

John Brampton Philpot's photographs of fictile ivory in the Hungarian National Museum¹

In commemoration of the bicentenary of Ferenc Pulszky's birth

Júlia Papp

Institute for Art History, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

Peer review and editing managed by:

Judit Faludy, Institute for Art History, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

Reviewers:

Zsuzsa Farkas, János Eisler

Abstract

In the Archeological Archives of the Hungarian National Museum you can find a series of photographs depicting fictile ivory. Made up of 265 items, the series were produced by John Brampton Philpot, born in the UK and settled in Florence in the middle of the 19th century, then donated to the museum by Ferenc Pulszky in 1868. Turned to exile in 1849, Pulszky inherited his belated uncle's valuable ivory collection, which was exhibited in London in 1853. Since technologies which made it possible for sensitive artefacts to be reproduced without any damage done to the original had become available by that time, Pulszky gave authorization, upon request of his colleagues at South Kensington Museum, for the reproduction of his ivory collection. In 1863 Pulszky started to live in Florence, where he got into professional contact with Philpot and is likely to have been instrumental in the making of the above photo series of fictile ivory. Philpot published an individual catalogue of these series, which despite its misspellings and erroneous data has provided great assistance in identifying the photographs from Budapest. Philpot's series of photographs supplied a lot of important information for the European history of photographing and collecting art treasures in the 19th century, and also contributed to the art reproduction movement of the 1850-60s. New technologies (electrotyping, photography) came to play a dominant role in the institutional development of art history, archeology and historic conservation. The network established and widened between the European public and private collections, which enhanced the exchange and the sales of art reproductions, with the intention of serving both educative and scientific aims.

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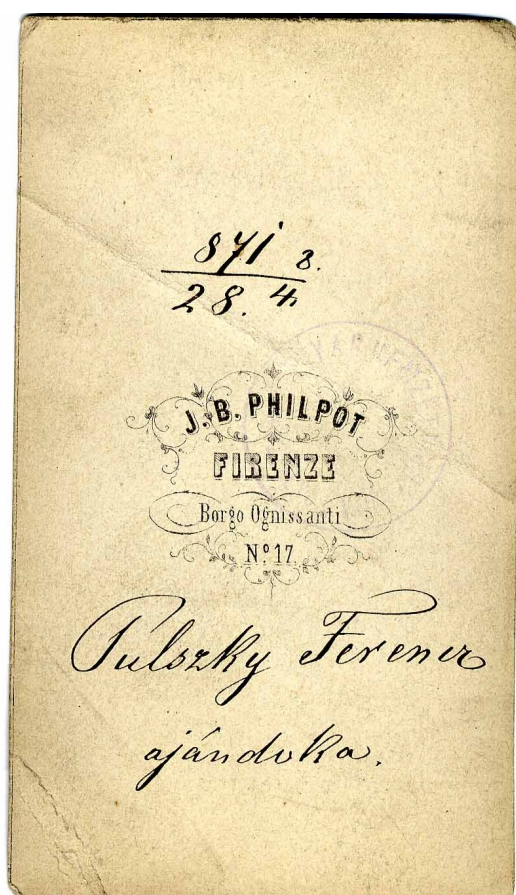
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[1] Searching in the photographic archives of the Hungarian National Museum's central database, you can find a series of photographs (in Box. No. 30) consisting of 265 items, which depict fictile ivory from the ancient, medieval and early modern ages. Dry-stamped by the artist with the inscription "*J. B. Philpot Firenze Lungo l'Arno*", 151 out of these items are of a larger format (27,4 x 19,7 cm), while the remaining 114 are of a

¹ The present study has been accomplished within the framework of a cooperation between the Hungarian National Museum and the Research Center for Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS). I have to thank the Hungarian National Museum for the reproductions I used as illustrations for my work. This research was supported by the Hungarian Institute Balassi, the National Cultural Fund of Hungary (NKA) and the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (Italy).

smaller format (11,5 x 6,7 cm) and completed with only a note on the verso saying "J. B. Philpot Firenze Borgo Ognissanti No 17"² – thus the photographs were taken by John Brampton Philpot (1812-1878)³, born in the UK (Maidstone) and settled in Florence in 1850. The back of each of these items is provided with the registration date of 1871 and a manuscript inscription, which reads "by courtesy of Ferenc Pulszky"; that is to say, the series were donated by Ferenc Pulszky (1814-1897) to the library of the museum, which had come under his direction in 1869. (Fig. 1)



1 John Brampton Philpot: Photograph, verso,
Hungarian National Museum

² On the verso of the small format photographs no. 3/a, 4/a, 1/b, 2/b, 5/a neither a note nor a dry stamp is visible.

³ Piero Becchetti, *Fotografi e fotografia in Italia, 1839–1880*. Roma 1978, 20, 36, 65; I. Zannier, *Storia della fotografia italiana*, Roma – Bari 1986, 17; Michele Falzone del Barbarò, Monica Maffioli, Emanuela Sesti, *Alle origini della fotografia: un itinerario toscano 1839–1880*, Firenze 1989, 33, 45–46, 214; Boda von Dewitz, Dietmar Siegert, Karin Schuller-Procopovici, *Italien sehen und sterben. Photographien der Zeit des Risorgimento (1845–1870)*, Köln 1994, 52–53, 273, 282; Dorothea Ritter, ed., *Florenz und die Toskana, Photographien 1840–1900. Sammlung Siegert*, Heidelberg 1997, 27; Giovanni Fanelli, *L'anima dei luoghi. La Toscana nella fotografia stereoscopica*, Firenze 2001; Tamassia 2002; Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, *Gli Alinari*, Firenze 2003, 200, 243, 362; Tamassia 2004, 66–67; Roger Taylor, Larry John Schaaf, *Impressed by Light: British Photographs from Paper Negatives, 1840–1860*, New Haven 2007; *Éloge du négatif. Les débuts de la photographie sur papier en Italie (1846–1862)*. Exhibition catalogue of the Petit Palais in Paris (Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris) 18 February – 2 May 2010, Paris 2010, 141–143, 231; Fanelli (for abbreviations see the bibliography at the end of the article).

[2] These series of photographs serve as a spectacular example of "reproductive continuum"⁴ – which played a dominant role in the museological, educational and collector practices of the second half of 19th century – i.e., the contact of the different reproductive techniques of art treasures⁵ (drawings, etchings, plaster casts and electrotypes, paper mosaics, photographs, post cards in mass production and distribution, reproducing replicas of statues for cultural purposes⁶). A series of photographs made of fictile ivory, that is, a copy of copies, proves a useful illustration of the mutual influence these reproductive techniques exerted on each other.⁷

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Art reproductions in Europe in the second half of the 19th century

[3] By the second half of the 19th century the collection of art reproductions had acquired a new function: by becoming commonly available in Europe, then soon in the United States⁸, these collections received a relevant mass educative, cultural and pedagogical role for the benefit of public visitors to the museums, and broke the monopoly of practicing or training artists and scientists to study art treasure and ornamentation at the same time and place in the various museums or private collections of the world or those decorating the exterior or interior of different buildings.

[4] Since purchasing plaster cast and electrotpe reproductions of art had become more and more popular after the 1850s, both with private individuals (mainly collectors, scientists, architects and artists) and public institutions (museums, universities, art academies), enterprises dealing with reproduction work and organizations trusted with its sales also started to flourish. Established at the end of the 1840's and operating throughout the end of the 19th century, the British Arundel Society⁹, for example, organized meetings, lectures and exhibitions for the intention of collectors or anyone interested, and published catalogues with photographic illustrations of the reproductions on sale at the society.

⁴ Baker 2010.

⁵ Baker 2010. For more cf.: Trevor Fawcett, "Plane Surfaces and Solid Bodies: Reproducing Three-Dimensional Art in the Nineteenth Century", in: *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation* 4 (1987), Issue 1, 1–23.

⁶ Axel Gampp, "Plaster Casts and Postcards: the postcard edition of the Musée de Sculpture Comparée at Paris", in: *Plaster Casts 2010*, 501–518.

⁷ In the second half of the 19th century it was quite common during an exhibition to place an original work of art and its reproduction or photograph next to one another. Apart from South Kensington Museum – where in 1885 they placed fictile ivory in line with original medieval ivory carvings in order to give an encyclopedic overview of the art history of the period (Baker 2010, 494) – this trend was also transparent in the 1882 historical book exhibition of Budapest, where a series of renaissance illuminated codices borrowed from foreign libraries were exhibited together with photographs of other codices, the originals of which could not be brought to Budapest by the organizers. Farkas – Papp 2007, 130; Papp 2009, 221.

⁸ For example Katherine A. Schwab, *Castings the Past: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Cast Collection at Fairfield University*, Fairfield University 1994.

⁹ Tanya Ledger, *A study of the Arundel Society 1848–1897*. DPhil. University of Oxford 1978, <http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:b781808b-1560-4c80-8801-a052c71f9511>.

[5] In commissioning art reproductions, the London based Victoria & Albert Museum, formerly known as South Kensington Museum,¹⁰ played a leading role among all the museums and managed to establish a fruitful relationship with individuals and companies specialized in reproducing art. Among its returning contractors figured the pioneer of electrotyping, the Birmingham based Elkington Company, which patented their revolutionary method in 1840. In 1853 the company received authorization from the museum to reproduce and market some of its properties.¹¹

[6] The first director of South Kensington museum, Henry Cole (1808-1882), made relevant efforts to promote the reproductions of the museum's collection, because he presumed these played an important part in shaping public education, culture, and taste. Encouraged by the success of Elkington Company during the 1867 World's Fair in Paris, he drafted a convention entitled the "International Convention for Promoting Universally Reproductions of Works of Art", which intended to drive forward the mutual interchange of "cast, electrotype, photographic or any other type" of reproductions from major European museums. According to the original copy, which has been conserved up to this day, this convention was signed by 15 European princes. Cole's efforts proved finally successful and in 1873 the reproductions of architectural monuments and sculptures commissioned by the museum were first exhibited in the monumental twin halls of the freshly inaugurated Architectural Courts (today known as the Cast courts).¹² In 1873 the museum published a catalogue of the electrotype reproductions they had made of the original pieces in their collections, a total of 80 items completed with high quality photographic illustrations.¹³

[7] In the 1850s a photographic wave started in Western Europe aimed at reproducing relevant architectural monuments¹⁴ and the most valuable art treasures of major museums (British Museum, South Kensington Museum, Louvre) and other collections.¹⁵

¹⁰ Illustrated 1873; cf.: Bilbey 2007, 160–161; Malcolm Baker, "The history of the Cast Courts", <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/t/the-cast-courts/> (this and all other URLs in this article were last accessed 10 June 2014).

¹¹ Bilbey 2007, 164.

¹² Bilbey 2007, 165, 169–171; Bilbey 2010, 466; Marie-Louise von Plessen, Julius Bryant, eds., *Művészet mindenkinek* [Art for everyone]. Exhibition catalogue of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Iparművészeti Múzeum, Budapest 2012, 185–186.

¹³ Illustrated 1873. Among the largest collections of art reproduction in the 19th century figured that of the Musée de la Sculpture comparée, founded at the beginning of the 1880s on the proposition of architect Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879) and located in the four grand halls of the Palais du Trocadéro in Paris, open for the public and exhibiting plaster cast reproductions of the architectural and sculptural monuments of France.

¹⁴ Anne de Mondenard, *La Mission héliographique. Cinq photographes parcourent la France en 1851*, Paris 2002; Bernd Carqué, "'Les planches précèdent toujours le texte [...]'. Bilder vom Mittelalter in den 'Voyages pittoresques et romantique' und der 'Mission héliographique'", in: Marosi – Klanciczay 2006, 277–304; *All the Mighty World. The Photographs of Roger Fenton, 1852–1860*. Catalogue by Gordon Baldwin, Malcolm Daniel, Sarah Greenough, New York – Washington 2004.

¹⁵ John Physick, *Photography and the South Kensington Museum*, London 1975; Helene E. Roberts, ed., *Art History through the Camera's Lens*, London 1995; Anthony J. Hamber, "A Higher Branch of the Art". *Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839–1880*, Amsterdam 1996; Mark Haworth-

From the middle of the 19th century onwards European cultural institutions spent more and more on acquisitions of photographic series made up of hundreds – occasionally thousands – of items reproducing the content of national or foreign public and private collections, permanent and temporary exhibitions, as well as architectural monuments, which then became an integral part (linked to historical preservation, to maintenance of art treasure for museums, to scientific research, to education)¹⁶ in the recently-born institutional system of art history and archeology.

[8] Apart from photographers and art dealers, museums occasionally also took up the role of distributor for photographic art reproductions. Supported by the Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education, in 1869 South Kensington Museum and Arundel Society jointly published a price catalogue, which, apart from presenting chromolithographs and engravings, promotes photographs in support of artistic education and – as it says on the cover – for the aim of making arts widely popular.¹⁷ The catalogue made mention of 13 – or to be more precise twenty – items in the series, and projected the completion of another 11 series of photo reproductions.¹⁸ Among the series for sale figured a collection depicting the gold of Petrossa found in Romania in the 1830s, and the photos are most likely to have been taken at the World's Fair of 1867 in Paris, where the artefact itself was first publicly unveiled.¹⁹ A high dissemination of photo reproductions can be well demonstrated by 13 photographs of the same antique artefact made in 1869 by Bucharest based photographer Henrik Trenk, and commissioned by Bucharest based scientist Alexandru Odobescu (1834-1895), who later donated and sent these series to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (HAS) in Budapest.²⁰ (Fig. 2)

Booth, Anne McCauley, *The Museum & The Photograph. Collecting Photography at the Victoria and Albert Museum 1853–1900*, Williamstown 1998; Anthony Hamber, "Photography in nineteenth-century art publications", in: Rodney Palmer, Thomas Frankenberg, eds., *The Rise of the Image: Essays on the History of the Illustrated Art Book*, Burlington 2003, 215–244. Charles Thurston Thompson, the official photographer of South Kensington Museum, made thousands of photographs – of the collections of the Louvre in Paris, among others (*Photographs by C. Thurston Thompson*. Vol. 1.) – to be found today in the Prints and Drawings Study Room of the Victoria & Albert Museum.

¹⁶ "The student of early art must not fail to examine the extremely valuable and numerous collections of photographs of art treasures accumulated in the Fine Art Library of the South Kensington Museum." Westwood 1876, XIII.

¹⁷ Catalogue 1869. Just like the reproduction catalogue mentioned earlier, this publication also disclosed the documents, letters and announcements of the 19th century British movement involved in making and distributing art reproductions. Catalogue 1869, 3–8.

¹⁸ Catalogue 1869, 17–32.

¹⁹ Catalogue 1869, 21.

²⁰ Farkas – Papp 2007, 83. Dissemination of photographic reproductions of art is well demonstrated by the high quality large format (38 x 18 cm) photograph of Consul Areobindus' ivory tablet from the beginning of the 6th century, made by the English James Baker Pyne in 1864 and filed in the archives of the Department of Manuscripts of the HAS. MTAK Kézirattár, Ms 4402/96–108. Photographs of art treasure made by the same Pyne were exhibited in the London Photo Expo of 1862.



2 Henrik Trenk: Photograph of Petrossa Treasure, 1869, Library and Information Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

[9] The question of art reproduction by means of photography, plaster cast or electrotype was equally raised during the first Art History Congress held in Vienna in 1873. In the 5th chapter of the Congress entitled "*Reproductionen von Kunstwerken und deren Verbreitung im Interesse der Museen und des Kunstunterrichtes*", participants discussed the international implications involved in the making and the distribution of art reproductions, as well as in their application for museological and educational purposes.²¹

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Fictile ivory in the 19th century

[10] By the middle of the 19th century, as new reproduction techniques gained grounds without the risk to damage valuable art treasures, fictile ivory became more and more popular,²² for commercial, cultural and scientific usage equally. Excellent Italian

²¹ "1. In wessen Händen liegen gegenwärtig in Deutschland, Oesterreich, Frankreich, Italien, England und Belgien die Reproduktionen von Werken des Alterthums und der Kunst? 2. In wie weit können und sollen Regierungen auf die Reproduktionen durch Private Einfluss nehmen? – Sollen Staatsanstalten bei Reproduktionen mitwirken und in welchem Maasse? 3. Welche Erfahrungen hat man mit den verschiedenen Reproductionsmaterialien gemacht? 4. Sollen s y s t e m a t i s c h e Reproduktionen und in welcher Weise veranlasst werden, – speciell für Zwecke d e s Kunstunterrichtes und des kunstgeschichtlichen Unterrichtes? 5. Soll auf die Preise der von öffentlichen Anstalten reproducirten Gegenstände und in welcher Weise eingewirkt werden? 6. Auf welcher Grundlage können öffentliche Anstalten unter einander mit reproducirten Werken in Tausch treten?", in: *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1983), 20–21. Cf.: Gerhard Schmidt, *Die internationalen Kongresse für Kunstgeschichte*, in: *Ibid.*, 10; Marosi 2006, 330.

²² Helen Rufus-Ward (University of Sussex), "Casts of Thousands: The Rise and Fall of the Fictile Ivory", paper delivered at the Association of Art Historians Annual Conference 2011, 31 March – 2 April, University of Warwick. Section: Same Difference: Material Cultures of Reproduction.

reproduction craftsman (*formatore*) Giovanni Franchi (ca. 1812–1874),²³ the first to use gelatin-based casting techniques in the UK, received an Award by the Society of Arts for making the finest fictile ivory at the end of the 1840s, and was known to achieve relevant commercial success, too.²⁴ His reproductions were staged at the World's Fair of 1855 in Paris.²⁵ Spurred on by the commercial sales activity of Arundel Society, in the 1850s reproduction of ivory carvings belonging to European museums, church treasuries and private collections started to gain higher and higher proportions:

*In the spring of 1855 the Society became possessed of a valuable collection of moulds and other materials for the manufacture of casts, representing, nearly in facsimile, some of the most interesting specimens of ancient ivory-carvings now in existence [...].*²⁶

[11] During the first annual meeting of the society in 1855 Matthew Digby Wyatt²⁷ (1820–1877) gave a historical lecture on ivory carvings, making ample references to the experts' opinions and the relevant collections of his time. In the same year Arundel Society commissioned Edmund Oldfield (1817–1902), member of the society's executive committee and one of the founding members, too, to make good use of Wyatt's lecture and classify the different fictile ivories representing different schools and periods. Describing all known types on sale,²⁸ Oldfield's catalogue was published in 1855, then a year later its completed version came out, with 9 albumin photo illustrations by J. A. Spencer and the transcript of Wyatt's lecture.²⁹ The catalogue included ca. 150 reproductions, plus a pair of 12 items representing the details of the ivory casket of the Cathedral of Sens, and Oldfield's description of the reproduction process itself. The actual fictile ivory collection classified in a chronological order by Oldfield was then exhibited in the society's office.³⁰

[12] In the prologue of the catalogue, Oldfield stresses that fictile ivory is from a financial point of view immaterial, since a whole collection would cost less than one piece of original ivory carving, and yet, for the art historian, a series of collections can provide a multitude of information compared to what you can learn out of a single original piece

²³ http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib7_1206614685; <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes>.

²⁴ *Art Journal* 14 (1875), 44. Cf.: http://sculpture.gla.ac.uk/view/person.php?id=msib7_1206614685.

²⁵ Daily News, 23 April 1855. Cf.: <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes>; V&A Archive, MA/1/F1178; *Art Journal* 5 (1866), 286–287.

²⁶ Wyatt – Oldfield 1856, n. p.

²⁷ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Matthew Digby Wyatt, the first Cambridge Slade Professor of fine art: an Inaugural Lecture*, Cambridge 1950.

²⁸ Oldfield 1855.

²⁹ Wyatt – Oldfield 1856. Cf.: Helmut Gernsheim, *Incunabula of British photographic literature: a bibliography of British photographic literature, 1839–75, and British books illustrated with original photographs*, London 1984, item 51, 23.

³⁰ Wyatt – Oldfield 1856, 27.

in any isolated European collection; then he goes on to relate how the collection of reproductions came about.³¹ He adds a list with the names of the owners of the original ivory carvings, ranking from private collectors to public institutions and churches.³²

[13] Giving a detailed description, two decades later, of the production and sale processes of art replicas, John Obadiah Westwood (1805–1893) published another catalogue with a systematic classification of the fictile ivory which completes the original ivory collection of South Kensington Museum.³³ According to the introduction of the catalogue, the 1850s saw Alexander Nesbitt (1817–1886), and Westwood himself, contributing to the improvement of art reproduction technologies. In order to manufacture the best moulds possible for their reproductions, Westwood and Nesbitt paid a visit to a large number of European museums, treasuries and other collections, where they could work with original ivory carvings. As we read on, we can learn that the finest plaster casts based on the moulds of Nesbitt, Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826–1897) and Westwood – and including not only those sold by Arundel Society, but also the complete collection of fictile ivory at South Kensington Museum – were manufactured by Franchi Company.³⁴

[14] In this catalogue of monumental proportions (including 975 items and 24 photo illustrations) we are to witness the rising popularity of making art reproductions, and the author undertakes to give us an overview of the continental collections of ancient and medieval ivory carvings *"in order to direct attention to the specimens of which it would be desirable to obtain fictile copies for the museum."*³⁵ He then gives the precise location of the original pieces.

[15] British governmental body Science and Art Department provided an opportunity for art schools and museums to acquire these fictile copies for educational, scientific and cultural purposes.³⁶ In 1876 the department published another shorter catalogue, functioning as a price list, which, unlike Westwood's chronological classification, listed the fictile ivory of South Kensington museum in order of the registration numbers, indicating with each of the items the selling price of copies available at Elkington Company or Arundel Society.³⁷ At the beginning of the catalogue a copy of the convention promoting

³¹ *"Its formation is chiefly due to the zeal and taste of Mr. Alexander Nesbitt; but valuable additions have been contributed by Mr. Westwood, the Author of Palaeographia Sacra, and Mr. Franks, of the British Museum."* Wyatt – Oldfield 1856, 27.

³² Wyatt – Oldfield 1856, 31–32.

³³ Westwood 1876.

³⁴ Westwood 1876, XI–XIII.

³⁵ Westwood 1876, IX.

³⁶ Bilbey 2007, 169; Baker 2010, 491; Williamson 2010, 15–18.

³⁷ Reproductions 1876. Another extended version of the catalogue bearing the same title was published in 1890, including this time 112 pages instead of the former 88: Reproductions 1890. The difference is that the catalogue of 1890 mentions with each item the item codes of the Westwood catalogue of 1876, and includes a 10-page supplement of concordance charts between

the exchange of art reproduction, several official letters and memoranda were enclosed. Apart from Victoria & Albert Museum³⁸, today we can find relevant collections of 19th century fictile ivory in many public institutions.³⁹

[16] Still in the middle of the 19th century, a friend of Ferenc Pulszky's, Imre Henszlmann (1813–1888), underlined the importance of the different kinds of reproductions besides original art treasure if you want to get a universal picture of art history, based on the artefact of the different nations and periods.⁴⁰ Pulszky seemed to be of the same opinion according to his lecture of 1852 in London, dealing with the optimal arrangement of museological items:

In the Glyptothek of Munich and the Museum of Berlin collections were conceived on the basis of a general, not a comprehensive plan; by preference of architectural effects and on account of demonstrating royal majesty, completion by plaster cast of the missing parts of monumental art history had been refused, although this was the only way for these museums to become an art school and form authentic historical archives [...].

Among all civilized people, museums should be able to give a perfect picture of art history. All art treasure, which has been forged by the artistic flair of past centuries should be ranged into collections [...] When establishing such a national institution, it is not the rarity of the artefact that prevails but the completeness of the collection; it should be provided for that no work of art is missing from it if it is representative of a given artistic period of a given people; where you cannot acquire the missing part out of marble or copper, plaster casts ought to be used instead. By visiting a museum hall, you would then be able to cover 30 centuries of civilization, each century being represented by some artwork, in commemoration of a civilizational milestone beset by the path of human progress, showing us all stages of its glory and fall.⁴¹

the copy codes and the Westwood codes.

³⁸ The fictile ivory collection of the museum is guarded in seven locked window cases at Cast Courts. I would like to thank museum curator Glyn Davies for unlocking the cases and thus providing me great assistance in my research work in London.

³⁹ For example the collection of ca. 800 items of Powerhouse Museum (Sydney, Australia) acquired in the 1880s (<http://www.powerhousemuseum.com/collection/database>); Wolverhampton Art Gallery (http://blackcountryhistory.org/collections/search/?q=fictile+ivory&cb_submit=Search); Dublin, National Museum of Ireland, etc.

⁴⁰ Tímár Árpád, ed., *Henszlmann Imre, Válogatott képzőművészeti írások* [Imre Henszlmann, Selected writings on fine arts], Budapest 1990, 156. Cf.: Marosi 2006, 321, 329–330.

⁴¹ *Magyar Múzeumok* 2 (1996/1), 28. In 1869, as soon as Pulszky became director of the National Museum of Budapest, he started to prepare a collection he meant to be of European quality and to consist of reproductions of antique statues. Szentesi Edit, "Görög szobrászattörténeti másolatgyűjtemény a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban a 19. század harmadik harmadában" [A collection of reproductions depicting the history of greek sculptures in the Hungarian National Museum in the third quarter of the 19th century], in: *Ókor. Folyóirat az antik kultúráról* 5 (2006/1), 20–26. http://www.ookor.hu/archive/cikk/2006_1_szentesi.pdf; *ibid.*, "Szobrászattörténeti másolatgyűjtemények a Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumban a 19. század utolsó harmadában. I. Pulszky Ferenc görög szobrászattörténeti másolatgyűjteménye" [A collection of reproductions depicting the history of sculptures in the Hungarian National Museum in the third quarter of the 19th century. I. Ferenc Pulszky's collection of reproductions depicting the history of greek sculptures], in: *Művészettörténeti értesítő* 55 (2006/1), 1–94; Andó Géza – Szentesi Edit, "Az egykor volt budapesti gipsz szobormásolatok gyűjteménye." [The former plaster cast sculpture collection of Budapest], in: *Múzeumcafé* 3 (2009), October–November, no. 13, 32–36.

[17] In the art collection of Pulszky's uncle, Gábor Fejérváry,⁴² figured a group of antique, byzantine and medieval ivory carvings of outstanding art historical importance. Many of them had been acquired from local collectors, either through exchange or by purchase from their legacies. Around 1843 Ferenc Pulszky started to prepare a catalogue for the collection, but his initial notes remained unfinished.⁴³

[18] Pulszky took part in the Hungarian revolution and the war of Independence of 1848–1849, then settled in London,⁴⁴ where he soon joined the intellectual and cultural circles, especially those forming around museums and collectors.⁴⁵ Fejérváry died at the end of November 1851. After a few months following the death of his uncle, Pulszky found a way to bring the collection he had inherited from him to the UK.⁴⁶ He organized an exhibition out of the items of the Fejérváry collection between 23 May and 9 July at the locations of the Archaeological Institute of London, the catalogue of which was compiled by Imre Henszlmann staying at the time in London.⁴⁷ The catalogue listed the

⁴² Szilágyi 1988; Szilágyi 1997; János György Szilágyi, "Collezionismo e l'unità dell'umanità. La Collezione Fejérváry–Pulszky", in: Marosi – Klaniczay 2006, 115–126.

⁴³ The draft of the catalogue can be found at the Department of Mms. of Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár in Budapest (Fol. Germ. 1273 – ivory items: 39r–45v). Marosi 1997, 52; Szentesi Edit, "Egy másik gyűjtemény. Varsányi János rajzai Fejérváry Gábor elefántcsont faragványairól" [Another collection. János Varsányi's drawings of Gábor Fejérváry's ivory collection], in: Mikó Árpád, ed., *Jankovich Miklós (1772–1846) gyűjteményei* [The collections of Miklós Jankovich (1772–1846)], Budapest 2002, 32–44; Ernő Marosi, "A Fejérváry–Pulszky gyűjtemény későantik elefántcsont tárgyai és helyük koruk művészetében" [The late antique ivory objects of the Fejérváry–Pulszky collection and their place in the art of their period] Pronounced at: *The Fejérváry–Pulszky Collection and the Liber Antiquitatis*. Workshop, 10–11 February 2005, Collegium Budapest; Szilágyi János György, Szentesi Edit, eds., *Antiquitas Hungarica. Tanulmányok a Fejérváry–Pulszky-gyűjtemény és a Liber Antiquitatis történetéről* [Studies on the Fejérváry–Pulszky collection and the Liber Antiquitatis]. Collegium Budapest Workshop Series No. 16, Budapest [2005]; Szentesi Edit, "A Liber Antiquitatis", in: *Ókor. Folyóirat az antik kultúrákról* 9 (2010), no. 4, 66–67.

⁴⁴ Csorba László, "Pulszky Ferenc életútja" [Life of Ferenc Pulszky], in: Pulszky 1997, 11–18, and Kabdebó Tamás, "Pulszky az emigrációban" [Pulszky in exile], in: *Ibid.*, 19–23.

⁴⁵ "Officials of the [British] museum called once to ask me to give a public reading at the Royal London Institution, and tauntingly I replied I'd hold a lecture on the deficiencies of arrangement and management at the British Museum. They were match to my words so I ended up talking about many a circumstances, which the officials knew well about and blamed the elected management for. The reading proved successful. In retort Mr. Oldfield duly underlined those features of the British Museum which justify its supremacy over all the other European museums, but intentionally failed to answer to my findings; these discussions of ours saw no print afterwards." Pulszky 1958, 31. Cf.: Riedl Frigyes, *Magyarok Rómában* [Hungarians in Rome], Budapest 1900, 48–54; David M. Wilson, "Pulszky's 1851 London Lectures", in: Marosi – Klaniczay 2006, 127–140; Sir David M. Wilson, "A Hungarian in London: Pulszky's 1851 lecture", in: *Journal of the History of Collections* 22 (2010/2), 271–278; Williamson 2010, 14.

⁴⁶ Szilágyi 1997, 28; Pulszky 1958, 31.

⁴⁷ Henszlmann 1853. "The antique collection of my belated uncle has arrived in London. I had known its artistic and archeological value well and I wanted to show it to the English public since I was very proud of it and I knew how high it would rank among the other private collections. Fejérváry had had all his famous objects drawn, so I handed the drawings to the secretary of the archeological institute in Rome, Braun Emilio, who, on the basis of these drawings, made a full introduction to the collection through various issues of the *Bullettino del istituto*. The archeological society in London, whom I had previously contacted, was only too pleased to let me exhibit my collection in public, using their locations and cabinets. Henszlmann, who was in London at that time wrote a catalogue to it. The collection consisted of several parts, some of it a selection of Egyptian treasury from the collection of baron Stürmer, [...] a collection of ivory reliefs, which

total collection on exhibit, including the valuable ivory collection,⁴⁸ which Henszlmann – and the foreign press with him – considered as the biggest of all, in line only with the collection of the Library of Paris.⁴⁹ As a good example of "reproductive continuum", the exhibition aligned original art work and reproductions: "*Cast of a Consular Diptych in the treasure of the Cathedral of Halberstadt in Germany*" – according to the catalogue.⁵⁰

[19] The ivory carvings exhibited in 1853 in London, provided experts with the opportunity of comparing the transition period between roman and medieval arts but – as Pulszky writes in his memoirs – their research was invariably hindered by

the quasi impossibility of reproduction, for previously no private, nor public collector would allow for their ivory reliefs to be reproduced in plaster for fear that this process by wetting the originals may damage them. However I conceded the request of Mr. Nesbitt, and let him cast my ivory antiques in gelatin, then have them eletrotyped by Franchi, formatore of South-Kensington Museum,⁵¹ on condition that if this reproduction method is extended and an exchange program between the collectors starts, I should have a right of option in acquiring the exchange copies first. I finally managed especially after the French museum was so quick to approve of the casting and exchange programs. Thus came to life the plaster cast collection originally been made for the members of Arundel-society, and at the exhibition of which I made a speech too [...].⁵²

[20] Partly for family reasons, partly for his change of interest in collection trends⁵³, Pulszky sold some parts of his collection during his stay in the UK. The most valuable part of this collection, the set of ivory carvings,⁵⁴ was first proposed for sale for the British Museum but on account of a recent acquisition of the same nature, representatives of the museum turned down Pulszky's offer. In 1855 the ivory antiques ended up in the hands of Liverpool based merchant and jeweler Joseph Mayer (1803-1886), who in 1867 and in the course of the subsequent years donated them to the city museum of Liverpool

gives a fairly good representation of the relief's history, starting from the consular diptychs and the byzantine or carolingian carvings up to the XVIth century; [...] By means of this exhibition I managed to get to know the most famous collectors in London [...]." Pulszky 1958, 134–135.

⁴⁸ Henszlmann 1853, 38–41.

⁴⁹ Gibson 1994, XX.

⁵⁰ Henszlmann 1853, no. 659.

⁵¹ In his letter of 9 September 1854, J. O. Westwood asks permission for reproduction of two pieces of ivory carvings belonging to Pulszky's collection. OSZK, Dept. of Mms. Fond VIII/1158. Quoted by: Gibson 1994, 116, note 9.

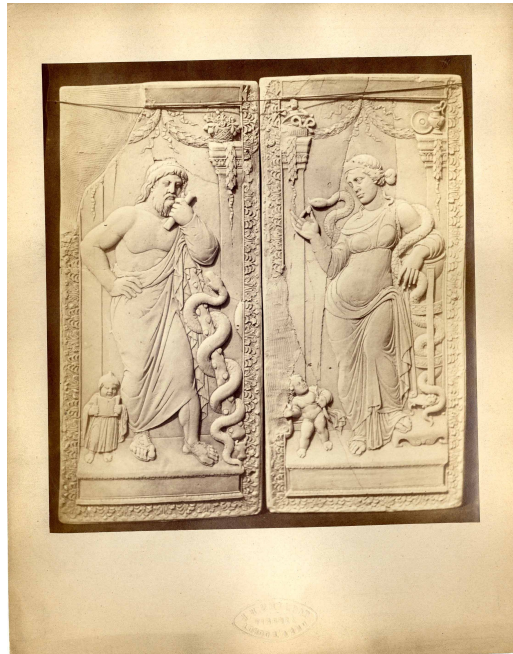
⁵² Pulszky 1958, 135.

⁵³ Pulszky 1958, 136.

⁵⁴ Szilágyi 1997, 29. "*He had a rather hard time to bid farewell to his invaluable ivory collection, whose loss is one of the most severe ones ever incurred by the public collections of Hungary.*" Szilágyi 1988, 37.

founded in 1851.⁵⁵ Upon Mayer's request Pulszky made a catalogue for his ivory carving collection, referring himself to the work of Edmund Oldfield mentioned earlier:

*Still, we shall try to group them [i.e. the byzantine carvings] in some rather extensive classes, thus, for instance, as Mr Oldfield did, in his excellent catalogue of the casts of the Arundel Society.*⁵⁶



3 John Brampton Philpot: Photograph of Two Fictile Ivories – Asklépios-Hygieia diptych, Hungarian National Museum

⁵⁵ Gibson 1994, XX–XXI. "[...] the collection is now exhibited in the museum of Liverpool in the company of several prehistorical bronze objects from Hungary [...]." Pulszky 1958, 136. Cf.: C. T. Gatty, *Catalogue of Medieval and Later Antiquities contained in the Mayer Museum*, Liverpool 1883; C. T. Gatty, *Etruscan and Roman Antiquities in the Mayer Museum*, Liverpool 1883; Helen Rufus-Ward, "Collecting Byzantium: nineteenth-century responses to Joseph Mayer's Late Antique and Byzantine ivories", paper delivered at the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of London, 22 October 2009.

⁵⁶ Pulszky 1856, 30. "This lengthy introductory study (*General Remarks on Antique Ivory Carvings*) was considered as a pioneering work in its time and today it is still worth reading." Szilágyi 1997, 29.



4 John Brampton Philpot: Photograph of Two Fictile Ivories – Venatio-panel, Hungarian National Museum

[21] Pulszky's activity and the Fejérváry collection soon became an integral part of the Western European scientific life. In London in his lecture on drinking horns Matthew Digby Wyatt said:

*They have been supposed by M. Pulszky, and other authorities, to have been executed in some of the Portuguese settlements, either in Africa or the East. The most important specimens of this class are to be found in the Fejérváry, the Kircherian, the Florentine, and the Newcastle-on-Tyne collections.*⁵⁷

[22] Speaking of Pulszky's collection Wyatt ranks it among the richest collections of ivory carvings.⁵⁸ In the reproduction catalogue of Arundel Society, Oldfield lists ten items out of Pulszky's collection, stressing two of its best known items, the Asklépios-Hygieia diptych (Fig. 3) and the Venatio panel.⁵⁹ (Fig. 4)

⁵⁷ Wyatt – Oldfield 1856, 11.

⁵⁸ Wyatt – Oldfield 1856, 15. Wyatt in his lecture of 1855 made a detailed description of a retable – found in the collection of Joseph Daniel Böhm (1794–1865), Pulszky's former mentor and friend on behalf of his father, as well as director of the imperial numismatic collection in Vienna – which David Falcke had bought from him. Wyatt – Oldfield 1856, 14–15. The art work, which has been kept in the British Museum after the museum acquired it in 1858 (reg. no.: OA.1343. Cf.: Dalton 1909, no. 390, pl. XCII; P. Pieper, "Zwei deutsche Altarflügel des 13. Jahrhunderts im British Museum", in: *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 3 (1964), 215–228; *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte, Kunst, Kultur*, ed. by Reiner Haussherr and Christian Väterlein, exhibition catalogue, Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum, 1977, no. 432.) is estimated by recent research study to date back to the late 18th century Germany. *Fake? The Art of Deception*, ed. by M. Jones, exhibition catalogue, London British Museum 1990, no. 2.

⁵⁹ Wyatt – Oldfield 1856, 4. Cf.: Gibson 1994, Kat. 5, 6, 7. On the Venatio panel cf.: Kádár Zoltán, Tóth Anna, *Az egyszarvú és egyéb állatfajták Bizáncban* [The unicorn and other animals in Byzantine], [Budapest] 2000, 86.



5 John Brampton Philpot: Photograph of a Fictile Ivory – Stilicho-diptych, Hungarian National Museum

[23] Writing on the ancient and medieval ivory carvings of South Kensington Museum, expert of the middle-ages and collector William Maskell (ca. 1814–1890) makes several mention of Pulszky's approach. Describing the so-called Stilicho-diptych of the cathedral of Monza (Fig. 5), he criticizes him for dating it back to age of Valentinianus III:

*So attributed by Mr. Pulszky: but Mr. Oldfield, a much better authority, suggests that it may have been given to Valentinian II., in which case the date would be about A.D. 380. The earlier date is supported by the great beauty and admirable execution of the diptych.*⁶⁰

[24] In contemporary literature on the history of ivory carvings the items of the Fejérváry-Pulszky collection and Pulszky's catalogue of 1856 regularly appear.⁶¹ In the

⁶⁰ William Maskell, *Description of the Ivories Ancient & Mediaeval in the South Kensington Museum*, London 1872, XXIX. Made in ca. 395, the diptych represents high rank Roman military officer Flavius Stilicho (Stilico) (ca. 359–408), his wife Serena and his son Eucherius under the reign of Valentinianus II (375–392). Oldfield in his catalogue relates Pulszky's opinion: "The standing figures of the Lady and the Boy have been explained by Mr. Pulszky with much probability as representing the Regent Galla Placidia, and her son Valentinian III." Wyatt – Oldfield 1856, 4. Pulszky writes in his memoir that during his lecture at the exhibition of Arundel society "I pointed out that the figures of the diptych of Monza refer to Valentinia and his mother on the one hand, and on the other, to Theodosius." Pulszky 1958, 135. Pulszky's view on certain pieces are quoted by Maskell in another publication: William Maskell, *Ivories Ancient and Medieval. Published for the Committee of Council on Education by Scribner, Welford, and Armstrong*, London 1876, 27, 31, 33, 34, etc.

⁶¹ Émile Molinier, *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie du Ve à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*. I. *Ivoires*, Paris 1896, 2, 13, 51, 81, etc.; O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Early Christian Era, with Examples of Mohammedan Art and Carvings in Bone in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum*, London 1909, XV, XLIX, 32, 126; Richard Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychon und verwandte Denkmäler*, Berlin – Leipzig 1929, XVIII. "In der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jh.s kam die Forschung nicht wesentlich weiter, obwohl das Niveau sich hob; charakteristisch für diese Zeit ist das kluge Buch Pulszkys (1856). Ein neuer Anstoß erfolgte durch die Sammlung von Photographien und Abgüssen, welche die Arundel-Society

introduction of his fundamental publication, Adolf Goldschmidt (1864–1944) underlines that although in his work published in the middle of the 18th century and entitled "*Thesaurus veterum diptychorum ...*", Antonio Francesco Gori (1691–1757) drew public attention on this sector, systematic collection started only in the 19th century when in 1853 in London the Fejérváry collection, which is so rich in ivory carvings, was brought before the public. Apart from the efforts made by Westwood, Nesbitt, Franks, Wyatt and the Arundel Society, he makes mention of Pulszky's catalogue of 1856, as well as the publications of William Maskell and Westwood, which established the grounds for further comparative research in the sector.⁶²

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The photographic series of John Brampton Philpot

[25] From 1859 Ferenc Pulszky stayed in Torino,⁶³ then in 1863 settled in Florence, where he kept a rather popular literary saloon in a rented mansion called Villa Petrovich Sulla Costa situated over Via Bardi. As part of the celebrations all over Italy on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of Dante's birth, he gave a party in his saloon and made a speech on the dinner gala organized at Palazzo Serristori.⁶⁴

[26] In September 1866 Pulszky returned from immigration to Hungary and three years later occupied the position of director to the National Museum of Hungary (1869–1894). During the meeting of the archeological committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1868 an announcement was made about a donation to the academy's library by committee member Ferenc Pulszky, of valuable books and an album of drawings [*Liber Antiquitatis*] after the collection of Gábor Fejérváry, as well as

*a rather high number of photographs representing almost the complete collection of ivory carvings.*⁶⁵

[27] Two years later the collection of photographs was transferred to the library of the Hungarian National Museum. Ferenc Pulszky

*gave a stunning gift to the museum library by offering a series of 272 photographic pages depicting ivory carvings for the intention of the museum. Hardly do we need to stress the progress in antique studies triggered by such collections, and thus the value of this gift shall speak for itself.*⁶⁶

in den fünfziger Jahren unternahm; auf ihr beruht in der Hauptsache Westwoods reicher Katalog (1876)." 2; Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts, bearbeitet von Adolph Goldschmidt und Kurt Weitzmann. Zweiter Band: Reliefs. Berlin 1934. Bibliography, n. p.

⁶² Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sächsischen Kaiser. VIII–XI. Jahrhundert*, I–IV, Berlin 1914–1926 (Nachdruck: Berlin – Oxford, 1969, 1970).

⁶³ Pulszky 1958, 370.

⁶⁴ Pulszky 1958, 378–379. Cf.: Erzsébet Király, "Paolo und Francesca um 1900. Wiederkehren mittelalterlicher Motive in der ungarischen Malerei der Jahrhundertwende", in: *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1997), 101.

⁶⁵ *Archaeologiai Közlemények* 7 (1868), 83; *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Értesítője* 2 (1868), 162–163.

[28] In Ferenc Pulszky's Memoirs we can find a great number of references to his views on photographing art work. Formerly kept in folders, the drawings of Raphael and Michelangelo were exhibited on the corridor connecting the palaces of Uffizi and Pitti in Florence. These handmade drawings

*had formerly been guarded in a stricter fashion than the engravings, so that when I first visited Florence back in 1833, I had to apply for a permission at the embassy for the guard of the picture gallery to show me the drawings of Rafael and Michelangelo, which were kept in a handy cabinet secured by a double lock. Beforehand hardly had there been five or six persons a year to see these art treasures, which, multiplied by means of photography and in public distribution, have become a piece of indispensable data in art history and have given the opportunity for every one dealing with renaissance culture to make their own personal judgment directly upon encountering the expression of great artists and the various stages of their creations.*⁶⁷

[29] Photos can also provide great assistance in differentiating the originals and the copies made of these drawings.

*In case of hand-made drawings such an identification between originals and copies had been almost impossible until photography came to multiply the original items kept in various collections and this way made it possible for them to be directly compared.*⁶⁸

[30] During the period before the rise of photography, Frankfurt based art collector Johann David Passavant (1787–1861) traveled around European museums and made an inventory of Raphael's works.

*His book came out in a time when hand-made drawings had not yet been multiplied by photography or photo printing, and especially when private owners used to think that multiplication by photography would deprive their art treasures of the privilege to be visited on any location or permission other than those approved of by themselves. Therefore a scrutinized comparison would have been impossible back then, and even public collections proved reluctant to have their hand-made drawings photographed, until Prince Albert, the husband of the Queen of England, made an exemplary action in this subject matter.*⁶⁹

[31] Being a fervent art collector, Albert decided to gather all the available works of Raphael, Michelangelo and Leonardo, together with the original engravings made after them, or the photographic reproductions of the latter. On account of the vast proportion of work his enterprise required from him, he ended up concentrating exclusively on Raphael.

⁶⁶ *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 4 (1870), 263. "On account of the rather modest proportions of his apartment in Budapest, he donated his books to the Academy, including archeological books, and the *Liber Antiquitatis* (although these were later transferred to the National Museum under his direction, and are being kept in the Archeological Library today)." Szilágyi 1988, 38. On Ferenc Pulszky's private collection sold in 1868 abroad cf.: Szilágyi 1997, 30.

⁶⁷ Pulszky 1958, 411.

⁶⁸ Pulszky 1958, 413.

⁶⁹ Pulszky 1958, 413.

*Upon his request, kings and public institutions started to get all the Raphael drawings in their possession photographed, and gradually private collectors came to follow their examples [...]*⁷⁰

[32] and thus a collection of tremendous volumes was compiled, complete with an inventory undertaken by Carl Ruland (1834–1907), the prince's librarian, after Albert had died.⁷¹

[33] Besides plaster casts, Pulszky paid a minute attention – both in his writings and his actual management of the museum – to photographing art treasures.⁷² We can get a fairly good picture of his views on it by consulting his writings on museums published in 1875.⁷³ Apart from listing the most famous series of art photography, he stresses the fact that exhibiting these photographs in museums or letting the public visit them in libraries is still almost impossible anywhere. Notwithstanding the aforementioned, the British had by then discovered that photography was the most effective way of promoting arts and influencing public taste.

Management of the British Museum have already undertaken the photographic reproduction of their most valuable art treasures, in view of science, on the one hand, and, on the other, for the intention of educational institutions.

[34] Among our duties on a local scale, he underlines the importance of reproducing the monuments of our national patrimony, either by means of plaster casts or photography, and creating a "photographic image collection" by gathering these reproductions into a collection at the Hungarian National Museum.⁷⁴ This program of his had been partially realized when in the 1870s at the National Museum under his direction, the photographic reproduction of art treasures started.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Pulszky 1958, 414.

⁷¹ Carl Ruland, *The Works of Raphael Santi da Urbino*, Windsor Castle 1876. Cf.: Jennifer Montagu, "The 'Ruland / Raphael Collection'", in: *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation* 3 (1986), Issue 3, 167–183; id., "The 'Ruland / Raphael Collection'", in: Helene E. Roberts, ed., *Art History through the Camera's Lens*, Amsterdam 1995, 37–57.

⁷² Marosi 2006. Cf.: Farkas – Papp 2007, 107–117; Papp 2009.

⁷³ In his autobiographical writings he lays an emphasis on the role of museums in shaping public culture: "[...] *art treasure, as the noblest artefact of human genius, is to be considered as such a heritage, which is not the sole propriety of its owner, but the foundation of public culture and a moral property belonging to all future generations. This approach has only recently become prevailant, it is our century that was the first to witness picture collections no more as luxurious products but as tools for shaping public culture, and to see measures taken to make them available for the pleasure of an open public.*" Pulszky 1958, 405–406. Pulszky also took part in 1873 at the first congress of art historians in Vienna dealing, as mentioned earlier, with the question of art reproduction. *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1983), 22.

⁷⁴ *Vasárnapi Ujság* 1875, no. 30 and 31, *Budapesti Szemle* 1875, 242–257; *Pulszky Ferencz kisebb dolgozatai* [Minor works of Ferenc Pulszky], preface by Marczali Henrik, Budapest 1914, 218–240. Cf.: Marosi 1997, 55; Sinkó Katalin, "Recepció és kreativitás. Művészettörténeti metahistóriák a stílustörténetek kialakulásáig" [Reception and creativity. Metahistories until the creation of stylistic history], in: Sinkó Katalin, *Ideák, motívumok, kánonok. Tanulmányok a 19–20. századi képkultúra köréből* [Ideas, motives and canons. Studies on the image culture of the 19th and 20th centuries], Budapest 2012, 293.

⁷⁵ Farkas – Papp 2007, 107–114.

[35] As it turns out from his memoirs, Pulszky knew Philpot quite well:

Spurred on by prince Albert's collection, photo reproductions have become rather popular and an indispensable tool for studying art history. Management of the gallery of Florence have proved most liberal in this matter and provided photographers easy access to reproduce all the hand-made drawings in their possession. British photographer Philpot chose to shoot over a thousand of them, but preferred at the beginning the taste of his clients or tourists to the requirements of art history; later on I befriended him and, upon my encouragement, he indeed started to photograph everything that was of real interest.⁷⁶

[36] Searching in the discarded boxes of the collection, Pulszky found an old woman's head, which was identical to the one crayoned by Michelangelo and admired by visitors to the gallery, but it looked too mangled and damaged to be put on display.

On my request Philpot made a photographic reproduction of it and since then it has made its way into the patrimony of manuscript collections.⁷⁷

[37] Considered as the pioneer of photography and an amateur of calotypes, John Brampton Philpot is primarily known to be a photographer of landscapes and architectural monuments. Among other places, his photographs of churches and buildings from Tuscany can be found in the Gabinetto Fotografico della Soprintendenza del Polo Museale Fiorentino and the Museo Nazionale Alinari della Fotografia, as well as in the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale di Roma.⁷⁸ However, Philpot regularly dealt with photographing art treasures. In December 1856 he participated in the exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland in Edinburgh with two landscapes depicting Florence, and a series of calotypes made of the Ghiberti gate of the Battistero and the side gate of the dome.⁷⁹ Apart from his landscapes of Pisa, a number of his photographic art reproductions can be found in the collection of the Rijksmuseum of Amsterdam, some of them representing the works of Leonardo da Vinci, Rubens, Claude Lorrain, Titian, and Parmigianino.⁸⁰

[38] Among the works of other photographers from Tuscany, the images made by Philpot were also put on display in class 10 (chemistry) section 5 (photography) (Classe X. Chimica, Sezione V. Fotografia) of the Esposizione Nazionale di Prodotti Agricoli e Industriali e di Belle Arti, that is, the first national expo in Italy held in 1861 in Florence.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Pulszky 1858, 414–415.

⁷⁷ Pulszky 1958, 415.

⁷⁸ Fanelli; Tamassia 2004, 66–67.

⁷⁹ Kat. 748. View of Florence, Waxed paper; Kat. 764. Florence, Waxed paper; Kat. 789. Ghiberti's Gates, Florence, Albumen; Kat. 790. Side Door, Florence Cathedral, Albumen.
<http://peib.dmu.ac.uk/index.php>.

⁸⁰ <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search?v=&s=&q=philpot>.

⁸¹ In the catalogue his family name was indicated by mistake as his first name. "2722. BRAMPTON-PHILPOL [sic] Giovanni, Firenze. – Fotografie." *Esposizione Italiana agraria, industriale e artistica tenuta in Firenze nel 1861*. Catalogo ufficiale pubblicato per ordine della Commissione Reale. Firenze, Tipografia Barbéra 1861, 130; "4821. BRAMPTON PHILPOT, Giovanni, Firenze – Fotografie." *Esposizione Italiana agraria, industriale e artistica tenuta in Firenze nel 1861*. Catalogo ufficiale pubblicato per ordine della Commissione Reale. Seconda edizione, Firenze, Tipografia

Although the catalogues of the exhibition fail to indicate the titles and other features of the photographs on exhibit, there is a photo image on the internet made by Philpot, on the verso of which a manuscript writing (Firenze, Esposizione Italiana 1861 – La Maddalena – Santarelli scolpi) claims that his photograph depicting the Penitent Magdalene by sculptor Emilio Santarelli (1801–1886) was indeed exhibited.⁸²

[39] Searching in the national archives of Florence, we can find an album entitled "*Le XXVIII statue di illustri toscani scolpite da XXIV toscani artisti e inaugurate nel portico degli Uffizi dalla deputazione fiorentina negli anni 1842–56. Fotografie di M. J. B. Philpot*", which contains reproductions made of the statues of famous artists from Tuscany decorating the peristyle of the Piazzale degli Uffizi.⁸³ As we learn from Pulszky's writings, Philpot made a good deal of photography of the drawings at Uffizi, which he offered later on for sale in various commercial catalogues.⁸⁴ Many of the items from these series are kept in the photo collections of the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut, and the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome. Made by Philpot and his business partner in photography, Jackson, a series of photographs consisting of 477 items and depicting the drawings of classic Italian artists was bought in the 19th century by the Mintarajztanoda (Figure and Model Drawing School) of Budapest.⁸⁵

[40] For the purpose of identifying the series of photographs kept in the National Museum of Hungary we can have recourse to an undated catalogue published by Philpot & Jackson Company, the title of which – "*Catalogue de Photographies des Sculptures en Ivoire pour illustrer l'histoire de l'art depuis le II jusq'au le XVI Siècle. [sic!] Collection unique Philpot & Jackson, Borgo Ognissanti 17, Florence*" – suggests a content of listed photographs depicting ivory carvings.

[41] Made up of ten pages, the unillustrated catalogue contains the data of 172 photographic items. Based on the objects represented in the photographs, the editor of the catalogue used seven categories for classification: 1. diptychs of mythological themes; 2. consular diptychs; 3. biblical representations from the 4th–8th centuries; 4.

Barbéra 1862, 201. Photography is most likely to have qualified in the chemistry section of the expo because at the early stage of development of this new reproduction technique of fixing and developing images, many chemists experimented with it.

⁸² http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Philpot,_John_Brampton_%281812-1878%29_-_Firenze_Esposizione_Italiana_1861_-_La_Maddalena_-_Santarelli_scolp%C3%AC_.jpg.

⁸³ Tamassia 2002, 9.

⁸⁴ *Catalogo delle riproduzioni fotografiche dei disegni originali degli antichi maestri posseduti dalla R. Galleria di Firenze fatte da Giovanni Brampton Philpot*, Firenze [1865].

⁸⁵ *A M. Kir. Országos Mintarajztanoda és Rajztanárképezde könyvtárának Czimjegyzéke* [Library catalogue of the royal Figure and model Drawing School of Hungary.], Budapest 1883, 66–72. At present, the library of the legal successor of this institution, the Hungarian University of Fine Arts, possesses 315 items of these series contained in six folders.
<http://corvina.mke.hu:8080/WebPac.imagdb/CorvinaWeb;jsessionid=A629993F1D777906BAE988E3CD123FA2?pagesize=10&text0=philpot&index0=AUTH&button=Keres&action=find&whichform=simplesearchpage¤tpage=simplesearchpage>.

barbarian ivory carvings from the 10th–11th centuries; 5. byzantine ivory carvings; 6. ivory carvings of the Italian and German schools from the 13th–14th centuries; 7. mirror cases from the 14th–15th centuries. Under some of the categories we can find "sub-categories", the third one, for instance, includes photographs made of the statues of the 8th century ivory cases located in the Cathedral of Sens, the wood carvings bearing an influence from the 8th century and the ivory carvings of the Carolingian period. This type of detailed classification suggests that the editor of the book was an expert of the topic: in my view the extent of Philpot's or his fellow photographer Jackson's knowledge, regarding the history of ivory carvings, is unlikely to have been vast enough to classify these art treasures.

[42] According to the knowledge of art historian Béla Czobor (1852–1904), the photographs had been commissioned by Pulszky: describing a motive in an ivory carving Czobor wrote "*it is not as distinctly perceivable as in the photographic reproduction ordered by Ferencz Pulszky in Florence, and donated by him, together with the complete series of photographs depicting ivory carvings, to the Hungarian National Museum.*"⁸⁶ Supposing that Pulszky had actually encouraged Philpot to produce these series, he is still unlikely to have been the author of the catalogue, and not only because he fails to mention it in his memoirs, but also because on several occasions the editor of the catalogue, when providing the location of the original item, indicated erroneously the Fejérváry collection, as in the case of item "*2705. Une Dame et un Monsieur jouant aux dames, La chasse au Faucon. Collection Fejervary.*"⁸⁷ (N-871/73)⁸⁸ (Fig. 6), i.e., a reproduction made of a 14th century mirror case depicting a couple playing chess, which came into the collection of the Louvre in 1856 from the Alexandre-Charles Sauvageot collection of Paris.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *Egyházművészeti Lap* 1 (1880), 75.

⁸⁷ Philpot n. d., 9.

⁸⁸ Present study identifies the photos in question by indicating the former archiving codes printed on their verso, while the capital L (N) and S (K) stand for large and small formats.

⁸⁹ Paris, Musée du Louvre, OA 117.



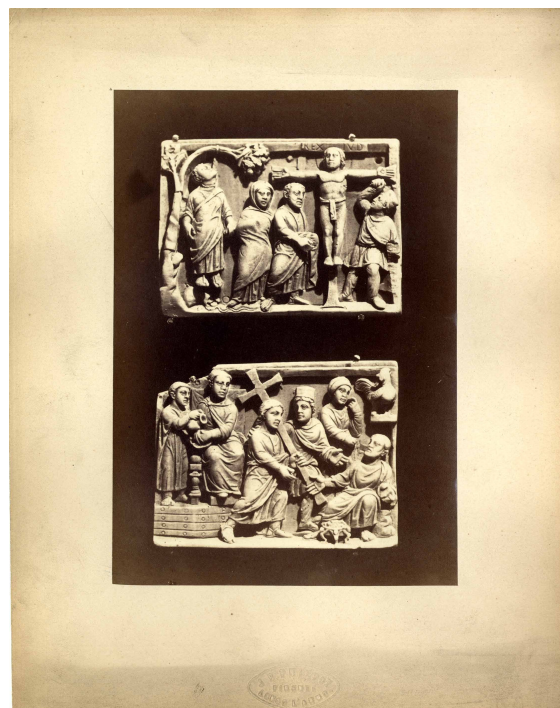
6 John Brampton Philpot: Photograph of Two Fictile Ivories – mirror case, Hungarian National Museum



7 John Brampton Philpot: Photograph of a Fictile Ivory – triptych of the Vièrge ouvrant, Hungarian National Museum

[43] In 1836 the Louvre purchased the triptych of the Vièrge ouvrant from the Louis Gaspary collection, while Philpot's catalogue states it actually comes from the Fejérváry collection: "2766. *Un Triptyque, au milieu, l'Eternel, Christ sur la Croix et l'Enterrement, à gauche Christ devant Pilate, Christ portant la Croix et la Flagellation, à droit l'Annonciation, les femmes au tombeau. Noli me tangere, en bas les quatre Évangélistes. Collection Fejervary.*"⁹⁰ (N-871/131) (Fig. 7)

⁹⁰ Philpot n. d., 9. Paris, Musée du Louvre, LP 1143.



8–9 John Brampton Philpot: Photographs of Four Fictile Ivories – panels of a casket, Hungarian National Museum

[44] There is another error, but this time the other way round, which seems to undermine Pulszky's authorship. Concerning the four ivory carvings of a 5th century case kept in the British Museum⁹¹, we can read the following: "2647. *La Résurrection et l'incrédulité de S. Thomas*, VI. me siècle. *Cathedral de Milan*. 2646. *Christ devant Pilate, Christ portant la Croix, le Crucifement et le suicide de Judas*, VI.me siècle. *Cathedrale de*

⁹¹ Dalton 1909, item 7.

*Milan.*⁹² (Fig. 8–9) Since these four items came into the possession of William Maskell from the Fejérváry collection, and were sold to the British Museum in 1856, Pulszky is unlikely to have written that these art treasures were located in the cathedral of Milan. However, the editor of the catalogue did not ignore the fact that the ivory carvings of the Fejérváry-Pulszky collection had come to Liverpool: "Collection Fejervary à présent à Liverpool"⁹³ – according to the description of a photograph representing a reproduction of the Asklépios-Hygieia diptych.



10 John Brampton Philpot: Photograph of a Fictile Ivory – Franks Cascet, Hungarian National Museum

[45] Besides the above examples, we can find several mistakes concerning the location of the original art treasures listed in the catalogue. The editor suggests that many items are kept in the royal museum of the Hague, while none of these items can be found in this collection. Writing of the British Museum's ivory case with runic inscriptions (Franks Cascet, Auzon Cascet), Philpot's catalogue says: "*2742. Morceau d'un Coffre Scandinavien. Musée Royal de Copenhague.*"⁹⁴ (N-871/9) (Fig. 10), but the item had actually been purchased in an antique shop in 1857 by Augustus Wollaston Franks, then donated by him in 1867 to the British Museum. The catalogue makes no mention of the collection on exhibit, of the conditions of its photo reproduction, nor of the authorship of the catalogue itself, indicating simply the name of the publisher, *Florence, Etablissement de J. Pillar*, on the last page.

[46] Regarding the way they are structured and in view of the items represented, there are a lot of similarities between Philpot's catalogue and the work published in 1856 by Wyatt and Oldfield, so the editor of Philpot's catalogue is most likely to have known this

⁹² Philpot n. d., 3.

⁹³ Philpot n. d., 1.

⁹⁴ Philpot n. d., 6.

work. There are many names – belonging to private owners or collections in possession of the originals of the reproductions – that are listed in both writings, but we can find some discrepancies, as well: the collection of the library of Brescia figures in Philpot's catalogue, but is missing from Wyatt & co.'s. This latter lists a lot deal less of the former Fejérváry collection than Philpot's catalogue, which means that Philpot's editor included additional data concerning the former collection's photo reproductions from after 1856.

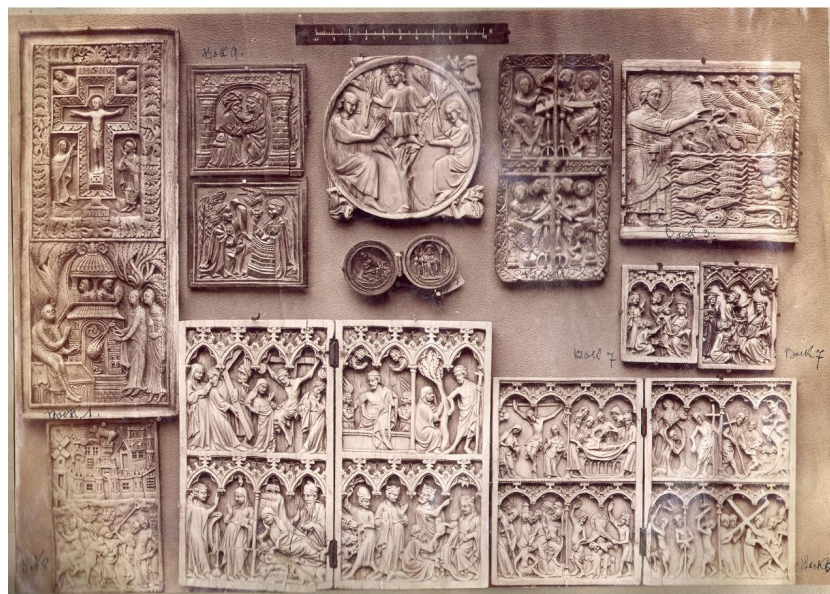


11 John Brampton Philpot: Photograph of a Fictile Ivory – Salerno ivory, Hungarian National Museum

[47] I have no information about the items of which Philpot made his photo reproductions. Even if the title of the catalogue suggests that the photos should represent ivory carvings made between the 2nd and the 16th centuries, it is certain that the photographs could not depict the original art treasures but only their plaster cast reproductions. Apart from the texture of the items represented, there are several added parts which make it obvious for the beholder. It seems improbable that Philpot had toured all the European private and public collections, in which the reproduced ivory carvings were kept according to the catalogue, and the unified manner of their installation also appears to support the assumption that these items had been photographed at the same place. Almost all of them were placed into a crevice covered with a velvet lining. In some cases, the items were fastened by wires or tiny nails to the crevice (N-871/89, N-871/90, N-871/92). (Fig. 11)

[48] Our modern approaches and reflexes focused on the protection of art treasures would convince us that the items thus photographed could only be reproductions of the originals, for today no private or public collector would allow for its original ivory carvings to be fastened in such an indecent fashion, yet we can find a great deal of similar examples in the museological practices of those days. Displaying the proportions of the

depicted art treasures, and added most likely for the sake of the photographic session, the scales we find on top of a photograph made by György Klösz (1844–1913) of the Hungarian National Museum's original ivory carving collection in 1870, show this valuable medieval artwork fastened by tiny nails to a cardboard sheet.⁹⁵ (Fig. 12)



12 György Klösz: Photograph of Ivories at the Hungarian National Museum, 1870, Hungarian National Museum



13 John Brampton Philpot: Photograph of a Fictile Ivory – Casket with Christ, Apostles and Saints, Hungarian National Museum

[49] The question of the unified manner of installation in case of Philpot's photographs can be answered in two possible ways: either the reproduced items were placed in a

⁹⁵ Farkas – Papp 2007, 113.

crevice for the sake of the photographic session only, or they were photographed in a temporary or permanent exhibition, where they had been put on display in an opening on the wall. The fact that one of the reproductions (N-871/103) (Fig. 13) is balanced with a broken stick, which seems to be providing a provisory solution, supports the idea that the items were arranged in preparation of a photographic session, rather than in view of a public exhibition. It is possible that the photographs were made of Pulszky's fictile ivories, but they may as well have been taken of another private or public collection of fictile ivory in Florence.

[50] A hundred large format items in the photo collection of the Hungarian National Museum bear an identification number which corresponds to the one – indicating, as we can read in the footnote of the first item, the number of the negative ("*Le numère [sic!] marginal indique le numère [sic!] de la négative.*") – listed in Philpot's catalogue⁹⁶. The item numbers of the catalogue range from 2621 to 2794, thus the photographic series, with the exception of two images, would be included in the catalogue of the 172 items. Succession of the listed items irrespective of the numerical order suggests that their thematic classification was retrospective. In front of some of the numbers visible in the photographs, we can see a capital P – referring most likely to the initial of the photographer – the same way as on the sheets of the Philpot series kept in The Courtauld Institute in London, whose numbering – just like that of the series kept in Budapest – corresponds to the items listed in the catalogue, i.e., to the number of the negatives in the photo series.⁹⁷ Numbers indicated in the small format items of the Budapest collection range with a lot of gaps between 1393 and 1643, while those between 1560 and 1643 actually bear the initial of a capital P.

[51] Philpot also indicated the number of the negatives in his new catalogue containing the photo series he had made of the Uffizi drawings.⁹⁸ This publication of 85 pages provides in alphabetical order the names of the artists and the titles of the artworks photographed. Philpot is most likely to have started the photo reproduction of the drawings by the works of Raphael since we can find them on negatives no. 2–11, and later on, in several sequences, making up six pages altogether in the catalogue, and depicting 232 works of the master of Urbino.⁹⁹ Based on the numbers of the negatives found on the photographs of the Raphael drawings, Philpot seems to have undertaken the reproduction of the fictile ivory collection roughly at the same time: in the photo

⁹⁶ Philpot n. d., 1.

⁹⁷ Tamassia 2004, 9.

⁹⁸ *Fotografie dei disegni originali degli antichi maestri dalla R. Galleria di Firenze, fatte da Giovanni Brampton Philpot*, Firenze 1870. Sheets of the catalogue are kept in The Courtauld Institute in London: "*Le lastre sono attualmente conservate presso il Courtauld Institute di Londra e ciascuna lastra ha il contrassegno P, seguito dal numero del disegno descritto nel catalogo succitato.*" Tamassia 2002, 9.

⁹⁹ Negatives corresponding to his photographs made of Raphael's drawings range between 2 and 3234, but the catalogue contains only 232 items depicting the artist's works.

catalogue containing the reproductions of the drawings, for example, numbers 2601-2620 indicate the drawings of Raphael, while in the catalogue on the fictile ivory collection – as we saw – the numbers indicated range between 2621 and 2794. The closest item numbers referring to the Raphael drawings are between 2796 and 2798 so the photo reproductions of fictile ivory must have been inserted between these numerals. Then again, searching among the small format Philpot photographs kept in the Hungarian National Museum, we can find a number of items, which bear the same numbers as the photo reproductions of the Uffizi drawings (1541–1542, 1551, 1554, 1560, 1566, etc.), thus the photographer must occasionally have used the same order of numbers for several series of negatives.

[52] Some of the Philpot photographs fail to contain the number of the negative, but based on the descriptions, we can still identify a part of them with the items listed in the catalogue (N-871/66, N-871/67, N-871/68, N-871/70, N-871/82, N-871/83, N-871/109, etc.).

[53] For the purpose of dating those photo reproductions of the Hungarian National Museum which depict the fictile ivory collection, we can rely on the fact that up until around 1865, Philpot pursued his activities in a workshop at 1187 Lungo l'Arno, and after 1865, at 17 Borgo Ognissanti.¹⁰⁰ In the large format images, which – as we could see – bear a higher order of numbers in the series, the address of Lungo l'Arno is indicated, while in the small format images bearing a lower order of numbers in the series, the address of the second workshop, i.e., Borgo Ognissanti is printed, just like in the catalogue. These series of photographs must have been taken before 1868 since this is the year when they came into the possession of a public collection in Hungary, most likely before 1866 that is, prior to Pulszky's return home from Italy, where he had probably taken the series from.

[54] Still for the purpose of dating these photographs, indirect data are provided by the making dates of reproductions depicting the items of the former Fejérváry-Pulszky collection. Consulting the concordance chart derived from the 1876 Westwood publication of the collection's modern catalogue,¹⁰¹ we can learn when these items came into South Kensington Museum. With one exception,¹⁰² Philpot's series contain photos of all the reproductions formerly known as the Fejérváry-Pulszky collection – i.e., already in commercial distribution – and acquired by the museum between 1854 and 1858,¹⁰³ but

¹⁰⁰ Fanelli. Cf.: Tamassia 2004, 66.

¹⁰¹ Gibson 1994.

¹⁰² Gibson 1994, Cat. 36. Westwood 1875, 55, 41. – Thus the reproduction was made in 1855 or after.

¹⁰³ Gibson 1994, Cat. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 20, 40. The fact that the Museum in London did not acquire every reproduction in the same year as they were made suggests that there are three items which came into its possession only in 1858, while these items had already been listed in the catalogue of Oldfield and published by Arundel Society in 1856. Gibson 1994, Cat. 8, 10, 20. Out of

there are no photos of those items which came into the possession of the museum in 1873 and which must have been made much earlier.¹⁰⁴ In the price lists of fictile ivories published in 1876 and in 1890¹⁰⁵, we can find 38 items from the former Fejérváry-Pulszky collection, only 16 of which had been made before 1873, so Philpot's series cannot but contain photo reproductions made until 1858.

[55] There are many doubles among the photographs, some of them representing the same item in large and small formats, others being small format blown-ups of a detail found on a large format item.¹⁰⁶ The images represent approximately 200 items, the majority of which could be identified by reference to older and more recent studies dealing with ivory carvings. The bulk of these photo shots depict the art treasures of the British Museum and the Victoria & Albert Museum (known until 1899 as South Kensington Museum) in London, the Louvre and the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris and the Bargello in Florence, but we can find reproductions of the artwork kept in the Vatican Museums, the Novara Cathedral, the Museum of Darmstadt, the treasury chamber of the dome of Halberstadt, the Museum and Library of Berlin, the castle museum of Milan, the treasury chamber of the dome of Sens, the city museum of Brescia, the Museum of Liverpool, the treasury chamber of the dome of Monza, the Cathedral of Salerno, the Museum of Lyon, the Bodleian Library of Oxford, the treasury chamber of the dome of Aachen, the Museum of Cluny in Paris, and the city library of Amiens.

[56] The photo series donated by Ferenc Pulszky to the museum were well-known with Hungarian researchers. There is an article in *Egyházművészeti Lap* (Paper of Ecclesiastic Arts), written anonymously, but most presumably by editor-in-chief Béla Czobor¹⁰⁷, which gives a detailed description of an ivory carving kept in the British Museum and representing the crucifixion and a suicidal Judas.¹⁰⁸ The author argues that in the illustration provided by courtesy of the *Archaeologiai Értesítő* (Archeological Newsletter) the bag laid out by the feet of Judas is not as distinct as in the photo reproduction commissioned by Ferenc Pulszky in Florence and later donated to the Hungarian National Museum. Based on similar techniques applied for marble relief carvings, Czobor judges the art treasure to be of the 5th century.

the ten reproductions, there was only one missing from the collection of Arundel society. Gibson 1994, Cat. 14.

¹⁰⁴ Gibson 1994, Cat. 2, 18, 24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 35. According to Gibson not all the items of the collection were reproduced.

¹⁰⁵ Reproductions 1876, Reproductions 1890.

¹⁰⁶ In the series some of the photos bear the same numbering, for example there are two of each small format photo no. 871/1–5, and the same holds for the large format photographs, with numbers N-871/46 and N-871/108 missing from the series.

¹⁰⁷ N. N., "A legrégebbi feszületek" [The oldest crosses], in: *Egyházművészeti Lap* 1 (1880), 70–77.

¹⁰⁸ British Museum, London, 420–430 k. Registration number: 1856,0623.7. Bought from William Maskell in 1856. The relief is represented by large format photograph no. 27 in the Philpot series kept by the National Museum in Budapest.

Dobbert was the first to draw the attention of men of expertise on the congress of archeological association of Berlin on 2 May 1876 [...] in the course of which he presented the photo reproduction of the original artwork.

[57] In a footnote, the author of the Hungarian ecclesiastic periodical mentions that

the photo was taken by Philpot-Jackson in Florence, and it can be found under number 2646 in the photo catalogue.

[58] As we have seen, this item actually figures in Philpot's catalogue under the group called "*Troisième Série. Diptyques et Hagiothyrides aux Sujets Bibliques du quatrième siècle*": "*2646. Christ devant Pilate, Christ portant la Croix, le Crucifiment et le suicide de Judas, VI.me siècle. Cathédrale de Milan.*"¹⁰⁹ We do not know where Czobor got the number of the photograph from since the Philpot image of the Hungarian National Museum depicting the same ivory carving bears no identification number, nor do we find any reference to it in the report of art historian Eduard Dobbert (1839–1899)¹¹⁰ participating in the congress of the Berlin association:

*Darauf hielt Herr Dobbert einen Vortrag über das Verhältniss der altchristlichen Kunst zur Antike und namentlich über den Charakter der ersten Crucifixdarstellungen. Er legte ein Elfenbeinrelief mit der Kreuzigung Christi in photographischer Abbildung vor und suchte nachzuweisen, dass dasselbe älter sei, als die gewöhnlich für die älteste, auf uns gekommene Kreuzigungsdarstellung gehaltene Miniatur in der syrischen Evangelienhandschrift des Rabulla v. J. 586, in der laurentianischen Bibliothek zu Florenz befindlich.*¹¹¹

[59] Although I have found no copies of it after searching in the libraries and public collections of Hungary, it is possible that Czobor knew Philpot's catalogue.

[60] According to the author of the ecclesiastic article, the ivory relief depicting Judas drew the attention of archeologists, and especially the attention of British Museum department ward Franks, and Franz Xaver Kraus (1840–1901) from Germany. A drawing made after this relief and "*based on a photographic reproduction of the original*" was later published by Kraus in his inaugural academic treatise.¹¹² The illustration of the relief would also be published by Dobbert,¹¹³

since it is more distinct in it than in the one we have in our possession. With the assistance of this drawing, made after the original artwork, we can make out in the photo that what seems to be a snake by the feet of Judas is not other than the undone ribbons of a money bag, and what seems to be an apple is not other than one of the coins pouring out of the bag. The same drawing of this interesting

¹⁰⁹ Philpot n. d., 3. Indicating the cathedral of Milan as location of the artwork is an error.

¹¹⁰ Dobbert took part in the art history congress of Vienna in 1873. *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 36 (1983), 21.

¹¹¹ *Archaeologische Zeitung* 34 (1876), Berlin, 42. At the end of his speech Dobbert showed photo reproductions of the mosaic of the Galla Placidia shrine in Ravenna. *Ibid.* 42.

¹¹² Franz Xaver Kraus, *Über Begriff, Umfang, Geschichte der christlichen Archäologie und die Bedeutung der monumentalen Studien für die historische Theologie*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1879, 26.

¹¹³ *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Berlin 1880, I. 46.

cross was published on page 92, r. vol. of "Archæologiai Értesítő", but the author of the article had been led astray by the Kraus chart and his lack of criticism of it; [...] although the photograph made by Philpot [...] makes it absolutely obvious.

[61] In the footnote there is another reference to the photograph in Budapest: *"The elder photographic reproduction – as we have mentioned above – can be found in the archeological library of the H. N. Museum."*¹¹⁴

[62] There are references in several foreign archeological magazines to photograph number 2646 in Philpot's catalogue. *"Gut photographirt bei Philpot et Jackson. Catal. de phot. des sculpt. en ivoire etc. (Flor.) p. 3. No. 2646."* – as we can read in a later book of the above mentioned Kraus,¹¹⁵ and the photograph is also mentioned in the British Museum's catalogue of 1901 presenting the art treasures of early Christianity.¹¹⁶

[63] With the comeback of the cult of the original, the spread of mass tourism and the development of photography, the popularity of art reproductions started to decrease at the beginning of the 20th century¹¹⁷, and many collections were moved to the archives or became extinct. Then there was a revival of interest in art reproductions in the last decades of the same century. In Europe, many former collections were restored, classified and converted into digital databases, then shown to the public, while with the purchase or the acquisition of old reproductions, new collections were created. This renewed popularity of art reproductions was due to many factors. In case serious damage (air pollution, erroneous restoration) was done to the original works of art or if they were destroyed (in wars or blasts), their reproductions play an invaluable part in aiding the research – of archeologists, museologists, restorers – into the original works of art.

[64] At the same time we can witness the early beginnings of scientific analysis concerning their creation, history and contemporary reception. It became obvious that the reproductions provided relevant information about the approach of their age to art and history, about public tastes and shifts in preferences of style, about the collection history of past ages, about cultural organization or the trading of artwork, and about the functioning of the institutional system formed by museums, art protection funds and art schools.¹¹⁸ In the scientific overview and reanimation of the European reproduction

¹¹⁴ *Egyházművészeti Lap* 1 (1880), 75–76.

¹¹⁵ Franz Xaver Kraus, Joseph Sauer, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*. Bd 1. *Die hellenistisch-römische Kunst der alten Christen. Die byzantinische Kunst. Anfänge der Kunst bei den Völkern des Nordens*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1896, 506.

¹¹⁶ *A Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East. In the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum*, London 1901, 50.

¹¹⁷ Bilbey 2007, 171; Plaster Casts 2010, 1; Bilbey 2010, 169.

¹¹⁸ Another – rather exceptional – tendency is shown by the fact that in 2006 the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York sold the remains of its once outstandingly attractive 19th century plaster cast collection made up of more than 2500 pieces. Plaster Casts 2010, 1.

collections, the following institutions played a pioneering role: the Victoria & Albert Museum of London, the National Gallery of Denmark (Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen), the Beazley Archive of Oxford and the Ashmolean Museum.

[65] Apart from their scientific function, these reproduction collections became once again available for the public and acquired a relevant role in education, museology and public culture since – just like in the museological practice of the 19th century – they make it possible for students and visitors to conduct a comparative study at the same place and time of the formal features of different art treasures from different historical periods and geographical locations. Today, however, many of the reproductions date back to 150–200 years and on account of their old age, they are considered more and more as artwork in themselves.

[66] The renewed increase of interest in art reproductions can be well demonstrated by the creation of the Association Internationale pour la Conservation et la Promotion des Moulages (International Association for the Conservation and the Promotion of Plaster Cast Collections) of Paris in 1987.¹¹⁹ Coordinating all scientific work in connection with reproduction collections, the organization has held a number of international conferences specialized in the subject, the first of which took place in 1987 in Paris. Their webpage offers an international forum for researchers of all reproduction collections, and publishes updated bibliography, conference and exhibition news. It also contains the data of several collections (currently more than 200) from universities, museums and art schools, etc., complete – where available – with text and image databases. Apart from the numerous thematic conferences held in the past few years,¹²⁰ public interest in the topic of art reproductions is also indicated by the fact that the issue of art reproduction was put on the agenda of the conference held by the Association of Art Historians in 2011.¹²¹ Many exhibitions choose to deal with the history of art reproduction, for example, a recent one in the Art Academy of Berlin opening with the intrepid history of their collection founded in the 17th century.¹²² In the summer of 2012 the Thorvaldsens Museum of Copenhagen

¹¹⁹ www.plastercastcollection.org. The online database of many reproduction collections can be accessed via the homepage of the Friends of the Royal Cast Collection, Copenhagen (www.gipsen.dk).

¹²⁰ *Plaster Casts. Making, collecting, and displaying from classical antiquity to the present*, 23–27 September 2007, Oxford University; *Plaster and Plaster Casts: Materiality and Practice*, 12–13 March 2010, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; *Destroy the Copy! A Workshop on the Fate of Plaster Cast Collection*, 24–25 September 2010, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.; *Plaster Casts, sculpture with a future? Gipsen afgietsels: sculptuur met een toekomst?* 8 October 2010, Academie voor Beeldende Vorming. Amsterdamse Hogeschool voor de Kunsten, Basisburo, Amsterdam; *Cast Collection Conference*, 9–11 September 2011, Edinburgh College of Art; *Le Moulage. Pratiques historiques & regards contemporains*, 14–15 November 2012, organisées par le musée du quai Branly et le musée des Monuments français, département patrimonial de la Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine, Paris.

¹²¹ AAH [Association of Art Historians] Annual Conference, 31 March – 2 April 2011, University of Warwick. Session: Same Difference: Material Cultures of Reproduction.

¹²² *...von gestern bis morgen... – Zur Geschichte der Berliner Gipsabguss-Sammlung(en). Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Plastik der Freien Universität Berlin*. Sonderausstellung, Berlin 2012.

exhibited the reproduction collection of Rome based classicist sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844), made up of more than 600 pieces. Under the direction of the Winckelmann-Institut at Humboldt-Universität in Berlin, an online database¹²³ was created as part of a research project on reproduction collections from the 19th century with dedication to the masters of art reproduction.¹²⁴ Recently there have been many books and catalogues published on the history of art reproductions or reproduction collections.¹²⁵ Present study is intended to provide a modest footnote to these series of research work.

Translation by Tibor Bánföldi

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Selected bibliography and list of abbreviations

Baker 2010 = Malcolm Baker, "The Reproductive Continuum: plaster casts, paper mosaics and photographs as complementary modes of reproduction in the nineteenth-century museum", in: *Plaster Casts 2010*, 485–500.

Bilbey 2007 = Diane Bilbey, Ruth Cribb, "Plaster models, plaster casts, electrotypes and fictile ivories", in: *Trusted 2007*, 153–171.

Bilbey 2010 = Diane Bilbey, Marjorie Trusted, "The Question of Casts – Collecting and Later Reassessment of the Cast Collections at South Kensington", in: *Plaster Casts 2010*, 465–483.

Catalogue 1869 = *A catalogue of works illustrative of decorative art.*

Chromolithographs, etchings, and photographs of objects of art, chiefly selected from the South Kensington Museum, produced for the use of schools of art; for prizes; and,

¹²³ *Panoramen der Antike: Gipsabgussmengen im 19. Jahrhundert und die Transformation der Wahrnehmung antiker Kunst*, <http://www.sfb-antike.de/index.php?id=330>

¹²⁴ <http://wiki.hu-berlin.de/formatori/index.php?title=Hauptseite>.

¹²⁵ Among the more recent ones cf. for example Renate Tmek, Bettina Hagen, eds., *Die Glyptothek der Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien*, Wien 2006; Valentin Kockel, Daniel Graepler, eds., *Daktyliotheken – Götter & Caesaren aus der Schublade. Antike Gemmen in Abdrucksammlungen des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, München 2006; Moritz Kiderlen, *Die Sammlung der Gipsabgüsse von Anton Raphael Mengs in Dresden*. Katalog der Abgüsse, Rekonstruktionen, Nachbildungen und Modelle aus dem römischen Nachlaß des Malers in der Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, München 2006; Trusted 2007; Valerie Montens, *Les moulages des musées royaux d'art et d'histoire. Histoire de la collection et de l'atelier des reproductions en plâtre*, Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire 2008; *Plaster Casts 2010*; Elisabeth Sobieczky, ed., *Katalog der Gipsabgüsse. Die Sammlung des Instituts für Kunstgeschichte an der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz*, Graz 2010; Rune Frederiksen, R.R.R. Smith, *The Cast Gallery of the Ashmolean Museum. A catalogue of the plaster casts of Greek and Roman sculpture*, Oxford 2011; Simon Weber-Unger, ed., *Gipsmodell und Fotografie im Dienste der Kunstgeschichte 1850–1900*, Wien 2011; Charlotte Schreiter, ed., *Gipsabgüsse und antike Skulpturen. Präsentation und Kontext*, Berlin 2012; Claudia Feigl, ed., *Schaukasten der Wissenschaft. Die Sammlung an der Universität Wien*, Wien – Köln – Weimar 2012; Hubert Szemethy, Marianne Klemun, Martina Fuchs, Fritz Blakolmer, Matthias Beitzl, eds., *Gelehrte Objekte? Wege zum Wissen. Aus dem Sammlungen der Historisch-Kulturwissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien*, Wien 2013; Jörg Probst, ed., *Reproduktion. Techniken und Ideen von der Antike bis heute. Eine Einführung*, Berlin 2013.

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