

High and dry

Complications with the preparation and display of unconventional works of art on paper at the National Gallery of Australia

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Abstract

Works of art on paper come in many shapes and sizes and routinely cross the boundaries of other conservation disciplines. The National Gallery of Australia (NGA) has numerous examples of unconventional works of art on paper in the collection. These works often pose extraordinary problems for display, storage and travel. This paper outlines four case studies to illustrate these challenges. Each of the works of art are particularly fragile and have inherent problems associated with their construction. The case studies are:

- *Leaf Litter* (2000–2003) by Fiona Hall. 183 gouache paintings on banknotes.
- *Red Rain* (2003) by Dadang Christanto. Wool, laminated joss paper, gold leaf, ink and pigments.
- *Sandwich Man (L'Homme Sandwich)* (1926), *Publicity Man (L'Homme Reclamé)* (1926) and *Costume Model of a Martian Guard for the Film Aelita* (c.1923) – three puppets by Alexandra Exter. Watercolour and collage on cardboard with wood, cotton, string, bookcloth, copper, sequins, steel tacks, bridge nails, steel wire and eyelets.
- *Boîte-en-valise* (1942–1954) by Marcel Duchamp. Cardboard and wooden box containing miniature replicas and reproductions of works by the artist.

The paper outlines the preparation of the works for display, transport and storage by NGA paper conservators.

Case study 1: *Leaf Litter* (2000–2003) by Fiona Hall

Australian artist Fiona Hall (1953–) was first inspired to create *Leaf Litter* during a residency in Sri Lanka in 1999. It took another three years



Figure 1. *Leaf Litter* (2000–2003) by Fiona Hall.

to complete and was being shown at the NGA in 2000. The work was acquired in 2002 with the knowledge that it was a work in progress. The remaining pieces came into the collection in 2003. The work consists of 183 painstakingly detailed gouache paintings of plant leaves on banknotes (see Figure 1). The banknotes originate from the same country as the plant species depicted and the leaves are life-size. The work is complex, with many layers of meaning; it refers to the depletion of the natural environment through multiple influences. Fiona Hall notes

Plants have played a crucial role in the history of colonisation and the development of world economies. Many species have been responsible for the rapid growth of European power and wealth over the past 500 years ... But everything comes at a price, and now we are paying heavily for overtaxing the environment and for cultivating an ever-widening gap between rich and poorer nations. (Hart 2003: p24)¹

Most of the currency used is obsolete and the artist subtly incorporates the people, birds and animals depicted on the banknotes into her final design.

1 Quote taken from Fiona Hall's notes provided at the time of her exhibition at Roslyn Oxley Gallery, Sydney 2002.



Figure 5. *Costume Model* of a Martian Guard for the film *Aelita* (c.1923) by Alexandra Exter.

for the Film *Aelita* (see Figure 5) dates from 1923 and was purchased by the NGA in 1980. It was reconstructed by Exter after the prototype fabricated for the film in 1924, for which she designed the costumes and sets. Based on a novel by Tolstoy, *Aelita* tells the story of a young engineer who dreams he travels to Mars, where he assists the population to depose an oppressive regime, replacing it with a government of the people. While the real costumes covered the actors from head to foot, the *Martian Guard* measures just $26.2 \times 12.2 \times 5.7$ cm. It is constructed of watercolour-painted cardboard, cotton, steel wire and tacks and has jointed limbs but is not fully articulated in the way that the two larger marionettes are. All three puppets are rare objects and display weakness inherent to their materials and construction.

The two larger marionettes had been suspended long-term on strings and although probably not intended to last, this had contributed considerably to their deterioration. A curatorial request in 2005 to devise

The 183 pieces vary substantially in size, from a single banknote to multiple notes held together with pressure-sensitive Japanese paper tape. The banknotes differ in age, with wear and tear evident on many, while some notes appear almost new with no tell-tale signs of use. Interestingly, the artist is conscious of conservation issues in the making of her works. In this particular instance, she washed the banknotes to reduce surface dirt prior to assembly. She has painted the leaf images with meticulous care, using thicker and thinner applications of gouache in black, white and shades of grey. The underlying banknote images add texture and colour, for example where the printing ink is more pronounced. The artist has further modulated the surface by rubbing back areas to lighten the tones of grey. There is some incompatibility between the printed ink surface of the banknotes and the painted images; the gouache has cracked and some small losses have occurred. This was obviously an ongoing technical problem for the artist, as there is evidence of repainting over areas of loss, with different types and qualities of gouache.

Once installed, the work takes up a wall space of roughly 12.0 × 3.5 m. When the work was first displayed at the NGA in 2000, prior to acquisition, the artist used double-sided tape attached to thin card hinges on the verso of each piece to adhere them to the painted wall. This had obvious problems, notably failure of the tape and the potential transfer of adhesive residue to the works.

Leaf Litter was requested for loan by Queensland Art Gallery (QAG) in 2005 as part of a major retrospective of Fiona Hall's work, shown initially in Brisbane and later at the Art Gallery of South Australia (AGSA) in Adelaide. NGA paper conservators and curatorial staff decided to investigate a different hanging system in preparation for the loan. While the work is fragile, it was considered an invaluable inclusion in the exhibition. Conservation input was essential at every stage of preparation, packing, installation and de-installation to ensure its safety.

When the work was acquired, NGA paper conservators had rehoused it into custom-made archival folders, according to size. Prior to loan, the works were photographed and documented. Consolidation of flaking paint was carried out on many of the images with 1% or 2% methyl cellulose in 50:50 ethanol:deionised water. At the same time all the taped joins



Figure 2. *Leaf Litter* during installation.

between the notes and the card flap on the verso were checked. Where the tape or card hinge had failed it was repaired or replaced. All double-sided tape and adhesive residues were removed.

Initially a magnetic strip system was devised for installation but was soon abandoned due to the scale of the work and the difficulty in devising a magnetic wall at the lending venues. After considering a number of options, the most logical solution was to use flat stainless steel thumbtacks positioned through the card hinges, which were invisible to the viewer. As the card hinges largely had to be replaced there were no ethical concerns regarding the use of tacks. A small piece of Mylar™ positioned under each tack allowed for easier removal during de-installation.² Another factor

² The head of each tack was sealed with a commercially available coating to prevent metallic particle transfer to the works. This was Paraloid B72 applied by brush.

that was taken into consideration was the hardness of the wall, as this had a direct effect on the amount of manipulation of the works and the pressure required to locate the pins and attach each piece. In addition, the harder the wall, the longer the installation took. The current installation method requires a team of between two and four people over a period of a week. See Figure 2. This period takes into account retrieval of the works and sorting according to accession number and installation in alphabetical order, by botanical names.

From previous experience it was observed that air circulation had a huge impact on the work in situ. Air conditioning vents in close proximity caused constant fluttering of the banknotes, which were secured only at the top. This movement was found to engender additional cracking of the gouache and weakening of the card hinge. After two venues and three installations (at one venue it was installed twice) additional cracking and loss of media were detected. The areas of gouache that were most vulnerable were those painted more thickly. Some existing areas of cracking and loss were re-consolidated and sometimes it was difficult to ascertain exactly the extent of further cracking and loss. Approximately 40% of the 183 pieces had the card hinge replaced prior to travel, but a further 20% of the hinges were replaced while on loan at the two venues. The consolidation process was extremely time-consuming as it required the use of a surface microscope for each piece. *Leaf Litter* has proven to be a high-maintenance work of art, but the extra precautions prior to travel, and the use of trained staff familiar with the work to install and de-install at each venue minimised potential damage. In each of the venues and at the first exhibition of the work at the NGA in 2000, the artist expressed gratitude for the care that had been taken.

Case study 2: *Red Rain* (2003) by Dadang Christanto

Red Rain (Hujan Merah) by the Indonesian, Darwin-based artist Dadang Christanto (1957–) was acquired by the NGA in 2003, following its inclusion in an exhibition at the Australian National University (ANU), *Witnessing to Silence: Art and Human Rights*. It is a large installation piece measuring 4.0 × 9.0 × 5.0 m, consisting of 1,965 laminated ink drawings on joss paper which are installed into a grid system in the ceiling, forming a canopy. A despondent face gazes from each drawing, and a 6 m length of red wool

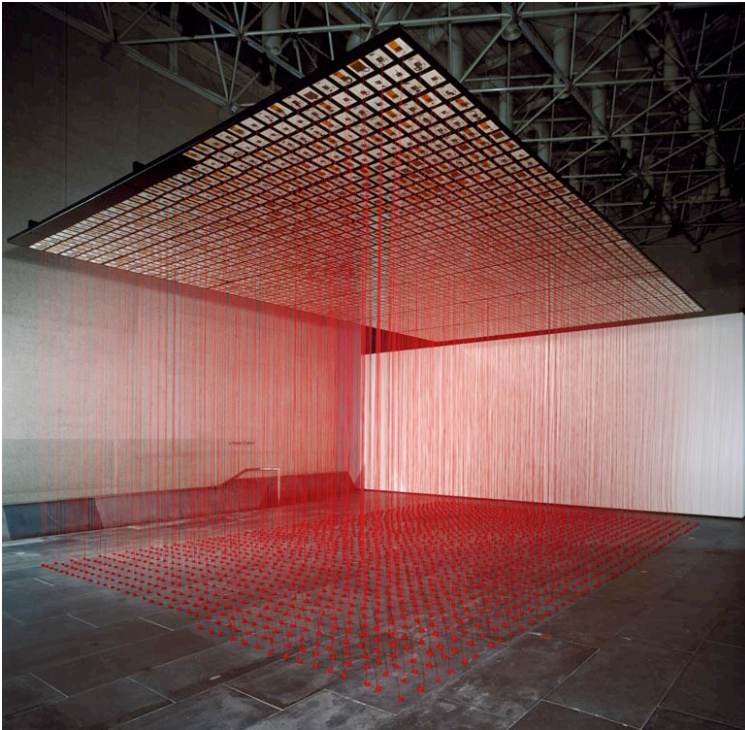


Figure 3. *Red Rain* (2003) by Dadang Christanto.

falls dramatically from each to the floor (see Figure 3). The work was initially made for exhibition in South Korea in 2000. Dadang Christanto's works have recurring themes of oppression and violence; his father was a victim of the political purges in Indonesia during the overthrow of the Sukarno government in 1965–66. Robyn Maxwell, Senior Curator of Asian Art at the NGA, notes

The faces in *Red Rain* are distorted with sorrow, the red thread streaming from each drawing alluding to the tears of blood shed for victims of political and human rights abuse. (2004: p32)

In a similar arrangement to *Leaf Litter*, *Red Rain* was purchased incomplete. The artist continued to add to it in the year following acquisition.

The purchase of the work in 2003 coincided with Dadang Christanto's time as artist-in-residence at the ANU in Canberra, ensuring that some dialogue between the artist, the curator and conservation was possible. An area of concern was the use of a plastic laminate material with far-from-ideal ageing properties. While the artist requested advice and information from conservation on whether a different laminate could be used, he had already completed two-thirds of the work, and it was considered inadvisable to recommend a different material that could potentially significantly alter the appearance at this late stage. However the involvement of the artist proved invaluable in other ways. With his input, conservation was able to refine the display system and prepare stocks of materials and staff to assist with assembly. His willingness to provide samples of the laminated joss paper allowed testing to occur before the display system was finalised. A modular design was essential given the labour-intensive nature of the assembly and the final arrangement took into consideration the de-installation, storage and future re-installation of the work.

The current display system has been significantly modified from the original method employed at the ANU. This was partially motivated by the need to accommodate a much larger work, as *Red Rain* had substantially increased in size since it was first displayed. In addition stringent occupational health and safety regulations pertaining to works of art suspended above the viewer had to be addressed. While the laminate has the disadvantage that it will cross-link and yellow, which is likely to impact on both the appearance and longevity of the individual drawings, it did allow conservation to devise a system that incorporated the use of a pressure-sensitive double-sided tape – not a material commonly recommended in conservation literature, but a solution to a difficult problem in this case. It was found that the double-sided tape could be applied, removed and replaced on the verso of the laminate with minimal impact to the surface. The next challenge was to find a support material onto which the drawings could be adhered. This needed to be lightweight and rigid enough to suspend safely with minimal planar distortion. The artist had requested a dark background. It was also desirable that

the support have an aesthetically pleasing surface finish and acceptable conservation qualities, e.g. no off-gassing or inherent degradation. After investigating several options, a material called Dibond³ was used as it satisfied all the necessary requirements.

The artist supplied only the laminated drawings in several cardboard boxes together with verbal instructions for the preparation and suspension of the work. Each of the 1,965 drawings had to be first threaded with an appropriate length of wool prior to adhesion to the Dibond[®] panels. This took a team of 10 people three weeks, rotating through the different tasks. Synthetic red wool had been used for previous display, but this was prone to static and air movement, gathering fluff and dust. After discussion with the artist, NGA textile conservators recommended replacing the synthetic wool with natural, dyed, spun wool, to alleviate these problems. The red wool had to be cut into pre-measured 6 m lengths and rolled around small Mylar tubes; a plastic-covered paper clip was used to hold each roll of wool in place. The wool was threaded through from front to back, using existing holes in the original drawings; holes were made in the new drawings using a needle, according to the artist's instructions. A small knot secured the wool on the back of the drawing and a spot of archival PVA ensured it did not pull through due to the weight of 6 m of wool on the other side.

To avoid installing each drawing one by one, with the artist's approval and input they were attached with appropriate spacing, in a grid arrangement, onto the Dibond[®] panels, in numerical order. Tabs of thin 3M double-sided tape were adhered to the back of each drawing in all corners and in the centre where the wool was positioned. Once adhered to the Dibond[®] panels this prevented the drawing from being pulled downwards by the weight of the wool. The panels were of four different sizes to accommodate

3 Dibond[®] is a registered trademark of Alucobond Technologies. Dibond[®] specifications for the Aluminium Composite Panels are: one or both sides stove-lacquered or one side metallic-aluminium, reverse mill finish; composite structure consists of outer layers 0.3 mm aluminium, polyethylene core; panel thickness are 2, 3, 4 and 6 mm; sheet sizes are 1000×2050 mm, 1250×2500 mm, 1500×3050 mm and 1500×4050 mm. The manufacturers state that Dibond[®] has good UV stability and temperature range resistance from -50°C to +80°C.

the final shape of the assembled work and slid easily into a prefabricated metal grid, suspended from the gallery ceiling for installation. Once the panels were in place, the small rolls of red wool paper-clipped to each drawing were released and allowed to unroll to the floor.

Crating was designed to take this modular system into consideration for long-term storage. On de-installation, the drawings will not be removed from the panels. Instead each panel will be kept intact and placed horizontally into slot crates. The crates accommodate the wool which will be re-rolled onto Mylar™ and clipped into place.

The installation was carried out by six people over a period of two weeks. Surprisingly, there has been minimal ongoing maintenance in situ; reathering a handful of drawings and repositioning and rolling woollen strands. So far Easter 2005 presented the only major incident for this extremely vulnerable work when a small child ran into the centre of the woollen strands. This did not cause lasting damage, but took several people several hours to untangle. The work was on display for 18 months and was de-installed with relative ease over a period of three days during May 2006. Although not ideal for works of art with paper components, this extended display period takes into account the complexity of assembly and installation and the likelihood that it will be some time before *Red Rain* is shown again. It was considered a reasonable compromise to keep this extremely popular work accessible.

Case study 3: *Sandwich Man (L'Homme Sandwich) (1926), Publicity Man (L'Homme Reclamé) (1926), Costume Model of a Martian Guard for the Film Aelita (c.1923) – three puppets by Alexandra Exter.*

Russian artist Alexandra Exter (1882–1949) studied art in Kiev and Paris, absorbing the influences of the major trends of the period, particularly Cubism and Futurism. She taught and exhibited, becoming interested in theatre set and costume design. After emigrating from Russia to France in 1924 she continued to work on theatre design and children's books until she died in obscurity and poverty in 1949. The three puppets by Alexandra Exter in the collection of the NGA remained in her possession and their provenance can be traced directly back to her estate.

The two large marionettes, *Sandwich Man* and *Publicity Man*, were

Figure 4. *Sandwich Man* (*L'Homme Sandwich*) (1926) and *Publicity Man* (*L'Homme Reclamé*) (1926) by Alexandra Exter. Before Treatment.



purchased by the NGA in 1977 (see Figure 4). These puppets date from 1926 and were designed to be used as characters in a film that was never made (Lloyd and Desmond 1992: p154).⁴ The puppets are essentially advertising men; both feature American images and advertising. *Sandwich Man* promotes Carnation Milk while simultaneously drawing attention to *The International Theatre Exposition* at the Steinway Building in New York; this exhibition included works by Exter. *Publicity Man* advertises Goodrich tyres and travel on a American shipping line. The puppets are similar in dimension: *Sandwich Man* measures 53.5 × 30.5 × 10.5 cm, while *Publicity Man* is 66.5 × 23.0 × 10.6 cm. They are fully articulated and constructed from collage on cardboard and wood, cotton, string, bookcloth, cotton reels and nails.

The smallest puppet of the three, *Costume Model of a Martian Guard*

4 The film was by Urban Gad, a Danish film-maker.

new display devices for a free-standing showcase, to allow a 360° view, prompted initial investigations by conservation. At this time, images of the puppets on their original 1920s supports were compared with images of the puppets on later-design supports. The animation created by the earlier supports had been lost, and it was suggested that the new supports be designed in such a way as to reintroduce this. This was not a requirement for the *Martian Guard* due to its static nature. All three works had undergone basic conservation treatment and stabilisation in preparation for loan to a European institution in 1999. At this time X-rays were taken which highlighted the inner structure of the puppets. Examination of X-rays for *Sandwich Man* and *Publicity Man* reveals that the limbs are joined simply with fabric glued to the wooden elements. Cotton reels, screws and nails are evident in the arm and leg structures. *Martian Guard* is altogether simpler in construction, being made of paper and cardboard.

Various treatments had been undertaken on the works at the NGA since their acquisition. Initially the two articulated marionettes had been restrung according to the 1926 documentation. Prior to loan in the 1990s, *Sandwich Man* and *Publicity Man* had both been surface cleaned. Their wooden feet had previously been nailed to the stand. These were released and magnetic strips were attached as part of the support arrangement created for the overseas loan. Treatment of the *Martian Guard* involved reassembling loose cardboard elements and consolidating frayed fragments of textile. All three works had new cases constructed for transport and storage.

At the time of the 2005 review of the display method, the existing NGA stand for *Sandwich Man* and *Publicity Man* was of painted wood, and both puppets were supported together, which limited flexibility and positioning. Conservation discussions with curators resulted in two proposals. Each puppet would be exhibited on an individual support, similar to that of the original design, allowing more space and articulation. Investigations would be made into adapting the top of a free-standing showcase to allow the puppets to be suspended, avoiding the visual interference of other exhibition devices. Any support had also to take into account the considerable weight of the wooden elements of the puppets, which cause



Figure 6. *Sandwich Man (L'Homme Sandwich)* and *Publicity Man (L'Homme Reclamé)*. After Treatment.

uneven stress and unpredictable movement. The *Martian Guard* is lighter and smaller and has limited movement. The existing acrylic stand, made in the 1990s, provides sufficient support for the puppet and currently requires no further modification.

For the two larger marionettes, individual prototype stands were constructed in the NGA workshop. These were inspired by an earlier design, constructed in the 1990s, which used one base and two uprights of differing heights. The first prototype stands, made from wood and painted, were deemed unsuitable due to incorrect positioning of the uprights on the base. New prototypes were devised by approximating the proportions from images of the original 1920s supports (see Figure 6). In order to achieve the original clean lines and design statement, powder-coated metal will be used in the final construction. A weighted base will

be necessary to ensure stability during display. For the *Martian Guard*, a simple acrylic stand, shaped under heat and pressure, provides adequate support. The larger puppets have proven to be complex and investigations are continuing into long-term display options.

Case study 4: *Boîte-en-valise* (1942–1954) by Marcel Duchamp

Boîte-en-valise, by Dada artist Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968), was purchased by the NGA in 1979 (see Figure 7). The work is thought to have been constructed in the period 1942–1954 as part of a total edition of 300. These *portable museums in a box* contain miniature versions and reproductions of paintings, installations and sculptures Duchamp considered central to his oeuvre. In an interview in 1955 the artist stated

It was a new form of expression for me. Instead of painting something the idea was to reproduce the paintings that I loved so much in miniature. I didn't know how to do it. I thought of a book, but I didn't like that idea. Then I thought of the idea of the box in which all my works would be mounted like a small museum, a portable museum, so to speak, and here it is in this valise. (Lloyd and Desmond 1992: p122)



Figure 7. *Boîte-en-valise* (1942–1954) by Marcel Duchamp.

Duchamp made small 'deluxe editions' and larger 'ordinary editions' of the *Boîte-en-valise*; the former distinguished by the inclusion of a leather case. He constructed these works over a period of more than 30 years, beginning in Paris around 1940 and continuing after his relocation to New York in 1942. From 1955 Duchamp produced the editions but no longer assembled them personally. Instead, various components were despatched back to Paris, where some of the construction was carried out by Duchamp's stepdaughter Jacqueline Monnier. The last work in the edition of 300 was completed as late as March 1971. The NGA's *Boîte-en-valise* is thought to have been constructed in New York. While it does not include a leather case, it does have its own peculiarity; a *pochoir* print of *Mariée*, together with a stamp signed and dated 1937 by Duchamp. This feature was apparently only included on gifts for friends. In fact the artist had the collotype reproduction prints made between 1936 and 1940 and incorporated them into boxes assembled at a later date.

The work is a complex multi-component structure, measuring $7.9 \times 35.5 \times 39.5$ cm closed, and includes glass, vinyl, ceramic, wood, cloth-covered board, suede and cardboard, together with screen-printed acetate and *pochoir* reproduction prints. The artist chose an elaborate *pochoir* method, where the printed images have colour hand-applied through stencils, even though much quicker printing techniques were available. The box contains miniature replicas of Duchamp's *Ready-mades*: *Paris Air* (1919), *Traveller's Folding Item* (1916), and *Fountain* (1917), together with 68 printed reproductions of his other works. It is designed to unfold like an extended triptych: at the sides elements slide out and other loose components can be completely removed and arranged as part of the display. Printed on the lid of the box is "de ou par/Marcel Duchamp/ou/Rose Sélavy" [from or by Marcel Duchamp or Rose Sélavy].⁵

The nature of the *Boîte-en-valise* is such that it relies on movement, with sections unfolding, sliding and being lifted out. The sheer weight of the work being folded onto itself over a 60-year period had resulted in distortion of the flat sections, together with pressure on the internal components. The work was exhibiting signs of wear and tear as a result

⁵ Rose Sélavy was Duchamp's alter ego or female persona.

of this movement, but also through the natural mechanical and chemical deterioration of the wide variety of materials used in its construction. The main body of the cardboard box and other cardboard pieces were joined with gummed cloth tape which had ripped and frayed. Miniature wooden framing elements had become detached and some had been lost altogether. Some of the image areas on acetate had become distorted, and a protective acetate sheet inserted behind the central image area had become detached and warped. A green suede finishing strip attached on two of the flat folding images had disintegrated almost completely. Overall there was noticeable fading and discolouration on all the cardboard and tape pieces.

Due to its structural fragility, general complexity and loose and missing components, the work had not been on exhibition for a number of years. For these reasons, both curatorial and conservation staff highlighted it as a priority for treatment. It was proposed that the work be stabilised and a support created for display to allow it to be viewed at 360° in a free-standing showcase. In order to preserve the artist's original intent the primary objective was to stabilise the various components with minimal intervention. Conservation treatment progressed slowly with careful reference to the standard text (Bonk 1989) and to alternate versions of the *Boîte-en-valise* in other collections.

Reinforcement of the gummed cloth tape was essential to provide some structural integrity. This was carried out using a lightweight cotton fabric and Beva film adhesive. The reinforced tapes were then readhered to the object with wheat starch paste. The distorted clear acetate sheet behind the central image was replaced with a piece of Mylar™ polyester film of the same thickness. The original acetate sheet had deformed and no longer fitted into the wooden framework. In addition, it was considered that the original acetate sheet was in the early stages of vinegar syndrome and would only compound problems in the remaining acetate if left in place. Missing laminated wood edging, used to create the optical effect of framing on some of the printed images, was replaced with commercially available wood veneer edging. One more complex wooden framing element was reproduced in the NGA workshop and bleached to approximate the colour of the original pieces. A stitched green suede strip, strategically placed

between two of the upright, flat wings, had degraded to such an extent that it was no longer fulfilling any structural role. This was carefully removed and replaced with old green suede⁶ of similar weight and appearance. Lining of the original suede was considered, but rejected due to its extremely perished nature. The new strip of suede was lined with a thin piece of Japanese paper using the Beva film adhesive. This provided a barrier to allow it to be attached to the work with wheat starch paste. Small losses and abrasions throughout the image areas were retouched with watercolour to give the work visual cohesion. The original acetate film and green suede pieces were retained, isolated, but together with the work in the new storage box.

The standard text was invaluable in allowing careful study of the various components of the *Boîte-en-valise*. In turn this assisted the treatment process and partial restoration of certain elements. Discreet, custom-made acrylic supports were designed and made to support the various components in their open position; an acrylic box supports the body of the work, while smaller stands support the side extensions, minimising instability while on display. In the treatment of this work it was vital to fully engage curatorial and workshop staff to establish realistic expectations of what could be achieved. This ultimately resulted in a stable, cohesive work with minimal visual changes.

Conclusion

While not at all exhaustive, the case studies illustrate some of the challenges a large and diverse collection of works on paper, like that held at the NGA, presents. Each one demonstrates the importance of assessing works on a case-by-case basis; the characteristics of each work will always determine the requirements for exhibition and storage. With the increasing number of complex, multi-component works on paper in the NGA collection, discussion and preparation for installation also routinely includes plans for de-installation, storage and ease of re-installation. Two of the case studies feature works by contemporary artists Fiona Hall and Dadang

⁶ National Archives of Australia provided the new storage box. Thanks go to Prue McKay for the green suede.

Christanto, who provided input and guidance. The works by Marcel Duchamp and Alexandra Exter involved more consultation with curators, who contributed vital historical information and an overview of artistic intent and the aesthetics of display. In-house workshop staff debated the intricacies of constructing custom-made supports, and their willingness to suggest materials, construct prototypes and accommodate changes was invaluable.

Complex, fragile works on paper survive surprisingly well and the care we take as conservators complements the commitment of the artists. Most works are irreplaceable, as Fiona Hall says so succinctly in relation to *Leaf Litter*:

In the process of reflection, we are reminded ... that if money does indeed grow on trees, there are some things that money simply can't buy. (Hart 2003: p26)

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