2006. For the current acquisitions policy, see <https://media.getty.edu/Text/00ae0cba-827f-5f1a-877e-86468937f24a.pdf>.
14. On Becchina, see <https://traffickingculture.org/encyclopedia/case-studies/gianfranco-becchina/>. On Symes, see Swains 2017; the

- Museum of Ancient Art and Archaeology at Aarhus University has undertaken a project to research approximately 1,500 South Italian vase fragments from Symes's Geneva warehouse: <https://antikmuseet.au.dk/en/research/apulian-pottery-from-the-antiquities-market>. On White, see Bowley and Mashberg 2023. On Steinhardt, see Mashberg 2021.
15. Press releases documenting these returns are archived on the Getty website at "Antiquities: Working Toward a Just Resolution"; <https://www.getty.edu/news/antiquities-working-toward-a-just-resolution/>. On the legal rulings and arguments regarding ownership of the bronze Statue of a Victorious Youth (77.AB.30; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103Q5X>), see <https://www.getty.edu/news/talking-about-the-getty-bronze/> and Li and Sargent 2017. In April 2025, the Getty Museum began to make records for deaccessioned works available through the Museum's online collection pages, with additional records forthcoming, see <https://www.getty.edu/museum/deaccessioning>.
 16. See further <https://www.getty.edu/museum/provenance/index.html>.
 17. E.g., Barr 2018a; Cole, Barr, and Campbell 2018; Barr 2019; Budrovich 2019; Barr 2020; Saunders, Barr, and Budrovich 2021; Lapatin 2022; Lyons 2023.
 18. E.g., Budrovich 2017; Barr 2018b; Budrovich 2018; Budrovich 2020; Maish, Barr, and Elshahawi 2020.
 19. E.g., Belis 2016; Tsiafakis 2019.
 20. See Clements 2018.
 21. See, e.g., Rhodes 2007; La Follette 2017; Hopkins, Costello, and Davis 2021.
 22. On these terms, see Gosden and Marshall 1999 and Joy 2009.
 23. Joyce 2012, 48.
 24. See Marlowe 2013, noting that both categories "contain within them a long, sliding, epistemological scale" (6). In Marlowe 2016, 224, a "grounded" object is one whose findspot is "specific, reliable, documented."
 25. See esp. Watson 1997; Watson and Todeschini 2007; Felch and Frammolino 2011.
 26. See above, n. 10.
 27. Soon followed by popular trade and academic publications; see Meyer 1973, one of the first book-length treatments of the subject.
 28. Bald Romano 2023. Between 1933 and 1945, many artworks and collections were sold under duress, confiscated, stolen, or otherwise taken by the Nazis.
 29. Yeide, Akinsha, and Walsh 2001. Here, "red flag" names are those that warrant further research when they appear as part of a provenance; Yeide, Akinsha, and Walsh 2001, 50–51.
 30. Compare, in Germany, the Arbeitskreis Provenienzforschung e. V.: <https://www.arbeitskreis-provenienzforschung.org/en/home/>; and in France, the newly formed Collectif pluridisciplinaire de recherche de provenances (CPRProvenances): <https://cprprovenances.eu/>.
 31. Sarr and Savoy 2018.
 32. See <https://cmb.hu-berlin.de/presseartikel/provenance-research-fund-launch-event-of-the-franco-german-fund-on-the-provenance-of-cultural-objects-from-sub-saharan-africa/>
 33. Such as those in Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom; see, respectively, <https://kulturgutverluste.de/en/press/some-193-million-euros-provenance-research-area-nazi-looted-cultural-property>; <https://www.restitutiecommissie.nl/en/>; <https://www.gov.uk/government/groups/spoliation-advisory-panel>.
 34. In 2020 the Archaeological Institute of America revised its policy on the publication of undocumented antiquities in their *American Journal of Archaeology*, one of the leading journals for the study of Mediterranean antiquities in the United States. In addition to restrictions on what can be published in the journal, there are also stipulations on the information that authors need to provide when citing an object; see <https://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/antiquities-policy>.
 35. See, e.g., Elia 2001; Nørskov 2002; Angelicoussis et al. 2017; Furlotti 2019.
 36. For perspectives of those within museums, see Hoving 1993; True 2000; Vikan 2016. Insightful also are oral interviews conducted during the 1990s with key figures in the fields of Mediterranean antiquities and museums, available as digital transcripts; see, e.g., Boardman 1996; Vermeule 1997; von Bothmer 1997.
 37. Among these in the United States are the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the Art Institute of Chicago; Yale University Art Gallery; Princeton University Art Museum; San Antonio Museum of Art; Denver Museum of Art; Brooklyn Museum of Art; the Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University; the National

Museum of Asian Art; and the Worcester Art Museum. Internationally, see provenance roles at the Victoria & Albert Museum (United Kingdom), the Allard Pierson Museum (Netherlands), the Royal Ontario Museum (Canada), and Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig (Switzerland), among others.

38. The International Inventories Programme, which researched and documented Kenyan

objects around the world, and the India Pride Project, the work of Nepalese activists, stand out among many examples. See <https://www.inventoriesprogramme.org/> and <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/repatriation-looted-artifacts-activists-social-media-campaigns-1234646757/>.

39. See <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/black-panther-museum-heist-restitution-1233278>.

Mediterranean Archaeology and Provenance Research: A Diachronic Perspective

C. Brian Rose

In the late first century CE, the Roman poet Martial (*Epigrams* 9.43–.44) described a bronze statuette of Herakles that was made by the Greek sculptor Lysippos to be displayed on a table, hence its name of Herakles Epitrapezios.¹ Martial carefully reviewed its history of ownership: “The table of the tyrant from Pella [Alexander the Great] . . . had this divinity. And the boy Hannibal swore by this statue at Carthaginian altars, and this divinity ordered harsh Sulla to put aside kingship. Offended by the haughty terrors of different royal courts, it now rejoices to inhabit a private house. As he was once the guest of pleasant Molorchus, so now the god wishes to be learned Vindex’s.”

In other words, Lysippos made the statue for Alexander of Macedon in the late fourth century BCE; it passed to the Carthaginian general Hannibal in the late third century BCE, to the Roman dictator Sulla in the early first century BCE, and finally into the collection of Vindex, a wealthy art patron at Rome, by the late first century CE. Such poems demonstrate that provenance research on Mediterranean objects is by no means a modern phenomenon but rather reaches at least as far back as classical antiquity, when the art market was, in many respects, just as energized as it is now.

In the course of this chapter, I discuss the significance of the art market, archaeological context, and provenance research prior to the twentieth century; I then turn to the interface of authenticity and legality within the sphere of cultural politics, ending with the shifting status of the 1970 UNESCO Convention in the twenty-first century. I prefer to use the word “findspot” for the place where an object was discovered (rather than “provenience”) and “provenance” to indicate an object’s history from the time of its initial discovery to the present.²

The earliest references to provenance often relate to triumphal commemorations, especially in the Near East, wherein the original context of the monument became a fundamental component of the overall triumphal statement. The twelfth-century BCE Elamite king Shatruck-Nahhunte I, for example, seized as booty the Akkadian victory stele of Naram-Sin (ca. 2250 BCE) and the Babylonian law code of Hammurabi (ca. 1750 BCE), adding to the

former a series of inscriptions highlighting both the original and current provenance.³ What had once symbolized one state's military and judicial achievements had been transformed by the new context and label into a representation of its defeat.

In classical antiquity similar contextual shifts yielded the same result: Alexander the Great's first major victory over the Persians, at the Granicus River in 334 BCE, was memorialized as a bronze statuary group by Lysippos in the Macedonian city of Dion.⁴ After Rome's defeat of the Macedonians in 148 BCE, the victorious commander Metellus took and installed the Granicus group in a new triumphal space, the Porticus Metelli, in the heart of Rome. The monument's content was not altered, but the shift in context transformed what had been a Macedonian victory monument into one of Macedonian defeat.

This was one of many such plunderings during Roman military expansion in the Greek world during the third and second centuries BCE. The commanders regularly seized as war booty the highest quality sculpture and paintings they could find and featured them in Rome in old and new sanctuaries that functioned in many ways as museums of Greek art.⁵ All of these objects were regarded as spoils of wars that had recently been concluded, and as such, most of them tended to remain in their new installations. But works of art seized arbitrarily by powerful men who later became public enemies were occasionally treated differently. Such was the case with the statues seized by Mark Antony in the 40s BCE from a variety of eastern Mediterranean locales but subsequently repatriated by his victorious enemy Augustus, whose pride in the repatriation of private loot figured prominently in his public autobiography, the *Res Gestae*.⁶

The Late Republican and Early Imperial periods coincided with a dramatic increase in the art market, wherein dealers sought to satisfy the tastes of wealthy patrons by supplying sculpture, painting, and luxury arts for their increasingly palatial residences. Not all Greek sculpture was of equal value in the eyes of the Romans, however: the author and naturalist Pliny the Elder commented that "art stopped" (*cessavit ars*; *HN* 34.19.52) in 296 BCE at the death of Lysippos, which meant that the most desired sculptures were those of the Classical period, the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.

Some of these, such as the Granicus Group or the Vindex Hercules, had been shipped to Rome by victorious commanders; others were transported across the Mediterranean via the art market, as evinced by the two mid-fifth-century BCE Greek bronze statues that were discovered in the sea near Calabrian Riace in 1972.⁷ Given the difficulty in supplying enough statues of fifth- or fourth-century BCE date to meet collectors' interests, it is not surprising that forgeries entered the market, with the Apollo from Piombino, now in the Louvre, serving as one of the more famous examples.⁸

During both the Greek and Roman periods, some temple “museums” held collections featuring objects that allegedly originated in a remote past. Many of these were said to have been possessed by heroes of the Trojan War, characters in Greek mythology, or rulers of great renown; consequently, their provenance conferred sanctity upon them. Athena’s temple at Lindos (Rhodes) reportedly contained the leather helmet of Paris, the bracelets of Helen, and the quiver of the Trojan archer Pandarus, while the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis housed one chair made by the mythic Daedalus and another from the collection of the Persian king Xerxes.⁹

In the case of Lindos, a list of forty-five of the temple’s artifacts was inscribed on a stele in 99 BCE, together with citations from earlier books that mentioned those artifacts.¹⁰ In a sense, this may be our first museum catalogue with bibliography, wherein two proto-curators compiled notes on the objects’ histories. Where the exhibited objects actually came from is difficult to say; some of them may actually have been of Bronze Age date, discovered during later construction activities; but whatever their findspots, the illustrious history of origin and ownership to which they attested was used as a mechanism to unite the surrounding community.

One might expect that similar kinds of provenance research would have operated in medieval Europe, when trade in the relics of Christ and the saints became increasingly widespread. Certainly, there was suspicion, at least as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, that some of the relics were forgeries, but this did not spur researchers to meticulously track the objects’ earlier movements. Stories of miracles effected by the relics were usually accepted as sufficient authentication, although in one case a fragmentary parchment label was inserted in the nostrils of a supposed saint’s skull as proof of authenticity, and at other times, especially during the Ottonian period (tenth/eleventh century CE), the examination might even involve trial by fire—only sacred bones were believed to be impervious to flames, and that in itself provided proof of authenticity.¹¹

During periods of armed conflict in particular, medieval relics were remarkably peripatetic, as has been the case for objects in war zones ever since. The same was true for monumental works of art, with the four bronze horses of San Marco in Venice serving as an exemplary case (fig. 3). Originally belonging to a quadriga that crowned a triumphal arch in Rome, probably of second-century CE date, they were then shipped, or rather spoliated, in the early fourth century to Constantinople (Istanbul), where they appropriately topped the entrance to the Hippodrome.¹² During the Fourth Crusade, in 1204, the Venetian conquerors took the horses from Constantinople to Venice, situating them as badges of empire above the entrance to the Basilica of San Marco, where they remained for six centuries. Napoleon took them to Paris in 1797 and installed them as the crowning element of his new Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel, but

shortly after he fell at Waterloo in 1815, they were returned to Venice and again raised above the basilica. Ironically, after a truly Odyssean journey lasting over 1,500 years, the horses eventually returned to the peninsula from which they originally came.



Figure 3 Horses of San Marco, Roman, second century CE. Bronze, height: 171 cm (67 5/16 in.) at withers. Basilica of San Marco, Venice. Photo: © Per gentile concessione della Procuratoria di San Marco

A new historical consciousness arrived in the fifteenth century, when a papal secretary and antiquarian named Flavio Biondo used three rubrics to describe the development of time: ancient, medieval, and modern (Renaissance), presenting the third as a revival of the first.¹³ As the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries progressed, a new group of antiquarians investigated the surviving remains of ancient Rome, recovering both knowledge and objects for themselves and their patrons. To that end, Pirro Ligorio, the architect of Pope Paul IV, began excavations at Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli in the sixteenth century, while excavations occurred simultaneously in the Roman Forum and in Ostia.¹⁴ When the celebrated painter Raphael was appointed commissioner of Roman antiquities by Pope Leo X, he was involved in the restoration of the Laocoön statuary group after its chance discovery in 1506, using a passage in Pliny (*HN* 36.5) to identify its sculptors and provenance (fig. 4). Meanwhile, in the palaces and aristocratic houses of Europe, pieces of the ancient world began to be displayed in cabinets of curiosities or *Kunstkammern*, which could be considered the origin of the modern museum.¹⁵ In spite of this growing reverence for antiquity, and perhaps

because of it, the collection and reuse of ancient architectural elements had become sufficiently widespread that Pius II (1458–1464) issued a papal edict threatening with excommunication anyone who demolished an ancient building in Rome, and similar bans continued to be issued through the sixteenth century.¹⁶



Figure 4 Laocoön and His Sons, by Athenodorus, Agesander, and Polydorus of Rhodes, early first century CE. Parian marble, 208 x 163 x 112 cm (81 7/8 x 64 3/16 x 44 1/6 in.). Vatican Museums, MV.1059.0.0. Photo: © Governatore of the Vatican City State–Directorat of the Vatican Museums

Excavations of the classical past in and around Rome between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries were both sporadic and limited in scope, but this would change in the eighteenth century with the beginning of fieldwork in Herculaneum (1738) and Pompeii (1748), followed a few decades later at Hadrian's Villa and Rome's Via Appia.¹⁷ All of these field projects clarified a wide range of questions regarding public and private life in ancient Rome, but the main impetus was to acquire ancient works of art for sale to elite patrons, as art

collections dominated by ancient sculpture increasingly developed into symbols of exalted status.¹⁸

Those symbols were just as eagerly sought by city-states and empires throughout western Europe, which created the first great public museums in the second half of the eighteenth century: the British Museum opened in 1753, the Vatican's Museo Sacro in 1756, and the Louvre in 1793.¹⁹ Most of the new museums had a strong classical component that included Greco-Roman vases, bronzes, and marble sculptures, while newly excavated ancient buildings were sometimes transplanted in their entirety from their original findspots. But these collections of classical antiquities were also intended to be universal, showcasing the geographic scope of the related empire as well as the primary accomplishments of earlier "great" civilizations, thereby presenting the empire embodied by the museum as the culmination of past achievements.

Such didactic displays of ancient material culture were accompanied by a fascination with the rise, decline, and fall of the ancient cities and empires that were now being showcased. One of the most compelling writers amid this new intellectual environment was the German art historian Johannes Winckelmann, who applied a biological model to the development of art and culture, arguing that there are cycles of growth, maturity, and decline that can be tied to successive historical periods, such as Greek, Roman, and medieval.²⁰ Edward Gibbon's roughly contemporary *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88) adopted a similar approach, privileging Greek art and culture over that of Rome.

This expanding fascination with classical antiquity yielded stronger protective measures for cultural property, the most notable example of which came in 1802, when Pius VII decreed that all excavations in Rome and the export of antiquities required papal authorization. This decree carried little weight, however, following the Napoleonic conquest of Italy in 1799. Wagons laden with paintings and sculptures, including the Laocoön, the Apollo Belvedere, the Dying Gaul, and the horses of San Marco, left Italy for Paris in a stunning reversal of the situation in the ancient Roman Republic when similar wagons with plundered art were just arriving in Rome.²¹ The banner that accompanied the Apollo Belvedere in the Parisian procession reportedly read: "Greece ceded them; Rome lost them. Their fate has changed twice; it will not change again," thereby suggesting that an imperial destiny was tied to provenance.²²

Nevertheless, two years later, many (but by no means all) of the paintings and sculptures plundered by Napoleon were returned to their homelands, and an article published in Paris and reprinted in London at the time is worth quoting. In this article, entitled "Adieu of the Bronze Horses to the Parisians," the personified horses of San Marco vocally register their discomfort in departing: "We should not have acted in a manner becoming the place of our origin, which was one of the cities of Greece most renowned for its politeness, had not our

residence among you taught us to regard it as a duty, not to leave you without returning thanks for the kind reception you have given us. . . . It was always with reluctance that we were transferred from Corinth to Rome, from Rome to Byzantium, from Byzantium to Venice, and from Venice to Paris.”²³ Rarely do objects have the opportunity to deliver such speeches reviewing their history of ownership, although the conferral of agency on an artwork had been a feature of Archaic Greek sculpture and painting (e.g., “Amasis made me”). Speaking objects have appeared again in twenty-first century arguments for repatriation, which I address later in this chapter.

Shortly after Napoleon’s downfall, the political configurations of both Italy and Greece changed dramatically, as did viewpoints on the ownership and movement of cultural property. Greece achieved liberation from the Ottoman Empire in 1832, and the disparate states of the Italian peninsula were unified as the Kingdom of Italy in 1871. In both countries, one of the by-products of the growing spirit of nationalism was a new set of laws intended to prevent the unauthorized removal of antiquities beyond the newly established borders. This legislation, enacted in Greece in 1834 and in Italy in 1871, formed part of a larger movement that also included France, which formulated an antiquities law in 1887. To an extent, the United States was involved as well, in that the American Antiquities Act of 1906, signed by President Theodore Roosevelt, established protection of U.S. archaeological sites and the artifacts they contained.²⁴

Meanwhile, the discipline of archaeology was undergoing a transformation just as dramatic as the shifting borders of Europe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the study of prehistory was still tied to a simple binary system of antediluvian and diluvian based on the flood account in Genesis, while Bishop Ussher’s argument that the world had been created in 4004 BCE continued to be influential.²⁵ During the first half of the century, however, the nascent discipline of geology had cast doubt on these earlier classifications by clarifying the earth’s geological stratigraphy, which, in turn, had a profound effect on the development of archaeology.²⁶ By ca. 1850, prehistory had acquired its own temporal stratigraphy, in that “Ages” of Stone, Bronze, and Iron were defined based on the changing materials of objects in use. Shortly thereafter, artifacts began to be arranged in typological sequence, largely due to the publication in 1871 of Darwin’s *Descent of Man*.²⁷ Moreover, paintings, sculptures, and luxury arts no longer commanded the archaeologist’s full attention; objects such as loomweights, arrowheads, and grinding stones were now also retrieved and inventoried, while their contexts became fundamental to ascertaining the function of a particular room or building.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the inauguration of large-scale German excavations at Olympia, Pergamon, and Troy, among other sites, with the multiperiod settlements at Troy in particular highlighting the

importance of strata and their associated ceramics.²⁸ Greek ceramics with painted figures began to be subjected to Morellian analysis toward the end of the century, wherein the idiosyncratic anatomical and decorative details on a painter's vases were identified as characteristic traits of his style, thereby enabling vases with no context to be ordered chronologically with greater precision.²⁹ This provided a much more stable foundation for the practice of connoisseurship, which had been and would continue to be the primary factor in judging authenticity.

Several of the newly excavated monuments were more peripatetic than one might have expected, especially those that lay within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. The most infamous example is the collection of architectural sculpture from the Parthenon that was acquired by Lord Elgin (between 1801 and 1812) from Sultan Selim III and eventually sold to the British Museum.³⁰ Others were purchased in toto by the museum that had sponsored the associated field project: the British Museum took possession of the Nereid Monument from Xanthos and the sculptures from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus; the Pergamon Museum in Berlin purchased the Pergamon Altar; and Vienna's Kunsthistorisches Museum acquired the Parthian Monument of Lucius Verus from Ephesus.³¹

Many such antiquities entered European museums through the system of partage, wherein a project's discoveries were split evenly among the host country, the sponsoring institution, and, often, the landowner, which in some cases was the host country.³² There was still a coordinate rise in antiquities smuggling throughout this period, the most notorious example of which was Schliemann's theft of the Trojan Treasure of Priam, a hoard of Early Bronze Age gold, silver, bronze, and lapis that was ultimately acquired by the Königlische Museen in Berlin, only to disappear in 1945 during the Soviet sack of Berlin.³³

Antiquities were leaving Türkiye, in particular, at an alarming rate, although this would begin to change with the appointment in 1881 of Osman Hamdi Bey as director of the Ottoman Imperial Museum.³⁴ He immediately formulated new regulations establishing state control of all antiquities, which was strengthened even further in 1906 with the creation of a national ownership law forbidding the export of any antiquities from Ottoman lands.³⁵ The arrival of Osman Hamdi Bey coincided more or less with America's entry into the world of Mediterranean art and archaeology. The year 1870 witnessed the foundation of two American museums that aimed for a collection evincing an encyclopedic temporal and spatial scope: the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, both of which sponsored field projects with the intent of adding impressive discoveries to their new galleries through the partage system.³⁶ Purchasing agents in Europe who were trained in Classics, such as Edward Perry Warren and John Marshall, also played significant roles in building the collections, as did Luigi Palma de Cesnola, who excavated at Cypriot

Kourion while serving as U.S. consul in Larnaca and sold many of his finds to the Metropolitan Museum.³⁷

There appears to have been relatively little provenance research conducted in the early twentieth century, which is somewhat surprising considering that forged antiquities continued to enter the market at a steady pace. Perhaps the most famous case involved three Etruscan-style terracotta warriors, allegedly dating to ca. 500 BCE, that had been purchased by the Metropolitan Museum between 1915 and 1921.³⁸ Despite highly idiosyncratic styles and anatomical proportions, they were not universally accepted as forgeries until 1961, when chemical tests revealed the presence in the surface glaze of manganese, a chemical element that was never used in the classical Mediterranean.³⁹ Scientific testing had not yet been enlisted as a tool to determine authenticity when the Metropolitan Museum purchased the warriors, although it would begin to acquire prominence shortly thereafter. In 1929, in the case of *Hahn v. Duveen*, the owners of a Leonardo da Vinci painting employed X-rays and pigment analysis to prove its authenticity (now doubted), and even though such testing was extremely rare at the time, it nevertheless signaled a turning point in art historical analysis.⁴⁰

The next two decades and World War II brought archaeologists, curators, historians, and conservators together into a new configuration when they became members of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives program operated by the U.S. Army's Civil Affairs and Military Government Sections. These were the "Monuments Officers," a community of humanists working in tandem with the military to identify, catalogue, and conserve cultural property looted by the Third Reich from conquered lands.⁴¹ Provenance research on a scale as massive as this was unprecedented, and it was further complicated by the continual movement of the artwork, the deaths of the original owners, and the shifting postwar borders in eastern Europe, as exemplified by several cities in Poland that became part of the Soviet Union after 1945.⁴²

Another group that was formed to offer assistance was the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (now the World Jewish Restitution Organization), founded in New York in 1947 to determine the provenance and logical destination of more than a quarter of a million looted books, Torah scrolls, textiles, and vessels.⁴³ With such tremendous resources focused on the repatriation of looted cultural property, one might expect that such provenance research would only have strengthened during the next quarter century, but interest in Nazi-looted art and antiquities had largely disappeared by the mid-1950s and would not reemerge until the 1990s, nearly fifty years after the war had ended.⁴⁴

In the aftermath of World War II, wealthy individuals and institutions again turned to the art market to build or augment their collections, a trend that would continue for the remainder of the century. There were innumerable

purchases of ancient Mediterranean art and artifacts during this period, but I note here some of the more famous examples. In 1966 the Metropolitan Museum purchased the “Lydian Hoard,” a group of gold and silver objects dating to the late sixth century BCE that was subsequently shown to have been plundered from Lydian tombs in western Türkiye.⁴⁵ In 1972 the same museum made a second high-profile purchase of a krater (wine-mixing bowl), signed by the painter Euphronios, which had been plundered from an Etruscan tomb in Cerveteri, fifty kilometers northwest of Rome (fig. 5).⁴⁶ A few years earlier the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (the Penn Museum) had acquired a hoard of twenty-four pieces of Early Bronze Age gold jewelry that bore an astonishing resemblance to Schliemann’s Treasure of Priam, while the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston acquired an assemblage of 137 pieces of Early Bronze Age gold jewelry on the occasion of its centennial.⁴⁷

The unusually high quality of these acquisitions immediately attracted public attention, along with a surfeit of concerns about their findspots, provenances, and authenticity. Some of these questions were now answerable by deploying a range of scientific techniques that could indicate forgeries and pinpoint times of production. Radiocarbon analysis became an indispensable dating tool for organic materials following World War II, while thermoluminescence dating, which also involves radiation, became available in the mid-1960s and helped to distinguish ancient from modern.⁴⁸ Infrared spectroscopy had demonstrated the modern origins of the aforementioned Etruscan terracotta warriors, and it would prove invaluable in determining the proper conservation treatment of the 2,000-year-old Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴⁹ By this point, then, the determination of authenticity required a three-pronged approach that comprised connoisseurship, provenance inquiry, and scientific analysis.

Coupled with the expanding art market and advances in scientific techniques was a new perspective on cultural heritage protection that would culminate in the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.⁵⁰ There had been earlier initiatives in the United States to ensure the wartime protection of cultural property, especially during the administrations of Presidents Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, followed by the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, which became the first convention devoted exclusively to protecting cultural property.⁵¹ None of these initiatives, however, provided an international framework focused on the prevention of looting and the repatriation of stolen cultural property, which the UNESCO Convention was intended to address.⁵² The global impact of the Convention on museums, archaeologists, art historians, and learned societies has been monumental, and it would be fair to say that no museum’s acquisitions policy has remained unchanged as a result of it, although



Figure 5 Athenian red-figure calyx krater, ca. 515 BCE. Signed by Euxitheos and Euphronios. Terracotta, height: 45.7 cm (18 in.); diameter top: 55.1 cm (21 11/16 in.); diameter base: 29.5 cm (11 5/8 in.). Cerveteri, Museo Nazionale Archeologico Nazionale di Cerveteri, vase no. 187, inv. no. 145139. Photo: Scala / Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali / Art Resource, NY

the responses to the Convention have been and continue to be highly idiosyncratic.⁵³

Several museums, including the Penn Museum and the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, immediately adopted 1970 as a line in the sand regarding the purchase of unprovenanced art and antiquities, pledging that any potential purchase must have been documented outside the country of origin prior to 1970, or have been legally exported after 1970.⁵⁴ The Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) immediately resolved to support the new UNESCO Convention and subsequently announced that the AIA's Annual Meeting and its flagship journal, the *American Journal of Archaeology*, would no longer serve as the initial scholarly publication of an object acquired after 1973 unless its

existence could be documented prior to that date, or proof of legal export from the source country could be demonstrated.⁵⁵

One of the most prominent by-products of the Convention was the establishment in 1976 of the Stolen Art Alert by the International Foundation for Art Research, which would develop in 1991 into the Art Loss Register, an international database of lost or stolen cultural property.⁵⁶ Needless to say, the effect of the Convention on provenance research was profound, although the acknowledgement of 1970 as a meaningful dividing line remained a subject of dissension, as it continues to be more than fifty years later.

The discussions leading to the 1970 UNESCO Convention commenced in 1964, and they were no doubt prompted by myriad factors but among them were surely the dramatic political and cultural changes that characterized the 1960s, especially in Africa. At the beginning of the decade, U.K. Prime Minister Harold Macmillan addressed the South African Parliament in a speech that acquired the name “Wind of Change,” wherein he highlighted the rise of nationalism and the disintegration of colonialist power in Africa.⁵⁷ Similar decolonization movements had been sweeping through Asia, and as many as thirty-six former European colonies achieved autonomy or independence between 1945 and 1960.⁵⁸ The newly independent nations became increasingly cognizant of the extent to which their cultural heritage had been appropriated by the colonizers, as well as the rapidity with which it continued to be looted, thereby prompting UNESCO to consider potential remedies.

Winds of change were also being generated within the discipline of archaeology itself, as feminist, Marxist, and postcolonial approaches to material culture became increasingly influential.⁵⁹ All of these theoretical lenses would play significant roles in the development of post-processual archaeology during the 1970s and 1980s, which emphasized the subjectivity of archaeological analysis.⁶⁰ Proponents argued that no object could be effectively examined from viewpoints of gender, class, or ethnicity, among others, unless its archaeological context was known and meticulously documented. One of the by-products of this highly charged environment was a rising disquiet in discourse involving museums, collectors, and archaeologists that still has not abated.⁶¹

Meanwhile, a series of armed conflicts continued across the globe throughout the 1970s, leading to the looting of tens of thousands of antiquities that gradually made their way to the art market. Shortly after the partition of Cyprus in 1974, four Early Byzantine mosaics were stolen from the church of Panagia Kanakaria in northern Cyprus and entered the United States, although they were repatriated fifteen years later.⁶² Looting in Afghanistan increased exponentially following the Soviet invasion of 1979, and the same was true for Cambodia and Lebanon during their respective civil wars.⁶³

At the same time, eye-catching antiquities continued to appear in dealers' catalogues and museum galleries. A Frankfurt dealer in 1981 acquired the upper half of a marble statue of Herakles, the lower half of which was found nine years later during the excavation of the Roman city of Perge in southwest Türkiye.⁶⁴ This was followed in 1981/82 by the appearance on the art market of a group of sixteen silver vessels of third century BCE date, generally referred to as the Morgantina Treasure after the name of the Sicilian site from which it was later determined to be looted.⁶⁵ Entering the collection of the Getty Villa in the mid-1980s was a two-meter-tall marble kouros whose authenticity is still unresolved, and a monumental late fifth-century BCE cult statue of a goddess that was later determined to have been looted from Morgantina as well.⁶⁶ A hoard of Late Bronze Age gold jewelry and seals was plundered from a Mycenaean cemetery at Aidonia in Greece and appeared in 1993 for sale in New York.⁶⁷

The new perspectives on cultural property in the 1970s admittedly had been groundbreaking, but they paled in comparison to the political, legislative, and social changes during the century's final decade, which began with the fall of the Berlin Wall and the First Gulf War and concluded with the fall of the World Trade Center Towers and the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan. The decade debuted with a chain of events that thrust World War II back onto center stage after the passage of nearly fifty years. The chain began with the new spirit of openness that accompanied the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, during which Moscow's Pushkin Museum revealed that the Treasure of Priam had been secretly stored there since the sack of Berlin in 1945. Previously believed to have been destroyed at the war's end, the treasure's rediscovery prompted repatriation requests from both Türkiye and Germany as well as a renewed examination of World War II booty.⁶⁸

Augmenting these growing concerns was the publication of Lynn Nicholas's book *The Rape of Europa*, which meticulously documented the extent of Nazi plundering in Europe's occupied countries as well as the range of activities of the Monuments Officers.⁶⁹ The reunification of Germany in 1990 facilitated archival research on the plundered collections, as did the founding of the Internet in 1994. This technological advance sparked an unprecedented revolution in provenance research: the movement of stolen property could now be tracked across the globe and histories of ownership reconstructed for immediate distribution.

A further boost came from the U.S. House Banking Committee under the direction of Representative James Leach, who focused on both bank accounts and cultural property that had belonged to Holocaust victims. This, in turn, led to a 1998 conference in Washington, DC, on Holocaust-era assets that yielded two fundamental results: a new set of guidelines from the Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD) recommending research on the provenance of

objects in their collections that might have been looted by the Nazis, and the American Alliance of Museums (AAM) Nazi-Era Provenance Internet Portal (NEPIP), which contained nearly 30,000 objects from 170 participating museums before its termination in 2024.⁷⁰ These were late in coming, and it took the threat of government regulation to push them forward, but in the process, provenance research became an integral component of museum policy and practice.

The 1990s also witnessed an intensive crackdown on the looting activities of organized crime, coupled with several significant repatriations to Italy, Greece, and Türkiye. The Carabinieri raid on the Geneva warehouse of Giacomo Medici in 1995 yielded thousands of looted antiquities, together with photographic documentation of their findspots; those photographs had been taken with a Polaroid SX-70 camera, which debuted in 1972, thereby providing a convenient terminus post quem for the looting.⁷¹ The Lydian Hoard, having been plundered in 1966/67, was returned by the Metropolitan Museum following a six-year-long court case filed by Türkiye, while the Mycenaean artifacts from Aidonia were repatriated to Greece after a three-year lawsuit.⁷²

In the wake of more aggressive litigation by Mediterranean countries, the Getty Museum altered and simplified its acquisitions policy in 1995, stating that acquisitions must come from well-documented (i.e., published) collections, although eleven more years would pass before the museum adopted 1970 as a criterion for determining whether an object would be acquired.⁷³ Provenance research also became more comprehensive and analytical, as demonstrated by a study showing how the looting and forging of Early Bronze Age Cycladic figures, especially since 1945, have completely destabilized our understanding of their original function.⁷⁴ Epistemological candor in the phrasing of object labels has also become a focus of attention, with straightforward terms such as “grounded” and “ungrounded” preferred over the more ambiguous “said to be,” “almost certainly,” and “allegedly.”⁷⁵

The advent of the Iraq War in 2003 prompted a sea change in public attitudes toward the protection of cultural property, largely due to the looting of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad and the rampant destruction of Iraqi and Afghan archaeological sites. Safeguarding cultural heritage became an issue that united the museum and archaeological communities, both of which began to issue joint statements of concern and to provide cultural heritage protection briefings at U.S. military bases, not unlike the programs of the Monuments Officers during and after World War II.⁷⁶ Perhaps the most significant development for the United States was the 2009 ratification of the Hague Convention by the U.S. Senate, fifty-four years after it had been initially formulated.

Not surprisingly, this period witnessed an acceleration in the return of antiquities to Mediterranean countries, including the Euphronios Krater in 2006

and the Getty's Cult Statue of a Goddess in 2007.⁷⁷ Both of these were repatriated to Italy along with more than seventy other antiquities, some of which were featured in a 2007–2008 Italian exhibition entitled *Nostoi*, the ancient Greek term for the Homeric heroes who arrived home after a series of labyrinthine wanderings.⁷⁸ This signals yet another application of human agency to objects, not unlike the horses of San Marco in the nineteenth century, and the practice would not end there: the 2012 advertisements urging the return of the Parthenon sculptures to Greece featured the Erechtheion caryatid speaking in first person: “I am Greek and I want to go home.”⁷⁹

By 2008 the AAMD and the AAM had issued new recommendations that member institutions require documentation demonstrating that an object considered for acquisition had left the probable country of its modern discovery by 1970. This involved the creation of a searchable Object Registry, with information supplied by member museums, that provided known provenance, exhibit, and publication records for objects in their collections that had been acquired after 1970. These are recommendations only, so the degree of compliance with the AAMD's Object Registry varies widely among museums, but the year 1970 had finally been acknowledged, at least publicly, as a fixed line to consider in collection policies.⁸⁰

Ironically, the 1970 standard is gradually losing the potency it once possessed in requests for repatriations, as demonstrated by a case at the Penn Museum in 2011. The aforementioned hoard of Early Bronze Age gold jewelry, purchased by the museum in 1966, was examined by archaeometallurgists in 2009 to determine whether every component of the assemblage was in fact ancient.⁸¹ Within a tiny loop of gold on one of the pendants were a few particles of soil that ranged from arsenic to zinc based on neutron activation analysis. The composition of this soil, which clearly related to the original burial, especially the high levels of arsenic, was consistent with the soil in the Trojan plain. Although the assemblage was acquired four years prior to the UNESCO Convention, Türkiye requested repatriation based on the 1906 Ottoman Antiquities Law and considered 1970 to be an irrelevant line. The return of the gold to Türkiye was eventually successfully negotiated, but the discussions highlighted the fact that in the case of some countries, we have moved beyond the relative security that the UNESCO Convention offered to museums with antiquities collections. Political factors have also come into play: in 2017 French president Emmanuel Macron proposed the repatriation of cultural property taken by France from its former African colonies, which would entail the scrutiny of archives reaching as far back as the nineteenth century.

In any event, the dramatic political, social, and legislative changes during the last three decades have propelled provenance research to the forefront of nearly every museum's activities. The 2003 decision in the *United States v. Schultz*

case demonstrated U.S. recognition of foreign laws criminalizing antiquities theft, which, in turn, reinforced the necessity of investigating an object's context prior to acquisition.⁸² A provenance researcher position has been endowed at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and many similar posts have followed, and the sharp increase in digital archives coupled with the accessibility of open-search software facilitates the scope and speed of research more than ever before.

At the same time, the plundering of cultural property has skyrocketed in areas of armed conflict, especially those that experienced the “Arab Spring” revolutions of the last decade, wherein both museums and sites were often deliberately destroyed in an attempt to mask the extent of the looting.⁸³ Forgers of classical art have also become increasingly adept at imitating ancient styles and techniques, using marble from ancient quarries; lead from Roman Imperial buildings; or urine, acid, or whole-wheat spaghetti to facilitate the creation of an older looking surface.⁸⁴ As a result, historians of ancient art still have difficulty distinguishing between ancient and modern in spite of the assistance provided by a range of sophisticated scientific techniques. The parade of scholars who participated in the 1992 conference on the kouros purchased by the Getty Museum in 1985 (85.AA.40)⁸⁵ could not agree on its authenticity even though they were among the world's leading experts on ancient Greek sculpture.⁸⁶

Not surprisingly, the acquisition of ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern art by American museums has decreased significantly: the last major artwork to have been acquired was the Metropolitan Museum's gilded Ptolemaic sarcophagus in 2017, but the revelation of its forged export license led to its rapid repatriation to Egypt, while the vast majority of artifacts purchased by the Museum of the Bible in Washington, DC, in 2009 have been repatriated to Iraq and Egypt.⁸⁷ In other words, the museum collections that have already been formed will probably not grow appreciably in size going forward; consequently, public interest in those collections will have to be generated by increasingly compelling narratives, and provenance research is one of the most effective means toward that end.

Notes

1. McNelis 2008, 267–73. For assistance in the preparation of this chapter I gratefully acknowledge Patty Gerstenblith, Ann Kuttner, Cynthia Hahn, Lynn Grant, Robert Ousterhout, Steven Rosen, and Justin Ross Muchnick.
2. On these terms, see Joyce 2012; Gerstenblith 2019, 287–88.
3. Miles 2008, 16.
4. Ridgway 1990, 119.
5. Rose 2008.
6. *Res Gestae* 24; see Miles 2008, 101–3.
7. Braghò 2017.
8. Ridgway 1967; Lapatin and Daehner 2015, 288–90; Descamps-Lequime and Mille 2007.
9. Harris 1995; Shaya 2005; van Rookhuijzen 2020, 30.
10. Shaya 2005, 432.
11. Coulton 1910, 15–22; Head 2004.
12. Jacoff 1993.
13. Trigger 2006, 52–56; Pontari 2016.
14. Palma Venetucci 2003; Furlotti 2019, 9–46.
15. Impey and MacGregor 2001.

16. Schnapp 1997, 339–40; Furlotti 2019, 28–30.
17. Coates and Seydl 2007.
18. Angelicoussis et al. 2017; Bartman 2017.
19. McClellan 1999; Paul 2012.
20. Winckelmann 1764; see further Schnapp 1997, 258–66; Fejfer 2003; Trigger 2006, 57.
21. Ridley 1992.
22. Miles 2008, 323; Vout 2018, 71.
23. Miles 2008, 339.
24. Richter 1989.
25. Daniel 1963, 33–38; Trigger 2006, 50–52.
26. Daniel 1963, 33–46, 81–82.
27. Trigger 2006, 166–210.
28. Daniel 1963, 64–69; Easton 2002.
29. Spier 1990; Trigger 2006, 65; Watson and Todeschini 2007, 44–45.
30. Miles 2008, 307–16.
31. Hodos 2015; Greenhalgh 2019, 282, Greenhalgh 2019, 501–17.
32. Cuno 2008, 14, 55, 154; Özel 2010, 178; Greenhalgh 2019, 546–47.
33. Tolstikov and Treister 1996.
34. Holod and Ousterhout 2011.
35. Özel 2010, 179.
36. Curran 2006.
37. Sox 1991; Hermary and Mertens 2014, 13–22.
38. Richter 1937.
39. von Bothmer and Noble 1961; Parsons 1962.
40. Merryman, Elsen, and Urice 2007, 1090; Brewer 2009, 94–96.
41. Nicholas 1994; Edsel and Witter 2009.
42. Nicholas 1994, 429.
43. Nicholas 1994, 234, 433–34.
44. Two legal cases from this interim period are relevant. *Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar v. Elicofon* in 1966 involved two Dürer portraits stolen from Schwarzburg Castle at the end of the war that reappeared in the United States in 1966; the case was not settled until 1981. The second was *Menzel v. List*, also in 1966, involving a Chagall painting that was stolen by the Nazis in 1941 and reappeared in New York in 1955; this was settled in 1969; Merryman, Elsen, and Urice 2007, 24, 143–50.
45. Özgen and Öztürk 1996.
46. Hoving 1993, 307–40; Watson and Todeschini 2007, 169–76, 206–7.
47. Bass 1970; Meyer 1973, 61–64.
48. Aitken 1985; Taylor and Bar-Yosef 2014. Thermoluminescence tests carried out on a group of Neolithic Hacilar (southern Türkiye) figurines at Oxford revealed that nearly seventy-three percent of them were modern; Chippindale and Gill 1993, 620–21.
49. Derrick, Stulik, and Landry 1999.
50. UNESCO 1970.
51. Nicholas 1994, 203–4; Miles 2008, 348–51.
52. Gerstenblith 2013, Gerstenblith 2019.
53. The U.S. Senate voted to ratify the UNESCO Convention in 1972, although the implementing legislation did not go into effect until 1983. Many market nations refrained from ratifying the Convention until the late 1990s or 2000s, and some have still not ratified it, although there are now 140 State Parties to the Convention, including most of the market states.
54. Field Museum 1971; Penn Museum 1980.
55. Carter 2020.
56. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 75–76. As of this writing, the database contains more than 700,000 entries. While the ALR remains active, in 2024 IFAR announced it would shut down operations and move its archives and databases to a new organization. <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/news/art-authentication-nonprofit-ifar-to-shut-down-1234718928/>.
57. Butler and Stockwell 2013.
58. Lawrence 2013.
59. Renfrew 1980; Lyons 2002, 126; Trigger 2006, 498.
60. Trigger 2006, 386–483.
61. Cuno 2008, 1–20.
62. Chippindale and Gill 1993, 623.
63. Stein 2015; Tahan 2017.
64. Chippindale and Gill 2000, 499.
65. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 104; Povoledo 2010.
66. Kokkou 1993; Felch and Frammolino 2011, 62, 79, 107–8.
67. Chippindale and Gill 2000, 485–86.
68. Tolstikov and Treister 1996.
69. Nicholas 1994.
70. Wechsler 2005. For NEPIP, see <https://www.aam-us.org/programs/the-nazi-era-provenance-internet-portal-nepip-archive/>.
71. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 57, 67–68.
72. Özgen and Öztürk 1996; Chippindale and Gill 2000, 485–86.
73. Chippindale and Gill 2000, 503; Getty Trust 2006.
74. Chippindale and Gill 1993.
75. Marlowe 2016.
76. Rose 2007.
77. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 298–99.
78. Godart and de Caro 2007.

79. Kotseli 2012. Another case in point is the application of the word "orphan" to antiquities purchased by private collectors after 1970, which many museums are reluctant to accept as acquisitions; Chippindale and Gill 2000, 500; Berman 2006.
80. <https://aamd.org/object-registry>. See further Gerstenblith 2013, 366–69; Gerstenblith 2019.
81. Rose 2017.
82. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 341; Gerstenblith 2009.
83. Zraik 2019.
84. Chippindale and Gill 1993, 617; Kaye 2008, 310; Amineddoleh 2015; Subramanian 2018.
85. 85.AA.40; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103VNP>.
86. Kokkou 1993.
87. Moynihan 2019; Crow 2020; <https://www.museumofthebible.org/newsroom/update-on-iraqi-and-egyptian-items>.

Methods and Resources

Judith Barr

Nicole Budrovich

Provenance research can take many forms and draw on a range of resources, from the predictable auction catalogue to the unexpected sticky note, and it may challenge even the most astute scholar to weigh the evidence and make sense of the gathered information.¹ In this chapter, we offer a survey of resources and strategies that we have found useful for this work. We begin with the section “Scoping Your Project and Establishing Goals,” presenting an overview of key questions and the potential challenges that exist for any project. The second and third sections, “Assembling Provenance Information” and “Beyond the Institution,” consider the many sources one can consult, from the object itself to dealer archives. The last section, “Processing and Publishing Provenance Information,” addresses how your findings can be interpreted, processed, and shared. Case studies from the Getty’s collection throughout this chapter illustrate a variety of methodological approaches, but we hope they also make clear that provenance research is full of alternate routes, dead ends, parallel paths, and multiple destinations.² For an overview and introduction to provenance research, we recommend the foundational text published by the American Alliance of Museums, *The AAM Guide to Provenance Research*,³ and we list additional resources and more recent provenance guides in our Appendix 1, “Annotated Resource Guide.”

The term “antiquities” encompasses objects from the monumental to the minute. Describing their respective ownership histories and object biographies within a provenance narrative (a structured description of an object’s provenance) is no simple task. Many ancient objects that survive today were deposited in funeral contexts, but others were hidden in antiquity for safekeeping, offered as votives, or discarded as refuse. Some remained above ground, adapted for other functions, like sarcophagi or statues reused as fountains,⁴ or were embedded as spolia into walls—and this kind of repurposing could take place on multiple occasions, further separating the object from its original context.⁵ Coins or gems, for example, may be reset into jewelry or other decorative arts, with multiple generations of settings accumulating or being replaced over centuries.⁶ Furthermore, the documentation of an object’s history—its findspot and its subsequent contexts—has been inconsistent over the centuries, and information

about most Mediterranean antiquities on the market and in many museum collections is often lacking. Provenances often prove to be inconsistent patchworks, and this chapter provides concrete tools and strategies for researching and making these complicated data available. As a range of approaches may be required given project needs, subsequent sections of this chapter can be read as a step-by-step methodology or dipped into as need requires.

Unfortunately, there is no single road map or methodology for determining provenance that can serve every object, dissertation, or institution. One of the more elusive aspects of provenance research is luck. It can, to some extent, be fostered by developing your own databases of resources, flipping through every available auction catalogue, or combing through every photograph in an archive.⁷ But the survival of documents within an institution, the preservation of an old accession number in an image, or the existence of a citation in an article—none of these is guaranteed, and while opportune discoveries can reveal exciting new links in a chain of ownership, much more common are the thousands of negative results, where no information can be corroborated. These may be frustrating to the researcher and their importance hard to convey to the outsider, but they are no less important to document, so that the scope of past investigations can be revisited should new information arise in the future.

Luck and serendipity in discovery require opportunity, whether that comes from conversations with colleagues, from database updates that make alternate numbers searchable, or from dealer stickers described in online collection pages. Perhaps the most unexpected discovery for us was finding an Etruscan cinerary urn and lid (71.AD.293)⁸ for sale in an American department store. A colleague happened to share a Kaufmann's department store advertisement from 1966 for an exhibition of Mediterranean antiquities, and, to our surprise, the illustration included the cinerary urn. This sighting opened up an unexpected chapter in its modern history, paving the way for us to reconstruct the urn's journey across the United States in the 1960s (see the case study in this chapter).

This chapter is the result of over a decade of research at the Getty, but it is in reality much more than just the work of two researchers: it reflects the kind assistance of colleagues across the globe, who have shared their experiences, resources, and research, and who have contributed in both creditable and ineffable ways to our understanding of provenance. We hope that your project will likewise benefit from the ever-increasing number of colleagues working in this area—the most critical resource we can suggest.

Part 1: Scoping Your Project and Establishing Goals

Any provenance research project operates within three main parameters that help determine expectations and goals: volume of material, resources, and time. As

part of initial considerations for outlining a provenance research project, you will further need to set goals, identify project stakeholders, determine the project's scope, document assets, and keep records on the project's progress.

Provenance research projects can span the documentation of a single object to a holistic review of every item in a collection. The latter allows for connections between disparate records and a better understanding of relationships between collectors and dealers, but this can be difficult to manage and maintain. Regardless of scope, it is helpful to designate and assess targeted groups of material for study. In assembling these, it is worth reviewing all related objects, including those deaccessioned, in case an individual record contains information that applies to the broader group. Possible object groupings include, but are not limited to:

- those on display
- specific object types
- those scheduled for publication
- those associated with a specific individual
- those acquired before or after a certain date
- possible Nazi-era concerns
- claims or contested histories

In the case of researching the Getty's antiquities collection of over 46,000 records, it took nine years and many researchers to complete a first review of every item.⁹ We started with the objects on display, recognizing that these were the most visible. We then turned to studying specific constituents (vendors, dealers, and collectors), which allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of trails of correspondence, as well as individual tastes and practices. As needed, we also addressed specific object groups that were slated for publication in collection catalogues, before finally reviewing any remaining records chronologically by year of acquisition.

Your project might focus on a single object or on thousands, and volume can be difficult to quantify when working with large groups of material that may or may not be related. Objects could be parts of the same whole (e.g., a mosaic or fresco), related by find context (e.g., a coin hoard), or acquired together from the same dealer or collector. Each item might need to be researched individually, or studied and updated as a batch. For example, a group of 218 Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Engraved Gems and Rings (81.AN.76)¹⁰ acquired by the Getty in 1981 are catalogued under an umbrella group record, but the history of each gem had to be individually researched (fig. 6).



A



B



C

Figure 6 Three gems from a group of 218 Greek, Roman, Etruscan Engraved Gems and Rings, (81.AN.76), each with different collecting histories (pictured: Engraved Scarab with Head of a Gorgon, Greek, ca. 500 BCE, cornelian 81.AN.76.3; Engraved Scaraboid with Chimera, Greek, ca. 400 BCE, blue chalcedony 81.AN.76.49; Engraved Scarab with Bes Fighting a Griffin, Phoenician, ca. 500 BCE 81.AN.76.110).

Resources for your project can range widely, especially depending on whether you are working within a collecting institution and have access to internal files, or are conducting research independently as a guest researcher or scholar. Financial resources, whether from institutional funding, a grant, or independent research, dictate allocated staff time, database infrastructure and support, and library and archival access. Equally important to consider are access to objects, documentary evidence, and related archives. Lastly, the time available for a project is rarely open-ended, and may be limited by academic schedules or other external deadlines. Even if the project has no end date, time commitments need to be planned and accounted for.

In considering the time frame of your project and both its short- and long-term objectives, it is important to keep in mind the continuing nature of provenance research, which benefits from periodic revisions and updates, and to build that into the way benchmarks are defined. Some objects have seemingly endless variables to explore, but at some point, the available evidence must be reviewed, summarized, and shared publicly. Nevertheless, just because a provenance has been shared, it should not be accepted as “complete,” since this type of research is highly iterative and rarely, if ever, finished. For objects that have spent any time on the market or in private ownership—even objects with documented findspots—gaps in knowledge about their movements and ownership changes are likely. The possible reasons behind those gaps are myriad, but so too are the research strategies required to fill them.

With your goals in mind, assess how research will be processed, where it will go, and in what form. A project plan should consider two likely types of

output: the internal documentation of your work and its public-facing presentation; these are addressed in detail below under “Processing and Publishing Provenance Information.” It is critical to document the research process, including all lines of inquiry—even, or perhaps especially, the dead ends. Make plans for storing and ensuring accessibility to any digital materials produced, particularly study photographs of the objects and scans of primary documents. In addition, keep the requirement for any auxiliary updates in mind; provenance research often feeds into other key cataloguing fields, notably bibliographies, exhibition histories, and the documentation of labels and marks. Addressing these related changes to object records can be time-consuming, and this additional commitment should be considered in the initial project scoping plan.

In establishing the goals of your research, an important early step is to identify stakeholders, as these individuals or groups play a valuable role in establishing how research is documented, approved, and shared. Stakeholders could include those working directly on the project (such as a project manager, museum curators, registrars and collection managers, and digital support staff); those responsible for or sponsoring the project (the funding source, the donor, the museum’s legal staff or advisors, trustees, and board of directors); descendant communities; and the public. Recognizing all the interested parties and their expectations and balancing these priorities with your own objectives helps determine the scope and structure of your project, including which sections of the collection to target first, the depth of research, and the desired outcomes.

Part 2: Assembling Provenance Information

The Documents and the Object

In this section we focus on gathering information from documentation found in the institution holding the object and from the object itself. While no single strategy can encompass all research inquiries, there are a number of considerations and questions to keep in mind. As a suggested workflow, first collect and review all available internal documentation and record object data (fig. 7). Some questions to ask about the documentation are listed below, and they apply to all types of materials one might reference, whether from sources generated by the institution or externally, such as dealer invoices. The authenticity of every document must be carefully assessed. Moreover, an authentic document does not guarantee the legitimacy of the information conveyed in it; the authorship of documents, their purpose, and the intended recipients should also be considered. Additionally, while not common, there are cases of criminals introducing forged documentation into archives, and further of tampering with

archival documentation.¹¹ Cross-referencing sources where possible remains essential. Even when the authenticity of documents is not in question, their interpretation can require further investigation.

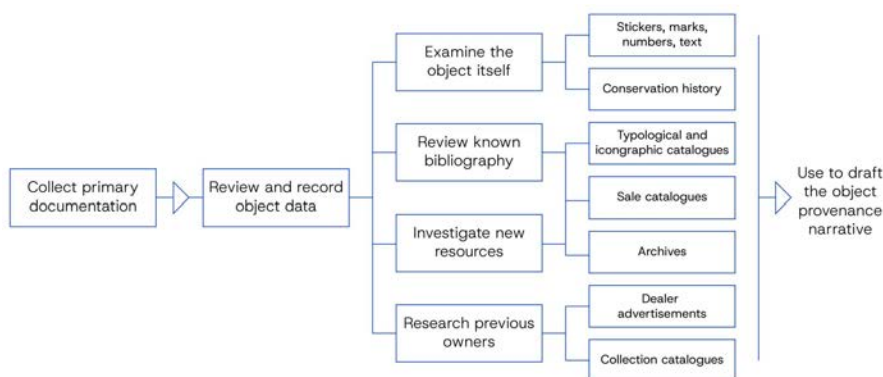


Figure 7 Suggested workflow for provenance research.

Consider the author, audience, and purpose of the document:

- What is its source?
- Who was the intended audience?
- Why was the document created?
- Why was it sent or preserved?
- What does it say about the ownership of the object, if anything?

Also ask about the document's own preservation context:

- How does it relate to the greater archival corpora? What documents are housed with it?
- How are the documents organized?
- Who organized them?
- How and when were they preserved?

For photographs, in addition to the above questions, consider the photograph's production and development:

- When was the photograph taken?
- Is there a credit line?

- Is there an extant negative?
- What type of image is it (e.g., Polaroid, transparency, photocopy, photocopy of the object itself, glass slide)?
- Does the image type help date its production?
- If a print, when and where was the print made?
- How many prints or copies may have been made?
- Are there any annotations or photographer stamps on the print?
- If the photograph is part of a series or group, what is the context of the larger set?
- What else do you know about the photographer or owner of the object?
- For digital images, what metadata can be recovered?¹²

Regarding the photograph's content and interpretation, ask the following:

- What is in the background?
- What is the state of the object in the photograph, and how does it differ from the state of the object today or in other documented photographs?
- If the object in the image is not firmly identified, what criteria will you use to confirm its identity? What diagnostic points can be compared (e.g., damage, joins, patterns in the material)?

Locating and reviewing all the related paperwork might be difficult, even when working within your own institution, due to physical restrictions, processing delays, or access permissions. In planning a project, map out the potential resources across the organization and consider the amount of time and staffing needed to accommodate requests made to other departments. If working as an outside researcher, make a detailed request, giving background, objectives, and a timeline, as processing paperwork can be time-consuming. Be aware that sensitive information, such as the names of anonymous donors, addresses, shipping details, or prices, may be redacted, depending on institutional policy.

When evaluating sources such as acquisition proposals, invoices, correspondence, old photographs, or notes in files, carefully review and document everything. Information about an object might have changed following reattribution, conservation, or other interventions, so historical data (e.g., previous titles, dimensions) should be recorded as well. Keep in mind too that the documentary resources held by an institution are not neutral—unconscious biases and conscious decisions determine what is preserved or discarded. Furthermore, a healthy amount of skepticism is required concerning the paperwork that does exist. With provenance information, assertions and

assumptions can easily take root as fact, so it is essential to question and, when possible, verify the author, date, and source of any statements. Here, “verify” means to cross-check with documentation from an unbiased third-party resource where possible (e.g., dated paperwork, publications, correspondence, public records). While confirming some details might be straightforward—like dealer addresses, life dates, and auction sales—quite often information cannot be cross-checked, and its unverified status should be acknowledged.

Working with internal documentation raises questions of transparency around research. What terms restrict accessing and sharing potentially sensitive information? For a provenance researcher, transparency works on two levels—between internal information and the researcher, and between the research findings and the public. The first level of transparency will vary depending on the museum, and even within a single organization different departments might have their own access policies and restrictions. For some public American institutions, full access to records might be determined by local and state laws, but in general a museum has some discretion over the information it shares. Publicly shared research that relies on internal documentation needs to balance transparency with conditions set by particular record holders, as for example restrictions on reproducing sensitive information. While respecting such restrictions, it is important to explain any conclusions based on the reviewed evidence.

Carefully consider the format and process for documenting your research. Ideally, your notes should be fully searchable, dated, and use consistent keywords. Alternate spellings for constituent names and open-ended questions should also be preserved. When multiple records have shared documentation (e.g., group acquisition paperwork or biographical notes on a dealer or collector for numerous objects), it is best to add those to one primary location and have subsequent related records cross-reference it, to streamline future updates. Provenance research is additive, often building on the work of multiple people conducted over many years. Future-proof your research by acknowledging those who have contributed in the past and framing your findings in terms that will be clear to researchers years from now. To the extent possible, ensure that any online documentation is preserved with screenshots and through the Internet Archive’s Wayback Machine.¹³ Printed copies of key documents, including emails and their associated attachments, and summaries should be added to any physical files where possible. Record sources consulted, as well as documenting any outstanding inquiries and additional lines of possible research. And again, negative results should be documented as well; this will prevent redundant research in the future, and a closed line of questioning may become open at a later date.

As mentioned, provenance research is rarely, if ever, complete, and it should be expected that findings will need to be revisited and revised. When

developing a project plan, it is important for a provenance researcher to convey this to stakeholders in order to set and manage expectations. Because of the evolving nature of this work, preference should be given to documentation platforms that can be easily searched and updated. For example, if working within an institution, research should be summarized and preserved in the collection management system or other internal database, and any public-facing provenance summary should be added to its own searchable field. An independent or guest researcher should likewise store data in a searchable, sustainable format.

Collecting Internal Documentation

The first step for any project after its scope has been determined is to collect all internal documentation that might relate to the objects under review. The location of these materials may vary depending on the collection, but in museums, object-based files and other related files might be held by the curatorial department, registrar, administration, conservation, director's office, or institutional archives. Documentation can take the form both of physical paperwork and of information stored digitally in the museum's internal database. Similar documents may appear in multiple locations as carbon copies, drafts, or redacted versions, but it is worth cross-checking all versions for potential differences or added notes. Digitized data is usually drawn from the available paper records, but each resource can have information not preserved elsewhere. The process of digitizing records is often ongoing and uneven, and depending on the institution, resources may be held in different departments with varying levels of access. While the data's organizational structure will vary, we see two distinct categories: before acquisition and after acquisition.

Before Acquisition

An object's paper trail often begins long before it is acquired, when the object may be recorded in external archives (e.g., inventory lists, ownership statements, old invoices) and publications (e.g., auction and exhibition catalogues, advertisements, journals). Some of these resources might be preserved in museum documentation, having been gathered in curatorial research or provided by the previous owner.

The acquisition process itself can provide pertinent documentation, such as records of negotiation (e.g., pre-acquisition loan agreements, dealer photographs, invoices, curator's reports, and correspondence with dealers, donors, galleries, and scholars); object movement records (e.g., shipping invoices, customs statements, object receipts, locations in storage); and object condition reports (e.g., photographs, conservation reports, material tests, notes on

treatments, and documentation of old marks, numbers, and stickers that may have been removed on acquisition or during study). Documentation of the acquisition can be found in historical acquisition ledgers, the official record books for incoming objects, and records of meetings where acquisitions were proposed and approved. It is also important to note any pre-acquisition tracking information, including previous collection numbers, loan numbers, alternate accession numbers and, if made available, valuations. Related dealer or donor correspondence should also be checked in case the object, or a related object, was previously offered or discussed.

After Acquisition

Once accessioned, an object can be further studied, published, and exhibited, potentially leading to the discovery of more provenance information. This documentation might be preserved in correspondence with scholars who researched the object, memos or original research written by curatorial or conservation staff, exhibition and educational materials, or secondary sources (e.g., copies or offprints of relevant publications, newspaper clippings, exhibition catalogues).

For a work that is subsequently deaccessioned, see “Deaccessioned Works” below.

Examining the Object

Photographs, drawings, and descriptions are valuable, but it is essential that a researcher examine the object itself, or at the very least coordinate with collection staff to have the object checked for marks, stickers, and evidence of past restorations. Analyses of the object’s constituent materials by a curator or materials scientist can add important information. All of these afford the chance to confirm the description, title, and source culture of the object and are key to understanding how it was documented in the past as well as assessing avenues for further research. Legacy data can easily mislead a researcher working solely with a limited number of images or an incomplete or inaccurate description.

This section further explores the different types of information that might be discovered on close examination of an object, focusing first on what a provenance researcher can determine independently, then on findings that require the assistance of a conservator or materials scientist. Scheduling an in-person examination can be difficult, especially for objects that are on view, on loan, or held in inaccessible storage. For this reason, if working in a collection, it is important to be aware of any planned object movement or opening of display cases and to check objects as opportunities arise.

Marks of an object's history take the form of inscriptions, numbers, labels, or stamps connected to previous owners or transactions, as well as evidence of repairs, restorations, and conservation treatments. As with any information used to establish provenance, these physical traces need to be considered critically, since they can easily be fabricated or misinterpreted.¹⁴ You should take detailed photographs and note any evidence of repairs or restorations to discuss later with a specialist. Historical and archival images of the object should also be reviewed for possible evidence. Note, however, that markings and labels are often located on the reverse, underside, or inside of an object and may not be visible in existing photography. Incised marks, which need raking light (lighting from an oblique angle that exaggerates subtle surface features) to be visible, are not always discernable in standard photographs.

Documenting Marks on the Object

Marks found on the object may include marks of previous ownership, stamps, seals, inventory numbers, export license numbers, previous sale or loan numbers, or previous cataloguing information. In describing extant evidence, note the following:

- application method (directly on the surface, affixed label, or preserved with the object)
- location
- medium (e.g., pencil, ink, paint)
- description (e.g., color, size)
- script form (e.g., handwritten, stamped, typed)
- content or description of preserved text, numbers, or marks

As temporary additions to objects, labels can easily be altered, with text added, partially ripped off, scratched out, and in some cases removed entirely, making it important to cross-check with early photographs and descriptive notes when available.

Where possible, details of marks of ownership should be made available in publications and in the object's online record. On the Getty's online collection pages, we provide the location of the mark, information on its source or clarification that the source and date are unknown, the material of the mark, and a transcription of any text or numbering, for example:

Attic Red-Figure Hydria (70.AE.105)¹⁵

Mark(s): Under the foot of the vase, old J. Paul Getty collection label, black ink: "I-58"

Etruscan Beak-Spouted Oinochoe (71.AC.223)¹⁶

Mark(s): Underside, number of unknown date and origin, in pencil: “611” or “119”; sticker of unknown date and origin, white rectangle, written in blue ink: “104”; Royal Athena gallery sticker (text obscured)

Numbers

Inventory numbers on an object might relate to a prior collection, dealer, auction lot, acquisition group, or exhibition loan. Several labels with numbers and text were found on a marble Herm of Hermes (79.AA.132)¹⁷ when the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired it at auction in 1979. These were removed from the statue but preserved in its file. One label reads “Coll. Ernest Brummer 4732/P,” and a second “627.” These correspond, respectively, to the object’s Brummer Gallery inventory number and 1979 auction lot number (fig. 8). The meaning of other labels with the numbers and letters “2117” and “QS/TD/N” remain a mystery, but their presence was recorded, and descriptions of them appear in the Marks section of the object’s public online record.

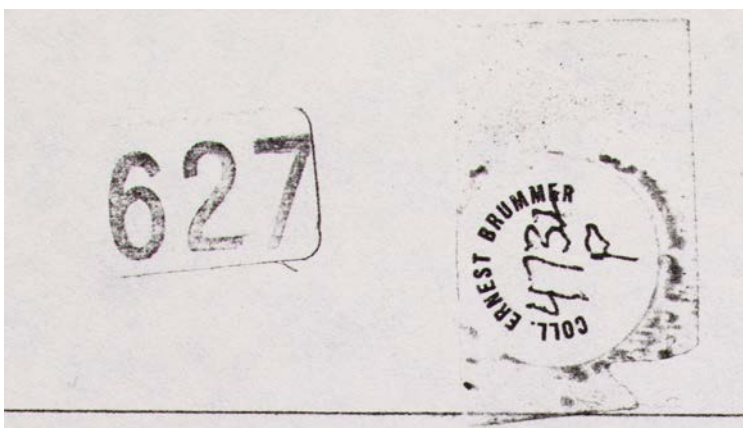
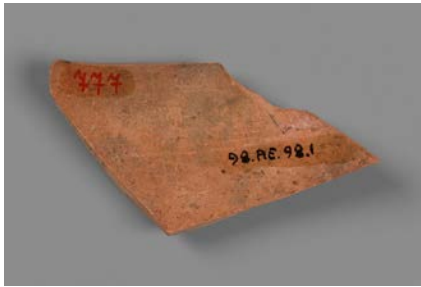


Figure 8 Brummer collection stickers from marble Herm of Hermes (79.AA.132).

There is no existing authoritative guide to collectors’ numbers and marks on Mediterranean antiquities, though we provide some links to other mark compendia in Appendix 1, and searchable descriptions on museum collection pages increasingly allow for the discoverability of this information. Some collectors use a distinctive numbering style, favoring a certain color of ink, script, or label shape. For example, objects from Herbert A. Cahn’s collection, such as two Attic Red-Figure Psykter Fragments (98.AE.98.1 and .2; fig. 9),¹⁸ may have a three- or four-digit inventory number written in red ink directly on their surface.¹⁹



A



B

Figure 9 Cahn collection numbers (777 and 778) preserved on two Attic Red-Figure Psykter Fragments, Greek, about 510 BCE, terracotta (98.AE.98.1–2).

Export license numbers might be preserved on the object; for example, a Cypriot Black on Red Ware Plate (94.AE.114.2)²⁰ has “2801” written in pencil on the underside. The origin of this number was confirmed by acquisition paperwork provided by the donor, which includes a 1957 export license from the Government of Cyprus Department of Antiquities with a matching inventory number for the object (fig. 10).²¹



Figure 10 Underside of Cypriot Black on Red Ware Plate, ca. 550–450 BCE, terracotta (94.AE.114.2) showing export number (2801).

Former loan numbers may include an institution’s name, the letter “L,” and/or a year. In the 1980s the Getty acquired a large group of Greek vases from Molly and Walter Bareiss, which they had lent to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (the Met), for exhibition in 1969.²² When accessioned by the

Getty many of these vessels retained their old loan labels and other collection stickers, as seen on the underside of an Attic Red-Figure Cup (86.AE.289).²³ Elsewhere, on a label found on the inside of a Coniform Vase (81.AF.1),²⁴ the preserved text, “M.F.A. / 55.11” indicates a loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA), and the digits suggest two possible years, 1911 or 1955. Based on the known provenance and assistance from the MFA, it was possible to confirm the loan took place in 1911. But interpreting loan numbers is not always so straightforward, for many are simply a string of digits without context.

Finally, numbers might indicate the object’s purchase price or valuation, as with a Statuette of an Ape with Its Baby (76.AD.16),²⁵ which has a price label that corresponds with the value given in a 1975 sales catalogue (fig. 11).²⁶ In the absence of a currency symbol or secondary reference like a price list, a monetary value should not be assumed. Not all prices are numerical, since some values are recorded as a price code, a series of letters and/or numbers used by some dealers and auction houses to keep sensitive information, like purchase price, private.²⁷

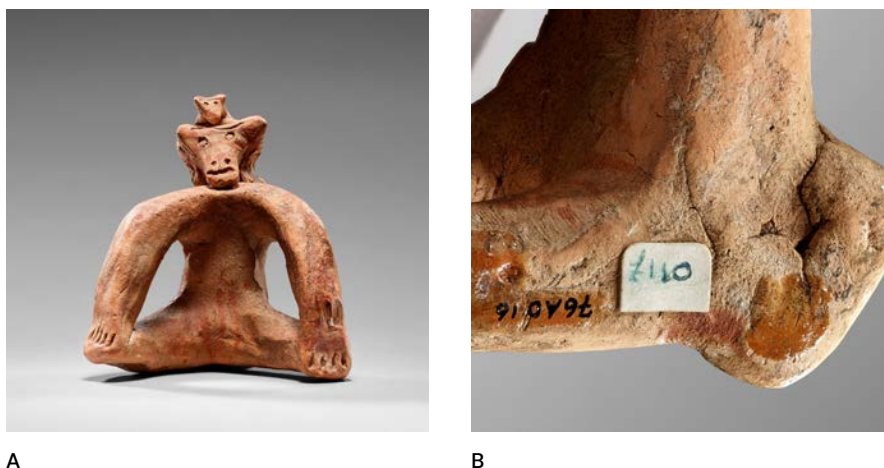


Figure 11 A: Statuette of an Ape with Its Baby, Greek (Boeotian), mid-6th century BCE (76.AD.16). B: Underside of statuette showing price label.

Text

A previous owner may have marked an object with their full name, initials, or a monogram, often with an inventory number or cataloguing classification. An early example is a cameo gem with Hercules and Diomedes (2023.19), which preserves the last two letters of a distinctive ownership mark: engraved above Hercules’ club is a partial inscription ending in “ED.” (fig. 12).²⁸ Although only part of the engraving survives, enough remains to reconstruct “LAV.R.MED.”

likely signifying “Laurentius Rex Medices,” known from other gems and hardstone vessels owned by Lorenzo il Magnifico de’ Medici (1449–1492). This provenance is further confirmed by the gem’s appearance in an inventory of Lorenzo de’ Medici’s collection from 1492, held in the State Archives of Florence.²⁹



A



B

Figure 12 A: Cameo with Hercules and Diomedes, Roman, 25 BCE–14 CE, sardonyx set in a modern gold mount (2023.19). B: Detail of ownership engraving on the cameo.

Monograms and ligatures (two or more letters combined into one symbol) can be difficult to decipher, but some are well documented. A monogram of “CAWR” and the number “116” preserved in thick white paint under the handle of an Attic Red-Figured Kylix (82.AE.42; fig. 13)³⁰ identifies its previous owner, Sir Charles Alfred William Rycroft (1839–1884).³¹

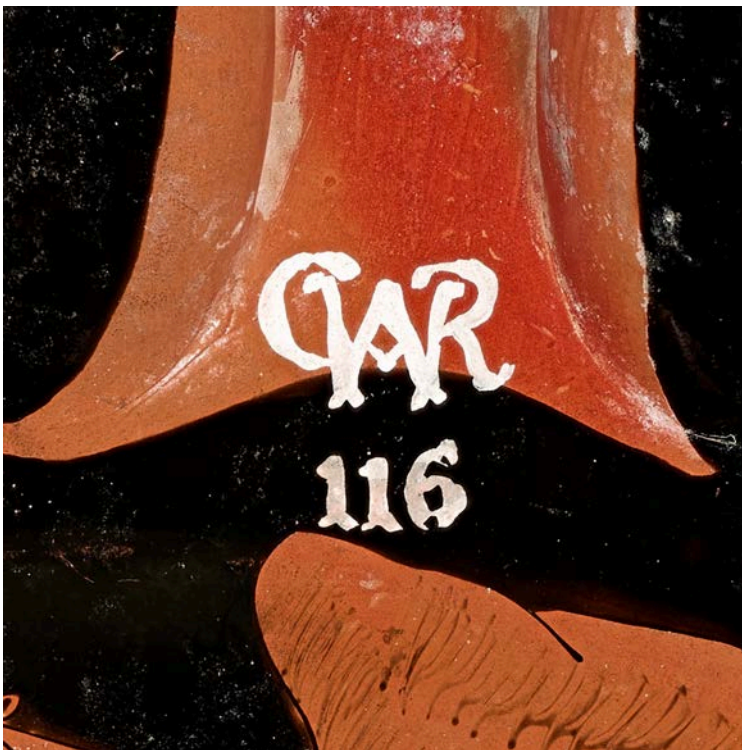


Figure 13 Sir Charles Alfred William Rycroft monogram preserved under the handle of Attic Red-Figure Kylix, Greek, ca. 480 BCE, terracotta (82.AE.42).

Text added by a former collector or dealer may also record cataloguing information or note the object's ownership history. The Getty has more than two hundred object records connected to the Metropolitan Museum curator Dietrich von Bothmer, and more than fifty of these have his hand-written collection labels, either on the object itself or preserved in early photographs and conservation notes. These sometimes include clear statements of purchase history; for example, a small pitcher (96.AE.227)³² has a sticker on the underside with a note in von Bothmer's handwriting: "ex Harmer Johnson 3 May 1978," which allowed us to confirm that it had been sold in that 1978 sale (fig. 14). More often, however, von Bothmer used abbreviations to indicate the source, sometimes the month, and the year of purchase, as with a skyphos fragment (85.AE.446)³³ that has a typed sticker reading "REH O84," shorthand for Robert E. Hecht, October 1984 (fig. 15).³⁴ Texts can also reveal past conservation campaigns or display history, as with an Egyptian Statuette of Bast in the Form of a Cat (55.AK.9),³⁵ which has the note on the underside of the base: "Mounted By W.T. Ready, Nov^{ber} 1892, 55 Rathbone P^{le}, London W." This refers to William Talbot Ready (1857–1914), a British restorer and antiquities dealer.³⁶



Figure 14 Dietrich von Bothmer label on the underside of Pitcher (*epichysis*), Greek, fourth century BCE, terracotta (96.AE.227).



Figure 15 Dietrich von Bothmer label on Attic Black-Figure Band Skyphos Fragment, Greek, ca. 540–530 BCE, terracotta (85.AE.446).

Text written on an object might even record its modern discovery. On a Campanian Neck Amphora (82.AE.128),³⁷ an inscription in pencil on the underside reads, “Found by myself at an Excavation at Nola” (fig. 16). The note,

identified as the handwriting of the former owner, Spencer Compton, 2nd Marquess of Northampton, confirms that the vase was acquired during his residence in Italy from 1820 to 1830.³⁸ But this is an exceptional case. Rarely are the texts preserved on objects so informative.

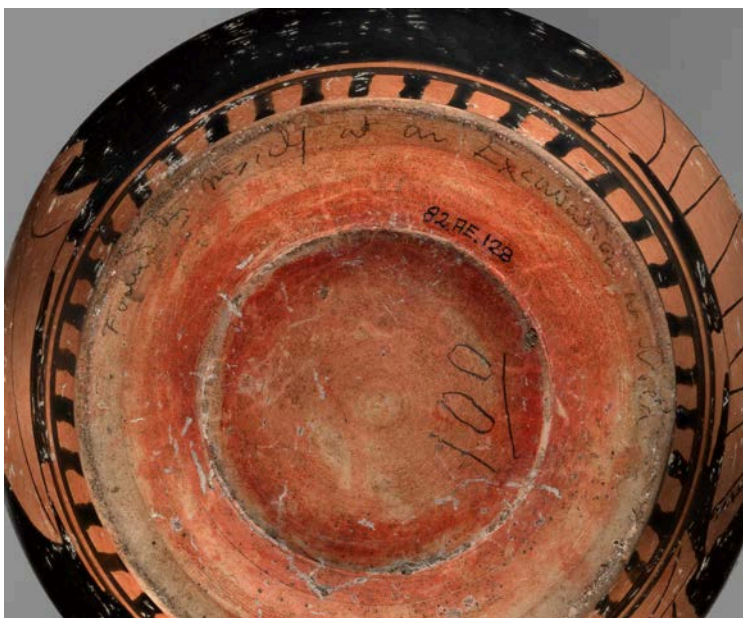


Figure 16 Detail of the underside of Campanian Neck Amphora, early fifth century BCE, terracotta (82.AE.128).

In other cases, marks or stickers on an object can be tantalizingly incomplete. A small sticker on the base of a Statuette of a Bird with Two Chicks (96.AD.228)³⁹ can be partially deciphered, with “6th cent.” and “BEOTIA [*sic*]” still visible (fig. 17). But whether this sticker relates to J. J. Klejman, the dealer who sold the figure, and whether the rest of the text holds clues to the provenance or valuation, are still to be determined.

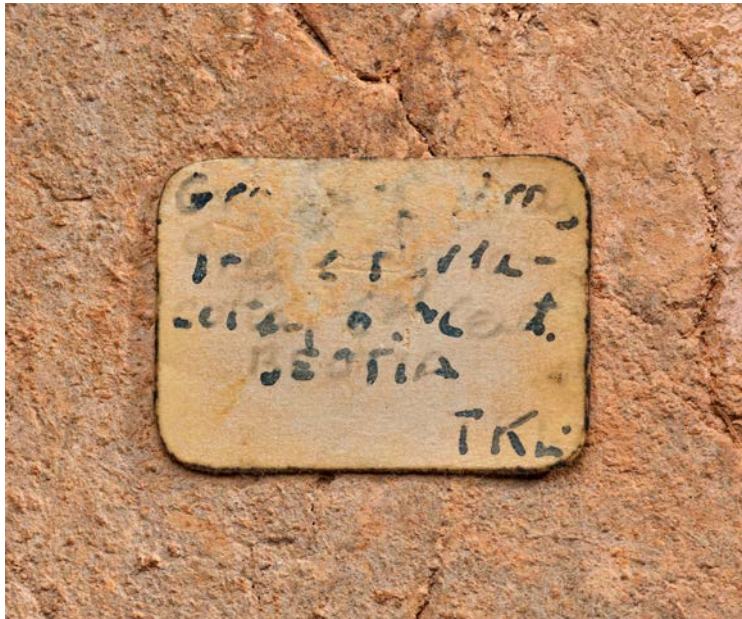


Figure 17 Sticker on base of Statuette of a Bird with Two Chicks, Greek (Boeotian), late sixth century BCE, terracotta (96.AD.228).

Stamps and Seals

Stamps and seals might speak to an object's prior ownership or movement, but these can be difficult to interpret without comparable examples. This was the case with a partially preserved red wax seal on the underside of an Attic Red-Figure Askos (83.AE.396).⁴⁰ The seal has a coat of arms encircled by text that reads: "Ferdinando II Re del Re [. . .] di Antichità"; it was initially interpreted as a collection mark for King Ferdinand II of the Two Sicilies (1810–1859) (fig. 18). However, research revealed that it is in fact an export seal of the Commission of Antiquities and Fine Arts (Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti) for the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, which included Sicily, Naples, and much of southern Italy, issued during Ferdinand II's reign, 1830–59.⁴¹ This seal dates to a period of formalized export procedures: the stamp design was standardized (with the Bourbon coat of arms and the name of the sovereign), and export-approved objects were recorded on lists provided to the customs office. These preserved inventory lists (currently unpublished) give only basic descriptions and dimensions, making the identification of specific objects difficult.⁴² While the identity of the nineteenth-century owner of the askos remains unknown, the export stamp establishes the latest year by which it could have left Italy.



Figure 18 Export seal preserved on underside of Attic Red-Figure Askos, Greek, ca. 410 BCE, terracotta (83.AE.396). The significance of other markings is still to be determined.

There are no databases of dealer stamps, stickers, and labels, but comparisons can fruitfully be made when these are documented in collection databases or publications (see also “Examining the Object” in this chapter for resources).⁴³ Such is the case with a Romano-Egyptian funerary portrait painted on a wooden panel (79.AP.129)⁴⁴ that has two partially preserved triangular stamps on its reverse (fig. 19). These were issued by the Bundesdenkmalamt of Austria and can be dated to between April 1939 and November 1942.⁴⁵ In recent years, the APPEAR project (Ancient Panel Paintings: Examination, Analysis, and Research) has facilitated comparisons of stamps and markings, such as those associated with the dealer of Egyptian antiquities Theodor Graf (1840–1903).⁴⁶ Ancient wooden panels are structurally similar to post-Antique panel paintings, and they often retain similar kinds of stamps and written text applied by dealers and collectors. Note, however, that any labels on an object are subject to concerns of authenticity and where possible should be confirmed against other sources.



Figure 19 Detail of the reverse of Funerary Portrait of a Woman, Romano-Egyptian, ca. 175–200 CE, tempera on wood (79.AP.129), showing one of the partially-preserved Austrian export stamps (dark ink, triangle-shaped). Other markings include a set of numbers, “109 / 167,” which may relate to the panel’s sale in 1942 at the Kende Galleries, where it was lot 167. Photo: Marie Svoboda, J. Paul Getty Museum

Case Study: A Mystery Monogram



Figure 20 Statuette of a Sacrificing Woman, Etruscan, fourth–third centuries BCE, bronze (78.AB.408.1), front and back; collector’s marks on the back.

In 1978 Malcolm Wiener donated a group of nineteen objects to the Getty Museum that included five small Etruscan bronze statuettes (78.AB.408.1, 78.AB.408.2, 78.AB.408.3, 78.AB.403.4, and 78.AB.403.5).⁴⁷ According to museum files, these statuettes had no provenance information and were unpublished. Black-and-white photographs of the objects, likely taken shortly after their acquisition, show one main view of each, with no noticeable labels or marks. However, on viewing these objects in storage, collector’s marks and notes, written in white ink, were discovered on the underside or reverse of four of the five statuettes (fig. 20).

Most of the inscriptions follow a similar form, with a location, some sort of inventory number including a letter and number (preserved examples are “I.9,” “Y.2,” and “RI.17”), and “HF” written as a ligature. None of the other objects in Wiener’s 1978 donation group had similar markings, suggesting that these were likely from an earlier collector. Tracking down the “HF” monogram proved surprisingly straightforward, thanks to a digitized resource available at the time. A Google Books search for “HF collector’s mark” brought up a catalogue of the Lord McAlpine

collection with an introductory section on documented marks and labels, including an HF monogram in white ink.⁴⁸ According to the McAlpine catalogue, the HF annotation was used by Dr. Hugh Fawcett (1891–1982), a collector of ethnological and archaeological objects.

This confirmed Fawcett as a prior collector of the four bronzes, but when did these bronzes enter and leave his collection? And what did Fawcett’s other annotations, such as place names and inventory numbers, mean? Is the note on back of the Statuette of a Sacrificing Woman, “(Tomb) Oviato [sic] Italy” (fig. 20B), documenting a findspot or a later attribution? Over his years of collecting, Fawcett amassed more than 8,000 objects and periodically sold off redundant and lesser works through various auction houses in order to acquire specimens of higher quality.⁴⁹ In 1980 he sold a majority of his collection to the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery in Bristol, England, which also holds his personal archives. In tracking down the sale of Fawcett’s surplus objects, we found that his name is linked to more than a dozen Sotheby’s auction catalogues from the late 1930s until the early 1980s. A review of the Fawcett material revealed a possible match in a 1963 antiquities sale: a group of bronze statuettes, including figures of a lion and dog with the same dimensions as the Getty objects.⁵⁰ Providing further confirmation, our library copy of the auction catalogue includes a price list⁵¹ with the buyer names, revealing that the lot was sold to “Wiener, M. H.,” the same Malcolm Wiener who donated the bronzes in 1978 (fig. 21).

74 Wiener, M. H.	50	140.00
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Figure 21 Detail of the purchaser of Lot 74 from Sotheby’s sale catalogue. Price list for Sotheby’s Antiquities sale in London on July 22, 1963: “74 Wiener, M.H. 50 140.00.” Photo: Courtesy of Sotheby’s

There are still unanswered questions, notably when and where Fawcett acquired this group of bronzes. According to the Fawcett collection archives in Bristol, the numbers, letters, and place names were part of his inventory system of letter codes to indicate the object type or culture, assigned provenance, and the specimen number, with additional notes written out in full, and an asterisk indicating a specific excavated context.⁵² Since none of the codes preserved on the Getty bronzes includes an asterisk, they were likely purchased on the art market. The

Bristol archives preserves large numbers of receipts for purchases, and in 2022 the museum made some of this Fawcett Collection data publicly available through Open Data Bristol.⁵³ A search of this database for the codes and place names preserved on the Getty bronzes revealed a possible connection between the bronze Statuette of the Sacrificing Woman and a 1944 Sotheby's auction.⁵⁴ This recently published database speaks to the constantly changing landscape of resources available to provenance research.

Conservation History, Restorations, and Material Analysis

An object's conservation history might be discoverable on the object itself as repairs, fills, mounts, or restorations, and it may be recorded in reports, publications, or photographs. Over the centuries, there has been a shift from full restoration, which often prioritized completeness and aesthetic value, to conservation, which focuses on preserving and stabilizing the original work—and, in many cases, also preserving its historical restorations. When possible, a provenance researcher should work with a conservator or materials scientist to best interpret and date documented interventions. With the advance of analytical techniques, the study of the history of restorations has become a substantial field of research in itself, and the identification of specific materials or methods assists provenance research inquiries, especially when it can help to narrow down the date of a restoration or repair. Auction houses now frequently invoke old restorations or mounts as evidence for an object's "documented" history, but such claims should be considered critically.

By far the largest body of literature on the history of restorations is dedicated to large-scale marble sculptures. These are often high-profile artworks, sometimes from renowned historical collections, and they may exhibit multiple phases of treatment; the essays gathered in the Getty's *History of Restoration of Ancient Sculpture* provide a valuable introduction to the subject.⁵⁵ Collection-specific studies, such as one on the sculptures in the Antikensammlung in Berlin,⁵⁶ are useful means of discerning regional or chronological trends, and analyses of restoration practices often feature as a component in more general presentations of a particular collection, such as that on the Torlonia marbles.⁵⁷ Recent years have seen a number of dedicated object studies, such as those on a statue restored as Bacchus in the North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh, and the Farnese sarcophagus at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston.⁵⁸

For large-scale bronzes, which survive in much smaller numbers, the body of evidence regarding restorations is narrower and is concentrated on material

from Pompeii and Herculaneum.⁵⁹ The series of International Congresses on Ancient Bronzes, active since 1970, is a valuable resource for technical studies. The digitally published proceedings of the 2015 conference offer an accessible introduction,⁶⁰ as does the thorough survey of bronzes in the Harvard Art Museums,⁶¹ with analytical results published on the museum's online collection pages.

The study of painting materials has seen recent advances in the analysis of Romano-Egyptian funerary portraits, and these analyses can be fruitfully applied to modern interventions.⁶² For wall painting, there is—like large-scale bronze statuary—a heavy Neapolitan focus.⁶³ In the last twenty years, significant attention has been paid to the reconstruction and restoration of Greek figure-decorated pottery, especially treatments undertaken or performed in the nineteenth century.⁶⁴

In all media, the restoration of larger—or higher-value—objects has tended to receive more attention, at least in terms of publications. The treatment of smaller objects, such as statuettes or figurines, is, to our knowledge, less well documented, but similar materials and approaches to restoration may apply. Furthermore, there are valuable studies that document the use of technical methods in detecting fakes, forgeries, and pastiches, for example on Tanagra figurines at the Musée du Louvre in Paris,⁶⁵ a Minoan ivory figurine in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto,⁶⁶ and, from beyond the field of Mediterranean antiquities, a Zapotec urn likewise in the Royal Ontario Museum.⁶⁷ On these themes more broadly, see the papers collected in *Anthropology of Forgery: A Multidisciplinary Approach to the Study of Archaeological Fakes*.⁶⁸

The incomplete and fragmentary nature of ancient objects can result in complex provenances and restoration histories, and perhaps the most immediate example of this is ancient Greek pottery. A single vessel might be discovered in fragments (or possibly deliberately broken up, whether by looters or by dealers) and these *dissecta membra* (scattered parts) dispersed around the globe through a network of dealers and collectors.⁶⁹ Complicating matters further, restorers have sometimes reassembled a pot using fragments of unrelated vessels. A case in point is an Attic Red-Figure Volute Krater attributed to the Kleophrades Painter (77 .AE.11).⁷⁰ The Getty acquired a number of fragments from the krater in 1977. These had first been published in 1972 while on the art market and were identified then as belonging with a group of fragments in the Louvre. The latter group had previously formed part of a large krater acquired by the Louvre as part of the Campana collection in 1863, which subsequent research identified as a pastiche made of fragments from three different ancient vases. The Louvre disassembled the composite Campana vase in the 1950s and, following the Getty's 1977 acquisition, placed their related Kleophrades Painter fragments on long-term loan with the Getty. Today, all of these fragments are incorporated into

the (reversible) reconstruction of the vessel at the Getty. Currently, the vase has a single provenance statement online, but this is a reflection of institutional cataloguing practices and database limitations; the separate histories of its individual fragments tell a far more complex story.⁷¹

In addition to determining conservation efforts and restorations, analysis of the object's material composition by a conservator or materials scientist, when possible, can reveal additional information. Noninvasive analyses should be prioritized, including close examination of the object under raking light and high magnification. Multispectral imaging, a noninvasive technique that uses ultraviolet and infrared illumination to enhance certain types of pigments, can be employed to examine the surface of an object for decoration not visible to the naked eye. Visible induced luminescence (VIL), a specific type of imaging, allows for the detection of the pigment Egyptian Blue, first manufactured in Egypt during the second millennium BCE and used across the Mediterranean until the ninth century CE.⁷²

X-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis can be used to determine the elemental composition of an object, which is useful in identifying the geological sources of rocks and clays, or the makeup and alloy percentages of metals. This procedure does not date the object, but it can reveal a material's origin or a likely period of production based on comparanda. For example, XRF was performed on a set of surgical instruments (79.AK.30.1–13)⁷³ in 1985 after their bronze composition was questioned. They were found to be made of brass with a high percentage of zinc—more than would have been possible in antiquity but feasible by the early nineteenth century, indicating that the surgical instruments were not ancient.⁷⁴ Accurate materials analysis usually requires a sample that is destroyed in the process of testing, so such tests are only ordered when deemed absolutely necessary, for example to prove or disprove a suspicion of forgery, and with careful consideration of the object's safety, with a minimal number of samples taken from less visible parts of the object (e.g., the underside, the foot, the interior). However, the development of portable XRF (pXRF) spectrometers now allows for quick, noninvasive readings of an object's surface composition, albeit with slightly less accuracy than tests that require a physical sample.⁷⁵

In addition to material composition, an object's internal structure and evidence of past restorations can likewise be analyzed. Depending on the medium and what is being tested, conservators may employ endoscopic cameras, X-rays, and magnetic resonance imaging (MRI).⁷⁶ Thermoluminescence (TL) testing requires the destruction of a small sample but can be used on fired ceramics (pottery, terracotta sculptures, and the clay casting core of bronze sculptures) to determine an approximate date range of manufacture and thus an ancient object's authenticity. In 1957, J. Paul Getty acquired a terracotta statuette of Aphrodite (57.AD.9)⁷⁷ and noted in his journal that antiquities expert Rudolph Forrer

advised it was “unquestionably genuine” (fig. 22).⁷⁸ The statue was widely published and remained on display for over thirty years. In the mid-1990s, around the time the entire antiquities collection was being reexamined in planning for the reinstallation of the Getty Villa, questions were raised about its authenticity, and a TL test conducted in 1999 confirmed its twentieth-century date.⁷⁹



Figure 22 Imitation of a Statuette of Crouching Aphrodite, twentieth century CE, terracotta (57.AD.9).

TL was just one of several testing methods used on the previously discussed Egyptian bronze cat (55.AK.9).⁸⁰ It was mounted on its base by William Talbot Ready in the late nineteenth century and acquired for the museum by J. Paul Getty as an ancient object in 1955. In the early 1970s, based on its style and proportions, it was reclassified as a modern imitation. In 2019, however, a reexamination of the statuette revealed that it is in fact ancient, an

assessment based on the results of X-rays, pXRF, surface analysis, and a TL test (performed on the preserved clay casting core).⁸¹ This discovery underscores the value of undertaking multiple scientific analyses whenever possible. In particular, TL tests should always be considered with other evidence, as forgers have found ways to manipulate TL results through artificial irradiation, or by inserting ancient materials into modern imitations in areas most likely to be sampled.⁸²

In addition to analysis of the composition of the object itself, later interventions such as modern fills, varnishes, mounts, foreign materials introduced as part of restorations or discarded within objects during such work (e.g., newspaper or other ephemera) can also provide insights into the object's past. For example, during the recent conservation of a Roman portrait head (2016.38),⁸³ a paper note that reads "nose and eyes by t" was found embedded in a modern drill hole.⁸⁴ More broadly, some fill techniques or paint compounds (e.g., chrome yellow, a nonancient pigment often found on vases restored in Naples in the early nineteenth century⁸⁵) date from a specific period, allowing a *terminus post quem* for a restoration campaign.

The study of restoration and conservation practices substantively assists in documenting an object's history, but provenance research can, in turn, support materials analysis—especially for categories of objects that cannot be dated through carbon-14 or TL testing. Such was the case for a gem depicting Mark Antony, long thought to be the work of Gnaios, an ancient Roman gem carver active during the first century BCE (2001.28.1).⁸⁶ In the absence of organic material, required for carbon-14 dating, carving on gemstones cannot be dated scientifically, although anachronistic carving techniques or sources of stone provide clues to the time of their carving. In the case of the Getty Gnaios gem, which had long been accepted as genuine by specialists, questions were first raised in 2009 when it was displayed alongside three other Gnaios intaglios in the Getty exhibition *Carvers and Collectors: The Lasting Allure of Ancient Gems*.⁸⁷ Gem specialist Gertrud Platz-Horster had just published a study on the gem engraver Giovanni Calandrelli (1784–1853),⁸⁸ and in visiting the exhibition recognized the Getty Gnaios as possibly one of Calandrelli's creations. Notably, Calandrelli had worked for Prince Stanislaw Poniatowski of Poland (1734–1833), whose collection was notorious for being composed of neoclassical imitations of ancient gems. Platz-Horster informed Getty curator Kenneth Lapatin, which led to a productive exchange of archival resources, photographs, and replicas, allowing them to establish that the Getty Gnaios gem is an exact match with a Calandrelli gem in the Poniatowski collection, known through its nineteenth-century plaster impression. With this link established, subsequent archival research revealed that Calandrelli's inventory notebook includes a Mark Antony gem inscribed Gnaios, without specifying its medium or the year in which it was carved. Further confirmation of the gem's identity was made through comparison to Calandrelli

gems formerly with Poniatowski and ancient gems signed by Gnaios, proving that Giovanni Calandrelli had carved the Getty gem in the nineteenth century for the Poniatowski collection.⁸⁹

Beyond the Institution

Thus far, we have looked at a methodology for approaching sources of information available within the holding institution, including the object itself. We now turn to researching the object through different types of primary and secondary sources—scholarly catalogues, archives, and auction and sales catalogues—while exploring the opportunities and challenges of consulting such documents.

Scholarly Catalogues

We define scholarly catalogues as publications that focus on typological or iconographic categories. These have a long history in the study of antiquities and can be uniquely helpful for provenance research since they bring together comparative examples from disparate sources, particularly when drawing from private collections or photographs in archives. They can also be useful for understanding the number of possible comparanda for an object or its iconography when other references or drawings are inconclusive.

For researchers new to a particular kind of object or area of study, object-focused resources, such as the *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (LIMC)—a unique encyclopedic resource for researching Greek, Etruscan, and Roman objects with mythological scenes—offer a valuable starter kit for literature review, comparanda, and descriptive strategies unique to a given object type.⁹⁰ Older publications, such as Bernard de Montfaucon's early eighteenth-century *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* (1719–24), are still useful for research into ownership histories. Certain areas of study like epigraphy have a centuries-long history of documenting objects, although details about the design and condition of particular items are often scarce in early publications. Catalogues raisonnés, used heavily by art historians of later periods, do not exist in the same way for Mediterranean antiquities, where the dedicated study of a singular hand or workshop is limited.⁹¹

Because scholarly catalogues provide a wide perspective on a particular category of objects or medium, they can be utilized for specialized research questions, such as determining when a certain class of object first entered the market, or tracking the dispersal of related works. Similarly, the comprehensive nature of many scholarly catalogues captures a great deal of historical data, and they can be used to determine where and when a given object was first identified,

or for documenting its prior condition. Many scholarly catalogues take the form of doctoral dissertations, although published copies of those may exist only in limited quantities and are not always easy to access.⁹² While rare today, earlier dissertations often engaged with and documented objects in private collections and on the market.⁹³ Such was the case when a 1975 dissertation included the Getty's Statue of a Draped Woman (72.AA.153; fig. 23A)⁹⁴ in a historical photograph from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. In this early image (fig. 23B), the seventeenth-century restorations of the arms were intact, but these had since been removed, along with the statue's head, at some point prior to the Getty Museum's acquisition of the torso in 1972. The author of the dissertation did not know of the statue's current location at the Getty Museum, nor were Getty staff aware of the torso's earlier history until this dissertation research became available.



A



B

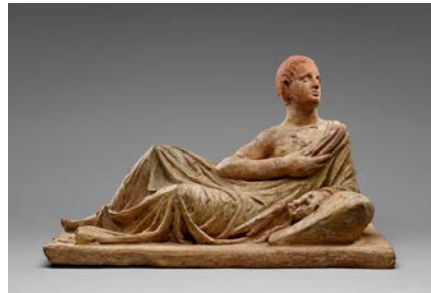
Figure 23 A: Statue of a Draped Woman, Roman, ca. 160–190 CE, marble (72.AA.153) at the time of its acquisition by the Getty Museum in 1972. B: Late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century photograph, D-DAI-ROM-EA-5022. Photo: DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT – ROM

In scholarly catalogues, provenance information and even findspot are not necessarily an authorial focus. In the case of epigraphic catalogues, for example, transcription and interpretation of the inscription tends to be the priority. Furthermore, the presentation of provenance data in these publications is far from standardized. Many scholarly catalogues usefully cite older manuscripts, but uncritically quoting outdated or unverified sources can perpetuate information that is decades out of date or otherwise erroneous. When these catalogues rely on a single earlier source, they can represent a point in time for the object in question: proof that it was known by a certain date, but not necessarily its contemporary ownership or its current location. In many cases, the authors were not working with the object directly but rather from earlier publications, photographs, or even casts and squeezes.

Case Study: A Cinerary Urn and Lid



A



B

Figure 24 A: Cinerary Urn with the Plow Hero. B: Cinerary Urn Lid with a Reclining Man, Etruscan, 150–100 BCE, terracotta (71.AD.293).

For an Etruscan Cinerary Urn and Lid (71.AD.293; fig. 24),⁹⁵ an iconographical study proved critical in discovering a lost provenance. Because these kinds of objects were moldmade and mass-produced, identifying references to a single, specific example is a challenge. The urn and lid were sold to the Getty in 1971 without any provenance information, which was common for the time; they were acquired as part of a bulk purchase from the Royal-Athena Galleries in New York.⁹⁶ Parallel searches into contemporary auction and exhibition catalogues had helped flesh out the urn and lid's more recent history: they had appeared at auction in 1969 in New York along with many lots later sold in the same bulk purchase to the Getty, and both had been on view in Los Angeles in 1963 as part of an exhibition of Etruscan art through the Stendahl Art Galleries. This exhibition's catalogue included a surprising provenance for the objects on

view: it suggested that the Stendahl Art Galleries had received some from a museum in Rome in exchange for pre-Hispanic artworks.

But it was only through research into the urn's iconography, a variant of the fairly common Hero and the Plow scene, that a key connection could be made. It led to an entry in Maurizio Sannibale's *Le urne cinerarie de età ellenistica* (1994)⁹⁷ that contained a footnote referencing an earlier article from 1962, Maria Teresa Falconi Amorelli's "Urnette etrusche dalla Collezione Gorga."⁹⁸ Evangelista Gorga was a famous opera tenor and infamous collector in the early twentieth century; his eleven apartments in Rome were filled with thousands of artifacts drawn from many periods. Because Gorga continually added and subtracted objects from his collection, publications on Gorga himself provide valuable background about his life and tastes, but they could not substantiate details regarding this specific urn and lid.⁹⁹ Falconi Amorelli's article, however, included photographs of both the urn and the lid that proved decisive in confirming the identity of the Getty pieces.¹⁰⁰

After the provenance for the urn and lid was first studied at the Getty in 2015–16, the Stendahl Art Galleries' archive was acquired by the Getty Research Institute.¹⁰¹ This archive contains information long separated from the objects themselves: details about Earl Stendahl's acquisition of the Gorga material in Rome in 1960, and documents confirming that Stendahl then sold the urn and the lid together in 1965 to the May Department Stores Company for a traveling exhibition that ran through the following year. Our records still have gaps: we do not yet know what happened to the urn and lid between 1966 and 1969, when they were next sighted on the art market in New York, nor how Gorga had acquired them in the first half of the twentieth century. But without these various kinds of sources—typological catalogues, collection-specific publications, illustrated auction and exhibition catalogues, and archival research—their provenance records would only convey the minimal information we had at the time of acquisition: "by 1971, Royal Athena Galleries, sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1971." Instead, their movements zigzagging from Rome across the United States in the 1960s are now available for further research (fig. 25).

Home Search Feedback		Cinerary Urn and Lid Unknown artist/maker 
History of this Artwork		
Provenance	probably by 1948 - 1950	Gennaro Evangelista Gorga Italian, 1865 - 1957 acquired by the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione through law n. 711, 1950.
Bibliography		
Exhibitions	1950 - by 1960	Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione transferred to the Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico- Luigi Pigorini, by 1960.
	by 1960	Museo delle Civiltà - Museo Nazionale Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini" by exchange to the Stendahl Art Galleries, by 1960.
	by 1960 - 1964	Stendahl Art Galleries sold to the May Department Stores Company, 1964.
	1964 - still in 1966	The May Department Stores Company
	- 1969	Private Collection [sold, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, December 4, 1969, lot 225.]
	- 1971	Royal Athena Galleries (New York, New York) sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1971.

Figure 25 Online collection catalogue, provenance page of Cinerary Urn and Lid (71.AD.293).

Case Study: A Roman Situla



Figure 26 Situla with a Frieze of Athletic Contests, Roman, 75–100 CE, bronze (96.AC.41).

What are the best ways to acknowledge a reference that does not cite the object itself, but rather a drawing, cast, replica, or epigraphic quotation drawn from an earlier source? In many ways, drawings and casts can be more precise than written descriptions because they allow for more points of comparison with the original object.¹⁰² But the context of their creation is often unknown, and authors citing these secondary images but treating them like the object itself can complicate provenance research.

In 1996 the Getty acquired a Roman situla (a small bronze bowl) with an exterior frieze composed of pairs of pugilists and wrestlers (96.AC.41; fig. 26).¹⁰³ A decade earlier, the situla had appeared on the market in London, where it was identified in an advertisement as once belonging to Charles Patin (1633–1693), having featured prominently in the frontispiece to the catalogue of his collection (fig. 27).¹⁰⁴



Figure 27 Frontispiece from Charles Patin's *Familiae Romanae in antiquis numismatibus* (1663), with engraving of the situla (96.AC.41) at the bottom left. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute 84-B8630.

Patin was a famed French numismatist and collector who included detailed engravings of the bowl in several of his publications printed between 1663 and 1697. These engravings document the situla to an extent, but the information they offer about its location at the time is limited, and the dates of Patin's ownership remain unclear. But they are not the only early evidence for the situla's history. Unbeknownst to its twentieth-century owners, art historian Salomon Reinach had earlier connected the situla with a drawing made in the 1570s by artist Pierre

Jacques (fig. 28).¹⁰⁵ Jacques's drawing shows a rolled-out illustration of the situla's decorative frieze laid out over two registers. The drawing itself is undated and contains no further annotations, so it only establishes that the Patin situla was in Rome and accessible to Jacques in the late sixteenth century, decades before its prior known earliest documentation.



Figure 28 Drawing of the situla (96.AC.41) by Pierre Jacques of Reims. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Codex Remensis, fol. 60. Reproduced in Reinach 1902. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute 93-B23801.

Tracing the situla's history is further complicated by the existence of two modern replicas, which may have been patterned after the bowl itself or after one of the engravings of the bowl, such as those published by Patin or in Dom Bernard de Monfaucon's more widely accessible 1724 volume *Supplément au livre de l'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures*.¹⁰⁶ One of these replicas, now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, was previously part of the Irwin Untermyer (1886–1973) collection. By 1962 it was identified as the situla owned by Patin—but as a Renaissance original, and not an antiquity.¹⁰⁷ Later, this replica was reattributed as an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century Italian bronze, its earlier history still unknown. A second copy after the ancient situla appeared at auction in 1974.¹⁰⁸ Both replicas reproduce the Patin situla's key features, namely the frieze and shape, but other details poorly rendered in the engravings are absent.

The case of the Patin situla illustrates several issues: the misattribution of ancient bronzes as modern, and vice versa; the challenges of interpreting visual sources in the pursuit of provenance research; and the existence of copies. An illustration of an object might not capture its most diagnostic characteristics, and the existence of replicas complicates working with nonphotographic documentation. However, the situla offers proof that revisiting the history of any ancient artwork, however well known or distinctive, can lead to new discoveries. There is sometimes a perception that an object with a publication history going back decades or even centuries has an ownership history that is as complete as it can be. Our experience does not bear this out, as references to these objects and their ownership can be fragmented as easily as those for any other work of art.

Archives

Archives are one of the most critical resources for provenance research. Broadly speaking, they are collections of records created by an institution or individual and preserved by the original creator, their heirs, a later collector, or by a separate institution.¹⁰⁹ In many cases, a single archive will not address the entirety of an object's history, and the scope and timeframe of archives that could prove relevant are endless. Consider how a single family's collection might require looking at papers associated with Grand Tour dilettantes, families, wills and probate documents, World War II letters, and modern correspondence with dealers or scholars. Furthermore, the depth of archival possibilities may mean navigating collections that include publications, receipts, or correspondence files, and so the composition and organization of each archive needs to be carefully considered. Given that many archives are located in another country, with documents in multiple languages, the investment of time and resources, including the potential need for translation, will increase. Accordingly, you will want to assess any archives and their potential return on research time on a case-by-case basis.

Archival finding aids provide an outline or inventory of an archival collection. They contain contextual information about the archive they describe and an outline of its contents. Finding aids can catalogue material to varying degrees, whether at the collection, container, or folder level, but they are not designed to include every name or object addressed within a collection's contents. Therefore, general searches, such as for inventories or correspondence by year, are more effective as a research strategy.

Materials in an archive have their own provenances, as discussed below, and they may determine the organization of the archival records.¹¹⁰ Collections like OCLC's ArchiveGrid or the Online Archive of California (OAC) can help researchers search across finding aids and archives through aggregated collection descriptions.¹¹¹ The Frick Collection's online Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America is specifically created for art researchers, incorporating finding aids and archival descriptions as well as other sources, like newspapers, union catalogues, and open-access publications.¹¹²

Using Archives: Research Concerns

Archives and their finding aids, like many other resources, are rarely structured with the needs of a provenance researcher in mind, and there is no unified approach to object-specific metadata in descriptions of their contents. Using these resources requires careful consideration of the ways in which an antiquity is described or observed throughout its modern history. It cannot be overstated that many finding aids do not enumerate or contain direct references to material on antiquities and other artworks. Furthermore, archives are not neutral, and the provenance of the archival materials themselves needs to be considered. Multiple actors may have shaped their composition through choices surrounding what to save or discard, and how these materials should be presented. In addition, correspondence between individuals is by nature fragmented and so may be disparately preserved, particularly over generations. Likewise, legal documents may be preserved by local or national archives, while other documents remain with a family or trust. In addition, recent scholarship emphasizes the absence of significant voices within these collections—what Dorothy Berry describes as “archival silences”—further influenced by the tone of “archival neutrality”¹¹³ regarding the ways archival collections are described. Archives are often places of trauma: the histories of archaeology and museums intersect with painful legacies, including slavery, colonial violence, Nazi-era war crimes, theft, and racism. Access to archives is further not equal for all researchers, and the impact of encountering such legacies should be acknowledged, as should the effect of sharing this information with visitors.

Although archives, or at least finding aids, are increasingly available in digital formats, many remain accessible only in person, and librarians or archivists should be consulted about their institution's access policies and your research needs as early as possible. Some archives may have restrictions on access and reproduction; for readers unable to travel in person, the archive may be able to provide scans of material for a fee, or they may work with independent researchers who can provide this service. As with your own institutional object files, if you are incorporating information for public view you will need to take into account what restrictions apply to sharing this material; this will also require

confirming permissions and copyright restrictions. Correspondence relating to permissions, payment, and restrictions should all be saved as part of your research records. For all archival material, develop a citation template for consistent use in your files and in any public provenance documentation. It is also valuable to maintain a record of the archival resources that have been checked. Unsuccessful searches or documents that are too vague to provide confirmation about a specific work of art should be noted as well—recording negative results is as important as recording positive ones.

Funding for research is an important consideration for project budgets, both internally and as part of grant proposals. Pay attention to any archive access fees. Some institutions allow for hiring the services of a local researcher in lieu of personal travel; many archives and research libraries maintain lists of local specialists for this purpose. Budgeting should also consider any translation services required. Microfilm or microfiche copies of archival material may be available for purchase or accessible through interlibrary loan. Sharing resources and access to scanned documents with colleagues, with the permission of the holding archive, can be another option to collaborate under reduced budgets.

Types of Archives

In collating information for our “Annotated Resource Guide” (Appendix 1), we have distinguished three types of resources: *object-focused*, *event-focused*, and *individual-focused*. Archives are included in each of these categories, and we acknowledge that their multifaceted nature means they often elude easy categorization. *Object-focused* archives pertain to a specific body of material and include the Beazley Archive’s databases on Greek pottery and gems, epigraphy databases, and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut’s Arachne database of photographs and illustrations, which we examine in detail below. *Event-focused* archives are those relating to specific time-bound episodes, such as an excavation (which can be different from an excavator’s archive), a series of auctions, or a war or other conflict event. These archives may document an object or collection at a single moment in time. The final category, *individual-focused* archives, is the most wide-ranging. These relate to the activities of a specific person, family, firm, or institution, such as collectors, dealers, or art historians, and they may only tangentially reflect artworks in their possession or otherwise connected with them.

For our purposes, one of the most comprehensive individual-focused archives is the Brummer Gallery archive, which is now preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and which is largely digitized.¹¹⁴ It undergirds many of the case studies in this book, and with good reason: the Brummers were a market force in Paris and New York for decades in the first half of the twentieth century, with art interests spanning nearly all media and millennia. The level of

preservation of their records, scope of the records (partial sales ledgers, correspondence, photographs, inventory cards, and annotated catalogues), and the degree to which material is accessible makes the Brummer archive ideal for those new to researching dealer archives, the art market for antiquities, and particularly the state of the twentieth-century art market in an American context.

Similarly, we recommend exploring the archives of dealers such as Jacques Seligmann & Company.¹¹⁵ Seligmann did not usually handle antiquities, but comparing the structures of the archives, the language used by dealers and collectors, and differences in inventory practices can be instructive as a way of navigating other dealer archives and identifying the kinds of documentation relevant to your project. Dealer archives can also reveal the unexpected: the stockbooks of the Knoedler Gallery in New York, closely associated with the market for paintings and modern art, include some early consignments of Cycladic material at a time when these ancient figures were often paired with contemporary sculptures (fig. 29).¹¹⁶ With that said, these kinds of comprehensive archives remain unusual. Preserved dealer archives with a primary focus on Mediterranean antiquities are still rare, and it is unrealistic to expect this level of documentation for any given object.

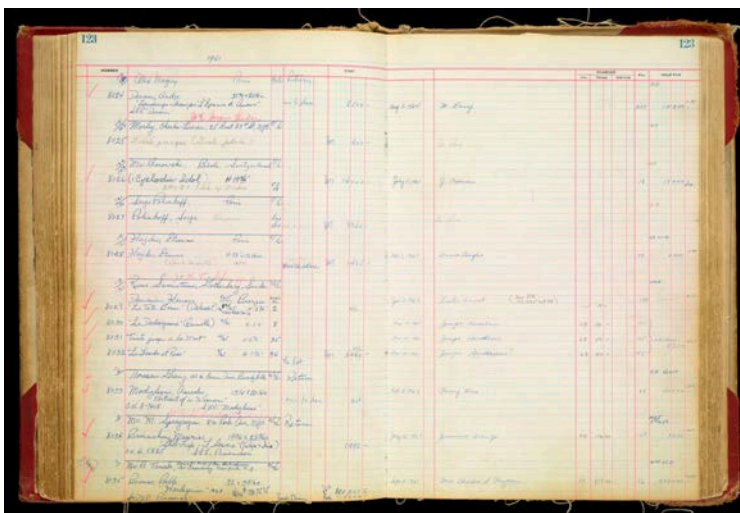


Figure 29 Page from the Knoedler Gallery Stockbooks, showing no. 8026, a Cycladic Idol, 2500 BCE. Painting stock book 11: A7178–A9437, February 1959–December 1970. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute 2012.M.54 (bx.11).

Case Study: The Textile Museum's Marble Head



Figure 30 Head of Venus (Crouching Aphrodite type), Roman, first–second century CE, marble (73.AA.125).

Archival evidence cannot always be interpreted in isolation; as with all research, different strands will inform each other. In the case of a marble head acquired by the Getty in 1973 (73.AA.125; fig. 30),¹¹⁷ the only provenance information available in the curatorial file when research began was limited to the name of the dealer, Elie Borowski, and the date of sale. However, documents relating to the head and its earlier twentieth-century provenance were held by two external archives—dots that we could only connect after first turning to a letter from Borowski in the Getty Museum's archives. This had not been added to the object's curatorial file, perhaps because it postdated the acquisition. In the letter, Borowski provided critical provenance information that was not part of the earlier sale documentation: the head had been deaccessioned from the Textile Museum in Washington, DC, whose founder had acquired it from Joseph Brummer in the early part of the twentieth century. We were thus able to link the head to the archives of the Textile Museum, where colleagues provided documents confirming the identity of the object, its

acquisition from the Brummer Gallery, and its sale in 1973. A second strand of archival evidence came from the Brummer Gallery records, which preserve the head's original catalogue card, documenting its date of purchase by the Brummers in 1925 and subsequent sale in 1927 (fig. 31). Without both the Textile Museum and Getty documentation, however, this individual catalogue card would have had limited value. It was illustrated with only a cursory sketch of the head, and the Brummers' description, "Marble head; upper part missing; Greek," would not have automatically pointed us to an object currently described as a Roman work from the first to second century CE and titled "Head from a Statue of the Crouching Aphrodite type." Between the different sources provided by these three archival repositories, the head's provenance between 1927 and 1973 is now almost entirely reconstructed, and these archives offer further avenues for researching the head's history.¹¹⁸

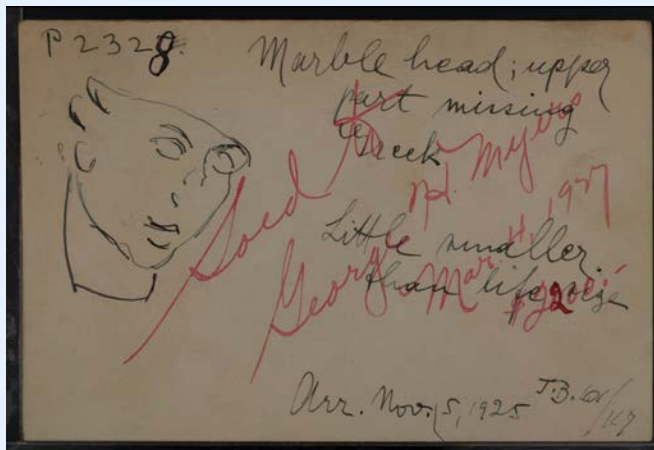


Figure 31 Brummer Gallery card P2328 (recto). Handwritten notes include the object description, "Marble head; upper part missing / Greek"; the date the object arrived at the Brummer Gallery in New York, "Arr. Nov. 5, 1925"; and the sale date in red ink at center, "Sold to George H. Myers, March 4, 1927, \$2200." Photo: Brummer Gallery Records, © The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY

Case Study: A Terracotta Horse and Rider

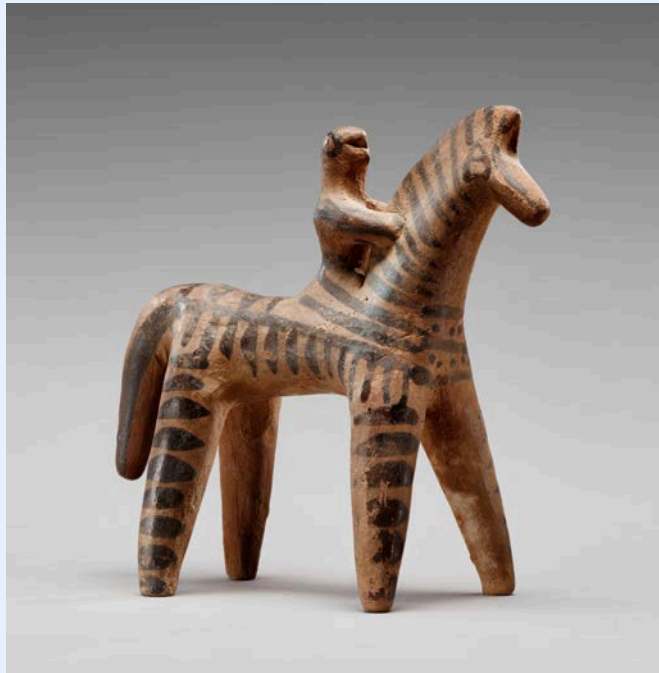


Figure 32 Statuette of a Horse and Rider, Greek (Boeotian), seventh century BCE, terracotta (2002.85).

Personal archives might be incomplete and fragmented, depending on the way they were maintained, processed, and preserved. An archive might contain only one side of a correspondence, or documents relating to a single event may have been deposited at different collecting institutions. Such is the case with the Bernard and Rebecca Reis archive, which is held by both the Smithsonian Archives of American Art and the Getty Research Institute.¹¹⁹ For a group of antiquities with connections to the Reis collection, reuniting these disparate sources and connecting them to ongoing threads of research was essential to understanding their full history.

In 2002 Barbara Poe Levee (1922–2013) donated nine objects to the Getty Museum, including a terracotta statuette of a horse and rider (2002.85; fig. 32).¹²⁰ Levee recorded in the donation paperwork that all of these objects were once in the collection of her father, Bernard Reis (1895–1978), a financial advisor in the 1950s New York art world who,

with his wife Rebecca, collected modern paintings, sculpture, ethnographic objects, and antiquities. Although the provenance was highly plausible for the whole group, only two objects, a modern Cycladic violin figure (2002.80)¹²¹ and a small bronze kouros (2002.86),¹²² could be confirmed as coming from the Reis collection, having featured in an exhibition in 1954 and published accordingly.¹²³ According to the exhibition catalogue, Reis had also lent seven other antiquities, but as the catalogue lacks illustrations and full descriptions, we could not match these firmly against Levee's later donations to the Getty.

Upon reviewing conservation reports and the objects themselves, we found linen stickers of unknown date and origin, some with annotations, attached to mounts or documented with five of the objects, including the horse and rider.¹²⁴ Simultaneous research in the microfiche records of the photographic archive of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom (DAI Rome) and digitized inventory registers (discussed further below) revealed that the terracotta rider had an even earlier collecting history, as it was photographed in Rome in 1934 as part of the Ludwig Curtius collection.¹²⁵ So was the rider statuette's linen sticker, which had the note "B-9 Lorna," related to the Reis collection, the Curtius collection, or some other unknown owner?

Although an intriguing and informative lead, the DAI Rome records did not explain the enigmatic sticker. For this, we turned to physical archives held in the Getty Research Institute (GRI): the Bernard and Rebecca Reis papers, which preserves documentation of their personal collection, including assorted photographs and inventory lists from 1960 to 1980. These were donated to the GRI in 1990 but do not seem to have been consulted in 2002, and no copies of materials from the archive were in the curatorial files. A 1960 inventory clearly describes this terracotta rider statuette, confirming Reis's ownership. And the sticker? Family letters revealed that Barbara Poe Levee's daughter was named Lorna, and that the statuette had been given to her by 1981 but was transferred back to her mother in 2001. It was likely, therefore, that the other linen stickers also dated to the time of the Reis collection or after.

While the inventory lists allowed the identification of distinctive singular objects—including the horse and rider statuette, the Cycladic violin figure, and the bronze sphinx—without specific descriptions and dimensions, the other unpublished objects could not be verified as coming from the Reis collection. Fortunately, the archive preserves a few undated photos of Reis's New York apartment. Although small objects

are often blurry and difficult to decipher in these images, one photo clearly shows three Boeotian statuettes in the foreground, two of which exactly match the Getty figures. With the display context now known, these Boeotian statuettes could be identified in an inventory list. This left just three small bronzes (2002.79, 2002.83, and 2002.84),¹²⁶ which were also likely part of the Reis collection but which still lack confirmation of this provenance. The portion of the Reis papers held by the Archives of American Art in Washington, DC, preserves materials similar to the Getty's holdings, including object lists, correspondence, and photographs of the collection. While they did not answer questions of ownership history, these papers give a better sense of lived experience of the collection and the many tours and events hosted in the Reis residence, with some objects identified in lists and correspondence from collectors, museum curators, art dealers, and friends.

Exploring the Arachne Database

An invaluable resource, the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut's (DAI) Arachne database (<https://arachne.dainst.org>) can be daunting to explore and difficult to understand.¹²⁷ It is a portal to millions of digitized resources housed by the German Archaeological Institute (which operates departments in Germany, Italy, Greece, and Istanbul), including scanned book volumes, archival materials, and photographs.¹²⁸ The photographic material stretches back into the nineteenth century, and in addition to documenting archaeological sites across the Mediterranean and beyond, comprises hundreds of thousands of images of objects from museum collections, the art market, and private collections. Many images in the online database are of the physical negatives, glass plate negatives, and photographic prints held in the DAI archives. The mounts for these negatives and prints are often captured in their digitized counterparts, and these can record additional annotations pertaining to ownership or location. As Arachne links records of individual collections, places, publications, statue types, and more, every object record is part of a great matrix of materials.

Given that Arachne is a gateway to overlapping and interconnected digitized records, there is no one way to use it, and often different routes of inquiry can lead to the same discovery. Multiple images of the same object are not always connected, nor are all records interconnected in the same way. That said, it is important to know what types of information might be preserved and how to construct searches. Of note, although the Arachne website is available in English, it is primarily a German language database, so the metadata, structured

groupings, and keywords are mostly in German. Arachne records can serve as a repository for many kinds of data, including bibliographic citations and past locations; both the digital records and any digitized images (including mounts of photographs) may include additional information and should be reviewed carefully. Here, we outline three strategies for searching Arachne for information relevant to Barbara Poe Levee's terracotta horse and rider (2002.85) that is discussed above (Case Study: A Terracotta Horse and Rider): (1) searching the DAI Rome Photo Archive with microfiche data, (2) using the inventory registers of the DAI Rome Photo Archive, and (3) searching by keyword across the whole Arachne database.

The DAI Rome Photo Archive (<https://arachne.dainst.org/project/fotorom>), an extensive photographic collection held at the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Rome, contains many useful comparanda images and no small amount of art market and private collection material.¹²⁹ A microfiche of the DAI Rome Photo Archive was made in 1985, and its index, published in 1991, offers a comprehensive outline of the archive's structure and the contents of microfiche cards.¹³⁰ A basic understanding of the microfiche can be useful, since it informs the digital structure, metadata, and file names. For example, the statuette of a rider was first identified during a general review of the physical microfiche, and it appears on fiche card 1768, row D, column 14, which is reflected in its "Filmnummer" (Film number) in Arachne: 1768_D14.¹³¹ The digitized Arachne page also gives this photo's "Negativnummer" (Negative number), "34.5865," which corresponds to the year it was inventoried by the archive, 1934, followed by its photo number, 5865, as well as a scan of the microfiche image. The scan shows a mounted photo print, which includes notations on both the photo and its mount. For this record, these include the stamped year, 1934, the written photo number, and a stamp with "Privatbesitz" identifying the work as being in a private collection (fig. 33).

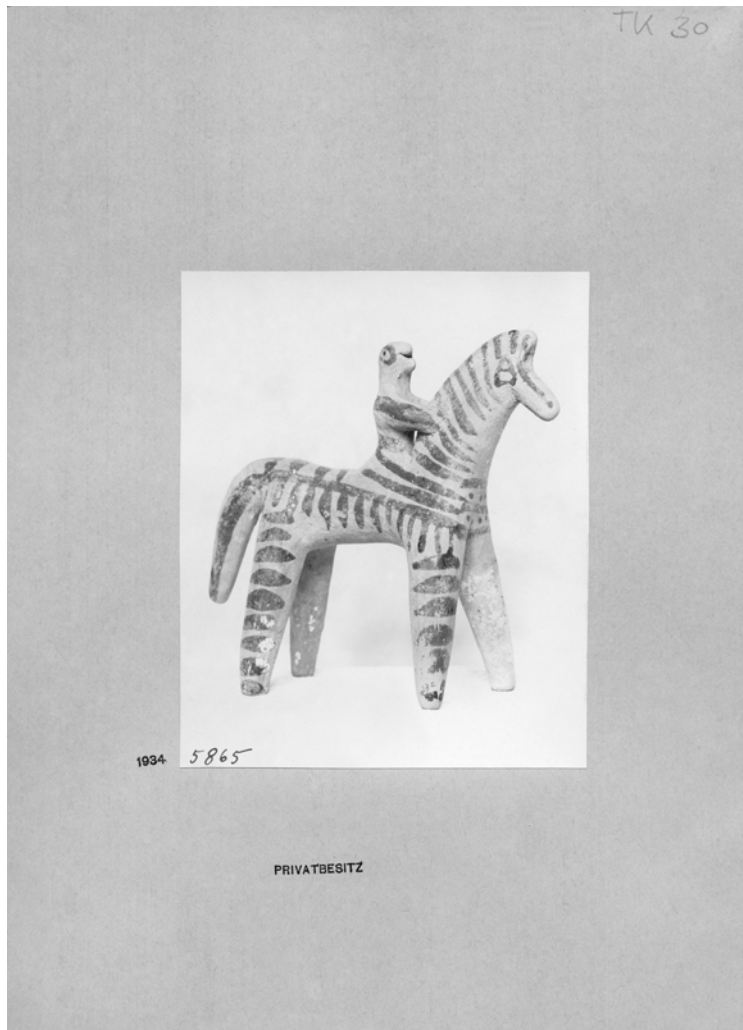


Figure 33 Horse and rider, DAI Rome Microfiche 1768_D14. D-DAI-Rom 34.5865 (source: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/710155>). Photo: Courtesy Heidelberg Archaeological Institute/DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT – ROM

A second way to explore Arachne is through the scanned inventory registers of the DAI Rome Photo Archive, which served as the archive's official intake record and contain information about the photograph itself (format, photographer or source, date inventoried) and the subject of the photo (its description, repository or type of location, and sometimes ownership information).¹³² Since these inventory books are only for the DAI Rome Photo Archive material, they represent a small subset of the total records available through Arachne, but are nevertheless valuable. These registers allow for connections to be made between images and original cataloguing data not

preserved elsewhere. This vital resource requires some patience to navigate—entries are all handwritten; annotations might postdate the original entry; the registers for one year might be divided into separate volumes that are not clearly sequenced; some photos appear multiple times with different negative numbers; many years might be grouped together as part of one larger ledger; and not all negatives or photos have been digitized. Organized by year, some of the register page records have data under the “Negativ Nr.” column, at the far right of the register. While helpful, these numbers differ from the “Photo Nr.” (photo inventory number) written in red in the far-left column, and, confusingly, may or may not match the “Negativnummer” linked to a photo in the Arachne database. Publication information for these photos is often recorded, and the negative numbers for duplicate photos added in later decades are often added as annotations, so the same image of an object might be associated with multiple negative numbers, not all of which may be digitized. In many cases, the photographer is identified; some photos were also added from other archives.

To find the inventory record for the photograph of the rider statuette, we searched for its photo number, 5865, within all four inventory registers available for the year 1934.¹³³ Some registers have cover pages with additional information, including the range of photo numbers and negative numbers contained within that volume, which allowed us to identify that the second volume for 1934 contained photo number 5865.¹³⁴ It appears on page 93 of the register, where the source and format of the photo are provided, and the object within the photo is described as: “Spatgeometr. Terrakottapferdchen mit Reiter” (Late Geometric. Small terracotta horse with rider), with the collection information “Privatbesitz; L. Curtius” (Private collection; L. Curtius) (fig. 34).¹³⁵

93

1934

93

PHOTO NR.	DATUM	FORMAT	PHOTOGRAPH	GEGENSTAND	AUFBEWAHRUNGORT	BEMERKUNGEN	DISPOSITIV NR.	NEGATIV NR.
5855	1.10	13x18	Kleines Bild	Terrakotten mit Reiter (aus Fundst.)	Kunsth. d. d. Frankfurt	REPRODUKTIONSRECHT VORBEHALTEN		
5856	"	"	"	archaisches Terrakotta-Fragment	"	"		
5857	"	"	"	Kleines, weiß. Terrakotten-Fragment	"	"		
5858	"	"	"	Wied. Terrakotten-Fragment aus S. d. Fundst.	"	"		
5859	"	"	"	kleines a. Fragment	"	"		
5860	"	19x24	"	Kleines Terrakotten-Fragment auf Reiter (aus Fundst.)	"	"		
5861	"	"	"	"	"	"		
5862	"	"	"	Terrakotten-Fragment mit Reiter aus Fundst.	"	"		
5863	"	6x9	"	Wied. Terrakotten-Fragment (aus Fundst.)	PRIVATBESITZ Le Carlier	"		
5864	"	23x18	"	Wied. Terrakotten-Fragment (aus Fundst.)	"	"		
5865	"	13x18	"	Spätklassische Terrakotten-Fragment mit Reiter	"	"		
5866	"	18x24	"	Kleines Terrakotten-Fragment (aus Fundst.)	"	"		
5867	"	"	"	"	"	"		
5868	"	"	"	"	"	"		
5869	"	"	"	archaisches Terrakotten-Fragment (aus Fundst.)	"	"		
5870	"	"	"	"	"	"		

Figure 34 DAI Rome Arachne Inventarbuch entry for Horse and Rider. D-DAI-Rom 5865 (source: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1572804>). Photo: DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT – ROM

Looking beyond the DAI Rome Photo Archive and its inventory registers, Arachne can also be broadly searched by keyword across all types of digitized records—from book pages to drawings, photo records to objects. This third approach is perhaps the most intuitive for most users, but its usefulness depends on knowing search terms and the completeness of the digitized records. Keywords should be in German, and useful categories to consider might be statue and object type, current and past locations (which could include place names or general terms, such as “Privatbesitz” for private collection or “Kunsthandel” for art market), condition of object, and much more. Searching the digitized negative numbers can be particularly helpful for retrieving the original data and image where only a DAI negative number is cited. Additional kinds of metadata, including those gleaned from the photo mounts and inventory books, like statue type, medium, location, owner type (including on the art market or private collection) have not yet been systematically updated for every record, so a keyword search alone cannot be relied upon to retrieve all relevant results. For the terracotta statuette of a rider, if we did not have any identifying numbers but wanted to check Arachne for photographs, we could search by medium, object type, or culture. For example, searching “terrakotta” and “reiter” (terracotta rider) pulls up 171 records with images, including one of this statuette. Fortunately, the metadata is complete for this image, allowing it to be retrieved.

Case Study: Photographic Archives in Context



Figure 35 Portrait bust of a Man, Roman, 140–160 CE, marble (2018.31).

In 2018 the Getty acquired a Roman marble Portrait Bust of a Man (2018.31; fig. 35),¹³⁶ which had first been published as a loan by dealer Adolph Loewi to an American exhibition in 1961. It was subsequently acquired by the Denver Art Museum but was later deaccessioned and sold at Sotheby's in 2017. Archival photographs of the bust were identified by the time it appeared at auction. These had been taken by the photographer Johannes Felbermeyer (1903–1988) and made available through the photo archive of the DAI Rome. Some of Felbermeyer's photos of this bust were entered into the DAI Rome's *Inventarbuch* on December 12, 1960, with a location of "Rom Kunsthandel," and, on

another line, “Jetzt: Amerika, Priv.Besitz” (Rome, art market, and Now: America, private collection).¹³⁷ So in 2017, when the bust was auctioned, its earliest known documentation was dated to 1960, as Felbermeyer’s photos were presumed to have been taken close to the time that they were added to the DAI Rome’s archive.

Archival photographs can enrich and inform provenance research, but they require careful interrogation. One of the largest holdings of Felbermeyer photos is the archive now held by the Getty Research Institute (GRI), including his famous series made at the Central Collecting Point, Munich, in the aftermath of World War II.¹³⁸ But Felbermeyer had a long career before and after the war, photographing archaeological sites and artworks for the DAI Rome and later the American Academy in Rome. He also photographed ancient objects both on the market and in private collections, and copies of some of these were added to the DAI Rome’s photo archive, including the images of the Denver bust noted above. Some of Felbermeyer’s work was intended for specific projects, but for others their purpose is unclear. He did not organize or document his photographs chronologically, so no overall sequence of his postwar work can be reconstructed,¹³⁹ and the distribution of his photos today is likewise unclear. One image of the Denver bust is held by the GRI, but it may be part of the same sequence as that in Rome.¹⁴⁰

Felbermeyer’s photographs of a Portrait Bust of a Man show the figure with the same restorations that are extant today, but neither its location nor the purpose of the photos are clear. Here, examining the object itself led to a further discovery: a museum sticker on the underside of the bust near the rim, which records a loan made by Loewi to the Minneapolis Institute of Art (MIA) in 1958.¹⁴¹ This loan, otherwise unrecorded in the bust’s known provenance or publication histories, complicates the earlier understanding of the timeframe by which Felbermeyer’s photos were shared with the DAI Rome. The entry of the photographs into the DAI Rome’s files in December 1960 comes nearly three years after the object can now be documented in the United States. The actual date on which the photos were taken thus remains unknown.

The presence of photographs of the same object in the two different photographic archives is important: they provide a record of the bust’s condition, and document Felbermeyer’s access to the bust, perhaps in Rome. But without other sources of information, they remain incomplete records of its ownership, location, and—as the MIA sticker

indicates—even chronology, which further research will hopefully elucidate.

Auction and Sales Catalogues

Here we include auction catalogues, dealer price lists, checklists, private treaty publications, and other documentary material, but we chiefly discuss auction catalogues, as these are a significant source of provenance information. While many readers are likely familiar with this material, we have found that auction and sales catalogues are rarely taught in archaeological curricula as a specific kind of document and that it is worth breaking down the basics here.

Auction catalogues of Mediterranean antiquities have been published since at least the seventeenth century.¹⁴² They are not always dated, although dealers occasionally use numbering systems for their own publications. When publication dates are lacking, library acquisition dates of the print material or cross-referencing known acquisition dates of objects within the catalogue can help date a specific publication.

Catalogues generally include a list of objects along with brief descriptions or descriptive titles and sometimes a list of prices or estimates. Individual lots can comprise large groups of items, and illustrations may be few or absent altogether. Many historic auctions had no associated publication, although print advertisements for the sale could include object descriptions among other details. As with today's markets, antiquities may have been sold in their own specialty auction or grouped with, for example, natural history collections, decorative arts, or ethnographic materials, particularly in the case of large mixed sales from properties or family estates. Auction catalogues should not be taken as stand-ins for the actual auction, since they represent a singular, presale moment at the time of their printing. Not all auctions ended up being conducted on the listed day, and lots might have been withdrawn or added after the catalogue was produced,¹⁴³ as is still common today. Comparing annotations in different catalogues, news reports on the auction, and printed postsale supplements like price lists can substantiate changes to the auction, but others may not have been documented. Note, too, that dealers and auction houses may operate multiple sales models, which may not be recorded in publications. Unsold objects could rotate through multiple price lists or auctions by the same dealer or through those of another firm.

For provenance research, the basic components of documenting an auction are simple: confirm the auction was held, the auction house or auctioneer

involved, the dates of the sale, whether a lot was part of the sale, and whether it was sold. An object that was unsold or withdrawn from auction should still be documented and its publication recorded in some form in its collection record, even if the actual ownership of the object did not change. For those new to auction catalogues, we outline some basics below. As there is no single template for auction catalogues, this is intended as a broad overview.

Ownership

Generally, sellers are consigners and retain ownership while placing items up for auction with the auction house as agent. Ownership therefore rarely transfers to the auction house itself, although some firms run auctions involving their own stock or have ownership transferred before the sale. The auction house should not be included as the seller in a provenance unless this ownership is specified. Anonymity has been a common feature of auctions for centuries; owners may or may not be identified by name, by their heirs, or as an anonymous private collection, sometimes distinguished by a personal title or an owner location. Commonly, owners will be referred to with niceties like “Property of a Gentleman” or “Property of a Lady”; historical references include “A Man of Fashion” or “A Man of Title,” although these are equally ambiguous and should never be accepted as factual without additional confirmation.

Agents

Many buyers utilize agents, who are authorized to bid on their behalf. Agents may themselves be dealers working on behalf of clients, and in auction catalogue price lists and annotations it can be difficult to distinguish their own purchases from those conducted for a client.

Price

The *starting price* of an item is that at which bidding begins. The *hammer price* is that price gavelled in by the auctioneer during the auction. The *final price* paid by the buyer may reflect additional fees, including the buyer’s premium. Some auctions include special arrangements, such as a minimum price guarantee, where regardless of the outcome at auction, the auction house and any third parties involved in the contract agree to pay a minimum price to the seller.

Buying In, Not Meeting Reserve

When an item does not meet a given reserve (or minimum) price, the object remains unsold. This is sometimes referred to as “buying in” or “being bought in.” Reserve prices are usually confidential; some catalogues indicate which lots have no reserve. If an item is unsold or bought in, no transfer in ownership

occurs. However, buying in can incur a commission or fee, and during some periods auction houses have represented bought-in lots as sales in price lists, sometimes with no distinction between these and true sales. In some cases, spurious buyer names or buy-in prices mask bought-in lots in price lists.¹⁴⁴

Anatomy of an Auction Catalogue

Frontmatter

In general, if a print catalogue for an auction exists, the frontispiece and introductory pages will contain basic information about the sale itself. This can include:

Date In addition to the date or dates of an auction, confirming the date that a lot is to be sold is critical, as auction houses can mount multiple sales on the same day, and historic auctions could last months. Information about viewing items prior to the sale may be included.

Location Auctions could take place at the auctioneer's premises, at a central auction location like the Hôtel Drouot in Paris, or at a third-party partner space like a hotel or department store. Even if held by auctioneers based in a specific city, sales can also take place at the location of the collection itself, a particularly common occurrence in sales of entire estates.

Personnel The personnel in charge of the sale may include an expert or subject specialist, and some auctions will indicate the author of lot descriptions, although experts might also remain anonymous.

Rules Auction catalogues usually include a standard rules list for prospective bidders and attendees of the sale, including the purchasing and removal of objects.

Owners and Kinds of Objects Represented Information about the owner or owners of the items for sale can appear in the title or frontispiece as well as in lot-by-lot subtitles. Although a single owner may be listed in an auction's title, the sale might include additional lots from other owners; this should be confirmed on a sale-by-sale basis. As noted above, sellers are frequently anonymous. Where given, a lot's prior provenance information may be limited and uncited; a frequent construction is the use of "with" to indicate that an object was in the possession of a dealer.

Introduction Catalogues may contain an introduction to the collection being sold or to the collector or collectors involved. These sometimes include provenance or findspot commentary not repeated in individual lot notes.

Lots

Items for auction are organized as lots, which may include a single object or a group of objects. If a lot contains multiple objects, the total number of pieces is sometimes indicated in the catalogue by a number in parentheses. Lot notes in the catalogue can include a basic title, descriptive title, and a description of the object and its condition. They may also provide the object's measurements and information about the medium.

Sometimes these entries are derived from earlier publications of a collection and copy entire or partial descriptions or provenance data from these, however spurious and unsubstantiated that information may be. As in many areas of provenance research, repetition does not equal validity. In some cases, these earlier publications may have been written specifically for a prospective sale. Lot notes can describe a specific object's condition, or there may be a collective disclaimer about the condition of ancient materials. Today, condition reports can be requested separately for each lot from most auction houses. The results of scientific tests, such as thermoluminescence (TL) or metallurgical analyses, may also be indicated.

Lots drawn from different owners may be grouped together under "Multiple Properties" or similar headings. Lots belonging to the same owner may appear in multiple sections within a larger sale (particularly if the sale is organized along cultural or geographic divisions), and they may also be spread out across multiple sales. An object unsold at previous auctions can reappear in successive sales with or without reference to those prior attempts.

Objects are sometimes suggestively grouped together in the same lot to suggest a shared ownership history, particular context, or findspot. This widespread practice should be regarded with extreme caution. Furthermore, these groups may be split up while on the market, segregating any evidence or paperwork from subsequent owners.¹⁴⁵ One side benefit of publishing provenance data, however, is that groups once sold together and later dispersed on the market can be reconnected, at least virtually. References to the contents of these original market groups should be retained.

Lots may have price estimates listed, or an estimate list may be a separate supplement produced for the catalogue.

Results, or Prices Realized

Lists of results (also called prices realized) published by the auction house after the sale may be available as a separate print or digital supplement. These lists may reflect the hammer prices or the aggregate total, including any buyer's premiums and other fees; it is wise to clarify with the auction house if unclear. Historically, some editions of catalogues were printed after the sale and incorporated final

prices (as opposed to separately printed price lists); both these and catalogues with annotated prices can be referred to as “priced catalogues.”¹⁴⁶ Price lists will also confirm whether a given lot sold at auction, as opposed to being withdrawn prior to the sale or bought in.

Auction houses rarely share details of withdrawn or unsold lots. However, annotated catalogues or news accounts of a given auction can include hammer prices along with other results, such as lots being bought in. Annotations—handwritten notes on individual copies of the catalogue—can include lot descriptions, lot additions or subtractions, buyers, and pricing. These might be written during the sale by auction staff, those directly involved with the sale as potential buyers or consigners, or by viewers of the sale. Annotations can also be later additions, as in the case of some museum copies of catalogues, where individuals have noted later locations and ownership histories for objects. Local library records for auction catalogues occasionally include details about these kinds of addenda. The WorldCat database sometimes ingests such annotation information from the local library record, and from the WorldCat record an interlibrary loan request can be submitted for a specific copy of a catalogue. Where possible, any annotation of price information or buyer name should be checked against additional annotated copies of the sale or other sources to confirm details, and your notes should reflect the location and source of the annotated copy referenced.

Auctioneers’ copies of catalogues will also record the final prices and can include buyer notes, although access to these generally depends on the institutional policies of the auction house.¹⁴⁷

Additional resources include a subset of price lists printed separately with buyer names, most notably produced by Christie’s and Sotheby’s for sales in London in the early to mid-twentieth century.¹⁴⁸ Like regular estimate and price lists, these are often pasted or added into auction catalogues where preserved. They contain the names of purchasers, who may be agents for the ultimate buyer.¹⁴⁹ However limited and inconsistent, these price lists are invaluable research tools, particularly when used as a corpus to see broader patterns of purchasing and recurring names.

Archival correspondence between owners, buyers, and auction houses relating to auctions is sometimes preserved in personal copies of sales catalogues. This kind of correspondence may also feature in the personal archives of other individuals involved in a sale, such as the seller or an advising expert.

Auction houses may facilitate the sale of objects privately in what is called a private treaty sale. These sales are considerably harder to trace than public auctions, although promotional sales documentation or dossiers on the objects may have been compiled and made available to potential buyers prior to the sale. The same is true for private exhibitions held for the purposes of sales.

Using Auction Catalogues

Lot descriptions can be vague, cursory, or written by nonspecialists, resulting in confusing or erroneous accounts or attributions that make it difficult to identify an object. Dimensions may be incorrect, and photographs may not include mounts or supporting elements that could help to secure an identification. In the frequent event that an auction catalogue or a particular lot is unillustrated, identifying an object might require well-documented labels or stickers, prior publications, documentation connected to the purchaser, and in some cases, illustrations or photographs of objects in the auction made by researchers, agents, or other interested third parties. Cross-referencing a larger collection against other sources, like contemporary gem casts or earlier publications of the collection, can confirm the identity of a singular lot from that collection.

An unusual example of a third-party illustration comes from the artist Gabriel Saint-Aubin, who created small sketches of many lots in the margins of his copy of the auction catalogue for the sale of Pierre-Jean Mariette's estate in 1776. Among them is a "cornaline" gem with "Sapho [*sic*]" and "Phaon," which was acquired by the Getty in 2017 (2017.2)¹⁵⁰ and is now identified as showing a scene of Venus and Anchises (fig. 36).¹⁵¹ Although the gem had previously been documented as part of Mariette's collection, the sketch helped to confirm its identification in this auction. In a different copy of the sales catalogue, the annotation "Basan" next to the gem further indicates that the gem was retained by or sold to Basan, the auctioneer, but the end result is unclear, and this wording may also reflect that the gem was bought in.

Photographs from auction catalogues should be considered as carefully as any other image, but they can be particularly instructive for objects that have undergone cumulative restorations or the removal of restorations. This is evident in the case of a Roman portrait (74.AA.63),¹⁵² which we identified by chance from an illustration in a 1905 auction catalogue while systematically reviewing auctions of antiquities (fig. 37).¹⁵³ The auction catalogue's photo shows the head inset into a later bust, which was inscribed with the name "Titus Annius Milo." This bust had long since been separated from the head, and with it this identification; neither was documented as part of the head's history at the time of acquisition by the Getty. Without the auction photograph, connecting the lot description alone—"Roman Bust. Very beautiful modelling. The head is a genuine antique, and the bust has been made afterwards"—to the actual head, stripped as it was of any record of a bust or inscription, would have been impossible (fig. 38).

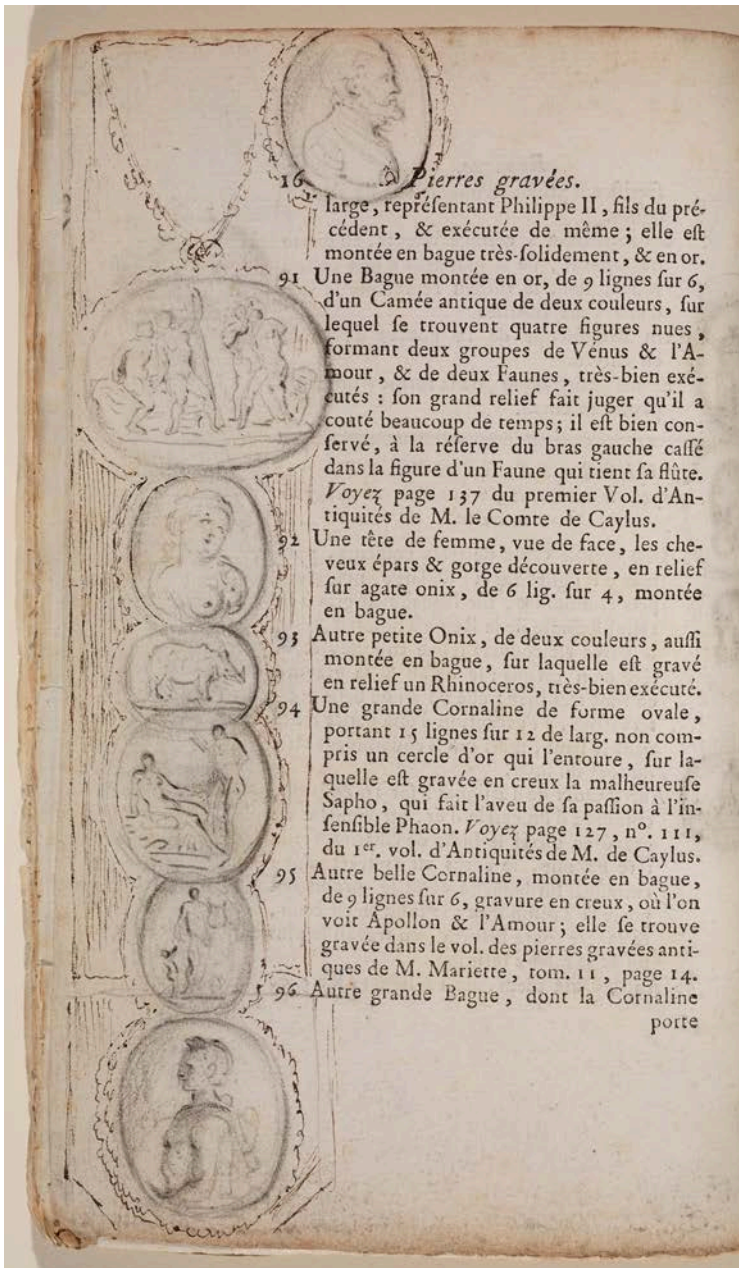


Figure 36 Page 16 from Gabriel Saint-Aubin's annotated copy of the 1775 Mariette sale, with drawings of lots. Number 94 is the Getty gem with Venus and Anchises (2017.2). William A. Sargent Collection—Bequest of William A. Sargent. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 37.1713.16. Photo: © 2026 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston



Figure 37 Illustration in 1905 auction catalogue with the Getty's Portrait of a Man (74.AA.63) in the center, Fifth Avenue Art Galleries 1905, lot 622. Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art / Art Resource, NY

Given the quantity of unillustrated sales catalogues, identifying every ancient object sold at auction will never be possible. While recent projects have made great inroads in uniting past sales with the modern locations of objects, particularly in the dispersal of Attic vases on the market, this kind of reconstruction is the exception rather than the rule.¹⁵⁴ Limited or inaccurate descriptions, a lack of illustrations, objects made in multiples, and the existence of large, poorly described lots are a reality that cannot be overcome by individual searches. Potential but unconfirmed matches should be noted in an object's file for further research.

Identifying Individuals

Catalogues annotated by viewers at a sale (or people informed about the results) are a fundamental tool for identifying purchasers at auction. Such annotations document buyer names, sale prices, artwork commentary, and other relevant details, including references to sellers or consignors. Cross-check these annotations between different catalogues when possible and consider the source of the annotation where known. The annotation "buyer" can be misleading; these often reflect agents for dealers or private buyers, and common names prevent easy identification.

Buyer names and prices may be recorded in newspapers or trade publications reporting on the sale; however, privacy considerations of recent decades preclude this for contemporary sales. Still, reports on the art market can continue to inform on the sales room as well as any public information as to the buyer's identity, trade, or collection location.¹⁵⁵ Identifying the seller remains an



Figure 38 Portrait of a Man, perhaps Periander, Roman, first–second centuries CE, marble (74.AA.63).

arduous task, particularly with limited access to auction house records, although archival documentation of the sale in owner or scholar archives can help.

Art Market Provenance and Findspots

Poring over sales catalogues is a reminder that a complete record of an object's ownership history or place of discovery was not a standard part of auction or dealer practice until recently, and the absence of information regarding prior ownership, auction sales, publications, or findspot in sales catalogues is extremely common. If you suspect an object has previously been offered at auction, a wholesale search is advisable, as missing provenance references do not necessarily indicate an actual lack of provenance.¹⁵⁶ The absence of such information is compounded by what we term “art market provenances”—provenance or findspot data that are provided at the time of sale, but lack further documentation. These have often been written or repeated with an eye toward

emphasizing an object's value or prestige. Their sources are often unknown or absent, resulting in the common "said to be" formula, and they often lack details that would allow for their verification or interpretation.¹⁵⁷ These statements may also conflate a stylistic attribution with a suggested findspot. For example, is "Said to be from Boeotia" a commentary on a terracotta object's recent history, or a reflection of the fabric of the clay and the style of the artwork?¹⁵⁸ At what point was it said to be from Boeotia, and by whom? Caution should likewise be applied to said-to-be information about groups of objects. Sellers, buyers, and dealers may split an associated group, but the market can also create false groups, whether on purpose (e.g., a purported tomb group) or through accidental association (e.g., gems grouped together with no actual shared provenance or findspot relationship.) While these relationships need to be preserved as part of object records, proximity cannot be taken as evidence for provenance. To complicate matters further, said-to-be information can be presented interchangeably with documented provenance and findspot information and falsely treated with parity. Unverified information can then be repeated or otherwise perpetuated (often without crediting the sales catalogue as the source) and stylistic said-to-be data gets further interpreted in place of securely documented provenance data.

"With" and "from" followed by an owner's name often indicate that an object was owned by a dealer, although the dates and method of transfer may not be indicated or included. We cannot reiterate enough that auction catalogues (and the authors, consignors, or annotators represented therein) have not treated provenance in equal ways over the past four centuries; even lots or essays within the same sale may reflect separate sources and standards of information. Verification must draw on external publications or private paperwork, and auction houses or dealers may not retain or release records relating to earlier sales.

All this being said, omitting an art market provenance leaves an object's biography incomplete and can close down the possibility of future research. Conversely, uncritically including such information risks giving it unwarranted validity. As noted above, the most pernicious aspect of said-to-be information is that it is often reproduced with the same level of trust as more reliably documented data. The passive construction ("said to be") is often given without a source, and a tentative "said to be from Athens" can swiftly become the more definitive sounding "from Athens." We suggest a consistent approach (as much as possible) to this kind of data, even as we recognize the challenge of retroactively redressing this within our own records. However and wherever you record said-to-be data, it should be cited with caution and with adequate explanation.

A Roman bronze handle (71.AC.356)¹⁵⁹ offers an example of an object that had been separated from its auction history.¹⁶⁰ At the time of its acquisition by the Getty in 1971, only a single sale was recorded: an auction in 1965.¹⁶¹ But while reading through an 1885 auction catalogue for the sale of the Julien Gréau

collection, a match to the Getty handle was made with the etching of the auction's lot 63, which described the handle as "trouvé dans le Nord de la France." The full publication of Gréau's collection—also published in 1885 but not cited by the sales catalogue of that year—gives a more precise findspot and an ownership history (although both await verification): "Trouvée en 1842 à Bouzi, pres de Landrecies (Nord). Ancienne collection de M. Failly."¹⁶² This disparate treatment of information, even within the same volume or in works by the same author, demonstrates that all parts of an auction or collection catalogue should be examined.¹⁶³

Documenting Auxiliary Information

When we began our provenance research project, unconfirmed auxiliary information like that published in auction catalogues was recorded in the Getty's internal database but not publicly presented online. However, a Provenance Remarks field has now been added to our online collection pages, and this allows for expanded discussion of archival sources and other information that could not be accommodated in the standard listing of owner names. This is particularly helpful for making accessible undated archival information that cannot be connected with a known owner, rendering the information an orphan, in a traditional chronological and owner-focused provenance narrative. New syntaxes were also developed for the existing Source and Notes fields below each line of provenance, so that published but unconfirmed information, such as that found in auction catalogues, can be made publicly available and contextualized once each record is updated in the future. A case in point is a portrait bust of the Roman emperor Geta (78.AA.265)¹⁶⁴ acquired in 1978. It had appeared at auction the year prior through Christie's in London, where the lot text described it as "Found in Thames."¹⁶⁵ This was repeated in Getty publications without any assessment of its origins. In order to acknowledge the purported findspot, while making clear that its validity is uncertain, we have now added the following text to the head's online record: "Provenance described in lot notes in Christie's (1977) as 'Found in Thames'; this has not been verified."

Sources on Individual Collectors

The collecting habits of individuals defy typological groupings, and so research on collectors requires a broad range of materials and approaches, often going beyond traditional academic publications. Among the sources we have added to object records in the Getty collection are such varied things as rediscovered photographs of an owner riding a red marble statue of a centaur; stereoscopic tourist views of Lowther Castle (fig. 39); and archival newspaper clippings.¹⁶⁶

Understanding the context of the collector in question is critical, as are the scale and scope of their collections over time. When and where did they live? Was the collector also active as a dealer? Was their collection known during their lifetime, or only posthumously? Are other objects from their collection known? How, when, and where were they dispersed? Why did these individuals collect? Some collections are static, with objects meticulously documented and dispersed only after the owner's death. Others, like the Gorga and Fawcett collections discussed elsewhere in this chapter, reflect shifting financial or collection priorities over time.



Figure 39 Stereoscopic view of the statuary collection at Lowther Castle, with the Getty Museum's Statue of a Seated Cybele with the Portrait Head of her Priestess (57.AA.19) visible at the rear. Photographed by H. Petschler, printed and published by the Manchester Photographic Company, Limited, Late [Lowther Castle—The Statuary, near Penrith, English Lakes, no. 796]. Photo: Private Collection

Consider collectors within their own networks. Was this a family collection, and if so, is there data on inheritance? Did the collection overlap with the owner's interests? Did they make their collection accessible to scholars or friends? If so, were these individuals permitted to publish it, and how did they describe the collection? Other categories of documentation that invoke personal memories of a collector or their collection, like oral histories, interviews, or memoirs, can provide further context, but how will you vet and contextualize this kind of data that is once or twice removed from its source?¹⁶⁷

Basic facts about a collector can be assembled using genealogical tools and databases, gravestone database sites, property histories, family photographs, insurance documents, and wills and bequests. But while these document the life of an individual, evidence of their collection is often more ephemeral. We discuss examples of collector archives in our "Annotated Resource Guide" (Appendix 1), but documentation may exist outside of a formal archival setting as well, such as

in diaries or other personal notes retained by family. Do such records speak to where the collection itself was housed and displayed? How or where was it documented? Current privacy laws can restrict access to more recent documentation. How will your research account for this gap? Furthermore, not all owners or dealers will have received this kind of documentation. Married female collectors are often elided from provenances or rendered invisible through name changes, even for collections formed prior to their marriage or through their own inheritance.¹⁶⁸ Where possible, including all names associated with a constituent over their lifetime will help make those records more accessible to researchers, who might know the constituent only through an alternate name.

Historical Documentation of Collectors

The history of collecting Mediterranean antiquities has been documented and examined for centuries, even millennia, if we include ancient sources mentioning their contemporary collecting practices. But these resources provide only a limited view of the documentation of collections over time, and they privilege elite private collections in western Europe. Many ancient Mediterranean objects first appeared on the market in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries without publication and thereafter circulated through collections at a variety of economic levels. It is the exception, not the rule, that private antiquities collections were comprehensively documented through publications or auction catalogues.

Even within the elite sphere, well-known collections, like that of Martine de Béhague, comtesse de Béarn (1870–1939) in Paris, were seen by relatively few contemporary scholars, and only a small portion was ever published in exhibition catalogues or in her commissioned collection catalogues.¹⁶⁹ In contrast, some collections were notable tourist destinations, becoming objects of consumption—and documentation—through art checklists and souvenirs like stereoscopic views or postcards of interiors that were distributed widely.¹⁷⁰ But foundational texts in the field of the history of collecting, like those by Adolf Michaelis on British collections, can be broad without being comprehensive. Michaelis's narrow focus on ancient marbles provides expansive documentation of the location of many private collections in Britain, as well as limited provenance information for some sculptures, but he does not address with any detail the vases, gems, or some of the other works of ancient art held in those same collections.¹⁷¹ These treatments of private collections are the precursors for more recent publications like Elizabeth Angelicoussis's work on reconstructing the Lansdowne collection,¹⁷² and the expansive treatment of the Ince Blundell collection.¹⁷³ These publications, which make extensive use of archival resources documenting the context of an entire collection, show how this research continues to evolve.¹⁷⁴

These elite collectors and collections have predominated in traditional academic studies, but they were not the only kinds of collections of ancient Mediterranean works of art. By the mid-nineteenth century, regional publications of antiquarian groups (particularly in England), auction catalogues, and a growing number of private collection exhibitions point to a well-to-do but diverse array of collectors and dealers beyond the nobility. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century markets for Mediterranean antiquities have yet to be fully mapped, but a wide ecosystem of markets supported a trade in ancient objects across the world.¹⁷⁵ Nor was collecting limited to the wealthy, with minor works of art available at varying price points or deliberately collected where accessible.¹⁷⁶ Sourcing evidence for the circulation of these objects requires a broader consideration of materials than traditional academic publications—newspaper articles, regional auctions, mail order catalogues, wills, family photographs, even letterhead. When collating sources in search of a particular collection or object, consider which of these types of media might be most relevant to your search. What was the media landscape in the area in which the collection was housed or where the collector lived?¹⁷⁷

Collector Information in Exhibition Catalogues

As with auction catalogues, it has not been standard to record full provenance information for objects in exhibition catalogues,¹⁷⁸ but their utility for provenance research is worth mentioning here. Although often obfuscated by the credit line “private collection,” sometimes with a city or country appended, objects can sometimes be identified in exhibition catalogues by their inscriptions, prior collecting or publication histories (where listed), or by illustrations. Archival images of past museum exhibitions may also be available, which can aid in identifying those objects not illustrated in exhibition catalogues.

Similar to exhibitions are long-term loans from private collectors or dealers to museums. Often lacking formal catalogues, these may be documented in publications such as academic articles, museum newsletters, or newspapers. Visitor photographs can also be a rewarding source of additional images. As discussed elsewhere, stickers or labels attached to an object can provide evidence for its prior long-term loan.¹⁷⁹ Information concerning exhibitions or long-term loans does not always remain part of an object’s history during transfers in ownership. In some cases, it is possible to verify that an object was part of an exhibition by confirming with the host institution, although contractual or privacy issues may prevent them from identifying the lender.

Dealer exhibitions highlight works for sale through a gallery but can also include loans from other sources, which may or may not be for sale. A wide array of publications can accompany a dealer exhibition, from postcards and illustrated invitations to price lists and full catalogues. Dealer exhibitions were also

published in some art trade publications and newspapers, which sometimes include additional lists of ongoing gallery exhibitions, reviews, or exhibition advertisements. These can confirm dates, themes, and objects if no full exhibition publications were produced. Dealer archives may retain valuable correspondence and photographs.

Case Study: A Statuette of a Nude Youth

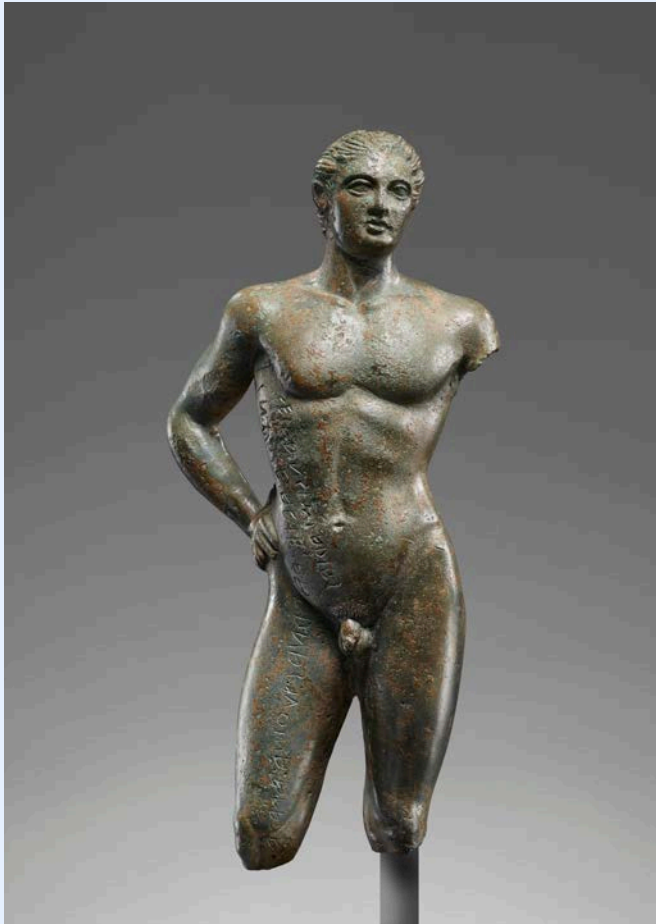


Figure 40 Statuette of a Nude Youth, Etruscan, 325–300 BCE, bronze (96.AB.35).

The Getty Museum acquired an Etruscan bronze statuette of a nude youth in 1996 (96.AB.35; fig. 40)¹⁸⁰ as part of a large purchase from the Fleischman Collection in New York. At the time of acquisition, the figure's earliest documentation noted only that it was previously part of the collection of "Melba Whatley." No record of her ownership dates or any related information featured in ensuing publications of the statuette. However, in combing through exhibition files hosted by the Dallas Museum of Art, we discovered documents relating to a 1981 exhibition, *Ancient and Medieval Art from a Dallas Private Collection*. Although the owner was not named, at least two of the objects in this exhibition were later sold under the name Melba Davis Whatley, a noted Texas collector, with auction lot notes referencing their display in 1981.¹⁸¹ We were able to determine that the Getty statuette had also featured in this exhibition, as the Dallas Museum of Art's online exhibition documentation includes a detail image of it from their *Bulletin*, as well as a checklist with an early translation of its dedicatory inscription. Not only did this allow us to confirm the statuette's ownership history, but it provided documentation several years prior to what had been its earliest known scholarly publication in 1985. Although exhibitions are today often considered a critical aspect of an object's history, they are frequently absent from earlier provenance statements or other documentation, and—as the case of this Etruscan statuette demonstrates—are easily severed from the object itself.

Case Study: The Medusa Cameo



Figure 41 Cameo with the Head of Medusa, Roman, second–third century CE, sardonyx set in a nineteenth-century gold mount (2001.28.12).

Identifying objects in unillustrated exhibition catalogues and checklists poses challenges. In 1872 Sir John Evans lent a cameo on red onyx with a head of Medusa “surrounded with gold ornament of elegant design and exquisite workmanship” to the South Kensington Museum, and it featured as no. 57 in the exhibition catalogue.¹⁸² In 2001 the Getty purchased a sardonyx cameo with a head of Medusa (2001.28.12; fig. 41),¹⁸³ set into a gold mount “said to be” by Castellani. This had been a wedding gift from Evans to his wife, Maria Millington, in 1892, and was later given to their daughter, Dame Joan Evans. Is it the same cameo as the one Evans lent to the South Kensington Museum? Unfortunately, the description in the 1872 exhibition catalogue does not include any diagnostic details or measurements, so this remains unresolved. No further records as to when Evans had acquired the cameo are extant, and his collection lacks a comprehensive publication that could prove the

identity of this object. Open questions like this are rarely part of public provenance display records, and defining the line between confirmed and potential exhibitions of an object remains a difficult gray area of information.

Dealer Advertisements

Dealer advertisements form another enormous corpus of material that reaches back over a century, but one that is often overlooked with respect to the market for Mediterranean antiquities. Advertisements by dealers, as well as auction firms, appear in trade and art market publications, but also in newspapers, orchestral programs, academic journals, and exhibition catalogues. Trade and specialty publications may offer regional advertisements tailored to subscribers in different print runs or through inserts. In some cases, antiquities feature as part of photo shoots or advertisements for other products, like Estée Lauder perfume, or in advertorial-style articles, such as Christmas gift guides.¹⁸⁴

Information in the advertisements may be limited to the dealer's address(es) and areas of specialty, but they can include images or drawings of objects, as well as descriptions or basic object data (fig. 42). The circumstances are often opaque. Is the listed dealer the owner, the consignee, or an agent? In the case of international firms, where is the object located? When was the advertisement submitted? Why was it advertised in a specific publication or in a specific month? Dealer advertisements, as with similar publications, serve only as a date by which a dealer may have been in possession of an object, not concrete evidence of the actual date of transfer (although they can help substantiate information from other sources). Even with these constraints, dealer advertisements can provide details otherwise unknown. One published in 1967 with a Roman bust of a Greek philosopher verifies that this bust was with the dealer Piero Tozzi some years prior to its sale to the Getty in 1973 (73.AA.45).¹⁸⁵ Restoration or conservation efforts may also be evident in such publication photographs. Attributions and descriptions may be inconsistent with current research on the object, but these can be useful in understanding how an object was catalogued in contemporaneous publications. Advertisements can also help track the movements of gallery locations, transfers between gallery owners or staff changes, and changes to gallery specialties over time.¹⁸⁶

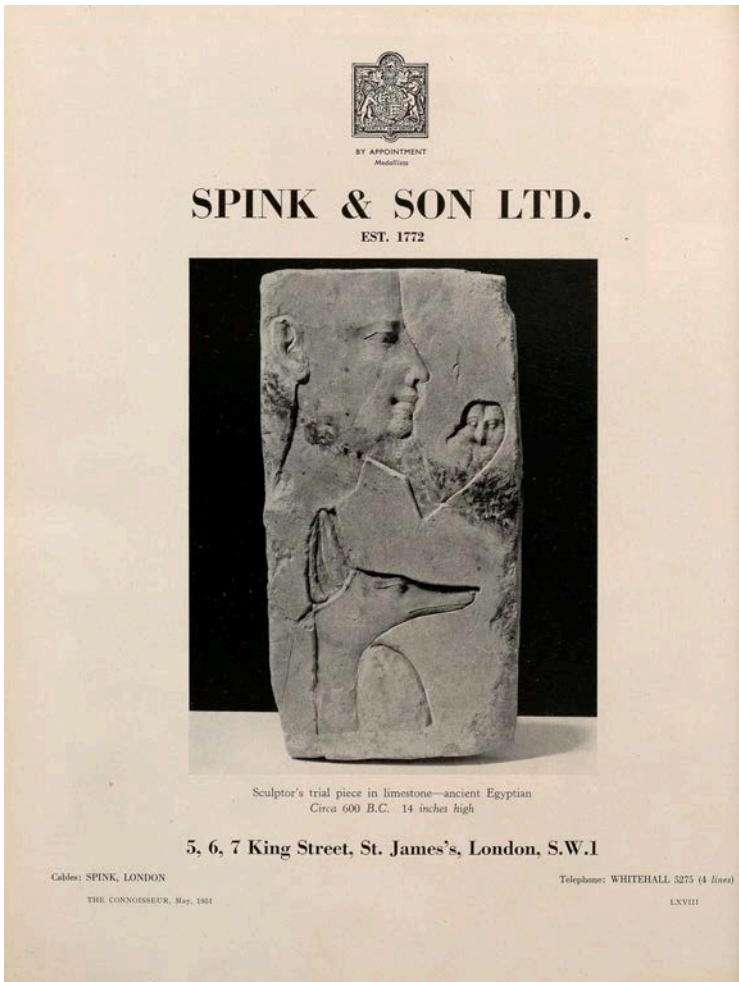


Figure 42 Spink & Son Ltd. dealer advertisement in *Connoisseur*, May 1951, LXVIII. Image published with permission of ProQuest LLC. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission. Photo: Image produced by ProQuest LLC as part of ProQuest® Periodicals Online. www.proquest.com

Interior Design Illustrations

The history of visitors to private houses publishing or illustrating details from those houses' collections stretches back centuries.¹⁸⁷ More recently, publications like *House and Garden*, *Country Life*, *Vogue*, and *Architectural Digest* highlight interior design and architectural advances while showcasing art collections (fig. 43). Real estate photography offers an additional resource. The owners might be dealers,¹⁸⁸ celebrities,¹⁸⁹ or private individuals,¹⁹⁰ but they are often described in generic and anonymous terms, and the location of the collection may not be fully disclosed.¹⁹¹ Art collections visible in illustrations, but outside the focus of an

article, may not be referenced within searchable text, and search strategies will need to accommodate this.



Figure 43 Artworks on view in the Montecito home of Diandra and Michael Douglas, photographed for *Architectural Digest*, April 1988. Photo: John Vaughan, *Architectural Digest*, © Condé Nast

Part 3: Processing and Publishing Provenance Information

Thus far, we have discussed initial project considerations as part of your project's methodology, as well as sources of provenance information. In this final section, we discuss assessing, processing, and publishing provenance data for use in different spaces.

As noted, some provenance projects will have a predetermined output format, with research designated for use within a specific catalogue or project. But all provenance research should be conducted with the understanding that it will be analyzed, reused, and reconsidered for decades to come. Rarely will it be utilized in a single format or for one project alone, regardless of its initial scope. Condensing complex research outcomes from decades of accumulated research into a single narrative and rendering these useful for diverse purposes poses many challenges, and it requires careful consideration of space, audience, and object needs.

Today, provenance information appears in myriad contexts in both museum and external spaces, tailored for different audiences and themes. The

benefits of sharing this information are clear, but there are logistical issues involved. Whoever selects and edits the information will often not be the provenance researcher, and while an update to an object record is simple, rewriting a gallery label to accommodate provenance updates is less so.

The internal collection database of a museum—often referred to as its collection management system (CMS)—is usually the hub of provenance research. Ideally, it holds the most up-to-date information and allows for citing or linking to relevant sources. That said, outside researchers interested in an object should always confirm the latest version of its provenance with the relevant department. The internal collection database may feed into the online collection pages, which render collection data accessible to the public through museum websites and apps as well as through more advanced options like APIs (application programming interfaces).¹⁹² In addition to basic object information, the online collection page is traditionally where a full provenance narrative is presented, as discussed more fully below.

Publications offer another place for displaying provenance information. These exist in traditional print formats like scholarly books and articles, museum journals or member periodicals, or, less formally, as museum blogs, press releases, podcasts, and social media posts.¹⁹³ Publications by authors not affiliated with the owning institution may not always be consistent with the museum's provenance information, either because the author has neglected to consult the most up-to-date records, or, conversely, because their research has brought new information to light. Provenance might also be discussed in media outlets and involve conversations with museum staff or external researchers. Publications, both print and digital, are static markers of a provenance narrative at the time of publication; they rarely capture the ongoing nature of provenance research.

Within the physical space of the museum, elements of provenance information may be referenced in gallery texts, object labels, or resources, as well as online in digital exhibitions, tours, and educational material. Some special exhibitions or gallery spaces offer more interactive or expansive opportunities to explore elements of an object's provenance,¹⁹⁴ but given space constraints, these often privilege one section or theme in an object's history. A notable exception was the 2019–20 exhibition *Bouguereau & America*, jointly organized by the Milwaukee Art Museum and the Memphis Brooks Museum of Art in Memphis, Tennessee, which included iPads that offered interactive provenance timelines for many of the artworks.¹⁹⁵ Increasingly popular, provenance-themed exhibitions around dealers and collectors, excavations, cultural heritage, and heritage loss offer additional pathways for discussing provenance in museum galleries.¹⁹⁶ Exhibitions like 2022's *Particular Histories: Provenance Research in African Arts* at the Fowler Museum of Art brought together an exploration of a physical

archive, objects, and provenance research with an in-gallery monitor allowing visitors to explore provenance-themed Story Maps.¹⁹⁷

Making provenance data available in such formats means letting go. Because provenance can be shared in so many ways, and because it is relevant to so many departments and audiences, it is impossible for the provenance researcher to control how the data will be interpreted or reused. But by making your own research as clear and accessible as possible, you can ensure that there is a solid foundation for all parties to draw upon.

Consider the Mazarin Venus (54.AA.11; fig. 44),¹⁹⁸ thought to have been found in Rome by 1510¹⁹⁹ and on view at the Getty for seven decades. Throughout that time, its display, gallery labels, and audio guides have addressed different aspects of its lengthy ownership history. Notably, its sobriquet, the Mazarin Venus, reflects a said-to-be provenance: although associated with the Mazarin collection in Paris for over a century, no evidence for this has ever been discovered. But as the statue has been known by variants of the name “Mazarin Venus” since the 1800s, this historic association persists, despite being at odds with the documented provenance. In the gallery labels, preeminence instead has often been given to the earliest known depiction of the statue from 1509/10 by Giovanni Antonia da Brescia, even though this engraving is highly stylized and it both imagines and elides key elements of the statue as it appeared at the time of its discovery.

Viewers encountering the statue through the museum’s online collection pages will find extensive provenance information, which draws from our internal collection management system, The Museum System (TMS), and is regularly updated. In the public-facing Provenance field, we provide a chronological outline of the statue’s discovery and acquisition, structured according to an in-house syntax style that is explained on the museum’s website.²⁰⁰ But in the online record, Provenance is not the only place to look: references to the statue’s history appear in other sections, like the Description. Other fields from the database feed into the Provenance section online, such as Place Found and Date: Found In; and on the back end, other sections of the database such as Exhibitions and Bibliography, are all connected (fig. 45). Although these backend structures are largely invisible to outside viewers, they impact the way the data display. An in-house user of collection page data should make sure to include all of these related fields and must be aware that a change in one field may require changes in complementary fields.

The collection page for each object thus collates many kinds of provenance information and, depending on the object in question, there may be links to in-house guidebooks, academic publications, newspaper articles, auction catalogues, audio guides, and more. But the collection page can still only tell a limited number of provenance stories; it cannot fully track changes to the object’s record



Figure 44 The Mazarin Venus, Roman, second century CE, marble (54.AA .11).

or its label text over time, nor does it replace scholarly discussions of provenance as seen in publications like collection catalogues. Even within the display and collection pages for a single object in the museum, provenance is used and discussed in many ways.

Provenance Syntax

We use “provenance syntax” to describe the particular structure and language used for provenance narratives within a project or institution. Where possible, we encourage you to include a guide to provenance syntax as part of your project, particularly if it expands on existing institutional formats. This serves as a record

Home Search Feedback		
Statue of Venus (the Mazarin Venus) Unknown artist/maker		
History of this Artwork		
Provenance	about 1510	Found; Rome, Italy (see Hind 1948 for the engraving by Giovanni Antonia da Brescia (1509 or 1510) that likely depicts the statue with the inscription "ROME NOVITER REPERTVM")
Bibliography		
Exhibitions	by 1853 - 1866	Jean Antoine Théodore Gudin French, 1802 - 1880 (La Chartreuse, Folie-Beaujon, Paris, France) [sold, Pillet and Escribe, Paris, March 22, 1866, lot 42] Source: Ralleydier, Alphonse. "Un visite au chateau Beaujon en 1853". <i>La Mode : revue des modes, galerie de moeurs, album des salons</i> (June 25, 1853), pp. 99-100
	in or after 1866 - 1901	Sir Francis Cook, 1st viscount of Montserrat English, 1817 - 1901 (Doughty House, Surrey, England) by inheritance to his son, Sir Frederick Lucas Cook, 1901.
	1901 - 1920	Sir Frederick Lucas Cook, 2nd viscount of Montserrat English, 1844 - 1920 (Doughty House, Surrey, England) by inheritance to his son, Sir Herbert Frederick Cook, 1920.
	1920 - 1939	Sir Herbert Frederick Cook, 3rd viscount of Montserrat English, 1868 - 1939 (Doughty House, Surrey, England) by inheritance to his son, Sir Francis Ferdinand Maurice Cook, 1939.
	1939 - probably 1947	Sir Francis Ferdinand Maurice Cook, 4th viscount of Monserrat English, 1907 - 1978 (Doughty House, Surrey, England) sold to Spink & Son, Ltd., probably 1947.
	probably 1947 - about 1948	Spink & Son, Ltd. (London, England) sold to a French private collection, about 1948.
	about 1948 -	Private Collection (France)
	- 1954	Nicolas Koutoulakis 1910 - 1996 (Paris, France and Geneva, Switzerland) sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1954.
Provenance Remarks:	Although historically associated with the collection of Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602-1661), the earliest known publication of this provenance is in 1863, and it has not yet been corroborated by Mazarin's inventories (Chapus 1863). The statue was placed into a historic base with the inscription "Venus de Mazarin" by the late 19th century, but the date of the base and its source are unknown, and it was removed in the 20th century. More probable is the acquisition of the Venus by Nicolas Beaujon, who built the Chartreuse and the Folie-Beaujon gardens in the mid-18th century; the statue is published as having been part of the Beaujon collection as early as 1853 in an article that is also the first to describe the damage on the statue's reverse as the result of cannon fire sustained in during the French Revolution in 1793. Although the Venus has not yet been confirmed as part of Beaujon's inventories, the 19th-century description of the statue as the "Venus de Folie-Beaujon" and "Venus de Beaujon" suggest the continued contemporary identification of the statue with Beaujon and successive owners of the Chartreuse and Folie-Beaujon gardens. [November 2021]	
	Two undated photographs of 54.AA.11 are part of Cornelius Vermeule's photographic archive, Vermeule Collection, 1959-1980, now held by the American Academy in Rome [call number Vermeule Sculpture.195 and 320.] [April 2023]	

Figure 45 Online collection entry for the Mazarin Venus (54.AA.11), showing the provenance section.

of your research methodology and ensures that users will be able to better understand and analyze the resulting provenance. To that point, readers of provenances or those working with large provenance datasets should be aware that the way provenance research is conducted—and the way information is

vetted, verified, and described—will also differ between institutions and even departments. Comparing provenances of objects in different collections requires consideration of the research from which the provenance narrative is distilled, as well as the way that narrative is formatted. There is no singular format or style guide for provenance, and institutions and researchers are free to choose the way in which they publish this information—although the general guidelines in the American Alliance of Museums’ *AAM Guide to Provenance Research* have been widely taken up as a set of best practices in U.S. institutions since 2001:

Provenance information should be presented in a clear and organized fashion and be as complete as possible. The sequence of ownership should be easily understood. The order of ownership may be earliest to latest owner, or the reverse, as long as the chronology is obvious. There should be some mechanism by which owners are distinguished from dealers or auctioneers. The sources of information about each owner or transaction should be documented. In publishing provenance information, the museum should include an explanation of its format.²⁰¹

The AAM lays out a further list of twenty types of object and provenance data that should be accessible in order to aid in identifying objects; although written in the context of World War II-era research, it can be used more widely.²⁰² Whatever shape your provenance narrative takes, easily accessible explanations of its syntax and formatting are key.

Many provenance style guides are focused on *provenance*—that is to say, a narrative structured around changes in ownership. For ancient objects, this means that syntax standards for *provenience*—information regarding an object’s documented findspot—have been largely overlooked and handled at an institutional, departmental, or ad hoc level. Other events that inform an object’s biography, such as restoration or modern fragmentation, are also often omitted from traditional provenance narratives.²⁰³ Few models exist for describing the provenance of an object where there are multiple histories for its different fragments, or where the object itself is but one known fragment of a since-dispersed original.²⁰⁴ Likewise, provenance narratives rarely capture data for associated objects, such as connected building fragments or documented tomb groups, although this data may be linked in other fields. Models like *Fragmentarium*, a digital laboratory reuniting manuscript fragments from all over the world, hint at new futures for structuring this research.²⁰⁵

If you are constructing a provenance syntax guide from scratch or looking to update an existing version, the Carnegie Museum of Art’s (CMAA) Provenance Standard offers an excellent model, bridging the semantic world of the CIDOC (Comité International pour la Documentation) Conceptual Reference Model (CIDOC-CRM) and traditional provenance narratives.²⁰⁶ The

CMOA Provenance Standard is based on the punctuation format of provenance, which we return to below, and offers a cogent explanation of terms, usage, and linked data. Using structured data and incorporating Linked Open Data (LOD) as part of your records can be a challenge depending on your project and underlying database, but it provides benefits when considering provenance at a mass scale or when contrasting provenance between collections. Additional standardized syntax options for methods of acquisition can be explored through the Getty Research Institute's Art & Architecture Thesaurus (AAT), a "structured vocabulary for describing and indexing the visual arts and architecture," and as part of LOD projects, local terms and datasets can be reconciled by using the open-source tool Open Refine.²⁰⁷ The AAT section for Methods of Acquisition and other related terms can provide additional options for building out a provenance syntax.²⁰⁸

Punctuation Marks or Chronological Listing

One widely used format for presenting provenance information indicates ownership transitions and other data using punctuation marks. This method is outlined in the *AAM Guide to Provenance Research*, the *IFAR Guide to Provenance*,²⁰⁹ and other provenance manuals. It evolved in the 1970s and '80s, but its application in publications of Mediterranean antiquities has been limited.²¹⁰ A common element is the use of a semicolon to denote a direct transfer of ownership between two constituents, and a period in the same position to indicate a lack of evidence for a direct transfer, or a gap. Further iterations include the use of brackets for owner life dates and other contextual information. Commercial owners—as opposed to institutional or private owners—may be indicated through punctuation marks like parentheses and brackets, or otherwise denoted. Other kinds of punctuation, including question marks, are employed to indicate uncertainty or a lack of information. Footnotes provide space for source notes and explanatory text. Constituents can appear on separate lines, or, as in this example for a mosaic in the Getty's collection (62.AH.2), run together in the text:

Albert Vassy [Vienne, France] and Claudius Guy [Vienne, France], 1911 - still in 1913.¹ (Désiré Weidinger [Paris, France]); (Joseph Brummer [1883–1947]), 1927.²

1. Vassy and Guy lifted the mosaics in 1912, and moved them to their property by 1913.

2. The Brummer Gallery Records, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase Book 1927–1928, p. 29, no. P4136.

The compact nature of this format is useful for many kinds of provenance narratives, particularly in publications in which the provenance of a number of objects is briefly referenced. But the need to understand what each punctuation

mark denotes and the levels of provenance data encoded in these narratives (which differ even among similar institutions) leaves this format opaque to many nonspecialists. Some publications also use semicolons to indicate sequential ownership of objects without implying specific transfer details. To ensure clarity, refer to the institution or writer's own guide to their usage and syntax.

Other institutions, including the Getty Museum, use chronological lists to present provenance information, with different circumstances of transfer explained using a standardized syntax system. Additional information can be supplied in a source note below the transfer within the overall narrative. Using this chronological system with the Getty's own syntax, the provenance described above would look like this:

1911 - Albert Vassy (Vienne, France) and Claudius Guy (Vienne,
still in France) lifted the mosaics in 1912, and moved them to their
1913 property by 1913.

- 1927 Désiré Weidinger, French, (Paris, France), sold to Joseph
Brummer, 1927.

Source: The Brummer Gallery Records, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase
Book 1927–1928, p. 29, no. P4136.

Because circumstances under which ownership or custody of an object is transferred can vary across a wide spectrum, so too do the forms of syntax used to document them. For instance, another mosaic now at the Getty (71.AH.106) was discovered but later reburied; the land, including the mosaic, was sold, and the mosaic only uncovered and lifted from the ground eighty years after its initial discovery.²¹¹ Capturing the complexity of this information while adhering to a standard syntax—particularly in the cases of complex objects with centuries of history, restoration, and reuse—can be a formidable task.

Whatever system you employ for your project, it will need to be flexible enough to encompass your dataset's provenance needs, and it will also need to be compatible with any preexisting institutional formats or standards. As noted earlier, information relevant to an object's provenance or findspot may appear in multiple places throughout the collection pages. Where published information on the object is dispersed across an institution's website, we suggest compiling it and assessing whether there are ways to unite or document any provenance-related information together. Within an institution, past iterations of published provenance should ideally be tracked for reference.

Gaps in Provenance

That gaps exist in a provenance narrative is perhaps axiomatic—if this research were not still required, this publication and others like it would not exist. Gaps in a provenance may represent a lack of evidence, incomplete research, inconclusive documentation, or the existence of multiple possibilities. A gap can thus mark a true unknown or represent something as yet unexplored. In presenting provenance information, gaps are often implicit: when using the punctuation mark system, a period between two constituents indicates that it was not a direct transfer, or is simply a sequence of ownership dates that do not align. Any research that has sought to fill this gap does not usually appear in full in a provenance narrative, but it may be described in footnotes. Certain kinds of gaps, notably those for the years during World War II and the preceding Nazi era, may be flagged and searchable in a museum’s collection page, or presented separately.²¹²

It is possible that the status of gaps in museum provenance information is at a turning point, as institutions create new syntax and technical solutions for making these “known unknowns” evident. For example, the Städel Museum in Frankfurt, Germany, has introduced the use of ellipses as a “placeholder” to acknowledge gaps in a provenance.²¹³ Another option comes from the Hood Museum at Dartmouth, where some provenances begin with: “Collected by an unknown antiquities dealer, date unknown.”²¹⁴ The Brooklyn Museum in New York uses “archaeological provenance not yet documented” for antiquities with “no recorded archaeological context.”²¹⁵ The North Carolina Museum of Art in Raleigh uses syntax guidelines for antiquities that differentiate between “Provenience unknown,” “Possible Provenience,” “Provenience (recorded),” and “Provenience (excavated).”²¹⁶ These options acknowledge that an object’s modern discovery took place, even if the details are unrecorded or presently unknown, rather than defaulting to the first identified collector or dealer as the start of a provenance record.

Special Consideration for Antiquities: Assessing Findspot Documentation

Apart from some gems, precious luxury objects, and a very small number of famous sculptures,²¹⁷ the vast majority of Mediterranean antiquities preserved today spent centuries underground, whether through intentional deposition, a chance event like the volcanic eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE, or passively over time. Even a general place of discovery can provide essential information about the object, such as its likely culture or date, and knowing a specific findspot can reveal more about its ancient use and context. Place of discovery is thus a critical element of an ancient object’s provenance, and some scholars use the specific

term “provenience” to denote a findspot. Unfortunately, however, given centuries of illicit or poorly documented excavations, it remains hard, if not impossible, to trace every object’s history back to the point—in both space and time—that it was unearthed. Excavations also do not solely produce contextualized material. A collection associated with an excavation could still include surface finds, objects from spoil heaps, and other ancillary materials. Precision in labeling such circumstances will help clarify these factors for researchers.

In some cases, an object’s findspot is closely linked with its first owner. Some collectors acquired works from finds on their own property, such as Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino (1775–1840), whose collection of Greek vases came primarily from his estate in Italy near ancient Vulci.²¹⁸ Note, however, that the act of excavation is not always connected to ownership; excavators are rarely owners, even if, through affiliation, the excavation leader often appears as the only name in publications and provenances. Such a simplification often erases the number of individuals involved in an excavation, something increasingly being reexamined within museum settings. The practice of focusing on a singular excavator can also obfuscate the actual ownership of an object. One has only to look at the number of objects in twentieth-century auction catalogues that provide a provenance simply of “Petrie”—shorthand for Flinders Petrie, one of the most influential British Egyptologists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—without further reference to site, excavation date, or the Egyptian Exploration Society. Here a connection to a “celebrity” excavator superseded all other data.²¹⁹

Antiquities may be documented for the first time in a known place or at a secure date, but additional provenance data points, such as the exact location or ownership of the object at the time, may not be clear. For instance, the Grave Stele of Herophanta and Posideos (71.AA.288)²²⁰ was recorded at some point before 1715 by Paul Lucas. He viewed it while traveling in Smyrna, and later published a heavily stylized and somewhat incomplete rendering of the stele in 1720.²²¹ The condition of the object, as well as the actual date of observation and its ownership, are all unknown. “Before 1715” serves as the earliest known date by which the stele was observed, but this should be distinguished from its (as yet unknown) date of discovery and not used to infer ownership. Other early eighteenth-century travelers like William Sherard recorded the stele’s inscription and its Smyrna locale, but without any description or depiction of the stele’s face.²²² Nor is this truly findspot data, because the stele’s context—whether it was still partially buried, uncovered, reused, or moved—is likewise lacking from the text. What we know is only that it was visible in this place before a certain date. In the Getty’s database, we record this using the Place Found field, which is the closest match for this use case.

Documented and Said-to-Be Findspots

Depending on the year and location that an antiquity is found, officially excavated material typically remains in the country of discovery.²²³ Here, “officially excavated” refers to all legally sanctioned excavations, including those privately funded by or in agreement with the landowner, sponsored by the local or national government, or supported by foreign archaeological interest groups in partnership with local authorities. The excavations themselves might range from a quick rescue survey to a multiyear scientific excavation campaign.

For material from officially sponsored archaeological excavations, findspot data might be preserved in the object record, in unpublished archives, or in published excavation reports. The depth and completeness of such resources varies depending on the excavation year, location, object type, and the reason for the excavation (chance find, rescue excavation, or an academic expedition). Foundational collections of reports include the *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* (1829–80s), which focused on excavations and finds in Italy, the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*,²²⁴ and the *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei* (1850–79), which was incorporated into the *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* (1876–1930). These and similar archival materials are invaluable in reconstructing original tomb groups, associations, and other contextual information. There is a long history of scholarship investigating these resources to connect objects with their early descriptions.²²⁵

The Roman mosaics in the Getty collection present an instructive range of findspot data, from fully documented excavations to alleged origins.²²⁶ As an example of the former, a Mosaic Floor with Animals (70.AH.96)²²⁷ was discovered in 1938 during the Princeton University–led excavation of Antioch-on-the-Orontes (1932–39), a partnership between museums and the Syrian Antiquities Service.²²⁸ The excavations were documented and published, allowing for the Getty mosaic and others from the same bath complex, now dispersed, to be understood in their original spatial context.²²⁹ One panel of the mosaic even has its excavation cataloguing information handwritten on the reverse, “RM.2 b 367 143-E,” which corresponds with an Antioch find card in Princeton’s archives of the excavation.²³⁰

For finds made outside of official excavation expeditions, records of their discovery can often be found in antiquities periodicals, newspapers, or comprehensive object surveys in academic corpora and inventories. The Getty’s mosaic with Orpheus and the Animals (62.AH.2)²³¹ was such a chance find, discovered in 1899 by a farmhand on private property in Saint-Romain-en-Gal, France. In 1911 the landowner sold the rights to fully unearth and lift any mosaics found on the property, and in 1913 they were excavated and ultimately sold. The finds were included in France’s official mosaic corpus publication as a recent discovery when still in situ, and once excavated, were published in

archaeological periodicals and science association proceedings.²³² Since its founding in the early twentieth century, the *Gallia* corpus—an ambitious French project documenting all known ancient mosaics in Gaul and Roman Africa—has published nearly three thousand mosaics from over a thousand sites.²³³ In recent years, especially as copyright protections on some publications expire and they enter the public domain, many of these resources and associated archives have been extensively digitized, allowing for the discovery of additional bibliography and information about the mosaics' spatial context.²³⁴

Local cultural property laws at the time of discovery can account for the dispersal of objects originally discovered together. The Antioch Mosaic Floor with Animals (70.AH.96) left Syria through a partage agreement.²³⁵ Mosaics from the same bath complex were studied as a group and then systematically dispersed to museums in Syria and the United States. Conversely, the Orpheus mosaic (62.AH.2), lifted as part of a private excavation, was offered on the art market with other mosaics from the same villa, resulting in their poorly documented dispersal to both public and private collections over the course of several years. It is worth noting that partage objects, while generally well documented in their initial dispersal to private individuals and institutions, can likewise be poorly documented in secondary sale through the art market.²³⁶

In the case of the Mosaic of a Lion Attacking an Onager (73.AH.75),²³⁷ from Tunisia, there are two conflicting references to its findspot. Both date to the 1960s, nearly fifty years after the mosaic's reported discovery. Its first publication, the thoroughly researched 1960 *Inventaire des mosaïques* gave the findspot in central Sousse, near avenue Tahar-Sfar (formerly avenue Marechal-Fochs). A 1961 Dijon newspaper also reported the mosaic's discovery in Sousse. A copy of the newspaper clipping preserved in the Getty Museum object file, however, has an attached note, written in French, which specified an area in the outskirts of the city.²³⁸ These sources leave the mosaic's exact place of recovery uncertain, and a similar scenario holds for numerous other objects whose findspot is not properly documented, is vague, or is prefaced by "said to be" or "allegedly." Indeed, in many cases, the said-to-be information can be misleading. The Mosaic Panel of a Griffin (71.AH.113)²³⁹ was first published by the Getty in 1973 with a said-to-be findspot in an early Christian church in Homs, Syria. While possibly from Syria, the griffin is shown with the spoked wheel of the god Nemesis, an attribute not found in other representations of griffins from church contexts, making the purported findspot highly suspect. This detail seems to have been incorrectly attributed or invented by the dealer, who had offered and sold other mosaics for which a church context seems plausible, given their iconography and style.²⁴⁰

Said-to-be findspot information is often repeated by collectors and dealers without supporting documentation.²⁴¹ The resale of ancient objects with invented or unconfirmed findspots is a practice dating back centuries,²⁴² and

findspots may be added as a false form of authenticity to infer a legal status or increase value, regardless of their veracity. A marble torso of Aphrodite (67.AK.12)²⁴³ has contradictory notes in our records that state “said to have been found in South Italy, in 1851 (?)” and “reputed to have been found in the sea at Anzio.” Both statements are false: the object is now recognized as a modern forgery and is identified as “Imitation of a Statue of Aphrodite, 19th century.”

Nevertheless, while a said-to-be findspot must certainly not be taken at face value, it remains valuable for research and for seeing market patterns over time, allowing for the possibility to connect objects or to provide a lead if new resources are made available. Thus, the said-to-be findspot should be fully researched, recorded, and then presented with necessary disclaimers. This takes up space, whether in a specialized publication or a dedicated gallery label, but museums have an ethical duty to the objects in their care to determine and document their histories, whether fabricated, problematic, well established, or unknown.

Terminology for Findspots

Below we lay out some terms applicable to the findspots of antiquities. These should be considered as options alongside the terminology suggested by the CMOA Provenance Standard, the AAT, and other existing provenance guides. For your own syntax guide you should work out details of how you want to implement and use the terms you choose.

Assumptions of an object’s place of discovery based on its style or its place of production should not be conflated with firm information relating to its findspot or place of first observation. Unconfirmed data from any source should be discussed as such, particularly if it has previously been published without context. If an object has previously published findspot information that has since been discarded or updated, this change should be indicated in records as well.

If working with a CMS or a project form that lacks clear fields for findspot, or if your findspot data will be entered as part of a free-form field together with provenance information, consider using notes and footnotes for any points of clarification. This kind of information may already be present as legacy data.²⁴⁴ Where possible, this should be revised to reflect the latest museum practices, since when left unchanged or unclarified, such legacy data can be misinterpreted as the current understanding of an object’s findspot.

Your syntax might consider the following terms for location-specific findspot references:

Place found Include this if the place that an object was found is documented in a concrete way. If the object was found in an ancient context and remains in place, not reused or moved in modern times, the term “in situ” may be included. Historical documentation of discovery or

excavation is hard to confirm and may be limited to a broad geographic area rather than a specific location or context; documentation of the sources is particularly important here.²⁴⁵ If working with modern excavation data, some synthesis will be required if word limits exist on fields. Bibliography relating to the first documentation of (or reference to) the place found should be provided. Where possible, consider including references to publications of the excavation even if the particular object is not included there, so that the object's history can be understood within this greater context. Unconfirmed or said-to-be "place found" information should not be treated as equivalent to a documented findspot or excavation.

Place observed in As noted in the case of the Grave Stele of Herophanta and Posideos (71.AA.288)²⁴⁶ seen in Smyrna "before 1715," it may only be possible to locate the earliest record of an object at the place where it was first seen. This should not be conflated with place of discovery, unless there is evidence that they are the same.

Date discovered or observed These dates should be clearly documented and citations provided.

Act of excavation or removal The method and type of removal, if known, should be specified. Excavation implies a controlled or documented site recovery. If the method of removal is unknown but the act itself is clear, this should be apparent in your notes. As mentioned above, you should also indicate if information regarding an object's excavation or discovery is lacking.

Reburial Once discovered, objects can also be reburied; this is particularly common with mosaics.²⁴⁷

Uncovered Objects can also be uncovered but left in situ, either partially or entirely exposed.

Beyond Provenance and Provenience

Other events following an object's discovery are important for ascertaining its history, if not its provenance. These are separate from ownership transfers but may be part of the evidence you consider and include along with provenance data.

Object broken or fragmented Ancient breakage of objects can reflect anything from ritual processes to accidental breakage during deposition. Modern breakages resulting in the dispersal of related fragments from a single object should also be noted.²⁴⁸

Object interventions: Restoration and mounting Ancient objects are frequently palimpsests of restoration and conservation campaigns, which may themselves be ancient in date.²⁴⁹ Fragments from disparate ancient works may also have been recomposed into modern pastiches.²⁵⁰ How an object was fitted for a mount and the kind of mount itself can indicate a date, although this is circumstantial without external confirmation.²⁵¹ The makers of many mounts are as yet unknown, although Kichizô Inagaki, who was active in Paris during the early twentieth century, stands out, in part due to several stamps associated with him (fig. 46).²⁵² Alien restorations or mounts can also be documented at one point and later removed, while drilling for new mounts often eradicates evidence of earlier mounts or interventions.



Figure 46 Inagaki stamp preserved on former base of Head of a Young Woman, Roman, 25 BCE–25 CE, marble (2022.10).

Credit Lines and Accession Numbers

Credit lines are often overlooked, are rarely explained, and may be misleading to museum visitors. They are public acknowledgements on labels or collection pages that indicate the donor of the work of art or funding source of its acquisition, as well as the kind of transfer involved: by exchange, gift, bequest, and so on. Despite their brevity, credit lines are complementary to provenance, but they should not be taken for a provenance narrative. The respective functions of the two diverge in significant ways, and they often fall within the purview of different museum departments. Credit lines may be more visible than provenance narratives, since institutional policies and legal contracts often mandate their use. They can also distinguish objects on loan from private collections and other institutions from those in a museum's permanent collection, and they may embed further information on behalf of those institutions.

An accession number, the number assigned to each specific object in a collection, can likewise be conflated with provenance data. These numbers may or may not relate to the year of acquisition (though the first digits in the Getty's accession numbers do) or serve to group a donation together. Numbering systems vary widely between institutions.

Processing: From Back End to Users

There are more than a dozen collection management systems (CMS) in use for museum collections around the world, including TMS, Embark, Mimsy, Emu, Collective Access, and Past Perfect, and they all process and present provenance in different ways. Even two museums using the same software may have radically different ways of fielding and presenting provenance data, both in-house and publicly. This bears stressing, as provenance formats and their appearance online are often governed by the format of the CMS, as well as by the interaction of the CMS with the public-facing collection pages.²⁵³

Provenance information may be documented in a CMS as a free-form text field, or, as at the Getty, in a variety of fields, including Place Found; Date Found In; Constituents; Curatorial Remarks; and Provenance Remarks (some of these are shown in fig. 47). Most of these fields in turn have separate subfield options nested beneath them, all of which appear online as a cohesive block.

The screenshot shows the 'Antiquities' record for object 72.AA.153. The interface includes a menu bar (File, Edit, View, Query, Report, Conservation, Registration, Related, Tools, Maintenance, Help) and a toolbar with navigation icons. The object is classified as 'Sculpture' and is a 'Roman' 'Female portrait: Statue of a Draped Woman, early 3rd century'. The 'Period' is '160 - 190'. The 'Artist' is 'Unknown'. The 'Owner' is 'J. Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Villa'. The 'Vendor' is 'Henri Kamber New York Ltd'. The 'Title' is 'Statue of a Draped Woman'. The 'Object Name' is 'Female portrait'. The 'Registrar Notes' field is empty. The 'Curatorial Remarks' field contains the text: 'An undated central file sheet, on restorations: "The right arm, including drapery on hip and shoulder, the left arm below the elbow, and folds of drapery were broken off"'. The 'Curatorial Remarks - PRIVATE' field is empty. The 'Text Entries' table shows a single entry dated 'Mar-21-2019' with the text 'In 2018, a drawing of the statue in a restored state. CCCXXXVII Tegninger af differente Antike og Modeller'.

Antiquities
72.AA.153

1 / 1

☐ Restricted ☒ Public Access ☒ Catalog Me

Classification
Sculpture

Period **Date** (3 Historical Dates) **Culture**
160 - 190 Roman

Constituent(s)
Artist: Unknown
Owner: J. Paul Getty Museum at the Getty Villa
Vendor: Henri Kamber New York Ltd

Group Information
Parent Unknown, Female portrait: Statue of a Draped Woman, early 3rd century (72.AA.153.a) 21 media on file...

Title (4 Titles) **Object Name** (1 Alternate Object Name)
Statue of a Draped Woman Female portrait

Registrar Notes

Curatorial Remarks
An undated central file sheet, on restorations: "The right arm, including drapery on hip and shoulder, the left arm below the elbow, and folds of drapery were broken off"

Curatorial Remarks - PRIVATE

Text Entries

Date	Text Type	Purpose	Status	Author	Text
Mar-21-2019	Provenance Remarks		Approved	Judith Barr	In 2018, a drawing of the statue in a restored state. CCCXXXVII Tegninger af differente Antike og Modeller

Add Edit Delete

Figure 47 Provenance data entered into record in The Museum System (TMS) for Statue of a Draped Woman (72.AA.153).

Because museum collection databases often need to accommodate a variety of collections, particularly in larger institutions, some have more robust fields relating to findspots (especially excavation data) and provenance than others, although not all may appear online. If you are creating or adapting a provenance syntax guide for a collection, you will need to map the relevant fields in both your current CMS and its public view.

Tracking Provenance Versions

The cyclical nature of provenance research, often conducted and revisited over years, is a critical dimension that is all too often absent from public presentations of provenance information. Because these necessarily present the most up-to-date research, any acknowledgment of older versions of the provenance text is frequently excluded. For those working in a collection database, few provenance syntaxes or CMS fields allow for the automatic inclusion of information about

changes to a previously published provenance.²⁵⁴ These edits, as we see throughout this book, may have been made for any number of reasons—fixing typos, introducing new material, correcting an older error. The introduction of a *Date last updated* is one way to signal that research is ongoing, but this too can oversimplify the duration of research; it also does not report the scope of updates, only their occurrence. As a general practice, updates and changes should be documented as much as possible in internal notes. In our own records, we are working to include mention of unverified or erroneous provenance information that has been given in previous publications in order to clarify our current understanding of an object's history.

Case Study: A Silver Bull Statuette

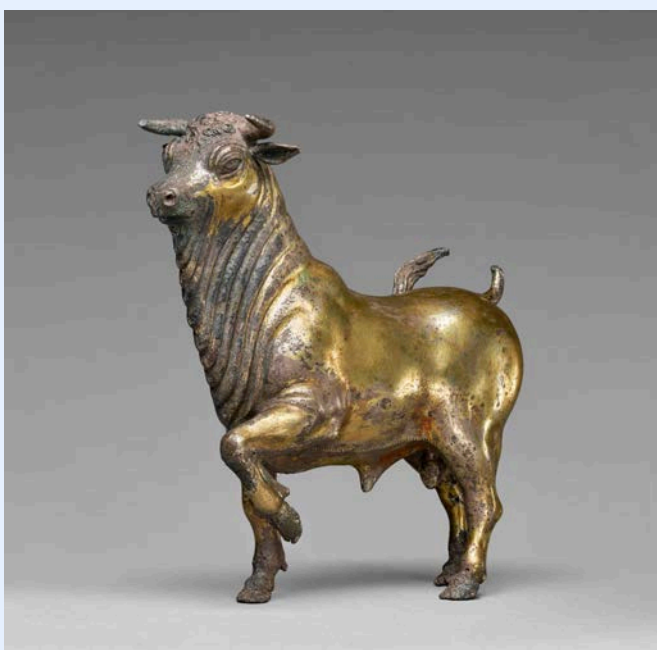


Figure 48 Statuette of a Bull, Roman, 25 BCE–75 CE, silver with gilding (2001.7).

As noted at many points in this chapter, ancient objects often accrue said-to-be and other unconfirmed information about their manufacture, findspot, or provenance. Such information raises many questions, which can rarely be answered: Said by whom? When? Why? Unfortunately, said-

to-be information is often treated as factual over time, regardless of its own provenance.²⁵⁵ Recording unconfirmed information offers an opportunity for understanding broader market or dealer patterns, but it should be clearly labeled and contextualized to prevent it from being read as likely or factual. Footnotes within a provenance narrative offer space to clarify these gray areas and document changes that have been made to an object's provenance, but they do not capture all questions raised. The blurred lines between possibly verified, plausible, or doubtful evidence—and the challenges of presenting this information—are particularly evident in relation to a gilt silver Statuette of a Bull (2001.7; fig. 48),²⁵⁶ for which an exciting said-to-be provenance had been accepted at face value.

According to its 2001 acquisition report, this bull “was discovered in Pompeii between 1780 and 1790 and became part of the collection of Maria Christina of Savoy (1812–1835),” a history that has been repeated in subsequent publications and gallery labels.²⁵⁷ Popular for its high quality and apparent Pompeian origins, the statuette has been on display regularly since its acquisition and was among the first objects to have its provenance reviewed and approved for the Getty's online collection pages in 2012. At that time, cross-checking Getty records with sales catalogues and genealogical records left no reason to doubt the given provenance. We have periodically revisited some of the earliest approved records since having “no reason to doubt” a statement is different from verifying it or determining it highly plausible through secondary sources. Where exactly did the story of its Pompeian discovery and royal ownership come from?

The earliest known publication of the bull is a 1997 Christie's sales catalogue, which gives the following provenance:

Said to have been found at Pompei circa 1780–1790, and later in the collection of Maria Cristina di Savoia. Subsequently inherited by Tomaso di Savoia, and then his daughter Maria Adelaide di Savoia. Later in the collections of Vgs Parsi di Londrone, a Swiss private collector, and Sogo Life K.K.

Complicating matters, Christie's online record of the auction preserves a provenance statement that matches the print version except for its first sentence, which runs: “Found at Pompei circa 1780–1790 during excavations conducted at the request of Maria Cristina di Savoia, Queen of Naples.”²⁵⁸ A third provenance statement, in a Robin Symes exhibition catalogue entry, muddies things further: “Formerly in the

collection of Maria Christina of Savoy, the silver figure was discovered in Pompeii between 1780–1790.”²⁵⁹

So, was the statue “said to have been found” or definitively “found” in Pompeii? And did Maria Cristina di Savoia request excavations that led to the bull’s discovery, or did it enter her collection sometime later? Clearly a full audit of the provenance statement was needed. The first step was to confirm the identities of the previous owners, their life dates, and the given line of inheritance. This research relied on online resources and published genealogies to build up a family tree for all possible constituents.²⁶⁰ This review revealed confusion over the identity of Maria Cristina di Savoia, who, based on lines of descent, is now recognized as Maria Cristina di Borbone-Napoli (1779–1849).²⁶¹ There is still no secondary evidence confirming the early history of the bull, however; there is no mention of it in publications of Savoy family collections, nor in the Pompeian excavation records that we have reviewed thus far.

We contacted Christie’s for additional information on the origin of the provenance statement and received confirmation that according to the object’s consignor, the bull was previously owned by Kojiro Ishiguro (1916–1992), who wrote a provenance statement similar to the one in Christie’s online auction record. If this statement was indeed drafted by Ishiguro, it would be the earliest version, written before his death in 1992, and thus before the Christie’s 1997 catalogue. A well-known antiquities collector and dealer in Japan, Ishiguro was active in Paris during the 1950s and ’60s and continued buying art until the end of his life.²⁶² His collection has been published on a few occasions, but we have found no additional documentation of the silver bull.

Given the possible, but still unverified, nature of the silver bull’s provenance, how do we best serve the object and its history? Despite some initial genealogical confusion, the Savoy family line of inheritance checks out, and yet the earliest evidence is essentially hearsay—a consignor’s account of a deceased former owner’s statement. While valuable, this history is qualified on the object’s online collection page, with extensive provenance remarks explaining the Christie’s provenance statement, its possible interpretation, and the likely, but as yet unverified, earlier history.²⁶³ And in making these remarks searchable and public, we hope this provenance can be further scrutinized, researched, and revised as more resources become available.

Provenance Data beyond the Collection Management System

Publishing provenance data online is just one step toward making it accessible for research. Increasingly, institutions have hosted collection information as GitHub²⁶⁴ repositories of data and made APIs available for their collection databases. These tools allow interested parties to utilize provenance information for large-scale research into the art market and data mapping.²⁶⁵

If you are writing a provenance narrative or incorporating provenance data in different database fields, consider how that data will be split up and represented in these systems. Will the provenance data be included at all? Are there hyperlinks, source notes, or other internal links that are part of reading the provenance? Is provenance data contained in a single field, or is relevant material split across different fields? Is this clear in the output from these systems?

Likewise, users of this kind of dataset should confirm whether other applicable data exists elsewhere in the record. Information relevant to provenance may be fragmented across a single object's collection record, so consider descriptions of marks, explanatory background present in the description, exhibition history, and bibliographic data, as well as any listed caveats. The technological or syntactical limitations of different database fields over time may contribute to this fragmentation, as the provenance narrative field rarely exists as a stand-alone dataset.

Information from different institutions will likely need to be standardized before these different models and syntaxes can be compared against each other. This is not to say that these datasets do not hold great promise for understanding the art market and different aspects of the development of museum collections, but understanding how museum methodologies differ from one another is an important part of this research.

Linking with Other Objects and Collections

Even in researching the provenance of just one object, the interconnectedness of object histories quickly becomes apparent. There exist many levels of networks, starting from the object itself, which may be fragmented or part of a whole, and extending to its discovery context, categorization, collecting history, display, exhibition, and current location. While these networks can connect objects in distant collections, visualizing these links can be difficult with current collection database systems.

Looking ahead, linking out and between collections is an area where provenance research has room to grow, in order to find solutions to the roadblocks of incomplete databases and broken links.²⁶⁶ Though a work in progress, hyperlinking to related records at other museums has been done on

some Getty collection pages. One example is the Sarcophagus Panel with a Wool Merchant (86.AA.701),²⁶⁷ which is related to a panel in Stockholm's Museum of Mediterranean Antiquities; this relationship is now indicated through a hyperlink in the object description online.²⁶⁸ In the meantime, putting all the identifying information about related objects in a public object record (and linking out to relevant resources, if possible) is a good start.

Deaccessioned Works

American museums and cultural institutions have been deaccessioning works from their holdings, including antiquities, for at least a century. This involves officially removing them from the collection and then disposing of them in whatever way is appropriate for their situation (though sometimes retaining them for another museum purpose outside of the permanent collection). There are many reasons for deaccessioning: an object is in poor condition; it no longer supports the mission of the museum; it has been determined to be a forgery; it has been identified as an illicit or unethical acquisition; it is being repatriated or restituted; or its sale could raise needed funds for future acquisitions or collection care.²⁶⁹ In the past, the deaccession process was less formalized than it is today, and even for deaccessioned collections sold at auction the name of the collection in question was not always given, and information about its provenance and reason for disposal may not have been specified.²⁷⁰ In some cases, records about past deaccessions and sales are accessible through the original institution, which may be able to share additional information. Those records may no longer exist, however, and in the absence of a photograph or detailed description, it is not always possible to confirm that the object in question is the one described. Where possible, past deaccession information should be included as part of an object's current provenance, and any prior accession numbers or labels fully documented.

Institutions today are guided in the practice of deaccessioning by different organizational and professional guidelines. Many American museums follow the Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD) policy on deaccessioning, released in 2010 and included in the Association of Academic Museums and Galleries' updated 2022 *Professional Practices in Art Museums*.²⁷¹ While the AAMD's policy does not focus on the public presentation of provenance, part of its statement does include a provision that deaccessioned works, regardless of the reason they were deaccessioned, should be published on the museum's website.²⁷² Internal documentation of objects, including record retention, images of the object, and information about its disposal are likewise covered under the AAMD policy.²⁷³

Museums have developed various models for presenting information about deaccessioned works of art online, and the object's provenance at the time of its deaccession may form part of this.²⁷⁴ The Cleveland Museum of Art provides a

list of all works of art deaccessioned since 1998 together with their basic tombstone data on a dedicated page; likewise, the website of the Seattle Art Museum hosts a page with object number, title, and some thumbnail images.²⁷⁵ Currently, the Portland Museum of Art, Portland, Maine, provides some linked PDFs with works of art grouped by year of deaccession, and the Carlos Museum of Art at Emory University has presented some recent restitutions and repatriations with detailed discussions outlining the evidence for the return of the objects.²⁷⁶ Some museums, including the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the San Antonio Museum of Art, continue to make the records for some deaccessioned objects available through their online collection pages together with expanded notices of provenance and an explanation of the method of deaccessioning.²⁷⁷ In 2025 the Getty likewise made records of deaccessioned objects from across the museum available through its online collection pages, with Antiquities deaccessions updated to include provenance information known at the time of acquisition.²⁷⁸ This myriad of choices in presenting deaccessions reflects an opportunity for sharing resources and developing best practices, but it also highlights the reality that different collections—including those not part of AAMD—will make differing choices around sharing deaccessioned data and its public presentation.

Conclusion

This chapter was born out of speaking with hundreds of students, visitors, docents, and colleagues, all eager to dive into provenance data from myriad angles. It is, in essence, the toolkit we wish we had had when embarking on our own project. What is clear is that what may seem basic to some can be revelatory for others, and that multiple research strategies are required for any project—as well as the acceptance of sometimes incremental, sometimes nonexistent research results. Often, miscommunication about the usage of provenance terminology or syntax, especially within museum database systems, has led to misunderstanding and confusion, and we hope that this chapter serves as a prompt to step back and consider how these can and should be used.

Our case studies involve objects acquired through the art market in some way, and even as we have chosen them to illustrate the possibilities of provenance research, many still have decades, even centuries, of unknown histories. But it is typical that many questions about an object's history remain open-ended, and the absence of a complete history does not preclude their study from being useful. Likewise, many are minor objects, not masterpieces, but this too represents the reality of provenancing an entire collection.

Museums have a duty of care toward their collections, and dealing with these fractured histories must become something with which all collections of

Mediterranean antiquities grapple. This work cannot take place in isolation, and as more information is documented and made available, our collective understanding of these objects and their often complex histories will grow exponentially.

Notes

1. On the distinction between “provenience” and “provenience” or “findspot,” see the Introduction.
2. Getty Museum objects are listed with their accession number and a link to their online collection page record, where full bibliography and provenance statements can be accessed. All illustrated objects are in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection, Malibu, unless otherwise indicated. Objects from other museums are listed with the holding institution’s name, the object’s accession number, and where possible a link to the collection page.
3. Yeide, Akinsha, and Walsh 2001. Given the evolution of provenance research over the last thirty years, such guides have tended to focus on European paintings and decorative arts with special attention to World War II-era issues, but their recommendations are applicable to any object type and period.
4. E.g., Front of a Garland Sarcophagus (72.AA.158; <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/7008/>).
5. On the *galleria lapidaria* at the American Academy in Rome, see Ohl 1931.
6. E.g., Cameo with Bust of the Goddess Isis with Modern Mount (2019.13.16); <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/336773/>.
7. This is not to understate the support that this kind of intensive research requires in terms of time, collection knowledge, and library and archival access.
8. 71.AD.293; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XDH>.
9. For discussion of the composition of the collection and the provenance research project, see the Introduction, and also Saunders, Barr, and Budrovich 2021, 208–9.
10. 81.AN.76; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103TYX>.
11. On the forged export paperwork for a gold sarcophagus purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, see Stapley–Brown and Kenney 2019; on the forged paperwork for the purchase of the Getty kouros, see True 1993, 13. One in–depth case study on a forgery and its provenance is Sabar 2020. On the notorious case of John Drewe, who was accused of creating false provenances for forged paintings in the late 1980s and early 1990s by, among other tactics, inserting forged documents into the archives of the Tate Gallery in London, see Riding 1996; Salisbury and Sujo 2009.
12. For an extended case study demonstrating the analysis of metadata through ExifTool, see Sampson 2020, 161–65.
13. Wayback Machine; <https://web.archive.org/>.
14. See Coote 2023.
15. 70.AE.105; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SQ8>.
16. 71.AC.223; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XC8>.
17. 79.AA.132; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103TQG>.
18. 98.AE.98; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108DEH>.
19. For additional discussion, see entry on Herbert Cahn in “Dealer Biographies” (Appendix 2).
20. 94.AE.114.2; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/10409Z>.
21. On the history of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities, see http://www.culture.gov.cy/dmcculture/da/da.nsf/DMLhistory_gr/DMLhistory_gr.
22. See von Bothmer and Bean 1969.
23. 86.AE.289; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103W7C>.
24. 81.AF.1; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105YQX>. We are grateful to Victoria Reed of the MFA for information regarding this loan.
25. 76.AD.16; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103T3X>.
26. Ede 1975, no. 30.
27. For a history of price codes, particularly with respect to the book trade, see Kidd 2017. A fragmentary label on the base of a statuette of Asklepios (70.AA.102; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105X9P>) includes on three lines “398/dzrr/ucrr,” likely a price code or similar reference.

28. 2023.19; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/1146B1>. See Spier 2014 for further discussion, esp. 69 on the re-creation of the inscription as “Laurentius Rex Medices (or Mediceus).”
29. Spier 2014, 72.
30. 82.AE.42; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103VA6>.
31. Rycroft’s monogram is referenced in a collection of bookplates; see Franks and Gambier Howe 1904, 439, no. 25822.
32. 96.AE.227; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/107SAX>.
33. 85.AE.446; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103VW7>.
34. Dietrich von Bothmer amassed a study collection of more than 16,000 fragments of Greek vases. On his death in 2009, these were bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum, which accepted them with the approval of the Italian Ministry for Cultural Property and Activity. More than 300 objects from the Bothmer study collection were also donated to the Michael C. Carlos Museum at Emory University between 2002 and 2006. See <https://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-met/collection-areas/greek-and-roman-art/bothmer-fragment-collection> and <https://collections.carlos.emory.edu/groups/bothmercollection>.
35. 55.AK.9; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SNG>.
36. On the mount inscription, see Maish, Barr, and Elshahawi 2020.
37. 82.AE.128; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103VCR>.
38. Christie’s 1980, lot 19, mentions Compton’s note on the excavation, as does the entry in Jentoft-Nilsen and Trendall 1991, 35. Examining the object in storage revealed Compton’s note and the underlined number “100” also in pencil, which had not been previously documented and whose significance is currently unknown. The archivist at Castle Ashby, Philip Compton, confirmed that the handwriting matched that of Spencer Compton (P. Compton, pers. comm., email August 25, 2018).
39. 96.AD.228; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/107SB2>.
40. 83.AE.396; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103VHP>.
41. For detailed discussion of these seals, see Milanese 2014, 24, 65, fig. 5 and pl. III.
42. The scope and contents of the unpublished lists are summarized in Milanese 2014. During the years of Ferdinand II’s reign (1830–1859) there were about 4,500 “Vasi italo-greci” exported; see Milanese 2014, 28, table 6.
43. For one model, see the Metropolitan Museum web page “Archival Labels: A Selection of Archival Labels and Stamps Found on Works of Art in the Leonard A. Lauder Cubist Collection”: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/leonard-lauder-research-center/research-resources/the-leonard-a-d-lauder-cubist-collection-at-the-met/archival-labels/collectors>.
44. 79.AP.129; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103TQE>.
45. The Federal Monuments Office of Austria, also called the BDA, issued these stamps; Barr 2020, 114, fig. 11.5; see also Bartoli 2021, 12, fig. 1. Many thanks again to Anita Stelzl-Gallian of the Bundesdenkmalamt for this information.
46. Barr 2020; APPEAR Project, <https://www.getty.edu/projects/appear-project/>. See also “Tracing the Path to the Museum” in *Funerary Portraits from Roman Egypt: Facing Forward*, from the digital exhibition, Harvard Art Museum, Cambridge, August 26–December 30, 2022; <https://harvardartmuseums.org/tour/770/slide/12413>.
47. 78.AB.408.1; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105Y7A>. 78.AB.408.2; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105Y7B>. 78.AB.408.3; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105Y7C>. 78.AB.408.4; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105Y7D>. 78.AB.408.5; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105Y7D>.
48. MacGregor and Brown 1987, 14–15. Notably, this book is no longer searchable online, so if this research were undertaken today, it would require a different approach. The unpredictability of access to online resources, especially copyrighted materials, is a frustrating reality of research. For this reason, we recommend archiving and preserving links, detailed notes, and screenshots of online resources.
49. The Hugh Fawcett collection is well documented in Pearce 2016, 145–50.
50. Sotheby’s 1963, lot 74.
51. See the section in this chapter “Auction and Sales Catalogues” for additional discussion of price lists in auction catalogues.
52. Additional information on Fawcett’s collecting practices and his archives was kindly provided by Gail Boyle, Senior Curator of Archaeology

- at the Bristol Museum & Art Gallery and caretaker of Fawcett's collection since 1987, pers. comm., email September 14, 2017.
53. "Dr. HA Fawcett Collection of Typology," Open Data Bristol; <https://arcg.is/OTDqnW>.
 54. The database has an entry for "12 small bronze figurines" with the provenance "Roman, oviesto graves, Italy" acquired from Sotheby's & Co. on June 16, 1944, lot 70b, but a matching sale catalogue of that date has not been identified, so the connection remains unverified.
 55. Grossman, Podany, and True 2003. See further Scott 2023 for substantive consideration of the philosophies behind restoration decisions.
 56. Fendt 2012.
 57. Carruba 2020.
 58. Rocheleau 2020; Chloros, Podany, and Salmon 2018, respectively.
 59. See Mattusch 2005 and Lahusen and Formigli 2007. Looking beyond Naples, see Risser and Saunders 2013 and Descamps-Lequime and Mille 2007; the latter considers ancient restoration techniques as well.
 60. Daehner, Lapatin, and Spinelli 2017.
 61. Ebbinghaus 2014; one example is the entry for Harvard Art Museums, inv. no. 2012.211; <https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/342292>.
 62. Svoboda and Cartwright 2020.
 63. On paintings in Pompeii, see D'Alconzo 2002; for the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, see Prisco 2009.
 64. See Bentz and Kästner 2007; Bourgeois and Matz 2010; Bourgeois and Denoyelle 2013; Kästner and Saunders 2016.
 65. Bouquillon, Zink, and Porto 2010.
 66. Cooper 2021.
 67. Jennings and Sellen 2018.
 68. Baggio et al. 2019.
 69. "Dissecta membra" is a term used by the scholar of Greek vases Sir John Beazley in discussing joining fragments from different collections; see Beazley 1931.
 70. 77.AE.11; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103TA4>.
 71. Saunders, Barr, and Budrovich 2021, 209–10, fig. 10.1. The remaining fragments of the body are attributed to the Berlin Painter and are preserved as a single object with a single record (Louvre G 166.A; <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010270060>). Part of the foot was subsequently identified as belonging with a krater by Euphronios (Louvre G 103; <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010269994>). A photograph of the composite vase is part of 77.AE.11's current display label at the Getty, and the Louvre loans are referenced in the online description and provenance remarks.
 72. Scott 2002, 257.
 73. See e.g., 79.AK.30.1; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/106158>.
 74. Bliquez 1986.
 75. The use of XRF continues to evolve; see Bezur 2020.
 76. Many of these techniques are used by the Getty Museum Conservation department; see Svoboda 2017; Allen 2019; Waldorf 2020.
 77. 57.AD.9; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SP6>.
 78. Diary entry, April 26, 1957, J. Paul Getty diary (August 28, 1956–July 15, 1959). The Getty Research Institute, 2010.IA.16.
 79. Museum curatorial file. Subsequent research has linked the Getty statuette with the Italian forger Antonio Biondi (1887–1961), active in Centuripe, Sicily, in the early twentieth century. See Biondi 2013, 8, fig. 10a.
 80. 55.AK.9; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SNG>.
 81. Maish, Barr, and Elshahawi 2020.
 82. See Brogi 2005, 52; Vallini 2005, 52; Rossi 2014, 257–59.
 83. 2016.38; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109MET>.
 84. Stephan 2016.
 85. See Kästner and Saunders 2016, 61.
 86. 2001.28.1; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108HGJ>; see also Jaskol 2021; Lapatin 2022.
 87. See <https://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/gems/>.
 88. Platz-Horster 2005.
 89. Lapatin 2022, 60–62; "The Poniatowski Collection of Gems," Classical Art Research Centre, <https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/carc/gems/The-Poniatowski-Collection/Introduction>.
 90. Published in sixteen print volumes plus indices and supplements from 1981 to 2009. A digital database of objects in LIMC is available at <https://weblimc.org>; note that this does not contain the comprehensive essays or all photographs found in the print edition.
 91. For a consideration of the role of provenance in a catalogue raisonné, see Cooke 2020. Athenian painted pottery has offered many opportunities for this kind of research; see, e.g., Padgett 2017, 373–403. Named artists and workshops can certainly be identified among extant glass, mosaics, gems, and

- sarcophagi, but these still constitute a minority of ancient art objects.
92. In the U.S., dissertations are archived in university libraries and depositories; many are accessible through a subscription database such as ProQuest or on microfilm. British theses may be accessible through the British Library EThOS service or through respective universities. Publication or access embargoes may be enabled.
 93. E.g., 86.AE.65 (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103VZR>) was published while in the Bareiss collection: Moore 1971, 114, no. A 790 bis.
 94. 72.AA.153; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103QSQ>. See further discussion below in note 204.
 95. 71.AD.293; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XDH>.
 96. The purchase and the urn and lid are discussed in Barr 2018a.
 97. Sannibale 1994.
 98. Falconi Amorelli 1962.
 99. Falconi Amorelli's article is itself a kind of typological publication, focusing on Etruscan urns once in the Gorga collection, which was at that time owned by the Italian state and housed in storage on the Palatine Hill in Rome. For additional background on Gorga and a comprehensive bibliography, see Lyons 2018, 63–69.
 100. Falconi Amorelli 1962, 323–25, no. 4, fig. 6 (the urn, 71.AD.293.1) and 325–26, no. 1, fig. 8 (the lid, 71.AD.293.2).
 101. Stendahl Art Galleries records (Getty Research Institute, 2017.M.38, http://primo.getty.edu/GRI:GETTY_ALMA21177919370001551).
 102. Cast collections are useful resources for provenance and for the history of restoration, as they may preserve prior alterations or restorations no longer extant on an object; see Frederiksen and Marchand 2010. As some cast collections continued collecting examples into the twentieth century, they can also document art market movements of objects; e.g., a cast of the Grave Stele of Pollis (90.AA.129; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103WJ8>) that was made for the Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke in Munich in 1988 provides the earliest record of the original. For more on historic casts, see Graepler and Ruppel 2019. Casts of gems in plaster, sulfur, wax, and glass were frequently traded between scholars and collectors and used to form dactylothecae (gem cabinets). These can be critical for gem studies, on which see more in the “Annotated Resource Guide” (Appendix 1). Inscriptions may also have been documented using rubbings or squeezes; for an overview on squeeze production and the historic use and preservation of squeezes, see Booth 2018.
 103. 96.AC.41; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/10402V>.
 104. Jadis of London 1985, 52–53.
 105. The Rome sketchbook of Pierre Jacques of Reims (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Codex Remensis), fol. 60, published in Reinach 1902, 130. This connection between the Jacques drawing and the Patin situla was later published in Untermeyer and Hackenbroch 1962, xxxii, regarding the replica now at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (see note 107). The Metropolitan's replica, and thus the Untermeyer and Hackenbroch reference, were not documented in Getty Museum records for 96.AC.41 until curatorial research in 2018.
 106. Montfaucon 1724, 181, pl. 68.
 107. Metropolitan Museum of Art 64.101.1464 ; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/203949>; Untermeyer and Hackenbroch 1962, xxxii.
 108. Christie's 1974, lot 148. Many thanks to Denise Allen from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (pers. comm., September 2019) for this information and for history on the situla.
 109. For a full consideration of “archives,” see the online Dictionary of Archives Terms, from the Society of American Archivists; <https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/archives.html>.
 110. The Society of American Archivists' Dictionary of Archives Terminology, under “Provenance,” says: “The principle of provenance or the *respect des fonds* dictates that records of different origins (provenance) be kept separate to preserve their context.” <https://dictionary.archivists.org/entry/provenance.html>. For a critical look at the role of provenance in archives, see Drake 2016.
 111. <https://www.oclc.org/research/areas/research-collections/archivegrid.html>; <https://oac.cdlib.org/>.
 112. <https://research.frick.org/directory>.
 113. Berry 2020, Missing: Not by Accident section; see also Brilmyer 2022.
 114. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/cloisters-archives-collections/the-brummer-gallery-records>.

115. <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/jacques-seligmann-co-records-9936>.
116. https://www.getty.edu/research/special_collections/notable/knoedler.html.
117. 73.AA.125; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XKE>.
118. Our thanks to the staff of the Textile Museum for their assistance with this research. For the Brummer Gallery Records, Metropolitan Museum of Art, catalogue card P2328, see <https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p16028coll9/id/26784>. Handwritten on the reverse of the card is a note: "Marius Jandallo 10,000 lire", documenting the head's purchase in 1925; this is likely an alternate spelling of Mario Jandolo, a member of a large family of antiquities dealers in Rome.
119. Bernard J. Reis papers, ca. 1913–1983. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/bernard-j-reis-papers-8398>; Bernard and Rebecca Reis papers, ca. 1924–1985, Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Accession no. 900184, http://primo.getty.edu/GRI:GETTY_ALMA21119554670001551.
120. 2002.85; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/212678>. The Levee donation also included two Boeotian statuettes (2002.81 and 2002.82), a modern imitation of a Cycladic violin-shaped figure (2002.80), several bronze objects including human figures (2002.83, 2002.84, 2002.86), a Scythian appliqué (2002.79), and a medieval sphinx (2002.87); for all of Levee's donations: <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/person/10540T>.
121. 2002.80; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/10920W>.
122. 2002.86; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/10921A>.
123. *Ancient Art* 1954, nos. 124 and 226. The only other object with a verified earlier published provenance at the time of donation was the bronze sphinx appliqué (2002.87; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/10921D>), which had been sold in the estate sale of Joseph Brummer in 1949.
124. Two are blank (affixed to 2002.81 and 2002.82) and three have undated written annotations: "#R1" (on 2002.79), "R4" (on 2002.84), and "B-9 Lorna" (previously on 2002.85, removed during conservation).
125. *Index* 1991, fiche 1768, D14; <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/710155>.
126. 2002.79; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/10920V>. 2002.83; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109214>. 2002.84; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109215>.
127. Arachne database (IDAI.objects arachne), <https://arachne.dainst.org/>.
128. See the Arachne About page for the latest statistics, background, overview of the database's contents, and information on how to use: <https://arachne.dainst.org/info/about>.
129. To better understand the history and structure of the archive, see the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) Rome photo archive information page: <https://arachne.dainst.org/project/fotorom>, and categories of DAI Rome's photo archive: <https://arachne.dainst.org/project/fotoromcategories>.
130. Andreae et al. 1991.
131. The physical microfiche contains 2,714 fiche cards, and each fiche contains up to seven rows of images (marked A–G) arranged in fourteen columns (numbered 1–14), preserving up to ninety-eight image thumbnails, although not all fiches use all spaces. The fiche card number, row letter, and column number become the "Filmnummer" in Arachne metadata; <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/710155>.
132. For additional background on the inventory registers: <https://arachne.dainst.org/project/invbuecherrom>.
133. <https://arachne.dainst.org/project/invbuecherrom/search?q=>.
134. The cover page for the second volume of the 1934 inventory register (volume number 19) has a handwritten note at the bottom that reads, "Buchrücken: 19 1934 Phot. Nr. 4401–6740 Inst. Neg. 1001–1551.", recording what is likely written on the spine ("Buchrücken") volume: the volume number, year, photo number range, and negative number range. *Inventarbuch* 1934, Arachne ID: 15255, <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/15317>.
135. *Arachne Inventarbuch* 1934, 94, Arachne ID 1572804: <https://arachne.dainst.org/entity/1572804>. Ludwig Curtius (1874–1954) was a German archaeologist who served as director of the DAI Rome from 1928 to 1938; no complete inventory or catalogue of his collection is known.
136. 2018.31; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109P06>.
137. DAI Rome negative nos. 60.2432–34.

138. Getty Research Institute, "Felbermeyer photographs for the Central Collecting Point, Munich," N5740 .F45, Boxes 73–82, http://primo.getty.edu/GRI:GETTY_ALMA21143962670001551; and Getty Research Institute, "Felbermeyer photographs of antiquities and art in Italy," N5740 .F45, http://primo.getty.edu/GRI:GETTY_ALMA21143962670001551.
139. On the history of the Felbermeyer collection and its organization, see Blecksmith 2012, 1.
140. Getty Research Institute, "Felbermeyer photographs of antiquities and art in Italy," N5740 .F45, Box 27, folder 3. This is undated and otherwise unlabeled aside from a piece of graph paper with an undeciphered word and "Hadrian?" written in green ink. It was reassocated with the bust in 2019.
141. The sticker was discovered by Jens Daehner, curator at the J. Paul Getty Museum.
142. E.g., the 1694 *Biblioteca Wrightiana*, a catalogue for a collection to be auctioned in Covent Garden, London, Bullord and Sloane 1694.
143. For an example involving manuscripts, see Kidd 2021.
144. This practice is noted in varying ways for different firms, particularly in the 1960s to 1970s; see Burnham 1973; Birmingham 1977, 40; Huda 2008, 124–25.
145. See e.g., a bronze belt buckle (71.AC.185; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SR9>) and two spoons (71.AC.340 and 71.AC.341; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XEN> and <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XEP>), previously sold at Sotheby's with a provenance suggesting the group be considered a single hoard with a probable shared findspot: "The present owner discovered them in the roof of a shed." This has not been verified and the current whereabouts of the other objects sold at the same time are unknown.
146. For an example listing both buyers and prices, see Hamilton Palace 1882.
147. These may further be described as "hand copies" and "protocol catalogues," as in the corpus of auctioneer catalogues from the Hugo Helbing auction house (there, "Protokollkatalogs"); see <https://www.arthistoricum.net/en/subjects/thematic-portals/german-sales/helbing/handcopies>.
148. Produced for Sotheby's (London) by May 30, 1927, through October 28, 1974; for Christie's (London), by February 20, 1959, through February 25, 1975. For an example from a smaller firm, see the auction of antiquities owned by the late Sir Henry Wellcome through Harrods in conjunction with Allsop & Company on February 28, 1939, Harrods 1939, unnumbered pages between pages 8–9. Subscription package contents, including price result lists, vary by auction house.
149. See the caveats above regarding buying in and prices not meeting a given reserve or minimum price. Consistency within and between lists is rare, as alternate spellings of names and obvious typos are common.
150. 2017.2; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109NAS>.
151. Basan 1775, lot 94. The page is viewable online at <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/446719/page-16-basan-catalogue-raisonne-des-differens-objets-de-cctx=bd3a9698-b425-435d-9701-6a6a6a41ae&idx=14> (MFA, Boston 37.1713.16).
152. 74.AA.63; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103T09>.
153. Fifth Avenue Art Galleries 1905, lot 622, with illus.
154. See Nørskov 2017. The Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (INHA) presents an exceptionally useful dataset of select nineteenth-century French antiquities auction sales, with a focus on the dispersal of Attic pottery; see <https://ventesdantiques.inha.fr/> and also <https://venteantique.hypotheses.org/cahiers-plaoutine>.
155. Pryor 2024.
156. For a prior case study, see Barr 2018a. More recent cases include that of London-based dealer Gary Klesch, who sued Richard Green Fine Paintings in 2019 over auction results not included at time of sale; see Adam 2019.
157. On the many considerations of "said to be" information, see Papamichelakis and Renfrew 2010, 181–85, who analyze the market provenances of the so-called Keros Hoard, a group of Cycladic artifacts that started to appear on the market in the late 1950s and early 1960s, together with oral histories of the looting of the Dhaskalio Kavos site and of the more recent archaeological excavation.
158. Segal 2018.
159. 71.AC.356; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XF5>.
160. See also the Herm of Hermes (79.AA.132; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103TQG>).

161. Sotheby's 1965, lot 160.
162. Fröhner 1885, xxxii. "Found in 1842 at Bouzi, near Landrecies (North). Old collection of M. Faillly." For further context on the bronzes from the Gréau collection, see Lee and Gisler 2018.
163. See also the Grave Stele of Menekrates (71.AA.376; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XFN>), for which consultation of both the English and Latin versions of an auction catalogue proved critical in making an identification; Barr et al. 2020.
164. 78.AA.265; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103THD>.
165. Christie's 1977, lot 207. To date, no external evidence linking the bust to the Thames has surfaced.
166. Centaur (82.AL.78; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103VAV>): dell'Arco and Marconi 1997, 124; Lowther Castle Cybele (57.AA.19; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SPE>; newspaper clippings of acrolithic head (74.AA.33; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SZG>) discussed in Saunders, Barr, and Budrovich 2021, 214–15. From outside of the Getty's collection, see the decades-long series of advertisements for the Kahlua Corporation featuring pre-Hispanic cultural objects, Sund 2000; and Amlash artworks turned into film characters by their owner, in *Amlash Enchanted Forest* (1974).
167. Examples of these include the Smithsonian Archives of American Art's Oral History Program, which preserves thousands of interviews, many of which reference the art market and collectors in America; <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/about-the-collections>. Likewise, the Getty Research Institute holds more than a thousand oral history interviews relating to the visual arts; https://www.getty.edu/research/special_collections/oral_histories/index.html.
168. For further background, see the Frick Collection's series of discussions "Recovering Women's Legacies: Artists, Dealers, Collectors, and Patrons"; https://www.frick.org/interact/miniseries/women_legacies.
169. Recent scholarly attention has remedied this somewhat, with additional archival material brought to light; see Stasi 2021; Jumeau-Lafond 2022.
170. E.g., the Portrait Head of a Julio-Claudian Prince (71.AA.285; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XDC>) was documented as a photo postcard when part of the Lanckoronski family collection. Our thanks to Jörg Deterling for this information.
171. See Michaelis 1875; Michaelis 1882. Art historian, dealer, and curator Cornelius C. Vermeule later documented the dispersal of those storied British collections onto the changing art market in the early and mid-twentieth century: Vermeule 1955a; Vermeule 1955b; Vermeule and von Bothmer 1956; Vermeule and von Bothmer 1959a; Vermeule and von Bothmer 1959b.
172. Angelicoussis et al. 2017.
173. Fejfer and Southworth 1991, Davies 2007, Bartman 2017.
174. A key resource in considering the world of early Classical sculpture collecting in Britain is Coltman 2009.
175. A recent spate of publications on dealers in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries shows the potential for further documenting these networks; see Galanakis and Skaltsa 2012; Petruccioli 2022; Biro, Brennan, and Force 2023.
176. For one early example of antiquities available through mail order, see Egginton 2017. On antiquities collected by Australian soldiers, see Donaldson and Asmussen 2020. Two Mediterranean antiquities, a fragmentary shabti figure and an engraved gem, were discovered in pre-1880 contexts in Sydney; Descœudres 1989.
177. Local historical societies or public libraries may have specialists who can help in identifying relevant material.
178. For in-depth analyses of the treatment of provenance in past exhibition catalogues, see Chippindale and Gill 2000; and Marlowe 2016, a response to the former.
179. See above on the label found inside the Coniform Vase (81.AF.1; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105YQX>).
180. 96.AB.35; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/104039>.
181. Sotheby's 2005, e.g., lots 8, 37, 42. We are grateful to Melba Whatley Davis (pers. comm., November 9, 2023) for information on her collecting and to the Dallas Museum of Art for confirming the loan data.
182. South Kensington Museum 1873.
183. 2001.28.12; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108HGQ>.
184. An Estée Lauder ad in *Connoisseur* magazine (1986, 2–3), includes objects from the Royal Athena Gallery. A Coptic textile and Syrian glass vessel appear in "Weihnachtliche Geschenke" [Christmas Presents] in *Die Kunst*

- und das schöne Heim 1966, iss. 3, 37. See also the recurrent *Vogue* feature "More Art Than Money," e.g., *Vogue* 1960, 134–37.
185. Tozzi 1967, 73.AA.45; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SZ1>.
 186. For instance, dealer advertisements for Mohammad Yeganeh from 1959 onward document several alternate spellings of his name (e.g., Mohammad Jägane), as well as gallery names and locations and other details; see entry in Dealer Biographies (Appendix 2).
 187. For examples from England, see Anderson 2020.
 188. The Athens house of Alexander Iolas, decorated with artwork dating from the ancient to contemporary periods, appears in a magazine article, Dorsey 1981.
 189. An array of objects is visible in an article on a property owned by singers Marc Antony and Jennifer Lopez in Bowles 2006, 201.
 190. Among many examples, see Aillaud 1987.
 191. Nor can these articles be taken at face value. For a recent case study where disputed objects were digitally erased from published images, see Woodman et al. 2022.
 192. Application program interfaces, or APIs, provide direct access to the raw data used by applications. APIs can be accessed by advanced users for complex data analysis, or integrated into other software. E.g., a museum API can facilitate exporting accessible collections data from a collections database. For the Getty API, see <https://data.getty.edu/museum/collection/docs/> and <https://www.getty.edu/projects/open-data-apis/>.
 193. One museum blog focused on provenance is *Den of Antiquity*, by Annie Shanley, the provenance researcher at the Michael C. Carlos Museum of Art at Emory University: <https://carlos.emory.edu/den-antiquity>.
 194. For discussions of two such exhibitions, see Karrels 2019 and Mallon 2022. Moving beyond a strict gallery installation, the 2023 exhibition *Loot – 10 Stories at the Mauritshuis* used VR narratives to explore the histories and possible futures of looted art. <https://www.mauritshuis.nl/en/what-s-on/exhibitions/loot/#journey-through-history>.
 195. See <https://mam.org/exhibitions/details/bouguereau-and-america.php>. The show also toured at the San Diego Museum of Art.
 196. Shaya 2021.
 197. On the exhibition: <https://fowler.ucla.edu/exhibitions/particular-histories/>; for the Story Maps: <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/collections/00b60a9fac234dfa9e02e58549ac5c7.54.AA.11>; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SNC>.
 198. 54.AA.11; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SNC>.
 199. On the complicated histories of the provenance of the Mazarin Venus, see Barr 2019, as well as the discussion in the Provenance Remarks field of its Collection Page on the most recent research.
 200. Getty website, "Research on Museum Collection Provenance": <https://www.getty.edu/museum/provenance/index.html>.
 201. Yeide, Akinsha, and Walsh 2001, 33.
 202. American Alliance of Museums 2013.
 203. One developing model, the Linked.Art data model, organizes information around events not owners, allowing for the creation of a complex map of information connected to an object. This includes, but is not limited to, provenance and provenience (findspot) data; see <https://linked.art/model/>.
 204. See 72.AA.153 (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103QSQ>) and 2016.38 (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/109MET>), Statue of a Draped Woman and Head of a Veiled Woman, both discussed previously. The head had been removed from the torso while on the art market in the twentieth century, and it was acquired by the Getty Museum in 2016 and reattached to the torso. Their individual provenances diverged at some point between the Sciarra collection and 1971, and are each recorded in their respective records. Currently, the Museum database does not have a way to show both ownership histories as timelines in the provenance field of the primary record for the unified object (72.AA.153; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103QSQ>), so further explanation is given in the description and provenance remarks. Discussed in Kilston 2016.
 205. <https://fragmentarium.ms/>.
 206. <http://www.museumprovenance.org/reference/standard/> and <https://cidoc-crm.org/>. The CIDOC–CRM provides "a common and extensible semantic framework for evidence-based cultural heritage information integration," and it allows for a common structure of relationships in cultural heritage documentation. Linked.Art, discussed in note 203, is based on CIDOC–CRM. For an expansive body of research on structured provenance data, see the work of the Leuphana Provenance Lab: <https://www>

- .leuphana.de/en/institutes/ipk/provenance-lab.html.
207. <https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/aat/>; <https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/obtain/openrefine.html>. Our thanks to Kelly Davis for this reference. Researchers might also use Wikidata to connect provenance data and events; see von Mering et al. 2024 for a useful case study.
 208. <https://www.getty.edu/vow/AATHierarchy?find=methods+of+acquisition&logic=AND¬e=&page=1&subjectid=300417634>.
 209. In 2024 IFAR announced it would shut down operations and move its archives and databases to a new organization. At the time of writing, some IFAR webpages are accessible through the Wayback Machine on Internet Archive, Provenance Guide (2024), https://web.archive.org/web/20250131082136/https://www.ifar.org/Provenance_Guide.pdf; IFAR landing page, <https://web.archive.org/web/20250115093550/https://www.ifar.org/>.
 210. See also Daly 2020, particularly table 3D.1 “Punctuation for Standard Provenance Format.”
 211. 71.AH.106; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SQM>.
 212. For instance, both the Getty Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art provide a filter for searching flagged World War II gaps on their collection pages; see https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/search?nazi_era_gaps=true; and <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search?searchField=All&showOnly=NEprovenance&sortBy=Relevance&pageSize=0>. Yale University Art Gallery maintains a separate page for antiquities entitled “Antiquities and Archaeological Material with Provenance Documentation Gaps”: <https://artgallery.yale.edu/provenance/antiquities>. This material is defined as objects without complete “documentation that the object left its probable country of modern discovery prior to 1970 or was legally exported from the probable country of modern discovery after 1970.”
 213. Städel Museum, “About the Digital Collection”: <https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/concept>.
 214. Hood Museum of Art 2007.70.1; <https://hoodmuseum.dartmouth.edu/objects/2007.70.1>.
 215. <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/research/provenance>.
 216. Caroline Rocheleau, Director of Research and Curator of Ancient Collections, North Carolina Museum of Art, pers. comm., October 30, 2023.
 217. Famous examples that did not spend centuries underground include the Cameo of Chartres (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris: Camée.1.) and the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius (Musei Capitolini, Rome: inv. MC3247); also see discussion of the quadriga horses of Venice by Rose, in this volume.
 218. Halbertsma 2017.
 219. For one example, see Stevens 1917, lot 275: “Eleven Egyptian Scarabs from Dr. Petrie and Others.”
 220. 71.AA.288; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SSM>.
 221. Lucas 1720, 152, illustration.
 222. William Sherard (1659–1728), British Library Harley MS 7509, a collection of copies of Greek inscriptions made by Sherard in Asia Minor.
 223. For an informative look at the blurred roles of “private diggers” in nineteenth-century Greece, see Galanakis 2012.
 224. The *Bulletino* was first published in 1829 by the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI) in Rome, and continued to be published until the 1880s when it was incorporated into the *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*; the *Anzeiger* was first published in 1889 and includes reports on excavations. For an overview of the history of DAI publications, see <https://www.dainst.org/en/who-we-are/history/the-dais-history-of-publications>.
 225. See, e.g., Bundrick 2019, Montanaro 2007.
 226. All twenty-one mosaics were published in Belis 2016 with provenance and findspot information as known, specifying when the origins were unknown or unverified.
 227. 70.AH.96; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SQ4>.
 228. Records of the excavations, including site photography and field notes, are held by Princeton University, Department of Art and Archeology archives, with many materials digitized and available online; <http://vrc.princeton.edu/researchphotographs/s/antioch/page/introduction>.
 229. See Belis 2016.
 230. 70.AH.96.5; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/104HNM>; Visual Resources Collections of the Department of Art and Archaeology, The Excavation of Antioch—on—the-Orontes, Find Number: b367-M143a-e,

- <https://collections.visualresources.princeton.edu/Detail/objects/10784>.
231. 62.AH.2; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103QSM>.
 232. On the mosaic's discovery and excavation, with full references, see Belis 2016, no. 3, and Budrovich 2019. The official mosaic corpus of France is the *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, founded and first published in 1909.
 233. First published from 1909 to 1925 with recent supplements from 1957 to 2000. For a history of the French corpus of ancient mosaics, see *Gallia: Archéologie des Gaules*: <https://gallia.cnrs.fr/en/issues/gallia-supplements/mosaics/>. Other countries with well-established official mosaic corpora include Italy, Britain, Portugal, Spain, and Tunisia. For a full survey, see Roby and Demas 2013.
 234. In the United States, published works may be under copyright for seventy years after the death of the author, and ninety-five years after publication. For the most up-to-date bibliography of the Orpheus mosaic, see the collection page, <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103QSM>.
 235. Partage is the system that allowed for the division of finds between the local antiquities authority, foreign excavation teams, and sometimes the local landowner. The partage system was used across the Middle East and Egypt as a means of funding and promoting excavations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Updated patrimony and cultural heritage laws have mostly ended the practice, requiring that excavated antiquities remain in their country of discovery. On the history of partage and Egyptian material, see Stevenson 2019.
 236. E.g., the 2014 sale of objects excavated by Flinders Petrie by the Archaeological Institute of America, St. Louis Chapter (see Archaeological Institute of America 2014.), and a pair of antelope horns excavated at Amarna and deaccessioned by the Toledo Museum of Art in 1993 (see <https://historical.ha.com/itm/judaica/archaeology/egypt-time-of-akhenaten-1353-1336-bce-a-pair-of-antelope-horns-from-amarna-excavations-total-2-items-/a/6170-52033.s>). For a rediscovered excavation history of objects originally distributed through partage, see Green 2024.
 237. 73.AH.75; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SYF>.
 238. The note preserved in the Getty Museum object file is undated, unsigned, and typewritten in French, and states the mosaic was found at "Oued Kharroub," a site on the outskirts of Sousse; this findspot information was repeated in some subsequent publications; see Belis 2016, no. 5, n. 1.
 239. 71.AH.113; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105XAA>.
 240. Belis 2016, no. 6, nn. 1 and 12.
 241. Marlowe 2013 expands on this by framing objects as "grounded" vs. "ungrounded" to indicate whether an object's archaeological context is known, regardless of its celebrity or its date of acquisition.
 242. See Williams 1996, 11 for a nineteenth-century account of reselling Tarantine finds as found in Greece, a more fashionable findspot designed to increase their value.
 243. 67.AK.12; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/105X9H>.
 244. Legacy data refers to data from obsolete or older systems, here used for data holdovers from earlier databases that are not compatible with current methodologies or systems.
 245. For one example, see Barr 2019, 121.
 246. 71.AA.288; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SSM>.
 247. Budrovich 2016. Mosaics may be reburied as part of site a preservation plan; see Sivak 2021.
 248. See discussion of 72.AA.153 and its removed, then reunited, head 2016.38 in note 204.
 249. See Elston 1990. On the different usage patterns of iron versus lead repairs in Athens and Etruria, see Bundrick 2019, 17–18.
 250. Examples of this can be seen in a diverse range of media, from Greek pottery (e.g., Attic Red-Figure Volute Krater 77.AE.11 discussed in this chapter) to marble statuary and Romano-Egyptian funerary portraits, but minute size is no impediment to this kind of re-creation: for an example, see Hardwick 2021, 103–4.
 251. References to the age of mounts is more common in certain object categories, such as gems; for a case study on one collector's mounts, see Heneage 2022.
 252. Inagaki (1876–1951) was born in Japan and moved to Paris in 1906. By ca. 1911–12, he had begun to create mounts for dealers like Joseph Brummer—work that garnered the attention of Auguste Rodin in 1912. Inagaki continued to work on mounts for objects in private collections and on the art market for dealers like Dikran Kelekian, Joseph Altounian,

- and Charles Ratton, among many others. However, while Inagaki's work is connected with a characteristic style, there is little contemporary documentary evidence of the objects he worked with, and instead several stamps are associated with his work. But there is no way to date these mounts beyond his known active dates, nor are there established typologies for the stamps he reportedly used. See Scott 2016, 246; Mellor 2007, 7.
253. For an excellent explication of the British Museum's collections database and interface with the collection pages, see MacDonald 2023. MacDonald usefully outlines issues around collections metadata pertaining to the British Museum and the field as a whole.
 254. See Force 2019.
 255. Barr 2018a, 195.
 256. 2001.7; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/108GSK>.
 257. Marion True, Department of Antiquities, "Curator's Report/Proposed Acquisition (January 12, 2001)," 2001.7 curatorial file.
 258. Such discrepancies between a printed record and online record are not uncommon, hence the importance of checking both the print and digital versions of sale catalogues when available (Christie's 1997, lot 174; <https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-227064/>).
 259. Adams and Morton 2000, n.p..
 260. A valuable resource is The Peerage, <http://www.thepeerage.com>, which unofficially collates various peerage texts. Wikipedia is useful for cross-referencing, and often the relevant country's page (in this case Italy), will have more information and bibliography. A published genealogy for the Savoy family was also referenced in Sticca 1936.
 261. There were several women named Maria Cristina in the Savoy family, but the supposed owner of the bull lived 1812–1835 and did not have a line of descent to its purported recent owner, Tommaso of Savoy (1854–1931). The statement likely refers to Maria Cristina di Borbone-Napoli (1779–1849), a Savoy through marriage with a roundabout line of inheritance to Tommaso. This Maria Cristina even had an antiquities collection; see Biancolini Fea 2001.
 262. See the introduction in Ishiguro 1976; other collection catalogues checked include a posthumous 1996 exhibition of his collection at Gallery Mikazuki. Ancient works from the Ishiguro collection have appeared on the art market since the early 2000s. Notably, in 2022 a marble Greek head that had been featured in the 1996 Ishiguro exhibition and later acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (2012.479.10; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257883>) was seized as part of an investigation into looted works of art and returned to Italy; see <https://manhattanda.org/d-a-bragg-returns-58-stolen-antiquities-to-the-people-of-italy/>.
 263. Earlier iterations of the provenance statement (from 2019 and 2020), are accessible through WayBack Machine, <https://web.archive.org/>, using the original URL: <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/130351/unknown-maker-statuettes-of-a-bull-roman-25-bc-ad-79/>.
 264. See, e.g., <https://metmuseum.github.io/>.
 265. The Provenance Lab at Leuphana University has published extensively on using and creating structured provenance data; see Rother, Mariani, and Koss 2024.
 266. One model for a pan-provenance database is Digital Benin, which brings together a digital listing of royal artifacts looted from the Kingdom of Benin, contextualized with archival sources, museum records, constituent biographies, oral histories, and more (<https://digitalbenin.org/>).
 267. 86.AA.701; <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103WER>.
 268. Stockholm Museum of Mediterranean Antiquities, MM 1997:001; <https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/3102883>.
 269. For the 2011 AAMD guidelines on deaccessioning, see Association of Art Museum Directors 2022a. On the vote to allow for such funds to include the "direct care" of collection objects where previously they had been restricted to the acquisition of new collections objects, see Association of Art Museum Directors 2022b.
 270. Nor are museums the only institutions to dispose of art objects or collections; see the anonymous educational institution discussed in Parke-Bernet Galleries 1946.
 271. Association of Art Museum Directors 2022a. Provenance is briefly raised as part of the deaccession process in the latest AAMG Professional Practices document: <https://www.aamg-us.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/AAMG-Professional-Practices-2018-web-FINAL-rev043018.pdf>.
 272. Association of Art Museum Directors 2022a, 21: "F. A member museum should publish on its website within a reasonable period of time

- works that have been deaccessioned and disposed of.”
273. Association of Art Museum Directors 2022a, 25, “VI. Documentation.”
 274. Nor is this static: The Dallas Museum of Art previously provided capsule histories of deaccessioned artworks on individual pages, but since 2023 these have been replaced by a list of deaccessioned objects with thumbnails, object tombstone information, and the reason for deaccessioning; see <https://dma.org/art/deaccessioned-artworks>.
 275. Cleveland: <https://www.clevelandart.org/deaccessioned-art>; Seattle: <https://www1.seattleartmuseum.org/deaccessions>.
 276. Portland: <https://portlandartmuseum.org/collection/usingthecollection/#deaccessions>;
 - Emory: <https://carlos.emory.edu/italy-2023-repatriation>; and <https://carlos.emory.edu/greek-2024-repatriations>.
 277. Boston: <https://collections.mfa.org/search/Objects/deaccessioned%3Atrue/>; San Antonio: <https://sanantonio.emuseum.com/collections/33449/deaccessions/objects>. The MFA, Boston also maintains a list of relevant case studies: <https://www.mfa.org/collections/provenance/ownership-resolutions>.
 278. <https://www.getty.edu/museum/deaccessioning/>; press release: <https://www.getty.edu/news/getty-adds-deaccessioned-objects-to-online-collection-pages/>.

Legal Perspectives on Acquisitions of Mediterranean Antiquities

Stephen W. Clark
Stephen K. Urice

In considering the acquisition of any antiquity there are two fundamental *legal* questions: is the object authentic and does the seller¹ have (and have the authority to convey) good title to the work? Although an object's provenance² is critical to both inquiries, this chapter focuses on documentation helpful in assuring that good title to the object can be acquired and that possession of the object will not expose it³ or its acquirer to legal liability. Although the "acquirer" could be, among others, an individual, an art investment fund, or a for-profit corporation, for purposes here we assume the acquiring party is a charitable, nonprofit museum organized and operated under U.S. federal and state law.

Rigorous research increases the likelihood of discovering verifiable documentation on which a reliable provenance can be constructed. However, there are times when even the most talented individuals and the most diligent efforts yield little or no dependable information. Unlike recently created works of art, whose provenance can often be documented from the moment of creation, the history of many archaeological objects is simply unknowable: they were most often made by unknown individuals, at unknown times and places, and usually transported elsewhere before disappearing underground or at sea for millennia prior to modern discovery. Therefore it is not surprising that, except for antiquities discovered by archaeologists in the course of scientific excavations, provenance is frequently incomplete or altogether lacking.

It would be a mistake, however, to place the entire burden of diligence on a provenance researcher's shoulders. Most museums lack resources for staff devoted solely to provenance research, and, more importantly, a decision to acquire an object and the ability to provide accurate information about a work's background are shared responsibilities. Every acquisition of an antiquity must comply with applicable law and ethical standards, meaning everyone involved—researchers, curators, directors, trustees, and perhaps lawyers—must make informed, good faith decisions based on whatever reliable information is available.

The inherent characteristics of antiquities make provenance research especially challenging. Antiquities are often small (or, in the hands of looters, able

to be made small—for example, breaking large sculptures into pieces) and easily transportable; are of enduring cultural, historical, and monetary value and thus often carefully guarded rather than exhibited or published; are frequently made of durable materials (such as stone or fired clay, which is why they have survived), meaning their longevity is potentially perpetual. Mediterranean antiquities present additional difficulties: they span an eight-thousand-year timeline and a vast geographic distribution.

Other than architectural works, such as bas-reliefs, floor mosaics, and wall frescoes, antiquities are rarely discovered exactly where they were made.⁴ In antiquity as today, objects were bought and sold, moved, and shipped around the Mediterranean, especially if they were utilitarian (such as transport amphorae) or of great artistic or inherent value. For example, in the sixth and fifth centuries BCE, pottery made in Athens found a strong market twelve hundred kilometers to the west, in Etruria (today, central Italy), where they were often buried as grave goods. By the end of the fourth century BCE, Hellenistic works could be found from the Adriatic Sea to the Himalayas. Roman collectors transported Greek sculptures, and inevitable shipwrecks left some on the seabed. And coins, inherently intended to be transferable, frequently changed hands and locations.

The unearthing of the Laocoön sculpture in Rome in 1506 CE⁵ set off an era of relentless searching by collectors for antiquities throughout the Mediterranean. That search has never abated, leading to a centuries-old, international market in antiquities. In the twentieth century and today, the looting of archaeological sites in search of ancient artifacts has increased dramatically as a result of armed conflict, under-resourced policing and other protective measures, and a burgeoning demand from internet sales augmenting the traditional market. In short, provenance research into Mediterranean antiquities confronts remarkably complex—yet interesting—challenges.

Basic Legal Terminology

It will be helpful for anyone involved in the acquisition of an antiquity to understand a few legal terms pertaining to ownership. In establishing a work's provenance, a key question is whether previous owners held (and had the authority to transfer) good title to that work. Under both common and civil law regimes,⁶ *good title* is the maximum ownership interest in property. Good title provides the holder with complete dominion and control of the property,⁷ including the right to transfer that title by lifetime gift, sale, exchange, testamentary devise, or otherwise.⁸

Void title is the quality of title held by a thief in stolen property: it is an absence of ownership rights.⁹ An object may have what is known as a *cloud on*

title, which is less a legal concept and more of a descriptive one referring to a possessor whose good title may be susceptible to a challenge.¹⁰

Finally, in civil law jurisdictions, a *good faith* (or *bona fide*) purchaser can obtain good title even to a stolen object. These ownership rights arise according to statute and are referred to as *prescriptive title* (or *title by prescription*).

A fundamental distinction between the civil and common law systems is the relative protection provided to theft victims and good faith purchasers. Theft victims and good faith purchasers are innocent parties. In a court of law, only one of them can prevail, and the question is how the law favors one innocent party over the other.

Under the common law doctrine of *nemo dat quod non habet*,¹¹ a thief cannot transfer more than what the thief has: void title. Accordingly, no one whose putative title descends from a thief can obtain good title to a stolen work. Thus, the common law *nemo dat* rule tips the balance in favor of theft victims as against subsequent good faith purchasers. The civil law, however, as a means of maintaining commercial certainty and the smooth functioning of markets, favors good faith purchasers. In civil law jurisdictions, good faith purchasers can acquire good title by prescription, even to stolen property, either at the time of purchase or following a relatively short period thereafter, depending on the jurisdiction. As a general rule, once title arises by prescription, rights of the theft victim to reclaim the stolen property terminate.

Legal Status under United States Law

To determine the legal status of an antiquity under U.S. law requires the discovery of demonstrably reliable, authentic documentation as to:

- (a) when, where, and under what circumstances the object was discovered;
- (b) when and under what circumstances the object was exported from its country of modern discovery and from any other country through which it traveled; and
- (c) when and under what circumstances the object was imported into the United States.

The significance of these factors will become apparent with the following description of applicable U.S. law. The hierarchy of U.S. law descends from constitutional law to international treaty law, federal law, state law, and local law. Rights to property generally are determined under state law unless an international treaty provision or federal statute applies. The United States is a State Party¹² to bilateral and multilateral international treaties that may affect title to an antiquity. The most important of these is the 1970 UNESCO Convention

on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property and its implementing statute, the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act of 1983, discussed below. Additionally, long-standing federal laws (such as the National Stolen Property Act and customs statutes) require verifiable documentation to assure that a museum can obtain good title to an antiquity, avoid potential civil or criminal liability for possessing the object, and safeguard it from civil or criminal seizure and forfeiture actions.

Treaty Law: UNESCO 1970 and the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act

In 1970 the United States and Mexico signed a bilateral treaty under which each country obligated itself to assist the other in the recovery of certain kinds of stolen cultural property.¹³ The treaty did not define “stolen,” and in fact has not been instrumental in the return of cultural property from one country to the other. Nevertheless, the treaty reflects concerns that arose in the 1960s over the increasing number of well-documented examples of illicit excavation and subsequent illicit export of antiquities from “source” nations to “market” nations.¹⁴

Those concerns eventually led to the adoption of the most important, multilateral treaty addressing these issues, the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (“UNESCO 1970” or the “Convention”).¹⁵ As of 2021, 140 countries were States Parties to the Convention. Although the United States ratified the Convention in 1972, it was not until passage of the Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act (CCPIA)¹⁶ in 1983 that the Convention had legal effect in the U.S.¹⁷ The CCPIA gave force of law in the United States to only two provisions of the Convention: Articles 7(b) and Article 9.

UNESCO 1970, Article 7(b)

Article 7(b) states, in pertinent part, as follows:

The States Parties to this Convention undertake:

[. . .]

(b)(i) to prohibit the import of cultural property stolen from a museum or a religious or secular public monument or similar institution in another State Party to this Convention after the entry into force of this Convention for the States concerned, provided that such property is *documented as appertaining to the inventory of that institution*;¹⁸

(ii) at the request of the State Party of origin, to take appropriate steps to recover and return any such cultural property imported after the entry into force of this Convention in both States concerned, provided, however, that the requesting State shall pay just compensation to an innocent purchaser or to a person who has valid title to that property. Requests for recovery and return shall be made through diplomatic offices. The requesting Party shall furnish, at its expense, the documentation and other evidence necessary to establish its claim for recovery and return. The Parties shall impose no customs duties or other charges upon cultural property returned pursuant to this Article. All expenses incident to the return and delivery of the cultural property shall be borne by the requesting Party.

The CCPIA gave force of law to Article 7(b): Article 7(b)(ii) is codified in 19 U.S.C. (United States Code) § 2609 and Article 7(b)(i), as follows, in 19 U.S.C. § 2607:

§ 2607. Stolen cultural property

No article of cultural property documented as appertaining to the inventory of a museum or religious or secular public monument or similar institution in any State Party which is stolen from such institution after the effective date of this chapter, or after the date of entry into force of the Convention for the State Party, whichever date is later, may be imported into the United States.

Importantly, the CCPIA's enactment of Article 7(b) tracks the Convention's narrow definition of stolen cultural property, which includes only objects "appertaining to [an] inventory. . . ." Accordingly, it applies only to known, documented objects.

To comply with the CCPIA's implementation of Article 7(b) requires determining whether the antiquity appears in the inventory of a museum, public monument, or similar institution in another State Party, and, if so, whether the original owner voluntarily transferred title to the work (for example, by deaccessioning). If the work was stolen, research must determine both the date of the theft and the date when the Convention entered into force in the other State Party.¹⁹

Implementation of Article 7(b) effected only minor changes in U.S. law. Federal customs statutes have long prohibited the importation of stolen property, subjecting them to potential seizure and forfeiture.²⁰ More importantly, theft victims—including foreign countries—have always had access to U.S. federal and state courts to seek recovery of their stolen property. What the CCPIA does achieve, however, is to allow the United States to initiate an action for return of

the object, thereby obviating the need for other States Parties to sue in U.S. courts.²¹

UNESCO 1970, Article 9

As we have seen, the CCPIA's implementation of Article 7(b) augmented, but did not significantly alter, existing rights under U.S. law. However, the CCPIA's enactment of Article 9 effected a major change in U.S. cultural policy.²²

At least since the Civil War, the United States has promoted the essentially unrestricted importation of works of art, antiquities, and other forms of cultural property. Typically, the only requirement for legally importing such property was to make an accurate, written customs declaration upon the property's importation.²³ By implementing Article 9 Congress created an exception to that open-door policy, an exception that the CCPIA itself refers to as a "drastic" measure.²⁴ Under provisions of the CCPIA that give force of law to Article 9, the United States may impose import restrictions on cultural property originating in other States Parties if precise statutory requirements are met. The legislation sets out two basic approaches for imposing such import restrictions.²⁵

The first, codified at 19 U.S.C. § 2602, requires a request for assistance from another State Party stating that its "cultural patrimony . . . is in jeopardy from the pillage of archaeological or ethnological materials."²⁶ If the United States determines that the request meets the CCPIA's statutory requirements,²⁷ the U.S. may enter into an agreement (generally referred to as a "Memorandum of Understanding" or, more commonly, MOU) with the requesting State Party blocking importation into the U.S. of antiquities from the other State Party.²⁸ These agreements are effective for five years and may be extended for additional five-year periods. The second is the "emergency" or "crisis" provision in 19 U.S.C. § 2603. Following a request from another State Party, under 19 U.S.C. § 2603, the U.S. may unilaterally bar importation of cultural property from a State Party for a three-year period.

If the United States takes action under either 19 U.S.C. §§ 2602 or 2603, it must publish a "designated list" of works subject to import restrictions in the Code of Federal Regulations (commonly referred to simply as CFR.). The effect of publication of the designated list is straightforward:

No designated archaeological or ethnological material that is exported (*whether or not such exportation is to the United States*) from the State Party after [publication of the designated list] may be imported into the United States unless the State Party issues a certification or other documentation which certifies that such exportation was not in violation of the laws of the State Party.²⁹

Accordingly, determining if an antiquity is subject to U.S. import restrictions under 19 U.S.C. §§ 2602–2603 requires reference to current MOUs and their respective designated lists.³⁰ If an antiquity fits within the description of works on a “designated list,” it must then be determined whether the antiquity was exported from the other State Party before or after publication of the list. If before, the work is not subject to these import restrictions. However, if the antiquity was exported after publication, it cannot legally be imported into the United States without an export license from the other State Party. An antiquity imported in violation of these restrictions is subject to seizure and forfeiture.³¹ It is not enough to document the country from which the object was exported immediately prior to entry into the U.S.: these restrictions apply to works exported from the other State Party after publication of the designated list even if the object passed through other countries prior to importation into the U.S.

Other Federal Law

Customs Laws

U.S. federal law has long prohibited the importation of goods “contrary to law” and provides for any such goods to be seized and forfeited.³² Accordingly, verifiable documentation of an antiquity’s importation into the United States is essential for determining its legal status in the U.S. An object is imported contrary to law if the work is stolen,³³ violates an import restriction under the CCPIA or other cultural property import restriction,³⁴ is not declared at the border,³⁵ or is declared with information that misstates the object’s fair market value or country of origin.³⁶ Accordingly, in addition to authenticating an antiquity’s U.S. Customs Declaration form, an assessment is required to determine if the form accurately stated the work’s fair market value and its country of origin. That determination requires reference to verifiable documentation such as bills of sale, invoices, deeds of gift, correspondence, shipment records, insurance policies, and the like.

The National Stolen Property Act

The National Stolen Property Act³⁷ (NSPA) has a long, colorful history. In the early twentieth century, automobiles became the target of theft and a means of escape. So long as thieves could outrun police in the state where the theft occurred and reach a neighboring state, they could avoid immediate consequences: the jurisdiction of state police did not extend beyond a state’s border. Congress took note and in 1919 enacted the National Motor Vehicle Theft Act making such thefts federal crimes. Since federal prosecutors are not limited by state boundaries, a run for the border no longer provided a safe haven

for car thieves. In 1934 Congress extended the act to cover other kinds of stolen property and renamed it the National Stolen Property Act (NSPA). Today, NSPA violations can lead to civil or criminal liability for individuals (or institutions) and to civil or criminal seizure and forfeiture actions against the stolen property.

The two operative provisions of the NSPA are set out in 18 U.S.C. §§ 2314 and 2315, which state in pertinent part:

§ 2314. Transportation of stolen goods [. . .] Whoever transports, transmits, or transfers in interstate or foreign commerce any goods, wares, merchandise . . . of the value of \$5,000 or more, knowing the same to have been stolen, converted or taken by fraud . . . Shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both. . . .

§ 2315. Sale or receipt of stolen goods [. . .] Whoever receives, possesses, conceals, stores, barter, sells, or disposes of any goods, wares, or merchandise . . . of the value of \$5,000 or more . . . which have crossed a State or United States boundary after being stolen, unlawfully converted, or taken, knowing the same to have been stolen, unlawfully converted, or taken . . . Shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than ten years, or both. . . .

Additionally, violation of the NSPA subjects the stolen goods to seizure and forfeiture.³⁸

Notice that the NSPA includes what the law calls a “scienter” requirement: a person cannot be held liable under the NSPA absent knowledge that the goods were stolen. However, in the context of antiquities, at least one federal Circuit Court of Appeals has held that conscious avoidance of information that would reveal whether the work is stolen constitutes actual knowledge sufficient to satisfy the scienter requirement.³⁹ Notice, too, that *possession* of property that is known to be stolen, valued at more than \$5,000, and has “crossed a State or United States boundary” violates 18 U.S.C. § 2315. Because possession is a continuing crime, arguably no statute of limitations is available as a defense: each moment of possession constitutes a new violation.

The NSPA applies to a much broader category of stolen property than the CCPIA, which is limited to inventoried works stolen from a “museum, or religious or secular public monument or similar institution.”⁴⁰ The NSPA applies to *any* stolen goods within its statutory language. Moreover, courts applying the NSPA have interpreted the word “stolen” broadly.⁴¹

Foreign Countries' Laws and the U.S. National Stolen Property Act

Starting in the nineteenth century and with increased frequency following World War II, antiquities-rich countries enacted what are generally referred to as *patrimony statutes*. These laws typically address three issues: requirements for archaeological excavations, ownership of and trade in antiquities, and exportation of antiquities and other cultural property.

Most patrimony statutes nationalize—that is, declare the country to be the owner of—antiquities located within the country's borders. These *vesting statutes* generally permit continued private ownership of antiquities that were privately owned prior to their enactment but require owners to register those objects with a governmental agency. A major goal of vesting statutes is to vest title to unknown—that is, unearthed—antiquities to deter the looting of archaeological sites and the resulting destruction of the site's archaeological record. Vesting statutes create property rights: the nation becomes the legal owner of antiquities within their ambit.

Export laws, on the other hand, are regulatory: they do not create property rights but merely describe the circumstances under which an object may lawfully be exported. Export laws range (either at law or in effect) from near complete bans on the export of antiquities to schemes allowing some antiquities (typically those of lesser importance) to be granted an export permit and, thus, be exported lawfully. It is a general rule of international law that the regulatory laws of one country are not enforceable in another country absent a treaty obligation to the contrary.⁴² Thus, violations of a country's export laws are generally actionable only in that country. Property rights differ: a theft victim (whether an individual, institution, or country) generally can sue to recover stolen property wherever that property is discovered.

The question then arises whether illegal export of an antiquity from a country that has enacted a vesting statute constitutes theft. In 1977 a federal Circuit Court of Appeals first addressed that question. In the landmark case, *United States v. McClain*, a federal judge began his opinion with this remarkable sentence: "Museum directors, art dealers, and innumerable private collectors throughout this country must have been in a state of shock when they read the news—if they did—of the convictions of the five defendants in this case."⁴³ The shock derived from the U.S. government's novel application of the NSPA.

The case involved recently looted (and therefore unprovenanced), pre-Columbian antiquities exported from Mexico without an export license. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the trial court's determination that illicit export of the antiquities after Mexico had enacted legislation nationalizing them permitted the antiquities to be characterized as stolen within the meaning of the

NSPA.⁴⁴ A later opinion in the long history of the case summarized what has come to be known as the “McClain Doctrine”:

The legal theory under which the case was tried was that the artifacts were “stolen” only in the sense that Mexico generally has declared itself owner of all pre-Columbian artifacts found within its borders. Thus, anyone who digs up or finds such an item and deals in it without governmental permission has unlawfully converted the item from its proper owner.⁴⁵

Nevertheless, the convictions under the NSPA were reversed on grounds that the Mexican law (prior to 1972) had not expressed Mexico’s ownership “with sufficient clarity to survive translation into terms understandable by and binding upon American citizens.”⁴⁶ The court did not address how clear a foreign vesting statute must be to be “understandable by and binding upon” U.S. citizens. Twenty years later in a case involving important Egyptian antiquities, *United States v. Schultz*, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals ratified the basic McClain Doctrine with an important modification.⁴⁷

Frederick Schultz, a New York-based antiquities dealer, was convicted of violating the National Stolen Property Act for importing Egyptian antiquities in violation of Egypt’s patrimony statute that, inter alia, vested title to the antiquities in the nation. The *Schultz* court found that Egypt’s vesting statute was “clear and unambiguous, and that the antiquities that were the subject of the conspiracy in [this] case were owned by the Egyptian government.”⁴⁸ But the court added a new requirement to the McClain Doctrine: the foreign country must assert actual ownership over the antiquities that its vesting statute nationalizes. Put another way, the *Schultz* court found that a mere declaration of national ownership, even if clear, was insufficient: there must also be evidence that the foreign country makes efforts to assert its property rights in those antiquities.⁴⁹ The court had no difficulty finding that Egypt met that requirement. The court noted that Egypt enforced its patrimony statute domestically, primarily through a specialized antiquities police force.

What then does the McClain Doctrine (as modified by *Schultz*) mean for provenance purposes? A great deal. It requires:

- determining when and in which country an antiquity was discovered in modern times;
- identifying the laws of that country in effect when the antiquity was discovered and when it was exported;
- if at the time of discovery the country had nationalized antiquities (that is, had enacted a vesting statute), assessing how clearly the declaration of national ownership is expressed and whether the law has exceptions;

- assessing whether that country has enforced its antiquities laws within its own borders; and
- obtaining verifiable documentation showing the antiquity was either legally exported from that country or exported prior to enactment of the applicable vesting statute.

Failure to ascertain any of these factors means that the antiquity is potentially subject to seizure and forfeiture and that its possessor is at risk of civil and criminal liability under the NSPA.

Unfortunately, each of these factors poses significant research challenges: typically, it is difficult (if not impossible) to determine where and when an unprovenanced antiquity was discovered.⁵⁰ Recall that at its height in the early second century CE, the Roman Empire covered territory that today comprises part or all of nearly fifty countries. There is no easily accessible, comprehensive database of foreign countries' patrimony statutes, and the laws themselves are often available only in their original language.⁵¹ Translation can be time consuming and expensive, and interpretation of the law may require an opinion of an attorney in that country. Determining a foreign country's domestic enforcement of its antiquities laws (i.e., that country's assertion of actual ownership) is a subjective analysis. Finally, an export license, if there is one, must be carefully scrutinized to assure that it is authentic and applies to the antiquity under consideration.

Ethics

Satisfying the law does not equate to ethical behavior. As a pioneer in the field of museum law put it: "The law is not designed to make us honorable, only bearable."⁵² Legal compliance avoids the possibility of criminal or civil liability but falls short of adhering to the higher standards established in professional codes of ethics and in statements of best practices. The American Alliance of Museums (AAM)⁵³ and the Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD)⁵⁴ address the unique issues raised by the acquisition of antiquities in their respective statements of professional practices.

In July 2008 the AAM board of directors approved as a component of its Core Standards the following guidelines regarding acquisitions of archaeological material and ancient art:

Museums should:

- rigorously research the provenance of an object prior to acquisition;

- make a concerted effort to obtain accurate written documentation with respect to the history of the object, including export and import documents; and
- require sellers, donors, and their representatives to provide all available information and documentation.

Museums must comply with all applicable U.S. law, including treaties and international conventions of which the U.S. is a party, governing ownership and title, import and other issues critical to acquisitions decisions.

Beyond the requirements of U.S. law, museums should not acquire any object that, to the knowledge of the museum, has been illegally exported from its country of modern discovery or the country where it was last legally owned.

In addition, the Alliance recommends that museums require documentation that the object was out of its probable country of modern discovery by November 17, 1970.⁵⁵

[. . .]

For objects exported from their country of modern discovery after November 17, 1970, the Alliance recommends that museums require documentation that the object has been or will be legally exported from its country of modern discovery, and legally imported into the United States.

The Alliance recognizes that there are cases in which it may be in the public's interest for a museum to acquire an object, thus bringing it into the public domain, when there is substantial but not full documentation that the provenance meets the conditions outlined above. If a museum accepts material in such cases, it should be transparent about why this is an appropriate decision in alignment with the institution's collections policy and applicable ethical codes.⁵⁶

To comply with AAM's guidelines, one of three conditions must be met:

1. There is documentation that the object was out of its probable country of modern discovery by November 17, 1970; or
2. If the object was exported after that date, there is documentation that the object was or will be legally exported from its country of modern discovery and legally imported into the United States; or

3. In the absence of full documentation, there should be “substantial” documentation satisfying one of those two requirements and, in such situations, the museum should be transparent in explaining the circumstances of its decision to acquire the object.

AAMD provides the following guidance for acquiring archaeological material and ancient art:⁵⁷

- E. Member museums normally should not acquire a Work unless provenance research substantiates that the Work was outside its country of probable modern discovery before 1970 or was legally exported from its probable country of modern discovery after 1970.
- F. The AAMD recognizes that even after the most extensive research, many Works will lack a complete documented ownership history. Member museums may acquire such Works if:
 1. Based on the results of provenance research, the museum can make an informed judgment that the Work was outside its probable country of modern discovery before 1970 or legally exported from its probable country of modern discovery after 1970, or
 2. The cumulative facts and circumstances known to the museum after compliance with [guidelines omitted here] allow it to make an informed judgment to acquire the Work, consistent with the Statement of Principles above.

To comply with AAMD’s guidelines, one of the following conditions must be met:

1. There is documentation that the object was:
 - outside its country of probable modern discovery by November 17, 1970, or
 - legally exported from that country after 1970; or
2. Based on provenance research, the museum can make an informed judgment that the work met the first requirement; or
3. Based on facts and circumstances the museum can make an informed judgement that its acquisition is consistent with AAMD’s Statement of Principles.

The effect of AAM's and AAMD's guidelines leads inevitably to a simple question: if an antiquity's *only* verifiable provenance is its appearance in the market, how can the work meet AAM's "substantial documentation" requirement or AAMD's "informed judgement" standard? In short, as a matter of law, ethics, and best practices, a work about which nothing more is known than its availability in the marketplace should not be acquired until additional, credible information is discovered.⁵⁸

Policy and Documentation

The challenge for U.S. museums that acquire antiquities⁵⁹ is to chart a course consistent with legal and ethical requirements while fulfilling their educational mission to preserve, study, and present humanity's shared cultural heritage for public benefit.

To meet that challenge, due diligence is essential, meaning museums must take reasonable and appropriate steps to ensure they are acting responsibly in acquiring an antiquity. *Due diligence* is a flexible concept, but, at a minimum, it requires a thorough, candid examination and investigation of known facts about the work's provenance prior to acquiring it. Written documentation of all efforts undertaken and information derived from those efforts comprises an important component of diligence. This inquiry should be guided by standards promulgated by professional organizations (such as AAM and AAMD) and by clear, written acquisition policies adopted (and regularly reviewed) by the museum's governing board.

Although U.S. museums generally follow the AAM and AAMD guidelines described above, some build in additional safeguards. For example, the J. Paul Getty Museum insists that all proposed acquisitions of ancient art and archaeological material—irrespective of financial value—be reviewed for compliance with the museum's Collection Policy and disclosed to the Board of Trustees prior to acquisition.⁶⁰ In practice, this policy means that curators proposing an acquisition (by purchase, gift, or devise) must demonstrate that the object satisfies a high evidentiary standard. The written acquisition proposal must include all known information about where the object originated in antiquity, where it was discovered in modern times or whether it is documented in a collection that may be decades (or centuries) old, and its ownership history since at least 1970.

Museums and their professional organizations generally have adopted 1970 as a convenient rule of thumb in their acquisitions policies and codes of ethics, respectively.⁶¹ Thus, although 1970 has no direct legal significance, it has become a generally accepted standard not only for analyzing the risk of a potential acquisition but also as an ethical bright line. Countries and law enforcement

agencies, can, and sometimes do, assert ownership of objects in circulation before 1970,⁶² but generally devote their energy to materials that have appeared in the market more recently.

As considered by Barr and Budrovich in chapter 2 of this volume, many kinds of evidence can document an object's pre-1970 whereabouts. Examples include an entry in an auction catalogue, a dealer's receipt for the work, or an exhibition checklist or catalogue indicating that the object was publicly exhibited. Photographs or descriptions with specific dimensions can also help to establish that the object was documented prior to 1970. Other evidence might be potentially useful, for example, mention of the work in a previous owner's will, an appraisal report, or an inventory of a business or private collection. Import or export records have great probative value. Less formal information, such as a dealer's business records or an individual's correspondence or diary entries can also be helpful.

The reliability of the evidence is crucial, and determining the authenticity and credibility of documentary material is essential. Hard questions must be asked: Who is the purported author? Under what circumstances was the document created? Did the author (or the person offering the documentation) have an interest, financial or otherwise, in the object? Where has the document been since its purported creation, and how and why has it come to light? Obviously, a letter found through scholarly research in an established archive is more credible than one proffered by a would-be seller without clear indication of the letter's chain of custody.⁶³

Checking potential acquisitions against databases sounds more helpful than it is in practice. The International Council of Museums (ICOM) maintains a "Red List" identifying categories of objects at risk,⁶⁴ and Interpol maintains a list of objects said to be stolen or illegally excavated.⁶⁵ The Art Loss Register maintains what it describes as "the world's largest private database of lost, stolen and looted art, antiques and collectibles. . . ."⁶⁶ Various universities, law schools, nonprofits, and web sites episodically try to assemble lists of potentially problematic objects. But none of these efforts has created a completely reliable, comprehensive, up-to-date source of information. As a result, these databases, even to the extent that one is aware of them, are of limited utility.

Another potential source of information is direct contact with the country of origin, if known, or the country of modern discovery, if different from the country of origin. An inquiry addressed to the culture ministry of a country that might possibly assert ownership of an object has superficial appeal: if the country possesses any evidence that the object was stolen or illegally excavated, they can simply say so and save all parties (other than the current possessor) from future headaches. Yet it rarely works. Governments are ill-equipped to offer advisory opinions on the legitimacy of particular objects, and even the most hard-working,

knowledgeable bureaucrats have little incentive to warn (or reassure) foreign collectors or institutions about potential pitfalls. At best, any such inquiry is likely to produce a neutral response that the ministry cannot confirm whether an object is problematic.

Reasonable people can differ about the probative value of evidence discovered during provenance research. A few years ago, a U.S. museum was offered an opportunity to acquire a significant Roman statue. The country of origin was unknown, as was the location and date of modern discovery. The seller offered as evidence that the work was documented before 1970 a faxed photocopy of a letter stating that the writer had seen the object in a home in Switzerland in or around 1969. Concluding that the letter lacked probative value, the museum declined to proceed with the acquisition; another institution, applying similar policy criteria, later acquired the work.

Judgment, tempered by good faith, is imperative. The point of provenance research in the context of acquisitions, and the purpose of rigorous acquisition standards, is to ensure that museums act responsibly as members of a global community that values objects both as works of art and as part of the archaeological record. It is not enough to establish a plausible narrative for an object's provenance to justify its acquisition. The goal must be to take seriously a shared responsibility to act in good faith, based on verifiable documentary information or on reasonable inferences drawn from the facts and circumstances of a particular situation.

In this regard, meticulous provenance research is invaluable. Curators define the importance of an object for a collection. Lawyers weigh evidence and determine whether legal and policy standards have been met. As fiduciaries, trustees ensure that a museum's educational purposes are furthered by each acquisition and must balance the benefit of continued acquisitions against the legal and reputational risks of poor judgment. Good researchers know where to find information and discover relevant facts, circumstances, and relationships that can guide museum professionals and counsel in forming legal conclusions. Scholarship, judgment, and dogged persistence are irreplaceable contributions of provenance research.

Conclusion

Finally, it must be emphasized that provenance research is rarely complete. To the extent possible given institutional resources, provenance research should not end when an antiquity has been accessioned. Ongoing research adds to understanding of the work and can help address legal or ethical issues arising from later-acquired knowledge. Willingness to learn and act on new information is essential and hinges on the skills, diligence, and tireless work of provenance research.

Notes

1. The legal aspects of provenance research described in this chapter apply equally to works acquired by purchase, lifetime gift, or testamentary devise. For convenience, we refer only to a “seller,” rather than to “a seller or a donor.”
2. We use “provenance” to mean an object’s history of ownership and distinguish that term from “provenience,” which refers to an object’s findspot, its place of modern discovery. See the Introduction.
3. Under U.S. law, an object can become a defendant in a lawsuit pursuant to what is referred to as *in rem* jurisdiction—that is, jurisdiction “against the thing.” If the federal government has probable cause to believe an antiquity has been stolen or illegally imported, the government can initiate proceedings to seize and forfeit the object, in which case the object itself is named as the defendant. An example of *in rem* jurisdiction involving a Mediterranean antiquity is the 1997 case *United States v. An Antique Platter of Gold, Known as a Gold Phiale Mesomphalos*, c. 400 B.C., 991 F. Supp. 222 (S.D.N.Y. 1997), *aff’d on other grounds*, 184 F.3d 131 (2d Cir. 1999).
4. The bust of Nefertiti in Berlin’s Neues Museum is a rare exception. Archaeologists working with the German Orient Society (Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft) at the site of Tel el-Amarna discovered the bust on December 6, 1912, in the remains of the combined studio-residence of a sculptor named Thutmose. See Urice 2006, 135, 139.
5. For a description of its discovery, see Barkan 1999, 2–3.
6. The civil and common law regimes are the primary legal systems in the contemporary world. Other legal systems include, for example, canon law, Sharia law, and socialist law. Civil law derives from the sixth-century CE Code of Justinian and is said (not entirely accurately) to be based solely on written codifications of the law. European and many other countries throughout the world follow the civil law. Common law developed in medieval England and is followed today in countries that were British colonies (including the United States) or are still part of the British Commonwealth. The common law is said (not entirely accurately) to be predicated on judicial interpretation of statutory provisions or, where no statute applies, on how judges have decided prior cases with similar facts—that is, by following “precedent.” For what many consider the best introduction to the civil law, see Merryman 1969. For an accessible (albeit extensive) introduction to the common law, see Langbein, Lettow Lerner, and Smith 2009.
7. “Dominion and control” is not, however, unlimited. Even possessors holding good title to an object are subject to limits imposed by law (for example, copyright statutes, tax laws, or artists’ moral rights) or by administrative regulations (such as zoning restrictions and export regulations).
8. The ability to transfer title is referred to as *alienability*. If an object is given to a museum with a legally enforceable, donor-imposed restriction that it “never be sold,” that restriction would not affect the museum’s good title in the work; it would merely be a “restriction on alienability.” Some foreign countries limit the alienability of antiquities even if the owner has good title.
9. The term *voidable title* is occasionally referenced. Voidable title is the quality of title held by a purchaser who fraudulently came into possession of a work from an owner with good title who, with the intention of transferring title to a work, delivered it to the putative purchaser. Fraudulent possession occurs when, for example, the purchaser paid by a bank check knowing that the account held insufficient funds for the bank to honor the check. Under U.S. law a person with voidable title can transfer good title to a good faith purchaser for value. UCC (Uniform Commercial Code) § 2-403(1) (American Law Institute & Uniform Law Commission 2002).
10. An example arose in 1973 when a Swiss art dealer unquestionably acquired good title to a Matisse painting purchased in the United States from its Italian owner. Subsequently, a question arose as to whether the painting had been legally exported from Italy. That question cast a “cloud on title,” which prevented the purchaser from reselling the work in the art market. *Jeanneret v. Vichay*, 541 F. Supp. 80 (S.D.N.Y. 1982), *rev’d*, 693 F.2d 259 (2d Cir. 1982).
11. “One cannot give what one does not have.” I.e., since a thief has void title, the thief cannot convey good title. The concept is often referred to simply as the *nemo dat* rule.

12. *State Party* (pl. *States Parties*) refers to a country that has, under its law, agreed to be bound by the terms of a treaty. Some multilateral international treaties are *self-implementing*, meaning that the treaty has legal effect in a State Party when that State Party ratifies it. Others are not self-implementing, meaning that States Parties must not only ratify the treaty but also enact national legislation to give legal effect to the treaty's provisions in that State Party. Additionally, treaties state the circumstances under which they enter into force. For example, the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (further described below) states in Article 21:

This Convention shall enter into force three months after the date of the deposit of the third instrument of ratification, acceptance or accession, but only with respect to those States which have deposited their respective instruments on or before that date. It shall enter into force with respect to any other State three months after the deposit of its instrument of ratification, acceptance or accession.

The date when a treaty entered into force can be a significant factor. For example, see the discussion below on Article 7(b) of the 1970 UNESCO Convention.

Finally, for purposes here, we use the term *ratify* to include the effectively similar terms *accept*, *accede*, and *approve*. For a guide to treaty terminology, see *United Nations Treaty Collection*, "Glossary of Terms Relating to Treaty Actions," https://treaties.un.org/pages/Overview.aspx?path=overview/glossary/page1_en.xml.
13. Treaty of Cooperation Between the United States of America and the United Mexican States Providing for the Recovery and Return of Stolen Archaeological, Historical, and Cultural Properties, Mex.-U.S., July 17, 1970, T.I.A.S. No. 7088 (entered into force March 24, 1971).
14. References in the literature to "source," "transit," and "market" nations are frequent. *Source nations* are rich in archaeological sites and antiquities; *market nations* generally have robust art and antiquities markets and collectors; *transit nations* serve as intermediaries where licitly and illicitly obtained objects are often held in freeports as they move from source to market countries. Unfortunately, this terminology paints with a broad brush. For example, Switzerland is often cited as a classic example of a transit nation, but it also has active art and antiquities markets and collectors and is appropriately considered a market nation. The United States is characterized as a market nation for Mediterranean antiquities but as a source nation for Native American cultural objects.
15. See UNESCO 1970. The single most comprehensive and readily available secondary source on the 1970 Convention is O'Keefe 2007.
16. Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act, Pub. L. No. 97-446, 96 Stat. 2329 (1983) (codified at 19 U.S.C. §§ 2601-2613) (amended 1987).
17. The U.S. and many other States Parties took the position that the 1970 Convention was not self-implementing, meaning that even after the Convention was ratified, it would not have force of law until a State Party enacted what is referred to as implementing legislation. Other States Parties, Australia, for example, treated the Convention as self-implementing, meaning that the Convention had force of law when Australia ratified it. See O'Keefe 2007, 98-99.
18. Italics added for emphasis.
19. See 19 U.S.C. § 2610(2).
20. See discussion below.
21. This change may not be as significant as it appears. Under the National Stolen Property Act, discussed below, the United States has long had authority to pursue stolen property—not merely stolen property within the narrow definition of Article 7(b)(i) and 19 U.S.C. § 2607. Additionally, the CCPIA created an important exception to the general common law rule that bona fide purchasers of stolen property are not entitled to compensation from theft victims if ordered to return stolen works. Under the CCPIA, good faith purchasers are potentially entitled to compensation from the State Party to which the work is returned. 19 U.S.C. § 2609(c).
22. Article 9 of the Convention states:

Any State Party to this Convention whose cultural patrimony is in jeopardy from pillage of archaeological or ethnological materials may call upon other States Parties who are affected. The States Parties to this Convention undertake, in

- these circumstances, to participate in a concerted international effort to determine and to carry out the necessary concrete measures, including the control of exports and imports and international commerce in the specific materials concerned. Pending agreement each State concerned shall take provisional measures to the extent feasible to prevent irremediable injury to the cultural heritage of the requesting State.
23. Beginning in 1909 works of art could be imported without payment of a tariff. See Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, Pub. L. No. 61-5 § 470 36 Stat. 11, 70 (1909). For a discussion on tariffs imposed on works of art imported into the United States prior to 1909 and efforts to repeal the tariffs, see May 2010, 9.
 24. See 19 U.S.C. § 2602 (allowing the U.S. President to enter into bilateral and multilateral treaties to protect the cultural patrimony of a requesting state by implementing import restrictions if “remedies less drastic . . . are not available.”).
 25. 19 U.S.C. §§ 2602 and 2603 describe the means by which the Executive Branch may restrict importation of cultural property from other States Parties. A detailed explanation of those sections of the CCPIA is beyond the scope of this chapter. But see generally “Cultural Heritage Center,” *Bureau of Education and Culutral Affairs*, <https://eca.state.gov/cultural-heritage-center> (providing more information on §§ 2602 and 2603).
 26. 19 U.S.C. § 2602(a)(1).
 27. The four-prong test for assessing the State Party’s request is set out in 19 U.S.C. § 2602(a)(1)(A)–(D). The statute requires the requesting State Party to demonstrate that:
 - its “cultural patrimony . . . is in jeopardy from the pillage of archaeological or ethnological materials”;
 - it “has taken measures . . . to protect its cultural property”;
 - the U.S.’s “import restrictions, . . . if applied in concert with similar restrictions implemented . . . by those nations . . . having a significant import trade in such material, would be of substantial benefit” to the requesting State Party and that there are no “remedies less drastic” other than import restrictions; and
 - the import restrictions do not contravene “the general interest of the international community in the interchange of cultural property among nations for scientific, cultural, and educational purposes.”
 28. The statute also foresees that the U.S. may enter into multilateral agreements. See 19 U.S.C. § 2602.
 29. 19 U.S.C. § 2606(a) (italics added for emphasis).
 30. See “Current Agreements and Import Restrictions,” Cultural Heritage Center, *Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs*, <https://eca.state.gov/cultural-heritage-center/cultural-property-advisory-committee/current-import-restrictions>. As of summer 2022, U.S. import restrictions were in place for several Mediterranean countries including Albania, Algeria, Cyprus, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Jordan, Libya, Morocco, and Türkiye. Additionally, under special statutory provisions, the U.S. has restricted importation of antiquities from Syria and Iraq. See generally Protect and Preserve International Cultural Property Act, Pub. L. No. 114-151 130 Stat. 369 (2016); Emergency Protection for Iraqi Cultural Antiquities Act of 2004, Pub. L. No. 108-429 118 Stat. 2599 (2004).
 31. 19 U.S.C. §§ 2606, 2609.
 32. See, e.g., 18 U.S.C. § 545; 19 U.S.C. § 1595a(c); see also, e.g., 18 U.S.C. § 981(a)(1)(c) (stating violations of, inter alia, 18 U.S.C. § 545 “or any offense constituting ‘specified unlawful activity’” as grounds for forfeiture). Making a false declaration on the importation of goods into the U.S. is considered an importation contrary to law. 18 U.S.C. § 542. Importations of stolen property or property restricted by the CCPIA are also considered “contrary to law.”
 33. 19 U.S.C. § 1595a(c)(1)(A) (declaring that merchandise that is “stolen, smuggled, or clandestinely imported” is introduced into the U.S. “contrary to law” and “shall be seized and forfeited”).
 34. 19 U.S.C. § 2609 (providing that: “Any designated archaeological or ethnological material or article of cultural property, as the case may be, which is imported into the United States in violation of [the CCPIA] . . . shall be subject to seizure and forfeiture.”) and 19 U.S.C. § 2093 (requiring seizure and forfeiture of unlawfully imported pre-Columbian monumental or architectural sculptures and murals).

35. 18 U.S.C. § 542 (“Entry of goods by means of false statements”) and 18 U.S.C. § 545 (“Smuggling goods into the United States”). Both are federal criminal statutes. Violations subject the importer to fines and imprisonment and the imported goods to seizure and forfeiture under 18 U.S.C. § 981 and 19 U.S.C. § 1497 (“Penalties for failure to declare”).
36. 18 U.S.C. § 545 (See *United States v. An Antique Platter of Gold*, 991 F. Supp. 222 (S.D.N.Y. 1997), *aff’d on other grounds*, 184 F.3d 131 (2d Cir. 1999).
37. Pub. L. No. 73–246 48 Stat. 794 (1934).
38. The NSPA itself has no forfeiture provision. However 18 U.S.C. § 981(a) and (c) provide for civil forfeiture of personal property constituting or traceable to a violation of illicit activities described in 18 U.S.C. § 1956(c)(7). That statute includes any offense provided for in 18 U.S.C. § 1961(1), which includes violations of the NSPA.
39. *United States v. Schultz*, 333 F.3d 393, 412–13 (2d Cir. 2003), *cert. denied*, 540 U.S. 1106 (2004).
40. 19 U.S.C. § 2607.
41. In a case applying the predecessor statute to the NSPA, the U.S. Supreme Court stated: “‘Stolen’ as used in [the statute] includes all felonious takings . . . with intent to deprive the owner of the rights and benefits of ownership, regardless of whether or not the theft constitutes common-law larceny.” *United States v. Turley*, 352 U.S. 407, 417 (1957). Since then, federal courts have consistently applied this expansive definition of “stolen” in applying the NSPA.
42. In a highly influential article from the relatively early development of cultural property law as a distinct discipline, Professor Paul M. Bator stated this “general rule” as it applies to the U.S. as follows:

The fundamental general rule is clear: *The fact that an art object has been illegally exported does not in itself bar it from lawful importation into the United States; illegal export does not itself render the importer (or one who took from him) in any way actionable in a U.S. court; the possession of an art object cannot be lawfully disturbed in the United States solely because it was illegally exported from another country.*

Bator 1982, 287 (italics original).
43. *United States v. McClain*, 545 F.2d 988, 991 (5th Cir. 1977). (“*McClain*”).
44. “We hold that a declaration of national ownership is necessary before illegal exportation of an article can be considered theft, and the exported article considered ‘stolen,’ within the meaning of the National Stolen Property Act. Such a declaration combined with a restriction on exportation without consent of the owner (Mexico) is sufficient to bring the NSPA into play.” *McClain* 545 F.2d at 1000–1.
45. *McClain*, 593 F.2d 658, 659 (5th Cir. 1979).
46. *McClain*, 545 F.2d at 670.
47. *United States v. Schultz*, 333 F.3d 393 (2d Cir. 2003), *cert. denied*, 540 U.S. 1106 (2004) (“*Schultz*”).
48. *Schultz*, 333 F.3d at 402. Schultz was sentenced to thirty-three months in federal prison and a fine of \$50,000.
49. “We conclude that the NSPA applies to property that is stolen from a foreign government, where that government asserts actual ownership of the property pursuant to a valid patrimony law.” *Schultz*, 333 F.3d at 416.
50. In a recent case, Türkiye asserted ownership of the Guennol Stargazer, a nine-inch-tall, marble figurine (referred to by the court as “the Idol”) pursuant to a 1906 law that asserts ownership by Türkiye to all antiquities located in that country. The court held that although the Idol was “undoubtedly manufactured in what is now modern-day Turkey, the Court cannot conclude . . . that it was excavated from Turkey after 1906 . . .” when the statute came into force. Put another way, although the court found that modern-day Türkiye is where the Idol originated, there was no evidence that Türkiye was the country where the Idol was discovered. *Republic of Turkey v. Christies, Inc.*, No. 17–CV–3086, 2021 WL 4060357 (S.D.N.Y. 2021).
51. The lack of a comprehensive, regularly updated compendium of national cultural property legislation presents a challenge for provenance research. UNESCO’s database is incomplete, often out of date, and generally provides legislation in a country’s native language. See <https://en.unesco.org/cultnatlaws>.
52. Malaro 1994, 17.
53. The American Association of Museums, founded in 1906, is the largest museum professional organization in the U.S. Its membership comprises institutions and

- individuals working in a broad range of museums, from aquariums and art museums to zoos and history museums. In 2012 the organization changed its name to the American Alliance of Museums.
54. The Association of Art Museum Directors, founded in 1916, represents directors of approximately 230 art museums in Canada, the United States, and Mexico. It is generally considered the most influential organization representing the directors of North American art museums.
 55. The 1970 UNESCO Convention was finalized and signed in Paris on that date. The significance of 1970 in the context of the acquisition of antiquities is discussed below. *Italics added for emphasis.*
 56. American Alliance of Museums 2008. *Italics added for emphasis.*
 57. The paragraphs quoted here represent only a portion of AAMD's Guidelines, which are themselves preceded by a Statement of Principles and other materials. The complete document is available at [https://aamd.org/sites/default/files/document/AAMD Guidelines 2013.pdf](https://aamd.org/sites/default/files/document/AAMD%20Guidelines%202013.pdf). Additionally, AAMD maintains an Object Registry of acquisitions, starting in June 2008, of archaeological material and works of ancient art that lack a complete provenance after November 1970. Information on the Object Registry is available at <https://aamd.org/object-registry/new-acquisitions-of-archaeological-material-and-works-of-ancient-art/more-info>. See further Gerstenblith 2019.
 58. Such works also raise red flags as to authenticity. The world of modern art learned that lesson with the collapse in 2011 of New York's venerable Knoedler Gallery, founded in the 1840s. Starting in 1994 Knoedler sold works it attributed to modern abstract expressionist masters (such as Rothko, de Kooning, Motherwell, and Pollock) for millions of dollars. All of the works were recent forgeries. The only documented provenance for the works was their appearance on the market at Knoedler. The story of the gallery's collapse has been extensively reported in the media and is the subject of at least two documentary films: *Driven to Abstraction* (2019) and *Made You Look: A True Story About Fake Art* (2020).
 59. The discussion of whether strategies other than acquisition (such as long-term loans and exchanges) could achieve similar goals is outside the scope of this chapter.
 60. The J. Paul Getty Museum is an operating program of The J. Paul Getty Trust. Its Collection Policy is available at <https://media.getty.edu/Text/00ae0cba-827f-5f1a-877e-86468937f24a.pdf>.
 61. For a helpful discussion, see Gerstenblith 2013, 365. In the paper's abstract Gerstenblith comments:

Many museum and professional associations, particularly in the United States, have adopted a 1970 standard for the acquisition of archaeological materials—that is, in recognition of the 1970 UNESCO Convention . . . archaeological objects should be documented as [sic] outside of their country of origin before 1970 or have been exported legally after 1970. This article explores the extent to which this standard has been adopted, its influence on restitutions and claims for restitution of archaeological objects, and the policies that this standard attempts to promote.
 62. For example, in 2017, the Republic of Türkiye claimed ownership of a millennia-old Anatolian object (the Guennol Stargazer) that appeared on the market in New York in 1961 and was prominently exhibited and published for more than fifty years before Türkiye asserted its claim. See above, n. 50.
 63. Although unlikely, even professionally maintained archival sources can be corrupted. For a lively account of a modern art forgery scheme that involved introducing false documents into archival records to create the appearance of reliable provenance, see Salisbury and Sujo 2009.
 64. *International Council of Museums, Red Lists Database*, <https://icom.museum/en/resources/red-lists>.
 65. *Interpol, Stolen Works of Art Database*, <https://www.interpol.int/en/Crimes/Cultural-heritage-crime/Stolen-Works-of-Art-Database>.
 66. <https://www.artloss.com/about-us/>.

Annotated Resource Guide

Judith Barr

In creating this resource guide, we hope to provide some roadmaps for researching the provenance of specific objects or collections. This appendix is structured around four main sections, with an overview of literature and top-level resources, followed by a breakdown of archives as laid out in chapter 2: object-focused resources, event-focused resources, and individual-focused resources. Suggested literature is provided throughout. Further edits and updates will appear online through iterative versions of this appendix.

As discussed in chapter 2, many figures involved with Mediterranean antiquities have had overlapping roles: until recent decades, it was not unusual for an academic to have a private collection and also to be involved with auction houses or dealers. Likewise, few archives are exactly alike in structure and composition. We have organized resources here to the greatest possible extent but realize that many could be assigned to multiple categories.

Because the afterlives of antiquities are rarely linear, successful searches relating to a single object may require approaching it through one or all of the three resource axes we use throughout this book: object-focused, event-focused, and individual-focused. Consider, for example, a fragmentary marble funerary relief, first documented in Rome by the end of the seventeenth century in a book of inscriptions; an etching of the relief by A. Tendi later appeared in a volume by James Christie, which located it as part of the Bessborough collection in Britain by the end of the eighteenth century (fig. 49; fig. 50).¹ By the mid- to late nineteenth century, the relief had traveled to a different British collection at Lowther Castle, where it was documented in Friedrich Matz's 1873 article on private collections of Mediterranean antiquities in England,² and it was later published in an auction catalogue in the mid-twentieth century. One single relief's provenance is therefore a constellation of information reconstructed over time from object-, event-, and individual-focused resources.



Figure 49 Fragment of a Sarcophagus Lid, Roman, 180–190 CE, marble (71.AA.257).

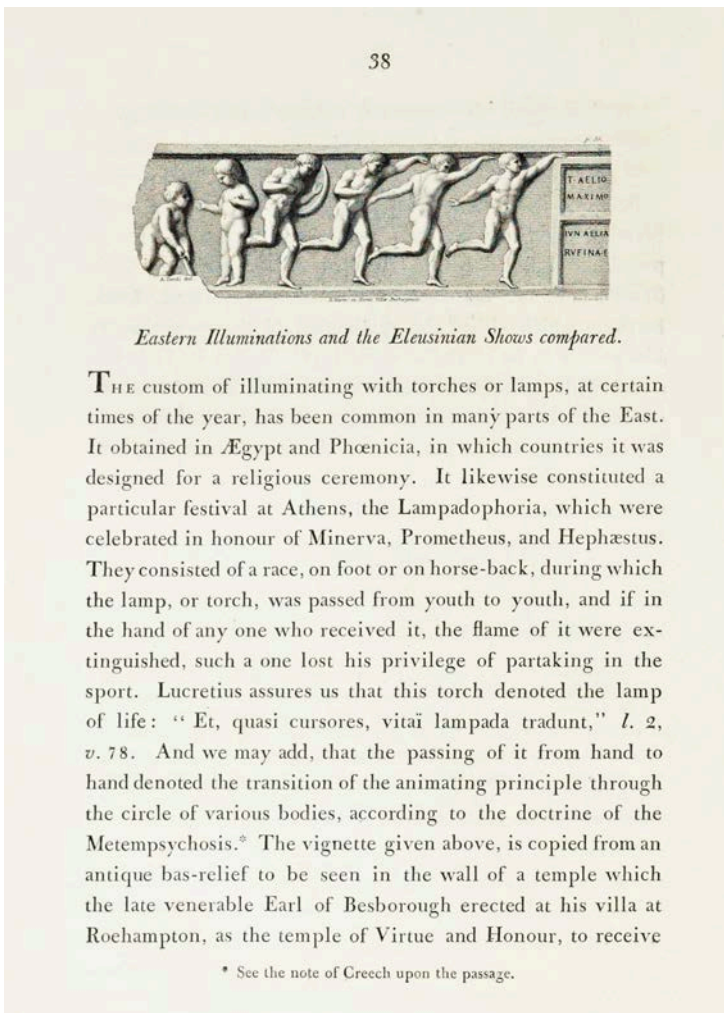


Figure 50 Illustration of the sarcophagus lid in James Christie’s *A Disquisition upon Etruscan Vases . . .* (London 1806). Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute 83-B914.

To aid in identifying resources, where possible we have noted contextual information about the date and scope of the collection, including information relevant to artwork from outside the Mediterranean, and additional user notes and literature. This guide is grounded in those resources that we have found most useful for working with the Getty's collection; it cannot list every archive in every category and so it is intended more as an overview guide to types of resources, with specific archives or titles highlighted as examples. The particular dealers, donors, collectors, and academics most relevant to your search will guide your choices of archives.

Top Level Resources for Getting Started

Guidelines

Professional guidelines relating to provenance have, as outlined in previous chapters, proliferated since 1970, and the following list is only a partial reference point. However, it is worth noting that these guidelines form a patchwork: they discuss and treat provenance in very different ways, and researchers may be impacted by aspects of many different kinds of guidelines—or the lack of any—depending on the intended product of their research, such as an article, a collection database, or an acquisition recommendation. Many professional research organizations, including the American Society of Overseas Research, focus on the known provenance of objects that might be discussed in their conferences or publications, while guidelines governing an organization, like the Object Registry and Guidelines of the Association of Art Museum Directors, focus instead on acquisitions; the Archaeological Institute of America has policies pertaining to both. This patchwork leaves open many aspects of the practice of provenance research without clear guidelines or professional governance. Researchers should consult all applicable guidelines according to their field, professional affiliations, and institution.

Individual Membership Organizations

American Society of Overseas Research (ASOR)

[formerly American Schools of Oriental Research, until 2021]

Policy on Professional Conduct

<https://www.asor.org/about-asor/policies/policy-on-professional-conduct/>

Archaeological Institute of America (AIA)

AIA Policy on the Presentation and Publication of Undocumented Antiquities

<https://www.archaeological.org/about/pubpolicy/>

<https://www.ajaonline.org/submissions/antiquities-policy/>

See also Resolution on the Acquisition of Antiquities by Museums
<https://www.archaeological.org/resolution-on-the-acquisition-of-antiquities-by-museums/> [1973]

Association of Art Museum Curators (AAMC)

AAMC Foundation Professional Practices for Art Curators in Nonprofits

<https://www.artcurators.org/page/ProfPractices>

Association of Registrars and Collections Specialists (ARCS)

Code of Ethics and Professional Practices for Collections Professionals

http://www.arcsinfo.org/content/documents/code_ethics_collections_professionals_2021_02_24.pdf

Society of Biblical Literature (SBL)

SBL Policy on Scholarly Presentation and Publication of Ancient Artifacts

https://www.sbl-site.org/assets/pdfs/SBL-Artifacts-Policy_20160903.pdf

Institutional Membership Organizations

American Alliance of Museums (AAM)

Ethics, Standards, and Professional Practices: Archaeological Material and Ancient Art

<https://www.aam-us.org/programs/ethics-standards-and-professional-practices/archaeological-material-and-ancient-art/>

Association of Art Museum Directors (AAMD)

Object Registry

<https://aamd.org/object-registry>

2013 Guidelines on the Acquisition of Archaeological Material and Ancient Art

<https://aamd.org/standards-and-practices>

International Council of Museums (ICOM)

ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums

<https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/ICOM-code-En-web.pdf>

Literature

Provenance Research Guides

International Foundation for Art Research (IFAR). "Provenance Guide."

Organization ceased operations in 2025.

https://web.archive.org/web/20250131082136/https://www.ifar.org/Provenance_Guide.pdf

National Museum of Asian Art. "Guidelines and Procedures for World War II Provenance Issues." (July 2009, with updates August 2021)
https://asia.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/Guidelines-Procedures-chapters_Updated-January-20221-1.pdf

German Museums Association. *Guidelines for German Museums: Care of Collections from Colonial Contexts*, 3rd ed. (Berlin: German Museums Association, 2021). <https://www.museumsbund.de/publikationen/guidelines-on-dealing-with-collections-from-colonial-contexts-2/>

Hartmann, Uwe, Maria Obenaus, Leonhard Weidinger, and Michaela Scheibe, eds. *Provenance Research Manual to Identify Cultural Property Seized due to Persecution during the National Socialist Era* (Magdeburg: German Lost Art Foundation, 2020). <https://www.proveana.de/en/help/basic-documents>

Mooren, Jana, Klaas Stutje, and Frank van Vree. *Clues: Research into Provenance History and Significance of Cultural Objects and Collections Acquired in Colonial Situations*. Dutch Pilotproject Provenance Research on Objects of the Colonial Era (PPROCE), Final Report (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2022). <https://www.niod.nl/en/publications/clues-PPROCE>

Schuhmacher, Jacques. *Nazi-Era Provenance of Museum Collections: A Research Guide* (London: UCL Press, 2024). <https://www.uclpress.co.uk/products/238763>

Tompkins, Arthur, ed. *Provenance Research Today: Principles, Practice, Problems* (London: Lund Humphries, 2020).

Yeide, Nancy, Konstantin Akinsha, and Amy L. Walsh. *AAM Guide to Provenance Research* (Washington, DC: American Association of Museums, 2001).

Some Suggested Reading

Ancient Mediterranean

Carpino, Alexandra, ed. *Collecting and Collectors from Antiquity to Modernity*. Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 4 (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2018).

De Staebler, Peter D., and Anne Hrychuk Kontokosta, eds. *Roman Sculpture in Context*. Selected Papers on Ancient Art and Architecture 6 (Boston: Archaeological Institute of America, 2020).

Hopkins, John North, Sarah Kielt Costello, and Paul R. Davis. *Object Biographies: Collaborative Approaches to Ancient Mediterranean Art* (Houston: The Menil Collection, 2021).

Marlowe, Elizabeth. *Shaky Ground: Context, Connoisseurship and the History of Roman Art*. Debates in Archaeology Series (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

Marlowe, Elizabeth. "What We Talk About When We Talk About Provenance: A Response to Chippindale and Gill." *International Journal of Cultural Property* 23, no. 3 (2016): 217–36. See also articles in response.

McAlpine, Lynley. *Let Us Now Not Boast of Our Worldly Possessions: Provenance Stories from the San Antonio Museum of Art* (San Antonio: San Antonio Museum of Art, 2022).

Milosch, Jane, and Nick Pearce. *Collecting and Provenance: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019).

Art Market Research

Journal of the History of Collections

<https://academic.oup.com/jhc>

Triannual publication with extremely broad remit, with articles discussing collections from antiquity to the present.

Journal for Art Market Studies

<https://www.fokum-jams.org/index.php/jams/index>

Open-access publication with past issue themes focused on topics like Asian art, African art, museums and the art market, and much more.

WorldCat

<https://search.worldcat.org/>

FirstSearch

<https://firstsearch.oclc.org/>

OCLC's WorldCat is a global union catalogue of library collections, presented as a public database; the subscription search tool FirstSearch allows for more complex searches. Because WorldCat is itself a database of the catalogues of subscribing libraries and institutions, it represents many, but far from all, libraries and archives across the world, with notable size and geographic biases. The holdings of specialized libraries or library collections internal to some museum departments may therefore be excluded from WorldCat.

WorldCat remains a powerful tool, with millions of books, archival records, and additional materials. Particularly relevant search features for provenance include the ability to search by publisher location and for references to annotations and price information recorded in local library catalogue records; often sections of annotated catalogues can be requested as scans.

The Sales Catalog Index Project Input Online (SCIPIO), a database of more than 300,000 auction catalogue records from twenty-five art libraries, has been incorporated into WorldCat and can be accessed via subscription through FirstSearch. Due to the nature of WorldCat, many titles will be represented by multiple catalogue records, and references to annotations and other items of interest will be in the language of the holding library. WorldCat records distinguish between print, microform, and digital versions of the same work. Work with your local interlibrary loan department to develop strategies given your location and level of access to various materials.

Provenance Research Organizations and Teams

Foundation for Ethical Stewardship of Cultural Heritage (FESCH) and their project Mediterranean Antiquities Provenance Research Alliance (MAPRA)
<https://www.feschheritage.org/>

Nonprofit organization founded to help establish resources and protocols for provenance research into collections of Mediterranean antiquities, with a particular focus on teaching students and creating a database of unprovenanced objects held by American universities.

International Arbeitskreis for Provenienzforschung e.V. [Research Association for Provenance Research]
<https://www.arbeitskreis-provenienzforschung.org/en/about-us/>

Pre-Hispanic Art Provenance Initiative (PHAPI)

Getty Research Institute

<https://www.getty.edu/projects/pre-hispanic-art-provenance-initiative/>

PHAPI has supported numerous publications and conferences on the art market for pre-Hispanic antiquities in America, as well the Stendahl Gallery archives (see below under “Individual-Focused Resources”). While the primary focus is not Mediterranean, many dealers and collectors, including the Stendahls, handled Mediterranean materials as well.

The International Art Market Studies Association (TIAMSA)

<https://www.artmarketstudies.org/>

An association formed in 2016 supporting research into art market studies. A

useful source for upcoming events like lectures, as well as job postings, forthcoming publications from members, and more.

Society for the History of Collecting

<https://societyhistorycollecting.org/>

A British-based society with local chapters in the Americas, France, and Italy.

Numerous events, both in-person and online, on collecting from different eras.

Waystation Initiative

University of California, Los Angeles

<https://ioa.ucla.edu/content/waystation-initiative>

The Institute “organizes and facilitates the voluntary return of international archaeological and ethnographic objects to the nation or community of origin” as well as providing training and certificate opportunities for students and ongoing programming.

Provenance News and Events

Day of Provenance

<https://www.arbeitskreis-provenienzforschung.org/en/international-day-of-provenance-research/>

Annual day for highlighting provenance research, often accompanied by local events, like lectures and tours, together with publications and social media posts.

Events Related to the History of Collecting

<https://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/events/servlet.starweb?path=events/events.web&id=events>

Events calendar provided by the Getty Research Institute.

LootedArt.com: The Central Registry of Information on Looted Cultural Property 1933–1945

<https://www.lootedart.com/>

Commission for Looted Art in Europe, weekly newsletter with updates on court cases, provenance resources, conferences, and more.

Museum Archives

Museums may retain their own rich internal or institutional archives relating to the institution’s history, departments, or staff. In some cases, correspondence or other records pertaining to objects on the market offered by dealers and private collections are preserved. Access to these by researchers varies by institutional policy and use should be confirmed with the holder of the archives. Institutional archives and libraries can also be sources of museum publications, ephemera, and

exhibition records. Note that the personal papers of museum personnel, with correspondence relevant to museum business, may also be preserved in other institutions.

Brooklyn Museum of Art

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/research/findingaids>

A wealth of correspondence between curators, dealers, scholars, and more pertaining to different departments of ancient material.

Metropolitan Museum of Art

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/museum-archives>

Many archival holdings, including those of past directors like Luigi di Cesnola and Thomas Hoving, with finding aids available online. Some restrictions apply.

Dallas Museum of Art

Exhibition Records

<https://texashistory.unt.edu/explore/collections/DMAEC/>

A digitized repository of exhibition materials, including some exhibitions of private collection objects. Includes gallery images, ephemera, and more.

J. Paul Getty Museum

Art and Real Estate Holding Companies Records, 1939–1982

http://primo.getty.edu/GRI:GETTY_ALMA21135172620001551

Archives pertaining to the art collecting of J. Paul Getty, both for his personal properties and some objects that became part of the J. Paul Getty Museum holdings. Some restrictions on access apply.

Harvard Art Museums, Harvard University

<https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/9>

Archives relating to the Fogg Museum, the Busch-Reisinger Museum, and the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, including collections of papers of individuals associated with the Harvard Art Museums, including past curators and directors.

Musée du Louvre

Centre d'études et de documentation – Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines

<https://www.louvre.fr/recherche-et-conservation/centre-d-etudes-et-de-documentation-antiquites-grecques-etrusques-et-romaines/fonds-documentaire>

Centre d'études et de documentation – Antiquités égyptiennes

<https://www.louvre.fr/recherche-et-conservation/centre-d-etudes-et-de-documentation-antiquites-egyptiennes/fonds-documentaire-2>

Holdings include department objects, correspondence, photographs, and

archives. The Département des antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines holdings include the archives of collector and photographer Louis de Clercq (1837–1901).

Wellcome Historical Medical Museum and Library Archives

Wellcome Collection

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/k2fae5cz>

Extensive digitized collections relating to the formation of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum. Particularly useful as a source of dealer letterhead and personnel information. Includes early twentieth-century correspondence on acquisitions both proposed and made for the Wellcome collection with private collectors and dealers, as well as material on Wellcome collection dispersals.

Union Catalogues of Archives

While no union catalogue of provenance-related materials exists, the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections volumes (<https://www.loc.gov/coll/nucmc>) can aid in identifying potential sources. The Frick Museum's Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America (<https://research.frick.org/directory>) offers a powerful database connecting archival resources relating to individuals and galleries from the American art market across different institutions, together with biographical data.

Regional and national database gateways like the U.K.'s National Archives Discovery Catalogue (<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>), the Online Archive of California (OAC; <https://oac.cdlib.org/>), and OCLC's ArchiveGrid (<https://researchworks.oclc.org/archivegrid/>) offer additional options for more thematic searches. But bear in mind that many finding aids are not accessible externally (and so are not searchable directly online) and must be requested through the holding institution.

Newspapers

From local to international editions, newspapers are a fundamental resource. They are key repositories of centuries of genealogical data, confirming life events and locations for collectors and dealers. They may have published auction advertisements, showcases, and results; artifact and excavation discoveries; dealer and museum exhibitions with private collection material; local collector displays; and other relevant records of objects on the art market. Increasingly, back issues have been digitized and made accessible through subscription or governmental databases while local and regional papers may be available on microform or consulted through print copies. Some archives require subscription access, and

date ranges often are limited; optical character recognition (OCR) and searchability vary considerably between papers.

There is substantial variability between countries in terms of access and databases of newspapers. Some key papers, like *La Stampa* in Italy or Türkiye's *Cumhuriyet*, maintain searchable online archives, while many American newspapers, like *The New York Times*, maintain paywalls across their archives, and there is no complete national-level archive of U.S. historic newspapers. Other subscription options for accessing newspapers like *The New York Times*, such as Lexis Nexis and Proquest, may be missing images due to copyright issues. Image archives may be accessible through visual media companies like Getty Images. American local libraries and historical societies may offer subscription access to regional newspaper archives, but this often requires searching on-site. Consulting specialty research guides, such as <https://guides.loc.gov/french-collections/newspapers-journals-womens-press>, can help direct you toward the most relevant repositories for your subject or geographic area.

Some of the larger online repositories are listed here.

Australia

<https://trove.nla.gov.au/>

Europe

<https://www.europeana.eu/en>

France

<https://www.retronews.fr/>

<https://gallica.bnf.fr>

Germany

<https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper?lang=en>

Great Britain

<https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/>

Italy

<http://www.archiviolaStampa.it/>

Switzerland

<https://www.e-newspaperarchives.ch/>

Türkiye

<https://www.gastearsivi.com/>

<https://gazetearsivi.milliyet.com.tr/>
<https://egazete.cumhuriyet.com.tr/en/publications>

United States

<https://www.newsbank.com/>
<https://www.newspapers.com/>

These primarily cover the U.S. Both are subscription-based; access packages vary.

<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/>

Searchable resource of American newspapers, mostly small and regional, from 1756–1963.

Art Law Research

See also “Legal Perspectives on Acquisition of Mediterranean Antiquities” (chapter 3 in this volume).

International Foundation for Art Research (IFAR). Art Law & Cultural Property *Ceased operations in 2025*.

Prior to its closure, IFAR offered an expansive educational resource for art law, presented in two sections: International Cultural Property Ownership and Export Legislation (ICPOEL) and Case Law and Statutes (CLS), the latter specific to U.S. law. This includes litigated cases and out-of-court settlements, as well as a section on Cultural Property (Antiquities) Disputes Over Non-United States Property, with case summaries and links to U.S. statutes, foreign legislation, and court records and filings. The future of this resource, unavailable since 2025, is unknown. IFAR’s Publication Collection has been archived through the Internet Archive: <https://archive.org/details/ifarpublications?tab-collection>.

American Bar Association’s Art & Cultural Heritage Law Committee

https://www.americanbar.org/groups/international_law/about/committees/art-cultural-heritage/

An archive of the committee’s newsletter is provided.

Center for Art Law [U.S.]

<https://itsartlaw.org/newsletter/>

Nonprofit organization offering various art law resources, including events and a newsletter, as well as memberships.

Institute of Art & Law [U.K.]

<https://ial.uk.com/>

Educational organization offering courses, publications, and events, as well as memberships.

Art Crime Research

Organizations and Projects

The Antiquities Coalition

<https://theantiquitiescoalition.org/>

Antiquities Trafficking and Heritage Anthropology Research (ATHAR) Project

<https://atharproject.org/>

The British Museum. Circulating Artefacts (CircArt)

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/our-work/departments/egypt-and-sudan/circulating-artefacts>

Trafficking Culture: Researching the Global Traffic in Looted Cultural Objects

<https://traffickingculture.org/>

Art Theft Resources

Material from thefts—historic and recent—from documented collections can and do surface, but they are often hard to trace. There are few collations of every museum or storeroom theft over time, although some, like those during and after World War II, may be covered by country-based publications (and see the World War II section in Event-Focused Resources in this appendix). Others may be documented through case studies and academic publications. In some cases, these may be recorded in national or international databases (see below); others may be recognized via their prior publication, archival documentation, or marks of ownership. As reiterated throughout this publication, illicitly excavated material will, *prima facie*, not be documented in the same way as other materials, and sources documenting looted artifacts are rarely available for wide consultation. Given this, caution is warranted, as a looted ancient object may not appear in these resources nor in searches run through commercial art loss firms like the Art Loss Register (<https://www.artloss.com/>).

Case Studies on Wartime Theft

Maischberger, M., and B. Sporleder, eds. *Konstantinopel – Samos – Berlin: Verpfändung, Fundteilung und heimliche Ausfuhr von Antiken am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges* (Heidelberg: Arthistoricum.net, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, and Zentralarchiv Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 2022).

National and International Resources

National Stolen Art File [U.S.]

<https://artcrimes.fbi.gov/>

Searchable database of stolen art and cultural property maintained by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

The British Museum. Recovery of Missing Items

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/our-work/departments/recovery-missing-items>

Homepage for the Museum's recovery project, including an overview of missing items and updates on recent progress.

Comando Carabinieri per la Tutela del Patrimonio Culturale [Italy]

<https://tpcweb.carabinieri.it/SitoPubblico/home>

<https://tpcweb.carabinieri.it/SitoPubblico/home/funzioni/ricerca-dati-immagini>

Website with information on the cultural heritage activities of the Carabinieri, as well as a database of images of stolen works of art and additional resources.

Çalınan / Kaybolan Kültür Varlıkları [Türkiye]

Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü

<https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-195649/calinan-kaybolan-kultur-varliklari.html>

Lists of stolen and lost cultural assets from museums, collectors, and others.

International Council of Museums (ICOM). Red Lists Database

<https://icom.museum/en/resources/red-lists/>

The ICOM Red Lists highlight categories or types of cultural heritage objects vulnerable to illicit trafficking and trade using catalogued examples held by national collections.

INTERPOL. Stolen Works of Art Database

<https://www.interpol.int/en/Crimes/Cultural-heritage-crime/Stolen-Works-of-Art-Database>

<https://www.interpol.int/en/Crimes/Cultural-heritage-crime/ID-Art-mobile-app>

An application is required to become a registered user of the INTERPOL database. Mobile users can download the ID-Art app, which provides a searchable database of stolen items and allows users to upload images of objects to be visually searched.

Marks of Ownership

See also the discussion of “Stamps and Seals” in chapter 2.

Unfortunately, there are very few resources for documenting marks of ownership on Mediterranean antiquities. However, some comparative examples from across the art world are presented here.

Claims Conference – WJRO: Looted Art & Cultural Property Initiative.

Provenance Markings Databases

<https://art.claimscon.org/resources/overview-of-worldwide-looted-art-and-provenance-research-databases/#Provenance-Markings>

A useful, updated list of resources for various types of provenance markings, focused on World War II cases.

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/Home/Index?page=1&k=WEB_PROV03

This database of more than a hundred illustrated examples of ownership seals, labels, marks, and more offers an excellent template for describing similar examples and making connections.

Artefacts of Excavation: British Excavations in Egypt 1880–1980

<https://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/resources/object-marks>

Though focused on Egyptian artifacts, a very useful resource regarding object marks.

Object-Focused Resources

These resources pertain directly to the objects themselves, and are shaped by medium, typology, function, or decoration. They typically collate large bodies of material, allowing for comparison and contextualization.

Iconographic

Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (LIMC). Multiple volumes, 1981–2009 (Zurich: Artemis).

WebLIMC

<https://weblimc.org/>

A unique encyclopedic resource, available both in print and online, for researching Greek, Etruscan, and Roman objects with mythological scenes.

LIMC essays, written in English, French, Italian, or German, incorporate material from museums across the world as well as from private collections.

Nonspecialists may find it especially helpful in confirming the iconographic identity of works of art and parallels for a scene type. Lists of related literature in each entry are particularly valuable, providing further keywords or descriptive

phrases to aid in searches. The online database of objects complements the print volumes, but many images are not yet accessible.

CENSUS: Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance

<https://www.census.de/en/home/>

To search the database:

<https://database.census.de/search>

Database allowing cross-referencing of ancient works of art that appear in Renaissance artworks and manuscripts by attributes, style, provenance, and location.

Antiquitatum Thesaurus: Antiken in den europäischen Bildquellen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts [Antiquitatum Thesaurus: Antiquities in European Visual Sources from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries]

<https://thesaurus.bbaw.de/en/>

To search the database:

<https://db.antiquitatum-thesaurus.eu/>

A rich database, still in production, which seeks to connect prints and drawings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to the antiquities that are depicted in them. The database presents the images alongside additional context and information. These sources include Montfaucon's *Papiers*.

Object Type

An overview of all print corpora by object type is not possible to include in this appendix, which instead focuses on broader categories and the more widely accessible databases. However, in addition to the resources listed below, we note the work by Klaus Parlasca documenting Romano-Egyptian funerary (mummy) portraits both on the market and in collections (*Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1966; and *Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto: Greco-Romano Serie B; Ritratti di Mummie*. 4 vols. Palermo: Officine Tipo-Litografiche I.R.E.S., 1969–2003). There also are corpora that are ongoing or forthcoming to be aware of: the publications of the *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum* (<https://publications.dainst.org/books/dai/catalog/series/csedl>) are documenting Etruscan mirrors in collections around the world; and forthcoming is a corpus of Palmyran portraits from the Palmyra Portrait Project (<https://projects.au.dk/palmyraportrait>).

Pottery

Beazley Archive Pottery Database

Classical Art Research Centre (CARC), Oxford

<https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/carc/pottery>

<https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/carc/resources/Beazley-Archive-Contents>

Contains records for more than 130,000 pieces of ancient Greek painted pottery. Although grounded in Sir John Beazley's (1885–1970) original archive, the corpus has continued to grow, with examples documented on the market and in private and public collections. Photographs can document changes in restoration history over time. On-site archives include additional photograph collections, including of vases on the London market, correspondence files, and archival collections from scholars such as Nicolas Plaoutine (1893–1942), Elfriede (Kesia) Regina Knauer (1926–2010), among others. This website also provides a point of entry for the Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum online, which makes accessible over a century's worth of digitized catalogues of museum collections: <https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/cva/about>.

AD Trendall Research Centre

<https://www.latrobe.edu.au/research/centres/trendall>

More than 40,000 photographs of South Italian and Sicilian red-figured vases acquired by Arthur Dale Trendall to support his vase publications, which extensively document material both on the art market and in private collections. The Trendall archive is restricted to the vase images as Trendall did not retain correspondence files. More than 400 duplicates of Trendall's images are held by the Getty Research Institute as part of its Photo Archive: https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/19q6gmb/GETTY_ALMA21132663900001551.

Sur la piste des œuvres antiques

<https://ventesdantiques.inha.fr/>

AGORHA

<https://agorha.inha.fr/ark:/54721/47>

The Institut National d'Histoire de l'Art (INHA) and the Musée du Louvre have drawn these two resources from the research project *Répertoire des ventes d'antiques en France au XIXe siècle* (Register of antiquities sales in France in the nineteenth century). The two databases bring together a wealth of information on collectors, dealers, sales, and objects on the art market in France in the nineteenth century, with useful visualizations of the passages of objects over time on the *Sur la piste des œuvres antiques* site.

Epigraphic

A useful reference for epigraphic publications for Mediterranean inscriptions from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including both historic compendia by language, region, and subject, as well as current publication outlets, is J.

Puhvel, “Epigraphy” (2022), *Encyclopedia Britannica*. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/epigraphy>.

Because the same inscription can be published in many different volumes, a new tool, the Inscriptiones Identifier Resolver (IDR), has been developed to help collate Trismegistos Identifiers and other digital identifiers using the Trismegistos TexRelations MatcherAPI, useful for large-scale epigraphy projects (<https://id-resolver.inscriptiones.org/>).

Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum (CIL)

<https://cil.bbaw.de/>

iDAI: CIL Open Access

<https://arachne.dainst.org/project/cilopac>

Published from 1863 on, the CIL collects Latin inscriptions from across the ancient world. The CIL is itself published in Latin, and volumes are ordered and organized by location. Entries are shown transcribed, some with previous references to earlier manuscripts and previous collections, as well as minimal descriptions. Many volumes have now been digitized, for which see CIL Open Access—a considerable aid to searching. The CIL website linked above holds further information on the archive, its history, and the database of materials.

Epigraphic Database Rome (EDR)

EAGLE: Electronic Archive of Greek and Latin Epigraphy

http://www.edr-edr.it/en/Link_en.php

Part of an international federation of epigraphic databases, with over 100,000 inscriptions to date.

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum (SEG) (Leiden: Brill, 1923–)

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum Online (SEG Online)

<https://scholarlyeditions.brill.com/sego/>

An annual collection of Greek inscriptions that have been published in a single year. The project began in 1923, covering 1922 onward; the latest years are available through a subscription with Brill publishers, which also offers the SEG Online.

Packard Humanities Institute: Epigraphy Project. Searchable Greek Inscriptions

<https://epigraphy.packhum.org/>

A resource for more than 200,000 Greek inscriptions; only references and transcriptions are provided for each entry.

Trismegistos

<https://www.trismegistos.org/>

Based on a corpus of papyrological documents from Graeco-Roman Egypt, Trismegistos now includes a wider range of epigraphic materials from 800 BCE to 800 CE found across the ancient world. Requires a subscription for full searching.

U.S. Epigraphy Project (USEP)

<https://usepigraphy.brown.edu/projects/usep/about/>

USEP documents thousands of ancient inscriptions in Greek, Latin, and a sampling of other ancient languages that are held by American collections, with some auction additions. Entries include bibliography, images, transcriptions, and translations.

Literature

Bodel, John P., and Stephen V. Tracy. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the USA: A Checklist* (New York: American Academy in Rome, 1997).

Numismatics

American Numismatic Society

<http://numismatics.org/archives/>

American Numismatic Society on Internet Archive

<https://archive.org/details/americannumismaticsociety>

Auction catalogues, coin files, and archival holdings of historic dealers connecting sales of individual coins across auctions. Many archival materials have been usefully scanned and made available through the Internet Archive; others are accessible only for in-person research.

The Newman Numismatic Portal at Washington University in St. Louis

<https://nnp.wustl.edu/>

Although primarily focused on American coinage, this is a useful tool for searching numismatist and dealer names, along with associated materials.

Gems and Seals

Beazley Archive Gem Database

Classical Art Research Centre (CARC), Oxford

<https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/carc/gems>

In addition to the better-known pottery database, the “Classical Art Research Centre” also hosts a gem database, drawing on some of its extensive archival and gem impression holdings—one of the largest in the world. Photographs of historic gem impressions made by James and William Tassie, Philipp Daniel Lippert, and Tommaso Cades are represented, as well as photographs and information relating to, for example, the Marlborough, Poniatowski, and

Piombino Boncompagni collections. A “Summary Handlist of the Collections of Gem Impressions, Casts and Replicas” is available (<https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/XDB/DMS/GemMasterCopyWordforwebsite.pdf>).

Campbell Bonner Magical Gems Database

<http://cbd.mfab.hu/>

Database of approximately 5,600 records based on monographs on ancient magical gems drawn from museums, private collections, and on the international art market.

Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel (CMS) Databases

<https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/fakultaeten/philosophie/zaw/cms/databases/databases.html>

The CMS was a long-term project to publish all known Aegean seals and sealings in archaeological collections, museums, private collections, and on the art market from 1958 to 2011. Its digitized databases are accessible through Arachne (<https://arachne.dainst.org/>).

Egyptian Artifacts

Egyptian material is often considered a corpus of its own, but given that Egyptian objects may feature in collections of Mediterranean antiquities, we have gathered some resources together here.

Literature

Hagen, Fredrik, and Kim Ryholt. *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930: The H.O. Lange Papers* (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, 2016).

Stevenson, Alice. *Scattered Finds: Archaeology, Egyptology and Museums* (London: UCL Press, 2019; <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv550cxt>).

Griffith Institute

The Digital Topographical Bibliography, The Griffith Institute

<http://topbib.griffith.ox.ac.uk//index.html>

Griffith Institute Archive, Griffith Institute Archive’s Online Catalogue

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

The Griffith Institute’s Archive and Topographical Bibliography publications include material either documented in private collections or attested in public collections having once been in private hands, including some auction references. The Griffith Institute archives also include numerous other resources, including scholar archives like that of Jacques Jean Clère, which documents material in

private collections and on the market (Clère MSS.: <http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/4clerejj.html>).

Artefacts of Excavation: British Excavations in Egypt 1880–1980

<https://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk>

A resource for objects dispersed internationally as part of the partage and subscriber arrangements of the Egyptian Exploration Society. Some objects were sent directly to private collectors, while others have entered the market following museum deaccessions. The project includes a useful image gallery and guide to object marks (<https://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/resources/object-marks>).

Das Photoarchiv H.W. Müller der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg [The Photo Archive of Hans Wolfgang Müller at the University of Heidelberg Library]

<https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/fachinfo/aegyptologie/HWMueller.html>

<https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/cgi-bin/hwm/hwm01.pl>

More than 8,000 photographs and negatives produced by Egyptologist Hans Wolfgang Müller between 1931 and 1975 of sites, as well as objects in museums, private collections, and on the market. Prints can be ordered through the holding library; a microfiche set is also available. A database with basic information for many of the photographs is available through the University of Heidelberg, although the photographs themselves have not been digitized.

Das altägyptisch Totenbuch: Ein digitales Textzeugenarchiv (Totenbuch-Projekt)

<https://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/>

A database of nearly 3,000 records of Egyptian Book of the Dead materials around the world, both on the market and in private and public collections, grounded in research conducted at Göttingen over the previous decade. It usefully links fragmented manuscripts, papyri, and mummy bandages divided between different collections, along with relevant bibliography. The website was launched in 2012 and there have been some more recent updates.

Photo Archives

Photo archives can be essential tools in tracing an object's ownership or conservation over time. Such an archive can, in the aggregate, also provide insight into owner collecting practices, even where images of a specific object are lacking. Even when ancient objects do not feature, as with the Frick Collection photo archive, they can provide useful comparative examples of photographer stamps and active dates, as well as further evidence of dealer and collector activities. National-level archives of photographs, like Historic England (<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/>) and the Médiathèque du patrimoine et de

la photographie (<https://mediatheque-patrimoine.culture.gouv.fr/>) include images of objects, houses with private collections, and other photographs of interest—for example, a series of images of the showroom of Spink & Son in London, dating to 1918 and preserved by Historic England (fig. 51) (<https://historicengland.org.uk/images-books/photos/item/BL24185/002>).



Figure 51 Objects of art and statuary at Spink & Son Ltd., dealers in antiquities, 6 King Street, St. James's, City of Westminster, Greater London Authority, SW1Y, 1918. Photo: Historic England

DAI.objects Arachne

<https://arachne.dainst.org/>

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Hundreds of thousands of records, a large percentage with digitized photographs, of archaeological sites and objects held in private collections, museums, and on the market from the late nineteenth century. Scanned “Inventarbuch” pages

provide further records on the date by which the photographs entered the collection, the photographer, and later publication records. Primarily marble and stone works of art, with additional records of pottery, jewelry, and other media. Includes scans of all plates from the landmark series *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen Antiker Sculpturen nach Auswahl und mit Text* (Munich: Verlagsanstalt für Kunst und Wissenschaft, 1893–), with images of objects in private collections and on the art market across Europe (see also the discussion of the DAI and Arachne in chapter 2)

Getty Research Institute (GRI)

<https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/photo/>

The GRI's Photo Archive encompasses millions of photographs with subdivisions for Mediterranean antiquities according to medium, culture, location, and object type. Additional subsections of dealer or individual-focused materials are addressed below. Sections may contain additional photographs drawn from the GRI's French & Company and Mathias Komor photographic holdings.

Fondazione Federico Zeri, Università di Bologna

<https://fondazionezeri.unibo.it/en/photo-archive>

This photo archive includes a section on ancient artworks, including some dealer photographs. Other photographs provide useful comparanda for dealer and photographer marks. The library also contains numerous auction catalogues.

Literature

For more on the practices behind historic dealer-created photography, see:

Norskov, Vinnie. "The Photographs in John Marshall's Archive." In *Ancient Art and Its Commerce in Early Twentieth-Century Europe: The John Marshall Archive: A Collection of Essays Written by the Participants of the John Marshall Archive Project*, edited by Guido Petruccioli, 54–57 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2022).

Bärnighausen, Julia. "Bureaucratic Hybrids: Photographs from the Galleria Sangiorgi in Rome at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 62, no. 1 (2020): 43–67.

See chapter 2 for our discussion of using photographs as an information source for antiquities and some cautions regarding their analysis.

Event-Focused Resources

Event-focused resources center around specific events or time periods, such as auctions or World War II.

Auctions

Open Access Digitized Auction Catalogues

Auction houses often maintain some recent auction information online, and many make available some information from sales from the past few decades. However, online lot information often excludes lots removed from sales, unlike print catalogues, and photographs and full sale information are often not available for older sales. Accessibility of catalogues in downloadable formats varies widely. Some smaller firms do not maintain online result lists or lot information, and access to past catalogues for regional auction houses is often quite limited (see also our discussion of auction and sales catalogues in chapter 2).

Bibliothèque de l'Institut national d'histoire de l'art, collections Jacques Doucet

<https://bibliotheque-numerique.inha.fr/>

For scans of numerous auction catalogues into the mid-twentieth century, often from microform, see under “Catalogues de vente.”

German Sales Catalogues, 1900–1945

Universitäts-Bibliothek Heidelberg. “Auction Catalogues – Digitized”

<https://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/Englisch/helios/digi/artsales.html>

Kunstabibliothek of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Heidelberg University, and the Getty Research Institute

<https://www.smb.museum/en/museums-institutions/kunstabibliothek/collection-research/research/german-sales-1901-1945/>

More than 8,700 searchable German language auction catalogues, some annotated and with a number of “hand copies,” editions with bidding and sale notes officially recorded by the auction house, from the firm Hugo Helbing.

Wellcome Collection, London

<https://wellcomecollection.org/works/tmt535tq>

Array of sales catalogues, some digitized, on different collecting areas, including antiquities. Includes many from smaller English firms.

Wildenstein Plattner Institute, New York

<https://digitalprojects.wpi.art/library/search>

Searchable database of more than 21,000 American and European sales catalogues from the seventeenth century to 1945; filter by sales catalogues.

Internet Archive

<https://archive.org/>

Increasingly, museums and archives have made scans of auction catalogues available through the Internet Archive. Particularly notable are the contributions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Numismatic Society, which include a substantial number of annotated auction house catalogues from Europe and the United States.

Subscription or Institutional Access

Art Sales Catalogues Online

<https://brill.com/display/db/asco>

Searchable database of thousands of historic art auctions from 1600 to 1900, grounded in the *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques intéressant l'art ou la curiosité*, assembled by Frits Lugt beginning in the 1930s.

Modern auction databases and aggregators such as Invaluable (<https://www.invaluable.com/>), the Artnet Price Database (<https://www.artnet.com/price-database/>), and Liveauctioneers (<https://www.liveauctioneers.com/>) (subscriptions or account creation may be required for full access) provide helpful insight into modern auctions, listed provenance data, and estate dispersals.

Printed Auction Catalogues

Print copies of catalogues may be located using the SCIPPIO auction database (subscription required) through WorldCat (<https://search.worldcat.org/>). Further auction information may be available through the Getty Provenance Index (<https://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/search.html>); although this was not designed to capture data pertaining to antiquities sales, it remains a useful resource for constituent information and sales data. Specialist institutions, such as the Corning Museum of Glass, maintain collections of catalogues tailored to support research in their field. Although uncatalogued and not accessible through WorldCat or other library databases, museum departments and archives may have additional holdings of auction-related materials. Check departmental or museum websites for specific instances; for one example, see <https://specialcollections-blog.lib.cam.ac.uk/?p=23064>.

Sotheby & Co. catalogues of sales

<https://worldcat.org/en/title/70653365>

A comprehensive collection on microform of scans of Sotheby auction catalogues

from London and New York, 1734–1990, created through the cooperation of the Huntington Library, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, the British Museum, and the University of Illinois. Many scanned catalogues include annotations or price lists. The prospectus for each part of the catalogue lists dates of sales with key sellers and indications of type of material covered per sale.

Auction House Archives

International

Many larger auction houses, including Sotheby's, Christie's, and Bonhams, maintain in-house archives of catalogues and other materials, which may include additional annotations for price codes, buyers, and sellers. Access by outside researchers is often limited, but the relevant department should be contacted for case-by-case information.³ Records for auction houses bought by another firm are sometimes retained, and the current owner should be contacted regarding access. See chapter 2 for discussion of published price and buyer lists.

France

For auctions in Paris, the Archives de Paris preserves a wealth of the *procès-verbaux de ventes* (auction minutes) from French *commissaires-priseurs* (auctioneers). See:

Les ventes d'antiques en France au XIXe siècle. "Archives des commissaires-priseurs"

<https://venteantique.hypotheses.org/archives-des-commissaires-priseurs>

A detailed and useful summary of sources.

Archives des commissaires-priseurs parisiens conservés aux Archives de Paris: Index patronymique

<https://francearchives.gouv.fr/fr/article/930253419>

A listing by personal name of *commissaires-priseurs* archives at the Archives de Paris.

Literature

Rouge-Ducos, Isabelle. *Le crieur et le marteau: Histoire des commissaires-priseurs de Paris (1801–1945)* (Paris: Editions Belin, 2013).

Saint-Raymond, Léa. *À la conquête du marché de l'art: Le Pari(s) des enchères (1830–1939)* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021).

Germany

Arthistoricum. "Auctioneer's Copies of the Catalogues of the Auction House Hugo Helbing"

<https://www.arthistoricum.net/en/subjects/thematic-portals/german-sales/helbing>

More than a thousand auctioneer copies of catalogues from the firm Galerie Hugo Helbing (Hugo Helbing; active 1885–1937 in Munich, Berlin, and Frankfurt) have been digitized and made available. Annotations include sales data such as reserve prices, consignors, buyers, and indications of sales outside of auctions.

World War II

Given the large corpus of guides dedicated to provenance research concerning the years during and after World War II (see "Provenance Research Guides" above), this section will not seek to reproduce their efforts. However, as Mediterranean antiquities have not, to date, often been a focus of these investigations, gaps in an object's provenance between 1930 and 1945 should be treated with the same diligence as for European paintings and sculpture. Mediterranean antiquities continued to be part of the European art market during the war, and were subject to seizure and forced sales, just like other material in private collections and galleries. Antiquities were also looted from museum collections and excavation stores, some of which have surfaced or been identified in more recent years.⁴ However, many countries have not yet made World War II-era archival information accessible.

Literature

New contributions to the literature on Mediterranean antiquities during World War II have provided key insights into relevant archives and the unique challenges of researching this kind of material.

Bald Romano, Irene, ed. "The Fate of Antiquities in the Nazi Era." Special issue, *RIHA Journal*. 2023. <https://doi.org/10.11588/riha.2022.2>.

Dunn-Vaturi, Anne. "Mind the Gap: Researching Ownership History of Ancient Artifacts during the Nazi Era." *RETOUR – Freier Blog für Provenienzforschende*, April 14, 2021. <https://retour.hypotheses.org/1460>.

General Resources

LootedArt.com: The Central Registry of Information on Looted Cultural Property, 1933–1945

<https://www.lootedart.com>

Provided by the Commission for Looted Art in Europe

Lost Art – Datenbank [Germany]

<https://www.lostart.de>

A German database of art confiscated between 1933 and 1945.

International Research Portal for Records Related to Nazi-Era Cultural Property

<https://irp2.ehri-project.eu/>

National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). "Holocaust-Related Records at the National Archives" [United States]

<https://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust>

There is also a useful and comprehensive list of country-based World War II resources compiled by The Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference) and the World Jewish Restitution Organization (WJRO) maintained here: <https://art.claimscon.org/resources/overview-of-worldwide-looted-art-and-provenance-research-databases/#National-Databases>. This kind of country-based archival information includes databases documenting material in national collections with unknown or potentially problematic histories between 1930 and 1945. A few examples are listed below. However, not every country has created this kind of resource to date.

Restitution-Art [Czech Republic]

<https://www.citem.cz/holocaust/>

Ministère de la Culture. "Mission de recherche et de restitution des biens culturels spoliés entre 1933 et 1945" [France]

<https://www.culture.gouv.fr/nous-connaître/organisation-du-ministère/le-secretariat-général/mission-de-recherche-et-de-restitution-des-biens-culturels-spoliés-entre-1933-et-1945>

Managed by the Musées nationaux récupération (MNR)

Origins Unknown: Art and the Second World War [Netherlands]

<https://www.herkomstgezocht.nl/origins-unknown>

Literature

Grimsted, Patricia Kennedy. "ERR Archival Guide: Reconstructing the Record of Nazi Cultural Plunder: A Guide to the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) and the Postwar Retrieval

of ERR Loot.” *Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg*. 2011–22. <https://www.errproject.org/guide.php>

Databases

Cultural Plunder by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR): Database of Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume
<https://www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/>

Deutsches Historisches Museum. “Databases for Provenance Research”
<https://www.dhm.de/en/collection/research/provenance-research/databases/>
Includes the Database on the Munich Central Collecting Point, the Database on the “Special Commission Linz”, and the Database on the “Collection Hermann Göring”.

Online Card Index of the Central Depot for Seized Collections in Vienna
<https://www.zdk-online.org/en/>
Project of the Commission for Provenance Research and the Archive of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien.

French Diplomatic Archives, Commission de récupération artistique (Commission for Art Recovery)
<https://archivesdiplomatiques.diplomatie.gouv.fr/ark:/14366/xdm9rgwv5nt1>
This new resource is the ongoing digitization of the inventories and archival files of the French Diplomatic Archives. Of particular note are the inventories of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) (1940–59) and the Albums de photographies (1940–50), preserving images of family and institutional art collections, including Mediterranean antiquities.

Individual-Focused Resources

As throughout the book, we define individual-focused resources as those primarily relating to the activities of a specific person, firm, or institution, such as a collector, dealer, art historian, or family; see the case studies in chapter 2 for additional references. Individual-focused resources might include dealer or collector memoirs, archives, study photograph collections, and exhibition or collection ephemera like checklists or advertisements. Collating references to individuals across multiple archives—for example, sporadic appearances of correspondence between collectors and dealers preserved in separate locations—is essential. For this, invaluable resources are projects like the Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America (<https://research.frick.org/directory>) or union catalogues like the Kalliope Union Catalog (<https://kalliope-verbund.info/en/index.html>), which retains records relating to archives in Germany, Austria,

Switzerland, and related material from other international archives. National archival repositories (e.g., <https://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>) often house family and business materials. There are too many relevant archives to enumerate here; the list below focuses on late nineteenth- and twentieth-century archives, with an emphasis on American archival sources.

A new subscription resource, the Bloomsbury Art Markets (BAM), contains authored essays on key art market figures, their active and/or life dates, biographical information, a select bibliography, and lists of relevant archival sources: <https://www.bloomsburyvisualarts.com/bloomsbury-art-markets/>. For the Italian market, the Fondazione Federico Zeri has also launched a detailed database “Il mercato antiquario in Italia tra Otto e Novecento” [“The antiques market in Italia between the 18th and 19th centuries”]: https://fondazionefedericozeri.github.io/Mercato_dell_arte/. This offers a trove of connected resources on Italian art market constituents with biographies, maps, bibliographies, family trees, and more.

Genealogical resources can be valuable tools here, though accessibility of personal data will vary by country. Accessing information on deaths and heirs also varies by country and largely requires in-person research. One excellent new resource for wills from England and Wales is Find a Will (<https://probatesearch.service.gov.uk/>), which for a fee provides digital copies of will or grant documents for persons from England or Wales and deceased since 1856.

Collectors

Where extant, archives of collectors’ materials may include sections dedicated to their art collections, or these may be preserved in separate archives. In other cases, this material may be distributed throughout their archives or not preserved at all. Archives may also be focused on the work of collectors, as with the example of the work of Frits Lugt, below. In many cases, collector archives preserve correspondence with dealers who have no extant archive of their own.

Collectors’ Marks on Prints and Drawings [Frits Lugt 1884–1970]

<https://www.fondationcustodia.fr/Collectors-Marks-273>

Collectors’ Marks on Drawings and Prints: New Version of the Database

<https://www.fondationcustodia.fr/New-version-of-the-database>

Drawing on Lugt’s critical work *Les Marques de collections de dessins & d’estampes* (1921) and later *Supplément* (1956), this database is less critical for marks of ownership on antiquities, which generally fall outside of its parameters, than it is for its deep biographical information on collectors who acquired antiquities along

with more modern artworks. Recent additions to the database include collations of collector auction sales and new research on individuals.

Mildred and Robert Bliss, Royall and Elisina Tyler

Bliss–Tyler Correspondence

Dumbarton Oaks

<https://www.doaks.org/resources/bliss-tyler-correspondence>

A rich trove of letters between Mildred and Robert Bliss and Royall and Elisina Tyler about mostly Byzantine, medieval, and Islamic art market purchases for the Bliss collection, 1901–53, annotated with biographical details about dealers and collectors, links to referenced objects, and other rich contextual details useful for antiquities research on many fronts.

William Randolph Hearst (1863–1951)

William Randolph Hearst Archive

Long Island University

https://digitalcommons.liu.edu/post_hearst

The William Randolph Hearst Collection photographs and acquisition records (microfiche)

<https://www.jstor.org/site/artstor>

[/WilliamRandolphHearstArchiveLongIslandUniversity-100146267/?so=item_title_str_asc&searchkey=1745368330169](https://www.jstor.org/site/artstor/WilliamRandolphHearstArchiveLongIslandUniversity-100146267/?so=item_title_str_asc&searchkey=1745368330169)

The Hearst archive includes correspondence, auction catalogues, and albums relating to Hearst’s vast and myriad collecting interests. Antiquities are indexed under many different subheadings. Some records have been digitized. The microfiche edition includes a prospectus providing background on Hearst’s collecting biography and scope of contents of the records, which are limited to a subset of Hearst’s overall collecting and later sales. Records include purchase information, photographs, buyer and agent names, and, where applicable, date and method by which the object left Hearst’s collection.

Literature

Levkoff, Mary L. *Hearst the Collector*. Exhibition catalogue (New York: Abrams, 2018).

Carl Jacobsen (1842–1914)

Carl Jacobsens Brevarkiv / Carl Jacobsen’s Correspondence Archive

Ny Carlsbergfondet, Copenhagen, Denmark

<https://brevarkivet.ny-carlsbergfondet.dk/en>

Correspondence archive of Carl Jacobsen, art collector and founder of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen. The archive includes letters discussing

works of art on the market and much more. Some correspondence has been transcribed; others are digitized but not searchable yet.

Leon Pomerance (1907–1988)

Leon Pomerance Papers

University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida

<https://findingaids.uflib.ufl.edu/repositories/2/resources/745>

A broad archive with sections on Pomerance's art collection and its exhibition.

Brian B. Shefton (1919–2012)

Newcastle University (on loan), United Kingdom

Currently offline, but archived here: <https://web.archive.org/web/20240212102929/https://www.storiesfromthearchive.org/the-archive>.

Correspondence, auction catalogues, and more relating to the collecting practices of Shefton (1919–2012), an archaeologist whose collection of Mediterranean antiquities is now housed at the Great North Museum, Hancock, Newcastle.

Academics and Artists

Darrell A. Amyx (1911–1997)

Getty Research Institute

Darrell Amyx Papers

[https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/ihvagq/GETTY](https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/ihvagq/GETTY_ALMA21193847810001551)

[_ALMA21193847810001551](https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/ihvagq/GETTY_ALMA21193847810001551)

Amyx Photographic Archive of Corinthian Vase Painting

[https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/19q6gmb/GETTY](https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/19q6gmb/GETTY_ALMA21143930390001551)

[_ALMA21143930390001551](https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/19q6gmb/GETTY_ALMA21143930390001551)

The Getty Research Institute holds both the papers of Amyx and his personal photographic archive used in preparation for the publication *Corinthian Vase-Painting of the Archaic Period* (1988). The photographs include objects from private collections and on the market, as well as some notes and annotations.

Paul Arndt (1865–1937)

Paul Arndt Archiv

Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Friedrich–Alexander–Universität

Erlangen–Nürnberg (FAU), Antikensammlung

<https://www.fau.eu/fau/history-and-remembrance/collections-and-museums/collection-of-antiquities/>

The archives of Arndt contain extensive correspondence with dealers and collectors, as well as photographs. There is also a large dactyliothea of plaster gem casts from private collections and the market. Contact the Institut for access. See also <https://codingdavinci.de/de/daten/goetter-und-helden-im-miniaturformat>.

Johannes Felbermeyer (1903–1988)

Felbermeyer Photographs of Antiquities and Art in Italy

Getty Research Institute

https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/19q6gmb/GETTY_ALMA21143962670001551

Perhaps best known for his work as chief photographer for the Central Collecting Point, Munich, after World War II, Felbermeyer was a photographer first for the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut-Rom (DAI Rome) before the war and, after 1950, at the American Academy in Rome. Photographs largely represent site and project-specific photography. However, as discussed in “Case Study: Photographic Archives in Context” in chapter 2, Felbermeyer’s subjects also included a number of antiquities held in private collections or on the art market; some of these photographs also became part of the DAI Rome’s photo archive. Some photographs preserve limited annotations, but they are largely undated and unlabeled. Where preserved in the DAI Rome archive, their “Inventarbuch” files provide some additional data, such as the date the photograph entered their records. See also “Exploring the Arachne Database” in chapter 2.

Literature

Blecksmith, Anne. “The Johannes Felbermeyer Collection at the Getty Research Institute.” *Visual Resources Association Bulletin* 39, no. 1 (2012): 1–6.

Paul Perdrizet (1870–1938)

Archives Paul Perdrizet

Université de Lorraine

<http://perdrizet.hiscant.univ-lorraine.fr/>

Correspondence, photographs, and other documentation of Perdrizet’s research, including private collections, notably that of Daniel Marie Fouquet.

Literature

Smotherman Bennett, Danielle. “Identifying Old Collection Marks on Hellenistic and Roman Terracottas Associated with the Collection of Daniel Marie Fouquet.” *Transfer: Zeitschrift für Provenienzforschung und Sammlungsgeschichte | Journal for Provenance Research and the History of Collection* 2 (2023). <https://doi.org/10.48640/tf.2023.1.101806>.

Salomon Reinach 1860–1932

Fonds Salomon Reinach

Institut national d’histoire de l’art, France

<https://calames.abes.fr/pub/#details?id=FileId-3372>

Particularly important for provenance research because of its photographic

holdings of ancient works of art. The Reinach archival material also includes books, correspondence, and much more.

Literature

Peyrard, Alix. 2021. “Les dons de Salomon Reinach à la Bibliothèque d’art et d’archéologie.” *Bibliothèque d’art et d’archéologie Jacques Doucet*. April 24. <https://baadoucet.hypotheses.org/899>.

Karl Schefold (1905–1999)

Nachlass Karl Schefold

University of Basel

<https://kalliope-verbund.info/de/ead?ead.id=CH-002121-2-991170430451805501>

Includes correspondence between Schefold—an academic and art historian who worked on many exhibitions with private lenders—and academics, dealers, and collectors, particularly in Switzerland.

Conrad M. Stibbe (1925–2019)

Conrad M. Stibbe Photo Archive

Michael C. Carlos Museum, Emory University

<https://archives.libraries.emory.edu/repositories/7/resources/4514>

<https://www.jstor.org/site/emory/conrad-m-stibbe-photo-archive/>

Housed at the Carlos Museum, the Stibbe archive preserves a large photographic corpus of Archaic-period works of art produced in Sparta, Greece, as well as Stibbe’s correspondence and other research materials. A selection of photographs, to date primarily of decorated pottery, is available through JSTOR.

Eugénie Sellers Strong (1860–1943)

Eugénie Sellers Strong Papers

British School at Rome

<https://archive.bsr.ac.uk/repositories/3/resources/52>

Photographs and papers relating to Strong’s work as an archaeologist and art historian, including her research into private collections.

Cornelius Clarkson Vermeule III (1925–2008)

Vermeule Collection, 1959–1990

American Academy in Rome

<https://dhc.aarome.org/vermeule>

Digitized collection of approximately two thousand photographs, dating from 1959 to 1990, of Mediterranean antiquities both in situ in private English collections and on the English art market (fig. 52). The collection reflects Vermeule’s work with the art firm Spink & Son, London, in the 1950s, as well as his research into antiquities in English collections.



Figure 52 Rokeby Hall, interior. Photograph, 12 x 17 cm (4 3/4 x 6 11/16 in.). Vermeule Collection, Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive, Vermeule.Sculpt.71. Photo: Digital image courtesy of the American Academy in Rome, Photographic Archive

Dealers

See above under “Photo Archives” for additional resources in searching dealer material in these archives. See also Appendix 2, “Dealer Biographies”.

General

Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America

The Frick Collection

<https://research.frick.org/directory>

An exceptionally useful guide, with dealer names, brief biographies, and collated archival references for dealers and collectors across a wide array of American archives.

Antique Dealers: The British Antique Trade in the 20th Century

University of Leeds

<https://antiquetrade.leeds.ac.uk/>

A useful compendium of dealers active in Britain in the twentieth century, with some associated names and dealer addresses indicated.

How to Research an Artist: Artist & Pamphlet Files

New York Public Library

<https://libguides.nypl.org/c.php?g=872748&p=6266002>

Collection of dealer ephemera from New York City, including exhibition opening

announcements. Some material relates to ancient objects. A useful source for confirming gallery information and types of objects handled.

Dealer Directories

Useful for comparing gallery locations and addresses over time, listed specialties, gallery personnel, and more, dealer directories are collated in diverse locations, such as tourist guides, collector manuals, and publications focused solely on this material. Where extant, illustrated advertisements provide further points of interest for researchers. One such publication, begun in 1952 and ongoing, is the *International Directory of Arts*, also known as: *Internationales Kunst-Adressbuch*; *Annuaire international des beaux-arts*; *Annuario internazionale delle belle arti*; and *Anuario internacional de las artes*.

Individuals and Galleries

Joseph Altounian (1889–1954) and Henriette Lorbet. Altounian–Lorbet
Antiquaires 1906–1954

Altounian–Lorbet Study Photographs of Sculpture and Decorative Arts
Getty Research Institute

https://primo.getty.edu/GRI:GETTY_ALMA21139903660001551

While not the primary focus of the Altounian-Lorbet gallery's holdings, antiquities from the Mediterranean constitute a notable portion of the thousands of photographs held in the archive. Some photographs contain further annotations and photographer stamps.

Kurt Walter Bachstitz (1882–1949). Kunsthandel Kurt Bachstitz Gallery
Bachsitz Gallery Archive

RKD (Netherlands Institute for Art History)

<https://rkd.nl/collections/558>

A digitized card file and correspondence with photographs and extensive annotations around object movements, potential buyers, and more. Active primarily in the Netherlands, with a gallery extension in New York. Related Bachstitz archives are also held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, National Gallery of Art, and St. Louis Art Museum. Additional material is located in the Nachlaß Robert Zahn in Berlin.

Stefano Bardini (1836–1922)

Fondo Stefano Bardini

Florence, Archivio Fotografico Eredità Bardini (AFEB)

Florence, Archivio Musei Comunali Fondo Stefano Bardini (AMCFiFSB)

Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini (ASEB)

<http://opacmuseicivici-fiorentini.comune.fi.it/mcf/storico/archivio-storico.html>

Bardini is best known as a dealer for medieval and Renaissance Italian works of art, and access to his rich archival materials remains limited. However, a wealth of publications on the archive, particularly on his rich photographic legacy, provide valuable insight and evidence for its utility in provenance research for Mediterranean antiquities.

Literature

Capecchi, Gabriella. *L'Archivio Storico Fotografico di Stefano Bardini: Arte Greca Etrusca Romana* (Florence: A. Bruschi, 1993).

Catterson, Lynn. "Bardini, Stefano" (2003). *Grove Art Online*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.article.T006332>.

Catterson, Lynn. "From Visual Inventory to Trophy Clippings: Bardini & Co. and the Use of Photography in the Late Nineteenth-Century Art Market." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 62, no. 1 (2020): 69–91.

Moskowitz, Anita F. 2018. "The Photographic Archive of Stefano Bardini: A Few Case Studies of Its Utility." *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 37, no. 4: 237–45.

Tunesi, Annalea. "Stefano Bardini's Photographic Archive: A Visual Historical Document." PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2014.

Alfredo Barsanti (1877–1946)

Barsanti Archive

British School at Rome

<https://archive.bsr.ac.uk/repositories/3/accessions/4>

Unprocessed archive of twenty-one boxes of photographs, arranged by type, as well as some additional photographic material. Access is currently restricted, but a container-level list of materials is available through the British School.

Julius Böhler (1860–1934). Kunsthandlung Julius Böhler

Böhler research

Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich

<https://boehler.zikg.eu/>

Object photographs, object catalogue cards, and cards relating to the customers, business relationships, and dealers of the Julius Böhler gallery in Munich. Antiquities are a minor part of the firm's holdings.

Joseph Brummer (1883–1947) and Ernest Brummer (1891–1964).

Brummer Gallery

The Brummer Gallery Records

Watson Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/cloisters-archives-collections/the-brummer-gallery-records>

As discussed throughout chapter 2 of this volume, the Brummer Gallery records include catalogue cards, stockbooks, correspondence, purchaser notes, photographs, and much more relating to decades of gallery activity, primarily in New York but with some notice of their Paris activities as well.

Literature

Biro, Yvonne et al., eds. *The Brummer Galleries, Paris and New York: Defining Taste from Antiquities to the Avant-Garde* (Leiden: Brill, 2023).

Galerie Demotte

Reconstitution du catalogue des ventes des antiquaires Demotte (ca. 1900–1934)

Musée du Louvre

<https://corpus.louvre.fr/s/galleries-demotte/page/accueil>

Thousands of photographs of works of art handled by the Galerie Demotte (Paris, New York) in the first third of the twentieth century, primarily medieval and Persian materials, but with Egyptian, Assyrian, Roman, and Greek objects included as well.

André Emmerich (1924–2007). André Emmerich Gallery

André Emmerich Gallery Records and André Emmerich Papers, circa 1929–2009

Archives of American Art

<https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/andr-emmerich-gallery-records-6275>

A vast archive of material covering 1929 to 2009; see particularly sections on gallery purchases, sales, and exhibitions. A few sections have been digitized. Antiquities represent a small fraction of the gallery holdings, with pre-Hispanic objects predominating; some ancient Mediterranean purchases continued after the 1970s. Of particular note are the correspondence, sales records, and photographs documenting the gallery's relationship with Herbert Cahn and Münzen und Medaillen in Basel, resulting in a short series of exhibitions.

Dikran G. Kelekian (1868–1951)

Kelekian Archives

The Onassis Library for Hellenic and Roman Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/the-onassis-library-for-hellenic-and-roman-art>

Object photographs, correspondence, invoices, exhibition material, and more.

Includes material from the New York and Paris galleries. Contact the library for access.

Literature

Anderson-Zhu, Lisa. "An Obscenely Humorous Sam Wide Group Kylix at the Walters Art Museum." Addendum: Provenance. *Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 76 (2023). <https://journal.thewalters.org/volume/76/note/an-obscenely-humorous-sam-wide-group-kylix-at-the-walters-art-museum/>.

Mathias Komor (1909–1984)

Mathias Komor Photographic Archive, 1935–1978

Getty Research Institute

http://primo.getty.edu/GRI:GETTY_ALMA21134429650001551

This photographic archive represents both objects handled by the gallery and additional comparative material; it does not appear to be a complete record of the gallery's activities. The photographs are undated, and there is no evident chronology; some have photographer stamps and additional annotations, particularly for the Egyptian section. Includes antiquities from around the world.

Literature

Ogbechie, Sylvester Okwunodu. "Mathias Komor and the Market for African Art in New York." In *Acquiring Cultures: Histories of World Art on Western Markets*, edited by Bénédicte Savoy, Charlotte Guichard, and Christine Howald, 167–88 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).

John Marshall (1862–1928)

John Marshall Archive

British School at Rome

<https://digitalcollections.bsr.ac.uk/Marshall-collection>

The archive includes photographs, notes, and a card file relating to the collecting practices of Marshall, a key antiquities dealer and agent active in Rome in the early twentieth century. Entries include references to current holding institutions where known. Some entries link to digitized related correspondence.

Literature

Petrucchioli, Guido, ed. *Ancient Art and its Commerce in Early Twentieth-Century Europe: A Collection of Essays Written by the Participants of the John Marshall Archive Project* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2022).

Stendahl Art Gallery (ca. 1900–2017)

Stendahl Art Galleries Records

Getty Research Institute

https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/19q6gmb/GETTY_ALMA21177919370001551

The archive preserves the correspondence, photographs, ephemera, and other documentation from generations of the Stendahl Art Gallery in Los Angeles. Although Mediterranean objects were only a small fraction of the focus of the Stendahls throughout the twentieth century, there is material relating to objects from Italy, Greece, Egypt, and the Levant, as well as some Asian material.

Raphael Stora (1887–1963). Stora Art Galleries; R. Stora & Company
Stora Art Galleries Records, 1937–1963

Getty Research Institute

https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/mlc5om/GETTY_ALMA21125351270001551

Partially digitized; inventory sheets record consignment, purchase, proposed buyers, and sometimes additional provenance information.

Raphael Stora Negative Collection and Sales Invoices

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Watson Library, Cloisters Archives Collections

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/watson-digital-collections/cloisters-archives-collections>

<https://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p15324coll6/id/1927/rec/1>

Digitized collection of approximately a thousand photographic negatives from the New York and Paris dealer Raphael Stora, including a small number of antiquities from many areas.

Piero Tozzi (1882–1974)

The Tozzi Archive

The Onassis Library for Hellenic and Roman Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/libraries-and-research-centers/the-onassis-library-for-hellenic-and-roman-art>

Extensive archival holdings of Piero Tozzi, a dealer and antiquarian active in both New York and Florence, including correspondence with museums, dealers, and collectors; shipping documentation; photographs; and more. Tozzi handled Mediterranean antiquities in addition to Renaissance and later works of art. Contact the library for access.

Dieter Widmer (1918–2011), photographer for dealer Elie Borowski

Dieter Widmer Photographs of Antiquities from the Ancient Mediterranean World

Getty Research Institute

<https://primo.getty.edu/permalink/f/19q6gmb/GETTY>

_ALMA21251920700001551

Based in Basel, Widmer was a popular photographer for Swiss dealers, museums, and collectors throughout the second half of the twentieth century. This collection of more than 1,800 negatives preserves photographs taken for the dealer Elie Borowski (1913–2003) between 1954 and 1982, each dated by month and year. See also http://www.fotoarchive.org/_archive/widm/info.html.

Notes

1. 71.AA.257. For the relief's full provenance and bibliography references, see <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SSA>.
2. Matz 1873, 30.
3. Christie's London had maintained a more public archive, but this was closed as of early 2021. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2021/02/11/christies-closes-access-to-historic-archive-due-to-staff-cuts>. My thanks to staff at Sotheby's and Bonhams for their assistance.
4. Some recent case studies: <https://www.samuseum.org/press/press-release/-texas-collector-finds-roman-bust-missing-from-germany-since-world-war-ii-at-local-goodwill-store/>; <https://www.livescience.com/59333-lost-wwii-egyptian-artifact-returns-to-germany.html>; <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2017/04/19/the-cleveland-museum-of-art-returns-bust-of-emperors-bloodthirsty-son-to-italy>.

Dealer Biographies

Nicole Budrovich

Researching Dealers

During the twentieth century, dealers continued to play an important role in the antiquities art market, working directly with private collectors and museums while also supplying objects to the major auction houses. A brief perusal of advertisements in *The Burlington Magazine*, *Apollo*, *Art in America*, and similar publications indicates the vast scale and scope of this international market. Keeping track of individual dealers can be overwhelming, especially since a gallery might move to a new location, adopt a new focus, or have a change in ownership. Even for well-known dealers, it can be difficult to verify biographical details, addresses, active dates, and archives. Fortunately, research institutions have compiled general lists that offer a good starting point and, for more obscure figures, annual dealer guides can be useful (see “Types of Archives” in Chapter 2 and “Dealer Directories” in Appendix 1).¹ Although focused on Egypt, Frederick Hagen and Kim Ryholt’s *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930: The H. O. Lange Papers* offers valuable context for the Egyptian art market, including an appendix of more than two hundred dealers.² A handful of early to mid-twentieth-century dealer records are available for in-person study, and hopefully more archives will be digitized, as the Brummer Gallery Records have, but such accessible resources remain in the minority. It is also worth keeping in mind the shifting historic and economic contexts of this period, including world wars dispersing collections and uprooting collectors and dealers, and New York gaining prominence as an art market center. The mid- to late twentieth-century market is even less well documented. Records, if preserved at all, may still be with the gallery or family of the dealer. For these, advertisements, exhibition checklists, and catalogues can offer a helpful, albeit highly fragmented, view of a specific dealer or gallery. In this section, we hope to provide a fuller picture of the art market through brief biographies of individual dealers, who serve as windows into a large and complex network.

Illicit Trade of Antiquities

In discussing dealers in antiquities, the full context of the art market in the twentieth century must be acknowledged—notably, the continued widespread trade of illicit antiquities, discussed also by Rose in this volume. Despite export laws and the stricter regulation of excavations, individuals supplied the market with recently found and looted objects for many years, and a network of dealers and middlemen has now been well documented.³ It has now been well documented that there existed a network of dealers and middlemen engaged in trading recently found and looted objects. Through these channels, illegally excavated artifacts continued to enter the art market to join objects that had been circulating for years. The trade's tradition of discretion and anonymity allowed works, both illicit and legitimate, to have their histories easily falsified and obscured, or simply omitted. The presence of illicitly excavated material on the art market was openly acknowledged and generally accepted as business as usual. A 1971 guide for collectors stated outright that “there is no denying that nearly all fresh finds offered to the collector have left their lands of origin illicitly,” and only cautions that these “clandestinely excavated” antiquities should best be purchased outside of their country of origin.⁴ Some of the dealers discussed below are known to have been involved in the illegal trafficking of antiquities. A key piece of evidence for this is an organizational chart recovered in a raid by the Italian Carabinieri that names *tombaroli* (Italian for “tomb-robbers,” referring to those operating in Italy) and antiquities dealers, including the following individuals: Robert Hecht, Gianfranco Becchina, Giacomo Medici, Elie Borowski, Nicolas Koutoulakis, George Ortiz, and Frieda Tchacos.⁵ Although not identified on the organizational chart, hereafter called the “organigram,” other individuals including Robin Symes and Fritz Bürki have been implicated in court cases and through the repatriation of objects they sold to museums and private collections. It is worth noting that many of these dealers also bought and sold legitimate antiquities from well-documented collections, but given their connections to illicit networks, anything that may have passed through their hands should be carefully reviewed.

We have identified a selection of prolific and notable dealers active in the twentieth century whose sales are represented in public and private collections. Far from a comprehensive list, the following represent a cross section of the antiquities market, and we found them to be most pertinent to our research.⁶ For a deeper dive, dealer memoirs and collectors' guides offer an internal view of the art market; often sensational, these accounts should be considered with a degree of skepticism.⁷

There is some overlap between this list and “Dealers” (in Appendix 1), with some figures present in both (e.g., Joseph and Ernest Brummer, André

Emmerich, and Dikran Kelekian). This list does not include well-known late nineteenth-century dealers (e.g., the Jandolo family, nor the twentieth-century dealers for whom we have found little to no documented information).

Biographies

Becchina, Gianfranco

b. 1938, active 1970s–90s. Galerie Palladion (also known as Antike Kunst Palladion, Palladion Antike Kunst); Palladion Ancient and Fine Art AG; all Basel, Switzerland

Address Rennweg 51, Basel, Switzerland (1970s)

Born and raised in Sicily (Castelvetrano), Becchina moved to Basel in the 1970s, where he sold antiquities to dealers, private collectors, museums, and auction houses through his gallery, Galerie Palladion (one catalogue was produced in 1976, together with limited advertisements in publications such as *Apollo* and *Weltkunst* in the mid- to late 1970s). Becchina is known to have obscured his sources through aliases, such as “Anna Spinello” (his sister’s married name),⁸ and falsified provenances, notably the “Lauffenbruger collection” for the Getty Kouros⁹ and the collection of a “Karl Haug” in Basel (with Hotel Helvetia letterhead) for works that have since been returned to Italy.¹⁰ In the mid-1990s Becchina moved back to Castelvetrano, while his wife Ursula (née Juraschek; known as “Rosie”) remained in Switzerland.¹¹ Becchina’s name appears on the organigram, and he has been charged in Italy of conspiracy and dealing in stolen antiquities.¹² The Carabinieri and Swiss police raided Becchina’s facilities in 2002 (and 2005), recovering thousands of objects, photographs, and documentation. Becchina’s confiscated archives contain evidence for ongoing investigations, so these documents have not yet been made public, but they have been shared with select law enforcement and researchers.¹³ The Becchina dossier confirms that Becchina sold mostly through Sotheby’s London, with some works sold through Christie’s London, and that he maintained close relations with dealers George Ortiz and Jerome Eisenberg as well as institutions like the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Dietrich von Bothmer); the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Cleveland Museum of Art (Arielle Kozlov); and the Louvre.¹⁴

Borowski, Elie

1913–2003, active 1950s–80s. Gallery in Basel, Switzerland; Galerie Archéologie, Paris, France

Addresses 25 Admiral Road, Toronto, Ontario, Canada (ca. 1950s); Archéologie Classique et du Proche-Orient, Angensteinerstrasse 7, Basel, Switzerland (ca. 1960s–); Galerie Archéologie, 40 Rue du Bac, Paris (ca. late 1960s–)¹⁵

Borowski, born in Warsaw, Poland, was a specialist in Near Eastern art. He received his doctoral degree from the University of Geneva in 1946 and then moved to Toronto in 1948 for a fellowship with the Royal Ontario Museum. He worked as a consultant for ancient art dealers and collectors, meanwhile building up a personal collection, and in the late 1950s he set up his own gallery in Basel, Switzerland, with a subsidiary in Paris. Borowski advertised both locations in publications like *The Burlington Magazine*, *L'Oeil*, catalogues produced for the *Biennale des Antiquaires* (organized by the Syndicat National des Antiquaires) and later in *Apollo* and *Antike Kunst* (primarily 1960s) specializing in classical and Near Eastern archaeology. The Paris branch operated under Nina Borowski in the 1970s–80s until she moved the gallery to Geneva in 1995 (16, rue de la Corratierie).¹⁶ Borowski sold objects to museums and private collectors especially in North America and Europe, and his personal collection has been exhibited, partially sold at auctions, and donated to museums.¹⁷ Dieter Widmer (1918–2011) photographed works for Borowski in Basel, and this photo archive has been preserved (see Dieter Widmer in Appendix 1, under “Dealers”). Borowski’s name appears in the organigram, connecting him to Robert Hecht.¹⁸ In 1985 Borowski and his wife Batya (née Weiss) founded the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem for his collection, and they moved to Jerusalem upon the museum’s opening in 1992. After his death in 2003, Borowski’s personal collection continued to be published by specialists; a memoir, based on interviews and edited by John Boardman, was published in 2017.¹⁹

Brummer, Joseph

1883–1947, and brothers Imre Brummer (1889–1928) and Ernest Brummer (1891–1964), active 1920s–40s. The Brummer Gallery, Paris and New York

Addresses Brummer Frères / Brummer Curiosités, 3 Boulevard Raspail, Paris (1911–20s); 36 rue de Miromesnil, Paris (1920s); 27 East 57th Street, New York (1920s); 53 East 57th Street, New York (and other locations)

Joseph and his brothers Imre and Ernest were art dealers, originally from Austria-Hungary. Joseph relocated to Paris and founded the Brummer Gallery in 1906. Imre and Ernest joined Joseph in Paris in 1911, and in 1914 Joseph and Imre moved to New York to establish an American branch, which opened in 1920.²⁰ Over the next four decades, the Brummers acquired and sold thousands

of objects, including African art, classical and pre-Hispanic antiquities, art of the Middle Ages, Baroque and Renaissance decorative arts, and works of modern art. Clients included private collectors, dealers, universities, and museums in Europe and America. Their gallery played a large role in building the collections of Henry Walters, William Randolph Hearst, Grenville Winthrop, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Joseph maintained the New York gallery until his death in 1947, and his personal collection was sold by Parke-Bernet in 1949.²¹ After Ernest Brummer's death, part of his collection was sold at auction in 1964, a selection of medieval works was acquired by Duke University in 1966, and his widow, Ella Baché Brummer, sold the rest at auction in 1979.²² While the catalogues of these later auctions sometimes include some provenance information, the Brummer Gallery records, which have been partly digitized by the Metropolitan Museum, include accession cards and inventories with detailed purchase and sale history notes.²³ With increased access, studies on the archive have been presented and published; and works connected to the Brummer Gallery continue to appear on the art market (see Joseph Brummer in Appendix 1, under "Dealers").²⁴

Brun, Jeannette

Active late 1950s–80s, also as Jeanette Brun; Jeannette G. Brun. Zurich

Address 119 Dufourstrasse, Zurich, Switzerland; 15 rue des Grands Augustins, Paris, France (by 1960s)²⁵

Earliest advertisements in the late 1950s describe Brun's gallery as focusing on sculpture, but by the 1960s she was carrying a broad general stock of classical antiquities, specializing in high-quality Greek, Roman, and Etruscan works. Brun advertised widely in European and American publications (*Apollo*, *The Art Quarterly*, *The Burlington Magazine*, *L'Oeil*, *Antike Kunst*, *Die Weltkunst*) and sold primarily to institutions, museums, and high-profile collectors.²⁶

Cahn, Herbert

1915–2002, active 1940s–80s. Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel; H. A. C. Kunst der Antike, Basel (1988–)

Address Malzgasse 25, Basel, Switzerland

Herbert Cahn, a numismatist, professor of ancient art, and coin dealer, was born in Frankfurt am Main to a family with a long history in numismatics. Cahn's grandfather, Adolph E. Cahn (1839–1918) had established a coin dealer house by 1890, later managed by Cahn's father Ludwig Theodor Cahn (1877–1924). Herbert and his brother Erich (1913–1993) relocated to Switzerland in 1933, where they each established numismatic firms and in 1942

jointly founded Münzen und Medaillen AG Basel, which became one of the most important dealers of ancient coins. The firm also sold antiquities, with extensively researched scholarly catalogues specializing in Greek antiquities, terracottas, and decorated vases. To reach American buyers, Cahn partnered with the André Emmerich Gallery in New York, presenting several sale exhibitions between 1965 and 1970. He helped establish the journal *Antike Kunst* in Basel in 1956 (published 1958 to the present) and, with Leo Mildenberg, the series *Typos* (1975–82). Cahn also maintained a personal collection of vase fragments, acquired from the 1950s onward, which have been published and exhibited.²⁷ Cahn established his own ancient art firm in 1988, H. A. C. Kunst der Antike, which his son Jean-David Cahn took over and absorbed into his own company, Galerie Cahn, in 1999; this is still active and retains the firm’s archives from 1930, with significant holdings from 1954–86.²⁸ Herbert Cahn acquired from art dealers in Italy, and in 1961 he was charged with receiving stolen property. According to Robert Hecht’s memoir, Cahn had bought objects from dealers in Rome and “did not realize or did not want to realize” he was dealing in contraband.²⁹

Ede, Charles

1921–2002, active 1960s–80s. London

Addresses Charles Ede Ltd., 37 Brook Street, London (1971–2014); 1 Three Kings’ Yard, London (2014–); <https://www.charlesede.com>

Charles Ede, born in Kent, England, focused in his early career on publishing and fine art sales. In 1947 he founded the Folio Society, a publisher of literary classics in affordable editions, sold by mail-order membership. With the success of the Folio Society, Ede established the Collector’s Corner (later Folio Fine Art) in 1960, an offshoot mail-order catalogue that offered manuscript leaves, Old Master prints, and occasionally antiquities.³⁰ Gradually, these catalogues shifted to focus more on ancient art.³¹ In 1971 Ede sold his publishing firm and became a full-time antiquities dealer, establishing his gallery, Charles Ede Ltd., and in 1976 published an introductory guide to collecting, primarily for collectors of limited means.³² Ede produced more than two hundred mail order catalogues, some specializing in specific areas like Roman glass, ancient writing, Cypriot pottery, small sculpture from Egypt, Greek and Roman terracottas, and Athenian pottery. Ede’s son James Ede, who began working for the gallery in 1977, was appointed managing director in 1986. Charles Ede continued to contribute research to acquisitions and catalogues until his death in 2002. The gallery continues to operate as Charles Ede Antiquities Gallery and regularly produces sales catalogues.

Eisenberg, Jerome M.

1930–2022, active 1950s–2020. Royal-Athena Galleries, New York

Addresses 107 West 43rd Street (1960s), 1066 Madison Avenue (1970s), 153 East 57th Street (–2020), all New York; <https://royalathena.com>

Based in New York City, Eisenberg started selling ancient coins in 1942 through his father Samuel A. Eisenberg's coin business, Sage Coin Company, also known as Royal Coin Company; Samuel founded Sage Coin Company and Royal-Athena Galleries in Miami, ca. 1958. Jerome subsequently opened Royal-Athena Galleries in New York, initially specializing in ancient coins and broadening to antiquities more generally by 1954 (earliest catalogues published 1956; *Art of the Ancient World* catalogues published 1965–2019, vols. 1–30). As the gallery's director, Eisenberg traveled regularly to Europe, Egypt, and the Near East, purchasing from local dealers, agents, and auction houses. In the 1970s Eisenberg also opened a gallery for wide-ranging collectibles (Collector's Cabinet, 143 East 57th Street, New York)³³ and worked with Alex G. Malloy, a coin collector and dealer of minor arts with a shop in New York (active 1970–80). Royal-Athena set up additional offices in London (with B.A. Seaby Ltd.) and in Beverly Hills, California. According to his gallery's website, Eisenberg purchased more than forty thousand antiquities and sold eight hundred works to museums in the United States and Europe.³⁴ The gallery advertised itself as offering a wide range of antiquities, from museum-quality pieces to minor arts, at competitive prices. Royal-Athena Galleries closed in 2020, and the remaining inventory was transferred to Hixenbaugh Ancient Art Ltd., New York.³⁵

Emmerich, André

1924–2007, active 1954–98. André Emmerich Gallery; André Emmerich Inc., New York (1954–98); Zurich (1972–96)

Addresses 18 East 77th Street (–1954), 17 East 64th Street (1956–59), 41 East 57th Street (1959–98), 420 West Broadway (1971–98), all New York; <https://www.emmerichgallery.com>

Born in Germany, Emmerich immigrated to the United States in 1940 and in 1954 established his New York gallery, specializing in classical antiquities and pre-Hispanic art. In the 1960s the gallery expanded to include contemporary painting and sculpture. Emmerich's gallery hosted exhibitions on pre-Hispanic and Mediterranean antiquities from the 1960s onward, and for some partnered with Herbert Cahn of Münzen und Medaillen, AG.³⁶ The Emmerich archives, held by Archives of American Art at the Smithsonian Institution, include

correspondence and object lists related to the exhibitions, catalogues, and sales (see André Emmerich in Appendix 1, under “Dealers”).³⁷

Fallani, Giorgio

1921–1994, and son Carlo-Maria Fallani, active 1970s–present. Fallani, Rome; Antichità Archeologia Numismatica, Rome

Address Via del Babuino 58A, Rome

Giorgio Fallani was born in Rome to a family with a long history in the antiquities trade. Fallani’s great-uncle, Oreste Fallani, founded Galleria Fallani in Rome in 1872. From the 1920s the family operated a gallery at Via del Babuino, 58, with Giorgio managing the business from the 1950s.³⁸ His son Carlo-Maria Fallani joined the business in 1969 and took over management after his father’s death in 1994. The business is still active at its Rome address; it does not produce sales catalogues or have a website.³⁹

Hecht, Robert Emmanuel

1919–2012, active 1950s–90s; also as Bob Hecht, or REH. Rome (1947–early 1970s); Hesperia Art, New York (1950s–70s); Paris (1974–2012); Atlantis Antiquities Ltd., New York (1984–late 1990s); Hesperia Arts Auction, New York (1990)

Addresses Hesperia Art, 300 East 57th Street, New York; Atlantis Antiquities Ltd., 40 East 69th Street, New York

Robert Hecht, from Baltimore, Maryland, studied classics at Haverford College until 1941 and in 1946 began graduate studies at the University of Zurich. In 1947 he accepted a two-year fellowship at the American Academy in Rome and remained in Rome to become an antiquities dealer full-time. He made his first major sales in the early 1950s, including the collection of Ludwig Curtius (1874–1954), the former director of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (German Archaeological Institute) in Rome, and a South Italian vase to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (50.11.4).⁴⁰ While residing in Rome, around 1951 Hecht established a small antiquities firm in New York, Hesperia Art. A few years later he partnered with George R. Allen of Philadelphia to produce *The Hesperia Art Bulletin* (1957–72): sales catalogues of minor antiquities and coins, which Hecht wrote and Allen distributed.⁴¹ Although based in Rome until the early 1970s and then Paris from 1974, Hecht moved constantly between his so-called “source countries”: Turkey, Italy, Greece, and Lebanon, and the markets of Munich, Zurich, London, and New York. Famously, in 1972 Hecht sold the Euphronios krater (see fig. 5) to the

Metropolitan Museum; the vase was restituted to Italy in 2006.⁴² Fritz Bürki, the Zurich-based conservator who restored the Euphronios krater, worked for Hecht and Giacomo Medici as a restorer and dealer. Hecht started working with Bruce McNall in 1975, supplying antiquities to his Beverly Hills, California, firms Numismatic Fine Arts and Summa Gallery. In the 1980s Hecht partnered with financier and collector Jonathan Rosen to operate his own gallery, Atlantis Antiquities, in New York.⁴³ In addition to these public ventures, Hecht sold directly to museums and private collectors, and also served as a middleman for others active in the market.⁴⁴ Hecht was regularly under investigation for selling illicit antiquities both in Italy (between 1961 and 1978 with Herbert Cahn and George Ortiz, and between 2005 and 2012 with Marion True; he was banned from the country 1973–82) and in Türkiye (banned from the country 1968–80). His name appears at the center of the organigram, connecting him to Gianfranco Becchina and Giacomo Medici, who are known to have been involved in the trafficking of looted antiquities, and also the dealers Elie Borowski, Nicolas Koutoulakis, George Ortiz, and Frieda Tchacos. Hecht died in Paris in 2012.

Kelekian, Dikran G.

1868–1951, active 1880s–1950, also as Dikran Khan Kélékian. Istanbul, Paris, London, Cairo

Addresses Le Musée de Bosphore, 303 Fifth Avenue, New York; 10 rue Rossini and 2 Place Vendôme, Paris; 709 Fifth Avenue, 598 Madison Avenue, 20 East 57th Street, and 32 East 69th Street, all New York

Born in Kayseri, Türkiye, and of Armenian heritage, Dikran Garabed Kelekian was a collector and dealer of ancient, medieval, Chinese, and Islamic art. He was based in Constantinople, now Istanbul, from 1885 until the 1890s, when he moved to Paris to continue his studies, opening a gallery there in 1891.⁴⁵ Dikran opened another gallery in Istanbul with his brother Kevork Kelekian the following year. In 1893 he traveled to the United States for the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, serving as the commissioner of the Persian Pavilion. In 1902 he was appointed consul of Persia in New York and ran a gallery known as Le Musée de Bosphore out of his consulate office on Fifth Avenue. He established additional galleries in London and Cairo, while maintaining a personal collection of Islamic art, textiles, ceramics, and modern French paintings.⁴⁶ He advised major collectors, many with museum connections, notably Henry Walters, Isabella Stewart Gardner, Charles Lang Freer, and Metropolitan Museum of Art president George Blumenthal and donors Harry and Louisine Havemeyer, among others.⁴⁷ After Dikran's death in 1951, his son Charles Dikran Kelekian (1900–1982) managed the New York business. The Kelekian archives are held by the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and

additional correspondences are preserved in other archives (see Dikran G. Kelekian in Appendix 1, under “Dealers”).⁴⁸

Klejman, John Jacob

1906–1995, active 1950–74. J. J. Klejman Gallery, New York

Addresses 8 West 56th Street, New York (early 1950s); 982 Madison Avenue, New York (late 1950s–1970s)

Born in Poland, Klejman grew up in Warsaw and completed his studies in African art at the Sorbonne in Paris.⁴⁹ He returned to Warsaw and ran an art gallery specializing in European decorative arts, which was closed during World War II when Klejman and his family were forced to live in the Jewish ghetto. After the war, he reopened the shop in Warsaw at a different location, but in 1947 left with his family and lived in Sweden, then Mexico. In 1950 Klejman settled in New York and opened a gallery that offered African and Oceanic art as well as Mediterranean antiquities. Klejman sold to private collectors like Nelson Rockefeller, John and Dominique de Menil, and John F. Kennedy, and museums including the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Cleveland Museum of Art. Famously, Klejman and the Swiss dealer George Zachos sold the Lydian Hoard, also known as the Karun Treasure, to the Metropolitan Museum in the late 1960s, as discussed in Rose’s chapter in this volume. The treasure had been looted from a tomb in the Uşak region of Türkiye in 1966, but Klejman claimed he purchased it that year in two European cities from “traders.”⁵⁰ After nearly ten years of legal disputes, the museum agreed to return the objects in 1993.⁵¹ According to Robert Hecht’s memoir, in at least one instance Klejman acted as a middleman for George Ortiz, who bought objects from illicit antiquities traffickers in Italy, to sell an Etruscan bronze candelabrum to the Metropolitan Museum.⁵² Diagnosed with Alzheimer’s in the 1970s, Klejman retired by 1976, and his business records have not been preserved.

Komor, Mathias

1909–1984, active 1930s–1984. Komor Gallery, New York

Address 19 East 71st Street, New York

Born in Hungary, Komor received his doctorate from the University of Grenoble in France and worked as an art dealer in Beijing in the 1930s, until the outbreak of World War II forced him to relocate to the United States.⁵³ In 1941 he established a New York gallery that specialized in Chinese antiquities, Japanese painting, art of the ancient Mediterranean, and African art. Komor had connections to the Asian antiquities trade through his time with Kuhn & Komor,

a long-established firm founded by a family relation. One of the few New York dealers to sell antiquities from Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Americas, the gallery sold to a range of clientele, including museums, notably the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The gallery was active until Komor's death in 1984. Although the gallery's business records are not preserved, selections of the photographic archives, with limited annotations, and some associated papers are held by the Getty Research Institute (GRI) in Los Angeles (see Mathias Komor in Appendix 1, under "Dealers").⁵⁴ The bulk of this archive contains photographs of objects that the gallery purchased and sold, with additional photographs for study and comparison.

Koutoulakis, Nicolas

1910–1996, active ca. 1950–90s. Paris and Geneva

Addresses 4 Rue de l'Échelle, Paris (address of Galerie Ségrédakis; used by Koutoulakis ca. 1950–70s); 3 Chemin de Conches, Geneva, Switzerland (ca. 1960s–90s)

Born in Greece, Koutoulakis moved to Paris in 1922, where he joined his uncle, art dealer Emmanuel (Manolis) J. Ségrédakis (1890–1948), the owner of Galerie Ségrédakis. After inheriting his uncle's gallery, Koutoulakis based his operations in both Paris and Geneva, eventually settling in Geneva and specializing in antiquities, notably Cycladic, Greek, Roman, and Egyptian. In the 1960s he acquired many objects from the collection of Louis de Clercq (1836–1901) through de Clercq's heir Henri de Boisgelin.⁵⁵ Around the same time, he owned Cycladic material later associated with the Keros hoard.⁵⁶ In Geneva, Koutoulakis often used the art photography studio of Gad Borel-Boissonas to produce photographs of objects for potential buyers. He advised private collectors and art historians, including Charles Gillet, J. Paul Getty, Norbert Schimmel, George Ortiz, Leon Levy, Dietrich von Bothmer, Bernard V. Bothmer, and Bernard Ashmole, and he sold and donated objects to museums in North America and Europe.⁵⁷ Koutoulakis's name appears in the organigram, connecting him to the trade of illicit antiquities; some works from his collection have been repatriated.⁵⁸ His wife Mireille Thilot (1924–1996) and their three children, Emmanuel, Ariane, and Daphne, are associated with works from his collection. In the 1990s his daughter Daphne Koutoulakis opened her own gallery in Geneva, Galerie Khnoum, and remained active in the art trade.⁵⁹ Koutoulakis's advertisements (not illustrated) appeared in *Antike Kunst*, but he did not produce sales catalogues nor retain records; institutions and private collectors may hold archived correspondences.⁶⁰

McNall, Bruce

b. 1950, active 1970s–90s. Numismatic Fine Arts, Encino, California; Beverly Hills, California (1970–90); Summa Galleries, Beverly Hills, California (1974–90); Athena Fund I, Athena Fund II, and Numismatic Fine Arts World Coin Fund (ancient art limited partnerships) (1986–90); Hesperia Arts Auction Ltd., New York (1990)

Address Summa Galleries, 342 North Rodeo Drive, Beverly Hills, California

A Los Angeles native, Bruce McNall started collecting coins at a young age while working at a small coin shop. McNall continued building up a collection as an investment while a student at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and started working for the coin dealer Joel Malter.⁶¹ McNall traveled to Europe and made connections with dealers, notably Leo Miltenberg and Robert Hecht, while supplying coins to Los Angeles collectors and investors, notably Seymour (Sy) Weintraub.⁶² By 1970, Joel Malter had bought the established mail-order coin firm Numismatic Fine Arts from Edward Gans, and in 1974 McNall bought the business name for his own coin firm. That same year he partnered with Robert Hecht to found Summa Gallery in Beverly Hills, offering a wider range of antiquities. Jane Cody, a University of Southern California (USC) classics professor and McNall's wife by 1983, wrote sales catalogues for Summa Galleries from 1978 to 1984. In his memoir McNall admits that he was well aware of Hecht's connections to smugglers and middlemen and acknowledges his own role in moving illicit antiquities.⁶³ Through Summa Gallery, McNall sold to private collectors, notably Nelson Bunker Hunt and Herbert Hunt,⁶⁴ and museums including the Getty Museum, Cleveland Museum of Art, and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In 1990 he revived Robert Hecht's New York business Hesperia Art, with partner Jonathan Rosen, as Hesperia Arts Auction Ltd., for a special sale, with Summa Gallery, Atlantis Antiquities, and Athena Fund as major consignors.⁶⁵ McNall broadened his business investments to television, race horses, and sports teams, but ultimately he overvalued various assets and in 1997 was convicted of bank fraud and conspiracy.

Medici, Giacomo

b. 1938, active 1960s–90s. Antiquaria Romana, Rome (1968–78); Hydra Galerie, also known as Galerie Hydra, Geneva (1983–90s)

Addresses Antiquaria Romana, Via del Babuino 94, Rome; Hydra Galerie, 2 Grand-Rue, Geneva

Giacomo Medici was born in Rome. His parents ran a stall at the Piazza Borghese market, selling minor antiquities from nearby excavations, both permitted and illicit.⁶⁶ Building on his family's connections, Giacomo established himself as a professional antiquities dealer; in the 1960s he supplied artifacts to Pesciotti, a pharmacist and collector in Rome, and quickly branched out to international networks.⁶⁷ In 1968 Medici opened a gallery in Rome, *Antiquaria Romana*, which he ran for ten years. Medici met the well-established dealer Robert Hecht in the late 1960s and eventually became Hecht's "faithful supplier."⁶⁸ In 1971 Medici reportedly bought the illegally excavated Euphronios krater from *tombaroli* (tomb raiders), and shortly thereafter sold it to Hecht in Switzerland.⁶⁹ In the late 1970s Medici partnered with Christian Boursaud of Geneva to consign antiquities at Sotheby's London, and in 1983 they opened Hydra Gallerie in Geneva.⁷⁰ Medici bought Editions Services in 1986 and used other front companies, including Mat Securitas and Arts Franc, to sell and buy works through Sotheby's.⁷¹ Provenances were fabricated, notably the fictitious "Zbinden collection," which was used for fragments of a kylix sold to the Getty Museum (85.AE.385, which joined to 83.AE.362, deaccessioned in 1999) and other objects consigned to Sotheby's.⁷² Medici had close connections to Robin Symes, and even shared a Geneva business address (7 Avenue Krieg) with Symes's off-shore firm Xoilan Trader Inc. In 1995 authorities raided Medici's Freeport warehouses in Geneva and discovered more than four thousand photographs documenting objects, many recently unearthed, that passed through Medici's inventory.⁷³ Giacomo Medici's name appears prominently on the organigram, a main branch linking illicit antiquities and the art market, and he was convicted in 2004 of trafficking illegally excavated artifacts.

Merrin, Edward H.

1928–2020. Edward H. Merrin Gallery; The Merrin Gallery, New York

Address 724 5th Avenue, New York (current)

Born in Brooklyn, Edward Merrin first worked for his father's jewelry company and in 1963 founded his own art gallery focusing on pre-Hispanic and classical antiquities. Merrin advertised extensively in *Apollo*, *Connoisseur*, and *The New York Times*, and exhibited at the Winter Antiques Show in New York. He bought from antiquities dealers, including directly from Gianfranco Becchina, and some works sold by Merrin were found to have been illegally excavated and have recently been subject to seizure and repatriation.⁷⁴ Merrin's son Samuel Merrin (b. 1963) took over as director in 1987. The gallery is still active and produces sales catalogues.⁷⁵

Mildenberg, Leo

1913–2001, active 1950–80s, with Bank Leu AG, Zurich

Address Bank Leu, Bahnhofstrasse 32, Zurich, Switzerland⁷⁶

Born in Kassel, Germany, Mildenberg studied ancient history and Semitic languages in Frankfurt until the outbreak of World War II, which forced him to flee to Estonia. In 1938 he completed his doctorate and moved to Zurich, Switzerland, in 1947, where he joined Bank Leu, a private bank, as a numismatist.⁷⁷ At Bank Leu, Mildenberg worked with Silvia Hurter to prepare catalogues, and from 1954 to 1969 the firm partnered with Adolph Hess AG in Lucerne to organize joint coin auctions. After 1971, the bank published its own catalogues, authored by Mildenberg. In 1973 he partnered with Herbert Cahn for a joint coin auction.⁷⁸ Although the expert on coins with Bank Leu, Mildenberg built up a personal collection of ancient artifacts depicting animals. The collection was published several times until its dispersal at Christie's London in 2004 and 2005.⁷⁹

Symes, Robin

1939–2023, active late 1960s–early 2000s. Robin Symes Ltd., London (1977–)

Addresses 346 Kings Road, London SW3 (by 1969); 3 Ormond Yard, Duke of York Street, St. James's, London, SW1 (1970s–80s)

Symes, born in Oxfordshire, England, by the late 1960s was running a shop together with his then-wife Laetitia Symes, on Kings Road, London, selling Early Modern antiques.⁸⁰ In 1969 they mounted what may have been his first exhibition to include ancient art—gold jewelry from the de Clercq-Boisgelin collections and Egyptian, Etruscan, and Greek works, shown alongside contemporary paintings.⁸¹ In the 1970s Symes partnered with Christos Michaelides, who provided financial support to expand the business, which began to specialize in antiquities. Symes published his first antiquities catalogue in 1971.⁸² In 1976 he established a Panama-based company, Xoilan Trader Inc., with his partner's financial backing.⁸³ The next year, Symes established his own firm, Robin Symes Ltd., in London. Symes worked closely with dealers Robert Hecht, Giacomo Medici, and Frieda Tchacos. In addition to participating in a wide array of auctions, he sold to museums and high-profile collectors like Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman, Maurice Tempelsman, Lynda and William Beierwaltes, and Shelby White and Leon Levy. Beginning in the early 1970s, Symes advertised frequently in *Apollo*, often with objects illustrated.⁸⁴ In 1988 Symes sold the Morgantina Goddess to the Getty Museum (88.AA.76), its

provenance fabricated; after a 2007 agreement with the Republic of Italy to return the statue, it remained on display at the Getty Villa until 2010.⁸⁵ Following the sudden death of Michaelides in 1999, Symes tried to retain all of their shared company assets, which led to a legal dispute with Michaelides's family. An investigation into Symes's business dealings revealed that he had lied about the extent and value of their collection; he was found guilty of contempt in 2005. The trial also revealed that Symes stored antiquities at thirty-three locations and had connections to the illicit antiquities trade. A 2006 raid on the Michaelides property on the Greek island of Schinoussa recovered a photographic archive of more than two thousand images of nearly a thousand high-quality antiquities—all objects handled by Symes and Michaelides.⁸⁶ Symes's inventory also included works acquired at auction and on the market that might have longer collecting histories. In 2014 Italian and Swiss police jointly raided a Geneva storage unit rented by Robin Symes, and in 2016 revealed that it contained forty-five crates of antiquities, which were subsequently returned to Italy.⁸⁷

Tchacos, Frieda

Active 1970s–90s, also as Frederique Tchacos-Nussberger or Nussberger-Tchacos. Galerie Uraeus, Paris (1970s–80s); Galerie Nefer, Zurich (1977–)

Addresses 24 Rue de Seine, Paris; Augustinergasse 14, Zurich, Switzerland

Born in Egypt and of Greek descent, Tchacos pursued her education in Europe, first in Geneva, then at the École du Louvre in Paris to study Egyptology. After her studies, Tchacos remained in Paris where she opened an art gallery and met dealers, including Nicolas Koutoulakis. By the mid- or late 1970s, Tchacos was the owner of Galerie Uraeus in Paris, which was active through the 1980s.⁸⁸ Proficient in multiple languages, including Arabic, she built up her reputation internationally and by 1977 established Galerie Nefer in Zurich. In the early 1980s she married Werner Nussberger, a Swiss jeweler and dealer from Baden, Switzerland. In the early 1980s her gallery was described as a high-end shop offering Greek, Roman, and Luristan art with a good selection of Egyptian material.⁸⁹ Galerie Nefer produced annual catalogues from 1982 to 1992 and specialized exhibition catalogues during the 1990s. Famously, in 1999 Tchacos bought the so-called Gospel of Judas manuscript that had surfaced in the 1970s, likely through illegal channels, and after failed sale attempts she ultimately arranged for the manuscript to be returned to Egypt.⁹⁰ Tchacos's name appears in the organigram, connecting her to Robert Hecht and the trade of illicit antiquities. In 2002 Italian authorities arrested her in Cyprus, and she was found guilty of handling stolen artifacts.⁹¹

Tozzi, Piero

1882–1974, active 1920s–70s. Piero Tozzi Galleries, Florence and New York

Address 137 East 57th Street, New York

Tozzi was an antiquarian, artist, restorer, professor, and art dealer with galleries in Florence and New York, which focused on Italian decorative arts, sculpture, and painting but also sold antiquities to dealers, private collectors, and museums.⁹² The records of the Brummer Gallery have more than a hundred and fifty ancient object cards linked to Tozzi. The Piero Tozzi archive is held by the Onassis Library for Hellenic and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see Piero Tozzi in Appendix 1, under “Dealers”).

Yeganeh Arani, Mohammad

1929–2012, active by 1954 and into 1980s, also as Mohammad Jägane; Mohammed Yegane; Manuchehr Jamali. Galerie für Griechische, Römische und Byzantinische Kunst, Frankfurt; Apollo Gallery, Frankfurt and London; also active in Stuttgart and La Mesa, California

Addresses Taunusstrasse 52,⁹³ Bundenweg 7, and Telemannstrasse 5, 6, all in Frankfurt, Germany; Alexanderstraße 112/1, Stuttgart, Germany; 75A Ridgmount Gardens, London WC1, England

Based in Frankfurt, Yeganeh dealt primarily in antiquities. The name of his wife, Gertrud Waltraud Lück-Flender, appears on some provenance documentation. He advertised in, among others, the *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*, *Die Weltkunst*, *The Burlington Magazine*, and *Apollo*. Between 1969 and 1986 he sold dozens of antiquities to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, including the Herakles, which has since been returned to Türkiye, as discussed by Rose in this volume.⁹⁴ Yeganeh dealt in objects from a range of cultures, including Greek, Roman, Iberian, South Italian, East Greek, Roman Syrian, and modern objects, although Persian and Iranian objects were a focus. His gallery produced a small catalogue in 1971, which includes two objects donated to the Getty in 1974 and 1983.⁹⁵

Notes

1. See, for example, *The International Antiques Yearbook and Antiquities Trade Gazette*.
2. Hagen and Ryholt 2016, 183–274.
3. See Tompkins 2020, 162–93; Chappell and Polk 2011.
4. Hoffmann and Cahn 1971, 231.
5. The chart roughly documents the trade networks in Italy in the early 1990s; see Brodie 2012b. See also Watson and Todeschini 2007, 16–18, 362.
6. To explore Getty object records linked to these individuals, search the dealer’s name on

- the Getty Museum Collection pages (includes deaccessioned records and works currently in the collection): <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/>.
7. Collectors' guides include Nicholson 1965, Hoffmann and Cahn 1971, and Ede 1976; memoirs include Hecht and Norman 2014, Hoving 1993, McNall and D'Antonio 2003, and Boardman 2017.
 8. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 293.
 9. Lapatin 2000, 44.
 10. For example, an Athenian red-figure pelike, returned to Italy in 2006 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1979.40) and an Etruscan black-figure kalpis, returned to Italy in 2013 (Toledo, Museum of Arts, 82.134, Brodie 2014 and Toledo Museum 2023).
 11. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 291.
 12. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 283.
 13. Fitz-Gibbon 2017.
 14. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 292–93.
 15. The addresses of the Basel and Paris galleries are given in Hoffmann and Cahn 1971, 251, 253; in some sources, the Paris gallery is called *Archéologie Classique et du Proche-Orient*.
 16. The relation of Nina Borowski to Elie Borowski is unconfirmed, but both have advertisements with the 40 Rue du Bac, Paris, address. Nina Borowski produced a few catalogues; additional references to art fair exhibitions for the Paris gallery are found in *Artis* and *Die Weltkunst*.
 17. On the exhibitions, see Pantazzi 1981, Leipen et al. 1984, and Borowski 2001; on the auctions: see Christie's 2000; objects sold and donated to museums, including the Getty Museum, Royal Ontario Museum, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and others; for a discussion of the likely illicit origins of the Arslan Tash ivories that Barowski sold, see Fontan 2014, 152.
 18. Mentioned in Robert Hecht's memoir as a client of Giacomo Medici; Hecht and Norman 2014, 27.
 19. Boardman 2017; for The Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem, see <https://www.blmj.org/en/about/>.
 20. Their New York gallery changed locations frequently: 19 West 52nd Street; 27, 30, 43, 53, and 55 East 57th Street; 110 East 58th Street, 11 East 68th Street, and 383 Park Avenue.
 21. The antiquities were sold in the third sale; Parke-Bernet Galleries 1949.
 22. Sotheby's 1964; Galerie Koller 1979.
 23. The digitized archive can be accessed at *The Met*, "The Brummer Gallery Records," Digital Collections from The Metropolitan Museum of Art Libraries, <http://libmma.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/landingpage/collection/p16028coll9>.
 24. The Metropolitan Museum held a conference on the Brummer Galleries, October 13–14, 2017; also see Biro, Brennan, and Force 2023.
 25. Hoffmann and Cahn 1971.
 26. See Faber–Castell 1983, 556.
 27. Vase fragments from Cahn's collection are often labeled with their inventory number in red ink, as discussed in Chapter 2 in the section "Examining the Object". For publications of the fragments: Schmidt 1991; Cahn and Kreuzer 1993; Cambitoglou, Chamay, and Bottini 1997. Other works from his collection were sold at auction in 2002; see Cahn 2002.
 28. Cahn n.d.
 29. Hecht and Norman 2014, 14–15. In 1976, fifteen years after the charges were first brought, Cahn was found guilty of possessing illicit antiquities; these were the only charges ever brought against Cahn; Watson and Todeschini 2007, 164–65.
 30. Wolfson 2002.
 31. The Folio Society even published a guide to collecting: Nicholson 1965.
 32. Ede 1976.
 33. On the Collector's Cabinet, see Reed 1975.
 34. Other than a home page noting the closure of the gallery, the Royal-Athena website is no longer active, but information including a description of the firm and other pages can still be accessed through archived webpages: <https://web.archive.org/web/20200224195611/http://royalathena.com/PAGES/intropages/introduction.html>.
 35. On the closure and the transfer of stock, see the notice on the current website home page: <http://www.royalathena.com/>.
 36. André Emmerich Gallery, *Masterpieces of Greek Vase Painting: 7th to 5th century B.C.*, April–March 1964, exh. cat. (New York: André Emmerich Gallery, 1964); André Emmerich Gallery, *Art of the Ancients: Greek, Etruscans and Romans*, February 7–March 13, 1968 (New York: André Emmerich Gallery, 1968); André Emmerich Gallery, *Art of Ancient Italy*, exh. cat. (New York: André Emmerich Gallery, 1970).
 37. <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/andre-emmerich-gallery-records-and-andre-emmerich-papers-6275>.

38. Simon 1995; Hoffmann and Cahn 1971, 252.
39. For a brief history of the Fallani family: Fallani, Simon, and Economopoulos 1997.
40. Hecht and Norman 2014, xiii, 4, 6, 8, 16–18 (George Allen).
41. Hecht established Hesperia Art in New York, where it was operated by Vladimir Clain-Stefanelli for a few years (early 1950s), until it was converted into a primarily mail-order business. The business name was revived in 1990 as Hesperia Arts Auction Ltd. to sell Hecht and McNall's Summa Gallery stock. George Allen (1918–1997), a Haverford college friend of Hecht's, ran his father's rare books store, William H. Allen, Bookseller, 2031 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, from 1940 until his death, and ran Hesperia Art with Hecht from 1957 until the early 1970s. Allen served as Hecht's agent in the sale of the "Trojan Gold" to the University of Pennsylvania Museum in 1966; see Rose 2017 and in this volume.
42. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/255353>.
43. Rosen and Hecht established Atlantis Antiquities Ltd. in 1984, with Andrea Hecht serving as the director by 1988, Reif 1988. They published several sales catalogues, including ARS and TEXHN: *Art and Craft of the Graeco-Roman World from 450 B.C. to 600 A.D.* (1989) and Robert Hecht, *Greek and Roman Art* (1990).
44. On museums to which Hecht sold material: Hecht and Norman 2014, xiii–xiv; Watson and Todeschini 2007, 109.
45. Hagen and Ryholt 2016, 226–27.
46. Dikran Kelekian, *The Kelekian Collection of Persian and Analogous Potteries, 1885–1910* (Paris: H. Clarke, 1910), <https://archive.org/details/kelekiancollect00kele/mode/2up>; Dikran Kelekian, *Additional Documents of Coptic Art: In the Collection of Dikran G. Kelekian, Inc.* (New York: Delphic Press, 1941).
47. For more on Kelekian's connections to the Metropolitan Museum, see *The Met*, "Buried Finds: Textile Collectors in Egypt," 2012, <https://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2012/buried-finds>.
48. The Kelekian Archive (Onassis Library for Hellenic and Roman Art, Department of Greek and Roman Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) contains invoices, correspondence, ledgers and shipment inventories, catalogues, and photographs and can be consulted on site. Also see deCamargo 2012. For additional archives containing Kelekian's correspondence, see "Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America," *The Frick Collection*, <https://research.frick.org/directory/detail/946>.
49. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Oral history interview with Susanne K. Bennet, daughter of John Jacob Klejman, March 22, 2012, transcript; accession no. RG-50.106.0195, https://collections.ushmm.org/oh_findingaids/RG-50.106.0195_trs_en.pdf.
50. Canaday 1973.
51. Waxman 2008, 144–47.
52. Hecht and Norman 2014, 15–16.
53. *New York Times* 1984; additional biographical details from Ogbachie 2019.
54. Mathias Komor Photographic Archive, 1934–1978, The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, accession no. 89.P.5, <http://hdl.handle.net/10020/cifa89p5>. Additional correspondence archives are held by other institutions, some of which include: University of Missouri, Museum of Art and Archaeology, Administrative Records, Box 5 FF 46, Mathias Komor: New York, 1960–1981; Philadelphia Museum of Art archives, Henry P. McIlhenny Papers: V. Art collection: B. Objects by genre, Box 77, Folder 2: Ceramics. Mathias Komor [firm]. 1946–1950; Cleveland Museum of Art, Ingalls Library and Museum Archives, Records of the Director's Office: William Mathewson Milliken, 1930–1958, Series 1, Box 25, folder 2: Komor, Mathias, 1946–1957.
55. For an example of a Louis de Clercq and Henri de Boisgelin provenance, see Sotheby's 2018, lot 16.
56. Getz-Gentle 2008.
57. Millon 2016, 49; Karagelou 2008.
58. Gill 2019; also see, on the Getty return of an ancient bronze head to Türkiye, 71.AB.458 (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SV3>): Getty Trust 2024B.
59. Located at Rue Hôtel-de-Ville 9, Geneva; Krosney 2006, 67.
60. At the time of writing, the following resources list Koutoulakis in their finding aids: Brooklyn Museum, New York, "Guide to the Records of the Department of Egyptian, Classical, and Ancient Near Eastern Art, 1890s–2002" (2013), https://d1lfxha3ugu3d4.cloudfront.net/archives/ECANEA_2013.pdf; Museum of Modern Art, New York, Paul Rosenberg Archives, [Appendix 2. Dealer Biographies](https://www.moma.org/research/archives/finding-aids/PaulRosenbergf, II.E.12, K Miscellaneous 1947–1949, Koutoulakis, N.
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61. Joel Malter, of Joel L. Malter & Co. in Encino, was the primary ancient coin dealer in Los Angeles in the 1960s; on Malter, see Kammerer 2004, 364.
62. McNall and D'Antonio 2003.
63. McNall and D'Antonio 2003, chapter 3.
64. Sotheby's New York sold the Hunt collection in several auctions: June 19, 1990; June 21–22, 1990; December 4, 1990; June 19–20, 1991.
65. Solis-Cohen 1990; and see the Hecht biography above.
66. For a detailed discussion of Medici's family and childhood, see Watson and Todeschini 2007, 153; Silver 2009, 11–14; Hecht and Norman 2014, 24.
67. The pharmacist Pesciotti (first name Cima or Angelo) had official permission to build his collection since it was to be donated to the state; Silver 2009, 25. According to Hecht's memoir, Medici acquired these antiquities from "clandestine diggers" in Central Italy and these looted objects either stayed in the Pesciotti collection, now in the National Etruscan Museum (Villa Giulia) in Rome, or were sold on the market through Herbert Cahn; Hecht and Norman 2014, 14.
68. Hecht and Norman 2014, 25–27.
69. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 154, 200–202, 206–7.
70. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 27; Silver 2009, 121–22, 139.
71. Henri Albert Jacques managed Edition Services on behalf of Medici; Jacques also managed Xoilan Trader Inc. on behalf of Robin Symes. Other fronts include Serge Vilbert, "Guido" (Medici's father's name), and the company Tecafin Fiduciare. See Watson and Todeschini 2007, 72–73, 147–48.
72. The "Zbinden collection" was used as a front with Sotheby's that was linked to Christian Boursaud; Watson and Todeschini 2007, 95.
73. For a discussion of some objects identified from the archive, see Gill and Tsirogiannis 2016; and for a summary, see Brodie 2023, <https://traffickingculture.org/encyclopedia/case-studies/giacomo-medici/> and Silver 2009, 213–14.
74. See "Statement of Facts, In the Matter of A Grand Jury Investigation Into a Private New York Antiquities Collector (Michael Steinhardt), Dec. 6, 2021": <https://images.law.com/contrib/content/uploads/documents/292/102693/2021-12-06-Steinhardt-Statement-of-Facts-w-Attachments-Filed.pdf>.
75. See the current Merrin Gallery website at <https://merringallery.com/>.
76. Hoffmann and Cahn 1971.
77. "Leo Mildenberg," *Coins Weekly*, October 14, 2009, <https://new.coinsweekly.com/nations/leo-mildenberg-2/>.
78. Bank Leu and Münzen und Medaillen, *Griechische Münzen aus der Sammlung eines Kunstfreundes*, sales cat., May 28, 1974, Zurich.
79. J. Biers, ed., *A Peaceable Kingdom: Animals in Ancient Art from the Leo Mildenberg Collection*, part VI, auction cat., Christie's London, October 26–27, 2004, and April 20, 2005 (Mainz: von Zabern, 2004).
80. The earliest references to Robin Symes's Kings Road shop are from 1967 and describe it as offering "Medieval and renaissance works of art, wood sculptures, early 17th century furniture"; *The 1967–8 International Antiques Yearbook*, ed. Philip Wilson (London: Studio Vista, 1967) 289.
81. "The Inside Page," *Daily Mirror*, February 5, 1969, 11.
82. Symes sold antiquities to the British Museum as early as 1969 (a group of five Cycladic objects, 1969,1001.1–5, and a silver medallion, 1969,0403.1); the 1971 catalogue includes thirty-three objects, including Cycladic figures, Greek and Roman bronzes, Roman sculpture, Egyptian panel portraits and sculpture, and jewelry. Robin Symes, *Ancient Art*, dealer cat. (London: n.p., 1971).
83. Xoilan Trader Inc. shared a Geneva administrative address (7 Avenue Krieg) with Medici's Editions Services; both were managed by Henri Albert Jacques. Xoilan was owned by Alexander Michaelides, a relative of Christo Michaelides. Symes claimed Xoilan was for his personal collection; Watson and Todeschini 2007, 259–61, note 67.
84. Symes advertised in *Apollo* between 1969 and 1999.
85. 88.AA.76 (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/1HC1T7>); Brodie 2012a; Rose, in this volume; Felch and Frammolino 2011.
86. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 322. With the exception of four Polaroid photographs, the Schinoussa photo archive's images are shot by professional photographers and have studio stamps on the backs, indicating locations that include Basel, Switzerland; Kingston-upon-Thames, England; Bond Street, London; and Madison Avenue, New York.

87. "Stolen Artefacts Stashed by British Art Dealer Are Returned to Italy," *The Guardian*, March 22, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/22/stolen-artefacts-stashed-british-art-dealer-returned-italy>. For further discussion of Symes's collection, see Swains 2017.
88. See *The International Antiques Yearbook 1976*, and the *International Art and Antiques Yearbook 1979–80*; the Brooklyn Museum has archival material with Tchacos as a representative of both Galerie Uraeus and Galerie Nefer from 1971 to 1983; https://archives.brooklynmuseum.org/repositories/2/archival_objects/18986.
89. Faber-Castell 1983.
90. For a good review, see Brodie 2006.
91. Watson and Todeschini 2007, 190–94.
92. "Tozzi, Piero," in "Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America," *The Frick Collection*, <https://research.frick.org/directory/detail/3027>.
93. Hoffmann and Cahn 1971.
94. MFA Boston 1981.783 (<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/149765/weary-herakles-herakles-farnese-type>); Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, "Ownership Resolutions: 2011–Weary Herakles" <https://www.mfa.org/collections/provenance/antiquities-and-archeological-material>; Victoria Reed, "Due Diligence, Provenance Research, and the Acquisition Process at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston," *DePaul Journal of Art, Technology and Intellectual Property Law*, 23(2) (Spring 2013). <https://via.library.depaul.edu/jatip/vol23/iss2/4>.
95. 74.AA.37 (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103SZH>) and 83.AE.320 (<https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/object/103VGY>) were published in Erwin Bielefeld, *Kunstwerke der Antike*, dealer cat. (Frankfurt: Galerie für griechische, römische und byzantinische Kunst, 1971).

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