

**Culture, Commerce and Value: The Contemporary South African Fine Art
Market in Relation to Concepts of Artistic and Financial Success**

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

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Abstract

In this study I investigate two main premises: firstly that art intermediaries are imperative in value creation in an artist's career, and secondly that high prices are used as a way to justify, measure or reflect an artist's "importance". The motives for these investigations are, firstly, that there would seem to be insufficient academic research on these notions in the South African art scene, and secondly, the existence of a counter argument, namely, that the high prices attained on the art market may be deemed arbitrary and irrational.

This study investigates the South African contemporary fine art scene along with the role of South African art intermediaries and their perceptions on ideas of "importance" and "success", using two case studies. These case studies comprise the career trajectories of two living artists residing in South Africa, who compared to all other living artists residing in South Africa, have attained the highest prices in their careers for work on auction, namely, William Kentridge and Dylan Lewis. In this study twenty-six intermediaries were interviewed and the ensuing data used to investigate how these and other intermediaries influence perceptions of the importance and success of these artists' work. This dissertation incorporates Pierre Bourdieu's theory of field, capital and distinction, and uses Alan Bowness's four conditions of success as a framework for investigation.

Keywords

Artistic importance, art intermediaries, art market, artistic success, contemporary fine art market, fine art, recognition

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Preface

When I started this study at the University of Cape Town in early 2013, I was employed in a managerial role coordinating after-hour art and design courses at the North-West University, Potchefstroom campus. It was only midway through the first year of my study that I was given the opportunity to join a recognised South African art auction house in Johannesburg. Initially, the main reason for my study was to understand value construction in an artist's career, but in the meanwhile it has also become a way for me to investigate and better understand my role as an intermediary in the South African art scene. Also, all the while looking for sources, I was confronted with very little material about the contemporary South African art market and the construction of value in this world. Another strong reason for this study became the attempt to discover and relay untapped information in this field.

1 Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 A Brief Introduction to the South African Art Market: Theory & Use of Terms

With eleven official languages, not to mention South Africa's infamous political history which led to a cultural boycott in the 1980s, South Africa is well known for being a country with diverse views and cultures. It is therefore no surprise that there is more than one perspective when it comes to issues and ideas linked to a subject as dense and as complicated as the art market. This complexity is exacerbated by commonly used yet loaded terms such as "importance" and "success".

According to Raymonde Moulin (1987:138) "confusion is deliberately maintained" in the world of the art market,

[and] there is no way to study the private art market ... other than to gather as much information as possible and then attempt, with all due caution, to draw some general conclusions (Moulin, 1987:138).

Moulin notes that only some information on art market dealings is public knowledge. Private art dealers have no responsibility to the greater public to share information about the amount of art they sell to whom or at what price; this information is revealed at their discretion (Robertson & Chong, 2008:1, 177; Sinisi, 2013). As auction houses, on the other hand, customarily reveal sales information to the public, the most transparent way to gauge the workings of the art market is via art auction archives, which can be found on auction websites and auction database websites such as the local site AuctionVault and international sites MutualArt, ArtNet and ArtPrice. Although auction information is readily available, information regarding the middlemen or intermediaries, their role, significance and opinions, is not. This study presents supplementary material and new insights in this field of research, focusing on the South African contemporary fine art context.

Stevenson (1992), Van Zyl (2012:18) and Peffers (2013a) also note that the South African art market scene is an untapped source of information. Little has been written on the subject of the South African art market, the value of contemporary South African art and the intermediaries' role in the value created in an artist's career and his or her work. With this in mind, I focus on the South African contemporary fine art market, although I note that there is more than one market in the South African and the African art scene, including the traditional art market and the contemporary-

traditional art market.¹ I also note that the terms “contemporary” and “fine art” are disputed; these terms will be investigated in this study along with the terms “importance” and “success”.

To clarify what I mean by the South African contemporary art market, I refer to the art market that sells works of art by living South African artists both in a national and an international context, meaning that I considered sales records from both national and international auction houses.

The South African art market, just as any other international art market, includes commercial aspects, as the term “art market” insinuates, bringing together the terms “art” and “market”. When combining ideas of art and money there is a host of sources with an array of debates and opinions, which will be investigated accordingly. I will also investigate the belief systems of certain South African art intermediaries and their perceptions on the notion of success and importance, money and art, along with what success means, and how high prices and importance come together, if at all.

The definition of art intermediaries, as used in this study, is anyone or anything positioned in-between the artist and the buyer; this could be an institution or an individual. To clarify the use of the term “intermediaries”, former director of the Guggenheim Museum, Thomas Messer (1969), points out that the entire intermediary machinery comprises dealers, museums and critics. From another perspective, sociologist Nathalie Heinich (2012:699) explains that intermediaries deal with the circulation of artworks (art dealers) and their evaluation (art critics). The primary theories discussed in this dissertation are by Pierre Bourdieu, and he (as cited in Jenkins 1992[2002]:xiii) mainly uses the term “professional classifier” when referring to critics and academics in a field. In this sense professional classifiers can be classified under the umbrella term “art intermediaries”.

Art intermediaries work in the art market field. A definition of the art market, as described by Benhamou-Huet (2001:25), is the buying and selling of artworks. This is divided into two subdivisions – the primary market and the secondary market. Michael Findlay (2012:14) explains in his book, *The*

¹ Daniel J. Crowley explores the contemporary-traditional art market in his article *The contemporary-traditional art market in Africa* (1970). The article investigates traditional art made in a contemporary context. The term ‘traditional’ is loaded, especially within the South African and African context. It should be duly noted that ideas surrounding the terms ‘traditional art’ and ‘contemporary art’ are so dense that it can take a whole dissertation to discuss and investigate what ‘traditional art’ and ‘contemporary art’ means to different intermediaries; the same accounts for ideas surrounding ‘art’ and ‘craft’. Therefore these are not terms to be used lightly, and hence I have decided not to explore these terms in depth here owing to the constraints of space and the topic falling outside my primary focus. However, I believe these terms to be worthy of further research in this specific art context, namely, the contemporary South African art market.

value of art (2012), that the primary and secondary markets are “two distinct markets” that are “interrelated and sometimes overlapping”. Findlay (2012:14) states that the primary market predominantly sells an artist’s new work, while the secondary market sells works of art that are “second-hand (or third- or twentieth hand)”. Similarly, Paige West (2007:156) defines the primary art market as art that appears on the market for the first time, usually placed there by the artist, the primary dealer or the gallery. Lindeman (2006:13) correspondingly describes the primary market as a place where a buyer buys directly from the artist or the artist’s primary dealer(s). Lindeman (2006) notes that some dealers prefer to be called gallerists, as opposed to commercial dealers, with the implication that they are not in the art business for the money, but for the love of art. This argument is discussed in Chapter Two with Velthuis’s (2005) encounters with art dealers from New York and Amsterdam as examples, consequently finding that they have two personas, the commercial and the cultural. Dealers who are based in a gallery space, exhibiting work on a regular basis and selling from this space, are usually referred to as gallerists, whereas dealers who work privately with no shop-front tend to be called dealers. Galleries tend to form part of the primary market whereas art dealers tend to form part of the secondary market.

Although the art market works similarly across the globe, and the South African art market is not isolated from the international art world but very much a part of it, with terms like “art intermediaries” or “art world players” being commonly used, there are some unique differences between the South African art market and the international or Western art market. The uniqueness of the South African art market is explored in Chapter Two with Visual Arts Network of South Africa’s (VANSA) research on the South African visual art market as a vital source (Department of Arts and Culture, 2010:10).

As there were few secondary sources available with information to build my study on, with similar concerns being articulated in the writing of Stevenson (1992) and Van Zyl (2012:18), there would seem to be a paucity of academic research on the South African art market. Hence, I had to perform primary research in the form of interviews. This use of interviews for my research methodology is supported by Moulin’s (1987) research on the French art market in the 1960s, Velthuis’s (2005) research on the pricing of contemporary art in New York and Amsterdam, and Lindemann’s (2006) analysis of his own collection decisions, as all of these sources include interviews and discussions with art world players as the basis of their studies. In line with these studies, I use interviews conducted in South Africa with art world players to add real-life accounts to the study, sharing information that is not readily available in research articles and books. The function of conducting

interviews in this field is to enrich and localise the available, but often international, theoretical work, thus bringing together theory and practice as endorsed by Bourdieu.

The twenty-six intermediaries that I was privileged enough to consult with, and/or interview, in no specific order, include art dealers Michael Stevenson, Mark Read, João Ferreira, Teresa Lizamore and Charl Bezuidenhout; auctioneers Stephan Welz, Dr Fred Scott and Ruarc Peffers; art writers and art critics Professor Michael Godby, Melvyn Minnaar and Johan Myburg; curators Stefan Hundt, Kirsty Cockerill, Musha Neluheni and Marilyn Martin; art consultants Warren Siebrits, Sarah Sinisi and Taryn Cohn; academics Professor Gavin Younge; art events director Ross Douglas; and director of Art Vault, Dale Sargent. In addition, I interviewed antique art dealer Jo-Marie Rabe, and artists Strijdom van der Merwe², Dylan Lewis, Basil Jones and Lionel Smit.³

With the above art world players in mind, according to French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984:470), all intermediaries in any social context “share a set of basic perceptual schemes”. These schemes “receive the beginnings of objectification in pairs of antagonistic adjectives commonly used to classify and qualify persons or objects in the most varied areas of practice” (Bourdieu, 1984:470). This study focuses on the South African art scene and market, applying Bourdieu’s theory of field, capital and distinction. This dissertation investigates how this field is constructed by researching the way in which key players construct a belief system of the world, or field, through their actions, roles and discourses.

When taking on the task of interviewing this set of players in this field, I considered Bourdieu’s hierarchy of a field in an attempt to make more sense of this specific art world. According to Bourdieu (1984), a player’s hierarchy in a field is dependent on his or her capital. Bourdieu distinguishes between cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital. The higher up the hierarchy a player is the more influential he or she can be in a field. The way the players are placed in a field adds to the creation of hierarchy, and it is the highest players in the hierarchy that are able to place players in a field. Different players therefore fulfil different roles in a field. In this field, a former Director of Tate Britain, Alan Bowness (1989), distinguishes between four circles of recognition, in

² In 2011 I interviewed Strijdom van der Merwe and Jo-Marie Rabe for an article I was researching at the time for *Literator* about the artists’ books they had created for the project *Transgressions and Boundaries of the Page* (Le Clus-Theron, 2012). Some of the interview questions asked were related to the current study and can therefore be used in my research.

³It should be noted that not all of the interviewees’ views were incorporated in this dissertation.

which cultural, social and economic capital is built. These circles of recognition, namely, peer recognition, critical recognition, patronage by collectors and dealers, and public acclaim, are used as a framework in this study to investigate South African art world players together with their role and function in the value created in artists' careers.

I take note of the possibility that certain steps to success could exist and could be applicable, as Bowness (1989) believes. Another researcher, who, like Bowness, attempts to demystify artistic success and importance, is economics Professor David Galenson (2002a, 2002b, 2005a, 2005b). These sources, among others, that will be presented in Chapter Two, investigate "conditions of success" and "recipes for success", a model for ranking the importance of artists, and aim to make sense of why or how some artworks attain phenomenally high prices. The problem with models and ranking systems however, as found in this study, is that the art world is not that simple, including the South African art scene and market. Indeed, the field is complex, even if systems and models are created to make sense of this unregulated field.

I am aware that there are many theories that relate to economic artistic culture, ranging from before Karl Marx (1818–1883), through to Thorsten Veblen (1857–1929), Louis Althusser (1918–1990) and Raymond Williams (1921–1988). However, for the purpose of this study I chose to focus mainly on the theories of Bourdieu and Bowness, along with a selection of sources that write about the economics of the art market and value creation in art.

With hierarchy of field and capital in mind, this study investigates two main premises; firstly, that art intermediaries are imperative in the value or capital created in an artist's career, and secondly, that high prices are used as a way to justify, reflect and measure an artist's importance. With the first premise in mind, the following excerpt from Sarah Thornton's book *Seven days in the art world* illustrates this view:

[M]y research suggests that great works do not just arise, they are made – not just by artists and their assistants but also by the dealers, curators, critics, and collectors who "support" the work. This is not to say that art isn't great or that the art that makes it into museums doesn't deserve to be there. Not at all. It's just that collective belief is neither as simple nor as mysterious as one might imagine (Thornton, 2009:xiv).

This study draws from Thornton's research on the role intermediaries play in the value creation of art. She argues that "great works [of art] do not just arise, they are made" (Thornton, 2009:xiv). In my understanding, Thornton proposes that the "great" art would not have been perceived as "great"

if it were not for the intermediaries' role in the creation of the perception of that greatness. In addition, Thornton does not say that the art in museums does not belong there, but that it would not have been included if it were not for the intermediaries' role in the creation of the perceived "importance" and "greatness" of that work.

The second premise investigated is the belief that "importance", or "greatness", is interrelated with high prices. Galenson (2005b:4), interpreting Bowness, argues that "it's only the most important artists whose art attains the highest prices". The counter argument to this premise is that high prices attained on the market are arbitrary and irrational (Bowness, 1989:11; Galenson, 2005b:2-3).

In order to localise both premises along with the arguments that go with them, I decided to incorporate two South African case studies in this debate. By choosing the two South African artists who have attained the highest prices on auction and then by analysing their perceived successes and importance, I will gain insight into how their careers have progressed, and who or what played a role in their careers in order for their art to attain the highest prices on auction. With the second premise in mind, I will gain insight on the possibility that high prices are either justified or irrational and arbitrary.

1.2 Introduction to Case Studies

This dissertation is focused on the South African contemporary fine art market; its intermediaries, their views and the two living artists whose artworks have attained the highest prices on auction up to May 2013. William Kentridge (b. 1955) and Dylan Lewis (b. 1964) were chosen owing to a common denominator, their art has attained the highest prices on auction for two living South African artists residing in South Africa in the international art market context. This study investigates how they progressed to the point in their careers where their art is selling at these high prices.

With new art market records constantly being set and broken across the globe (Marquis, 1991:2), I decided to focus on the highest sales recorded between 2003 and 2013. When I initially considered case studies, I investigated whom the two living artists were who had attained the highest prices on auction in the South African context, considering both international and national sales results. The highest sales between 2003 and 2011 were identified initially as William Kentridge, who broke his personal sales record in May 2011 when his model theatre *Preparing the flute* (2004-2005) (see

Figure 1) sold for US\$ 602 500 (R4.13 million)⁴ at Sotheby's in New York (Sotheby's, 2012). In the case of Dylan Lewis, *Black Rhino* (1995) (see Figure 2 and 3),⁵ the highest priced artwork to be sold at the time by a living South African artist, sold for £365 000 (R5.18 million) at a solo auction held at Christie's in June 2007 (Christie's, 2015a). However, as recently as May 2013, Kentridge broke his personal record at Sotheby's with *Procession* (1999/2000) (see Figure 4), a sculpture comprising of 25 bronze parts (edition 1/7). The sculpture was valued between \$300 000 and \$400 000, but the bidding went up to \$1.3 million (R12.13 million); the total amount paid, including buyer's premium, was US\$1 538 500 (R14.3 million) (Sotheby's, 2013a). Owing to the magnitude of this amount, the initial focus period for this study was extended from May 2011 to May 2013, but I am convinced another record could arise just as swiftly in the near future.

Based on the parameters set for this study, my investigation focuses on the two living South African artists who have attained the highest prices on auction,⁶ namely, Kentridge and Lewis. By examining their career paths leading to their works attaining financial success, along with their perceived artistic importance and artistic success, as viewed by intermediaries of the South African art world, I aim to present new data concerning the phenomenon of the creation of perceived fame – importance and success.

I recognise the different reception and categorisation applied to Kentridge and Lewis, and note that these two individuals, as artists, operate within a commercial and critical art context. No assumption is made or implied as to value (critical, artistic or other than financial); however, the views of intermediaries in this regard will be investigated.

Both Kentridge and Lewis are reported to be recognised for their work selling for high prices at auction. For example, *City Press* reports that, based on the high prices ten of Kentridge's works attained on the Sotheby's auction in May 2013 (of which *Procession* formed part), "Kentridge is

⁴ See the Appendix for all conversion rates. The websites X-rates (2014) and OxForex Limited (2011) were consulted for their archived records of conversion rates across the world over the years.

⁵ Figure 2 illustrates Dylan Lewis's *Black Rhino* as it stands at the entrance to the Centenary Game Capture Centre, Hluhwe-Imfolozi Game Reserve (Wildlife Photography Blog, 2015). Figure 3 illustrates the actual work that sold during this auction. I decided to include Figure 2 as I did not feel that Figure 3 depicted the sculpture sufficiently.

⁶This study only considers prices of public auction records, although I do take note that there are works of art being sold on the secondary market that are not made public, therefore there is the possibility that there are artists whose works have sold for more than that of the case studies I have chosen, but I cannot be sure of this information.

recognised as the bestselling living South African artist” (Mabandu, 2013). In the case of Dylan Lewis, Lamond (2007) reports in *Leadership* magazine that “top South African sculptor Dylan Lewis found an overwhelming reception for his work in London when 75 of his animal bronzes, the last of their limited editions, sold out in one and a half hours of animated bidding”.

In addition to Kentridge and Lewis attaining the highest prices on auction, they have also been referred to in the following ways in both local and international, printed and Internet media, and on academic and commercial platforms:

The newspaper *Mail & Guardian* (2011) acknowledges William Kentridge as being an “acclaimed artist”. Sean O’Toole in the *Financial Mail* (2014b) refers to him as “a famous artist”. The international media and art database platform, Artprice.com (2010a) refers to Kentridge as “another star creator from South Africa” and “among the most sought-after African artists in the global art market” (Artprice.com 2010b). On an international academic platform, the Perth Institute of Contemporary Art (PICA) (2014) describes him as “one of the most compelling and acclaimed artists of our time”. With reference to a local academic platform, in *De Arte* (2006) Thornburn describes him as “technically sophisticated” and a “highly regarded contemporary artist”. In a South African published book, *10 years 100 artists*, Rory Bester (in Perryer, 2005:25) describes Kentridge, alongside Kendell Geers, as “arguably South Africa’s two most prominent ‘international’ contemporary artists”.

In the quarterly glossy art magazine, *Art South Africa’s* website, Sean O’Toole (2011a) describes Dylan Lewis as an “acclaimed sculptor”, while the monthly art magazine, *South African Art Times* (2007), states “he (Dylan Lewis) combines the acumen of a businessman with the sensitivity of an artist and presents an image of one with both feet on the ground but always leaping for stars”. On a local newspaper platform, the *Sunday Times* (2007), Mark Read compares Lewis’s sculpture to “the work of the unnamed masters of ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt”. In *Auction Central News*, Saunders-Watson (2012) describes him as a “renowned South African artist and considered one of the premier cat sculptors in the world”. The website of his representing gallery, Everard Read (2013), describes him as the “foremost figure of contemporary sculpture”. On an international platform, Hugh Edmeades (2007), chairman of Christie’s South Kensington, calls Lewis’s bronzes “stunning” and claims Lewis to be “one of the world’s most talented sculptors of wild animals”.

In this sense both Kentridge and Lewis are recognised for being acclaimed, world famous and renowned, along with attaining high prices on auction. They are also both referred to as

contemporary. The way the media reports on these two artists adds to the value construction of their art; this factor will be discussed in Chapter Four when investigating the two case studies. In Chapter Four I will also show that many intermediaries see them as very different artists, occupying a very different space on the South African art scene.

It is critical to note that the two case studies are white male artists born in the mid-1950s and mid-1960s. In the same vein, when turning one's gaze toward the international art market scene, the living artists who have attained the highest prices are also white males, namely, Jeff Koons (b. 1955) and Gerhard Richter (b. 1932) (Artnet, 2014). I believe this issue of white male dominance in the art world to be an area of research crucial for investigation; however, as this is not a focus of my study I will not be discussing this matter further.

This study concerns the role and function of intermediaries on the South African fine art scene in the value constructed in an artist's career, along with their perceptions of the notions of artistic importance, artistic success and financial success. I acknowledge that these three ideas, which are commonly found in arts discourse, are highly contentious, and I will therefore scrutinise them as used in the professional literature and the media and by intermediaries of the contemporary art scene.

In this study I explore the way in which intermediaries can add value to an artist through the words they use when describing and discussing artists. With Bourdieu in mind, the area of practice (field) for this study is the South African contemporary fine art market and the players on this field are its intermediaries. With this in mind I investigate the way intermediaries classify and distinguish terms, as well as their use of antagonistic adjectives in this specific field.

In the following section I discuss key ideas and terms as used in this dissertation; firstly, Bourdieu's concept of antagonistic adjectives (Bourdieu 1984:470), and secondly, terms that are commonly used in arts discourse, often with a belief in their "collective" meaning. However, their use is more complex, as is illustrated by presenting different perspectives on the use of the terms "importance", "artistic success" and "financial success".

1.3 Introducing Bourdieu's Antagonistic Adjectives and the Use of Ambiguous Terms

Bourdieu (1984:471) states that antagonistic adjectives are used to distinguish between classes: the upper class, or "élite", referred to by Bourdieu as the "dominant" as opposed to the working class, or the "mass", members of whom are referred to by Bourdieu as the "dominated". In this sense, according to Bourdieu, the upper class and the educated class relate to adjectives such as "high", "fine" and "unique", whereas the lower class, or working class, relates to adjectives such as "low", "coarse" and "common". Bourdieu provides examples of his use of the term antagonistic adjectives in his book *Distinction: A social critique on the judgment of taste*:

[O]ppositions between high (sublime, elevated, pure) and low (vulgar, low, modest), spiritual and material, fine (refined, elegant) and coarse (heavy, fat, crude, brutal), light (subtle, lively, sharp, adroit) and heavy (slow, thick, blunt, laborious, clumsy), free and forced, broad and narrow, or, in another dimension, between unique (rare, different, distinguished, exclusive, exceptional, singular, novel) and common (ordinary, banal, commonplace, trivial, routine), brilliant (intelligent) and dull (obscure, grey, mediocre), is the matrix of all the commonplaces which find such ready acceptance because behind them lies the whole social order (Bourdieu, 1984:470).

This study investigates the social order on the South African contemporary fine art scene and market by examining what antagonistic adjectives intermediaries in this context use when classifying, or distinguishing between, "fine art" and "artists" as opposed to "non-art" and "art makers" (Moulin, 1987; Stevenson, 1992; Berman, 1993; Cockerill, 2013a, 2013b). Accordingly, the idea surrounding antagonistic adjectives, as initiated by Bourdieu and as also used by Olav Velthuis (2005) and Erica Coslor (2010), will be used in the same context in this study.

Keeping antagonistic adjectives in mind, terms used by the upper class or the educated classes can sometimes come across as ambiguous. These ambiguous terms are used in the art world in different senses, depending on the context of the intermediary in question. The discussion of these terms leads to the identification of the problem statement, the research questions, the research aims, the central theoretical statement and the methodological approach of the study.

Often, contentious terms, as used by intermediaries, can be used without one being aware of a possible deeper meaning inherent in such terms. In this regard, a disclaimer, as for example used in Stevenson's MPhil dissertation,⁷ notes the use of terms prior to his introduction:

A number of terms and concepts commonly used by art historians and economists are adopted in this dissertation. The usage of certain terms is often vague and imprecise, and the object of this note is to avoid ambiguities by clarifying their usage in this dissertation (Stevenson, 1992).

Stevenson's disclaimer demonstrates that the contentiousness surrounding terms was an issue he had to address, therefore it would seem that there is no avoiding ambiguous terms that are commonly used in the art market, such as "importance" and "success". The problem is that the terms are challenging to define. In this dissertation, many different views of the same terms are presented; in other words different people, depending on the context in which they are using the term, use the same terms differently.

Internationally, there are three terms or concepts, "importance", "artistic success" and "financial success", that are commonly used in the context of distinguishing between artists in arts discourse. For example, with regard to the term "importance", Galenson (2002a, 2002b) reasons that artists who have the most illustrations in art textbooks are the most important. In the opinion of Galenson and Bowness, as mentioned before, it is the most important artists who attain the highest prices (Galenson, 2005). Fry (1966:70) and Sickert and Robins (2000:253), on the other hand, argue that important artists are those who have had the greatest influences on other artists. From the above sources it may be deduced that importance means something different to each. Consequently, I can state that the term "important", when used to describe an artist or an artwork, is not neutral, and should be interrogated depending on the context in which it is used.

On investigating how the term "artistic success" is used, Thornton (2009:258) and the journalist and curator of *Warhol TV*, Judith Benhamou-Huet (2001:35–36, 43), both state that artistic success is linked to artists' milestones in their careers, as viewed by academics and critics (referred to as professional classifiers by Bourdieu) in the field. This includes winning art awards, holding major exhibitions at prestigious galleries or museums, and having work auctioned at reputable international auction houses, using the examples of the auction houses Christie's and Sotheby's

⁷ Stevenson's (1992) master's dissertation concerns the role of art intermediaries and institutions in the valuation of artworks using his components of value model.

(Thornton, 2009:258; Benhamou-Huet, 2001:35–36, 43). In a similar vein, sociologist Raymonde Moulin (1995[1986]) uses the term “tokens of success” when she refers to an artist that is represented by a gallery or institution with an international network and, secondly, attaining high prices. Bowness (1989) believes that for an artist to attain artistic success, he or she must first be recognised successively by four circles of agents in the art world, namely, one’s peers, the art critics, patrons and art dealers, and finally, the art museum and the auction house. Ultimately, Bowness (1989:11) measures artistic success in terms of high prices on auction and inclusion in recognised art museums.

In this instance there are many ideas linked to the term “artistic success”, and once again, when using the term one should consider in what sense the term is being used. However, as noted in the examples above, there seems to be greater agreement on the use of the term “artistic success” than on the term “importance”. With the third concept in mind, “financial success”, what one artist finds financially successful is not necessarily perceived as financially successful by another. Hence, these terms are relative to the artist or artwork in question (Peffer, 2013a).

When an artwork attains a high price, it can arguably be termed a financially successful artwork, but the artist is not necessarily compensated, therefore that artist is not necessarily financially successful, although his or her artwork may be. For example, Jane Alexander did not receive any remuneration from the sale of *Untitled* on 11 November 2013 at a Strauss & Co auction. It was the seller, who bought the work in 1987 for a few hundred rand, who received the “financial success” the artwork attained when it was sold for a R4.8 million-hammer price (AuctionVault, 2014; Letchimia, 2013). There is much debate on the matter of artists being exploited by not receiving a percentage of the price paid for an artwork selling years after it was sold, but it is not a concern of this study. Nevertheless, I recommended this debate as a topic for future study.

1.4 Problem Statement, Research Questions, Aims and Hypothesis

The initial problem statement is that there is limited research available on the South African art market, its intermediaries and their role and function in the value creation of an artist’s work (Olckers, 2012; Van Zyl, 2012; Stevenson, 1992). An additional problematic is that in the art world there is an ongoing discussion among art critics and academics about the irrationality of the art market, arguing that there is little correlation between artistic importance and art market prices (Artstory, 2012; Bowness, 1989; Galenson, 2005).

The principal research question that arises from the problem statement is:

What role do intermediaries play in an artist's perceived path to "importance", "success" and "fame"?

This question can be divided into three specific research questions:

- 1) How do South African intermediaries use the ambiguous terms "artistic success", "financial success" and "artistic importance"?
- 2) How did William Kentridge and Dylan Lewis attain financial success, in other words, what are the paths to their perceived success?
- 3) How do the South African intermediaries interpret William Kentridge's and Dylan Lewis's perceived success and importance?

Based on the research questions, the following research objective was formulated:

The primary research objective is to interrogate the role played by art intermediaries in the value created in an artist's path to perceived success.

This central aim can be divided into three specific research aims, to

- 1) scrutinise, examine and investigate the way in which South African intermediaries use the general, yet ambiguous, terms "artistic success", "financial success" and "artistic importance"
- 2) determine the nature of William Kentridge and Dylan Lewis's paths to their perceived success, and
- 3) investigate the way in which the South African intermediaries interpret William Kentridge's and Dylan Lewis's perceived success and importance.

On the basis of information gleaned from the literature, sources and interviewees, this study argues that art intermediaries are imperative for value creation in artists' careers and, ultimately, attaining high prices on auction. Without intermediaries there would be little chance of the artist being introduced to collectors, buyers and/or patrons. Without intermediaries the artist also has little chance of attaining perceived "importance", "success" and "fame". This study also investigates the proposition that high prices are used as a way to justify and to measure an artist's "importance".

Gary Martin (2014) refers to John Donne's poem, *No man is an island* of 1624 in *Meditation XVII*, as demonstrating that "human beings do not thrive when isolated from others". In cognisance of the intention of this poem, this dissertation argues that it is (nearly) impossible for an artist to attain high prices on auction without the intervention of art intermediaries. In other words, the intermediaries' role is imperative in an artist's achievement of perceived "importance", "success", and "fame".

The methodological approach used in this study is to apply relevant theories as drawn from the literature and from primary research on the South African market in the form of interviews with key art world players in the field. The interviews were conducted with individuals who are regarded as reputable, recognised art world players on the South African art scene. The interviewees were chosen in collaboration with my study leaders. Robertson and Chong (2008:215) are of the opinion that interviews with reputable and recognised art intermediaries are essential because of the significance social networks have in the creation of relationships in the art world. Bruno Frey (in Robertson & Chong, 2008:215) recognises that auction price data used by economists represents only a partial picture of art market activity and excludes all primary market sales. This study incorporates art market activity as documented on websites that capture auction results, along with views from the field obtained by conducting interviews with intermediaries involved in the primary and secondary sale of artworks. This study incorporates data obtained from the interviews with intermediaries in the art market, educators, curators, writers, reviewers affiliated to universities and museums with theory, insight, history and academic literature, as well as data available from auction database websites.

In essence, I use both literature and the interviewees' perceptions to come to the findings of my study – stating that I am not only relying on one source but many, and that this approach is supported by sources such as Bourdieu (1984), who believed that one should consider both theory and practice when studying a field.

1.5 Chapter Outline

Chapter One presented my focus, namely, the contemporary South African fine art market, and accordingly discussed its field and players, the motive for and method of the research, as well as the premises, case studies, theory and certain ambiguous terms and ideas used in the art world. The

discussion of terms and theory led to the formulation of the problem statement, the research questions, the research aims, the central theoretical statement and the methodological approach.

Chapter Two is divided into two sections; first I discuss the context of the study, namely, the workings of the art world and, essentially, the South African art market, along with its intermediaries and their role and function in the value creation of art. Throughout the first section the main theoretical framework for this study is presented, namely, Bourdieu's theory of distinction, which incorporates the use of the terms field, cultural capital, economic capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Bourdieu's (1984) theory is explored in view of the fact that many dichotomies are found in the art market. One aim of this research is to determine how these dichotomies function in the local art scene, and to investigate the need for art world players to classify between art objects in terms of, say, "high" art and "low" art. The second section includes an investigation of researchers whose aim it is to demystify and/or rank importance and success, including Bowness's four conditions of success and Stevenson's components of value model. Another aspect discussed in Chapter Two are certain sources that attempt to rank importance and measure success, including Galenson, O'Hagan and Kelly, Bongard and algorithm websites such as ArtFact.net and Citadel's Art Price Index.

The consideration of Bourdieu's theory of distinction is continued in Chapter Three, where I present and investigate views of South African intermediaries and their perceptions of value creation in an artist's career.

In Chapter Four I present the two case studies, the career trajectories of William Kentridge and Dylan Lewis. The reason for placing the case studies near the end of the dissertation is to ensure that the reader understands the theory, the views of South African intermediaries and the context prior to the presentation of the cases. The information presented prior to Chapter Four is thus imperative for successfully incorporating all of the elements presented in the preceding chapters. Chapter Four aims to discover what these artists' separate career trajectory reveals regarding the paths to their perceived success. Bowness's conditions of success serve as a framework for organising the chapter, while Bourdieu's theory of class and distinction is incorporated when investigating the way in which Kentridge and Lewis are classified by certain South African art intermediaries who are perceived to be "of importance" themselves on the South African art scene. Chapter Four aims to determine what paths to success, if any, the cases studied here followed in order to eventually sell for high prices on the secondary art market, along with being perceived as "important" and "successful" by intermediaries in the local and international art market scene.

Chapter Five, the concluding chapter, reviews the main arguments in the preceding chapters and subsequently summarises the main findings of this dissertation. In conclusion, the chapter reviews the research objectives of the dissertation and determines to what degree they were met.

2 Chapter Two: Literature Overview, Context and Theoretical Approach

2.1 Introduction and Brief Literature Overview

In Chapter Two, I contextualise the study by discussing the workings of the art world and the relevant theories and ideas related to the art market and its intermediaries. As already mentioned, I consult a variety of sources for addressing different tasks. Accordingly, I make use of Bourdieu (1984) to understand the theory surrounding how and why people distinguish and classify art and artists. The ideas of Bowness (1989) and Stevenson (1992) are then presented as I investigate different models and methods used to determine and understand how value is created. This information helps to show that some sources want to make sense of this world – just as I am doing in undertaking this study. In this chapter, I analyse former research on the same topic and in the same field as the focus of this study: the art world and the art market together with the roles and functions performed by intermediaries and players in the value creation of art. For example, books on the subject include those by Keen (1971) and Moulin (1987). Additional sources are also considered, such as databases that rank art and artists according to different categories, for example Artfacts.Net (2013). All of these different sources add to the completeness of my study.

Before discussing how the art world works, this subsection identifies international and local literature consulted for this study. On an international scale, in chronological order, sources that I draw from that are relevant to my study include Gerald Reitlinger's *The economics of taste, Vols. 1–3* (1961[1982]); Geraldine Keen's *The sale of works of art* (1971); Alan Jones and Laura de Coppet's *The art dealers* (1984); Raymonde Moulin's *The French art market* (1987); Diane Crane's *The transformation of the avant-garde* (1987); William Grampp's *Pricing the priceless* (1989); Alan Bowness's *Conditions of success* (1989); Judith Benhamou-Huet's *The worth of art* (2001) and *The worth of art 2* (2008); Adam Lindemann's *Collecting contemporary* (2006); James Goodwin's *The international art market* (2008); Sarah Thornton's *Seven days in the art world* (2009); Donald Thompson's *The 12-million-dollar shark* (2008); Olav Velthuis's *Talking prices: Symbolic meanings of prices on the market for contemporary art* (2005); David Galenson's *Old masters and young geniuses* (2006); Alan Bamberger's *The art of buying art* (2007); Ellen Gorman's doctoral thesis "Art is Money – Sexy!": *The corporatization of contemporary art*, and Michael Findlay's *The value of art* (2012).

The following South African texts, in chronological order, have been written on the subject of the art market and value creation in the arts: Esmé Berman's *The South African art market 1971/72: A*

handbook for collectors (1972); Stephan Welz's *Art at auction in South Africa: The art market review 1969–1989* (1989); the follow-up, *Welz's Art at auction in South Africa: The art market review 1969–1995* (1996); and Michael Stevenson's *Art and aspirations* (2002), which considers the collecting practices of the Randlords, the early millionaires in South Africa in the second half of the nineteenth century.

According to Stevenson (1992), Van Zyl (2012) and Olckers (2013), a gap exists in the South African literature related to the South African art market and its intermediaries. In Stevenson's (1992) master's dissertation, "The art market, its intermediaries and the components of value model in a historical perspective", he states that the South African art market has not yet received much academic attention. However, Stevenson's focus was not on the South African art market, but on the Western art market's history and its intermediaries.⁸ He merely notes the gap found when focusing on research on the South African art market.

Van Zyl (2012) illustrates the lack of a comprehensive history and survey of the local art market in her master's dissertation, "Constructing the value of art: A sociological perspective on value creation at South African art auctions". Van Zyl also notes that the history and sociology of the South African art market need attention from academics in the field.

Stevenson's (1992) and Van Zyl's (2012) views that there is insufficient academic writing on the South African art market and its intermediaries, correlate with the ideas expressed in Olckers's (2012:16) honours paper "Art expert index: A proxy for cultural value in the context of the South African art market", which states that the local market is an underrepresented area of the South African economic literature.

In analysing the role of intermediaries and institutions, Stevenson (1992) constructed a model to determine the value of artworks, which he calls the "components of value model". Stevenson's model serves as a type of 'checklist' for art buyers. The components of the model are divided into two categories, the tangible or material aspects of the artwork and the symbolic or information aspects. The former refers to the size, medium, material, subject matter and the material value of the artwork, while the latter refers to the informational aspects surrounding the artwork – who the

⁸ Stevenson's (1992) chapters regarding international art markets include the renaissance and baroque in Italy, the Low Countries, the English art market, the art market in France, and an overview of the art market in the USA.

artist was, whether there is documentation to confirm the identity of the artist, for example a picture of the artist while painting the picture in question, as well as information such as who has written about the artist and on what platform.

With the material aspect in mind, there is also a hierarchy when it comes to materials used in the art market; for example oil on canvas is generally valued higher than a watercolour or a drawing on paper, and bronze is valued higher than spelter. The reason for this is that oil paint is more expensive than watercolour and it also lasts longer, that is, it is more durable than watercolour on paper. Similarly, bronze is more expensive and hardy than spelter. However, there comes a stage when the medium is not the most important aspect of the artwork and the inherent value takes over the material value. As Dylan Lewis (2011) explained during our interview when discussing the pricing of an a bronze sculpture: “traditionally a sculptor works at a third a third a third, so the casting is a third, the dealer takes a third and the artist takes a third”, and when it gets to really high prices then “[the medium] is irrelevant, the market dictates that level, and casting is no longer a measure, but generally if you are starting out your career, it will be a third a third a third”.

Van Zyl (2012) draws on Stevenson’s model to determine and justify values that are assigned to works of art on the local art market. Van Zyl’s (2012:1) dissertation focuses on the way art circulates and how value is constructed in this market. Her study illustrates the following point:

[A] multiplicity of social and cultural influences permeates the art market, its processes and structures, and therefore the determination of value. This research therefore indicates that the value of art on auction is socially constructed. As such, the value of an artwork does not reside in itself, but is produced (and constantly reproduced) through processes that are subject to the codes and conventions of the art world (Van Zyl, 2012:1).

In Chapter Three I draw from Van Zyl’s dissertation’s the idea of the social construction of value, to investigate value creation in the South African art scene by examining intermediaries and their roles in the way this value is created in the artists’ works and careers.

Other master’s dissertations written on the South African art scene, which focus on corporate art collecting, the business and value of art, and an analysis of the magazine *Art South Africa*, include Marion Dixon’s (2009) “Whither the bush experience in the boardroom? Changing patterns of corporate art collecting in South African 1964–2008”, Jenni Verschoor’s (2009) “Patronage, business and the value of art: The corporate arts sponsorship of Absa Bank and Hollard Insurance” and Clarissa Snapper’s “Beginning with criticism: An analysis of the first four volumes of *Art South Africa*”

(2008). These dissertations proved useful for my study when discussing art collections, the value of art and art criticism. Before exploring the art world and the art market, as it is currently known, the initiation and the progression of the international art market will be presented.

2.2 The Initiation and Succession of the International Art Market

De Marchi and Van Miegroet (2006) see the initiation of the primary art market occurring during the second half of the 15th century; art sold during this time was primarily religious paintings in places such as Florence and Bruges.⁹ Reitlinger maintains that there has been a fascination with the prices of pictures since the early 16th century:¹⁰

How fascinating the price of pictures has become in this humdrum world. But in fact there has been a peculiar fascination in the price of pictures since the early sixteenth century. At a time when painters still charged a fix rate for the job, as if they were making a pair of shoes, certain paintings began to acquire a prestige value. They were painted, not into the plaster of walls but on portable panels or canvases in order that their owners might trade them, if need be. These pictures began to change hands, as they do now, at higher and higher prices (Reitlinger, 1982[1961]:xi).

With “higher and higher prices” at hand, this phenomenon increased immensely from the late 1960s onwards, when the act of owning a work was not enough and the idea that monetary value was innate to a work of art became alluring; in other words, the investment purpose of the artwork started taking over its inherent value. This well-known saying by Andy Warhol (1928–1987) seems fitting in showing how the art market changed in the latter half of the twentieth century:

I like money on the wall. Say you were going to buy a \$200,000 painting, I think you should take that money, tie it up and hang it on the wall. Then, when someone visited you, the first thing they would see is the money on the wall (Andy Warhol cited in Bonhams, 2014).

⁹According to De Marchi and Van Miegroet (2006:62) a large demand from foreign merchants eager to obtain works in the new medium, oil, gave Bruges a niche. So did a demand for easel painting on thin linen and oil on panel as affordable substitutions for tapestries. A mass demand for paintings occurred principally in Northern cities. Resale markets lagged behind primary sales, second-hand paintings being handled by secondary dealers. This sequence: commission nexus, cost-reduction and novel sorts of painting, mass retail, then resale markets, occurred in cities across Europe. As mass markets emerged, so too did specialist dealers. Widespread distribution came to require efficient sales mechanisms, which led to public sales and auctions.

¹⁰For an in-depth reading of how the art market evolved, and how the view of the artist changed from the late 18th century to the 1960s, see Reitlinger’s *The economics of taste, Vol 1 to 3* (1961[1982]).

With this phenomenon in mind, Gorman (2012:69–70) presents a few seminal historic accounts in her dissertation about how the art market has changed in America over six decades, from 1950 to 2011. For example she shows that, in the 1950s, the art gallery was seen as a locus for artists and art lovers. Gorman (2012:71) illustrates that the goal of most galleries during the '50s was to present people with artworks that could give use value; art was collected and used as symbols for intellectualism and elitism. This echoes Bourdieu's writing in *Distinction* about the culture of the French in the 1960s, about how art was a symbol for culture, and how the *petit bourgeoisie* bought art in an attempt to be perceived as cultured (Bourdieu, 1984[2010]).

Gorman (2012:69–71) continues by stating that in 1973 the Scull auction¹¹ signified that art had become an investment – investing instead of collecting became more and more alluring. In 1974 the British Rail Pension Fund was the first large-scale institutional investor to become involved in the art market; its investment of 2% of their overall funds made a large impact on the art market, earning the Fund the nickname of “one of Europe's greatest art patrons since the Medici”. The market subsequently started attracting entrepreneurial interest such as Art Market Research (since 1985) and ArtNet (founded 1998).

According to Crane (1989:3), prior to 1970 contemporary avant-garde art was only auctioned occasionally, but during the '70s auction sales for such works became much more frequent. According to Gorman (2012:69–71), in 1980 a precedent was set for buying contemporary art when the Whitney Museum purchased Jasper John's *Three Flags* (1958) for \$1 million.

This progression in the art market shows a shift from collecting to speculating. Gorman (2012) consequently notes that the two are no longer mutually exclusive and that an understanding exists among art world players in this regard.

Although there are major art centres across the world, Thornton (2009) finds that the art world today is more polycentric than it was in Paris in 1900. Thornton (2009) maintains that today art capitals exist across the globe, including Beijing, New York, London, Los Angeles, Basel and Berlin, with vibrant art communities in Vancouver, Glasgow and Milan. Professor Elfriede Dreyer (2013)

¹¹According to Bond (2008), Robert Scull is an example of a collector from the 1960s who pushed up the prices of the artists he collected. Scull, a New York taxi entrepreneur, built up a large collection of pop art in the 1960s by buying works cheaply directly from the artists. In 1973 he sold 50 works at auction for over US\$2 million. Documentary footage shows Robert Rauschenberg arguing with Scull after the auction: “I've been working my ass off just for you to make a profit”, with Scull's response being that although Rauschenberg himself did not benefit from the sharp rise in prices at that auction, the general trend would be good for him as the event would raise the artist's prices overall (Bond, 2008).

states that Johannesburg and Cape Town can also be described as vibrant art communities. In these cities one finds commercial galleries, auction houses, museums and art fairs, but there are also very vibrant art communities in cities such as Potchefstroom, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Durban, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth, to name but a few. A VANSAs study noted that the visual arts industry in South Africa is overwhelmingly urban in character, and largely concentrated in the three major metros of Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban (Department of Arts and Culture, 2010:10).

VANSAs survey aimed to establish the financial value of the South African visual art market. The value was estimated at R1 billion per year, excluding auctions, with 87% of the money coming from gallery sales and 17% coming from sales directly from the artists' studios. Such a breakdown illustrates the important role of gallerists, showing that intermediaries, in the form of galleries, are generating more money for artists than the artists can generate on their own. These percentages illustrate the important role of the gallerist in an artist's career.

VANSAs presented the following data concerning auction house contributions to the financial value of the South African visual art market:

A growing auction market contributes an additional (estimated) R250 000 to R500 000 million in gross turnover to the overall economic impact of the sector. This is less than 5% of the value of the UK auction market, suggesting that South Africa has a small, but nevertheless significant developing secondary market for the visual arts relative to international comparators (Department of Arts and Culture 2010:10).

A key finding of the report suggests that public consumption of the visual arts – whether as audiences or consumers (meaning visitors to museums and also buyers) – is much smaller than most international comparators in the developed world, and that there is still a significant untapped domestic market for the visual arts (Department of Arts and Culture 2010:10).

Owing to the cultural boycott against South Africa in the 1980s, South Africa is relatively new to the international art market, which makes the above observations by VANSAs understandable, as well as South Africa's small scale in relation to the larger international art market. The global dissatisfaction with apartheid brought about an international cultural boycott, shutting South Africans off from the rest of the world, including the art market. Charl Bezuidenhout (in Van Rooyen, 2011:7), owner of Worldart Gallery in Cape Town, notes that because South African art was isolated from the international art market up until the last decade, South Africa was not in the consciousness of the

international market; however, his impression is that there has lately been a greater international awareness of South African art.

Bezuidenhout (in Van Rooyen, 2011:7) also maintains that the quality of much of South African art is justified by the prices it is attaining on auction. It is consequently pertinent to note that owing to cultural boycotts during apartheid the works of South African artists have only recently been appreciated internationally. According to Ferreira (2013), although many South Africans were buying international art during apartheid, international buyers were not openly exposed to South African art, as South Africa was not able to take part in international biennales and art fairs. There were, however, artists who travelled overseas and in that way gained international exposure (Ferreira, 2013). There were also art dealers such as Egon Guenther who sought international exposure for artists he believed were undervalued and overlooked, such as the artists who fell under the Amadlozi Group, including Sydney Kumalo, Ezrom Legae, Edoardo Villa and Cecil Skotnes. However, Guenther sought international exposure with these artists before the cultural sanctions set in, taking these artists to and exhibiting their work in Europe during the early 1980s (O'Toole, 2014a: 94–95).

There is a belief that local art is not priced as highly as some international artists as a result of South Africa's late start in the international art market. Rat Western (2008), at the time news editor of *Artthrob*, observed that contemporary South African art rarely exceeded R100 000. However, Giles Peppiatt (in Coulson, 2010:3), Bonhams' South African art specialist, believes that as South Africa's reputation on the art market increases, so the price of art will rise, as has already been seen at national and international auction events (Van Rooyen, 2011:7).

In May 2007, the international auction house Bonhams hosted the first London auction solely devoted to South African artists. The auction was titled *The South African Sale* and, according to Bonhams website, sales amounted to £1.4 million (R19.5 million). The second South African sale held in January 2008 showed an increase in sales of more than double, attaining £3.7 million (R50.2 million). Since 2008 Bonhams has hosted twice-yearly sales focused on South African art (Bonhams, 2012). The latest Bonhams sale in March 2014 reveals a total sale that amounted to £2.75 million (R49,1 million). It would seem that, for Bonhams, prices for South African art have levelled out if comparing the price increase from 2007 to 2008. With regard to contemporary South African art, Giles Peppiatt at Bonhams, who auctioneered the first London sale of Contemporary African Art – *Africa Now* – in April 2009, saw this sale and exhibition as bringing this hitherto unknown market to the attention of many international collectors and institutions (Bonhams, 2015).

2.3 Field: Art World and Art Market

Expanding on Chapter One and the great concern about the art world being secretive, British contemporary art critic and filmmaker Ben Lewis (2009) states in his documentary, *The Great Contemporary Art Bubble Update*,¹² that “the contemporary fine art world and art market are notoriously difficult to investigate”. Coslor’s (2010:212) belief that “it is difficult to estimate the size of the fine art market due to the tendency by dealers to keep prices private” adds to this perception.

Consonant with this, from Sotheby’s (in Robertson & Chong, 2008:1–2) perspective, it is not possible to measure the international art market with any accuracy as dealers and auction firms frequently do not report annual totals for auction sales or revenues for profit, and the amount reported may not be verifiable. To highlight this example, Hughes (cited in Pettie, 2008) states that the art market is even more unregulated than the market for drug trafficking. Similarly, in the South African context, VANSA’s assessment of the South African visual arts in 2010 notes that there is a general lack of regulation in the industry, with no widely accepted protocols or guidelines governing the business relationship between players (Department of Arts and Culture, 2010:10). To add to this idea of secrecy in the art world, the study by VANSA does not show the percentage of people who buy visual artworks, as there is no such existing data (Department of Arts and Culture, 2010:10). So how can one make sense of a world that is so secretive and unregulated?

According to Bourdieu, as interpreted by Webb (2002:66–67), if one wants to make sense of social practice, such as the art world and inherently the art market, one has to investigate how that world is put together and how it works, one has to understand and make sense of the cultural field in which this world is played out. Webb (2002:xi) interprets Bourdieu’s term “cultural field” as representing sites of cultural practice. Webb defines “cultural field” in the glossary to the book *Understanding Bourdieu* as

¹²Ben Lewis (2009, 2011) spent two years following the contemporary art market in New York, from its impressive peak in May 2008 to October 2008, the complete downfall in early 2009, and the slow recovery of the art market up until October 2009. The previous art market crash was from 1990 to 1992. There are two BBC documentaries, *The Great Contemporary Art Bubble*, aired in May 2009 and *The Great Contemporary Art Bubble Update* aired late November 2009. In the former he follows the art auctions in spring and summer of 2008 in London and New York, filming the art world at its most optimistic and confident. The latter is an updated version of the first broadcast. In the updated documentary, Lewis returns to New York in October 2009 to see what had happened “once the boom turned to bust”. Lewis defines the end of the contemporary art boom as being between 2003 and 2008 (Lewis, 2009, 2011).

a series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations and appointments which constitutes an objective hierarchy, and which produce and authorise certain discourses and activities. But a field is also constituted by, or out of, the conflict that is involved when groups or individuals attempt to determine what constitutes capital within that field and how that capital is to be distributed (Webb, 2002:xi).

According to Bourdieu (2010[1984]), society is a multidimensional space that consists of a number of sub-spaces or fields. As Webb also notes, Bourdieu defines fields as consisting of institutions, social groups and workspaces. Each field has its own rules, or doxa (values and beliefs). In each social field there are agents who dominate, or hold power, in that field with their accumulated forms of capital, who assign individuals a legitimate position in the field to fit in with the hierarchy of the field. One way to distinguish and classify these individuals is via the use of antagonistic adjectives.

Bourdieu (2010[1984]) explains that each individual has a habitus, which is unique to each person. It consists of the individual's biases, upbringing, belief systems, habits (the way one walks, talks and eats), and more. The habitus is made up of a person's capital; Bourdieu distinguishes between economic capital, cultural capital and social capital. Economic capital refers to the amount of money or assets a person owns, cultural capital refers to one's knowledge and experience of and in the artistic field, and social capital refers to the network of people one knows and interacts with in a certain field. All the different types of capital make up a symbolic capital, which refers to the way an individual is perceived, and where that individual is placed in the hierarchy of a field.

Bourdieu (2010[1989]) also argues that the world is not made up of an "imaginary universe" that allows "perfect equality of opportunity"; instead, not everyone has the same chance of success and certain factors have to be involved in order for success to take place. In other words, the more combined capital a person has, the better chance that person has of being recognised, or attaining symbolic capital, in that person's field, and this in turn equips that person with more power in that field to ascribe to the belief system in that field.

Webb (2002:22) notes that Bourdieu's cultural fields are not made up simply of institutions and rules, "but of the interactions between institutions, rules and practices" and that Bourdieu's

argument for sociology is not to gather information about how society is organised, but to critique the discourses¹³ and practices that stand for us as “truths” (Webb, 2002:66).

As mentioned in Chapter One, for Moulin (1987:138) “there is no way to study the private art market ... other than to gather as much information as possible and then attempt ... to draw some general conclusions”. This study follows the ideas of Moulin and Bourdieu, gathering information from the literature and interviews, while critiquing the dominant or hegemonic discourses and practices that stand as “truths”.

In essence, this study investigates the way in which art world players and intermediaries understand value and the way value is constructed. Next I investigate sources that have researched similar issues. From the literature I am able to present context and background information about this field, namely, the art world and, inherently, the art market.

Thornton (2009:xi–xiii) explores the workings of the art world in her book *Seven days in the art world* (2009). She identifies six art world players, namely, artists, critics, curators, dealers (gallerists), collectors and auction house experts. Similarly, West (2007:36) classifies art critics, museum curators, prominent collectors and galleries as key players in the art world in part responsible for an artist’s perceived success. In addition, Lindemann (2006:5) identifies two additional players that should be considered, the museum director and the art consultant. In line with this, Ellen Gorman (2012:68) notes that the art consultant and the advisor have become major players in the field.

In separate findings, Lindemann (2006:21) and Moulin (1995[1986]) note that the roles of art world players very often intersect. You may, for example, encounter dealer/consultants, collector/dealers, curators/critics, and many other variations. From a historical French context, Moulin (1995[1986]:43) notes that the actors fulfilling the roles of intermediaries have increased, as “over the past twenty-five years” (from circa 1960, Moulin’s article was first published in 1986) “art policies have brought about an expansion of public investment in the creation and spread of the arts, with a concomitant development of the organisational structure to support both”. Some art world players function as middlemen or intermediaries between the artist and the buyer. Heinrich (2012:699) distinguishes between two types of intermediary; those who deal with the circulation of

¹³Webb (2002:x) defines discourse as “the forms of language associated with, and expressing the values of, particular cultural fields. A legal discourse, for example, expresses the values and beliefs of law”.

artworks, known as art dealers and auction houses; and those who deal with the evaluation of art, that is, curators, art critics and art writers.

Dividing players into those who circulate artworks and those who value artworks could make it easier to understand the main role and function of these intermediaries. However, Lindemann (2006:21) argues that these roles commonly overlap and intersect. For example, gallerists, dealers and auction houses evaluate the financial value, or price, of works on a daily basis, with art dealers doing so mainly for the primary market and auction houses mainly for the secondary market.

Thornton (2009:xiii) emphasises that the art market only forms a section of the larger art world. Accordingly, this study is focused on the contemporary South African art intermediaries that build relationships and make exchanges possible between artists and buyers. According to Robertson and Chong (2008:218), on an international scale the market is best understood on a sectoral basis.

Segmenting is by key periods, schools and movements. Key segments are Old Masters, Impressionism and Post-Impressionism, Modern and Contemporary. Non-Western segments include Indian and Chinese art. Both fine wine and collectible motor cars have established markets of collectors and appear as specialist categories at auction (Robertson & Chong, 2008:218).

As already mentioned, the Department of Arts and Culture (2010:10) commissioned VANSAs to conduct a survey of South African intermediaries and their views entitled *The market for South African visual arts*. The study reveals the complex articulation of roles among artists, dealers, gallerists, auction houses, public and private museums and collections in the sale of an artwork. In this survey VANSAs notes that various kinds of markets for the visual arts exist in the South African context:

From critically engaged “contemporary” work that acquires value through a complex process of subscription involving institutions, dealers, art critics and collectors through to “commercial” art with an essentially decorative function and whose value is determined through a less elaborative and more conventional supply and demand dynamic (Department of Arts and Culture, 2010:10).

In addition to the various sectors of the art market, Robertson and Chong (2008:215) also state that social networks and relationships in the art world are of great significance. Intermediaries have networks, and they know the “right” people, they know which buyers would be interested in a certain type of art or artists, they also know what artworks their clients have and where to go when

wanting to sell a specific artwork. Social networks in this instance connect with Bourdieu's idea of social capital, implying that it is not enough to have cultural capital and economic capital; it is also who you know, that is, one's social capital, that allows a person to climb the hierarchy of a field.

Moulin (1995[1986]:36) argues that there are several art markets; she distinguishes mainly between the market for the "classical", in the sense of "having class", that is, artworks which have become part of various historical legacies, and the market for present-day or contemporary works. Moulin states that classical artworks are characterised by "artistic excellence" and "residual rarity", whereas contemporary works are marked by "uncertainty" (Moulin; 1995[1986]:36). According to Moulin (1987:148), no one knows whether contemporary art is going to stand the test of time, or whether it will wither away as has happened to so many other artists that were once known but are no longer talked about. That is why the art market refers to classical works as blue chip stocks and contemporary art as high risk but high reward stocks. Blue chip art implies stability, which usually requires a certain test of time (Berman in Rabe, 2010; Moulin, 1987:148).

With the primary market in mind, according to Schönfeld and Reinstaller (2005:1–11), there is a high degree of uncertainty when it comes to the quality of an artwork. The reputation of an art gallery and that of its existing stable of artists are the essential elements of a functioning primary market. Reputation is a strong signal about the gallery's competence in choosing high potential artists and thus lowers the buyer's risk of buying low quality art. On the secondary market the degree of uncertainty is minimised, as buyers can rely on auction precedent, referring to the record of an artist's price trajectory on the auction market. Websites like Auction Vault, Mutual Art and Art Price are sources of this information. The role of the gallery, along with its reputation and what that reputation signifies or reflects about the artists it represents, plays a significant role in an artist's rise to success in the art world. The gallery cannot, however, exist without the artist. The role of the art world players who make the art world exist will be explored next.

In the opinion of Elfriede Dreyer (2013), there are three roles that art world players fulfil: making, showing and writing. Dreyer (2013) explains that the art world, in its simplest sense, requires an artist for the making, a curator for the showing and a critic for the writing. Dreyer (2013) argues that without these players, the art world would cease to exist. Keen (1971:18) makes a similar assessment in her book *The sale of works of art* (1971) regarding the role of collectors, curators and art historians, implying that they are essential for the recognition, or symbolic capital, of the artist:

Many people despise the art market, or simply dislike the idea that money and art are in any way connected. All those who take pleasure in works of art should, however, be thankful that an art market of some sort has existed down the centuries. If there had not been art lovers from the earliest times, who were prepared to pay good money for what they wanted, artists would not have been able to afford to follow the promptings of their genius, and our great artistic heritage would never have come into existence. It is, of course, to the patrons and collectors who have taken a vivid interest in the art and artists of their times that we are most indebted. But others, who have enriched the knowledge and spread the love of works of art by bringing home foreign treasures, and have helped to create the museum collections and to promote the study of art history through their own interest, also deserve much gratitude (Keen, 1971:18).

Keen (1971:18) suggests that buyers give artists the freedom to create art without distraction by giving them the financial means to do so. Keen also credits the collector and the museum and art historian for “our great artistic heritage”. Giorgio Vasari, writing in 1568, speculates that artists would have created much greater works if they had had financial support available, as is also suggested by Keen in the preceding quotation:

We rightly admire the celebrated artists of the past who created great work, knowing their prize would be a happy life and a generous reward. How much more, then, should we praise and exalt those rare men of genius who create priceless work and who live not merely unrewarded but in circumstances of wretched poverty! It is undeniably true that if the artists of our own time were justly rewarded they would produce even greater works of art, far superior to those of the ancient world. Instead, the artist today struggles to ward off famine rather than to win fame, and this crushes and buries his talent and obscures his name (Vasari, 1568[1987]).

Vasari argues that it “is undeniably true” that if artists were “justly rewarded” to create instead of battling for survival, then talents would not have been left unexplored and unfulfilled and that we would have even more “greater works of art”. Similarly, in Keen’s view, if it weren’t for those few artists who did get funding from patrons, our artistic heritage would not be what it is known as today. The conclusion that can be drawn is that an artist’s life is arguably much easier, from an economic point of view, and prolific when a buyer or a collector is at hand to lend financial support.

Bowness (1989:11) uses Van Gogh as an example of an artist whose artistic success, referring to his art attaining high prices and being included in major museums, was inevitable, though at first this example seems to “prove[s] the opposite” as Van Gogh died early in his career, before he had the chance to experience financial and public recognition. As Bowness states:

[He] simply did not live long enough to see success ... Van Gogh had won recognition from his fellow artists, and the first major article, by Albert Aurier, had appeared ... in 1890, six months before his death ... Had Van Gogh lived to be eighty and died in 1933, he would certainly have been very famous and very rich (Bowness, 1989:48).

In this quotation, Bowness uses peer and critical recognition as markers or milestones in an artist's career of obtaining fame and money. Using Van Gogh as an example, who or what played a role in Van Gogh's career to get his art where it can be appreciated today? Even though Van Gogh did not live to enjoy his success as an artist, either critically or financially, intermediaries such as writers and curators played a role in his art being appreciated today.

2.3.1 Antagonistic Adjectives

Intermediaries use certain terms to describe artists and their work, resulting in the placing of an artist in the discourse of art. According to Bourdieu (2010[1984]:24), it is easier to understand something if the opposite is stated. Bourdieu refers to the term antagonistic adjectives when using binary oppositions as used in arts discourse, such as symbolic and monetary, high art and popular art, explorative and commercial. Velthuis's research shows that the notion of binary oppositions is present in arts discourse, as in the above examples. The act of classifying things according to binary pairs, as shown by Velthuis (2005:17), is derived from Pierre Bourdieu's suggested classification system called the economy of symbolic goods. Velthuis (2005:17) explains that Bourdieu's classification system consists of two different types of hierarchy; first of all, there is the opposition between "large-scale" production directed at catering to the pre-existing demands of a larger audience, and "small-scale" production meant for an audience that mainly consists of artists, critics and a limited number of other insiders. According to Velthuis (2005:18), Bourdieu has on various occasions referred to this opposition as the opposition between the commercial and the non-commercial, between traditional and avant-garde, or between bourgeois and intellectual art, between the "immediate, temporary success of best-sellers" and the "deferred, lasting success of 'classics'" (Bourdieu in Velthuis, 2005:18). In Jenkins's opinion Bourdieu's use of the term art is as follows:

[A]rt is simply that which counts as art in a specific context, and what counts as art is a social construct, the product of classificatory struggles between coalitions of artists, consumers (patrons of one kind or another and audiences), and professional classifiers (critics, in the main, but this would also include academics) (Jenkins, 1992[2002]:xiii).

From this point of view, “art” is a social construct, and that what is “art” for one person in their context, or in their habitus, is possibly not “art” for someone else with their own set of capital and habitus. Jenkins (1992[2002]:xiii) notes that “art” for Bourdieu is the product of classification and distinctions made by artists, collectors and the professional classifiers, referring to the art world players who hold power in the field as guided by their amount of cultural, social and economic capital.

When exploring the terms Bourdieu uses to distinguish between art and artists, I can state that this study, in the context of the South African art market, in my own set of capital and habitus, investigates the South African fine art market. In *The art of art history* (Preziosi, 1998:579) the term “fine art(s)” is explained as follows:

[T]he term has its origins in distinctions made during the Renaissance between artefacts serving predominantly functional or decorative ends (the “applied” arts or “practical” crafts) and those serving higher intellectual or liberal (i.e. liberating) ends. Painting, sculpture, and architecture came to be framed (potentially) as forms of intellectual work, on a par or complementary to that of writing. The distinction is equally grounded in differences in the social and class status of producers, and in the professional circumstances of their training (in academies for “fine” arts, in guilds for craftpersons), as discussed by Vasari and other artists and architects such as Leonardo da Vinci and Alberti (Preziosi, 1998:579).

Just as divisions were made in the Renaissance, also resulting in divisions in social classes, as noted in the above quotation, Stevenson draws from Moulin by distinguishing between “fine art” and “non art”:

Artworks in the broader sense of the word can be divided between what is so-called “non-art” which is excluded from the realms of “Fine Art” and the art market that we concern ourselves with here. “Non art” works comprise the many kinds of painting mostly by painters not recognised by the art world as artists. Except in minor details, these paintings are often very similar to one another and are readily substituted for each other. In other words, they have a high elasticity of demand. In the case of “non art” ... decorative appeal and size would be primary determinants of value, whereas with “Fine Art”, ... the primary Components of Value are those covering the identity of the artist and aesthetic attributes. “Non-art” works are those works that tend to be popular to a broader public, but are scorned by the art connoisseurs and “fine art market” (Stevenson, 1992:13).

Fine art in this sense correlates with Crane's (1989) definition and the idea of the avant-garde artist. Crane distinguishes between the avant-garde artist and the "formula"¹⁴ or entrepreneurial artist:

In effect, artists working outside of styles are generally, although not invariably, acting as entrepreneurs, primarily concerned with producing and selling pictures rather than advancing artistic knowledge. Some of them are financially successful without ever being discussed or reviewed in the art press. By contrast the avant-garde artist is not merely painting pictures to please the public; he or she is attempting to paint in a way that no one else has painted before but by using the body of artistic knowledge that already exists (Crane, 1989:20).

A finding from the above quotations is that the idea of fine art and avant-garde relate to one another, because just as Preziosi (1998:579) describes fine art as liberating and intellectual, so the avant-garde artist is described by Crane (1989:20) as wanting to "advance artistic knowledge". Another finding from above quotations is that antagonistic adjectives are encountered across these views, and that the exclusives or elitists who have a higher status in the artistic field correspond to the higher art, or the fine art as shown above, and the broader public find pleasure in popular art. Crane (1989:21) shows Moulin's perception of the so-called formula or entrepreneurial artist, to whom the person with a low cultural capital relates:

A very great number of pictures are the products of conventional craftsmanship, obeying in subject and style fixed rules. They constitute the ultimate avatar of academic realism. This kind of artistic production represents the greater part of the artistic activity in the West. In the eyes of connoisseurs, these pictures constitute objects that are easily interchangeable, that poses in common the capacity to satisfy the most vulgar forms of taste and that are refused membership in the universe of painting (Moulin, 1967 in Crane, 1989:21)

In Moulin's opinion connoisseurs believe that art "satisfy[ies] the most vulgar forms of taste", or as Moulin also states with regard to the artist who creates this art, the so-called formula artist is not accepted into the connoisseurs "universe of painting". The connoisseur refuses art that is "easily interchangeable", or "chromos" as referred to by Moulin (in Crane 1989:20), as there is no intellectual thought or uniqueness to them, which to the connoisseur is essential in the fine art

¹⁴Crane (1989:20) notes that many artists working outside the limits of contemporary styles are in a sense making use of formulas in the creation of their work. "Formulas involve a great deal of standardisation, which makes possible rapid and effective production for new work. Examples of formulas can be found in literature, popular music and painting. In this context, the creation of a painting consists of finding minor variations on a familiar theme, of giving new vitality to a stereotype or inventing a new element of colour or composition that is still within the limits of the formula". Moulin (in Crane, 1989:20) describes in similar terms "chromos", painting that are sold on sidewalks and in certain kinds of galleries.

realm. These quotations also illustrate the many sets of binary oppositions used in the arts discourse, in this sense art versus non-art.

Bourdieu's description of the professional classifier relates to Moulin's (1987) and Crane's (1989:21) notion of a connoisseur. According to Bourdieu (1984:466), the social agents of the art world, or art intermediaries, produce not only classifiable acts but also acts of classification, which are themselves classified. Certain key intermediaries, or professional classifiers, have the power to name classifiable acts along with acts of classification. For example, with regard to the above discussion on classifying antagonistic adjectives, the people who we turn to for answers are the art historians, art dealers and auction houses. They have been positioned as having the power to classify. They have the cultural, social and economic capital to be positioned higher up in the hierarchy of the art field so as to have the power to classify types of art and artists.

Similarly, Bowness (1989) uses antagonistic adjectives when he distinguishes between the artist as "genius" and the artist as "journeyman", between art for museums, where, according to Bowness, one will find the "genius" artists, and art for the everyday market, where one finds the "journeymen" artists (Bowness, 1989). Artistic brilliance links up with Bowness's definition of the artist as a "genius", as the "genius" artist is perceived as artistically brilliant. Crane's (1989:20) distinctions correlate with Bowness's term "journeyman" artists, as she believes that most artists, referred to as "journeymen" artists by Bowness, tend not to participate in the kind of social groups that generate stylistic innovations, as found in artists' communities. According to Crane (1989:20), this type of artist is primarily concerned with the production of works that will sell rather than a solution to aesthetic problems or the discovery of new techniques or subject matter. Beardsall (in Crane 1989:20) refers to a journeyman artists, in the way Bowness would use the term, as artists who have "no preconceived idea of what art should be" and who have no element of social commentary or interpretation in their work. Both Beardsall and Bowness do not consider "journeymen" artists classifiable under the idea of fine art, as termed by Preziosi (1998:579), and understood and categorised by Stevenson (1992:13) and Moulin (in Crane, 1989:21).

Webb (2002:152) notes that Bourdieu describes the people who "allow" artists into the art world as the gatekeepers of the art world. These gatekeepers, according to Bourdieu, are important curators, publishers, established artists, critics and reviewers. Crane (1989:165) also refers to gatekeepers in her text when referring to artists who have attained high prices on auction as being represented by "gatekeeper" galleries. Webb (2002:152) states that "the product of a field ... comes into existence

through a process of field-specific competition". This leads to a question of power. Bourdieu also illustrates the notion of power, stating that it is the players with the most capital who are authorised to attribute value. In other words, "gatekeeper" galleries can be viewed as those who hold power in adding value to an artist's career.

The monetary value art dealers and auction house experts assign to artworks is grounded in their opinions as formed through their cultural and educational capital. The primary market has the difficult task of assigning initial values to artworks; this is done, as Stevenson's components of value suggests, by assessing the material aspects along with the symbolic and information-based aspects.

With the secondary market in mind, auction precedent is used as a method for assigning financial value to an artwork. Auction houses form part of the secondary art market, and auction house procedures are the same in all secondary art markets across the globe, including South Africa (Sotheby's, 2010; Thornton, 2009:8). Auction houses place estimates on the art they put up for sale, and this estimate is what they believe the current market value of the work of art can reach. The estimated value is the price that appears in auction catalogues (e.g. R15 000–R20 000). The winning bid of the artwork is called the hammer price; to this price the auction house adds a buyer's premium and VAT (taxes).¹⁵ The hammer price is usually close to the estimated price, but on rare occasions it may exceed this price and set a new record. When an artwork fails to sell the term "bought in" is used (Maclaren, 2014), which refers to an artwork that has failed to sell at the reserve price. The reserve price is the price that the seller is willing to sell his or her artwork for; this price is usually below the low estimate. At the auction house Strauss & Co, for example, it is not customary to place the reserve higher than the low estimate, at best the reserve is set at the low estimate (Strauss & Co, 2014).

2.3.2 A Hostile Issue: Art and Money

In a review of Velthuis's (2005) book, *Talking prices*, Calin Valsan (2006:165–168) understands the central theme of the book as the existence of two contradictory accounts of the art market; the

¹⁵ Referring to buyer's premium, the auction house Christie's charges 17.5% extra on hammer prices, while Sotheby's charges 20% (Maclaren, 2014). In South Africa, Strauss and Co charge 12% for amounts above R10 000 (Strauss & Co, 2014). Both the seller and the buyer pay a premium for the services of the auction house; in the case of Strauss & Co, 12% of the value of the hammer price is deducted from the seller's amount, along with the VAT on the commission, while the buyer in question has 12% added to the hammer price along with the VAT amount on the commission price.

economist's perspective and the sociologist's perspective. In the economist's perspective, "artworks represent nothing but another commodity or investment asset; as such, art prices should follow the logic of efficient markets" (Valsan, 2006:166). In the sociologist's perspective, "however, artworks represent an uplifting display of culture and spirituality. Tragically, art markets signal the degradation of culture into a commodity" (Valsan, 2006:166). Valsan maintains that Velthuis believes that neither view can be accepted or rejected (Valsan, 2006:166).

In her article, "Hostile worlds and questionable speculation", Coslor also investigates the contentious views of the art market and its role in facilitating the exchange between money for art. Coslor (2010:210) addresses two extremes; she refers on the one hand to those who believe that when one combines money with art it is "damaging" and that such people hold a "hostile worlds" view, while on the other hand there are those who see art as a commodity like any other, this she calls the "economic" view. Coslor adds that the hostile worlds view draws from the "contested commodity" framework for goods that interact problematically (morally) with the market, such as "the market for body parts and babies". Coslor (2010:210, 221) notes that although children and organs are extreme examples, art also has these types of moral contest.

Coslor (2010:210) refers to Velthuis in her writing, and recognises that there should be a pluralist understanding of beliefs about the relationship between art and money, as opposed to imagining that one or other of these views is correct. Coslor argues that a pluralist understanding is particularly helpful in the case of an artwork, "because art is a symbolic good with assigned, socially constructed value, rather than intrinsic value" (Coslor, 2010:210).

In terms of a similar perspective to the hostile worlds view, according to Andrew Petti's (2008) article for *The Telegraph*, Robert Hughes believes that art's inherent value is lost with the high prices set on the art market. This idea is emphasised in Hughes's the *Mona Lisa Curse* as aired on British TV, Channel 4, in 2008. Petti recalls that Hughes explains that the *Mona Lisa Curse* is when someone goes to see a work of art not for the artwork itself, but to say that they have seen that artwork. It is when the celebrity status of the artwork overtakes the innate value of the artwork. Hughes uses the example of Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* when it was exhibited in New York in 1963:

[The *Mona Lisa* was treated] as though it were a film star. People came not to look at it, but to say that they'd seen it (Hughes in Petti 2008).

They didn't come to look at the Mona Lisa, they came in order to have seen it. And there is the crucial distinction, since one is reality and experience, and the other one is simply phantom (Robert Hughes, *The Mona Lisa Curse*, aired on British TV Channel 4, 2008).

Pettie (2008) reiterates Hughes's views by stating that Hughes believes that with the huge amounts being paid for Damien Hirst's art, the price of a work of art has become more significant than its meaning. This once again links up with the hostile worlds view, and Coslor (2012:221) states that Hughes can be seen as forming a part of the hostile worlds perspective. To reiterate the hostile worlds view refers to art world participants who believe that attributing financial value to art destroys the inherent meaning of art.

My intention in interviewing art intermediaries on the South African art scene was to ascertain the nature of these intermediaries' views pertaining to the relationship between art and money along with the general view in this regard.

Coslor (2010:209) notes that people with a hostile worlds view argue that money corrupts the meaning of art. Similarly, South African art critic, Melvyn Minnaar (2010), believes that the growth of the secondary market means that the aesthetic knowledge of art is left behind. Minnaar states that in "a different era" an eye for good art was accredited to the experts, and auction houses and art dealers looked to these knowledgeable experts for advice on the value of art. In conversation with Stephan Welz (2014), he recalled that in 1972 "when Sotheby's entered the South African art auction market it made a major difference, basically it eclipsed all of the other auction houses, and they disappeared, companies such as Currie's and Lezards who offered regular art and antique auctions do not exist anymore, most had to close their doors".

According to Welz, South African art auction houses before 1972, including Currie's and Ashbey's, had limited knowledge about art: "usually the owners knew more [about the art] than the auctioneers, and the owners would dictate that which would go into the catalogue". In this respect the reason Sotheby's was able to close down the other auction houses was due to "their knowledge, integrity and the quality of the catalogues and the whole marketing aspect" (Welz, 2014). According to Welz, Sotheby's changed the face of the South African auction market by offering prestige and knowledge, and gave South African collectors and buyers someone to trust. Minnaar (2010) acknowledges that it is the auction houses and art dealers that have lately become the experts themselves. It is also quite common for auction houses to appoint staff with degrees and/or

experience in the field of art history, fine art and curatorship, as is seen with the staff of Strauss & Co (2013b) and Christie's (2013b).

Benhamou-Huet's (2008:81) ideas concerning the changing role and function of intermediaries correlate with Minnaar's observation that art dealers and auction house experts have taken on the roles of art critic and art historian. It has become the role of the auction house to encourage buyers and sellers to make use of their services by providing high quality auction catalogues that contain informed articles discussing the artworks coming up on auction. Auction houses work with artistically and financially valuable artworks – artistically in the sense that the artists who made the artworks are critically acclaimed, and financially because the works are estimated to have high monetary values. The owners entrust their valuable art to the auction houses and buyers are willing to pay large amounts of money for art as valued and authenticated by auction house experts. The reputation of the auction house therefore adds to the symbolic value of the art.

Although Hughes (in Artstory, 2012) states that the art market is inherently dictated by pure irrational desire, he also views the art market as a necessary evil because of its positive aspects with regard to artists' careers. Money and fame give artists the opportunity to create the art that they want to create without the pressure of market trends; as Damien Hirst (b. 1965)¹⁶ stated in an interview with Ricardo Figueira (2010), "money is a key, not a goal". This notion renews Vasari's insight of five centuries earlier, noting that if artists had more financial support, the world would have had more great works of art today. Vasari's quotation (as noted above on page 35) could hold meaning in today's world by suggesting that, for Hirst, the money he makes from being an artist helps him to create art not with any specific market in mind but for the sake of being an artist and creating what he believes in. In an interview with Dylan Lewis (2011), Lewis stated that once he had started earning good money for his art he pursued ideas that could possibly not "work" with the public, but that he had the luxury of experimenting. In other words, it was not necessary to create what he knew would sell because he had the financial means not to worry whether his art was going to sell.

¹⁶Figueira (2010) describes Damien Hirst as being perceived as rich, controversial, provocative and extravagant. In 2004, Art Market Insight (2009), a division of Artprice.com, the largest art database in the world, measured and rated the leading contemporary artists on a country-by-country basis against the backdrop of the Venice Biennale. To this end Artprice.com identified the contemporary artists, born after 1940, who generated the highest revenue at auction in each of the world's principal art markets. British contemporary artist, Damien Hirst, ranks the highest, with a recorded €19.3 million (R1.95 billion) in auction sales worldwide, €16.2 million (R1.64 billion) of which was generated in London alone. Underlying this extraordinary performance is a price increase of 526% over seven years (Art Market Insight, 2009).

This section illustrates that there are two sets of belief systems held in the art world; those who argue that the art market is fair and that the phenomenon of artworks attaining high prices is positive for the art world, and those who believe that the art market is irrational and unfair, or open to chance. However, as shown by Coslor, these opposing camps often overlap and have since the 1970s become mutually exclusive and generally accepted. Whatever way one looks at it, for an artist to become recognised and successful he or she will have to build capital in order to be recognised in the art world and, accordingly, be placed in the hierarchy of this world. Bowness's four conditions of success is one interpretation of the way in which an artist can rise in the art world through certain circles of recognition.

In the next section, Bowness's four conditions of artistic success with related literature will be analysed, along with other theories, including those of Stevenson and Galenson, that investigate components of value and rank importance. This section investigated the different views with the aim of demystifying the creation of economic value creation in an artist's career. The aim of the following section is to determine and analyse the sources that support and critique Bowness's four conditions of success, and also support and critique other ideas on components of value and the ranking of importance and success. Bowness's perception and use of the term "artistic success" is also investigated.

2.4 Components of Value and Conditions of Success

Stevenson's components of value model is divided into four parts, namely, "aesthetic and historical factors", "supporting documentation", "physical attributes" and "the economic and financial factors". Stevenson's four groups are further divided into two categories, the tangible aspects and the symbolic aspects of the artwork. Van Zyl (2012:46) explains how these groups are divided into the categories:

[I]n considering the nature of an artwork as a symbolic good in the economic context, it is not only the material work being exchanged, but also its symbolic attributes produced by the art world. An artwork could therefore be seen to consist of two mutually co-dependent aspects; the material aspect and the information about the artwork. Both the aesthetic and historical factors as well as the supporting documentation groups consist of information aspects of the artwork. Physical attributes relate to the material and tangible features as well as the possible utilitarian function of the artwork. Economic and financial factors are concerned with the exchange mechanisms and the conditions of the specific market in which the exchange takes place (Stevenson, 1992:154, interpreted by Van Zyl 2012:46).

Stevenson acknowledges the role of intermediaries in his components of value model, in the sense that the intermediaries can use the symbolic components to distinguish a work of art and an artist from each other and so value an artwork more or less in financial terms (Stevenson, 1992:15–16). Stevenson states that by making use of the components of value model, the buyer and the seller can distinguish which components of value are more important for them personally and so be able to make a more informed decision when buying or selling art (Stevenson, 1992:154).

Bowness (1989:11) measures artistic success in terms of high prices on auction and inclusion in recognised art museums. Bowness argues that for an artist to attain artistic success, the artist must first be recognised by four circles of agents, or intermediaries, in the art world, namely, one's peers, the art critics, patrons and art dealers, and finally, the art museum and the auction house. Bowness focuses on the social and cultural capital that the artist has to accumulate in order to become widely recognised. For Bowness, the physical aspects are always already in place otherwise, he maintains, the artist would not be considered in the physical attributes presented by Stevenson; instead Bowness's conditions of success relate to Stevenson's supporting documentation and the economic and financial factors.

Bowness and Galenson argue that only the most important artists' works attain the highest prices (Galenson [2005:4] interpreting Bowness). The following statement from Stevenson is in line with their argument:

What most record prices for an artist, country or school, all have in common is that they are for "important" works (Stevenson, 1988:18).

Contrary to the above statements, which reveal an opinion that high prices go hand in hand with importance, is an ongoing discussion among art critics and academics about the irrationality of the art market, as some claim there to be no correlation between artistic importance and art market prices. Some perspectives, according to Galenson's examples, that believe the art market is arbitrary and that there is no obvious explanation for high prices on the auction market include Richard Benson, former dean of the Yale School of Art, Robert Storr, senior curator of the Department of Painting and Sculpture at MoMA in New York, and Robert Hughes, author and former art critic for *Time* magazine (Galenson, 2002b:5, 2005b:2–3). Bowness also notes that "even among the so-called educated public" there is an assumption that artistic success is arbitrary in artists' careers (Bowness, 1989:7).

This section critically investigates Bowness's four conditions of success, which was presented during the twenty-first annual Walter Neurath memorial lecture. During this lecture, Bowness attempted to illustrate that artistic fame is predictable and those artists who have attained the highest prices on auction and whose work forms part of museum collections measure successfully against his four conditions of success. In other words, for Bowness artistic fame is not arbitrary but, by following these progressive four conditions of success, predictable. Bowness uses the terms "artistic success", "rising fortunes" and "artistic fame" in a similar way. He states:

There is a general supposition even among the educated public that there is something arbitrary about artistic success ... people are reluctant to believe that chance does not generally play a major role in the rising fortunes of an artist ... I want to propose a contrary position, and argue that there is a clear and regular progression towards artistic success. There are, in my view, conditions of success, which can be exactly described. And success is conditioned, in an almost deterministic way. Artistic fame is predictable (Bowness, 1989:7).

In this excerpt, Bowness considers the use of the terms "fame" and "success" in a similar way because, according to Bowness, they are both attained when aspects of artists' careers measure up to his four conditions of success. In other words, in Bowness's view, for an artist to attain artistic success, rising fortunes and artistic fame, he or she will effectively measure against the four conditions of success.

In his documented lecture, Bowness (1989:7, 11, 50) states that the four conditions of success are applicable to every successful artist in history since the 18th century when the artist won independence from the dominant patronage of Church, State and aristocrats.

Bowness argues that when an artist complies with the four conditions of success, it implies that an artist has not only attained "rising fortunes", but also "artistic success" and "artistic fame". An opposing view is, however, noted by Esmé Berman, in her book *Art and artists of South Africa* (1983). She states that there are examples of artists who have attained "considerable success on the popular market", or financially, but who "do not qualify for individual assessment in this publication", referring to those whose art is not deemed aesthetic or critically important by critics in the field. Bowness refers to this type of artist as a "journeymen" artist. Berman (1983:340–341) lists the names of these "popular" artists, including Adriaan Boshoff, Errol Boyley, Vladimir Tretchikoff and Chris Tugwell. The notion that works by "popular" and "important" artists sell shows that there is a market for both "journeymen" and "genius" artists; it is assumed though by Bowness (1989) that

it is the museum that acquires work by the “genius” artists, and the everyday buyer, or the broader public, that is known for acquiring works by “journeymen” artists.

This section leads back to ideas surrounding antagonistic adjectives, and how players in a field have the power to classify art and artists, such as Berman classifying some artists as “popular” against everyone else that is discussed at length in her book, *Art and artists of South Africa* (1983). Those Berman refers to as artists are those who “treat it [art] as a projection of translation of human experience into visual form”. Berman (1983) describes popular art as art that “does not translate – it illustrates”. Bowness (1989) makes this distinction between the “journeyman” artist and the “genius” artists. These antagonistic adjectives make it possible for a hierarchy to develop, and to be sustained, in the field of art, with “popular” or “journeyman” artists at the lower end and “genius” and “relevant” artists at the top of the hierarchy of the field. What is illustrated by Berman (1983:340–341), however, is that it is not only the artists at the top of the hierarchy that are rewarded financially, but also the popular artists as the “larger body of the public audience does not concern itself with the significance of aesthetic form and visual expression”.

The finding here is that artists who are not necessarily deemed important by professional classifiers can attain high prices in the market. However, according to Bowness and Berman, these artists will never be classified as “important” or “genius”. For Bowness, only those who measure successfully against his four successive circles of recognition should be attributed these titles. In this sense, artists who measure successfully against the four conditions of success will attain all forms of recognition, including financial and artistic success. Bowness’s four conditions of success, supported and criticised by contemporary, international and local sources, will be investigated in detail next.

2.4.1 Peer Recognition and Academic Environment (Social and Cultural Capital)

Artists – not dealers, collectors, or writers – are the best guide to what is going on in the art world (Haden-Guest in Galenson, 2005a:3).

Much like Haden-Guest, Bowness (1989) argues that it is always the artists themselves who are the first to recognise exceptional talent. Bowness believes that it is within the artistic settings of artist communities and art educational environments that artists’ contemporaries discover “artistic brilliance” (Bowness, 1989:16). For Bowness, artistic brilliance is associated with the term “genius” artist. Bowness argues that in any group of artists, some stand out:

You can see this happening among art students, and it is sometimes at first a matter of personality as much as it is of achievement. And of course the emergence of exceptional talent is not a phenomenon confined to the art world: it happens in every field (Bowness, 1989:12).

Bowness (1989:7, 16, 48) argues that “throughout history” peer recognition has always played a vital role in artists’ reverence. With “throughout history” Bowness refers to the period since the 18th century when the artist won independence from the dominant patronage of Church, State and aristocrats. Bowness argues that this is true even of artists who died early in their careers, using the Dutch post-Impressionist painter Vincent van Gogh (1853–1890) as an example. Bowness writes that Van Gogh was noticed and encouraged to develop his new painting style by his contemporaries Paul Gauguin (1848–1903), Émile Bernard (1868–1941), Paul Signac (1863–1935) and George Seurat (1859–1891) during the two years he lived in Paris.

In line to Bowness’s argument that peer recognition is an integral part of an artist’s path to success, Galenson (2005a:4) uses Paul Cézanne (1839–1906) as example. Galenson writes that in November 1895 Cézanne had his first solo exhibition at Ambroise Vollard’s¹⁷ (1866–1939) gallery in Paris. Attending the exhibition, Camille Pissarro (1830–1903), Cézanne’s tutor two decades earlier, marvelled at his former student’s progress. In spite of the work being moderately priced, at 400 franc each, few sold. Consequently, Pissarro complained about the short-sightedness of collectors in a letter to his son. Pissarro also noted that his fellow impressionists were even more enthusiastic about Cézanne’s art than he was.¹⁸ The quality of Cézanne’s work was recognised by his peers before collectors appreciated it, after which it did not take long for Cézanne’s work to appreciate in value.¹⁹ Haden-Guest’s quote that artists are the best guides to what is going on in the art world concurs with Galenson’s example of Cézanne; it is typical that many renowned artists of the modern era have been recognised first by their peers (Galenson, 2005a:3, 4).

¹⁷ Ambroise Vollard is referred to as the patron of the avant-garde by the Art Institute of Chicago (2006). Vollard is viewed as a legendary art dealer, patron and publisher who ‘put modern art on the map’ by launching the careers of some of the pioneers of modernism, such as Pierre Bonnard, Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, Pierre-Auguste Renoir and Pablo Picasso (Art Institute of Chicago, 2006).

¹⁸ Along with Pissarro, Edgar Degas (1834–1917), Claude Monet (1840–1926) and Pierre-Auguste Renoir (1841–1919) also bought paintings on the show (Galenson, 2005a:4).

¹⁹ In 1899, one of Cézanne’s paintings sold at auction for 4400 francs; in 1913 Vollard sold one for 25 000 francs; and in 1925 yet another sold at auction for 528 000 francs (Galenson, 2005a:4).

To substantiate this argument further, the example of the Abstract Expressionists in New York in the 1940s is apposite. Artists such as William Bazotes (1912–1963), Willem de Kooning (1904–1997), Robert Motherwell (1915–1991), Jackson Pollock (1912–1956) and Mark Rothko (1903–1970) became increasingly familiar with each other’s work and often exhibited together (Crane, 1989:25–27). This resulted in a loose community based on mutual understanding and respect. According to Sandler (in Crane, 1987:25), the personal interaction between these artists was of great importance “for they gave rise to an aesthetic climate in which innovation and extreme position were accepted and encouraged”.

Bowness describes peer recognition by mentioning two settings, namely, artist community surroundings, as illustrated by the above examples of the Impressionists, Post-Impressionists and Abstract Expressionists, and art educational environments. According to writer and gallery owner Jason Horejs²⁰ (2009:10), an artists’ community setting is a place where creative people, including painters, sculptors, musicians, writers and photographers, congregate to share ideas, help each other develop their talents, find solutions and obtain information about opportunities for exposure of their work – also known as networking, or in Bourdieu’s terms, building social capital.

Artist and writer Sonal Panse (2012) describes a formal art education as an environment where one works alongside other creative people, and where networking and social skills are learnt. Therefore, it is a place where one can learn from those who are more accomplished and experienced and they in turn can critique one’s art and offer guidance and suggestions. For Panse (2012), art education, or the place of study, has an influence on an artist’s career up to a point. Panse (2012) points out that artists get taken more seriously if they have a degree in an artistic field, as it shows that time invested in learning the profession and that the artist has been evaluated to a standard that is acceptable in the industry. Panse (2012) argues that an art education can influence an artist’s career only “up to a point”, meaning, in my reading of Panse, that once an artist has the name of a recognised school behind them, they will have to continue pursuing their career as an artist without any further help of that institution. In other words, the brand of a school can give the artist social capital, cultural capital and, finally, the symbolic capital that will assist him to the next step in his career as an artist. In conclusion, art educational and artistic community surroundings provide artists with network opportunities.

²⁰ Jason Horejs owns an art gallery in Scottsdale, Arizona and is the author of the book *‘Starving’ to successful* (Horejs, 2009).

Galenson (2005a:8), Panse (2012), Salmans (2005) and Thornton (2009:258) consider tertiary education as being of high consequence in an artist's path to becoming a recognised and respected figure in the artistic field. According to Thornton (2009), Bachelor of Arts (BA) and Master of Fine Arts (MFA) degrees have since the 1970s become the first "legitimater" in most artists' careers. Similarly as suggested by Galenson (2005a:8, in Salmans, 2005) an MFA from a highly respected art school such as the Yale University School of Art, the Art Institute of Chicago, the California Institute of Art, the Royal College of Art and the Kunstakademie in Düsseldorf, Germany, has become a type of passport into the art world. In coherence the art critic Arthur C. Danto (in Salmans, 2005) states that a master of fine arts is increasingly becoming a necessity to the art world: "The idea of someone breaking in from outside is far more rare than you would think".

Galenson (2005a:1–18) emphasises the importance of formal art education in the training of leading artists. He found that among leading contemporary artists, an art education background has increased since the late 1960s,²¹ for example the UK's Royal College of Art produced David Hockney (b. 1937), Ronald Brooks Kitaj (1932–2007), Allen Jones (b. 1937), Peter Phillips (b. 1939) and Derek Boshier (b. 1937), while the Kunstakademie in Germany produced artists such as Gerhard Richter (b. 1932) and Sigmar Polke (1941–2010).

Galenson (2005a:2) recognises the speculative value in the art educational environment, acknowledging that academic programmes can allow collectors to identify, support and buy "important" artists before they become widely recognised, and therefore before their early innovative work rises in value.²² According to Galenson's (2005a:3) research, auction market results from the last five decades reveal that the Yale School of Art has delivered a series of graduates who have achieved great success both commercially and critically. Therefore one can see why the art educational environment is deemed important in the path to artistic and financial success, as emphasised by Bowness, Thornton and Benhamue-Huet. The art school has become a place where collectors and dealers can identify artists they can potentially support, and from there continue

²¹ As Chuck Close's (in Galenson, 2005a:3) comment of 1997 reads: "Our generation was the first fully educated generation – everybody went to graduate school."

²² According to Benhamou-Huet (2008:57), Charles Saatchi is an example of a collector who collects a type of art at low cost usually before anyone else does. Thereafter he promotes the artists through his influential network of museums, art galleries, auction houses and fellow collectors. Saatchi's collection, and his success in selling a part of his collection, will be discussed in more depth in the section on patronage by collectors and dealers.

supporting, either by continuing to buy their work (in the case of the collector) or by representing their work in their gallery (in the case of the art dealer). The art dealer can then continue to support the artist by taking them to international art shows and marketing their work by including them in exhibitions, and catalogues written by recognised art critics. In this sense the art educational environment is a place where the artist can be noticed by art intermediaries, who in turn can take their careers to the next level of recognition.

Formal art education is not the only way to become successful and/or to be perceived to be important in the art world. Horejs (2009:9–10) conducted an informal survey of several hundred artists to determine what they felt their most important educational experience was. Although this was not a controlled academic study, its findings are relevant to the ideas explored in this study. Their responses are shown in percentages, listed from most to least important:

- 35% association with other artists
- 34% mentorship
- 21% workshops
- 7% academic training
- 3% online resources

The above percentages indicate that 35% found association with other artists to be their most vital or influential educational experience. It is within this environment that peer recognition is likely to take place. Association with other artists can offer networking opportunities, critique and even insight into the art market and, according to Horejs's findings, is rated even higher than academic training (Horejs, 2009:10). It is clear that educational aspects are also found in artistic community surroundings. It should be noted, however, that Horejs's findings are based on a small informal study and are merely an indication; nevertheless they are relevant to this study as they show that, in an international sphere, academic training is not necessarily the most important feature in an artist's climb to perceived importance, and artistic and financial success. It seems to be the guidance in an environment that is relevant, and whether it is academic or community based seems irrelevant, as will be argued in the following subsection. Both an educational and an artist community can therefore be viewed as a significant social context for artists to be involved in to get to the "next step" of a successful career in the arts.

When investigating ideas concerning artists' community surroundings and art educational environments in the South Africa context, one must remember that the South African history is

unique in this regard. The apartheid²³ regime prohibited artists of colour from attending white educational institutions. Therefore many recognised South African artists never had the opportunity to attend tertiary institutions devoted to the arts.²⁴

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 prohibited blacks and whites from attending the same education institutions, and the systems allocated to blacks were of less educational quality compared to the white schools (Rebirth, 2000; South African History Online, 2014). In consensus with this statement, Sue Williamson (2004[1989]:10) recalls in her book, *Resistance art in South Africa* (2004[1989]), that the Bantu Education Act prevented black school children from taking art as a subject; they were limited to subjects which would prepare them for lowly jobs in the labour market. For Les Cohn (2010a:1), a local art consultant, it is because of this system that art training as opposed to a formal tertiary art degree should also be considered in the category of art education. In addition, Williamson (2004[1989]:10) notes that the African community itself served as a teacher, and the absorption of art skills was learnt in the community, such as with the sculptors of Venda, and the tradition of beautifying the community with paintings on the walls of houses and shacks.

Art training, as Cohn (2010a:1) suggests, was further supported by art community projects, such as the Polly Street Art Centre, Rorke's Drift Art and Craft Centre, Johannesburg Art Foundation (JAF) and the Bag Factory (Slack, 1988). Humanitarian, activist and artist, Bill Ainslie (1934–1989), founded the JAF with his wife in 1971. The JAF is known as a space during the apartheid era, where artists from all backgrounds could study and grow together (Sassen, 2001).

As more students joined the JAF, more teachers were brought in (Nolte, 2000). In the early 1980s, its first black teachers were employed, Dumisani Mabaso as head of printmaking, and Tony Nkosi, who taught painting (Ainslie, 2004). The JAF²⁵ left a significant mark on South African history by training

²³ Apartheid became law after the reunited National Party won the white minority elections on 28 May 1948. Apartheid was designed to separate black and white South Africans (Rebirth, 2000; South African History Online, 2014).

²⁴ The apartheid regime forced many black South African artists (who are today recognised) into exile, for example Dumile Feni (1942–1991) and Gerard Sekoto (1913–1993) (Grosvenor Gallery, 2015; South African History Online, 2012).

²⁵ The example of the JAF is used in preference to the many other art centres and facilities working at the time because William Kentridge trained there. As his artist trajectory is a case study, I find it critical to mention the stature of this institution along with the artists that studied here, as I will be referring back to these in the first section of Chapter Four when William Kentridge's art career trajectory is investigated.

some of South Africa's most renowned artists, including Dumile Feni-Mhlaba (1942–1991), Helen Sibidi (b. 1943) and David Koloane (b. 1938) (co-founder and honorary director of the Bag Factory) (Koloane, 2007).

While exploring the South African situation, it makes sense to include both tertiary art education and training in art schools and foundations such as the JAF in the notion of an art educational environment. Training and education can take place in both an art education environment and an artists' community. As in the art school or training environment, in the artist community setting artists have an opportunity to be exposed to peers and mentors, and therefore an opportunity to obtain peer recognition.

To conclude Bowness's initial circle of recognition, who or what can be classified as the intermediaries? And what role or function do these intermediaries fulfil in adding to the value created in an artist's career?

In the literature it was shown, particularly by Galenson's (2005:3) and Salman's (2005) research, that the place of study can influence an artist's career. In this sense the educational institution, be it tertiary or artist community based, and the name or the symbolic capital that institution holds, adds to the cultural, social, educational and ultimate symbolic capital of the artist who is associated with that institution. The place of study therefore assists the artist to be placed either higher or lower in the hierarchy of the art world when professional classifiers assess the artists entering the art world. Thus the names associated with the group an artist was connected to, be it an academic institution, artist community or informal art education setting, have an influence on an artist's symbolic capital, and also play a role in the initial steps of value creation in an artist's career.

Bowness's first step of recognition would seem to be difficult to substantiate with documentation, unless the artist's life during that time of his or her career has been documented. It would therefore seem that peer recognition in either an art educational institution or art community is both viable and valuable, that artists do tend to be the first to recognise talent in their surroundings, but unless this is documented, how can one confidently state that an individual artist's peers recognised him or her? The name of the institution where peer recognition may or may not have taken place may be a more substantial way of showing how an artist's career was influenced during the early or developing stages of their career, even if only due to the symbolic and cultural capital of that institution.

In an interview with the past managing director of Stephan Welz & Co, Fred Scott (2013), he suggested that Bowness's first stage of recognition should be questioned and interrogated. He recalls looking at the works William Kentridge, Robert Hodgins and Deborah Bell were creating when they were working together as emerging artists. For Scott (2014), Bell and Hodgins stood out at the time as the "most interesting in respect of style, creativity and technique" as opposed to Kentridge. This perception insinuates that artists in their initial stages are not necessarily the be-all and end-all as the idiom goes. Scott goes on to say, "both Hodgins and Kentridge on the other hand have through innovation and the refinement of their respective artistic styles become leaders in South Africa's contemporary art arena". With Kentridge's path to success in mind, this aspect will be investigated in Chapter Four.

Accordingly, Bowness's next circle of recognition that advances an artist's stature and rise to artistic success is critical recognition, and aspects and sources surrounding this circle of recognition are investigated next.

2.4.2 Critical Recognition (Symbolic Capital)

Bowness's second condition for success, critical recognition, is easier to substantiate than peer recognition, because there is documentation to validate this type of recognition. In Stevenson's (1992) components of value model he recognises the information components of attributing value to an artist; one of these informational components includes "supporting literature". In this section it is argued that academic art criticism and journalistic art criticism, along with awards, grants and residencies, play a role in an artist's path to becoming recognised.

According to Bowness (1989:21), the second stage of recognition comes from the role the art writer plays. Paige West's (2007:36) ideas correlate with Bowness's second condition of success; in her opinion art critics are some of the key players in the art world and among the most important denominators of artistic success. Bowness views the role of the art critic as "parasitic", but acknowledges that

... the artist cannot do without them: they are not to artists what ornithologists are to birds, as have been claimed (Bowness, 1989:21).

A possible explanation for Bowness referring to the art writer as "parasitic" is that they do not create anything, they are merely describing or "taking" from the artist; however, if it were not for the writer the artist would not receive exposure in the broader media. It could be argued that the

relationship between the artist and the writer is, rather, symbiotic, meaning that both sides benefit from the relationship – the writer has a topic to write about and the artist is receiving exposure, making the possibility of collectors and art dealers noticing his or her work all the greater. Bowness (1989:21) notes that even though artists can write quite well at times, it is not ideal for the artist to write about his or her own art,²⁶ as the outsider art writer can see things that the artist cannot as he or she is too involved. Therefore the role of the writer is imperative.

Noël Carroll (2009:9) states that one of the most important factors for critical recognition is the quality of the evaluative writing about the artists in question. Bowness (1989:21) distinguishes between serious art critics and art journalists. Once again Bowness makes use of antagonistic adjectives to distinguish between what he deems to be on the one hand relevant writers, or serious art critics, and on the other, art journalists, whom he does not consider relevant. In this sense it can be suggested that when a “serious art critic” writes about an artist, as opposed to an art journalist, that artist’s symbolic capital increases, as it is deemed to do in the writing of Bowness, who states that academic journals are taken more seriously by professional classifiers than the writings in “common”, “mass” or “popular” magazines and newspapers. With regard to the impact of academic articles, the public in the main does not have access to them, as only academic staff and students at universities have access to electronic academic journals, unless individual collectors subscribe to individual journals, making access to academic articles by the broader public very unlikely. Therefore, the mass media seem to have more influence than journals, since the greater public is more likely to read the mass media than academic journals. Subsequently, I investigate literature that discusses the effect of and the role played by the critic and the media in terms of the success or value creation in and of an artist’s career.

Unlike Bowness, Terry Barret (1994) considers both academic and journalist art critics as playing a significant role in artists’ careers. Barret states that a professional art critic may be a newspaper reporter assigned to the “art beat”, a scholar writing for professional journals, or an artist writing about other artists. In this context he defines art criticism as the act of responding to, interpreting meaning, and making critical judgements about specific works of art. Barret (1994) further considers journalistic art criticism as being written for the general public, usually in the mass media. He suggests that journalistic criticism, which includes reviews of art exhibitions in galleries and

²⁶ Bowness (1989:21) presents the reader with the example of Henry Moore writing about his own art but coming across as “almost too eloquent, and not entirely characteristic of Moore’s other writings”.

museums, as dealing mainly with art that it is newsworthy, whereas academic art criticism is written for a more specialised art audience.

Taryn Cohn (2010b), on the other hand, insists that hype, specifically media hype, builds awareness and contributes to the credibility of an artist. Credibility and awareness of what an artist is doing builds his or her profile, and this profile in turn enhances the value of an artist's work. Cohn (2010c:60) goes on to say that, in South Africa, the role of the media in profile building is very important for the financial success of an artist, because many local art critics use the media as a platform to write critically about art. In this sense, as argued by Barret (1994), Cohn (2010b) and Thornton (2008), the journalistic aspect of criticism plays a significant role in value creation in an artist's career; the media informs the broader public and, in this sense, the artist has the platform to become recognised, which could lead to fame.

In terms of the effect an art critic has on an artist's career, there are some sources, such as West (2007:47) that suggests that a single art critic can make or break an artist's career. West writes that reviews by prominent art critics can either positively or negatively influence the outcome of an artist's exhibition and career. Bowness (1989) and art consultants Les Cohn (2010a) and Taryn Cohn (2010b), however, do not believe this to be the case.²⁷ According to Bowness (1989:25–28), critique in art is not absolute or final; it is sustained by consensus. Bowness (1989) argues that once the critical consensus is established, the change in view of that artist is relatively minor. Reputations rise and fall, but within restricted limits. An artist's career is not complete until his or her death, and it is often re-evaluated after that, with early works constantly being reviewed in the light of what the artist does later.

Taking cognisance of Barrett (1994), Cohn (2010b) and Thornton (2008), this study recognises that art journalism has a role to play in value creation in an artist's career, especially in the South African context as illustrated by Cohn (2010b). Another issue that Bowness's second condition of success does not mention is critical recognition in the form of art awards, grants and residencies. These types of recognition will be discussed in the next section, as Thornton (2008:259) argues that these also have an influence on value creation in an artist's career.

²⁷ Les Cohn and Taryn Cohn are the founders and owners of the art consultant agency Art Source South Africa (Artsource South Africa, 2012).

According to Thornton (2008:258), art awards,²⁸ grants and residencies are different forms of critical recognition. One of the most talked about and celebrated awards in the Western world is the Turner Prize.²⁹ The Turner Prize is one of the United Kingdom's most prestigious and controversial art awards and is awarded yearly to a British visual artwork, which is usually of a conceptual nature. The competition is organised by the Tate Gallery and began in 1984 when Bowness was the director. The Prize is named after the painter JMW Turner (Tate, 2014a).

Winning awards is one of the few ways an artist will make newspaper headlines. It is relevant to mention this because the media is one way for an artist to gain public awareness as illustrated earlier. In this sense, a well-known award, such as the Turner Prize, creates publicity and winning this prize can lead artists to fame and to higher prices being paid for their art. According to Thornton (2008:140), a Turner Prize victory will double an artist's asking price, and a nomination is often said to increase an artist's price by a third. Benhamou-Huet (2001:35–36) refers to the Turner Prize as an element contributing to artistic success.

On the local art scene, the National Arts Festival Director, Ismail Mahomed, describes the Standard Bank Young Artist Award (established 1984) as South Africa's most heralded accolade (National Arts Festival, 2011). Similar to the Turner Prize, which awards the prize to young British artists (under the age of 50), the Standard Bank Young Artist Prize awards the prize to young South African artists (under the age of 38) who have demonstrated exceptional ability in their chosen fields but who have not yet achieved national exposure or acclaim³⁰ (Standard Bank Arts, 2012; Tate, 2014a).

It should also be noted that winning a prize like the Standard Bank Young Artist Award is not enough to become an acclaimed artist. It may merely be a "step" to being considered for museum collections or collectors noticing an artist for possible patronage. Similarly, with regard to the educational environment, Panse (2012) states that the place of study merely influenced an artist's career up to a point. In this instance, there are many examples of artists who won the Standard Bank Young Artist Award whose names are not remembered today, and who did not attain high prices on

²⁸ An art award is when a panel of esteemed critics and, or scholars in the field of art, recognises artists. A panel of judges usually includes curators and gallery owners (Thornton, 2008:258).

²⁹ The Turner award has yielded winners such as Gilbert and George (1986), Damien Hirst (1995) and Chris Ofili (1998) (Crane, 2012; Tate, 2014a).

³⁰ Artists who have won this award include Kathryn Smith (2004), Brett Murray (2001), Pippa Skotnes (1992) and William Kentridge (1987) (National Arts Festival, 2012). Nandipha Mntambo was announced as the winner in 2011 and Mikhael Subotzky in 2012 (Standard Bank Arts, 2012).

the secondary art market. In an interview with Warren Siebrits, he stated that some artists who were

... at the top twenty years ago, are almost nobody now. I'm talking Standard Bank Young Artist Awards, every major museum in South Africa purchased, so it is an interesting debate (Warren Siebrits, 2013a).

Peffer (2013b), during a lecture at the inaugural Turbine art fair in July 2013, used Tommy Motswai (b. 1963) as example of an artist who was the winner of the Standard Bank award but whose art has lost value over time. With this example he makes the point that there is always risk attached to buying art, and that no contemporary artist, even ones who win recognised prizes like the Standard Bank Young Artist Award, is a safe investment.

The Artsource South Africa (2012) website describes art residencies as an opportunity for artists to broaden their artistic vision, enrich their art practice and expand their networks and they provide mid-career artists with a cultural dialogue of opportunities. Residencies recognise artists critically, and in so doing leverage their profiles and careers, and add to the artists' social capital. Residencies, as a form of peer recognition and critical recognition, provide invaluable international exposure and serve as a networking opportunity by facilitating collaboration on future exhibitions with fellow art professionals (Artsource South Africa, 2012).

In this section it was indicated that elements such as academic and journalistic articles, reviews, publications and the media (which includes journalistic articles and reviews), along with awards, residencies and grants, play a role in the value created in an artist's career (Thornton, 2008:258). When an artist is awarded a prize, a grant or a residency it serves to indicate that the artist is recognised critically by those considered authorities or experts in the field. In turn, the public gains knowledge about the artist and the confidence to buy and support that artist's work.

Bourdieu (1984) explains that in any field there are experts that recognise talent and place such talented people within the hierarchy of a field; hence, awards and residencies are markers for this hierarchy. Professional classifiers, in their turn, play a role in attributing awards and residencies to the artists they believe to be creating something that is relevant or significant for that specific field.

According to Carroll (2009:14), collectors and dealers typically look to the critics for assistance in discovering the value of art. It is therefore the searching eye of collectors and dealers that is caught

by academic and journalistic art criticism in art journals, reputable art magazines and the media, and by awards, grants and residencies.

According to Bowness (1989:39), the step that follows critical recognition is patronage by collectors and dealers. Much like Bowness, West (2007:36) notes that in addition to art critics, other key players on the path to artistic success include prominent collectors and galleries.

2.4.3 Patronage from Collectors and Dealers

Bowness (1989:39) suggests that critical recognition will likely result in patronage from collectors and dealers, “as almost every major artist attracts one or two important collectors at an early stage of his or her career”. In his third condition of success, that is, patronage, Bowness considers the roles of both collectors and art dealers. Their separate roles in an artist’s rise to success and fame will be explored next.

When investigating the private collector, William Grampp (1989:7) describes the wise collector, as “someone who buys what he likes, pays no more than he must, and does so because he takes the advice of reputable art dealers”. West (2007:55) states that many prominent collectors use museum curators to help build their collections. She uses the example of collectors Debra and Dennis Scholl, who is known for not buying art that has not been recommended or cleared with a museum curator. Once a museum is in possession of an artist’s work, that artist’s work becomes more sought after, as it is perceived as more valuable and therefore more desirable. Although certain art collectors turn to museum curators for advice when buying art, the leading collectors are those who buy art from emerging artists that have not yet been acquired by museums.

According to West (2007:41), there is a historical precedent for prominent art collectors to donate their entire art collections to museums. The great art collections of the world grew out of private collections formed by royalty, aristocracy and the wealthy. By the 18th century, collectors were donating their possessions to the public and constructing buildings to house them, for example the Louvre Museum and Uffizi Gallery (Dictionary.com, 2015). Artists’ careers benefit from representation in such private collections because of the potential inclusion in national museum collections. Today, many prominent collectors are opening up their own museum-like institutions to showcase their collections rather than donating them to art museums. A local contemporary example is Piet Viljoen who opened the gallery, The New Church, in 2012. In 2014 the name was changed to The New Church Museum. Viljoen’s collection comprises works by William Kentridge,

Avant Car Guard, Robin Rhode, Penny Siopis, Steven Cohen and Zander Blom to name but a few (The New Church, 2013).

A prominent international example of a collector who opened his own museum-like institution is Charles Saatchi.³¹ Saatchi started out buying minimalist art, Italian paintings and post-war American art. In 1985 he started exhibiting his collection in the spacious Saatchi Gallery then located in Boundary Road, London. In the early 1990s Saatchi became attracted to the work of Damien Hirst and his fellow artists from Goldsmith College. Saatchi exhibited their art in 1992, referring to the artists as Young British Artists, better known as the YBAs. In 1998 he exhibited the art he bought from the YBAs in an exhibition entitled *Sensation* at the Royal Academy of Art (Benhamou-Huet, 2008:55). Just as Scull profited from the works of Rauschenberg, as previously mentioned, so Saatchi profited from the works of his YBA dominated collection. A few months after *Sensation*, Saatchi sold a part of his collection at Christie's, with 130 works fetching 1.6 million pounds (£14 688 000), double the expected estimate (Benhamou-Huet, 2008:57).

According to Benhamou-Huet (2001:65), the seller him- or herself can have an influence on the price of the artwork by virtue of their own stature. Benhamou-Huet (2008:69) refers to this phenomenon as the "collector label". If, for instance, a reputable collector such as Saatchi, or any public figure for that matter, owned an artwork, then the value of the artwork is assured. Because this influential person bought the piece of art in the first place, in this sense the artwork is "vouched" for. This, according to Benhamou-Huet (2001:65), is the "pedigree quotient". This could well be a reason for the successful sale of Saatchi's collection at Christie's in 1998.

Akin to Benhamou-Huet's (2001:65) pedigree quotient is Bamberger's (2007:viii) notion of provenance. Provenance means that the ownership history of an artwork can significantly influence the value and collectability of that artwork. Provenance is a major factor in determining monetary value and marketability, particularly with regard to artworks considered to be important pieces. According to Bamberger (2007:143), provenance almost always increases the value and desirability of an art piece because with it there is more to the art piece than just the art itself. As he says, "provenance is profit". In terms of Bourdieu's theory of capital, symbolic capital is at play here, as it is the symbolic value of the artwork that increases its value, not its inherent value.

³¹ In 2003, Saatchi opened his new premises exhibiting his collection in the vast former London County Hall on the South Bank of the Thames. The newest Saatchi Gallery opened in Chelsea, West London, in February 2008 (Benhamou-Huet, 2008:57).

Provenance is also one of Stevenson's factors when "check-listing" his components of value model. There is more than one way to establish the provenance of an artwork; for example, proof that the art was actually executed by the artist who signed it, as fraudulent art is rife in the market. For Stevenson (1992:183), this is the most basic function of provenance. Another way of establishing provenance is the proof that someone of importance commissioned an artwork and that the artwork has been part of their collection for a certain number of years. A work with this type of provenance is what Bamberger (2007:143) names a blue blood among paintings..

More unusual examples of provenance, as presented by Bamberger (2007:144), include documented incidents of controversy or intrigue. A work of art may have been stolen and recovered many years later, or had other incidents befall it. Any revelations that separate an art piece from all others on the market make it more desirable, and more unique, than another painting. In this sense, the collector is, by implication and as patron, also playing a central role in an artist's path to success and importance.

Bowness (1989:39) refers to art dealers as "those who promote the new and unfamiliar". He also states that they "play a valuable and creative role". An art dealer typically seeks out artists to represent. Like art collectors, art dealers are likely to support artists they deem talented. Many dealers specialise in a particular style, period or region. With regard to art dealings, art dealers buy works of art and then resell them either in their own galleries, at other galleries or directly to collectors. Those who deal in contemporary art usually exhibit artists' works in their own galleries, and take a percentage or commission of the price the work sells for.

Adding to the secrecy of the art world, the sales that take place between art dealers and collectors are mostly discreet, and not as transparent and public as auction sales (Benhamou-Huet, 2008:81). Art dealers build relationships with collectors and museums whose interests are likely to match the work of the artists the dealer represents. Some dealers are good at anticipating market trends. These traits lead dealers to becoming "tastemakers", as Polsky (2011) likes to call them. In other words, a prominent art dealer may be able to influence the taste of the market, set a trend, and influence the choices of other dealers and galleries.

Thompson (2008:46) explores the complex relationship between the artist and the dealer. He suggests that there are often tense relationships between these two parties, especially in cases

where dealers mark the prices up by 50%, which is the norm. To the artist this seems extremely high, “[d]ealers are seen as undervaluing the artist’s training and creative input, and artists are viewed as undervaluing the contribution of the dealer’s brand, customer base and promotional activity”. On the other end of the spectrum are the allowances some galleries pay the artist. Thompson (2008:46) reports that most top galleries and many mainstream galleries pay monthly stipends to artists. He reports that several dealers told him that they believe the White Cube Gallery³² in London pays artist stipends of £1.1 million (R8.32 million) per month as advances for future works. Advances could lead to artists feeling resentful, as they may feel pressured by owing work to dealers that they have already been paid for. Some artists feel that the need to produce can be counterproductive for creative work, although according to Graddy (2009:235), the need to produce can also be productive. This leads back to Vasari’s quote, stating that the support from dealers or patrons can help the artist to create more work, as the artist can focus on the work as opposed to starving (Vasari, 1568[1987]).

Thompson (2008:46) illuminates the “human side” of the artist–dealer experience. He states that some dealers provide artists with accounting services as well as, in the words of one dealer, “alcohol, rehab and nanny services”. As per Thompson’s example, historically this is best described by the Marlborough Gallery’s relationship with Francis Bacon. The Gallery paid Bacon minimal prices for his work but provided Bacon with the services of a personal assistant, Valerie Beston. Thompson (2008:149) writes that Bacon would often destroy his work that he did not like and part of Beston’s job was to save these canvases from destruction, as well as collect new work and organise the details of his private life, including laundry bills and lovers. This example shows that the dealer promotes the productivity of the artist and, in turn, profits the gallery. The motivation for these “services” rendered to the artist is not purely humanitarian, but for profit. In this sense, the relationship between the artist and the dealer can be viewed as symbiotic.

It is clear from the above that the role of the art dealer is not limited to the marketing and selling of art. Velthuis (2005:21) argues that from the inception of Modern art (in Velthuis’s own marker system, Velthuis refers to Modernism as being initiated during the first half of the 19th century) dealers have steered clear of the term of “marketers of art”, rather identifying themselves as patrons or promoters of art. This links with the terminology Bowness (1989) uses to identify the

³² Jay Jopling (b. 1963) is an English art dealer and the founder of White Cube Gallery empire. The first White Cube was founded in St James’s in 1993. Jopling has been linked with the Young British Artists (YBAs) since the 1980s; he is also a dealer in Damien Hirst’s work (Sharp, 2012).

third condition of success, “patronage by collectors and dealers”. According to Velthuis (2005:21), Modern art dealers sold art to the economic elite, but did not want to identify with them, rather establishing close relationships with artists, academics, intellectuals and critics. Velthuis’s (2005:22) findings show that contemporary art dealers maintain that they aspire to building the careers of the artists they sell, creating a historical archive and getting their artists into museum collections, and not supplying art for the everyday market. By building up their artists, they are also building up their own name and their own symbolic capital, referring back to the idea that the relationship between the artist and the art dealer is mutual, and not one-sided.

Gallerists are similar to, and sometimes the same as, art dealers. For example, Larry Gagosian is both a gallery owner and an art dealer and is in this sense involved in both the primary and the secondary market. Gagosian has two galleries in New York, one in Beverly Hills, two in London, one in Rome and one in Hong Kong (Thompson, 2008:35). In the next section the role of the gallery owner and the way the reputation of a gallery can influence the price of an artist’s work is discussed.

West (2007:130) argues that it is absolutely crucial for an artist’s career to be represented by a reputable gallery. Galleries tend to represent artists who make work that is according to their taste; they represent art that they believe in. West states that if you like one artist’s work at a gallery, the chances are high that you will like most of the other artists that that gallery represents. In addition to the role an art dealer or art gallery plays in an artist’s career, West (2007:130) describes galleries as Hollywood agents:

They spot talent, sign talent, and do everything they can to promote that talent. I don’t know which is harder – for an artist to get a gallery representation or an actor to get an agent.

Both art galleries and art dealers make their living by turning art into a commodity. Art galleries (or gallerists) are also involved in curating and organising exhibitions in an art space. In other words, while the role of the gallerist incorporates the function of the art dealer, it also incorporates the role of exhibitor and curator of artworks (PiccassoMio, 2012). The act of curating and exhibiting can also be seen as the act of marketing an artist, so when the art dealer is accepting the role of the curator, he or she is using that role to make their artists’ work more desirable to the public, so in essence showing the work is a marketing tool.

According to Schönfeld and Reinstaller (2005:3), “reputation is a strong signal about the gallery’s competence in picking high potential artists and thus inversely proportional to the individual buyer’s risk to buy low quality art”. West’s (2007:54) ideas correlate with this quotation by stating that where artists show their work can be just as important as what they are showing.

Bowness’s third condition of success, along with incorporated sources such as West (2007), Velthuis (2005) and Benhamou-Huet (2008), shows that not only do art collectors and art dealers play a role in an artist’s rise to success, but so too does the role of the art gallery. Although it could be stated that the art gallerist can be defined as an art dealer, the gallerist, as shown before, not only sells an artist’s work but also has to exhibit the artist’s work in a space in the gallery. This also has an influence on the price and the reputation of the artist.

Patronage by collectors, dealers and galleries helps an artist onto the path to success and his or her ultimate rise to fame. This shows that Bowness’s ideas relating to the third condition of success are supported (in alphabetical order) by contemporary and influential sources, including Bamberger (2007), Benhamou-Huet (2008), Bond (2008), Carroll (2009), Grampp (1989), Schönfeld and Reinstaller (2005), Thompson (2008), Velthuis (2005) and West (2007).

Patronage by collectors, dealers and galleries therefore contributes to the establishment and development of an artist’s reputation as an artist, because if a reputable collector or dealer buys an artist religiously and becomes a patron of his or her art, then others will respect the reputation of that collector or dealer and follow suit. As an artist’s reputation increases, as it can when presented by reputable collectors, dealers and galleries, so his or her sales on the primary and the secondary art market may increase. This discussion on conditions of success will conclude with Bowness’s final condition of artistic success, public acclaim.

2.4.4 Public Acclaim: Museum Acquisitions and Auction Results

According to Bowness, an artist has achieved public acclaim once he or she is housed in museums and sells for the highest prices on auction. Bowness (1989:47) defines his final condition of success, public acclaim, as the modern artist who is truly famous, and therefore “truly” successful. Bowness also links his four conditions of success theory to the concept of genius artists, as for him only genius artists comply with the four conditions of success. The genius artist, in Bowness’s view, can also be regarded as the museum artist. For this circle of recognition to culminate, it is vital for an artist’s work to be housed in a reputable museum. The first type of public acclaim to be explored is museum

acquisitions. Musha Neluheni (2013), contemporary art curator at JAG, also demonstrates how galleries try to get their artists' work into art museums, as they know that, if their work is placed in a museum, their other work becomes more valuable:

I think the galleries are the first to discover these new talents, and then a lot of galleries spend a lot of time trying to get these people that they have discovered into the museums ... because they know that is going to raise their artist's prices. The market value of their art [will increase] if they can say this artist's work has just been purchased by JAG ... but then we also have to sit there and go, you know they have sent us this, but is this something that we would place in the collection?

In this excerpt, and in our interview, Neluheni says that many artists want to donate their art to museums, but even if a work is donated it has to go through the same process as when an artwork is bought. This is perhaps why Grayson Perry has the following to say about museum acquisitions:

Perhaps the greatest accolade you can give a work of art is when you say it is "museum quality", so perhaps at the top of the tree of validation cast is the curators, and in the last century they have become the most powerful in the art world (Grayson Perry, Reith Lecture Series, 2013).

Bowness (1989:9) perceives the genius artist as the museum artist, in other words an artist whose artworks are acquired by museums. Perry perceives museum curators to be the "most powerful" art intermediaries as they decide who is included in museum collections. Curators should, however, be seen as combined power as opposed to individual power, as illustrated by Neluheni (2013) when discussing the term "taste" and how it is used in the art world, along with how art is chosen to form part of museum collections:

It is a dangerous term to use, I think taste is relative, I mean that is why we also have a number of curators here who decide on every show and every purchase and then the decisions on the purchases go further to a committee, we have an art gallery committee, because taste is so varied, but you need all those voices in order to make a consensus, and a decision, and you, or let's say me as contemporary curator unilaterally decided on all the [art] purchases, imagine how kind of the collection would go after a few years, "that gap is a bit strange", you know those four years, "what happened?", because you are allowing one person's decisions only, and one person's taste only that you would skew a collection quite drastically in that manner. I think that is why there are so many different tastes, and we can't say that that person has a better taste than someone else, someone has a different taste to someone else.

Benhamou-Huet (2008:61) states that museum acquisitions assist in an artist's rise to financial success. She uses the example of the Getty Museum in Los Angeles:

For many people, the Getty is the source of the masterpiece complex that is rampant in today's art market (Benhamou-Huet, 2008:61).

Benhamou-Huet's example of the Getty illustrates the significance it holds for an artist's career to be housed in a museum of that calibre. Consequently, collectors feel more secure about paying large sums for artists whose art is housed in recognised and famous museums, in this sense also pushing up the prices for museum quality art, referring to art of similar quality housed in a museum that is coming up for auction.

In accordance with the notion that only the most important artists attain the highest prices on auction, Galenson (2005:Tables 1–3) ranks the highest priced art by living artists up until 2005. The results demonstrate that the auction market has consistently assigned the highest values to artworks by those artists considered to be avant-garde or innovators and leaders of their generations. Bowness (1989:1–64) notes that it is the rarity of these major artists that account for the extraordinary prices achieved in the auction houses, which is supported by Galenson's (2005:2,9) findings. Regarding this scarcity of financially successful artists, Galenson observes that there are only thirty-nine living artists whose works have fetched \$1 million (R6.36 million) or more for an artwork. For Galenson to use \$1 million as a benchmark for including artists in his study, one can presume that for Galenson this amount is associated with financial success.

Stevenson's final component of value is the financial and economic component; the price of an artwork itself can contribute to the value of the work:

In other words, for art there may exist a backward-sloping demand curve so that a rise in price may increase demand. The notion, especially with buyers not familiar with the canons of quality in this specialised field, that aesthetic value and economic value are always positively related ... may result in buyers being guided to judge the quality of an artwork by its price (Stevenson 1992:197).

With regard to the issue of art being confused for money it commands, Coslor (2010:215) found there to be a common concern among her interviewees that the monetary value in today's art auction market has overwhelmed the nonmonetary values. In other words, the price paid for the artwork has become more important than the artwork itself. Coslor found that one reason for this was that "both the media and new collectors confuse money and value", as seems to be the case in the quotation by Stevenson above.

Just because a museum buys an artist's work or an artist sells for a high amount on auction, does not necessarily justify an artist's merit or importance, even if that artist checks all of Bowness's boxes. I do, however, think that factors such as a good training environment, with guidance from mentors, being written about critically, being collected, and being represented by reputable art collectors and galleries in the field could say something about an artist's importance. And, if an artist is not written about in a critical context, or represented by a reputable gallery, how can that artist expect to be bought by serious art collectors, who in today's day and age, as argued before, are not necessarily concerned about the "aesthetic" of the art, but about the investment value of the art, and if the art is not substantiated with social, cultural and symbolic capital, I do not believe that artists will pass the test of time. This does not mean that that artist cannot or will not attain high prices at auction or be purchased by a museum board. The final condition of success is relative to the factors that played a part in that artist's career; the conditions of success cannot be generic or used as a recipe for success, each artists will have to be investigated separately to determine to what degree an artist checks Bowness's boxes and to what degree. I do not believe ultimate artistic success or importance to be a mathematical formula, but I also do not think that it is impossible to determine and investigate how an artist achieves success and perceived importance.

2.4.5 Comments on Bowness's Conditions of Success

Once credible, respected and reputable critics are writing about an artist in books and magazines, that artist becomes branded with a good name. The central thesis of Donald Thompson's *The \$12-million stuffed shark* (2008) is that branding is responsible for the popularity and high prices of contemporary art. Thompson (2008) has formed a negative view of both contemporary art and contemporary art dealers, believing that artists, dealers and auction houses conspire to brand certain artists, thereby driving up their prices. Thompson spent much of his career as the Nabisco Brands Professor of Marketing and Strategy at Schulich School of Business at York University. His explanation for the popularity of contemporary artists and their art, is branding. Self-promotion and promotion by interested parties has created these brands and this branding is what makes art valuable. Donald Thompson regards Hirst, Warhol, Koons and Tracey Emin sceptically, questioning their artistic merit:

Warhol, Koons, and Emin are great examples of "you are no-body in contemporary art until someone brands you". Or until you brand yourself, at which time the world's major newspapers and art magazines will feature your Pink Panther sculpture and promote it as something to be taken home to masturbate with, a bargain at only \$1.8-million (Thompson, 2008:84).

The essential question Graddy (2009:234) asks, which is impossible to address empirically, is whether Damien Hirst's work is important and expensive because he has branded himself or whether Hirst has become a "brand" because his work is expensive and deemed important by critics and the media.

Branding is relevant here because it plays a part in all four of Bowness's conditions for success. In the first condition for success the brand of the art school or art training the artist is associated with comes into play; in the second condition of success the reputation of the art critic, magazine and newspaper plays a role in the recognition of an artist; in the third condition the name or brand of the dealer and/or the collector plays a role; and finally, the name of the museum and the auction house where the artist is sold has an impact on the perceived importance of the artist. If an artist is represented by a gallery no one knows about, the chances for that artist to be recognised by a well-known or influential collector are lower, as opposed to when an artist is represented by a gallery or dealer who can afford to market themselves and who already has a large market of buyers interested in the artists they believe to have potential. In the conclusion of the study I will be able to determine the effect that branding and self-promotion had on the two case study artists.

In criticising Bowness's four conditions of success, Grayson Perry had the following to say in his Reith Lecture series. This links up with the above comments on the importance of the brand of the dealer who is representing an artist's work and the person who is collecting an artist's work:

But I think it is a little bit more complicated than that nowadays, I mean you can start, I think it is still very important to be recognised by your peers, critics, collectors, but you want a famous collector to collect your art, not a tacky one, and you don't want a flipper, now a flipper is a someone who buys from a primary gallery, at a set price, and then fairly soon after will take it to auction, because there is a demand for your work, and sell it for more, this is very bad (Grayson Perry, 2013).

Art dealers, they are next, sort of part of this chorus of validation, a good dealer brand, very powerful effect on the reputation of the artist and then they are also involved in a type of placing of the works, mystical process, the dealer will choose where your work goes (Grayson Perry, 2013).

Perry (2013) acknowledges that circles of recognition are relevant in today's art scene, but that it is not without critique. In the review of Bowness's four conditions of success the same type of critique has been encountered; in this sense Bowness's conditions of success should not be used as a checklist, but rather a guideline for reviewing the way in which intermediaries have played a role in

an artist's career trajectory and ultimately, fame. I plan to do this in Chapter Four using the case studies.

2.4.6 Ranking Artists

The process or act of ranking an artist is done in order to make sense of this unregulated, secretive field called the art world and the art market. Anthony Haden-Guest (1996:57–58) recalls Doctor Willi Bongard of Cologne, a German economist, who in 1971 began publishing “Confidential Information about the Art Scene” in a newsletter called *Art Aktuell*. Bongard ranked artists annually in the publication *Kunst-Kompass* from one to one hundred, determining who he considered to be the most important and influential artists of the time. Bongard used an elaborate system, in which auction prices played no part but points were awarded for exhibitions, art fairs, biennales and publications. The points attributed to the artist would depend on the prestige of the event; for example he awarded 300 points to an artist whose work was shown at New York's Jewish Museum, a cultural space that at the time was considered to be scalding hot. Haden-Guest (1996:57) points out that Bongard's most favoured international art fair was Documenta, earning an artist 300 points for being shown there.

James Elkin (in Elkin & Newman, 2008) notes that a contemporary parallel to Bongard's *Kunst-Kompass* is Artprice.com, which ranks artists according to auction prices, lots sold, annual turnover, and bought-in lots rates. However, Artprice only ranks artists according to prices reached; ArtFacts.net is an example that is more similar to Bongard's *Kunst-Kompass*, as it “rates artists according to a very complex statistical model that includes reviews as well as market performance”.

Galenson (2002a, 2002b, 2005b) reasons that important artists are those who attain the highest prices on auction. In addition, Galenson (2002a) ranked the most important artists in history by counting the amount of times an artist is illustrated in art textbooks.

O'Hagan and Kelly (2005:118-125) discuss Galenson's “textbook-illustration approach” in their academic article. Their aim was to determine who the thousand most important artists in history are. In an attempt to answer this, they came up with the “column-inch” method. The column-inch method uses the space that is allocated to artists in standard art dictionaries to determine their importance. O'Hagan and Kelly chose a thousand artists with the most space allocated to them as cases for their study. The hypothesis here is that the more space allocated to an artist, the more important that artist is. Their method obtained similar results to Galenson's textbook illustration method, but was much less labour intensive (O'Hagan & Kelly, 2005:118–119).

O'Hagan and Kelly (2005:118-119) interpret Galenson's textbook illustration method as the basis for identifying and ranking the most important artists in a 19th century French context. His criterion for identifying the most important French artists was that the artist had to have at least one painting reproduced in three or more of five books that he chose (the five leading English-language textbooks on the history of modern art). He then ranked the artists by importance according to the total number of illustrations.

These two methods for ranking artists are presented to reveal the urge in researchers to find a supposedly objective approach for determining importance. These methods are, however, fraught with contention as they completely ignore the critical writings of feminists and postcolonial scholars about the reasons for great gaps in these "textbooks" and art dictionaries, thus also indicating their ignorance.

With the idea of ranking art and artists according to price, art is both nationally and internationally perceived as a commodity on the stock market. The ranking of artists and artworks according to sales attained in the art market has been, since the 1970s, an everyday event that takes place on Artprice.com (founded by Thierry Ehrmann in 1987 in France), ArtFacts.net (launched in 2001), MutualArt.com (launched in 2008) and the South African focused site AuctionVault.co.za (founded in 2009 with data from 2000).

The website ArtFacts.Net has created a system called the Artist Ranking Tool that ranks artists according to their level of importance. Its ranking method consists of combining data such as exhibition history, number of solo auctions, what other artists of relevance the artist has exhibited with, number of books written on the artist and number of articles written on the artist (ArtFacts.net, 2013).

ArtFacts.Net (2013) structured the mass of information available on art production in the following way: First it created ArtFacts.Net, an alphabetically ordered database of tens of thousands of artists, exhibitions and institutions. Then it decided to find a way to predict an artist's career using econometrical methods. This it called the Artist Ranking Tool. The aim of this tool is to rank and arrange artists according to their exhibition success. The tool uses data obtained internationally since 1996. The method is based on German writer Georg Franck's theory of the "economy of attention", or the economy of fame. In his paper, which was first published in German in *Merkur* and translated into English by Silvia Plaza, Franck (1999) states that becoming popular in an affluent society is more important than monetary wealth. The first step to popularity and fame, according to

Franck, is the media, as discussed at length under the heading “Critical recognition” earlier in this chapter.

ArtFacts.Net (2013) takes from Franck the notion that fame in the cultural world is an economy that works along the same lines as capitalism. ArtFacts.Net explains what it takes from Franck’s theory as follows:

Capitalist, or economic, behaviour is based on property, lending money and charging interest. For Franck, the curator (also the museum director or the gallery owner) acts as a financial investor. The curator/investor lends their property (their exhibition space and their fame) to an artist from whom they expect a return on their investment in the form of more attention (reputation, fame etc).

Therefore, the relationship between gallery owner and artist relates to that between investor and entrepreneur. The investor puts his money into companies from which he expects to gain rewards. This is always a mixed bag, where a few succeed and pay for the investment in others not so achieving.

The Artist Ranking Tool follows Franck’s theory in that the tool does not judge the quality of an artist’s work, instead the tool organises information about artists and who has invested in them; for example which curators decided to place the artist in an exhibition with other recognised artists, which gallery decided to represent an artist, which art critic wrote about the artist in an art journal, or which publisher published a book on the artist. These art intermediaries’ output serves as data for the Artist Ranking Tool. The tool does not incorporate the economic success of the artist, only the professional attention that they have received in the form of biennales, museum art exhibitions, inclusion in art books and the like. Although ArtFacts.net does not use economic data in its Artist Ranking Tool, it does acknowledge “that there might be a correlation between fame and money but this is not the method of calculation behind the *Artist Ranking tool*” (ArtFacts.net, 2013). In addition:

The Artist Ranking Tool places great importance on the international representation of artists. Only artists operating in established structures will be chosen as a primary value source. The reason why *the Artist Ranking Tool* has been built this way is because we at ArtFacts.Net™ recognise the value of mutual knowledge in the art world.

In this sense, ArtFacts.net uses similar signifiers of importance as those discussed under the use of the terms “artistic success” and “importance” in Chapter One.

Although the Artist Ranking Tool does not incorporate economic values for the ranking of artists, ArtFacts.Net also has a Career Analyser which tracks the careers and prices attained on auction projects. The Career Analyser later gave way to the Auction Analyser Tool where one can see the trajectory of an artist's price history on the art market. ArtFacts.Net attained its data from MutualArt.com (2013) and ArtFacts.Net and worked with ArtTactic.com (2013) (ArtFacts.Net Ltd. 2013). ArtFacts.Net explains:

The tool examines the following aspects: quantitative analysis, localisation and characterisation of the markets; sales volumes, top sells, beaten prices and bids; absolute and average values relative to the used medium and the period of production; analysis of the "Peer Group".

On an international scale art stock is readily available on the website Mei Moses Fine Art Index (Beautiful Asset Advisors, 2012). In 1971 Keen wrote a book on Sotheby's Art Price Index, while Welz wrote two books on auction results in South Africa which were published in 1989 and 1996, referring back to auction results from 1971 when Sotheby's came to South Africa to start the first "official", or rather respectable, fine art auctioneering firm in South Africa (Welz, 2014).

In South Africa, Citadel launched the first local Art Price Index (API) in 2011. According to Citadel's press release of 19 October 2011, the Citadel index has been calculated back to the year 2000, using the hammer price provided by AuctionVault sales. According to an article written by Coulson (2011:54), Citadel takes into account the auction results from six South African auction houses, 5th Avenue Auctioneers, Ashbey's Galleries, Bernardi Auctioneers, Russel Kaplan Auctioneers, Strauss & Co. and Stephan Welz & Co., in order to calculate their index. Citadel also considers Bonhams in London for the Price Index. Citadel excludes gallery sales as it considers the information not to be reliable enough (Coulson, 2011:54). In conversation with Dale Sargent (2013), director of Auction Vault, Sargent mentioned that charity auction results are not incorporated into their system, as the amounts attained at these auctions are not accurate when one compares them with the official auction market. Charity auctions are less reputable than public auctions because they are firstly tax deductible, and secondly the money made during charity auctions is meant for good deeds and thus people tend to be more generous at these events (Sargent, 2013).

One prominent gallery owner and art dealer, Mark Read (b.1957), Director and Chair of Everard Read Gallery, is negative toward the Price Index. According to Coulson (2011:54), Read argues that the index debases art and that art cannot be reduced to the level of stocks and shares. However, synonyms for investment are stocks and shares, and the art sold at Everard Read is viewed as

investment art (in Smith, 2007). Moreover, on its website the Everard Read gallery is referred to as South Africa's most famous commercial art gallery (Everard Read, 2012). Therefore, Read's disapproval of the Art Price Index typically places him within the hostile world's perspective as defined by Coslor (2010). Moreover, Read's profession as an art dealer and gallery owner involves him daily in the sales of art, typically a profession falling under the heading of commensurable, as described by Coslor. In other words, in Read's professional practice art is exchanged for money, but he nevertheless maintains that art should not be reduced to the level of investment/shares/stocks. Read's contradictory view adds to Coslor's and Velthuis's views that the hostile art world view is not as it was in the 1970s; that more art world players have a pluralistic view when it comes to views on the art world and its practices.

According to Coulson (2011:54), the main intent of the Citadel API is determining the relative performance of art against other asset classes. The Citadel Art Price Index is released to the public free of charge every six months. The site shows the relationship between the art market and other stocks on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) and, accordingly, one can see whether art is a good investment in comparison with other investments. Another aspect is that art galleries and auction houses will be able to view artists' revenue. For example, the June 2012 Art Price Index revealed the top 100 artists in terms of transaction volume for the preceding five years (Citadel Art Price Index, 2012).

The negativity associated with the API system in South Africa, as illustrated by Read, is not new. In the 1970s, Esmé Berman³³ experienced negative responses when she rated artists according to sales in her book *The South African art market. 1971/72: A handbook for collectors*. Berman acquired data from the major auctioneers and commercial gallery directors of the time. Berman recalled the events for *Art Times: Business Art* (Van Rensburg, 2011:52). Two days before the release of the book a review of the book was published in the *Rand Daily Mail*. The review showed a series of short tables pedantically ranking the collectability of artists as analysed by Art Institute staff. No supporting explanatory literature was added in the review; only the names of artists listed according to sales rankings. According to Berman (in Van Rensburg, 2011:52), it was this publication of unsupported data in the *Rand Daily Mail* that led to the demise of the book.

³³Van Rensburg (2011) refers to Esmé Berman in his article written for *Art Times* as the *grande dame* of South African art (Van Rensburg, 2011:52).

What followed was a series of telephone calls initiated by an offended well-known artist because of his low ranking. A flourishing vendetta against Berman followed shortly afterwards (Van Rensburg, 2011:52). Berman's sources hastily revoked their previously eager involvement in the rating exercise and the national president of the South African Association of Arts (SAAA) withdrew his congratulations, the book was labelled scandalous, and even Berman's good artist friend Cecil Skotnes (1926–2009) expressed fear that Berman's career in art was over. There was, however, another group that was appalled by the unexpected response. The president of the Transvaal branch of the SAAA and the well-known South African artist, Alexis Preller (1911-1975), were among the outspoken defenders. Wim Blom (b. 1927), an artist residing in Spain at the time, wrote a letter expressing his scorn for the aggressive reaction. Blom was perplexed by the furore caused by Berman's index, as the rating of artists was routine in Europe at the time (Van Rensburg, 2011:52).

The publication, two days prior to the release of the book misinformed the public, causing an uproar that led Berman to decide not to make the book public so as not to offend her fellow art world players. Berman was so worried about her reputation that she destroyed the book. As she was young and clearly insecure at the time, some of her artist friends worried about her status in the art community, showing us that at that time the art community was very small and fragile.

Keen (1971) states in her book, *The sale of works of art*, which was written at the same time as Berman's, that never before had there been that much interest in the art market. Keen's book was written and published in England at the same time as Berman's was to have appeared in South Africa. Berman's account makes one wonder about the art scene of the time and it would appear that the ranking of artists was perceived to be appalling.

This is not so in all cases. Welz wrote two books reviewing South Africa's auction index; the first book recalls 1969 to 1989, and the second updated version from 1969 to 1995. In these books, Welz shows auction record prices and recalls how interest in the South African art market has grown. Even though he states that South Africa is far behind, price wise, when it comes to Western prices, he does state that since 1989 a great deal has happened on the South African art scene. Nevertheless, the South African records should be seen against the R4.8 million (hammer price) obtained for Jane Alexander's *Untitled*, in the same week as Francis Bacon's triptych study of Lucian Freud sold for US\$142 million, which converts to over a billion rand.

The difference between Berman's book and Keen's API and Welz's auction results, is that the latter two did not attempt to rank artists according to people's views or opinions, whereas this seems to have been the case with Berman's book. This shows us that one should be very careful about using subjective opinions when conducting studies that rank artists. It is best to refer to hard data, such as attained auction prices, as opposed to intermediaries' opinions, no matter what their hierarchical level in the artistic field may be.

Chapter Two has investigated the literature that has been written on the subject of the international and South African art market. It also reviewed international and local accounts of how intermediaries play an essential role in value creation in an artist's career.

"Truths" and beliefs in the literature, among other things, reveal that there are those who believe there to be a path to success, as well as those who believe that attempts to find such paths are fruitless and naïve. Bowness believes that there is a path to success, Stevenson consults his components of value model in order to assign value, Galenson believes that his textbook illustration method for ranking artists is appropriate and realistic, while Artnet believes that its ranking system ranks the most important artists successfully.

In Chapter Three the ideas and beliefs of certain South African art world players will be explored in order to give a view of value creation in the art in the South African context.

3 Chapter Three: Perspectives of the Field

In Chapter Two, research on the International and South African art scene, its intermediaries and their perceptions of the art world, along with their role in the value creation of art were presented. We briefly reiterate here what has been written on this subject in the South African context. In two publications, Stephan Welz (1989, 1996) wrote about the South African art market in retrospect, looking at auction records from the 1970s to 1995, while Esmé Berman (1972) looked at the auction market records and people's fascination with art prices, ranking South African artists according to these records and perspectives. Esmé Berman (1983) and Grania Ogilvy (1988) compiled dictionaries about South African artists. What is relevant here are the criteria used to identify the artists included in these publications, which will be addressed later in this chapter when ideas surrounding importance and success are addressed. In addition, Stevenson (2002) wrote about how the collections of the South African Randlords were formed. The literature review further reported insufficient academic research focusing specifically on the South African art intermediaries, their role in the artist's path to fame and their perceptions of success and importance.

People who covered related issues in honours, masters and PhD studies include Michael Stevenson (1992), who wrote about international art markets, the role of art intermediaries and his components of value model; Marelize van Zyl (2012) who investigated the way value is constructed in the South African art market; and Matthew Olckers (2012) who created an Art Expert Index (AEI) in order to rate artists in terms of the high cultural value attributed to them.

Ideas presented on an international scale which are useful for Chapter Three include Coslor's (2010) pluralistic approach to art and money; Moulin's (1986, 1987) views on the international art market, and the notion of antagonistic adjectives as derived from Bourdieu and Moulin's incorporation of Bourdieu's (1984) theories of taste and distinction.

According to Bourdieu (1984:467–477), intermediaries in any social context share a set of basic perceptual schemes, which incorporate many dichotomies. In Chapter Three I aim to determine what dichotomies are used in the South African art scene, and why art world players need to classify and distinguish between sets of dichotomies. The pre-supposed assumption is that there is a need for a hierarchy to be sustained in a field that is often regarded as being "elitist driven", that is, the art world.

With respect to the first premise of this study, the notion that the role of art intermediaries is imperative in the art world, Heinich states:

The role and number of intermediaries involved in the process of artistic mediation tend to be all the more important as the art world becomes more autonomous, ruled by specific values, words and actions (Heinich, 2012:695).

In Heinich's opinion the art world is ruled by specific values, words and actions. It is from this perspective that I approach contemporary South African art intermediaries, exploring their values, words, perceptions, ideas and actions. By interviewing certain South African art world players, for the most part intermediaries, I aim to understand and investigate their basic perceptual schemes. As Bourdieu's theory suggests, these schemes are found in antagonistic adjectives and are commonly used to describe, classify and qualify persons or objects. By interrogating the interview material, I aim to present the findings of my analysis of antagonistic adjectives as used in the South African art scene.

This chapter presents these interviewees' perceptions of how value is created and/or attained in an artist's career. This includes their perceptions of the following notions: artistic importance, artistic success and financial success.

The questions addressed in this chapter are as follows: What (if any) antagonistic adjectives do the interviewees use? How do certain South African art intermediaries use and define the ambiguous terms "artistic success", "financial success" and "artistic importance"? How do certain contemporary South African art intermediaries measure their perceptions of "success" and "importance"? On what grounds do some of the art intermediaries dispute the legitimacy of these terms and ideas? What role and function do South African intermediaries play in an artist's perceived path to success, importance and fame? What are the findings regarding unanimity in the idea that there is a path to success?

These questions are considered in conjunction with the research findings in Chapter Two by examining the responses of certain South African art intermediaries as expressed in the interviews conducted in Cape Town and Johannesburg during July 2011, the first half of 2013 and January/February 2014.

3.1 The Interviewees

The interviewees were selected in collaboration with my supervisors on the basis of their stature and position in the South African art scene (as well as their availability). The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured fashion and questions changed according to the role of the interviewee and as the research progressed (Du Plooy, 2002). The majority of the interviews were pre-planned, recorded sessions lasting approximately an hour. In total I interviewed, and/or consulted with twenty-six art world players from July 2011 to February 2014. Thirteen interviews took place in Cape Town and twelve in Johannesburg, in addition there was one telephone interview.

In line with Lindemann's (2006:21) insistence that one should keep in mind that the roles of art intermediaries intersect, many of these interviewees also move between the lines of the professions that are mentioned below, as many of them also work as writers, artists, lecturers, consultants and so forth and, in addition, many are collectors in their own right. For example, along with being a known academic and artist, Gavin Younge is also a writer and curator. Similarly, Michael Stevenson is a writer as well as being an art dealer and a director of the Stevenson Gallery (Stevenson, 2013; Younge, 2013).

With regard to the first question addressed in this chapter, this next section interrogates the antagonistic adjectives used by intermediaries in the South African art scene, building on the research from Chapter Two under the heading "Antagonistic Adjectives".

During the interviews, certain local art world players distinguish between different kinds of artists and different kinds of art. This idea of distinction and classification relates to Bourdieu's antagonistic adjectives. To reiterate, according to Bourdieu, pairs of antagonistic adjectives are commonly used to classify and qualify persons in their separate fields. In this section, I incorporate both the interviewees' perspectives and perspectives from related literature in order to show how antagonistic adjectives are used in the South African context. I will also interrogate the antagonistic adjectives as used by the interviewees and, through their use of specific terms, show that there is a hierarchy in the field of art governed by the language that is used to describe art and artists.

3.2 Hierarchy of Art

For a person to be classified as an artist, Kirsty Cockerill (2013a, 2013b), director of The New Church Museum, maintains that it is imperative for that person to make a cultural contribution and, if not, if the work is “obvious or primarily decorative and conceptually ineffectual”, she does not believe that such work should be called art; similarly, she does not believe that a maker of art is necessarily an artist:

I don't think they are artists, they are art makers, and it is a very different sensibility, one has cultural implications and cultural value, the [other] one is about making (Cockerill, 2013a).

A corresponding view is that of Stevenson (1992:13), who draws from the writing of Moulin, arguing that painters create non-art. In this sense “painters” are not recognised by the professional classifiers as artists; in other words artists are those whom the art world recognises artistically, and painters are those whom the art world classifiers do not consider artistically.

Just as Stevenson and Cockerill distinguish between fine art and non-art, and artists and makers of art, another South African art professional who feels similarly about differentiating is the curator of the Sanlam art collection, Stefan Hundt. When using the term “artist”, Hundt (2013) also distinguishes between artist and painter; “there are lots of painters in the Cape, very few artists”. When asked to define what an artist is he responded:

Well I think that anybody can paint, anybody can learn to paint, within a stylistic broad range ... and that is what you have seen amongst a lot of painters, they tell you, “I paint impressionist, I am a Cape Impressionist”, what the hell is that supposed to mean? In that sense they are painters, they are not artists ... what they are producing are very well-skilled paintings, but not significantly aesthetical art historically.

Hundt believes that an artist is someone who creates art that is both aesthetically and historically significant, and that his or her art is classified as being aesthetically and historically significant. This act of classification is carried out by, according to Bourdieu (in Jenkins, 1992[2002]:xiii), the “coalition of artists, consumers and professional classifiers”. In referring to artists as a group, or the peer recognition of an artist group, the buyers and patronage from dealers, and the critics and academics of the field, Hundt, as a professional classifier, is reliant on the existence of stable values, when in fact, as Bourdieu illustrates, classification is done by intermediaries such as Hundt.

In our interview I responded, “can only artists then create important works of art?” Hundt (2013) countered my question with:

No, that is a simplification. I think one must understand that the definition of why an artwork becomes an artwork, it is often also historically and contextually bound. I mean 90% of the altarpieces that are in museums were not destined as artworks, they had nothing to do with artworks, the concept of art was not really even formulated at that time ... So what you are looking at today as artworks, hardly can fit into that definition, or one’s conceptualisation of what an artwork is, also things change, 50 years ago nobody would have thought of putting a highly crafted Zulu beadwork into an art museum as an artwork, now people are wondering whether it should remain there, so those definitions [art, artist] are fluid, but I think the important thing is, an artist that works in ignorance of their context and of their history cannot possibly become a serious artist.

This excerpt evokes Jenkins’s account of how Bourdieu perceives art. For Bourdieu, art is a social construct, relating to Hundt’s statement that art means something different to people from different times and spaces. However, what Hundt does say, which is relevant across the board, is that an artist “cannot possibly become a serious artist” if he or she works “in ignorance” of his or her situation, in whatever time or space that artist may find him or herself.

In this sense, Hundt refers to the serious artist as someone who creates art that is aesthetically and historically significant. In his Reith lecture series, Grayson Perry (2013) makes a statement that correlates with this: “seriousness is the most valued currency in the art world.” For Grayson Perry, in his habitus and place in the art world, seriousness is a currency in the art world; in Perry’s (2013) experience

... of the boundaries of art ... not of the formal boundaries that much, but a kind of snobbery, ‘cause beneath the sophisticated tolerance “yes everybody can make art”, I think there is a little bit of class snobbery going on – bring a urinal into a gallery, a shark, yes, wonderful, but not a pot, no that’s craft (Perry, 2013).

In this quote Perry is challenging the notion that a urinal can be art, referring to Marcel Duchamp’s (1887–1968) *Fountain* (1917), that a shark can be art, referring to Damien Hirst’s (b. 1965) *The Physical Impossibility of Death in the Mind of Someone Living* (1991), but that pottery cannot be, as pottery is perceived to be “decorative art” and not “fine art”. In this sense Perry finds it amusing that

he, as a potter, was awarded the Turner Prize and was approached to present the Reith Lecture Series in 2013 (Perry, 2013).³⁴

With the idea of art being called decorative, Perry (2013) notes in his lecture series that calling an artwork decorative is one of the most insulting things someone can say to an artist. In this sense the antagonistic adjective can be viewed as “serious” as opposed to “decorative”. To relate this argument to the South African context, with regard to South African “arts and craft”, the Johannesburg Art Gallery contemporary art curator, Musha Neluheni, argues that South African craft does not belong in an art museum, but rather in a natural history museum.

I don't think that craft should be in a fine art museum. Craft is more of cultural history and therefore belongs more in a cultural museum, but there are those who would disagree ... someone else like the traditional curator would consider it art ... and this is also, again, these debates that have been ongoing forever (Neluheni, 2014).

In the debate between art and craft, what is art and what is craft, or when does art become craft, Neluheni (2013) gives the example of Same Mdluli's, in progress, art history doctorate thesis on Johannes Segogela:

[H]ow he was discovered by Linda Givon at the African craft market and then appropriated into the Goodman Gallery and became a fine artist, just by [saying] “okay I think your craft is actually good enough, and now it becomes art, just by moving the location down one road”, and this is how craft becomes art, by one person's appropriation of that craft as art, and then it is stuck, and he is considered a fine artist. But how many of him are there now in the African craft market that we could easily now display here and say, “we think this guy is a great artist”.

In this sense, in Neluheni's opinion, or experience, craft becomes art when someone in a certain position, in this instance Linda Givon, places the work in a gallery space, making it art by simply stating it is art because a respected art dealer placed it in a white cuboid space. This argument is supported by the earlier quotation by Hundt (2013), stating that when Zulu beadwork enters the gallery space it becomes perceived as art. This debate, and the criticism around the “re-

³⁴ For more on Grayson Perry's Reith Lecture series visit www.bbcfour.co.uk. As the main focus of this study is not on distinguishing craft from art, but more along the lines of art and non-art, this debate has not been discussed further. In the next section, however, I mention the craft and art view in the South African context to show that this issue is relevant on the South African art scene, but is not investigated further as it will detract from the study's central idea, which is the South African contemporary fine art market and its intermediaries and how value is created in this specific field. It is, however, relevant to note that there is a division between craft and art and that this is a major discussion in the South African art paradigm.

classification” of African art from fetishes and craft to art, was particularly prominent and heated in the early eighties and nineties after the infamous 1984 *Primitivism in 20th-Century Art* show at MOMA and the controversial 1989 *Magiciens de la Terre* exhibition at the Centre George Pompidou (Kramer, 1984; Tate, 2014b).

Moulin (1987), Stevenson (1992), Hundt (2013) and Cockerill (2013a, 2013b) deem makers of art to be artists, and makers of non-art, or art that is decorative or with no significant context, to be “art makers” or “painters”. From the above examples I assume that these art world players agree that there is a hierarchy in the arts and that not everyone who claims to be an artist is perceived to be an artist by the professional classifiers in the field, no matter the technical skill. According to Cockerill, it is the cultural contribution and, according to Hundt, the artist, who create art that is exceptionally aesthetic and cultural, that makes a mere “art maker” a fine artist. The term “artist” in the South African fine art field is then understood as a “higher” more “elite” title than a “creator” or “maker”. The same can be said for “art” as opposed to “craft”, as indicated by Perry, Hundt and Neluheni.

After presenting the division between fine art and non-art to the founder and director of the Johannesburg Art Fair (JAF), Ross Douglas (2013), asking his opinion on the matter, he responded:

My opinion, it is just one opinion, is art is when the intention is to make art, craft is when the intention is to make craft, where people get confused in my opinion is when you say art is better than craft and people say because it’s art it’s better than craft ... If my intention is to make art, I can paint and I can take photographs, exhibit them as art, but if they are bad and they don’t sell ... it would be worse art than a craftsman making good craft, but people always think that art must be better than craft ... so that is the difference for me, it is the intention, if you intend to make art it’s art, if you intend to make craft it’s craft, it doesn’t mean that your art is good, it doesn’t mean that your craft is good either.

Douglas goes on to compare craft to beer and art to wine, stating that good wine will always be better than good beer. With these words, Douglas admits that good art will always be better than good craft. In this sense in his response he is also acknowledging the idea of hierarchy in art, albeit not going to the extremes of Cockerill, Hundt and Stevenson, who argue that not everyone who claims to be an artist should be identified an artist, even if the intention is there. Douglas argues that anyone who says “they are an artist”, “is an artist”, but may not be a “good”, or critically recognised artist.

The assumption Douglas is relying on is that it is obvious that wine is better than beer; it could therefore be argued that it is in his habitus to make such an “obvious” statement. It can then be

assumed that in his habitus he grew up believing that wine is more cultured than beer, and therefore he assumes that wine should be more expensive than beer. In another person's habitus a different example may have come to the fore.

Returning to the argument at hand, according to Douglas, when the intent is to make art, then it is art, the distinction should not come into the classification of art; rather what type of art is being created, according to the professional classifiers.

Musha Neluheni agrees with this, stating that "there is good art and there is bad art, but it is still art, some art is just *really* bad". But this does not mean that "bad" art cannot be perceived as art that belongs in museums, as Kirsty Cockerill (2013a) argues. In her opinion "an artist is entitled to make bad art every now and again, how else will that artist grow?" But after asking Cockerill (2013b) what she meant by this in a follow-up e-mail, because as I understand it in this response Cockerill means that an artist is entitled to grow through his or her art by sometimes making art that is unimportant, not necessarily bad, she answered: "I'm saying the opposite, there are many bad works of art that are very important". She uses the example of Ronald Harrison's *The Black Christ* (1961), arguing that the painting is "at best an amateur hack job in its painted articulation, in fact it is just a crap painting formally. At the same time it's a very important artwork". In this instance, Cockerill explains what she means with the adjective "bad".³⁵ Neluheni states that taste is relative, hence the reason why a number of curators at JAG decide on every show and every purchase and not just one. When using such terms, however, it is essential to describe them, as they are extremely subjective.

I assume that, for Cockerill, those who make art with no cultural implications that are "obvious or primarily decorative", are art makers. They make "non art" or "minor art" as Berman (1993) terms it. This is in contrast to someone who is saying something with aesthetic and historical implications, as mentioned by Hundt, someone who can be referred to as an artist making fine art. By presenting these antagonistic adjectives as used on the South African art scene, I can deduce that a hierarchy is

³⁵ Bad art, as argued by Quentin Bell in his book *Bad Art* (1989:13), "arises from a failure of sentiment, that is caused by some form of insincerity", in other words, in my understanding of this statement, if and when an artist creates what he or she thinks society considers to be beautiful or fashionable, he or she creates art without sentiment, resulting in bad art. According to Bell it is the master artist who could "rise above fashion either by controlling it or by rejecting it" (Bell, 1989:26). This is somewhat different to how Cockerill and Neluheni used the term 'bad art', showing once again the subjective nature of the term. For example Bell refers to bad art as art without sentiment, not art without technique as is insinuated by Cockerill's statement when referring to the work by Harrison.

created through the terms used, and that it is essential to investigate art intermediaries and their use of these distinctions in order to understand their belief systems.

With regard to the distinction between artists and art makers, as discussed in this work, in Cockerill's (2013a) opinion Dylan Lewis is not an artist, but an art maker. This notion, which emerged in my interviews, would infer that Lewis does not form part of the fine art contemporary paradigm. As a contrasting example to this notion, Ross Douglas (2013) has the following to say about Dylan Lewis:

[T]he way he [Dylan Lewis] conducts his business, he is an artist, you know he researches, he works with his hands, he works with a foundry, he works in a material that has been worked with for hundreds of years, he is represented by a gallery, and should the Tate Modern, for interest sake say "let's have a show", he wouldn't say no, I don't want to be part of that system, "great I'll be there", so he is absolutely an artist ...

People get confused, an artist is a qualitative thing, you get good artists and bad artists... contemporary artists, it's a whole different genre. If I cook a meal I am a cook, you might argue I am a good cook or a bad cook, African cook, or an Asian cook or an contemporary cook, but I am a cook ... you must then rather, instead of discussing whether I am a cook or not, you must rather discuss whether I am a good cook or a contemporary or a traditional cook.

Douglas argues that instead of trying to ascertain whether or not Lewis is an artist, one should rather argue whether he is a good or bad artist. This statement reverts back to the earlier discussion relating to the distinction between art and non-art or, in this case, good art and bad art. The finding is that there are two clear views in this respect, the art world players that believe art should be judged on quality, such as Douglas and Neluheni, and those that believe art is a "sacred" term and should only be used for those whom they (the professional art classifiers) define as artists, and whose art falls into their paradigm and their beliefs about what art and artists are, such as Cockerill and Hundt.

Stevenson, Hundt and Cockerill believe that one should distinguish between art and "non art", and between artists and art makers, or painters. On the other hand, there are those art professionals, including Douglas and Neluheni, that believe one should not be distinguishing between artists and art makers, or art and "non art". Instead, if an artist says he or she is an artist, then he or she is an artist. For them the distinguishing factor lies in the division between good art and bad art, or a good artist and a bad or weak artist.

In both instances there is a hierarchy that is formed; on the top of the scale is the good art or the fine art, and at the bottom is the bad art or the non-art, the difference being that some art world players believe that badly executed artwork can be described as art, as per Cockerill's example. Therefore it is unwise to correlate good art with fine art and bad art with non-art. Instead, as terms are used they should be interrogated in the way that they are intended because these terms are so subjective and fluid.

With this idea of hierarchies in mind, when I asked Johannesburg-based art dealer Warren Siebrits in April 2013 how he perceives importance, or when does he perceive an artist to be important, he answered me in "a roundabout way". He had recently acquired a large colourful work by the art collective Avant Car Guard entitled *Keep on Keeping on* (2009) (see Figure 5).³⁶ Jacobs (2009) describes the painting as depicting an ornithological poster, labelling the flamingos, cranes, parrots and ducks with names of less internationally successful South African artists, with a subtitle painted on the bottom reading "The B Team":

I love this painting precisely for the reason that you are doing your study. This idea of hierarchies in the art world (Siebrits, 2013a).

What makes *Keep on Keeping on* "amazing" according to Siebrits (2013a)

... is its structure, a beautifully big painting, its 2 by 1,5 metres, what they [Avant Car Guard] did, they took a page out of the Roberts Birds of South Africa ... lots of foliage ... lots of different birds ... they took the bird names out and added in the names of artists ... you will find that they have censored some of the names because they have picked up so much slack.

The narrative of the events leading up to Siebrits's acquisition of the artwork is of relevance for this section to emphasise the fragile egos of artists along with hierarchy in art, which is exemplified by this statement:

The reason she [the owner] sold it is because one of the people mentioned in the painting got very upset that he was in there, he got so angry that he was included, that she felt she had to take the painting down. She put it in her storeroom because she didn't want to offend him, the person in question is Zwelethu Mthethwa.

³⁶ In our interview, Siebrits (2013a) referred to the work as *The B Team*.

Amusing that he took it so seriously as Mthethwa has made a great name for himself. He is clearly in the category of an A-list artist. I don't think anyone who knows anything about the field would say anything otherwise. Yet he is horrified that Avant Car Guard has placed him in under B-team terms.

So there is an interesting comment for you on the often hidden hierarchies of art ...

According to my understanding of the event, Siebrits is illustrating that some artists are sensitive to critique and that even if they are known in the art world as being an "A-list artist", one's place on the art world can easily change, or one can be replaced in the art world hierarchy. This incident harks back to Berman's experience, as presented in Chapter Two, with the artist who was so upset about their low ranking in Berman's book which in turn created a snowball effect that led to Berman destroying copies of her book (in Van Rensburg, 2011:52).

In my e-mail to Siebrits I asked what his perception is of the way the collective chose the artists. Siebrits (2013b) answered as follows:

There can be an infinite number of possibilities as to why those particular artists were chosen. Placing myself in their position I think they made the decisions around artists who they thought were overrated, and quite possibly also artists whose work they don't particularly like. They have commented in the past that they have thought that the majority of South African contemporary artists as being prima donnas who take themselves too seriously. More importantly they believe most of their contemporaries are lazy and don't work hard enough at being great artists. Maybe they also feel that these are the artists who in time will have less and less of an impact on the minds and consciousness of serious collectors of South African art, including museums both local and international.

In our e-mail correspondence, Siebrits give various reasons for this work by Avant Car Guard, and for which artists they used in their artwork *Keep on Keeping on (The B Team)*. The last section in the quotation above, concerning how these artists influence the minds of collectors is relevant, as they may be forgotten in the near future. Siebrits states that it might be because the artists do not work hard enough, or possibly because their work is simply not good enough to make it into the "A-Team". About the collective Siebrits (2013a) adds:

The work is very tongue in cheek. Avant Car Guard are comprised of three guys, Michael MacGarry, Zander Blom and Jan-Henri Booyens. Out of these three, two of them are pretty high in the hierarchy of art, Blom and MacGarry are represented by Stevenson. Jan-Henri is a very talented guy, but he hasn't made it at the same level. They had the guts to stand up and say "you bunch of people aren't so good", "you are just in the B-team". And so I think what is good about it, whether you like it or not, is that there is a natural

hierarchy. It certainly defines the art market and it isn't always correct, in fact history will prove that. The first hierarchy, the initial hierarchy that is established whilst the artist is alive, or in their prime, is normally inaccurate, because things happen, artists fall out of favour, fashions change, some people can't keep up the momentum of their previous successes.

In this section, Siebrits relates an artist's hierarchy to the hierarchy of the representing gallery, in other words if an artist is represented by a gallery that has a good reputation then that artist is automatically linked to the reputation of that gallery; for example Siebrits uses the Stevenson gallery as a marker of hierarchy in the South African art scene, and insinuates that because Blom and MacGarry are represented by Stevenson they are currently ranked higher in the art hierarchy of the contemporary South African art scene than Booyens. Siebrits also refers to a natural hierarchy in the art world, stating that the hierarchy of art changes with time, and that fashions change. Welz (2014) adds to this idea in our discussion, recalling how at one stage Irma Stern, Anton van Wouw and Pierneef were all head to head at auction; Pierneef is still there today but not Van Wouw. In this sense Welz measures taste in the arts against the high prices attained on auction, which also show how tastes can change over time.

Just as hierarchies can change in the art world, as presented by the ideas of Siebrits and Welz, so does the idea of what importance is. In the next section I investigate current views of what important art and important artists are perceived to be by art world players on the South African art scene.

3.3 Ambiguous Terms

3.3.1 The Importance of "Importance"

In Stevenson's (2013) opinion, the term "importance" is extremely problematic and he advised that I should refrain from using it in my study. My understanding is that Stevenson resists the use of the term "importance" as it is a subjective term. Stevenson completely disputes the legitimate use of it in arts discourse although I have noted that many intermediaries make use of it and its use is very common. This section investigates how certain South African art world players respond to this term. Stevenson's (2013) use of the term "importance", after consciously stating that the term should not be used, shows that this term is unavoidable even to those who are actively trying not to make use of the term.

Other intermediaries, although acknowledging that the term was “tricky”, had less resistance to using the term “importance” in the interviews, and even acknowledged that it is *important* to use the term “important”. Art dealer, Mark Read (2013), responded to my question about how or when he would define an artist as being important:

Tricky question. Important to whom? Important regionally, nationally, within narrow cultural parameters? Important for 5 days or 50 generations? I suppose I might rely on a fairly conservative viewpoint of “importance” within the visual arts as when an artist is widely acknowledged as having something fundamental to say about the human condition, our relationships with each other and our environment.

In this excerpt, Mark Read acknowledges that one should be specific when using the term “important”, relying on a rather “conservative” answer to the definition of an “important” artist. With the idea of an “important” artist in mind, when describing works by Pierneef, Read has a romantic view of him and his “genius” in portraying the landscape:

It is almost impossible for those of us who relish looking at a mature work by J H Pierneef to focus one’s eyes on the South African landscape without those retinas being subverted by the power of his vision. Flat topped acacias, far off koppies and piles of cumulonimbus clouds all changing slowly through a journey like some never ending Pierneef exhibition (Read 2013).

To my mind Pierneef is the most important South African landscape painter (Read 2013).

With the preceding excerpts, one can see that Read considers it essential for an artist to subvert the spectator’s view, and in these instances it seems like Read would classify those artists as important. Neluheni (2014) considers the following when using the term “importance”:

I think most artworks are seen as important in retrospect, there are some that seem important when you buy them, but a lot of them are in retrospect I think. So I think a lot of importance is built after the fact, and it is about retrospect, and looking back at maybe what the artist has become, or maybe what the work has signified, and I think it is both, it could be independently either the artist or the work, sometimes both (Neluheni, 2014).

With the idea of importance being built over time, Ruarc Peffers (2013a) responds as follows to the idea of importance:

If you refer to an artist as important, I would assume that they made a noteworthy contribution to the development of art history, and our understanding of art.

Importance can be created, like I was telling you those examples of people who have big collections of somebody's work, who then publish books on that artist ... I think that there is the ability, or the potential, to create the perception of importance in an artist's work (Peffer, 2013a).

Peffer firstly considers an artist to be important if he or she contributed to our idea of what art history is, and secondly he regards the idea of importance as something that can be created, or constructed. With the idea of importance being created, he refers to situations where art collectors who support the artist's work they buy by commissioning art writers to write books about them, and sometimes use their connections to get the works into other private collections and even public collections.

For Neluheni (2013), importance is built over time, not necessarily by outside parties as Peffer suggests, but by referring to events that happen after the art was created, or after the artist has passed away, thus insinuating that the importance of art or the artist's career is sometimes only realised in retrospect. In the latter excerpt, Peffer refers to importance being built, that is, that outside parties have a part to play in the value created in an artist's career. In this case, he is referring to affluent art collectors who commission books to be written on the artist that they have decided to collect. Similarly, Gavin Younge (2013) points out:

So I think that the first thing that you agree with, and that I agree with, is that success breeds success, and that there is no intrinsic or necessary correlation between financial success, and value in the work; you can build that up.

In this sense, I deduce that Gavin Younge agrees that importance is not necessarily inherent in the artist's skill or importance as an artist in itself, thus referring to the idea of intrinsic value.³⁷

During our interview in March 2013, I asked Gavin Younge (2013) what he perceived to be "important". He replied: "do you mean personally or for other people?" I replied: "both, what is important to you and what makes a work of art important?" His response was as follows:

[I]f you make something and you are satisfied with it, and it gets exhibited more than once in different parts of the world then that is a very satisfying experience, because it affirms

³⁷ Lind (1992:120) refers to intrinsic art as meaning art for the sake of art alone, that art is valuable in itself, that art needs no justification. Many writers and artists associated with Aestheticism believe that the slogan '*art for art's sake*' expressed their beliefs. The slogan translated from French *l'art pour l'art*, a term coined in the early 19th century (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2012), expresses a philosophy that the intrinsic value of art is separate from any didactic, moral or utilitarian function, including political function.

your own judgement of your work. If you make something, you love it, let's say you show it and you do get invited to show it [uses Paris as an example] somewhere then you feel great, that's the affirmation. If it then sells, that's another kind of kick (Younge 2013).

In other words, as I understand Younge, he believes importance to be an artist feeling self-satisfaction when their work is exhibited internationally and their art is selling. Younge mentions that once an artist's work is exhibited "more than once" overseas, it leads to that artist's art being perceived as more important, insinuating that an artist becomes more important once he or she has exhibited internationally. He also uses the word "affirmation" that links with Bowness's idea of recognition, and circles of recognition. For Younge, outside validation is needed before an artist can be deemed important; in other words, a signifier of importance for Younge is being exhibited internationally. In conversation, Younge referred to Paris, where the art world was centred in the 1900s. This idea that Paris is in one's habitus, that in one's consciousness it is a place where one would ideally be exhibited, is what certain people's cultural capital has taught them, that "great" art is found in Paris, London and New York, and that once an artist's work has been shown there, that artist has made it and can be described, or referred to, as important.

Peffer (2013a) adds to his perceptions of importance, by describing how he interprets the term "artistic importance":

In terms of contemporary artists, somebody like Mary Wafer is artistically important, I think her work is good ... well thought out ... layered ... considered, it addresses a lot of issues or concepts, same could be said perhaps for Sanell Aggenbach ... Dan Halter ... I would say those artists are indeed artistically important, but their financial importance is negligible, none of these three artists as they are currently positioned would be included in one of our auctions as they simply don't have sufficient value in this market.

Using the examples in the excerpt, Peffer implies that artistic importance does not necessarily cross over into financial success. Indeed, looking at the examples of intermediaries explaining how they perceive the term "importance", as given above, it would seem that importance can also mean more than one thing to the same intermediary. This is illustrated by Peffer's (2013a) descriptions of what importance means to him, on one hand stating that importance is when an artist has made a significant contribution to the history of art as we know it in the Westernised paradigm of art history, and on the other hand stating that being supported by influential collectors and art dealers can generate perceived importance (Peffer, 2013a). This links up with Younge's (2013) statement, "success breeds success", in the sense that if someone of importance supports an artist's work, that artist's status becomes elevated. As Peffer also states, "it causes a type of snowball effect". In a

similar sense one may ask the question as to whether an artist would be where he or she is today if it were not for the art dealers who represented them. According to Teresa Lizamore (2013)³⁸ with regard to the successful career of Dylan Lewis:

I don't know if Dylan Lewis would have been successful if he hadn't had Everard Read behind him.

A question that may be asked here is how galleries decide to take artists into their stable, to represent them and to be their patrons? This decision can sometimes be very personal, as opposed to how and when artists are to be included in books and dictionaries where one would expect a "checklist" of some kind.

When considering South African authors who have attempted to be objective in writing artists dictionaries, Berman's *Art and artists of South Africa* functions as an example of the criteria used to distinguish between artists and to classify which artists were "important" or "successful" enough to be included. Meiring (in Berman 1983:vii) asserts that favouritism and criticism is not allowed in a dictionary. Exploring the criteria for Berman's dictionary she drew up a table with 23 variables, including gallery representation, inclusion in

... eight major national exhibitions between 1902 and 1968, seven international exhibitions between 1924 and 1968, and prize-winners on four significant national competitions. Provisions were made for the factors of publication, important awards, and also for particular exhibitions - in the form of prestige one-man exhibitions, major commissions, influential activity... providing an immediate visual indication of the recognition they had been accorded. A minimum of three criteria, (one of them preferably gallery representation) was deemed necessary (Berman, 1983).

For this purpose, Berman drew up a checklist to assist her to be unbiased when choosing artists to include in her dictionary. In a similar account, Ogilvy's criteria for inclusion in *The dictionary of South African painters and sculptors* were found to be essentially the following:

[T]hose painters and sculptors who have held a solo exhibition; have participated in a major group exhibition; are represented in a public collection or whose work is on public display; have gained prizes and awards; or are an integral part of the South African or Namibian artistic heritage (Ogilvy, 1988:xi).

³⁸The interview with Teresa Lizamore was conducted in Afrikaans and the translation is my own (to ensure appropriate translation, the translated material was discussed with Lizamore).

Accordingly, one way of measuring the importance or determining the level of importance of an artist is to see what has been written on the artist and in what books or dictionaries he or she has been included, for example Berman's and Ogilvy's art dictionaries, as these dictionaries have already conducted a filtering process. However, many artists in these dictionaries have disappeared since and are of little relevance in South African art history today; in addition, many artists who are not represented in the dictionaries are indeed of significance today, as many artists of colour were not included in exhibitions, were not considered for art awards, and were not considered to form part of museums at the time. Although the artist entries may not be accurately represented in the dictionaries, it does show us how these authors in the 1980s drew up criteria for artistic importance in order to identify entries for a South African dictionary of artists. These criteria represent signifiers of artistic importance.

3.3.2 Success

In the opinion of Marilyn Martin (2013), success can vary for different artists, for example when I asked her what benchmarks she looks at when considering the term "success", she answered:

No, I don't think there is either a single benchmark or definition of success. I think it's a good thing to consider each artist individually, but you are looking at the situation more broadly, and you will find different forms of success, e.g. critical or financial, national, international. When it all comes together, then you know that you have somebody who stands out.

In a similar instance, former arts editor of the *Beeld*, Johan Myburg, acknowledged that he uses benchmarks to indicate importance; he also believes that there is more than one measure, or benchmark, of success, including critical and international factors:

[Y]ou can measure success, and I think we do that; How many exhibitions?; How many solo exhibitions?; Were you in Venice? ... Has *Art South Africa* written about you? How many pages has *Art South Africa* written about you? All of that, I think, now I am using examples like *Art South Africa*, I use Venice, indications of importance. And that is also the whole canonical kind of approach, kind of sanctioned, kind of benchmark for an artist, "oh you have been to Venice, wow you must be incredible", and I suppose there is some truth in it.

In exploring the benchmarks mentioned above by Martin and Myburg further, the next excerpt presents Warren Siebrits's (2013a, 2013b) account of what he perceives a "truly successful" artist to be in respect of succeeding in the art market:

I always equate the art market to a 4 x 100 metre relay race. A truly successful artist will evolve in the consciousness of collectors a consciousness that becomes greater from one generation to the next, hence the analogy of a baton change from one runner to the next. Let's assume that baton changes 1, 2 and 3 represent the living artist in the beginning, middle and end of his or her career. Each of these changes in career stage must represent a greater momentum and fame for the artist. The most important baton change however is made at the time the artist dies and represents the final baton change ... If the fame, importance and global consciousness surrounding the importance of the artist are not transferred to a future generation, the artist in question has not fully succeeded and will therefore not be ranked as an A-list artist.

The great artists in the end are the artists who remain inside the consciousness of the collective consciousness of the people, once they are gone, their primary dealers are gone, all their initial supporters are gone. Then the next round of art academics, art critics, art curators, gallery owners make their presence felt. They then judge ... If things don't stack up, then people fall out of favour. They fall out of the A-Team or might not make it into the B-team any longer. I've seen it happen; I've been in this business for over 20 years.

This excerpt relates to Siebrits's account, or understanding, of why Avant Car Guard included the artists they did in their work *The B-Team*. In this sense, B-Team artists, as perceived by Siebrits, are artists that might fall out of favour quicker than those who are supposedly in the A-Team. This also harks back to the fashion of the time that dictates success on the market, and that only those artists who are able to "get through" the second set of art critics and dealers may remain in the consciousness of the collector, and therefore have a chance of staying at the top of the market. As was noted by Welz (2014), Van Wouw has fallen somewhat out of favour, but he is still in the consciousness of the art world, and it is possible that his art may rise again in value in the future – only time will tell.

Stevenson's (2013) response to the question of how one defines success is as follows:

How do I define success? Well for me success is for the work to be in the most important museums, and to be recognised and engaged with the most intellectually resonating curators. That's what I think is success. And then commercial [success] will then follow or not follow. There are some artists that are incredibly respected who don't have the commercial success, because the work does not lend itself to it, or they don't go after it. Someone like Kentridge has to my mind every acknowledgement imaginable, critically. But there are also many artists who I think are very important, and for some reason critically haven't been understood, and it would maybe happen in 5 years or 10 years, or 50 years, I don't know. So the components of value to some degree, I am saying there is some degree to where you do everything that you can, but I will never assert it to a curator, to a collector, to anybody else, you get up to a certain point, you put it out there, and either it happens or it doesn't and that I am not responsible for.

Stevenson measures success in terms of importance and intelligence – components of value – the intermediaries can add to them, but they are not fixed. Stevenson is saying that he, as an art dealer, is not solely responsible for the success of an artist, success referring here to being represented in major museums and being included in exhibitions by recognised curators. Therefore, for Stevenson, the museum and the curator are the final markers of success. Similarly, Grayson Perry states that it is the museum curator that plays the most powerful role in an artist's path to success, as the curator is at the "top of the tree of validation".

Stevenson also considers that financial success can either follow, or not follow, artistic success. Accordingly, I investigate artistic success and financial success and perceptions of these terms. When I asked Peffers to define "artistic success" his response was:

Exhibition history; what collections they are a part of; who is willing to represent their work; where they have previously been exhibited; all the usual criteria really (Ruarc Peffers, 2013a).

Peffers assumes that there are "usual criteria"; he believes that the art world has a set of criteria that is used to define and universally understand what success means to players in the art world. When studying the former excerpts and the ideas on what success means, it would appear that the recurring criteria, or the signifiers of success, are critical recognition, international exposure, forming part of significant exhibitions that are curated by significant curators, and being included in museums.

In many intermediaries' minds, criteria overlap in terms of what success and importance are – or rather that the criteria used for success transform to the idea of importance. So if an artist is exhibited internationally and included in museum exhibitions by curators (signifiers of success) that artist is perceived to be important. Success therefore leads to the idea of importance.

In many instances the interviewees made use of the term "economic" or "financial" success, stating that in some cases artists obtain financial value for their art after being perceived as important and in other cases they do not. As Stevenson (2013) states, financial success can either follow or not follow artistic success, depending on whether the work is commercially viable or, as Siebrits puts it, "resonates with the collector base". For Neluheni, it is "obvious" that monetary value will grow with the importance of an artist:

[O]bviously value grows with the importance, with the importance of a particular artist, importance of a time period, the value I think would escalate also based on those, in terms of the artist and all sort of factors surrounding it.

When an artist is in demand, his or her prices can increase up to the point that the market is willing to pay; in this sense one can say that an artist is financially successful. In the next section I look at how certain art intermediaries distinguish the term “financial success”.

3.3.3 Financial Success

With regard to the notion of financial success and how one can determine who or what is financially successful, I asked Ruarc Peffers what he considers to be the benchmark for financial success and when can one say that an artist is financially successful. His response was as follows:

R100 000 spent on an Irma Stern is inexpensive, but a R100 000 spent on a Johannes Phokela or Penny Siopis in the secondary market is not, so it is obviously relative to the artist, and I think that one of the most interesting things that we do is how that standard is constantly changing ... I think developments that are run by institutions or by academia or even the primary market, by galleries and dealers are a lot slower in developing, like if you look at what Michael Stevenson does, which he does extremely well, I have the hugest veneration for Michael Stevenson as a dealer, but Michael Stevenson didn't make Conrad Botes or Pieter Hugo or Michael MacGarry, the brand name didn't happen overnight. It took him years and years of doing shows, of producing catalogues, of getting write-ups in important journals, of sending his artists overseas to be part of other shows, it is a whole lot of things that he has had to do over a really protracted period to achieve the level to which he has managed to get some of his artists, whereas the public market, the secondary market, which is what we are in. Wolf Kibel for example had a limited value, and then one night a Wolf Kibel sells for R3 million and all of a sudden everybody knows who Wolf Kibel was, overnight he went from being known by this many people (shows a little by indicating with his thumb and index finger) to being known by many more ... because everybody on one level or another responds to money. Money gets headlines though you get tired of hearing about it, the main thing a journalist often wants to hear is how much money ... the main thing that they respond to is the bottom line - how much money is it worth? (Peffers, 2013a).

In this excerpt it is noted that the standard for financial success is constantly changing, similar to Siebrits's metaphor of the baton change, meaning that with time and fashion the standards for success, both artistic and financial, are changing.

In my reading of Peffers's response to financial success, I gather that the art dealer's role is imperative for an artist's career to attain financial success and artistic recognition. For example, a dealer such as Stevenson takes his artists to international art shows, has them written about by

respected and recognised art writers, and hosts exhibitions for them. According to Peffers (2013a), building prices on the primary market is a difficult task, but publicity leading to higher prices can happen quickly in the secondary market, as it is easier to create publicity there because the primary dealer has already done the hard work of marketing the artist.

In the former excerpts from interviews, it would seem that an artist is perceived as important and successful when written about critically, represented internationally and has formed part of exhibitions that are of import. In this sense, as Stevenson has mentioned, financial success can either follow or not follow artistic success and importance, but if it does, does it have to do with the role the intermediaries played?

A finding from this section is that the informed dealer knows what elements have to be present in order for an artist to be perceived as important; hence, the dealer tries to tick all the boxes for his or her artists so they can form part of the consciousness of the collector which is formed by what he or she believes to be important.

Concerning the relationship between financial success and artistic importance, Bowness (1989) and Galenson (2005b) argue that important works of art are the works that attain the highest prices on auction and that there is a relationship between art and money. As Galenson (2005:4) states, interpreting Bowness, “[i]t’s only the most important artists whose work attains the highest prices”.

With this argument in mind, Fred Scott (2013, 2014) agrees to a degree, stating:

There are two sets of variable values associated with an artwork; firstly the aesthetic value that comprises whether the artwork is either good art, or poor (bad) art, and secondly whether it has either high or low monetary value. One automatically wants to say that good art must be of higher (financial) value ... history has shown that over time good art keeps its value in line with inflation or it can even increase exponentially in value, while poor art loses its value over time.³⁹

Bearing in mind this belief that good art keeps its value or even increases in value over time, in a related view Myburg states that “the more successful you are the more successful you become”. This is in line with Younge’s contention “success breeds success”.

In Cockerill’s (2013a) opinion:

³⁹ The interview with Fred Scott (2013) was conducted in Afrikaans and the translation was discussed and approved for use by Scott (2014). The words in brackets are those used and inserted by Scott (2014).

... there is to a degree a correlation between artistic importance and art market prices, but that is to a degree, not in every case.

Considering the link between monetary value and success, Hundt (2013) maintains:

I think that [monetary success] is perhaps the prize you get for being successful in more respects than purely aesthetically, so it's not a direct correlation. I mean the biggest seller in this country is Portchie, he is highly successful as an artist in terms of money, ... but you know coca cola sells cans of coke and they make millions too, it doesn't mean that a coke is a particularly good or satisfying drink, it's just very popular, it's like with wine, you can buy wine at R20 a bottle and it can be superb, and you can buy wine at R100 a bottle and it can be terrible, so monetary success is purely, I think for many people a guideline, but it is not necessarily a defining factor at all.

In this sense financial success is not a defining factor for artistic success or artistic importance. When looking at the criteria for success and importance, as listed by the intermediaries, they all mainly have to do with what intermediaries do for an artist, that is, exhibitions (art dealer, gallerist or curator), critical writing (art critic) and international exposure (art dealer, gallerist or curator).

Peffer's (2013a) response to the question on the link between monetary value and success is as follows:

It begs the chicken and egg question, much like you say, "does importance create high value or does high value create importance?" I think that you are not going to have books written about you unless you are an interesting artist, but you are probably not regarded as interesting until you have had books written about you. Certainly in the development of value and in the development of that perception of importance within an artist it is imperative that they have at least some form of biographical or descriptive text, or something that deconstructs their work ... I think it is important that independent researchers, and theorists in their own right who are attracted to your work, deconstruct your work and then theorize your work of their own volition. Not because they are commissioned to do so, but because they feel that your work warrants that research and that energy being spent on it, and I think that that is partly how you start and if you maintain a sufficiently high level of production throughout your career. I think those things create a bit of a snowball effect...

In the view of art critic and writer, Melvyn Minnaar (2013):

I am a great believer - which may be a romantic notion - that the best will be acknowledged. I believe the best will always stand out and be acknowledged. Ask anybody - and that is across the board, whether it's wine or a rugby team or whatever - the best will

be in the final line-up. It happens by public consensus – so acknowledgement, at the end of the day, will take place despite anything else, and certainly despite the money.

For Minnaar, acknowledgement is a form of success and this happens through public consensus. This correlates with Stevenson's view that financial success will either follow or not follow.

In contrast to Stevenson's ideas expressed in his 1988 honours paper, in which he states: "What most record prices for an artist, country or school, all have in common is that they are for "important" works" (Stevenson, 1988:18), and the ideas of Bowness (1989) and Galenson (2005b), that the highest prices are fetched by the most important artists, Stevenson has the following to say about this perception:

Isn't it interesting that their perception of importance is price? It is a very problematic notion that price and aesthetic, or art historical importance, are directly correlated, because they are not, they have no relation, well they don't have no relation ... and for instance somebody like Stanley Pinker doesn't feature at all, and yet he is art historically important, incredibly, yet he is not in the publications, yet he has reached the highest prices, it's a very very fraught set of variables that you are playing with, and the market is not an accurate parameter at all, it's a fashion, it's not of anything else.

It would seem that Stevenson is saying that the market and money should not be used as parameters of success and importance; instead he believes that it is the museum and the curators that have the final say in what important art is. According to Stevenson and Bowness, it is the collector who has the final say in what art is going to become famous:

The very fact of a Tate purchase inevitably makes a great difference to the artist as he rises to fame. No museum director has the power that rests with the active collector (Bowness, 1989:37).

It is the "build up" of an artist through art intermediaries that makes them successful, it is the perception of importance that is revealed by the art dealers and, then, that is presented in the consciousness of the art collectors and the art museum curators. The artist will not get to the "pinnacle", as explained by Ferreira, if that artist does not deserve to be there.

3.4 Conditions of Success

In exploring Bowness's four conditions of success and the idea that there is a mechanism such as a path to success, I presented the interviewees with Bowness's theory. In return I experienced

opposition to Bowness's idea that there is something like as a path to success and fame. For example, curator Kirsty Cockerill deemed Bowness's theory to be "reductive":

[H]is four conditions of success – peer recognition, plus minus sometimes that happens sometimes it doesn't – critical recognition, sometimes it happens sometimes it doesn't, patronage from collectors and dealers, basically his four conditions of success are too reductive to be accurate. There are many many artists who are working today whose value in terms of their artistic merit, historical merit, conceptual merit, the value of their contribution is way advanced of their peers, they may make a huge amounts of money, and that does not correlate to their significance or value, so it's basically rubbish, the reasons for that, there are thousands of reasons for it, is that it's a case by case, context by context situation, and so the argument that is put forth, are too reductive – that they will never be able to be applied accurately across art periods (Cockerill, 2013a).

However, art events director Ross Douglas's response to the idea that a path to success exists follows, with Bowness in mind:

I think that is pretty accurate, I think what has also happened now is that, collectors and dealers have become a lot more powerful, and their ability to influence is much stronger (Douglas, 2013).

In the view of João Ferreira, when discussing Bowness's four conditions for success, Ferreira drew a circle with four concentric inner circles and referred to Jasper John's (b. 1930) *Target* (1955) to illustrate this example (see Figure 6 and 7).

This also resonates with Alan Bowness, and also resonates with this, so this would be the inside circle, and this would be the outside circle, and the idea is that, Bowness, what he said is that you start on the outside circle ... and when you get to the pinnacle, that is where you are famous ... you have been accepted as a artist, but the idea is that you could not get to that inner circle with money, with sex, with political force, because you would just go right through [the circle], so you would have to do the jumps in order to get there. And an artist like William [Kentridge] or Marlene [Dumas], we use them [as examples] because we know that they have done it, very clearly it moves along that route, and artists like Dylan Lewis or Paul du Toit, they would be over here ... and what they would do is develop their own inner circle of interest [the second circle] ... and the circles moves around them. And they might just cross over into that [showing the first circle]. But in actuality this is the major art world [the first circle], and this is them and they're ... very tiny ... someone like Tretchikoff would have crossed over (Ferreira, 2013).

Ferreira draws a similar circle next to the current circle (see Figure 6), thus illustrating the following with regard to "other artists":

So these guys [referring to the second sphere], they have got a good marketing team, they are also connected to wealthy people that take their work ... suddenly they put these works in a fancy exhibition in a big hotel, restaurant, other wealthy people buy them, the next thing they are published in a book, in a monograph, they are published in this magazine, *High Life*, or *For the Rich Only* or whatever, and suddenly people are like “oh my goodness I must have one of those, because look it is in this book” ... So you can see this market is growing, now we are talking pure market, now this market is growing ... growing, but there is no critical observation.

Ferreira draws another picture to illustrate how an artist can get to the pinnacle of success (see Figure 8). He draws a triangle, with the apex indicating where financial success and critical recognition meet, while the two bottom corners indicate financial success on the one side, or when an artist is commercially viable, and intellectual success on the other side, referring to artists who are recognised in the critical sense by academics and art critics in the field.

Ferreira (2013) says that artists who obtain high prices for their art, but who are not critically acclaimed, are generally the type of artists who made the high prices happen for themselves, insinuating that the “intermediary machinery” did not play a structured role in their success, in other words their success didn’t “follow something like Bowness’s four conditions of success” (Ferreira, 2013). For these “other artists”, or commercial artists, publicity or hype is created around them with money, and money, as Ferreira argues, cannot get you to the pinnacle of success, which to him refers to being housed in the most reputable museums in the world and being written about at length by academics in the field.

In this chapter I presented a selection of the interviewees’ use of antagonistic adjectives and their responses to the notions of artistic importance, artistic success, financial success and ideas surrounding Bowness’ four conditions of success. I found there to be many different views; accordingly, there is no right or wrong view, such views are merely perceptions. Art intermediaries perceive matters from their own habitus, which is made up of their own set of cultural, economic and social capital.

This chapter presented excerpts from the interviews I conducted and the information I retrieved about the terms that are being scrutinised. In each case it is possible to determine the stance (role) from which the interviewee is answering the questions at hand. For example, an art dealer and a collector will each have a different view of the same artwork, depending on what perspective and in what context they are looking at the issue in question.

In Chapter Four I investigate the intermediaries' perspectives on the two South African living artists who have attained the highest prices on auction (up until Jane Alexander's *Untitled* surpassed Lewis's *Black Rhino* on 11 November 2013), William Kentridge and Dylan Lewis.

4 Chapter Four: Kentridge and Lewis

Chapter Three investigated the way in which South African art world players and intermediaries use antagonistic adjectives in conjunction with terms and ideas related to importance and success in their arts discourse. The findings obtained in Chapter Three showed that the use of the terms “importance” and “success” often relate to similar markers or signifiers, such as being written about critically, being exhibited internationally and being included in museum collections. Some maintained that financial success was related to the idea of success and importance, while others did not.

In Chapter Four, the career trajectories of two artists are presented, that of William Kentridge and Dylan Lewis, as they are two South African artists, living and residing in South Africa, whose works have attained the highest prices on auction. In order to decide on whose careers to choose to discuss in this dissertation a common denominator had to be identified in order to avoid bias and favouritism. This denominator was identified as the highest price attained on auction for two living South African artists.⁴⁰ In hindsight I could have set up a checklist as well to make sure that the artists investigated formed part of the paradigm of this study, which is the fine art world in the South African context, or something similar to Berman’s checklist when deciding on artists to include in her dictionary (Berman, 1983). It can, however, still be argued that both case studies fall into the realm of fine art, as will be discussed in this chapter.

In terms of my choice of measurement being the highest prices attained on auction, I was frequently questioned about the Mandela portrait that attained R3.7 million at a charity auction.⁴¹ The reason for not considering this item is, firstly, because charity auctions were not considered, only public auction records from reputable auction houses, as explained in Chapter Two. Nevertheless, the amount paid for this work does not alter the choice of case studies, as the amount does not match the amounts attained by Kentridge and Lewis on auction.

Another question that could be asked is why this study only considers results of the South African art market, as the two records by Lewis and Kentridge were attained in London and in New York, respectively. For argument’s sake an option for this study could have been to include results from

⁴⁰ Refer back to Chapter One for a full account of why and how I chose the case studies, along with a breakdown of the prices their artworks had attained on auction up until the cut-off date of May 2013.

⁴¹ According to Mabandu (2013), the portrait of Nelson Mandela, painted by the hitherto unknown artist from Durban, Sifiso Ngebobu, sold for R3.7 million at an ANC charity auction in 2013.

South African auction houses only. But as the art world has become global, as shown in Chapter Two, and it is also noted in Chapter Three how significant the international aspect in an artist's career is for him or her to be deemed important, this option was not reconsidered.

It should also be noted that, in November 2013, Jane Alexander's sculpture *Untitled* attained a record price for a South African sculptor at R5.5 million (including buyer's premium, hammer price was R4.8 million); however, this record was made after the study's cut-off date (May 2013). In addition, even though Alexander's record exceeds Lewis's 2007 record where a R4.2 million hammer price was achieved, overall Lewis's work still sells for more and at higher volumes than that of Alexander on the secondary market. The website AuctionVault shows the top 10 artists whose works consistency sell for the most on auction; until recently Lewis's work held the number 10 position with an average sale rate of R119 000 in 2013 (AuctionVault, 2013).

Bowness's four conditions of success are used as a method to map Kentridge's and Lewis's separate career trajectories even though it is acknowledged that the conditions of success have their limitations. This chapter aims to determine what path to success the two case studies followed to be where they are today: selling for high prices on the art market, along with being perceived as important and successful.

As discussed in Chapter Three, it can be argued that both Kentridge and Lewis are perceived to be important and successful on both the South African and the international art scene. The statements that both these artists are perceived to be successful and important is supported by the quotations presented in Chapter One from both the national and international media, and the literature and opinions from recognised art world players on the South African and international art scene.

Bowness's four conditions of success were applied to this study. These consist of four circles in which intermediaries and art world players play a role in terms of recognising the artists during different parts of their career. This chapter investigates the way in which intermediaries played a role in the different circles of recognition by attributing value to the separate artists investigated. In doing so, I will be able to map these two artists' career trajectories and determine who or what played a role in their art attaining the highest prices on auction.

This chapter investigates these artists' separate career trajectories to see what is revealed about the paths to their perceived success, both artistic and financial. Bourdieu's theory of distinction

and taste is incorporated when the case studies are classified and discussed by certain South African art intermediaries who are perceived to hold power, acting as professional classifiers, “gatekeepers” or “tastemakers” on the South African art scene.

It should be noted that this dissertation is not a comparison of the two artists or their work, as emphasised during many of the interviews conducted – the artists occupy different sectors of the art world (Stevenson, 2013; Siebrits, 2013a; Minnaar, 2013). In the opinion of Cape Town-based art consultant, dealer and curator João Ferreira (2013), “Lewis does not fit into the contemporary fine art sector, whereas William Kentridge is at the centre of it”. Ferreira (2013) maintains that artists like⁴² Dylan Lewis’s fame is built on their own (see Figure 7), without the “normal” set of stages of recognition as Bowness refers to, whereas artists like William Kentridge’s fame is systematically built up by stages of recognition (see the stages of recognition as explored in the second part of Chapter Two) (see Figure 7). In this sense Ferreira argues that Bowness’s four conditions of success should be applicable to Kentridge’s career, but not to Dylan Lewis’s. Ferreira’s view could be justified or disputed once the two artists are discussed under the sections or circles of Bowness’s conditions of success. Although it is not the aim of this chapter to measure Kentridge’s and Lewis’s careers against the four conditions of success, using the conditions as a map, one will clearly be able to conclude whether Bowness’s conditions are in fact visible in these two artists’ paths to success in the art world.

This chapter is divided into two sections; each part is allocated to one artist’s career trajectory in order to illustrate separately how the two artists, from different backgrounds, have attained success and perceived importance in their separate careers. The same method is used to track these two artist’s careers. The method uses Bowness’s four conditions of success as a framework; these conditions are, namely, peer recognition, critical recognition, patronage by collectors and dealers, and public acclaim. The findings of Chapter Two and Three are incorporated into these sections to determine the role intermediaries have played in these artists’ careers.

⁴² Referring to artists outside the ‘contemporary fine art sector’ (Ferreira, 2013). By referring to Lewis as an artist ‘outside’ the ‘contemporary fine art sector’, Ferreira is using an antagonistic adjective to help describe Lewis’s status in the South African art market, illustrating that antagonistic adjectives are used in the South African art paradigm.

4.1 William Kentridge's Career Trajectory: A Case Study

4.1.1 The Initial Circles of Recognition

In this section Bourdieu's theory on economic and cultural capital comes in to play, as there are two types of capital that are evident from early on in Kentridge's life. These forms of capital influence the way an individual looks at the world, and how the world looks at that individual (Bourdieu 1984).

William Kentridge was born on 28 April 1955 in Johannesburg, South Africa. Both his parents were distinguished lawyers who opposed the apartheid regime. Consequently, Kentridge was made aware of the appalling cost of South Africa's apartheid system from an early age (Godby, 1999:75). According to Kentridge (2010), his father's combined rage against apartheid and his love of theatre made him a great trial barrister, but he never tried to follow in his father's footsteps as his dad "is a hard act to follow". Instead, he became an artist. According to Godby (1999:75), Kentridge's search for a means to deal with the effect that apartheid had on him and the country led him to the arts of drama and drawing. Kentridge's art brings together drawing and drama in the forms of etching, screen-printing, lithography, linoleum cuts, film animation, sculpture and performance (Hecker & Kentridge, 2010). The visual, in other words, provides Kentridge with a means to engage with his experience of the world (Godby, 1999:75).

Kentridge matriculated from King Edward VII School in Houghton, Johannesburg in 1973. In 1976, he graduated from the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) in Johannesburg with a Bachelor's degree in Politics and African studies. According to Godby (1999:75), Kentridge initially chose not to study art, preferring to deepen his understanding of the South African condition through politics, philosophy and African government. Godby also notes that it was because Kentridge did not study art at a tertiary institution that he was able to avoid the usual student flirtation with international fashions in art. The art training he did receive was from Bill Ainslie at the Johannesburg Art Foundation (JAF)⁴³ from 1976 to 1978 (Artnet, 2015; Godby, 1999:75). Bill Ainslie (1934–1989) founded the JAF in 1971. Dumile Feni-Mhlaba (1942–1991) studied under Ainslie and it was through Ainslie that Kentridge was introduced to Feni. Kentridge was inspired by Feni's medium (Artnet; 2015, South African History Online, 2012).

⁴³ Refer back to Chapter Two regarding the seminal part played by the JAF in the South African art scene.

From the preceding paragraphs, one can deduce that Kentridge is a widely educated individual who grew up in an affluent, educated family, going to school in an affluent part of South Africa and attending the University of the Witwatersrand, with parents in law and having a “love for theatre” (Kentridge, 2010). All of these elements hint at Kentridge having high cultural and economic capital. In addition to the high level of education that Kentridge received in South Africa, he was also in a position to study drama in Paris.

Now you must also know that Kentridge came out of a home where there was a lot of money, so he probably had a lot of money to market himself with, and I think that also plays a role [in the value creation of his art and himself as an artist] ... If you have money you can get far in life, a lot of the time it has got to do with luck, a lot of the time it is what you do, and then you have money that plays a role, so I think in his life, money played a big role (Teresa Lizamore, 2013).

William Kentridge is a very rare artist with exemplary pedigree – a family of humanists and astute social commentators (Mark Read, 2013).

When Kentridge was discussed with the interviewees, as in the above excerpts, it is noteworthy that many intermediaries brought up Kentridge’s wealth and “pedigree”, along with his ability to market himself, as factors that led to his success today. Illustrated here is the perception of art dealer and gallerist Teresa Lizamore. For Lizamore, one reason for Kentridge’s success is connected to his economic capital. For intermediaries to note that Kentridge grew up with money implies that these are elements connected with the persona that is William Kentridge, and included in his economic capital. It is also public knowledge that Kentridge’s home is in Houghton, a wealthy area of Johannesburg. It is relevant to note that this factor is often mentioned when discussing Kentridge, as he is perceived to be an individual who comes from a prosperous background and who is categorised as wealthy.

In this section I use Bowness’s first condition of success to look at the way Kentridge’s career was initiated, and how intermediaries or art world players, commonly understood as peer recognition, played a part in creating value in Kentridge’s career. From a young age Kentridge received training from Bill Ainslie, “at the house”, implying that Bill Ainslie taught at Kentridge’s family home. This assumption is drawn from the following statement made by Kentridge. *One People* prompted Kentridge with the following question: “Who were some of the people in your life who actually inspired you to pursue your own work?”

[T]he biggest influence was this man called Dumilia. By the time I was a student he had already gone to New York. When I was an adolescent – about fourteen or fifteen – he

worked at the house with Bill Ainslie, the teacher that I had. I used to go there in the evenings for art lessons and I'd see Dumilia ... working on large figurative charcoal drawings. That, for me, was a revelation of what those drawings could be, what you could do with that medium. He was very important (Kentridge, 1998).

This excerpt illustrates that Kentridge, in his formative years, was in the company of significant people (in retrospect) on the South African art scene of the time, namely, Dumile Feni and Bill Ainslie. This is where the idea of being influenced and influencing other artists comes in to play. Importance in art is also measured by influence, as Walter Sickert (1860–1942), an English Impressionist painter and art critic recognised in 1910. Sickert wrote that the most important artists are those whose influence is the most, and thus those whose successors cannot “act as if they had not existed” (Galenson, 2005b:5–6; Sickert & Robins, 2000:253). Galenson concurs with Sickert with the statement:

Important artists are innovators whose work changes the practices of their successors. The greater the changes, the greater the artist (Galenson in Cohen, 2008:2).

This adds to the implication that all artists of importance were once influenced and have influenced other artists – the greater the artist, the greater his influence – and so the cycle continues. Because Feni influenced Kentridge, the belief that Feni is an important artist is supported.

With the significance of teaching and influence in mind, from 1978 to 1980 Kentridge taught etching at the JAF. This leads to the assumption that Kentridge made an impact on the staff at the JAF and was viewed as an artist of significance to be considered a lecturer the year following his graduation. In this sense one can only assume that he was also recognised by his peers, and his mentor Bill Ainslie, although it must be noted there is no research material or sources to support this statement.

In 1981, Kentridge left the JAF to study mime and theatre at the École Internationale de Théâtre Jacques Lecoq in Paris, France, for two years. Kentridge originally hoped to become an actor, he recalls (in McCarten, 2012): “I was fortunate to discover at a theatre school that I was so bad an actor [that] I was reduced to an artist, and I made my peace with it.” After his return from Paris he acted and directed in Johannesburg’s Junction Avenue Theatre Company, a company of which he was also a founding member. In 1989, Kentridge created his first animated short film in the Soho Eckstein and Felix Teitlebaum series entitled *Johannesburg 2nd Greatest City after Paris* (1989).

In 1992, Kentridge started collaborating with the Handspring Puppet Company, which was founded by Basil Jones and Adrian Kohler in 1981. Since then, they have been a successful theatre production company based in Cape Town. In association with Jones and Kohler, Kentridge staged his first theatre production *Woyzeck on the Highveld*⁴⁴ (1992). Collaborative productions with the Handspring Puppet Company that followed include *Faustus in Africa* (1995), *Ubu and the Truth Commission* (1997), *Il Ritorno d'Ulisse* (1998), *Zeno at 4 a.m.* (2001) and *Confessions of Zeno* (2002) (ABC, 2011; Collective Artisan, 2009; Handspring Puppet Company, 2012).

Basil Jones (2012) remembers working with Kentridge as a younger man; he recalls them having fun and doing wonderful things together. When thinking back, Jones recalls regarding Kentridge, Kohler and to a certain extent himself as emerging artists. However he states that at the time it was "more about the stomach than the mind". He says: "When we first started working with William in 1991, he was already pretty well-known in the South African art world. However, none of us had any idea back then of just how eminent he would eventually become".

Kentridge was 37 when he started collaborating with the Handspring Puppet Company. This wasn't really early in Kentridge's career, as he had already been involved with the Junction Theatre Company, which was initiated in 1983, and he had also been awarded the Standard Bank Young Artist award in 1987 at the age of 32.

In the realm of theatre production creative people get together and share ideas, and networking takes place. These are some of the characteristics that were explained under the definition of an artist community setting in Chapter Two (Horejs, 2009). For Kentridge to have been involved in so many projects makes one believe, or assume, that Kentridge was recognised by the artists and the people he worked with, as illustrated with Jones' quotation of when they were "younger".

Between 1989 and 2003 Kentridge made a series of nine short films that he eventually assembled under the title *9 Drawings for Projection* (Smith, 2010). According to a dossier on Kentridge's project *Journey to the Moon: 9 Drawings for Projection* (2004/2005),⁴⁵ which was produced by Art Logic, he attained international success in this medium.

⁴⁴ Kentridge directed the theatre production *Woyzeck on the Highveld*, which was produced by the Handspring Puppet Company and the Market Theatre. *Woyzeck on the Highveld* is an adaptation of the famous play by German writer George Buchner, revolving around jealousy, murder and the struggle of an ordinary man against an uncaring society that eventually destroys him (Handspring Puppet Company, 2012).

⁴⁵ These films were shown together for the project *Journey to the Moon* which was shown across Europe, culminating with the German Guggenheim in December 2005 (Deutsche+Guggenheim, 2014).

William Kentridge has reached international success thanks to an extraordinary sequence of animated short films using his unique charcoal erase technique (Deutsche+Guggenheim, 2014).

I think the thing that made Kentridge truly successful was the fact that he used so many mediums and brought new mediums to the forefront, puppetry was never before part of fine art, opera was never part of fine art, so I think that is what makes him truly successful (Teresa Lizamore, 2013).

While investigating what makes Kentridge important, successful and famous, one answer could be that he is recognised because of his “unique charcoal erase technique”. Kentridge calls it “stoneage-videotography” (in Myburg, 2010). Tone (1999) refers to Kentridge’s animation process as “drawing in motion”. The technique involves transforming charcoal drawings into animation. This process entails drawing a scene, taking a picture, erasing and/or adding sections that illustrate the movement that follows on from the previous one. This is based on stop frame animation; however, instead of using more than one paper per movement, as is done in animation, Kentridge uses a page per scene. In essence there are a thousand alterations to only a few drawings, only about 20 to 40 drawings are used in a short film.

Another unique aspect that is characteristic of the animation in Kentridge’s art is the erasure marks. The marks result in a feeling of movement and memory. According to Swartz-Turflé (2010), Kentridge admitted that he could not make good erasures at the beginning of his drawing career. Apparently he tried every kind of eraser, but the residue of his process remained. At first he apologised for the messiness but he eventually came to realise that this process was an integral part of his art. According to Kentridge, “[i]n the process of making, a meaning will emerge” (Swartz-Turflé, 2010).

The big themes connected to Kentridge’s art are encapsulated in the erasure marks; they are time, change and the legacy of the past. These themes originated through trial and error and a spirit of experimentation and playfulness, just as his experience with the erasure marks. Kentridge is interested in finding ways of working that will enable the work to answer the questions instead of executing an idea from beginning to end. For Kentridge, the process involves “trying until you fail, and then trying more”. Quoting Samuel Beckett’s novel *Molly*, Kentridge advises: “Try again. Fail again. Fail better” (Swatz-Turflé, 2010).

I revert now to the factors that played a role in the early stages of Kentridge's career and in his flourishing art career. Firstly, the economic capital provided by his parents and the social capital from the people he was in contact with and who were deemed important on the South African art scene such as Feni and Ainslie. Secondly, with respect to intermediaries, the fact that he studied Politics and African Studies at Wits add to his intellectual capital, and the fact that Kentridge went to drama school in Paris adds to his social and ultimate symbolic capital, that is, being perceived as a well-travelled, experimental and conceptual artist. All of these elements add to the importance that was starting to be built around the idea of William Kentridge, linking directly to the ideas of Bourdieu concerning the different types of capital.

The next section explores the idea of critical recognition; how South African intermediaries perceive Kentridge in an art critical context, and to what degree Kentridge has attained critical recognition in his career (up to this point).

4.1.2 Critical Recognition

With respect to academic and journalistic art criticism, EBSCO Host (2014), a scholarly database (searching under all databases) shows that from 1984 to 2014 reference has been made to William Kentridge in 1241 publications,⁴⁶ of which 133 are academic journals. Jstor (2014), another scholarly database, shows that reference has been made to him in approximately 400 journal articles and 31 books. As this data shows, Kentridge is widely written about in art journals and art books, which means that one can accept that he is critically recognised by academics and journalists.⁴⁷

The Goodman Gallery website also indicates that Kentridge is written about widely both in the art academic and the art journalistic fields (Goodman Gallery, 2014). It can therefore be stated that the large amount of documentation (both academic and journalistic) on the medium, style and themes of William Kentridge has led to his increased reputation. Another critical aspect that fuels an artist's reputation (and adds to critical recognition as explained in Chapter Two) is the accrual of awards, grants and residencies (Thornton, 2008:258).

⁴⁶ Publications include *Artforum International*, *Artnews*, *Art in America*, *Art & Australia*, *October*, *New York Times*, *Wall Street Journal* and *Opera News* (Ebscohost, 2014).

⁴⁷ See the Appendix in which I list a selection of books and journal articles written about William Kentridge.

Over the past 30 years, Kentridge has won a range of awards, both locally and internationally, starting in 1982 with a Red Ribbon Award for short fiction. The awards he has won since include The Market Theatre award for new vision exhibition (1986); the AA Vita Award at Cassirer Fine Art (1986); the Standard Bank Young Artist Award⁴⁸ (1987); the Vita Award for the production of *Woyzeck of the Highveld* (1992/1993); and a Loerie Award memo (1994). David Krut Projects (2014) notes that since Kentridge's participation in *Documenta X* in Kassel, Germany in 1997, Kentridge has started to accumulate awards and recognition in the international realm: he has won the Carnegie Prize, Carnegie Museum of Art (2000); The Kaiserring prize, Mönchehaus Museum Goslar (2003); Carnegie Medal (2004); Honorary Degree of Doctor of Literature from the University of the Witwatersrand (2004); Jesse L Rosenberger Medal from the University of Chicago (2006); Oskar Kokoschka Prize, Austrian Federal Government (2008); an honorary doctorate from Rhodes University, Grahamstown (2008) and, in 2010, Kentridge was awarded the 6th Annual Japanese Kyoto Prize for lifetime achievement in Arts and Philosophy (Goodman Gallery, 2012; Handspring Puppet Company, 2012; Inamouri Foundation, 2010).

In this sense William Kentridge is critically recognised both nationally and internationally. The assumption can be made that because Kentridge is widely written about, he is famous across the board, and this also fuels the high prices that his artworks are fetching.

4.1.3 Patronage from Collectors and Dealers

Bowness (1989:39) states that once an artist has been written about critically, the artist is likely to attract active collectors and art dealers, which results in support for the artist in question. In this section, the extent to which Kentridge's success was influenced by the patronage of art collectors, art dealers and galleries will be investigated.

As Barron (2001) noted in Cassirer's obituary, it was Reinhold Cassirer, CEO of Sotheby's South Africa from 1969 to 1980, who introduced Kentridge to the Goodman Gallery. His obituary reads:

He [Cassirer] identified, nurtured and exhibited some of South Africa's best artists long before they became famous. Major talents like William Kentridge, David Koloane, Sam Nhlengethwa, Deborah Bell and Karel Nel were introduced to the world in his gallery.

⁴⁸ Ismail Mahomed, the National Arts Festival Director, describes the Standard Bank Young Artist Award as the most heralded accolade on the South African art scene (Artslink, 2012).

When Kentridge lost all belief in himself as an artist ... Cassirer – who was every bit as obtuse as he was enthusiastic – wouldn't hear of it ...

Cassirer largely avoided being drawn into the fierce rivalry between dealers. When he retired he took Kentridge to lunch with Linda Goodman, founder of another famous Johannesburg gallery, and rather formally handed him over. This unusual gesture was typical of the eccentric art dealer.

Linda Goodman, now Linda Givon, established the Goodman Gallery in 1966. The Gallery has a long history of representing contemporary South African art, and from the outset has encouraged all artists to exhibit despite the apartheid laws. The Goodman Gallery supported the resistance against apartheid and held shows that spoke out against the repressive apartheid regime. Kentridge joined the Goodman Gallery in 1994, by which time he had been written about in a critical sense for a decade.

In an article written by Emma Jordan in 2009, she notes that Kentridge also exhibited internationally in the early 1980s. Exploring Kentridge's "phenomenal success", Kentridge states in this article that it was very much a case of the right time and the right place. Explaining that when he started showing his work in the '80s, South Africa was starting to open up, referring to the political change in South African history, and international curators began coming to South Africa because, according to Kentridge "there was a world of interest in South African art" at the time. Kentridge does, however, note that this situation has since changed: "I don't think it is the case any longer. The curators have all been. They've seen what they need to see" (Kentridge in Jordan, 2009:33–34).

In 2008, Linda Givon sold the Goodman Gallery to Liza Essers. According to the Goodman Gallery website, the goal of the gallery is to continue to present the work of the "luminary stable artists" such as William Kentridge, Kendell Geers and David Goldblatt, but also to continue to support emerging artists and to stay at the forefront of the South African contemporary art scene. There are two gallery spaces, one in Johannesburg and the other in Cape Town (Goodman Gallery, 2012).

The Goodman Gallery (2012) takes responsibility for representing its artists, of which there are 40 currently, at major international museum shows and fairs such as the Art Basel, Art Basel Miami and the Armory Show in New York. Its goal is also to get its artists into major international art collections. The Goodman Gallery therefore complies with what Velthuis (2005:21) says about art dealers, that the role of the art dealer is not to be primarily commercial, but to have a relationship

with the artists and to build their careers. This, in turn, adds to the credibility and reputation of the gallery as art dealers.

On an international scale, the Marian Goodman Gallery⁴⁹ has represented Kentridge since 1998 (Gouband, 2010). Gallery director Agnès Fierobe (in Gouband, 2010) spoke to *Artinfo France* about Kentridge's multifaceted work and his long-standing relationship with the Gallery. The Marian Goodman Gallery inaugurated their current location in New York (24 West 57th Street) with Kentridge's work in 1999. Since then they have been showing his work approximately every two years (Gouband 2010).

In the South African context, Kentridge is primarily represented by the Goodman Gallery and in New York by the Marian Goodman Gallery, with many other galleries, or secondary dealers, reselling his work in Europe and America⁵⁰ (Artnet, 2015). There is a difference between art galleries and art dealers; art galleries such as the Goodman Gallery and the Marian Goodman Gallery invest primarily in a stable of artists with the goal of having them acquired by national museums and "important" collections. Secondary art dealers, as mentioned in the footnote, mainly resell the work of artists and are not involved in the career development of the artists they sell; instead they buy and resell works of artists.

The fact that Kentridge is widely shown in New York is noteworthy, as Laurie Ann Farrel (2002:81) reports in a review she wrote on Kentridge in 2001, that in the late 1980s Kentridge initially had difficulty persuading New York art galleries to look at his art. When Marian Goodman signed Kentridge in 1998, the resellers, or secondary dealers, seemed to have followed suit, especially if you take into account the number of dealers reselling Kentridge's work in New York alone.

⁴⁹ Founded in 1977 in New York, the Marian Goodman Gallery played an important role in showing and introducing European artists to an American audience and helping to establish a dialogue between these continents. Kentridge forms a part of its diverse list of artists. Other artists include Chantal Akerman, Christian Boltanski, James Coleman, Steve McQueen, Marisa Merz, Lothar Baumgarten, and Rineke Dijkstra (Gouband, 2010). In 1995 The Marian Goodman Gallery opened an exhibition space in Paris (Marian Goodman Gallery, 2012).

⁵⁰ Secondary dealers selling the work of Kentridge include the following dealers in New York: Art Cycle in Brooklyn, Dieu Donne, Dranoff Fine Art, Gracie Mansion Gallery, Gallery Schlesinger, Elrick-Manley Fine Art, Jim Kempner Fine Art and David Krut Fine Art. In other areas in America reselling the work of Kentridge is Barbara Krakow Gallery in Boston, Greg Kucera Gallery in Seattle, Lipworth Fine Art in St. Lauderdale, Florida, and Galerie Maximillian in Aspen. In Europe resellers include France LeJeune Fine Art in Belgium, and Galleria Lia Rumma in Italy (Artnet, 2015).

Farrel (2002:81) reports how Kentridge was initially approached by American museums. Apparently, in the late 1990s, Neal Benezra, then deputy director and curator of the Arts Institute of Chicago, Staci Boris, associate curator at the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago, and Dan Cameron, senior curator at the New Museum of Contemporary Art in New York, approached Kentridge separately about exhibiting in the United States. Kentridge suggested that the three art museums work collaboratively. The result was an impressive retrospective exhibition that toured American art museums in 2001. The retrospective included eleven animated films, recordings of theatre productions, two film installations, line drawings and more than seventy pieces of graphic work. A retrospective of this scale is perceived by Bowness (1989) as an act of public acclaim, therefore William Kentridge already (in terms of Bowness) complies with the final condition of success, as will be illustrated in detail in the next section.

4.1.4 Public Acclaim: Museum Acquisitions and Auction Results

Bowness (1989:11) describes public acclaim as when an artist is recognised by the public through retrospective exhibitions at reputable museums, forming a part of museum collections and fetching high prices on auction. In the first instance, to show that Kentridge has truly attained public acclaim in terms of Bowness's ideas, in addition to the retrospective mentioned in the previous paragraph that toured America in 2001, a second large travelling retrospective of his work opened at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in late February 2010. The *New York Times* (2010) reported that the exhibit joined the two elements of Kentridge's art, charcoal drawings and the animation projections. The audio-visuals were therefore not cordoned off and relegated to theatre rooms; instead the two art forms were combined in one of the museum's largest exhibition spaces. At the time the *New York Times* estimated visitors to have numbered as many as 10 000 people a day.

In the next section I will investigate the extent to which Kentridge forms part of art museum collections, and what it means for an artist's perceived importance. For Stevenson (2013) an artist is "allowed" into a museum or institution once that artist "challenges perception":

[A] museum or institutional curator is looking for a work that challenges perception, and there is that fantastic book with Kentridge being interviewed by Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, she was the last curator of dOCUMENTA [13], which is about the whole world and perception, and there you see the mind that informs Kentridge's work, at the root of his practice is objects of perception (Stevenson, 2013).

Musha Neluheni's ideas on what is sought when acquiring art for the contemporary collection at JAG resonates with Stevenson's views:

[The contemporary] collection is looking for the next person pushing boundaries ... I mean even if you look back, they [JAG] bought William Kentridge's first video in 1989, already seeing that this is a new direction that someone is pushing and therefore that is going to be huge and contemporary. So they bought it for very little money, considered what it is worth now or for what Kentridge is selling for now (Neluheni, 2013).

Kentridge forms part of many national and international art museum collections. Local art collections include the Iziko South African National Gallery (ISANG) and the JAG. ISANG's collection of contemporary paintings and sculpture extends from approximately the 1960s to the present day. Kentridge's series of five Soho Eckstein short animated films (1989–1996) are some of the favourites of the visitors at ISANG (Iziko Museums, 2012). International art collections of which Kentridge forms part include the Solomon R Guggenheim Museum in New York and the University of Iowa Museum of Art. Not only is Kentridge represented in national and international museums but he is also included in corporate collections such as the Sanlam Art Collection, the ABSA Art Collection, and the Standard Bank Art Collection.

In addition to being housed in museums, Bowness (1989) also deems artists attaining high prices on auction to be a sign of public acclaim. Kentridge has been a steady presence at international contemporary art auctions at Sotheby's, Christie's and Phillips de Pury, alongside some of the world's most commercially successful contemporary artists, including the British conceptual artist, Damien Hirst, South African born Marlene Dumas, and British sculptor Anish Kapoor (Smith, 2010; Art Market Insight, 2009, Visual-arts-cork.com, 2014).

Artprice.com's (2014:57) annual report; *Contemporary art market 2011/2012* shows Kentridge at number 84 of the top 500 global contemporary artists⁵¹ for 2012, moving up from his 2011 rank at number 97. His auction turnover from 2010/2011 to 2011/2012 has increased from €1.44 million (R14.56 million) to €1.56 million (R15.77 million), an increase of €119 122 (R1.20 million). In the South African context, Kentridge was listed 12th on the list of top 100 artists in terms of transaction volume in the five years preceding 2012. This data was derived from the Art Price Index as listed by Citadel (2012:14) in the July 2012 annual report.

⁵¹ The ranking lists the top 500 contemporary artists for auction turnover according to the Artprice database, taking into account sales from the 1st of July 2011 to the 30th of June 2012 (Artprice.com 2014:55).

William Kentridge's 25-piece bronze artwork *Procession* (made between 1999 and 2000, numbered 1/7) (see Figure 4) has attained the highest price on auction of any work by any living South African artist currently residing in South Africa. His work sells consistently for high prices on auction, with his average selling price on Auction Vault (2013) being R210 970, although this site does not include his international sale results. Nevertheless, this study does take his international auction results into account and, in May 2013, *Procession* hammered down on US\$1.3 million (R12.13 million), together with the buyer's premium amounting to a purchase price of US\$1.5 million (R14.7 million) (Sotheby's, 2013).

The first section of Chapter Four addressed the research questions:

1. How did William Kentridge attain financial success, fame and perceived importance, that is, what is his career trajectory and what does it reveal?
2. How do South African art intermediaries perceive William Kentridge's success and perceived importance? (What is his symbolic capital?)

To briefly reiterate, some of the benchmarks in Kentridge's career that are illustrative of why and how he has attained the success and perceived importance he has up to this point started at a young age with his cultural, social and economic capital. According to Bourdieu's (1984) perspective, as it relates to the idea of capital from birth, he was already ahead of his peers; he had an advantage over many other artists and he this to his benefit. Some of the events that stand out are, firstly, his training under Bill Ainslie at the JAF where he built on his cultural and social capital. His intellectual and academic capital was increased by studying at the University of Witwatersrand and thereafter at a drama school in Paris. His work has been written about critically since the 1980s and during this time he has been noticed by international curators, as well as being taken under the wing of Reinhold Cassirer, who introduced him to Linda Goodman (Givon) at the time. He then became part of the Goodman Gallery's stable of artists.

Mark Read's (2013) perception of Kentridge:

William inhabits a lofty peak within the international art community. I love the constant playful reinvention that ripples through his work with each new year.

This section shows that Kentridge is recognised by museums and collections worldwide. According to Bowness, this means that Kentridge has attained public acclaim, and can be deemed an important artist, or as he calls it, a genius artist.

4.2 Dylan Lewis's Career Trajectory: A Case Study

4.2.1 The Initial Circles of Recognition

Dylan Lewis was born in 1964 in Johannesburg, South Africa. He originates from an artistic family; both his mother and grandmother were painters and his father, Robin Lewis (1942–1988), a well-known sculptor. Although Lewis is renowned for his sculpture he initially trained in the field of painting. Lewis did not receive any official training in the field of sculpture, although the lessons he learnt in the art of painting from Ryno Swart (b. 1945) had an influence on his technique and philosophy of sculpting.

Lewis was inspired by his father's love for the environment, specifically animals, but Lewis did not emulate his father's sculpting style (Lewis, 2011). His father's sculpture technique and his own differ radically. Robin Lewis used sheath metal in his sculptures, with a lot of fine work and detail, whereas Dylan Lewis uses clay and bronze casting. Lewis is known for his expressionistic style of sculpture, his hand markings being one of the stylistic "trademarks" in his work (Twiggs, 2006). Lewis (2011) was also inspired by the fact that his father was a professional artist.⁵² This gave Lewis the confidence to believe that he too could make a living from his art.

According to Horejs (2009), the idea of being a successful full-time artist is regarded as inconceivable and is rejected by many artists. Horejs (2009) elaborates on this point by recalling a university experience of his father. Horejs's father's lecturer said that no one in the class would be able to survive on just being an artist. The fact that Robin Lewis was a professional artist probably gave Dylan Lewis the confidence to regard it as a possible career choice, and is possibly one of the reasons Dylan Lewis is a self-sustaining artist today.

Lewis is primarily known for sculpting animals, particularly the great cats. However, over the last few years his art has moved towards the human form. Lewis's 2009 solo auction at Christie's was called *Shapeshifting*, referring to his sculpture's transition from animal to human. In an interview I had with Lewis (2011), he explained his inspiration along with the shift from animal to human in his sculpture:

My primary source of inspiration is wilderness based ... anywhere in the world, when I'm in those spaces, that's where I find my energy, inspiration and ideas, and my initial response to that was very literal in terms of looking at drawing and sculpting the animals

⁵² Professional in that Horejs's father made a living from being an artist.

that I saw in the environment, and ultimately the animals that were archetypal representatives of that environment, so the cat is in a mythological sense the guardian of wilderness and has been for millennia, so the cat for me became a very important symbol to which I was working and exploring that particular energy or idea, and then as I've got older I've become more interested in the notion of wilderness, in terms of its impact on the human psyche, so in a psychological context I'm interested in the works of Jung and the subconscious and the use of imagery within the subconscious and that kind of thing. So those are the ideas that fascinate me ... why is wilderness and the environment so important in the human psyche, and more importantly those wild spaces within the human psyche, what are they about, why are they important, so in the latest work that is what I'm exploring.

In the above quotation it should be noted how Lewis has grown in ideas from his initial view of the world to what he thinks today. In this time of growth, who took note of him and his talent?

As shown in the literature review, education and/or training, according to Bowness (1989), is necessary for the first step to take place. Peer recognition can take place either in an artist community or in an art educational surrounding or both. In the next section I will use the first condition of success as a guideline to see if Lewis formed part of any artist community setting or art educational environment and if that had an effect on the value creation in his artistic career.

Lewis (2011) initially studied fine art at the Cape Technikon in 1982, but after failing his first year he discontinued his studies. He recalled to O'Toole (2011) that he could not understand why he had failed, as his work was no better or worse than any of the other students. Thereafter, when he refused to do compulsory military service during the apartheid era, he was sentenced to six years community service at the Rondevlei Nature Reserve, a bird sanctuary in the Western Cape. During Lewis's time at Rondevlei (1985–89), he learnt how to do taxidermy and museum display. He also spent a lot of his time drawing in the veldt (Circa on Jellicoe, 2011; O'Toole, 2011; Twiggs, 2006). After his community service was complete in 1989, Lewis attended the Ruth Prowse School of Art with the intention of continuing his art career. He presented his sketchbook filled with four years of bird drawings and drawings of other small animals to one of the lecturers, Ryno Swart, who looked at the sketches and said to Lewis:

I think that I have never in all my years of painting and teaching art, come across a talent as remarkable as yours, and that if you commit yourself to the principles of my teaching, you will be the greatest animal artist in history (Ryno Swart, 2008).

Lewis studied painting and drawing part time at the Ruth Prowse School of Art from 1989 to 1991 under the guidance of Swart (Lewis, 2011; Twiggs, 2006). O'Toole (2011) describes Swart as a classically attuned painter. As an artist who recognised Lewis's talent, this relationship can be

described as an indication of peer recognition within an art educational environment. Jason Horejs (2009:9–10) researched the weight a mentor exerts on an artist's education and found that 34% of the artists in his study showed mentorship to be the most important educational experience.

The implication of Lewis not completing his degree in art and having to return to learning art on a part-time basis is that his educational capital is not of as a high standard as it would have been he had had a university degree. This factor could possibly be a reason why there is little critical recognition of his work, as he was not in an environment where critical recognition was part of his network.

Lewis was inspired by his father's love for nature; subsequently, Lewis's main inspiration has come from nature and the wilderness. His creative process starts outdoors and his themes include the cat form and, in recent years, the human figure (Twiggs, 2006:6). His philosophy of working primarily from live models is embedded in some of the ideas taught by Ryno Swart. Swart taught Lewis always to work from life or memory, never from a photograph. Swart (2008) describes his teachings as follows:

The principle that I was so concerned that he should embrace, was that all of his art from this day would be rooted in truth and in reality: that he would only paint that which he saw physically in life, or in imagination, and that which he could hold in memory. Nothing from a photograph, ever.

Lewis (2008) was deeply inspired by Swart; he states the following about his mentor:

I feel privileged and extremely fortunate to have benefitted from the teachings and philosophy of Ryno Swart, without whom my artistic journey would have been very different.

Referring to Lewis's art school environment, the following question arises: (embedded in the first condition of success), what is the relevance and stature of the school? According to Galenson (2005a:3), this has an effect on an artist's career, as the reputation of a school can influence a student's career and vice versa.

In 1970, renowned artist Erik Laubscher (1927–2013) founded the Ruth Prowse School of Art (2012). Since its inception the school has been known to be non-discriminating against race, colour, gender and religion. Further information about the reputation of the school or its alumni is

not readily available. Peer recognition, or how Lewis's peers perceived him, is uncertain, as I found no documentation in this regard. With respect to more recent examples, Mark Read, proprietor of Everard Read states:

Lewis is accepted by his peers and collectors alike as one of the most eminent figurative sculptors of our time (Mark Read cited in Twiggs, 2006).

In my interview with Lewis (2011) he stated that there is talk of exchanging works with artists William Kentridge and Angus Taylor. For Lewis the fact that Kentridge wants to exchange works with him is the "genuine type recognition". The following statement from Lewis (2011), referring to Kentridge's art, concurs with Bowness's description of the first condition of success, that it is the artists themselves who recognise talent first:

It's outside of the bullshit of the art world, I see someone whose work I respect, and I don't care what museum they are in or aren't in, or who says what, I just respect it (Dylan Lewis, 2011).

Lewis is an example of an artist who initially isolated himself from the art world. He was not interested in getting involved in the "Art Biz", as Marquis (1991) would call it, as it is known for secrecy, greed and snobbery (Lewis, 2011; Marquis, 1991). Lewis has in recent years made a mental shift and has been in contact with other artists such as William Kentridge and Angus Taylor (Lewis, 2011).

The idea that artists of the stature of Kentridge and Taylor would trade artworks with Lewis is another type of recognition, namely, peer recognition, although it should be mentioned that peer recognition from other well-known, or "famous", artist peers happened later in Lewis's career than Bowness states it would, or should. This could be due to the fact that Lewis was isolated at the beginning of his career and therefore made a conscious effort not to become involved in the art world. Lewis (2011) perceives himself as a "loner":

I tend to be a bit of a loner, I just find my own way through it, that has pros and it has cons, the pros are that you are not constrained by the way things should or shouldn't be done, the cons are you don't necessarily have that step up in terms of learning technique quickly, so there are benefits and negatives, but that was my path, so ...

With regard to collaborating with other artists, as a form of peer recognition, from June 2010 to June 2011, Lewis joined the Italian-trained architect Enrico Daffonchio and the author, poet, psychiatrist and psychologist Ian McCallum in a huge exhibition at Kirstenbosch National Botanical

Gardens in Cape Town, entitled *Untamed*. This leads me to make the assumption that Lewis is recognised by these two creative men who are masters in their respective fields (Pardus, 2010b), which can be referred to as peer recognition, although this event only took place in 2009, a decade after he has been recognised by his mentor Ryno Swart. Therefore, in this case, Bowness's sequence of conditions of success is not in place.

To conclude this section, with reference to Lewis's mentor, Ryno Swart, the first step to recognition took place early in his career. With reference to Daffonchio and McCallum at Kirstenbosch, and his relationship with Kentridge and Taylor, it would seem that peer recognition is currently taking place. Therefore with this limited data at hand, a statement from Ryno Swart in a book published by the Studio of Dylan Lewis, and Dylan Lewis himself, stating that artworks are being exchanged between him and William Kentridge and Angus Taylor, one can say that there is indeed the possibility of peer recognition in the career of Dylan Lewis.

On investigating the manifestation of peer recognition in the careers of the two case studies, they would seem to differ. However, in both instances obtaining documentation on the act of peer recognition was problematic as this information is not readily available. It is only through interviews that one can make the finding that peer recognition is applicable, or not, to the case studies. However, as stated in the introduction to this dissertation, it is not the aim of this dissertation to measure the two case studies against Bowness's four conditions for success; the study merely uses them as a guideline to determine how the two artists got to be where they are today, selling for the highest prices on the auction market. With peer recognition in mind, what conclusions or general assumptions can I draw from the two case studies at this point? How did peer recognition have an impact, if any, on the career succession of Lewis and Kentridge?

As argued in the literature review, a tangible aspect of the first stage of recognition is the part played by education and the symbolic capital of the education institution involved. This can have an effect on an artist's career as the artist is branded by that institution, and vice versa. Kentridge has the University of Witwatersrand, JAF and the École Internationale de Théâtre Jacques Lecoq in Paris. Lewis has a failed year at the Cape Technikon and part-time study at the Ruth Prowse School founded by Erik Laubscher, a respected artist and known anti-apartheid activist. As far as Lewis's mentor is concerned, Ryno Swart is not remembered for his influence on the South African art scene, and little written information is to be found on him. This is in stark contrast to Bill Ainsley, who is well remembered as an anti-apartheid activist and as having students of high repute, such as Dumile Feni.

In the next section I will consider the way in which Lewis is recognised in a critical sense, as typified by Bowness's second circle of recognition on an artist's path to success.

4.2.2 Critical Recognition

The elements of critical recognition, as argued in the literature review, include scholarly criticism, journalistic criticism, awards, grants and residencies. Lewis (2011) responds to the idea of being criticised and to what art critics have to say about him and his role in the art world as follows:

I'm not overly concerned with what is happening in the art world, but I'm making some assumptions that the work that I'm doing, certainly the work that I did with the animals was not seen as particularly relevant within the world of art at all, the work I'm doing now, perhaps a little more so, but even so it's still figurative, it's still based on, for me, traditional values that are really important to me, and within the art world I think a lot of critics don't enjoy that, they don't see its value, so the answer is a little bit of both, some people really don't like it and others do.

Although Lewis seems disinterested in art criticism, such criticism is still a step towards the recognition of artistic success according to many sources, as illustrated in Chapter Two.

With regard to people who have written about Lewis, a name that comes up repeatedly is Laura Twiggs. Twiggs is a multiple-award-winning, Cape Town-based writer who has, over the last decade, contributed to a range of local and international popular magazines, including *Marie Claire*, *Shape*, *Elle* and *Glamour*. She is currently a senior editor at Cosmopolitan South Africa.

Twiggs can be classified as primarily a South African journalist who writes about art, with awards for Journalism from Mondi⁵³ and Pica.⁵⁴ She has written books for Pardus, Struik and Wayne State University Press in Detroit (Twiggs, 2012). Twiggs has been writing about Lewis for Pardus Art/Dylan Lewis Art Studio since 2005. She writes about Lewis in a narrative sense and across many platforms, including visually driven collectors' books (coffee table books), academic brochures, explanatory exhibition texts, websites, invitations to select milestone exhibitions and catalogue entrees and brochures for major auction houses (Twiggs, 2012). In this instance, Twiggs's writing on Lewis covers him from a narrative and journalistic sense.

⁵³ Mondi refers to Mondi Paper and the Magazine Publishers' Association of South Africa (Twiggs, 2012).

⁵⁴ Pica refers to the South African Publishers' Association (Twiggs, 2012).

Other than Twigg's writing, Lewis is written about mainly in newspapers and magazines such as *Beeld*, *City Press*, *Burger*, *Cape Times*, *Sunday Argus*, *Business Day*, *The Weekender*, *Star*, *The Mercury*, *Art Times* and *Times Live* rather than in critical art journals. On one of the few occasions that Lewis has been featured in an accredited journal, Sean O'Toole referred to him in *Art South Africa* as an "acclaimed sculptor" (O'Toole, 2009). The second time O'Toole wrote about Lewis was in the *Sunday Times Times Live*. O'Toole (2011) stated the following when reviewing a show of Lewis at Circa on Jellicoe in 2011:

You can see examples of Lewis's psychologically loaded bronzes, which are influenced by the writings of Jungian psychologist, medical doctor and wilderness guide Ian McCallum ... Don't expect to read any reviews of the show in contemporary art magazines. Lewis's personal and creative struggles, which bear some resemblance to those of sculptor and conceptual prankster Willem Boshoff, a former lay street preacher and religious objector to the call-up, are of little interest to the contemporary art world. It is the source of much 'angst' for Lewis.

However, O'Toole's article yielded some critique on Lewis's medium and subject matter, stating that Lewis was in "stalemate" regarding his art. With regard to Lewis's medium and the "angst" that O'Toole refers to in the previous quotation, Lewis (in O'Toole, 2011) has the following to say:

Something I have wrestled with [my entire] career is this sense that what I am doing is irrelevant, of no interest. I understand that this sort of sculpture has all been done before, it is late 19th-century stuff, that it is of no interest, which is fair enough.

O'Toole (2011) notes that "these concessions are met by a consequential 'but'", however, Lewis (in O'Toole, 2011) defends his subject matter:

I disagree that wildlife art is irrelevant. Why is it that so many people are making and buying wildlife imagery? I believe that story is connected to the loss of connection and identity with wilderness, and trying to reconnect with that experience through visual imagery. It reflects a very profound need in the human spirit.

With regard to contemporary art, Lewis is not overly impressed; he further defends his traditional technique:

The role of the artist in a tribal society was an important one, in the sense that what the artist was doing was seen as shamanic - it transcended human ability. That's what's missing in contemporary art. I look at it and I say, "But I could do it, my kid could do it, my dog could do it."

O'Toole immediately defends conceptual art by stating, "That's very conservative", Lewis retorts:

It's not only conservative, it cuts out other ways of being, but it is who I am. I am interested and stimulated at an intellectual level by a lot of contemporary art, but here [he points at his chest] it doesn't go down. But that's me.

Two articles on Lewis appeared in the journal, *Leadership*, by Raymond Lamond, owner and director of Cape Media Corporation. In the 2007 article, Lamond describes the large sum that Lewis attained at a Christie's auction (of which *Black Rhino* was part). With regard to the value of the art, Lamond (2007) had the following to say:

The true values of these pieces lie not in their cash conversion but in the magnificent interpretation of the texture and body form that give them life.

Lewis has also been recognised by the British author Nicholas Hammond, author of *Twentieth century wildlife artists*. Hammond wrote:

Dylan Lewis is a young artist who is showing other artists of wildlife that it is not the detail of the animal that is paramount, but the excitement of being there and sharing the environment with the animal; what he has achieved is impressive (Hammond, Circa on Jellico, 2011).

With critical recognition in mind, in terms of published books, the reputation of the writers and the publishing houses must be taken into account to assure the reliability of the sources. In the Appendix, where books written on Lewis are listed, one can see that Lewis has mainly been written about by Laura Twiggs and the auction house Christie's. Everard Read, the Rupert Museum and Pardus are some of the companies that have published books on his art.

In this section it is shown that Lewis is written about more in journalistic articles, exhibition catalogues and coffee table books than in academic articles. The source, EBSCO Host, confirms this statement; in an EBSCO Host search Lewis was found to be referenced in just three academic articles.

One can argue that the coffee table books have added to the image of Dylan Lewis, but contemporary art critics do not acknowledge his art, as stated by O'Toole in his article "Man and beast" (2011). According to Younge (2013), critical recognition would make no difference to Lewis's career and, as is noted by the research, it was not a defining factor on his path to where he is today:

Well we [Michaelis] have also produced people who work figuratively, I don't know, I think people are jealous of his success as well, and if you objectively look at his handling of form and his subject matter, I think his subject matter is intrinsically interesting because it falls squarely within the notion of animal studies, which is a huge field, a growing field, something I am interested in. But his work doesn't pose the kind of critical questions about the human animal interface, he seems to stay at that removed, where it is about capturing feline grace, there is an artist who did these horrible rhinos, like he was really riding on the back of the rhino tragedy that is unfolding so it was like ... they were really really bad sculptures. In Lewis' case, I don't know, in a way he doesn't need the market because he has the following he has the means to produce, he doesn't have to be reviewed in *Art South Africa*, it's not going to make any difference to him one way or another ...

He falls outside that kind of tastemaker thing, because he has leapfrogged all over (Younge, 2013).

In view of this idea of "leapfrogging" over the traditional methods of attaining success, with regard to education and critical recognition, Ferreira's picture (see Figure 7) illustrate where Dylan Lewis fits into the marketplace in his opinion.

In the next section Lewis will be considered against Bowness's third condition of success – patronage by collectors and dealers – as a means to see whether this "circle of recognition" is applicable to him.

4.2.3 Patronage by Collectors and Dealers

Bowness (1989:39) notes that once an artist is recognised critically, collectors and dealers are attracted to that artist. In this section I investigate to what extent art intermediaries, such as collectors and dealers, have had an influence on Lewis's recognition as an artist.

Lewis is described on the Everard Read website as one of the foremost figures in contemporary sculpture worldwide. The website states that his work is featured in private collections throughout the United Kingdom, Continental Europe, the United States of America and Australia (O'Toole, 2011:16; Everard Read, 2010). Many of the names of the collectors are not available, and Lewis (2011) also did not want to reveal their names, as many collectors prefer to stay anonymous. However Lewis's most loyal and significant collector is Johann Rupert (b. 1950), as confirmed by Lewis, "obviously Johann Rupert was very important in the early days". The following statement by Mark Read supports this:

I think Dylan Lewis's prices have been fundamentally affected by the fact that one of his biggest collectors is Johann Rupert, and certainly that is something that happened to Dylan early in his career. I think his support of Dylan Lewis helped a lot in the early part of Dylan's career but his prices these days and phenomenal success have little to do with Johann Rupert (Mark Read, 2013).

Johann Rupert is South Africa's luxury goods billionaire, and the eldest son of the late South African business tycoon, Dr Anton Rupert. Anton Rupert and his wife, Huberte, contributed enormously to South African art and culture in their lifetime. They established important art collections and founded several museums, such as the Rupert Museum in Stellenbosch. This museum houses a selection of works by Renoir, Rodin and Picasso, as well as celebrated South African artists such as Pierneef, Irma Stern, Wolf Kibel and Maggie Laubser (Anonymous, 2006). The Rupert Museum is an example of an institution founded by private collectors who did not donate their collection to a national museum; instead they opened their own museum (West, 2007:39).

Johann Rupert is continuing the legacy of his parents' passion for the arts. With regard to the patronage Johann Rupert has bestowed on Lewis; in 1997 Lewis completed a commission for Johann Rupert, creating 18 life-sized leopard sculptures for the Golf resort *Leopard's Creek* in Malelane, South Africa (Circa on Jellicoe, 2010). In addition, Lewis held a solo exhibition at the Rupert Museum under the title *Shapeshifting* in 2008/2009.

As the Rupert family has a reputation for their extensive and impressive art collection, to be owned by a Rupert gives an artist a "pedigree quotient" or a "collector label", as Benhamou-Huet (2001) terms it. The fact that Dylan Lewis has the stamp of approval from a Rupert seems to have an influence on the price and sales record of Dylan Lewis's art. Dylan Lewis complies with this section of the third condition of success in the sense that his patron is Johann Rupert. In the next section I will investigate to what degree art dealers and galleries have had an influence on his path to success and fame.

Symbolic capital increased as a result of being collected by the Ruperts. Symbolic capital has value and is gained by recognition; therefore the greater one's reputation the greater one's symbolic capital. Bowness's circles of recognition can in this sense assist in determining to what degree the case studies have symbolic capital.

Everard Read has represented Dylan Lewis since 1997. The owner of the gallery, Mark Read (2013), speaks fondly of Lewis and states the following about him:

In a world awash with the often-forgettable output of a vast population of contemporary artists, a gifted sculptor remains a very rare individual. Dylan Lewis is such an individual (Mark Read in Twiggs, 2006:ix).

Dylan Lewis is an internationally recognised figurative sculptor. At his core he is much more interested in our internal relationship with our world than with sculpting brilliant representations of animals (Mark Read 2013).

According to Schönfelds and Reinstaller (2005:3), as argued in Chapter Two, the reputation of art galleries places more certainty on the quality and value of an artwork. Therefore, the better the art gallery's reputation, the better the chances are that the artist who is represented by them will achieve artistic success and finally public acclaim.

The reputation of Everard Read (2012) dates back to 1912 when it was established in Johannesburg. Over the years, the Gallery has grown with the emergence of business and finance in Johannesburg. In 1980 the Gallery moved from downtown Johannesburg to its current location in Rosebank. The building in which it is situated is a charismatic 1920s house which is surrounded by a postmodern building. The space serves as Everard Read's exhibition area and offices. Dylan Lewis's sculptures are found in the courtyards and garden. Through being represented by Everard Read, Lewis gained international exposure as his work was shown overseas with Everard Read at art fairs in London⁵⁵ (Read, 2013).

South African Tourism (2014) reports that the Everard Read Gallery has developed a leading reputation as one of South Africa's top galleries, representing established and new talent.⁵⁶ In this sense, according to Schönfeld and Reinstaller (2005:2), the reputation of a gallery drives the prices of the artworks. In addition, the reputation of the gallery puts the collector, or buyer, at ease knowing that the risk is lowered (Schönfeld & Reinstaller, 2005:3).

Dylan Lewis therefore complies with the third condition of success, his patron Johann Rupert and his representing gallery Everard Read assure me of this statement. The following step in

⁵⁵ Everard Read showed Dylan Lewis at the following art fairs: Art London – 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2006; Art 13 in London, 2013; Australia Art Fair, 2013; Johannesburg Art Fair – 2008-2013 (Read, 2013).

⁵⁶ In addition to Dylan Lewis, other artists that form part of the Everard Read stable are Deborah Bell, Hanneke Benade, Pauline Gütter, Guy du Toit, Angus Taylor and Zwlethu Mthethwa. Modern masters sold by Everard Read include Gerard Sekoto, Irma Stern and JH Pierneef (Everard Read Johannesburg, 2012).

recognition for Dylan Lewis is public acclaim. In the next section I will investigate whether he has a record of museum acquisitions and museum retrospectives, along with his results and success on the auction market.

4.2.4 Public Acclaim: Museum Acquisitions and Auction Results

According to Bowness (1989:47), public acclaim refers to the final stage that shows “the modern artist is truly famous”. Bowness distinguishes between the artist as journeyman and the artist as genius. The distinction between these two lies in the accumulation of an artist’s work by a museum. Once a museum buys an artist’s artwork, that artist has the seal of approval and is a “genius” as opposed to merely a “journeyman”.

Dylan Lewis is not changing our perception of anything, his work is in a long tradition of bronze sculpture, and the subject is something for which there has been a long tradition of sculpture of the animal, strong animal, the cat, and it has a strong presence. But a museum or institutional curator is looking for a work that challenges perception ... Dylan ... is about realizing form in a medium, but not changing the way we are looking (Stevenson, 2013).

According to the Dylan Lewis Studio (2012), at this time, Dylan Lewis did not form part of any museum collections. However, in the past Lewis formed part of a year-long exhibition held at the Rupert Museum in Stellenbosch. In this sense Dylan Lewis does not comply with this section of Bowness’s circle of recognition – public acclaim in the form of museum acquisition. The reason being, as perceived by Stevenson, that Lewis is not changing anyone’s perspective, a characteristic he looks for when identifying artists to form part of his stable at Stevenson.

On 11 June 2007, a solo auction dedicated to Dylan Lewis, entitled *Predators and Prey*, was held at Christie’s auction house in South Kensington. During this auction 75 sculptures sold out within 90 minutes for an amount of £1 985 520, approximately R28 million. Although the *South African Art Times* (2007) reported that the results of this auction might seem as if they were achieved in a moment, the truth was that the auction was an event that was four years in the making. This factor of time adds to the premise of this dissertation, that high prices do not just “happen overnight”, but are a combination of actions and events dependent on the intermediaries. In this instance these intermediaries were art dealer Mark Read and auction house Christie’s, as according to Read (2013), Christie’s and Lewis decided to organise the Lewis sales due to the enormous interest in his work at the annual Art London events where Read was representing his work. Everard Read showed Dylan Lewis’s art during Art London Art Fair from 2001 to 2004, and again in 2006 (Read, 2013).

It was during this solo auction at Christie's that the life-size bronze sculpture *Black Rhino* (made in 1995, measuring 198 cm in height) sold for £365 000 (R4.25 million).⁵⁷ *Black Rhino* was the largest sculpture at the auction and was sold to an American collector. The work was valued at £80 000 to £120 000. *Black Rhino* is Lewis's first large-scale sculpture, and an edition of two. It was created for the centenary celebrations of the former Natal Parks Board⁵⁸ which were involved in the conservation of black and white rhinos. The sculpture was unveiled by Nelson Mandela (see Figure 2), who was presented with a maquette of the work. Lewis (in Christie's, 2007) states the following about the essence of the sculpture:⁵⁹

This piece was done from life; I worked from black rhino in the game reserve. It was done in plaster of Paris and, as in all my pieces; the form emerges from the landscape. The rhino powerfully thrust outwards, bursting out to the bush, bursting out the ground from behind a rock and the textures of the rhino are very much about enhancing that forward thrust. It has a rock-like texture, which is reminiscent of these animals. When you first see them out of the corner of your eye in Africa, they almost appear as rocks, and I explored that particularly in the textures of this piece.

According to my reading this quotation reflects Lewis's affection for his art. One can understand his medium, bronze, and also the way in which he looks at his art, from nature, inspired by textures and the landscape. Exploring Lewis's technique, many intermediaries mention the way he works with his medium; therefore, from the interviews I noted that the medium and the way he works with his medium come across very strongly, for example:

Dylan Lewis' work is charged with energy and movement and he is famous (Gavin Younge, 2013).

At the time, *Black Rhino* fetched the highest price a South African artist had ever attained on auction, R4.25 million. It was only in 2011 that Kentridge overtook this record with his model theatre *Preparing the flute* (2004-2005) (see Figure 1), which sold for R4.56 million (Sotheby's, 2012). Stevenson had the following to say about Lewis' solo auction with Christie's:

⁵⁷ The hammer price in South African rand is documented by Auction Vault (2013) at R4.3 million.

⁵⁸ The name was changed to *Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife* (Christie's, 2007).

⁵⁹ This excerpt is presented with the aim of giving context to the work, and to present the reader with an example of how Dylan Lewis describes his art.

Dylan Lewis has been very proactive in cultivating that secondary market, I mean the very fact that he gave his work to Christie's to sell is unheard of, other than with Damien Hirst. So he has been very proactive in consigning his own work there, because any normal good dealer would not sell to anybody who is going to send it to auction (Stevenson, 2013).

Melanie Gerlis (2013), art market editor for *The Art Newspaper*, noted in 2006 that the idea of an artist selling directly through an auction house was "shocking" but that it was becoming more accepted. Another artist that has had a successful solo auction is Damien Hirst. Just before the market crashed in 2008, Hirst took 200 works from his studio and sold them directly to the public through Sotheby's Beautiful inside My Head Forever auction. Considering the newness of the works offered at the time the results were unfathomably high; £95.5 million (R1.11 billion) from a single auction (Artmarket.com, 2010:5).

During 2011, Lewis once again held a solo auction at Christie's, this time not during the height of the art boom but just after the crash of the market. This could be a reason why the sales were not as successful as 2007. The 2011 auction sold about 90% of the works, whereas the 2007 auction had sold 100% of the artworks (Lewis, 2011). The 2007 sale total, including buyer's premium, was £1 985 520 (R28 174 528), while the 2011 sale totalled £1 289 575 (R14 984 861) (Christie's 2015b, Christie's 2015c).

South African auction houses that sell works by Lewis include Strauss & Co. and Stephan Welz & Co. With regard to the discussion on auction houses and their reputations in Chapter Two, it can be stated that Lewis is considered "good enough" to be sold by these companies, which gives Lewis a "seal of approval" from the auction houses that sell his work.

Although Lewis does not comply with the section, museum acquisitions, as a young man he was recognised by his mentor as a great animal artist, he has been written about in the media, he is represented by Everard Read and has a patron of stature, he is sold by reputable auction houses, and he has attained the second highest price on auction for a South African artist.

In Chapter Four, Dylan Lewis was discussed in terms of Bowness's four conditions of success. This method of analysis was used to evaluate his successes and history, as laid out in Chapter Two.

This section addressed the research questions:

1. How did Dylan Lewis attain financial success, fame and perceived importance, that is, what is his career trajectory and what does it reveal?
2. How do South African intermediaries, or professional classifiers, regard Dylan Lewis along with his success and perceived importance? (What is his symbolic capital?)

To briefly recap, the factors and intermediaries that stand out in Lewis's career include his cultural capital, growing up in a home with artists, and having the confidence to pursue a career as an artist. Training at Ruth Prowse under the guidance of Ryno Swart and his contacts in the nature reserve "field" gave him an opportunity to obtain commissions extended by the collector Johann Rupert, who commissioned Lewis to make 18 life-size leopards for the golf estate Leopard's Creek. During the same period, Lewis was approached by Everard Read Gallery to form part of its stable. Read (2013) introduced Lewis to the international market, where Christie's became interested in conducting a solo auction with him. This is where Lewis attained the unexpectedly high prices for a collection of his work at auction, of which *Black Rhino* commanded the highest price of the evening and Lewis's career up to that point.

For intermediaries in the South African art market, Lewis is perceived as falling into the animalier or wildlife genre, and does not "fit into the contemporary fine art sector" (Ferreira, 2013). Kirsty Cockerill (2013a) does not even consider Dylan Lewis to be an artist, "I think he is a brilliant craftsman and can be classified as an art maker, but not as an artist". Lewis is therefore perceived as an animalier who is very successful at what he does, but it does not seem as if certain professional classifiers are interested in considering him under any other title or genre. In Stevenson's (2013) opinion, "he (Dylan Lewis) is not interested, he is not questioning the very notions of how we perceive the world". Other professional classifiers consider him to be important and successful, but not in the same way as they consider Kentridge to be important and successful, as Lizamore (2013) puts it "both artists are however successful in terms of sales but yet on two different levels as far as value for money is concerned and appreciation of their works".

5 Chapter Five: Conclusion

The initial idea presented in this dissertation was to investigate the belief system of certain South African art intermediaries and their perceptions of the notions of success and importance. The study found two strong opposing belief systems. Firstly, intermediaries who are very opinionated about what “fine art” or “art” is, and what “non art” is. This is in direct contrast to those who believe that anything can be art as long as the person who created the “artwork” intended it to be art. This debate reminds me of my first art history class at university with Professor John Botha,⁶⁰ who asked the questions “What is art?” and “Who says it is art?” This dissertation did not aim to answer these questions but instead investigated what these issues mean to South African art intermediaries.

Botha’s two questions directed me to the idea that there are those who hold power in the art world, those whom the broader public looks to for advice in this world which is riddled with opposing opinions. This is reminiscent of the motto of *Art South Africa*, “Opinions that matter”, thus implying that the opinions included in this specific magazine matter. However, it is the people at the magazine who decide which opinions matter enough to be placed in the magazine. How does one decide which opinions matter? This is where the theory of Bourdieu (2010[1984]) and Bowness (1989) is evident, with their ideas of recognition, the idea that people of rank, or recognised stature, have to recognise people of lower rank in order for them to be able to climb up the hierarchy of the art world.

The role and function that intermediaries play in creating value and how an artist climbs in rank in the art world, as well of the notion that high prices are used as a way to justify, and to measure, an artist’s “importance” are the starting points for this dissertation. The study interrogated the above premises by firstly researching what has been written on the subject using a literature review and, secondly, interrogating certain South African intermediaries’ views of the notions of importance and success. The methodology consisted of interviewing twenty-six key players on the South African art scene.

Through the literature review, Bourdieu’s theory of distinction and capital was presented along with Bowness’s circles of recognition. Bowness’s beliefs were presented alongside other sources,

⁶⁰ Professor JR Botha lectures at the North West University, Potchefstroom campus. My first year at university was 2002.

showing that although there is merit in Bowness's four conditions of success, these conditions, if used to measure artistic success, should also include other types of recognition. With the "gaps" in Bowness's stages of recognition in mind, I argued that, as opposed to peer recognition, the place of study holds more merit in the sense of documentation than peers. Since, if the artists' peers do not record what happens, how does one know that their history could not have altered the view of a great artist in retrospect? On the other hand, in the case of a place, an artist community or educational environment, this information is recorded and tangible, and could fall under Stevenson's component of value termed supporting documentation.

In terms of the second condition of success, the role of the arts journalist is disregarded by Bowness. By contrast, however, Cohn (2010b, 2010c), Barret (2010) and Thornton (2008) believe their role to be essential in value creation in an artist's career, stating that the art journalist builds the career of an artist by writing about them for a wider public. For Bowness, critical writing is essential, as it is educated and critically recognised writers who write for accredited art journals. Nevertheless, the reach of academic journals and related publications does not extend to the broader public. As Cohn (2010b, 2010c) notes, the mass media build the profile of the artist and make it available to the majority of people, which in turn could also lead to fame. Awards are another aspect of critical recognition Bowness does not take into account. Celebrated, acknowledged awards are another way for artists to gain media exposure and to be known outside the smaller art circles filled with a handful of professional classifiers.

Patronage by collectors and dealers is identified by Bowness as the third condition of success. Many sources and interviewees agreed with this circle of recognition, confirming that patrons and dealers play a key role in an artist's career in terms of creating the value of their art, as illustrated by the literature review, and in both case studies, as revealed by interview data.

Lastly, for Bowness the final circle of recognition is public acclaim in the form of being included in recognised art museums and attaining high prices at auction. There are cases, as shown in the literature review, where artists attain high prices on auction but are not considered for museums; one example proffered by Berman (1983) is Adriaan Boshoff.

These discussions led to the second premise of the study, the notion that importance is related to high prices on auction. Stevenson's research shows that one denominator of success is high prices and that high prices can lead to even higher prices. In this sense, the belief that came across in the interviews was that if a knowledgeable buyer purchases art, he or she will purchase art they

perceive to be “important”. This is in contrast to art buyers who buy art that is expensive, but not necessarily important, because they do not know what they are buying, they are not knowledgeable art buyers. As Minnaar (2013) states “very rich people who have more money than they have sense”.

The belief identified in the literature review and the interview responses is that if you are an intelligent art buyer who knows your art history, in other words an art buyer with cultural capital, or who asks for advice from those with cultural capital, then that buyer will not buy art that is more expensive than it is important. In the words of Grampp (1989:7), a wise collector is “someone who buys what he likes, pays no more than he must, and does so because he takes the advice of reputable art dealers”. Another belief is that people with low cultural capital and high economic capital will buy art that is expensive and “easy”, as Berman (1983) puts it. She refers to popular art as art that “does not translate – it illustrates”, in this instance the art is expensive, but the artwork is not of importance in the eyes of the artistic elite, or the professional classifiers. In this sense an artist’s profile might be built up by high prices, but that it will not translate into the importance of that artist in view of the professional classifiers.

On the basis of the cases examined in this study, the belief system of the intermediaries interviewed came across as follows. It is commonly held that Kentridge is an “intelligent”, “brilliant artist”, “who inhabits a lofty peak within the international art community”, and his art is believed to be expensive because of its importance and its greatness (Read, 2013; Scott, 2013; Neluheni, 2013; Younge, 2013). On the other hand, the belief of the intermediaries interviewed regarding Dylan Lewis’s art is that he would be the choice of those with great economic capital, but who do not like to be challenged; instead they want to enjoy art (Neluheni, 2013; Younge, 2013). This was the perception of the majority of interviewees; furthermore, they did not believe Kentridge and Lewis to be successful or important in the same way, despite the fact that they are the two artists attaining the highest prices on auction (Lizamore, 2013).

This study dealt with two very different artists and it is in the juxtaposition of the two that the interesting insights and facts appear; Lewis and Kentridge operate in the same art world, but they live by different rules. Lewis’s and Kentridge’s careers are on two different tracks and the interviews led me to the finding that there is disagreement from the different sectors of the art world on the South African art scene about these two artists, and about artists in general.

What are the findings of this study? I reiterate once again the main research question: What role do intermediaries play in an artist's perceived path to the idea of "importance", "success" and fame?

Using Bowness's four conditions of success as a framework for this research, it was found that educational institutions play a role in the sense that the status of the institution attended brands the artist with regard to the next set of professional classifiers in order to evaluate the artist further. It was found that two types of intermediary, namely, art critics and the media, relay the message of who or what the artist is to both the elite and the broader public (art critics to the elite and the media to the elite and broader public alike). The role of the art critic and the arts journalist falls into the category of critical recognition. When something is put into words, when words are put onto paper, immediately a sense of truth and affirmation is added to the subject of the writing, and the more that is read about an artist or seen about an artist, the more that artist will enter the readers' consciousness, resulting in readers perceiving that artist as important.

Through the literature review, the interviews and the case studies the following conclusions can be drawn with the main research question in mind.

By analysing the case studies, I found that in both artists' careers, the art dealer association played an immense role in their value creation as artists, as both artists have been "branded" in a sense by recognised art dealers, both in the South African and in the international realm.

By supporting the artist in question, the professional classifier, be it an educational institution, the art critic, the art dealer, the patron or the collector, gives that artist their stamp of approval. This approval adds to that artist's symbolic capital and, in turn, adds to that artist's economic capital.

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7 Appendix

7.1 Brief descriptions of interviewees

Charl Bezuidenhout: Owner of Worldart Gallery, Cape Town.

Kirsty Cockerill: Former director of the AVA gallery, currently director of The New Church Museum in Cape Town.

Taryn Cohn: Visual arts project and management consultant, partnered with Les Cohn at Art Source South Africa since 2006.

Ross Douglas: Founder and director of the art events company Artlogic.

João Ferreira: Art consultant, dealer and curator based in Cape Town.

Stefan Hundt: Curator of the Sanlam Art Collection, Durbanville.

Basil Jones: Founder of the Handspring Puppet Company together with Adrian Kohler.

Teresa Lizamore: Founder and owner of Teresa Lizamore and Associates, previously known as Artspace, situated in Rosebank.

Marilyn Martin: Former director of the Iziko South African National Gallery (ISANG), writer and lecturer at the Michaelis School of Fine Art.

Melvyn Minnaar: Art writer, arts editor for *Die Burger*, Cape Town.

Michael Godby: Guest lecturer at Michaelis School of Fine Art.

Johan Myburg: Freelance art writer, former arts editor for Media24, Johannesburg.

Musha Neluheni: Contemporary art curator at the Johannesburg Art Gallery, she studied fine art at Rhodes, worked at Sasol Art Collection, she was also in education. Currently she is busy with her Masters in Art History at Wits (looking at architectural fragments in the JAG collection).

Ruarc Peffers: Michaelis School of Art (UCT) graduate and holder of a master's degree in curatorship and criticism from the University of Edinburgh; currently Strauss & Co. senior art specialist.

Jo-Marie Rabe: Owner of antique art gallery, Stellenbosch; writer for the *Financial Times*.

Mark Read: Owner and director of Everard Read Gallery, Johannesburg.

Dale Sargent: Director of Art Vault.

Dr Fred Scott: Partner at Walker-Scott Art Advisory (former managing director of the auction house Stephan Welz & Company).

Warren Siebrits: Private art dealer and consultant, former owner of Warren Siebrits Contemporary art gallery.

Sarah Sinisi: Private art dealer, working with the Graham Britz Gallery.

Lionel Smit: Artist represented by Everard Read Gallery and collected by Laurence Graff.

Michael Stevenson: Art dealer and art writer based in Cape Town and director of the Stevenson Gallery, with branches in Cape Town and Johannesburg. Stevenson is the author of *Art and aspirations*.

Strijdom van der Merwe: Recognised landscape artist, who studied Graphic Design at the University of Stellenbosch.

Stephan Welz: The managing director of the auction house Strauss & Co.

Gavin Younge: Former head of the Michaelis School of Fine Art and Michaelis School of Fine Art Emeritus Professor. Gavin Younge works internationally as an artist, writer and curator.

8 Illustrations



Figure 1: **William Kentridge**, *Preparing the flute detail* (2004-2005). Model theatre with charcoal, pastel, and colored pencil on paper drawings and two 35mm animated films transferred to video (duration: 21:06min). Overall size: 95 by 44 by 60 ½ in. 241.3 by 111.8 by 153.7cm. This work is number 1 from an edition of 3. Lot sold for USD\$ 602 500 (R4.56 million) on 11 May 2011, Sothebys, New York (Sotheby's, 2012).



Figure 2 **Dylan Lewis**, *Black Rhino* (1995). Bronze. Edition of 2. 198cm high. *Black Rhino* as it stands at the entrance to the Centenary Game Capture Centre, Hluhluwe-Imfolozi Game Reserve (Wildlife Photography Blog, 2015). The other edition sold at a solo auction held at Christie's in June 2007 (see Figure 3) (Christie's, 2015a).



Figure 3 **Dylan Lewis**, *Black Rhino* (1995). Bronze. Edition of 2. 198cm high (Pardus, 2010a).



Figure 4 **William Kentridge**, *Procession* (1999/2000). Set of 25 bronze figures, each is number 1 from an edition of 7. Dimensions variable Smallest: 28.6 by 13.3 by 5.7 cm. Largest: 45.7 by 31.8 by 22.9 cm. (Sotheby's, 2013a).



Figure 5: **Avant Car Guard**, *Keep on Keeping on* (2009), also referred to as *The B-Team*. Approximately 200 x 150cm (courtesy of Warren Siebrits).

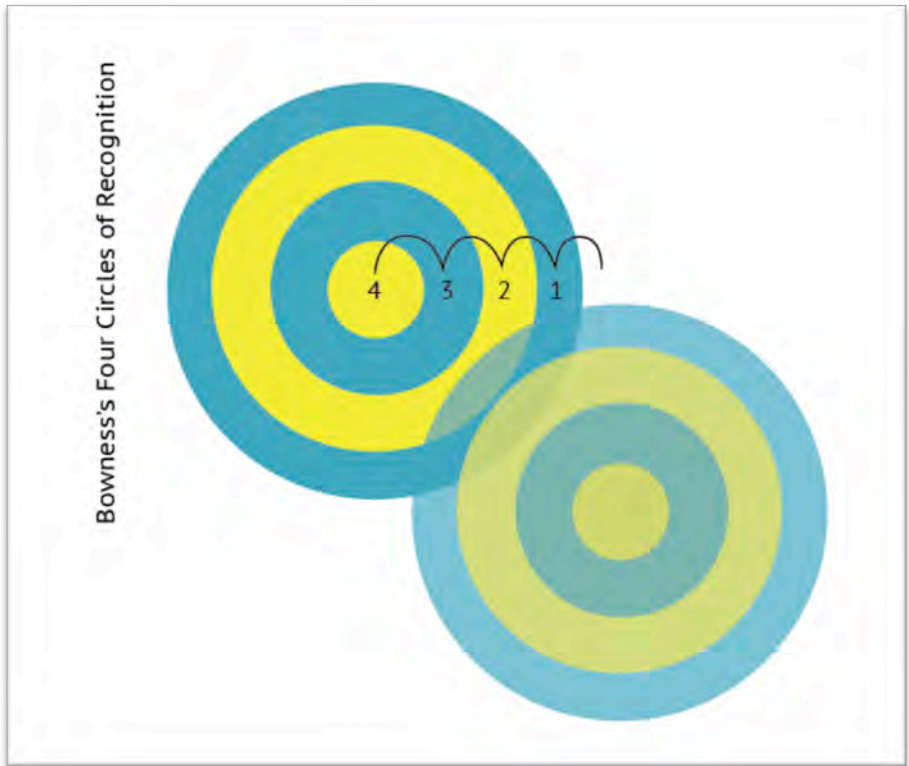


Figure 6: Bowness's four conditions of success (as illustrated by João Ferreira)(2013).

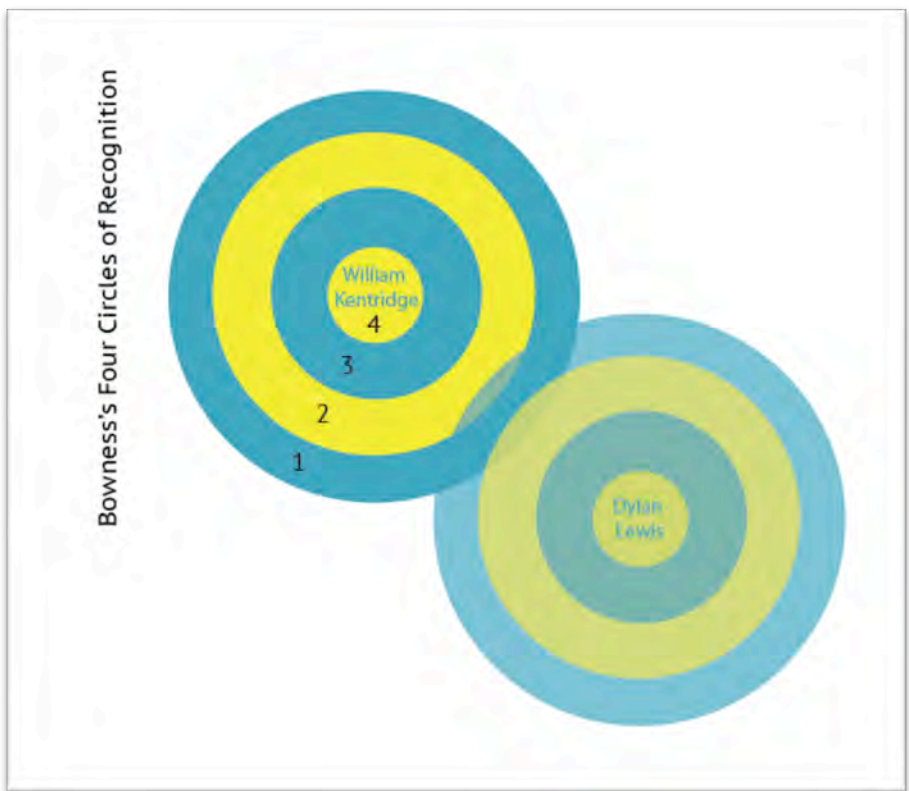


Figure 7: Bowness' four conditions of success with William Kentridge and Dylan Lewis (as illustrated in conversation by João Ferreira)(2013).

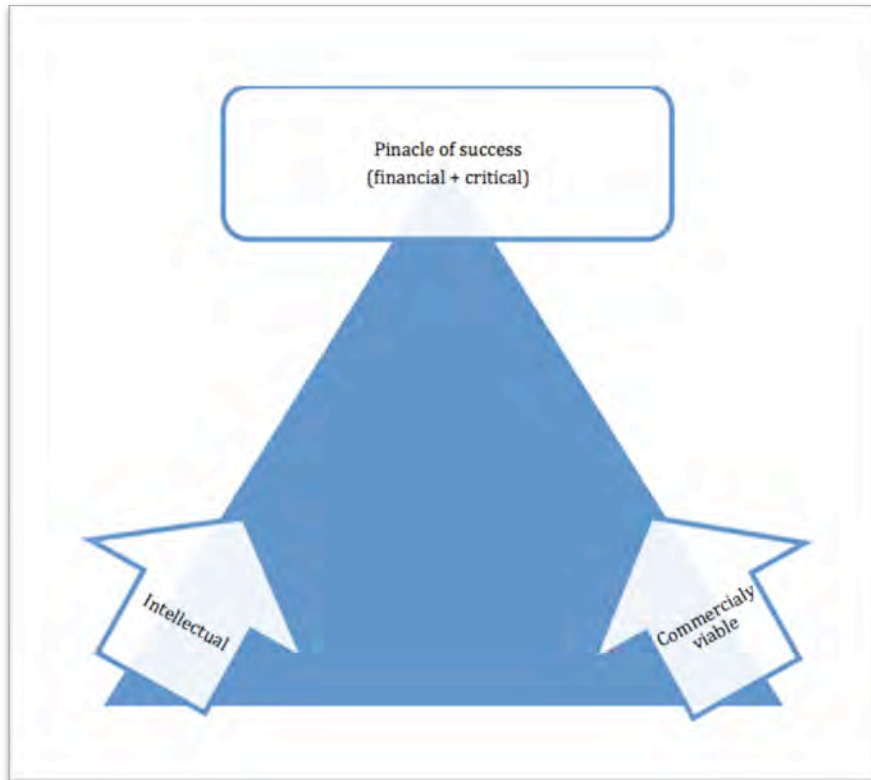


Figure 8: Triangle of success (as illustrated in conversation by João Ferreira)(2013).

9 William Kentridge and Dylan Lewis: Journal Articles and Books

9.1 Dylan Lewis: Journal Articles and Books

Year and Author	Journal	Title	Summary
1998	<i>A Directory of Southern African Contemporary Art Practices</i> Dec 1(2)	Elinor Carleton-Smith; David Hlongwane; Wilna Coetzer; Amos Archibald Langdown; Dylan Lewis; Jack Lugg; Casper Maree; Nico van Rensburg	Biographies of various South African artists.
2005	<i>Leadership</i> July 23(250): 54–57	Dylan Lewis: Statues of stature	Photographs of some of the big cat sculptures by Stellenbosch sculptor Dylan Lewis.
2006. Lamond, R.	<i>Leadership</i> Sep. 7(263): 22–25	Dylan Lewis treks the Himalayas	Reports on Dylan Lewis's visit to the Himalayas. Includes photographs of some of his paintings.
2007. Lamond, R.	<i>Leadership</i> July 23(273): 42–44	Predators and prey at Christie's : Dylan Lewis	Reports that top South African sculptor Dylan Lewis found an overwhelming reception for his work in London when 75 of his animal bronzes, the last of their limited editions, sold out in one and a half hours of animated bidding.
2009. O'Toole, S.	<i>Art South Africa</i> Feature on the website	Dylan Lewis at Kirstenbosch	Feature article on Art South Africa's website. Not a critical review, only descriptive of the parties involved in the collaboration project at Kirstenbosch.

Author and Year	Title	Publisher	Summary
2005. Lewis, D.	Dylan Lewis at Everard Read Johannesburg : A collection of his finest works of the last decade	Johannesburg : Everard Read Gallery	

2006. Twiggs, L.	Forces of nature: The sculpture of Dylan Lewis	Cape Town: Pardus	
2007. Twiggs, L.	The sculptor's approach: Dylan Lewis at Leopard Creek	Cape Town: Pardus	Cats in art. Sculpture, South African. 21st century. Chiefly illustrations.
2007. Twiggs, L.	Wild life and good times: 10 years at Leopard Creek	Cape Town: Pardus	
2007. Christie's	Predators and prey	London: Christie's	A lavish 82-page catalogue of Lewis's sculpture.
2008. Lewis, D	Dylan Lewis artist's sketchbook	Cape Town: Pardus	Drawing. Technique. Artists' preparatory studies. Animals in art.
2008. Twiggs, L.	Dylan Lewis in Stellenbosch	Cape Town: Pardus	91 pages. Chiefly illustrations of Lewis' sculptures exhibited in the town of Stellenbosch.
2008. Lewis, D.	Shapeshifting from animal to human: The sculpture of Dylan Lewis	Stellenbosch, South Africa : Rupert Museum	Catalogue of an exhibition held at the Rupert Museum in Stellenbosch from 31 October 2008 to 30 April 2009. Loose pamphlet inserted with title: Dylan Lewis in Stellenbosch.
2009. Christie's.	From animal to human: The sculpture of Dylan Lewis	London: Christie's	Catalogue of the work on sale at the second solo auction of Dylan Lewis held at Christie's in London.

9.2 William Kentridge: Journal Articles and Books

Year and Author	Journal	Title	Summary
2002. Farrel, L.A.	<i>African Arts</i> Summer 35(2): 81	William Kentridge	Farrel reviews the exhibition of William Kentridge's artworks at the New Museum of Contemporary Art in New York City.
2003. Graham, S.	<i>Research in African Literature</i> 34(1): 11–30	The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and post-apartheid literature in South Africa	
2006. Goldenhuys, D.G.	<i>South African Journal of Art History</i> 21(1)	Kentridge, Mozart, Namibia ... <i>Black Box/Chambre Noir</i> in Berlin Guggenheim	"The article deals with <i>Black Box/Chambre Noir</i> by William Kentridge, an art creation consisting of a miniature mechanized theatre, which had as commissioned work been exhibited at the <i>Deutsche Guggenheim</i> in Berlin. The artistic process and development of the art work is explored".
2006. Thorburn, D.	<i>De Arte</i> , Issue 74	William Kentridge prints, Susan Stewart et al.: book review	

2006. Thompson, V. & Laubscher, L.	<i>South African Journal of Psychology</i> Nov 36(4)	Violence, remembering, and healing : a textual reading of <i>Drawings for Projection</i> by William Kentridge : general	“This article examines the extent to which insights about the processes and dynamics of psychological health might be located at the intersection between trauma and creativity. To that end, we focus on the animated art series, <i>Drawings for Projection</i> (1989-1999), by the noted South African artist, William Kentridge. Spanning a decade that overlaps the transition from apartheid to the post-apartheid era, Kentridge's art directly addresses themes of violence, reparation, hurt, restoration, and healing”.
2007. Schoeman, G.	<i>Acta Academica</i> Aug 39(2)	Melancholy constellations : Benjamin, Kiefer, Kentridge and the play of mourning	“Intended as a summation as well as a continuation of several studies on the work of Walter Benjamin, Anselm Kiefer, and William Kentridge, this article proposes to configure Benjamin, Kiefer, and Kentridge in and as a melancholy constellation. "Melancholy constellation" serves here as a theoretical construct of the mobile concepts with which Benjamin, Kiefer, and Kentridge "preposterously" think and perform the imaging of history”.

Year and Author	Title	Publisher
1985. Burnett, R.	<i>A view of contemporary South African art</i>	
1989. Williamson, S.	<i>Resistance art in South Africa</i>	
1990. Crump, A.	<i>Standard Bank National Drawing Competition</i>	Johannesburg: Standard Bank.

1990. Godby, M.	<i>Robert Hodgins, William Kentridge and Deborah Bell: Hogarth in Johannesburg</i>	Witwatersrand: Wits University Press.
1993. Cohen, E.	<i>Sanlam Art Collection</i>	Cape Town: Tafelberg.
1996. Godby, M.	<i>Hogarth in Johannesburg: Etchings and engravings by Robert Hughes, Deborah Bell and William Kentridge</i>	Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
1999. Cameron, D.	<i>William Kentridge</i>	New York: Phaidon Press.
2004. Bedford, E.	<i>10 years 100 artists: Art in a democratic South Africa</i>	Cape Town: Struik.
2006. Stewart, S et al.	<i>William Kentridge Prints</i>	Johannesburg: David Krut.
2007. Taylor, J.	<i>Ubu and the Truth Commission</i>	Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
Basualdo, C., Guericio, G., Vladislavic, I. & Enwezor, O.	<i>William Kentridge: Tapestries</i> (Philadelphia Museum of Art)	New Haven: Yale University Press.
2009. Williamson, S.	<i>South African art now</i>	New York: Harper Collins.
2009. Rosenthal, M.	<i>William Kentridge: Five themes (San Francisco Museum of Modern Art)</i>	New Haven: Yale University Press.
2010. Godby, M.	<i>The lie of the land: Representations of the South African landscape</i>	Cape Town: Iziko Michaelis Collection.
2010. Hecker, J. & Kentridge, W.	William Kentridge: Trace. Prints from the Museum of Modern Art	New York: The Museum of Modern Art.
2011. Kentridge, W. & Galison, P.	<i>William Kentridge & Peter L. Galison: The refusal of time: 100 notes, 100 thoughts.</i> Documenta Series 009	Ostfildern, Germany: Hatje Cantz.
2011. Kentridge, W.	<i>William Kentridge: Carnets D’Egypte</i>	Paris: Editions du Musee du Louvre.
2012. McCrickard, K.	<i>William Kentridge (Tate Modern Artists)</i>	London: Tate Publishing.

10 Exchange Rate Table:

10.1 Conversion, US Dollar to South African Rand

According to Xrates (2014) and the *Titi Dorian Bulletin* (2013), the following were the conversion rates from US dollars to rand. Only certain dates were taken into account, as these dates were relevant to conversions made in this study.

1980 March	\$1	R0.80
2005	\$1	R6.36
2006	\$1	R6.77
2007	\$1	R7.05
2008	\$1	R8.25
2009	\$1	R8.42
2010 February	\$1	R7.68
2011 May	\$1	R6.85
2012	\$1	R8.21
2013 May	\$1	R9.33
2013 November	\$1	R10.21

10.2 Conversion, GBP to South African Rand

According to Xrates (2014), the following was the average conversion rates from GBP to rand from the year 1998 to 2013, only certain years and months were taken into account, as these months were relevant to conversions made in this study. Yearly rates were taken from the website OzForex Limited (2011).

1998	1GBP	R9.18
1999	1GBP	R9.89
2005	1GBP	R11.56
2006	1GBP	R12.49
2007 May	1GBP	R13.92
2007 June	1GBP	R14.19
2008 January	1GBP	R13.76
2009	1GBP	R13.09
2010	1GBP	R11.31
2011	1GBP	R11.62
2012	1GBP	R13.02
2013	1GBP	R15.10
2014 March	1GBP	R17.86