

An “original” Courtauld copy: Lord Conway’s photographic collection in Australia

JANE E. BROWN¹

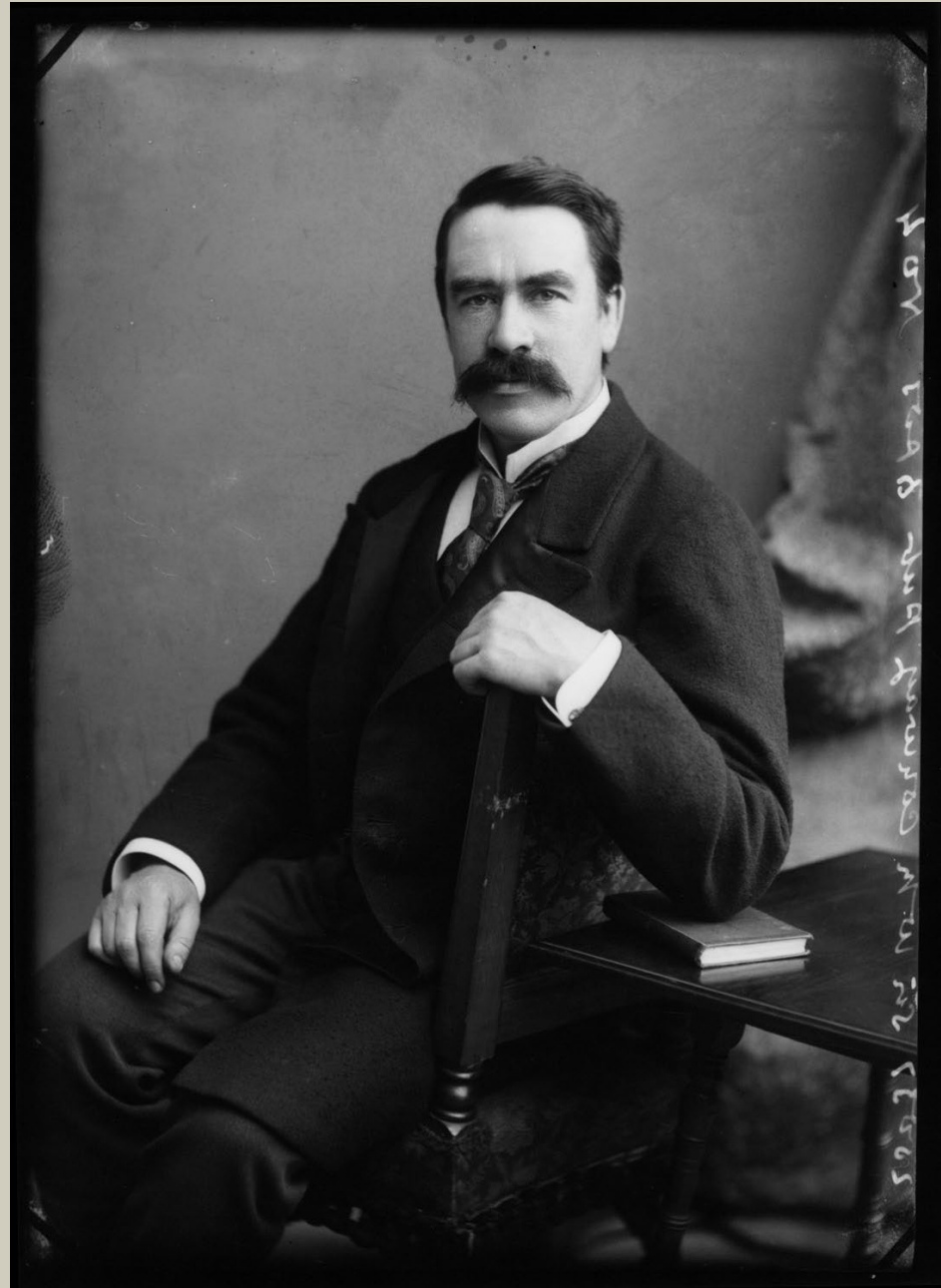


Fig. 1 / Alexandra Bassano, *Portrait of William Martin Conway, 1st Baron of Allington*, 1895, dry-plate glass negative, London, National Portrait Gallery.

A reproduction of an artwork can be a slippery thing. On 5 February 1960, the Courtauld’s Witt Librarian, Dr. Peter Murray, wrote to an Australian customs official about a rather unusual shipment: a large collection of photographic reproductions of paintings, drawings and engravings that was destined for Australia from London.² The note, appended to a customs declaration, had been written at the behest of the Australian customs representative who felt it necessary that the material have a fuller and further account than the usual forms allowed. The attentiveness paid by the Australian customs official was unsurprising. Copies and facsimiles were displayed alongside originals at the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne well into the twentieth century.³ In the nineteenth century, engraved reproductions based on paintings had been a lucrative business; the copyright for a painting was sometimes worth twice the cost of the painting itself.⁴ And as Bamber Gascoigne has pointed out, it is often impossible to distinguish an original etching from a photogravure.⁵ Many of the reproductions sent from the Courtauld to Melbourne were of the highest quality available: exquisite photogravures by Photographische Gesellschaft Berlin (also known as the Berlin Photographic Company) made between 1880 and 1920; illustrations from Leo Bachelin’s 1898 catalogue raisonné, *Tableaux anciens de la galerie Charles Ier, roi de Roumanie*, with heliogravures by the renowned M.M. Braun, Clément et Cie; reproductions from the master printer Charles Amand-Durand (1831-1905); gold-toned albumen prints of exceptional quality and expensive facsimiles from the likes of the Vasari and Dürer societies. In all, the collection amounted to some 30,000 images.

To study an artwork by virtue of a reproduction is still standard practice for most art historians, and photography’s role in this interchange of original and proxy has been evident since “drawing with light” was invented. A pioneer of the medium, William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) made some fifty-five photographs of *The Bust of Patroclus*. The bust itself was a reproduction, a cast of the original Hellenistic marble held in the British Museum, that the inventor of “photogenic drawing” (i.e., photography) would manipulate with sunlight and shadow to create his famed salt paper prints. As photography evolved technologically, so did the veracity of what it recorded. It also enabled multiple reproductions of one image. By 1851, with the introduction of the albumen paper print process, Louis Désiré Blanquart-Evrard (1802-1872) opened his *Imprimerie Photographique de Lille*, considered to be the first wholesale company trading in reproductions of artworks and architecture. In the same year Prince Albert commissioned a project to document photographically all works by and after Raphael. Once museums and galleries began to document works photographically, and then circulate copies of their collections, it gave rise to photographs being collected for private research, comparative study, and teaching. Art reproductions would go on to have implications for the art market, conservation, attribution, and provenance. Two of the world’s most important collectors of photographic reproductions of artworks in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were Sir Robert Witt (1872-1952) and Lord William Martin Conway of Allington (1856-1937) (fig. 1).

Witt, a successful lawyer and collector of Old Master drawings, had bequeathed his vast collection of painting, drawing, and print reproductions to the University of London upon his death in 1952. The Witt collection was the largest collection of art reproductions in the world, with over 500,000 images of paintings and drawings. Sir Robert and Lady Witt’s personal collection of photographs had turned their home at 32 Portman Square into an international study centre for scholars, critics, collectors, curators, and art dealers. So influential was the couple’s collection that it inspired Helen Frick (1888-1984), daughter of the collector Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919) to build a library for the Frick Collection in New York based on Witt’s model.⁶

Witt saw a great need to make art information available to scholars and to the art trade. The air raids on London and the destruction in Europe caused by the First World War were no doubt still fresh in Witt’s memory when he wrote in 1928:

The responsibility for such records lies rather heavily upon us, for many of the photographs and reproductions of pictures have either since been definitely destroyed by fire or accident or have completely disappeared and may never be heard of again.⁷

For Conway, the cultural patrimony of his photographic collection also weighed heavily. Like Witt, he was decisively involved in the foundation of the Courtauld, and the donation of his personal collection of photographs in 1932 was recognized as an important gift.⁸

As the Imperial War Museum’s first director, Conway understood the importance of photography’s power in preserving a record of art and architecture. Conway also understood that his life’s effort, to create a “museum of photographs”⁹ was part of a new and emerging discipline in Britain – the study of art history. His own academic career had revolved around the subject – as Professor of Art at University College, Liverpool and as Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge. His scholarly works included *History of the*

Woodcutters of the Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century, 1884; *Early Flemish Artists*, 1887; *The Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer*, 1889; *Art Treasures of Soviet Russia*, 1925; and *Giorgione as a Landscape Painter*, 1929. With the growth of his photographic archive Conway could compare pictures as they had never been compared before. As Conway’s biographer reflects: “A new epoch in the study of the history of art was opening, and he felt like the discoverer of a new continent.”¹⁰

When the Courtauld Institute of Art opened in 1932, their photographic collections found a home. Named in their honour, the Conway and Witt collections formed the nucleus of the Courtauld’s world-renowned image libraries. According to Conway’s biographer, Witt and Conway were aware of the value of what they were doing and treated their respective collections as complimentary entities. To avoid any unnecessary duplication the pair decided that Witt was to concentrate on reproductions of Western paintings, drawings and prints from ca. 1200, and Conway, to focus primarily on medieval painting, architecture, sculpture and decorative arts. But by 1903, when this agreement was first reached, Conway, who had been collecting for some twenty-five years, had already amassed numerous reproductions in Witt’s area of interest.¹¹ When their respective collections were finally donated to the Courtauld an inevitable overlap ensued. The University of Melbourne’s collection, held in the Visual Culture Resource Centre, is based upon the accumulation of the duplicate painting, drawing and engraving reproductions collected by Conway, and supplemented with reproductions from Witt’s library.

I – FROM LONDON TO MELBOURNE

The story of the Conway collection’s 17,000-kilometre journey to Australia was one of good timing and connections. In 1959, June Stewart (1927-2011), then Curator of Visual Aids in the Fine Arts Department at the University of Melbourne, was on a study trip in Europe. She had been living at Montague Place in London, within walking distance of the Courtauld Institute, then at 20 Portman Square. Stewart was in contact with Dr. Peter Murray, the Witt Librarian

at the Courtauld, who informed her that a set of duplicates, from the overlap of the private collections of photographs of Witt and Conway, were available for sale. Stewart had spent a year in London studying the technical and administrative aspects of large slide and photographic collections at the Courtauld, and this offer would have certainly piqued her interest. The University of Melbourne’s Fine Arts department, now the School of Culture and Communication, was the first tertiary-level art history program to be taught in Australia and had been building up its image library from the establishment of the department in 1947. Today, the collection embodies the visual memory of a discipline – art history – as it has been studied in Australia. With over half a million items, it is the largest collection of its kind in the southern hemisphere.¹²

Sir Joseph Burke (1913-1992), the inaugural Professor of Fine Arts at Melbourne University, had an established relationship with the Courtauld. In 1935, he had been part of the first generation of art historians to go through the newly established Institute; he taught at King’s College, and after receiving a Master of Arts from the Courtauld (and then Yale) went on to be Assistant Keeper at the Victoria and Albert Museum. He had also been Prime Minister Clement Atlee’s

private secretary during the Second World War. In 1947, at the start of Burke’s tenure in Melbourne, he organized teaching resources to be sent from the Courtauld to Australia. Thomas Boase, director of the Courtauld from 1937 to 1947, had suggested to Burke “a standard set of 500-1000 lantern slides covering a British curriculum for art history teaching”.¹³

Burke was on leave when the Courtauld’s offer came through to Melbourne. However, the Viennese-trained art historian Franz Philipp (1914-1970) stepped in, and as acting head made the case to fund the purchase. In a letter to Melbourne University’s Dean of Arts, Professor Oeser, Philipp wrote:

No visual reference library material exists in Australia apart from the Mitchell Library, which is, of course limited to Australian. All members of this Department have been aware for many years of this very great deficiency in our teaching and research equipment, but the expenses and time which the building-up of a sizeable and useful photographic collection would require, has prevented us from taking action on any larger scale. We have now a splendid and possibly unique opportunity to start on a relatively moderate expense.¹⁴

Philipp was aware of the collection’s potential for Melbourne. In 1955 he had been a senior research fellow at the Warburg Institute in London, where he “completed an iconographic study of Poussin’s *Crossing the Red Sea* in the National Gallery of Victoria (fig. 2) and furthered his work on Italian portraiture of the 16th century”.¹⁵ The Warburg has its own expansive collection of photographs of sculptures, paintings, drawings, prints and tapestries which originated with the Institute’s founder, Aby Warburg (1866-1929), the German art historian and cultural theorist.¹⁶ Among the possible uses for the photographic collection, Philipp cited slide making, slide identification, general reference work, and seminar exercises. He also considered its value for “research projects at undergraduate, postgraduate and staff level as inestimable”.¹⁷



Fig. 2 / Nicolas Poussin, *The Crossing of the Red Sea*, 1632-1634, oil on canvas, 155.6 × 215.3 cm, Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria.

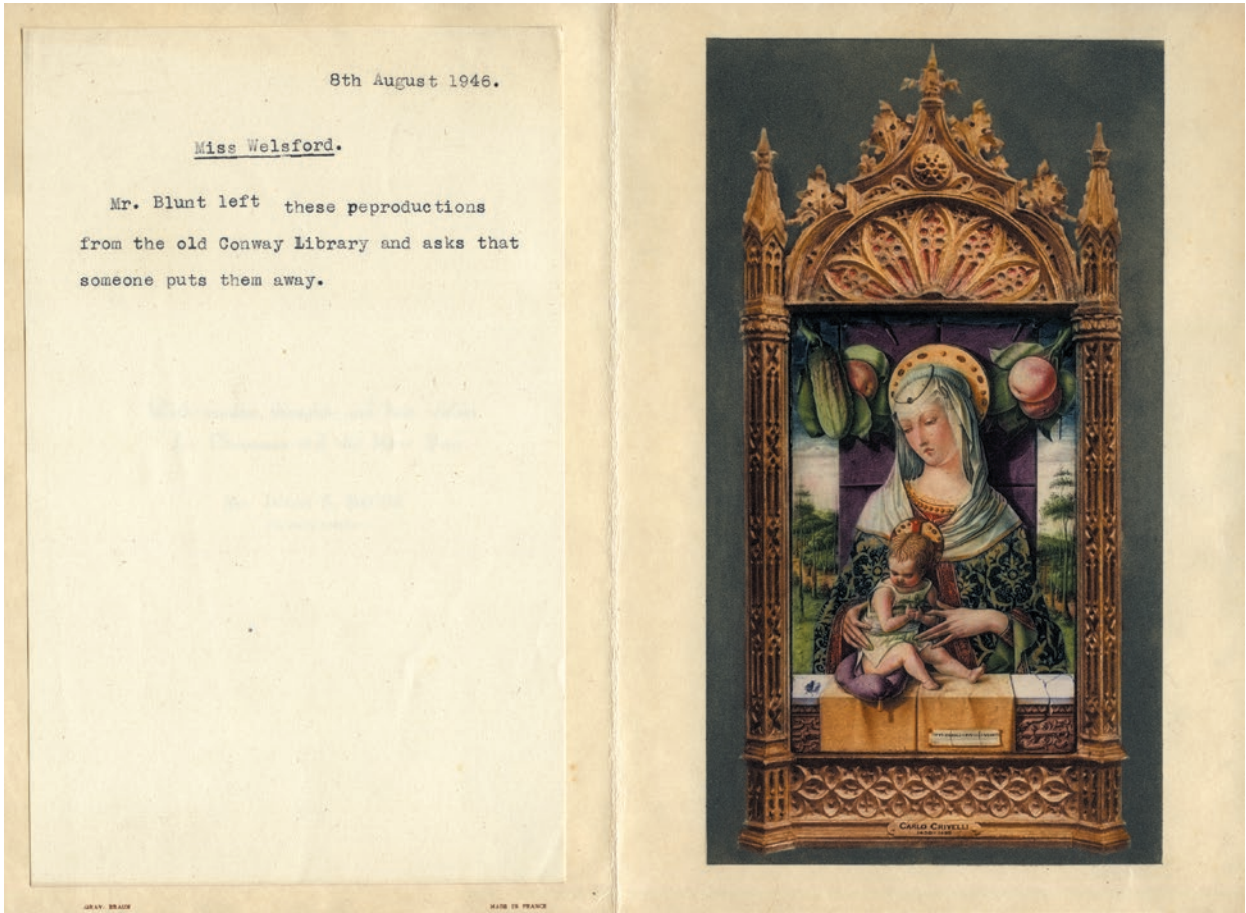


Fig. 3 / Memo to Miss Welsford dated 8 August 1946 with gravure by Braun after Carlo Crivelli (*Madonna and Child*, ca. 1480, tempera and gold on wood, 37.8 x 25.4 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art), Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.

In Vienna, Philipp had studied art history under Julius von Schlosser (1866-1938). As the son of Jewish parents, Philipp had been prevented from completing his doctorate and was imprisoned in Dachau, Germany on 15 November 1938. In June 1939, he managed to escape, making his way to London, only to be mistakenly deemed an enemy alien and transported to Australia on the infamous HMT *Dunera*. A fellow detainee of Philipp was the photographer Helmut Gernsheim (1913-1995). To deal with the languor of internment Philipp taught other refugees art history, while Gernsheim presented lectures on the aesthetics of photography and commenced his first book, *New Photo Vision* (1942). Following their release, Philipp remained in Australia teaching Renaissance art history and went on to write seminal works on the Australian artist Arthur Boyd (1920-1999).¹⁸ Gernsheim returned to England to work as a photographer at both the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes. He later became a pioneering collector and

pre-eminent photographic historian. Gernsheim’s legacy supported the establishment of photographic galleries and museums in the United States and Europe.

By 1959, Burke was back at work in Melbourne, and Stewart wrote to him about Witt and Conway’s personal photographic collections:

As you probably know, they came to an agreement not to overlap ... But Conway had already started a collection in Witt’s field, and this, which came to the Courtauld with the rest of Conway’s material, is the basis of the set offered.¹⁹

Despite their decision not to duplicate acquisitions, Conway’s longstanding collecting endeavours (dating back to his student days) resulted in a substantial

repetition of reproductions. The overlapping portion of the collection became known at the Courtauld as “the Old Conway Library”. A memorandum from eminent art historian and Soviet spy Anthony Blunt (1907-1983), discovered in Melbourne amongst facsimiles of the Italian Renaissance painter Carlo Crivelli, refers to this. Dated 8 August 1946 and addressed to the Courtauld’s first librarian, Miss Rhoda Welsford, the memorandum reads: “Mr. Blunt left these reproductions from the old Conway Library and asks that someone puts them away” (fig. 3). Reproductions once owned by Blunt have also been identified in the Courtauld collection in Melbourne with the stamp “ON LOAN A.F. BLUNT”.

Blunt was director of the Courtauld when the Conway reproductions were shipped to Australia, and as director, the transaction had Blunt’s approval. The deaccessioning of the Conway photographs also required the endorsement of Dr. Joan Evans, Conway’s biographer and executor of the Conway family estate. A letter dated 8 June 1959 from the Honorary Conway Librarian, Dr. George Zarnecki, to Dr. Evans outlines the rationale for the sale:

We have a large number of reproductions of paintings which were looked through by the Witt Library staff, and all the reproductions that were needed for our collection were taken up and transferred to our primary collection. All the duplicates are still being kept in their original brown boxes, and they take up much of our precious space. It would be a great advantage if we could sell duplicate material, thus freeing the shelves for expansion, and using the money to buy new photographs. Anthony [Blunt] is very much in favour of taking this course.²⁰

Evans endorsed the “integrating” and “rationalizing” of the Conway collection of photographs of paintings, stating: “Lord Conway and his daughter were sensible people (at least about the history of art) and am sure if they were alive, they would approve too.”²¹

On 13 January 1960, Murray outlined the parameters of Melbourne’s purchase in a letter written from the Courtauld to Burke:

I understand from Miss Stewart that you have agreed in principle to purchase the collection of photographs and reproductions of paintings, drawings and engravings formed by the late Lord Conway, which Miss Stewart has looked at on your behalf. I have discussed the question of price with the interested parties here, and I now suggest that we should sell you all the material seen here by Miss Stewart, together with a further 28 boxes which we have since discovered containing largely 18th to 20th century material, and also a quantity of duplicate material from the Witt library to be selected by Miss Stewart.²²

The sale of the Conway photographs was recorded in the *Courtauld Institute of Art’s 1959-1960 Annual Report* simply as follows: “A very large collection of duplicate material was acquired by the University of Melbourne.”²³ The final sale price of £250 sterling (approximately 5,800 USD in today’s currency) was generous. A 1906 sales catalogue from the Berlin Photographic Company, lists one photogravure alone as costing four shillings and six pence (roughly equivalent to twenty-one USD today). As Philipp commented at the time: “The price is I believe extraordinarily low, roughly 100 photographs for £1, ordinary Alinari prints cost 3 / 6 d each.”²⁴

Stewart spent the last two months of her stay in London checking and sorting the reproductions. She adopted the same classification system used by the Witt Library where photographs and cuttings are organized alphabetically by artist within “national schools”. This afforded the Witt and Conway material to be integrated, often creating a reference point for the same artwork documented over time – making it a very useful resource when researching ownership and restoration. One of the collections oldest reproductions is an 1806 steel plate engraving by Peltro Tomkins.

The engraving is a facsimile of Raphael’s *Mackintosh Madonna*, and it can be compared with a photogravure of the same subject made exactly 100 years later by Emery Walker. Walker’s photogravure appeared as a frontispiece within the October 1906 issue of *The Burlington Magazine*.

Stewart did have reservations about the collection’s upkeep, warning Professor Burke that the reproductions were at least twenty years old and their storage boxes “shabby”. Stewart was looking to the collection in terms of it fulfilling the demands of a newly established discipline in Australia. As a ready-made teaching instrument, there was still work to be done. She was also grappling with the burgeoning photographic alternative – the 35mm slide. Technology in the field of art reproduction was progressing, as she alluded to in the same letter to Burke:

I have found pleasant company with a couple of museum officials from New York and Toledo. ... One of the council members is an excellent amateur photographer, and I took the risk of ordering duplicates of her Kodachromes, which include a set of autumn views of Stourhead Garden and some useful engravings of Bath. Some have come out too blue, but a fair proportion are good; opinion here seems to be that the duplicating process is at last improving.²⁵

The unpublished correspondence between Stewart, Philipp and Oeser, cited here, reveals that the sale of the Conway material was originally intended for an American University, but “the idea of helping Melbourne had a strong appeal”.²⁶ It would seem Burke’s London connections, Phillip’s resolute appeal for funds, and the fact that Stewart was there on the ground to select, sort, and negotiate, were all decisive in the collection’s coming to Melbourne. By February 1960, the photographs were packed and ready to be shipped on the Orient Line’s SS *Orcades* (fig. 4). In the same month the Melbourne University Gazette reported that Miss Stewart had returned from a year

of study overseas and had negotiated the purchase of the Conway collection of duplicates, stating that the collection would be unique to the country.²⁷ Despite Stewart’s initial qualms, the collection went on to be used for both teaching and research. In the early 1970s the photographs were resorted according to quality, so that the better ones could be used for seminar teaching. As an art historian and former University of Melbourne lecturer, Robert Gaston, observed:

It might appear to an unpractised eye as a strange collection of many faded old photographs, some dating back to the late nineteenth century. In fact, these photographs are precious evidence of the state of those pictures in those times, either badly restored by post-Renaissance interventions, or not at all restored. One of the main reasons for going to the Witt library, when working on the provenance, style, iconography and condition of Italian old-master pictures is to see not the latest digital photograph, but these old ones that preserve evidence of their historical condition before the intervention of “scientific” restoration. They remain, then, a valuable resource for all students and scholars of Renaissance painting. Their presence means that anyone can begin their study of many such pictures with this Melbourne collection, and then proceed to the updated Witt collection, and then to the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence, and to the Berenson collection of photographs at I Tatti, to complete the work.²⁸

In recent years, the Courtauld collection at Melbourne has been reactivated for exhibition, and as a teaching tool for art curatorship, conservation, and history of photography classes. The collection is recognized as a barometer of the photographic medium’s development over time: in it we see painting, drawing and engraving manifest themselves in photolithography, carbon, woodburytype, collotype, photogravure, halftone, albumen and silver gelatin. As a source for the study



of reprographic processes, the collection provides ample possibilities. For instance, in the University’s object-based-learning laboratories students work with the Courtauld prints to gain an understanding of photographic processes, material handling and identification. Utilizing collections of art reproductions in this way is not unique to Melbourne: in the United States, the Image Permanence Institute (IPI) at Rochester is home to one of the most advanced centres for photographic conservation. The IPI employs a collection of art reproductions from the Metropolitan Museum of Art for teaching and research.²⁹ Exhibitions and studies centred around “ecosystems” of photographic archives in museums and galleries have been conceived at the National Gallery of Art’s (Washington, DC) Image Library.³⁰ And a recent publication from the Victoria and Albert Museum, entitled *What Photographs Do: The Making and Remaking of Museum Cultures* (2022), looks at the institutional life of photographs – integral to the workings of museums through display, collections management, conservation, retail, publicity, and exhibition publications.³¹

II – SIR MARTIN CONWAY AND THE ORIGINS OF THE COLLECTION

The Courtauld collection of reproductions at Melbourne University’s Visual Cultures Resource Centre has been augmented recently by two important

discoveries. Firstly, the uncovering of archival records, discussed above, establishes the collection’s provenance. Secondly, a significant quantity of the original collection has been unearthed; having been stored separately, it was seemingly lost in the archive. Thanks to the swift action of University maintenance staff, this valuable material was recovered prior to the scheduled demolition of the basement storage facility where the duplicates were housed. The trove includes over 20,000 Old Master reproductions, along with letters and ephemera, offering insight on Conway the collector and connoisseur.

Conway was something of a global celebrity. As an accomplished mountaineer, he gained universal fame with a world altitude record for an ascent of a subsidiary summit of Baltoro Kangri, in the Karakoram mountains in Pakistan. He was a politician for both the Liberals and the Conservatives; he was the first foreign national to see the Russian Crown jewels after the 1917 revolution and was associated with the likes of John Ruskin, Henry James, Rudyard Kipling, Winston Churchill, and J.P. Morgan. Conway married the American heiress Katrina Glidden, and the couple became the owners and restorers of Allington Castle in Maidstone. Allington housed a considerable collection of art and antiquities along with Conway’s collection of photographs.

Conway was a driven collector and wrote of his passion in his book *The Sport of Collecting*, 1914. A note found among the Melbourne reproductions, written by Conway on House of Commons paper, gives us a clue as to his aspirations. It states: “The photos I want: Bergamo Orpheus, Dresden Venus, Vienna 3 philosophers.” Conway had started collecting in his student days whilst reading mathematics at Cambridge, where he attended lectures by the Slade Professor of Art, Sidney Colvin (1845-1927). For a guinea, Colvin sold envelopes of reproductions at his lectures; Conway describes these photographic reproductions as “wonderfully good stuff, for most part quite off the ordinary lines”.³² Colvin managed this by writing articles for *The Portfolio*, an art magazine published in London from 1870 to 1893.

Fig. 4 / Richard Beck, *Orient Line Cruises*, 1937, colour photolithograph of poster printed by Baynard Press, 101 x 62.5 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.



Fig. 5 / Braun, Clément et Cie., heliogravure after Adam Elsheimer (*The Good Samaritan*) from *Tableaux Anciens de la Galerie Charles Ier, Roi de Roumanie Catalogue Raisonné Avec Soixante-seize Héliogravures de MM. Braun, Clément et Cie par L. Bachelin* (Paris, Dornach [Alsace], and New York: Maison Ad. Braun & Cie/Braun, Clément & Cie), 1898, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection. Page and guard-sheet removed from Bachelin's catalogue raisonné, annotated in pencil with the inscription “28 x 45 cm / King of Romania's Coll.”

Illustrated with photogravures, Colvin had the plates reprinted for his students. When reflecting on seeing one of Colvin's prints, suitably framed in a house in Newcastle, Conway mused: “I have no doubt they might be found today scattered all over the world.”³³

The Conway material is distinctive with its pale beige mounts compared to the Witt collection, which are mostly mounted on smaller, grey card. Conway's handwritten annotations appear on the reproductions of paintings, drawing and engravings. Some of the captions can be quite lengthy and include interpretations of the work's provenance and attribution, often quoting, or sometimes including correspondence from key scholars of the day such as Bernard Berenson, Wilhelm von

Bode, Friedrich Lippmann, Fritz Saxl, or Herbert Cook. Conway's descriptions range from the artist's use of colour to the topography featured in the work – a nod to Conway's exploration and mountaineering interests. For example, on the verso of a landscape photograph by the Austrian studio Alfred Stockhammer of Hall in Tirol, Conway wrote: “At the entry to the Stübaithal stands the Waldrastspitze (the Serles) much climbed by tourists. This is Dürer's peak as seen from Innsbrück.”³⁴ The Dürer referred to by Conway is likely *Innsbruck from the North*, ca. 1495, a watercolour in the collection of the Albertina Museum, Vienna.

In 1932, Conway wrote an account of his photographic collection, which conveys a sense of its scale and enterprise:

Before long I found myself committed to the collection and arrangement of reproductions of works of art of all kinds and periods. The material poured in on me like a flood, and the days were not long enough to deal with it completely... At the time I was settled at Allington with room enough for expansion in the newly-constructed Long Gallery... During twelve years that work continued almost without break.³⁵

Conway was also active in the Society of Authors and the Society of Antiquaries. At Cambridge, he had become acquainted with Henry Bradshaw, the university librarian, who instilled an interest in early printed books and their illustrations. Bradshaw funded Conway to pursue this interest, allowing him to travel to research



Fig. 6 / Braun, Clément et Cie., heliogravure after Gérard Douffet (*Descent from the Cross*) published in *Tableaux Anciens de la Galerie Charles Ier, Roi de Roumanie Catalogue Raisonné Avec Soixante-seize Héliogravures de MM. Braun, Clément et Cie par L. Bachelin* (Paris, Dornach [Alsace], and New York: Maison Ad. Braun & Cie/Braun, Clément & Cie), 1898, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection. Page and guard-sheet removed from Bachelin's catalogue raisonné, annotated in pencil with the inscription “164 x 118 cm / King of Romania's Coll.”

a book on Netherlandish woodcuts which is often considered the most learned of Conway's publications.³⁶ Yet despite his antiquarian background, many of the reproductions that make up the Conway collection were removed from valuable books and catalogues:

I had to buy many a book or magazine in order to obtain a single print or plate of some individual picture which was torn out of its publication in order to be mounted and to find its proper place with other works in the boxes.³⁷

The loose plates, often accompanied with guard sheets and descriptive letterpress, show tearing on the edge – indicative of pages removed from books. In one example a copy of a work by Adam Elsheimer (1578-1620), *The Good Samaritan*, is annotated in pencil with the inscription: “28 x 45 cm / King of Romania's Coll.” (fig. 5). The annotation, possibly by Conway, is believed to pre-date the forced exile and property confiscation of the Romanian Royal family in 1947. The Romanian government contended that six weeks before King Michael was deposed, he left the country aboard the Orient Express and took with him the royal collection of forty paintings to Switzerland and Florence – the collections have not been seen since.³⁸ In correspondence with the present author, Malina Contu, Head of the European Art Department at the National Museum of Art of Romania, revealed that, while the Elsheimer painting was no longer in their collection, the *héliogravure*, as seen in Melbourne, would have been extracted from a copy of Leo Bachelin's 1898 catalogue *Tableaux anciens de la galerie Charles I^{er}, roi de Roumanie*.³⁹ The reproduction of Elsheimer's *The Good Samaritan* is one of sixty-seven plates removed from the royal collection's catalogue raisonné. Other pages from Bachelin's catalogue are interspersed throughout the Conway collection, each filed under the artist's name within their national school (fig. 6). In Bucharest, an intact edition of the same rare catalogue records the missing collection.



Fig. 7 / Attributed to Adolphe Braun, carbon print after Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio, (*The Virgin and Child*, ca. 1493-1499, oil on walnut, 92.7 x 67.3 cm, London, National Gallery), ca. 1860s-1870s, in two parts 34.5 x 27 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.

Fig. 8 / Cover of *Les Arts*, December 1906 issue no. 60 showing Conway's file for the artist Ambrogio Preda (1839-1906), Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.

Where large albumen and carbon print photographs proved too big for Conway's purpose-made archive boxes, he would cut the mounted works in half, or, if unmounted, the work would be folded (fig. 7). Professor Emerita Lindy Grant, who examined Conway's architectural photographs at the Courtauld, remarked: “A particularly fine set of 1860s gold toned albumen prints of Santiago de Compostela bear witness to [Conway's] procrustean treatment.”⁴⁰ Hallmarks indicate that Conway's boxes came from No. 1 Rosoman Place, London – a brick, four-storey factory built in 1903 as part of Northampton Row for William Arthur Fincham & Co., “fancy-box makers”.⁴¹ The brown boxes are hand crafted, cloth-covered and foolscap in size – a description matching this is provided by Conway in *Episodes of a Varied Life*.⁴² Conway's durable brown boxes continue to be a part of Melbourne's collection. Concurrently, a few boxes remain with the Courtauld's Conway Library at Somerset House where they contain a varied assortment of painting reproductions from the Witt collection along with microfiche indexes.⁴³

Conway fashioned all manner of personal items into files. An envelope addressed to Conway from Edward Dillon Esq. (with a one penny, King Edward VII stamp ca. 1902) was repurposed as a folder for the Flemish painter Frans Luycx (1604-1668). In another case, evidence of Conway's financial interests can be found in a 1913 prospectus for the Vilaque Bolivian Tin Mines, which was used as folder for a series of reproductions by the Bohemian engraver Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677). Advertisements from academic journals and art dealers' catalogues were also used as subject folders, providing an enticing insight into the archaeology of the collection and clues to the genesis of the duplicates – for example: *H. Grevel & Co. Classical Picture Gallery*, London, 1895; along with covers from *The Burlington Magazine*; *Les Arts* (fig. 8); *The Sackville Gallery*; *M. Knoedler & Co.*; *The Art Journal*; and *P. & D. Colnaghi & Obach*.

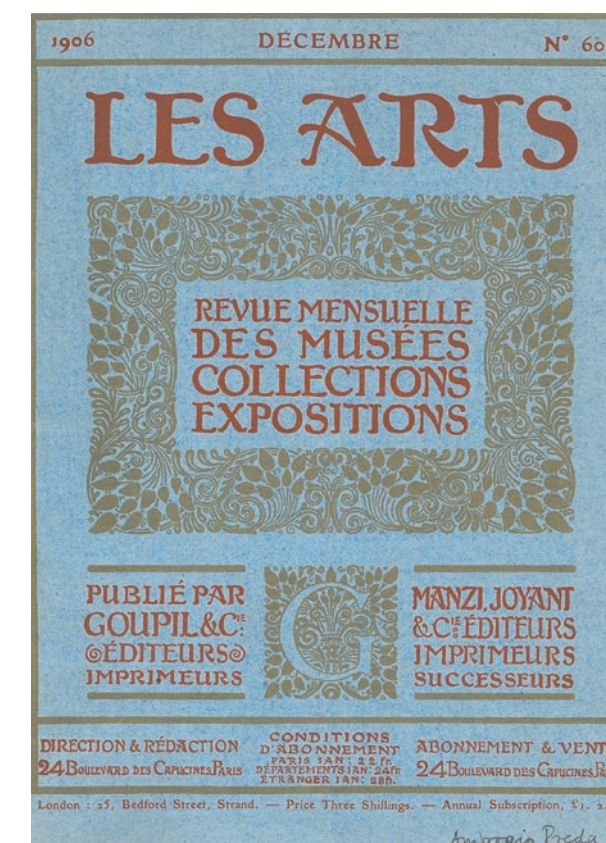




Fig. 9 / Unknown photographer, silver gelatin print after Vincenzo Foppa (*Christ in Mercy or Pietà*), ca. 1460-1470, panel, 52 x 39.5 cm, collection unknown), ca. 1922, 13.5 x 10.5 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.

Besides his magnificent photographic collection, Conway was also a notable collector of art and antiquities. Under the encouragement of the Italian art historian and connoisseur Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891), Conway first considered the possibility of owning great artworks. When Conway and his wife were visiting Milan in 1887, Morelli bet Conway twenty francs that he could not find a forgotten Vincenzo Foppa (ca. 1427/1430-ca. 1515/1516); Conway found two – *The Virgin and Child before a Landscape*, ca. 1490 and *Christ in Mercy*, ca. 1460-1470 (fig. 9). To fund the restoration of Allington Castle, Conway sold his Foppa *Madonna* through the art dealer Duveen to Mr J. G. Johnson of Philadelphia.⁴⁴ The work is now in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. *Christ in Mercy* was last documented in 1951 when it came up for auction by Sotheby's London.⁴⁵

Fig. 11 / Lorenzo Lotto, *Allegory of Chastity*, ca. 1505, oil on panel, 42.9 x 33.7 cm, Washington, DC, National Gallery of Art.

Other notable works acquired by Conway included Lorenzo Lotto's *Allegory of Chastity* (now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC) (figs. 10 & 11) and Gian Francesco de Maineri's *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Cosmas and Damian, Saint Eustace and Saint George in the Background* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). Conway originally attributed the work to Pelligrino Munari and sought the opinion of Bernard Berenson. In an unpublished letter between the Berensons and Conway, Mary Berenson wrote on 8 May 1928:

... we really know nothing about Pelligrino Munari, and that it is even uncertain that he painted the picture that you saw at Ferrara ... B.B. wishes you would send him a photograph of your Ferrarese picture, it would interest him very much.⁴⁶

The letter sits in a folder marked “Pellegrino Munari of Ferrara of Modena” (“of Ferrara” was crossed through, presumably on account of the Berenson letter). The letter is filed with three photographic representations of Conway's northern Italian masterpiece alongside photographs of comparative works by Pellegrino Munari and the School of Ferrara Painters (fig. 12). The Lotto and Maineri masterworks were both photographed by William E. Gray (1864-1935), a fine art photographer who was active from 1896 to 1908. Gray's studio was located at 92 Queens Road, Bayswater, London, and Conway commissioned his photographic services on numerous occasions.

Regarded as his most treasured pieces, the *Allington Giorgiones* (also known as the *Finding of Paris* and *Paris Given to Nurse*) were purchased by Conway from a dealer in Saint Jean de Luz in France in 1903 (the same year he and his wife purchased Allington Castle, for which the Giorgiones are named). Depicting two episodes from the life of Trojan prince Paris, the panels were in poor condition and Conway had them restored by Roger Fry (1866-1934).⁴⁷

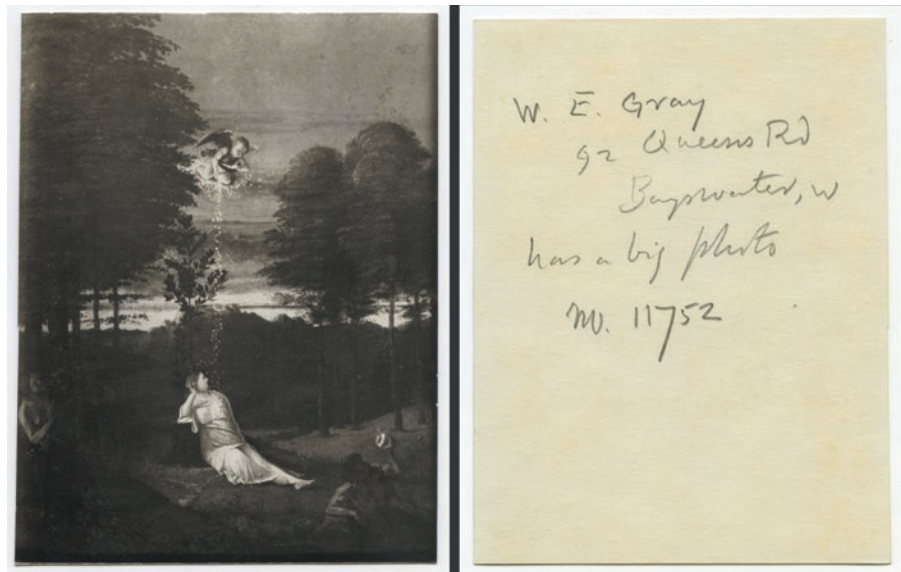


Fig. 12 / William E. Gray, glossy sepia bromide print after Gian Francesco de Maineri (*Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints Cosmas and Damian with Saint Eustace and Saint George in the Background*, ca. 1500, oil on panel, 28 x 21 cm, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum), ca. 1920, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection. Stamped with photographer's studio “William E. Gray” on verso.



Conway believed the panels to be early works by the Venetian master and defended his attribution in an article in the *Burlington Magazine* and in his book *Giorgione as a Landscape Painter* (1929). According to Conway's biographer, “for the rest of his life they [the Giorgiones] served as a touchstone to test every critic that came to his house.”⁴⁸ This resonates with the University of Melbourne collection which includes correspondence on the topic of Conway's *Allington Giorgiones* with well-known critics and art historians such as Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929), Lionello Venturi (1885-1965), and Osvald Sirén (1879-1966).

In 1951 the *Allington Giorgiones* were sold following the death of Conway's daughter, Agnes. Sale records indicate that Sotheby's sold the works in London on behalf of Agnes's husband A. E. Horsfield. At the sale the panels were attributed to Giorgione. They were purchased by the art dealer Bellesi under lots 28 and 29 for £550 and £500. In the Frick Art Photo Archive, the owner is listed as Paolo Gerli of Milan, and the paintings documented by the photographer William Gray; a negative was lent by Conway to the Frick Art Reference Library in 1926.

In 1956, the Florentine photographic firm Alinari documented the works, and in 2014 an unidentified source gifted a photograph of the works to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.⁴⁹ The only extant photograph in the University of Melbourne collection is *Paris Given to Nurse*, possibly by William Gray. The albumen silver photograph is mounted on card without inscription (fig. 13).

Conway’s connoisseurship attracted correspondence from art dealers and fellow collectors, who sent photographic examples of their own collections of Old Masters. A file on Jan van Eyck for instance, includes eight photographic versions of the *Head of Christ* alongside correspondence from art dealers Browne & Browne and the Duveen Brothers, as well as the editor of *The Burlington Magazine*, R. R. Tatlock. Further correspondence is cut and pasted to the back

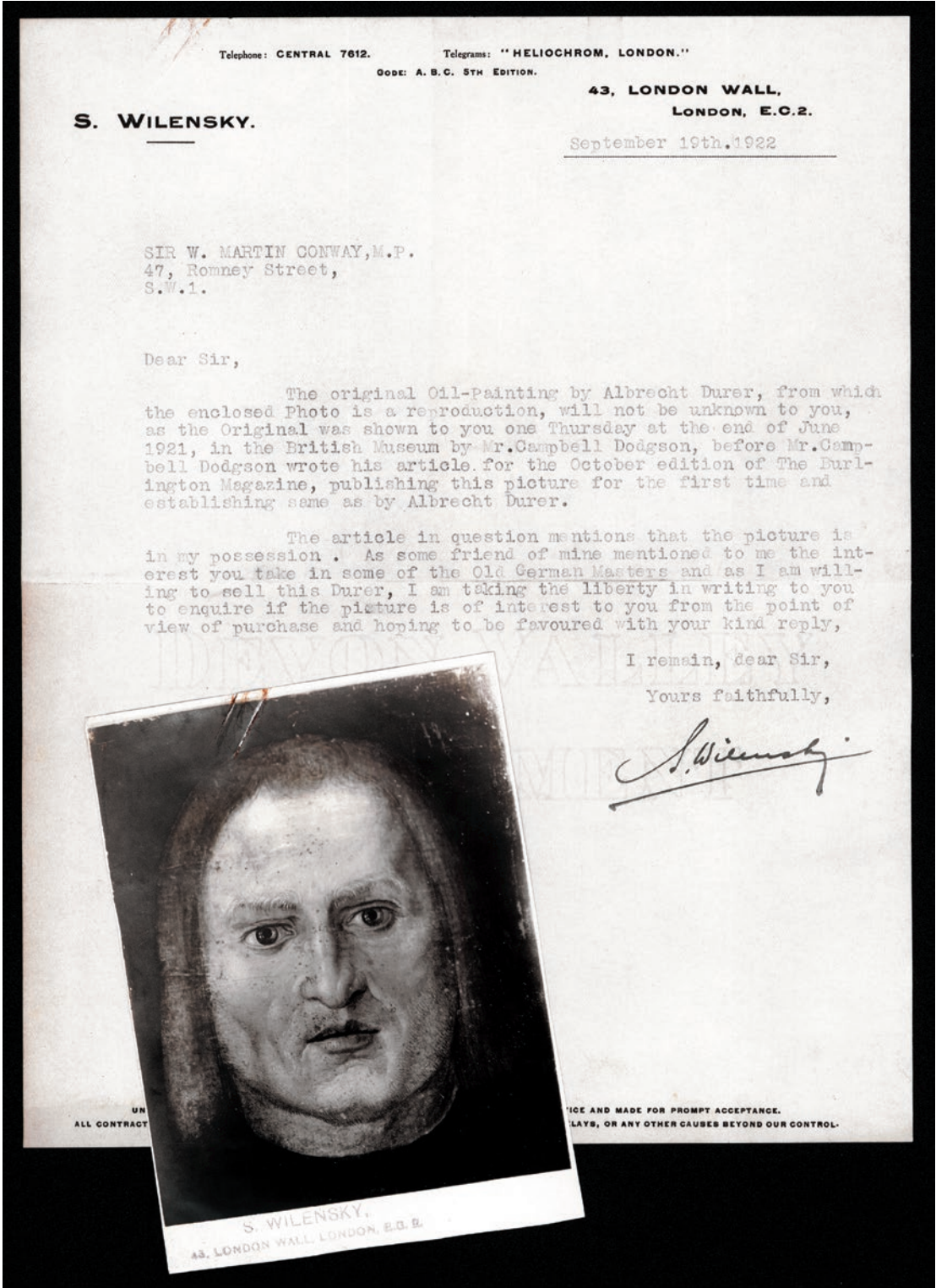


Fig. 13 / Unknown photographer (possibly William E. Gray), albumen-silver photograph mounted on card after Giorgione (*Paris Given to Nurse*, oil on panel, Private Collection), ca. 1926, 28 x 18.5 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.

of a mounted albumen photograph and describes the Berlin version of the work. Written in 1903, the letter is ascribed to Alfred Marks, RA (1834-1912), secretary to the Society for Photographing Relics of Old London.

Conway’s interest in the painter and engraver Albrecht Dürer is also evident. From 1881 to 1882, Conway devoted himself to the study of Dürer’s work: “almost every known example of which he [Conway] travelled to see, his drawings, engravings, and woodcuts”.⁵⁰ Conway collected hundreds of Dürer reproductions. Amongst the reproductions, a letter of offer to sell Conway an original Dürer painting is also extant. In the letter, Mr. S. Wilensky offers Conway Dürer’s *Head of a Man* (after 1506; fig. 14). The letter, which refers to Conway’s interest in Old German Masters, was accompanied with a photograph of the work and states that the painting was shown to Conway privately at the British Museum in June 1921.

Fig. 14 / Unknown photographer, silver gelatin print after Albrecht Dürer (*Head of a Man*, after 1506, oil/tempera on parchment and wood, 26 x 21 cm, Private Collection), ca. 1922 and associated letter from S. Wilensky to Sir Martin Conway, 19 September 1922. Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Culture Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection.



Conway did not buy the work; rather it was sold to the artist and collector Franz Naager (1870-1942). Since then, *Head of a Man* has been exhibited only rarely, in 1928 at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg,⁵¹ and at the Silberman Gallery, New York to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the United Nations. In January 1985, the work was auctioned by Sotheby’s in New York and returned to Germany under private ownership.⁵²

By 1889 Conway published *The Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer*. In the book’s preface Conway credits many discoveries to the gifted suffragette Lina Eckenstein (1857-1931). The preface also draws our attention to Conway’s understanding of good quality reproductions and the specialist publishers, printers and photographers operating at the time such as by the master printer Charles Amand-Durand (1831-1905) and the photographer Adolphe Braun (1812-1877). Braun, and his company Braun, Clément et Cie, were an art publishing firm circulating numerous photographic reproductions of artworks as early as the 1850s. Braun perfected the carbon process, a huge advance in the stability of photographic printmaking. The company became the first official photographers for the Musée du Louvre, as well as working with the Vatican, the Albertina, the British Museum, and various other important European museums.

When Conway started his collection of art reproductions in the 1870s, photography was a still a relatively new technology, yet his interest and belief in the novel medium are noteworthy. When describing Raphael’s drawings in reproduction, Conway writes: “Every touch of which is from the master’s own hand, can be reproduced almost perfectly by photographic process”.⁵³ Photography fulfilled Conway’s scientific inclination to collect and record; he was after all a man of science. As a respected cartographer, he was familiar with

the reprographic technology used in mapping. Photozincography, for instance, was a process used to create maps by the Ordnance Survey in Southampton, it was also used to preserve historic manuscripts and line drawing.

In Conway’s *Domain of Art* (1901) he described an ideal classification system that would record not only the artwork but the photographer of the artwork.⁵⁴ Conway’s schema for collections of art reproductions showed foresight and originality that is only today starting to be realized. Anthony Hamber, one of the world’s authorities on nineteenth-century photography and art reproductions, is currently researching an annotated bibliographic database of photographically illustrated publications.⁵⁵ And in 2023, photomechanical prints were the topic of a conference organized by the Foundation for Advancement in Conservation, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC. The conference provided an opportunity to examine the photographers, printers and printing companies found in the Conway archive of reproductions at the University of Melbourne.⁵⁶ Meanwhile, the Central Institute of Art History in Munich is undertaking unparalleled research on the Bruckmann Image Archive. Bruckmann was Germany’s largest publishing and printing company in the field of art journalism, founded in 1858, it holds over 150,000 photographs and negatives.⁵⁷ Bruckmann reproductions feature regularly in the Conway collection. Research coming out of Munich will benefit future interpretations of the Conway and Witt archives enormously.⁵⁸

Conway’s forward-thinking approach to photographic collections emphasizes a deeper comprehension of both the subject and the photograph itself. As a result, interest in collections of art reproductions (including the ability to interact with the physical archive) is only set to grow.

III – “A MUSEUM OF PHOTOGRAPHS”

By the 1980s the Melbourne University slide collection had grown exponentially, and it had commissioned a microfilm of the Courtauld collection. The art history librarian at the time, Roslyn King, recorded that in 1988 “the original Courtauld copy collection of images was stored”.⁵⁹

“The original Courtauld copy” as described here by King is telling as it speaks of the dynamic character of a reproduced image. Pencil annotations on the backs of prints and photographs stating “This is a copy” would seem obvious for a collection whose whole purpose is the documentation of artwork. So why state it? In some cases, it indicated that there was another reproduction held in London.



Fig. 15 / Unknown printer, mounted collotype print after Albrecht Dürer (*Water Mill in the Mountains*, ca. 1495-1505, watercolour, 13.3 x 13.2 cm, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett), after ca. 1855, 12.5 x 12.5 cm, Melbourne, University of Melbourne Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection. Annotated with pencil inscription reading “Swiss or Tyrolese a forgery L.441 Berli Museum c.1494.”

In other instances, it was to educate on attribution, perhaps a work done in the style of a great master by artist unknown – a copy of a copy, so to speak. A fascinating work that shows the full conceptual complexity at play is *Water Mill in the Mountains*, ca. 1495-1505 by Albrecht Dürer (fig. 15). As one of only a few works reproduced in colour, it stands out in a collection that is predominantly monochrome. At the time of Conway and Witt’s collecting, photographic technology had not advanced sufficiently to reproduce artworks in colour, and hand applied colour from a commercial palette was not to be trusted. Art historians preferred to stay with the “tonal nuance of a black and white reproduction”.⁶⁰ Edgar Wind, for instance, refused to show colour images and described them as “les belles infidèles” (the beautiful, unfaithful ones). According to Jaynie Anderson, Professor Emerita at the University of Melbourne, Wind’s attitude was characteristic of his generation who believed colour “contaminated recollection”, whereas a black-and-white illustration was an “unambiguous abstraction”.⁶¹

The *Water Mill in The Mountains* is reproduced as a finely printed collotype, yet annotated in pencil, in what appears to be Conway’s handwriting, is the word “forgery”. Is it possible to believe Conway, who was very familiar with Dürer’s oeuvre, could think that the original Dürer (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin)⁶² was a fake? Or was the copy in Melbourne trying to pass itself off as an original? It’s a delightful conundrum, particularly when we contemplate that *Watermill in the Mountains* (ca. 1495-1505) is a portrayal of an artist, possibly Dürer as a young man, immersed in plein-air sketching, as he aims to capture reality itself before returning to the studio.

The dynamic of original versus copy was not new to Melbourne. The first public museum in Australia to document its collection photographically was the National Gallery of Victoria. The 1875 catalogue *Photographs of Pictures* was an antidote to



Fig. 16 / Charles Amand-Durand, photogravure reproduction after Albrecht Dürer (*Erasmus of Rotterdam*, 1526, engraving), 1869, Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Courtauld Collection. Stamp in red on the verso: “see Lugt 2934.”

the unauthorized photographs of student-copy work being sold as reproductions of the gallery’s original oil paintings. The gallery commissioned photographer T. F. Chuck (1826-1898) and verified each albumen silver print with an official stamp. Meanwhile in Paris, the Louvre had the engraver Charles Amand-Durand put a printer’s mark on his reproductions of etchings and engravings to overcome any such confusion between copy and original.⁶³ Amand-Durand began his series of facsimiles of old master prints in 1869, and the red collector’s stamp, Lugt 2934, helped avoid any confusion, deliberate or otherwise, between Amand-Durand’s exacting copies and the original work of art. Georges Duplessis (1834-1899), curator of the Print Room at the Bibliothèque Nationale, considered Amand-Durand a pioneer of the heliogravure process.

His recreations have extraordinary clarity, and this was partly achieved by using the first and second state etchings of the master’s original works as a guide, rather than the original worn plates.⁶⁴ Conway collected Dürer heliogravures made by Amand-Durand, and many are represented in the Melbourne collection (fig. 16).

A history of photography is built around the logic of movement and transformation, migration and dissemination, instead of that of origin and singularity.⁶⁵ This conceptualization of photography’s history (with its dynamic relationship to the production and circulation of images) can be applied to Melbourne’s Conway and Witt photographic collection. Documentation and dissemination,

hallmarks of the archive, are manifest in its global circulation. Its photographs have informed scholarship, and on occasions have taken the place of the original where the original was inaccessible or too remote. In the 1960s, travelling to see the great artworks of Europe was out-of-reach for many an Australian art history student, at least before graduation. The newly arrived black and white photographs of artworks from the Louvre, the Rijksmuseum, the Uffizi and so forth often came before, and in some instances replaced, views of the original artworks.

A more illicit illustration of the dynamic power of original versus copy was played out with the art dealer Duveen. In 1922-1923 Duveen’s recently acquired work, *Portrait of a Lady* (now known as *Profile Portrait of a Lady*, National Gallery of Art, Washington, DC) underwent significant restoration. In 1986, a comparison was made with the portrait’s present state to that of a 1922 photograph of the work. The photograph, from the Galerie Georges Petit sales catalogue, proved that the hair and headdress were altered “with the strong suggestion that changes made were intended to support Duveen’s attribution to the artist Pisanello”.⁶⁶ Conway and Witt envisaged their collections to be important for the art trade, and the Duveen controversy foregrounds the necessity of retaining and disseminating all known examples of reproduced artworks.

Once fully catalogued, Melbourne’s Courtauld collection of photographic reproductions is set to provide a glimpse into the European art market pre-Second World War. Well-known art collectors from the Conway and Witt era such as Dikran Kelekian (1868-1951) and Alphonse Kann (1870-1948) are, in some cases, recorded on the photographic reproductions as owners of the artworks depicted. In one example, the Paris art dealer and historian George Wildenstein (1892-1963) is recorded as

owning Jean-Siméon Chardin’s (1699-1779) *Silver Goblet* (ca. 1728) by 1928, earlier than previously known.⁶⁷ Wildenstein, an authority on Chardin, wrote the catalogue raisonné of his works in 1921 and sold the work to the Saint Louis Art Museum in 1934.⁶⁸

Under Nazi occupation the Wildenstein family were forced to leave France in 1940. After the war, they returned to Paris and recommenced their gallery operations. However, business activities ceased in the 1960s following André Malraux’s (1901-1976) accusation that “George Wildenstein bribed a ministry official to permit the export of a Georges de La Tour painting.”⁶⁹ In the context of art reproductions, it is interesting to note that Malraux, the art theorist, novelist and French minister of culture, is most well-known for his essay, *Le musée imaginaire* (1947), a treatise based upon the displacement of the physical art object and the museum by photographic reproductions.

Conway himself first envisioned a “museum of photographs” in his book *The Domain of Art* (1901):

It [the museum of photographs] would bring together as complete a series as possible of all kinds of artists in ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, China, Peru – in fact of every country where Art ever existed and enshrined the idea of human aspiration. If such a museum of photographs were expanded to include casts of ivories and electrotype reproductions of small objects such as coins, still more if it was linked on to a large historical collection of casts, the result would be a Museum... whose utility as contributing to the increase of an understanding of the course of evolution of the human mind would surpass that of any existing institution.⁷⁰

CONCLUSION

The *New York Times* favourably reviewed Conway’s *Domain of Art* under the headline *Needed Art Reform* (1902) and considered a museum of photographs to have fine possibilities, particularly in America, “where there is so little chance to get at any of the great masters except through photographs of their work”.⁷¹ Prophetic sentiments, given that Conway’s photographs would eventually travel halfway around the globe to be part of a comprehensive institutional collection of photographs in Australia. When the Courtauld collection arrived in Melbourne, the epistemological potential of the Conway and Witt reproductions was yet to be realized. The analysis of the pioneers that created it, the taxonomic system that ordered it, and the scholars who used it would come later as the collection moved from a teaching tool, as it was in the 1960s, to the research archive it is today. In 2009, two conferences held at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London and at the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz helped to create an international network of academics and scholars working with photo archives. This network led to the issuing of the Florence Declaration, a series of recommendations aimed at the preservation of analogue photo archives, and at creating greater understanding of the value of analogue photographs and archives for the future of the arts, social sciences and humanities. In essence the declaration advocated research to be conducted not only with photographs but on photographs, as well as on the archive itself.⁷²

In 2017, the Courtauld Institute began digitizing its own Witt and Conway photographic collections of over three million images. A similar undertaking is planned for the estimated 30,000 Witt and Conway photographs located in Melbourne. As the two collections begin to circulate in their digital iteration, the comparisons and cross-referencing will be compelling. *Le musée imaginaire* is as prescient as it ever was. Ironically though, it is the collections’

very materiality that has elevated these precious reproductions to an artefactual authority, a status unintended at the time they were created. Today the archive will also be studied for its own sake: the paper the work is printed on, the techniques used, the photographic companies, photographers and printers that created them, as well as their place in photographic history. A collection, that is at once a “musée imaginaire” and an “original copy” – a conundrum the multifaceted Conway would surely appreciate.



NOTES

1. Jane E. Brown is currently director of the Visual Cultures Resource Centre, University of Melbourne, as well as a photographer with an interest in nineteenth-century photographic processes. Her work is held in Australia's national collections: <http://janebrownphotography.com/>. The author wishes to acknowledge Jaynie Anderson, Professor Emerita at the University of Melbourne for her support; Gael Newton (AM), former senior curator, Photography at the National Gallery, Canberra for encouraging her interest in the photographer Adolphe Braun; the University of Melbourne and the Courtauld Institute of Art. And finally, thanks to the curators, scholars, librarians and conservators who look after collections of art reproductions, many of whom are referenced in this article.

2. Melbourne, University of Melbourne Archives: Department of Fine Arts Papers, (1947-1982), 1983.0004, Unit 8.

3. John Gregory, “Reproductions and Copies,” in *Before Felton: The Collections of the National Gallery of Victoria to 1904: Compiled by John Gregory*, <https://www.beforefelton.com/reproductions-and-copies/> (accessed 14 June 2024).

4. Geoffrey Batchen, *Apparition: Photography and Dissemination* (Prague and Sydney: Namu and Power Publications, 2018), p. 22.

5. Bamber Gascoigne, *How to Identify Prints: A Complete Guide to Manual and Mechanical Processes from Woodcut to Ink Jet* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), p. 37.

6. Hannah Johnson Howell, “The Frick Art Reference Library,” *College Art Journal* 2 (1951): p. 123.

7. Robert Witt, “A Hobby that Grew into a Great Library,” *The Graphic*, 25 February 1928.

8. Joan Evans, “Obituary: Lord Conway of Allington,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 411 (1937): p. 300.

9. Sir W. Martin Conway, *The Domain of Art* (London: J. Murray, 1901), pp. 133-135.

10. Joan Evans, *The Conways: A History of Three Generations* (London: Museum Press, 1966), p. 110.

11. Sir W. Martin Conway, *Episodes in a Varied Life* (London: Country Life Ltd., 1932), p. 106. The agreement was forged in 1903 when Witt and Conway met by chance on holiday in Siena.

12. Visual Cultures Resource Centre, Faculty of Arts, University of Melbourne, <http://arts.unimelb.edu.au/culture-communication/research/groups/visual-cultures-resource-centre> (accessed 27 July 2024).

13. Benjamin Thomas, “Caught on Film: The Story of Melbourne’s Original Visual Archive,” *EMAJ: Electronic Melbourne Art Journal [electronic resource]* 3 (2008): p. 3, <http://pandora.nla.gov.au/pan/81686/20090304-0103/www.melbournearthjournal.unimelb.edu.au/E-MAJ/currentissue.html> (accessed 29 May 2024).

14. University of Melbourne: Department of Fine Arts Papers, (1947-1982), 1983.0004, Unit 8.

15. University of London, Warburg Institute Library: *The Warburg Institute Annual Report 1955 – 1956, Presented*

to the Senate, p. 2 (with kind assistance from Dr Paul Taylor, curator of the Warburg’s Photographic collection).

16. The Warburg photographic collection is organized by subject and uses a distinct iconographic classification system designed by Rudolph Wittkower and Edgar Wind. See: “The Photographic Collection”, The Warburg Institute, School of Advanced Study, University of London, <https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/photographic-collection/using-the-photographic-collection> (accessed 26 July 2024).

17. University of Melbourne: Department of Fine Arts Papers, (1947-1982), 1983.0004, Unit 8.

18. Jaynie Anderson, “Philipp, Franz Adolf (1914-1970),” *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/philipp-franz-adolf-11383> (accessed 10 June 2024).

19. University of Melbourne: Department of Fine Arts Papers, (1947-1982), 1983.0004, Unit 8.

20. University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art: CIA/Conway/1/14, Book Library, The Courtauld Institute of Art.

21. University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art: CIA/Conway/1/14, Book Library.

22. University of Melbourne: Department of Fine Arts Papers, (1947-1982), 1983.0004, Unit 8.

23. University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art: CIA/6/2, Book Library, The Courtauld Institute of Art.

24. University of Melbourne: Department of Fine Arts Papers, (1947-1982), 1983.0004, Unit 8.

25. University of Melbourne: Department of Fine Arts Papers, (1947-1982), 1983.0004, Unit 8.

26. University of Melbourne: Department of Fine Arts Papers, (1947-1982), 1983.0004, Unit 8.

27. University of Melbourne: Department of Fine Arts Papers, (1947-1982), 1983.0004, Unit 8.

28. Robert Gaston, email message to the author on 16 June 2015.

29. Based on author’s conversation with Jennifer Jae Gutierrez, Executive Director, The Image Permanence Institute (IPI), Rochester Institute of Technology and Nora Kennedy, Sherman Fairchild Conservator in Charge, Photograph Conservation, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 6 November 2023 and 9 November 2023

30. See *Verrocchio, Connoisseurship, and the Photographs of Clarence Kennedy* (2020) or *The Solemnity of Shadows: Juan Laurent’s Spain*: Image Collections, National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, DC, <https://www.nga.gov/research/library/imagecollections.html> (accessed 29 July 2024)

31. Elizabeth Edwards and Ella Ravilious, eds. *What Photographs Do: The Making and Remaking of Museum Cultures* (London: UCL Press in association with the Victoria and Albert Museum, 2022), p. 2.

32. Edward Verrall Lucas, *The Colvins and their Friends* (London: Methuen, 1928), p. 28.

33. Lucas, *The Colvins and their Friends*, p. 28.

34. Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Visual Cultures Resource Centre: Courtauld Collection. Conway received a gold medal for mountain surveys at the Paris Exhibition of 1900; his exploration in the mountain regions of Spitsbergen earned him a Founders Medal from the Royal Geographic Society and he received a knighthood for his expedition and cartography in the Himalayas

35. Conway, *Episodes in a Varied Life*, p. 108. Conway’s daughter Agnes (1885-1950), later Agnes Horsfield, helped in the gathering, classifying, annotating and mounting of Conway’s collection of reproductions. Agnes studied classics at Cambridge so that she could classify her father’s photographs of Greek and Roman antiquities; see Evans, *The Conways*, p. 200. She went on to be an important archaeologist, who, in the tradition of Gertrude Bell, travelled the Middle East with her camera, developing a collection of photographs that rivalled her father’s in terms of influence on generations of scholars to come.

36. *Woodcutters of the Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century* (1884). See Emily Crockett and Lee Sorensen, “Conway, Martin,” *Dictionary of Art Historians*, <https://arthistorians.info/conwayw/> (accessed 10 June 2024); Peter Hansen, “Conway, (William) Martin, Baron Conway of Allington (1856-1937), Art Historian and Mountaineer,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004): p. 2, doi: 10.1093/refodnb/32536 (accessed 10 June 2024).

37. Conway, *Episodes in a Varied Life*, p. 107.

38. Richard Perez-Pena, “Romania’s Ex-King and His Country in Art Duel,” *New York Times*, 14 September 1993, p. 4, <https://www.nytimes.com/1993/09/14/nyregion/romania-s-ex-king-and-his-country-in-art-duel.html> (accessed 10 June 2024).

39. Email correspondence of 9 March 2021.

40. Lindy Grant, “Time and the Conways: The Beginnings of Art History and the Collecting of Photographs in Britain,” *Visual Resources* 3-4 (1998): p. 302, doi: 10.1080/01973762.1998.9658424 (accessed 10 June 2024).

41. “Exmouth Market Area”, in *Survey of London: Volume 47, Northern Clerkenwell and Pentonville*, (London: 2008), pp. 52-83. *British History Online*, <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol47/pp83-52> (accessed 10 June 2024).

42. Conway, *Episodes in a Varied Life*, p. 112.

43. Based on the author’s observations following a visit to the photographic collection of the Conway Library, Somerset House and conversation with Tom Bilson, Head of Digital Media, The Courtauld Institute of Art, Somerset House, London, 4 July 2024.

44. Evans, *The Conways*, p. 206.

45. Sotheby’s, London, 31 January 1951, lot 26. See also: Fondazione Federico Zeri, University of Bologna, Photo archive catalogue, <https://catalogo.fondazionezeri.unibo.it/entry/work/23946/Foppa%20Vincenzo%2C%20Cristo%20in%20pietà> (accessed 26 July 2024).

46. Melbourne, University of Melbourne, Visual Cultures Resource Centre: Courtauld Collection.

47. Evans, *The Conways*, p. 203.

48. Sir Martin Conway, “The Allington Giorgiones,” *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 270 (1925): pp. 128-143; Evans, *The Conways*, p. 203.

49. Frick Art Reference Library Photo Archive. *Finding of Paris and Paris Given to Nurse (Two Panels)*, https://library.nyarc.org/permalink/01NYA_INST/18jo0t1/alma99100376597970714 (accessed 10 June 2024)

50. William Martin Conway, introduction to *Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1889), p. v.

51. Elisabeth Weymann, *Zirkel und Richtscheyt, Albrecht Dürer’s Head Constructions*, <https://www.zirkelvndrichtscheyt.com/e-n-g-l-i-s-h-1/> (accessed 26 July 2024).

52. Elisabeth Weymann, *Zirkel und Richtscheyt, Albrecht Dürer’s Head Constructions*, <https://www.zirkelvndrichtscheyt.com/e-n-g-l-i-s-h-1/> (accessed 9 June 2024).

53. Conway, *Domain of Art*, p. 130.

54. Conway, *Domain of Art*, p. 134.

55. Dr. Hamber is currently completing an online annotated bibliographic database of photographically illustrated publications 1839-1880. Hamber’s publication *A Higher Branch of the Art: Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839-1880* (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1996) has been critical to the understanding of photographic reproductions of artworks.

56. Foundation for Advancement in Conservation. *Photomechanical Prints: History, Technology, Aesthetics, and Use*. Symposium, October 31-November 2, 2023, at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC, <https://learning.culturalheritage.org/p/photomechanical> (accessed 26 July 2024).

57. Franziska Lampe, *Bruckmann Picture Archive: Economics, Photography and Art History around 1900*. Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Leiterin Forschungsprojekt, Munich, <https://www.zikg.eu/forschung/projekte/projekte-zi/bildarchiv-bruckmann-oekonomie-fotografie-und-kunstgeschichte-um-1900> (accessed 29 July 2024).

58. Another organization taking great strides in furthering our understanding of art reproductions is the Institute of Art History at the Czech Academy of Sciences, Prague, which has developed far-reaching programs covering the conditions of production, circulation, and consumption of photomechanical reproductions of art printed in periodicals. See Hana Buddeus et al., eds., *Instant Presence: Representing Art in Photography* (Prague: Artefactum, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, 2017), pp. 6-7. See also: PhotoMatrix, Institute of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences, <https://photomatrix.cz/about> (accessed 26 July 2024). The author wishes to thank Dr. Katarina Masterova, Dr. Fedora Parkmann, Camila Balbi and Petra Trnkova for their work.

59. Roslyn King, *The Departmental Collections of the Department of Fine Arts, University of Melbourne: A Guide* (Melbourne: University of Melbourne, Department of Fine Arts, 1990), pp. 1-5.

60. Joseph H Schwarcz, “The Reproduction in Art Education,” *Art Education* 4 (1982): pp. 10-14.

61. Jaynie Anderson, “Understanding Excessive Brevity: The Critical Reception of Edgar Wind’s ‘Art and Anarchy’,” in *Edgar Wind: Art and Embodiment*, eds. Jaynie Anderson, Fabio Tonini, and Bernardino Branca (Bristol: Peter Lang Limited and International Academic Publishers, 2024), pp. 353-384.

62. Albrecht Dürer, “Water Mill,” *WUSTL Digital Gateway Image Collections & Exhibitions*, <http://omeka.wustl.edu/omeka/items/show/7740> (accessed 9 June 2024).

63. Carly Richardson, “Sacrifice to Priapus and the Mystery of Jacopo de’ Barbari,” *University of Melbourne Collections* 25 (2019): pp. 22-23.

64. Georges Duplessis, *The Wonders of Engraving* (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1871), p. 325.

65. Batchen, *Apparition*, p. 173.

66. John Oliver Hand and Martha Wolff, *Early Netherlandish Painting The Collections of the National Gallery of Art: Systematic Catalogue* (Washington, DC: The National Gallery of Art, 1986), p. 93, <https://www.nga.gov/content/dam/ngaweb/research/publications/pdfs/early-netherlandish-painting.pdf> (accessed 10 June 2024).

67. Saint Louis Art Museum, online catalogue record for *The Silver Goblet*, <https://www.slam.org/collection/objects/33818/> (accessed 27 July 2024).

68. Georges Wildenstein, *Chardin: biographie et catalogue critiques l’œuvre complet de l’artiste reproduit en deux cent trent-huit héliogravures* (Paris: Les Beaux-Arts, 1921).

69. Doreen Carvajal and Carol Vogel, “Venerable Art Dealer Is Enmeshed in Lawsuits,” *New York Times*, 19 April 2011, <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/20/arts/design/wildenstein-art-gallery-is-beset-by-lawsuits.html> (accessed 26 July 2024).

70. Conway, *Domain of Art*, pp. 135-136.

71. “Needed art reform: Sir Martin Conway’s valuable hints in his new book,” in *New York Times (1857 -1922)*, 27 September 1902, ProQuest Historical Newspapers, The New York Times, pg.BR5. <https://www.nytimes.com/1902/09/27/archives/needed-art-reform-sir-martin-conways-valuable-hints-in-his-new-book.html> (accessed 10 June 2024).

72. Costanza Caraffa & Courtauld Institute of Art & Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, *Photo Archives and the Photographic Memory of Art History* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2011), p. 44.