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Mikhael Subotzky and the Goodman Gallery: Constructions of Cultural Capital

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22 February 2016

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A research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in History of Arts, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

Abstract

In this research report I look at how the Goodman Gallery has played a role in the construction of cultural capital around the contemporary South African photographer Mikhael Subotzky (1981). Unpacking Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital" (1986: 243), and applying it to the South African art industry, I explore the direct impact that commercial galleries have on the building of artists' careers through acts that result in the construction of cultural capital, and in what capacity they do this.

Little has been written in South African art history about local commercial art galleries, and my interest in the role that they play in the construction of art history stems from my own involvement in this sector, as a commercial art gallery curator. As businesses, these institutions have profitable ambitions, and by successfully promoting the artists they represent, they are affecting the course of South African art history.

Due to the potentially vast nature of this subject I have chosen to focus on one contemporary artist, Mikhael Subotzky, and his relationship with the one South African gallery he has been affiliated to throughout his entire professional career, the Goodman Gallery. As much as every person's life is different, every person's career is different too, and in this way I cannot use Subotzky's career trajectory to explain all other contemporary South African artists' careers, but I do believe that the impact that commercial galleries can have on the cultural capital surrounding artists in South Africa is a topic that should be explored further.

I argue that there are various ways of gauging the cultural capital surrounding an artist in the South African art industry, and that one can look at various aspects of an artist's career and assess their cultural capital. I substantiate this claim in this paper, and indeed why it is important to understand what role the commercial gallery can play in this construction.

(Keywords: cultural capital; Pierre Bourdieu; commercial art gallery; Goodman Gallery; Mikhael Subotzky; South African art industry)

Declaration

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Signed on the 22nd of February 2016

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Nontobeko Ntombela, for her constant encouragement, her kind words when I have felt overwhelmed and her incredible attention to detail in the reading and re-reading of this paper. Ntombela truly went above and beyond the call of duty; she constantly drove me to consider the facts from multiple angles, to continually push myself and to never give up.

Prof Federico Freschi, Dr Rory Bester and Prof Michael Godby all patiently sat through interviews with me. I would like to thank them for their time, but mostly for their honesty and the great insight they provided me with into the world of academia and the commercial and non-commercial art industries.

I would like to thank Mikhael Subotzky for providing me with the inspiration for this paper. His achievements as an artist have made this paper an interesting one to write, and I hope that my research will contribute to what shall no doubt be an intensive field of study on him and his artworks in the future.

From the Goodman Gallery I would really like to extend my gratitude to Neil Dundas and Liza Essers. They both took time out of their staggeringly busy schedules to have lengthy interviews with me. They were straightforward in their answers and they provided me with a much greater awareness of the impressive institution that is the Goodman Gallery and its place in South African art history.

From In Toto Gallery I would like to deeply thank Jacques Michau and Jessica Slack. They graciously let me have every Tuesday afternoon off for two years to work on this paper, something that often interfered with the running of In Toto. Despite this they provided me with consistent support and cheered me on from the side lines with the greatest spirit.

I want to say a very big thank you to a client turned friend, Tanya Appelbaum, who kindly read this paper and offered her views and invaluable insight to me.

I would like to thank the Oppenheimer Memorial Trust for their generosity in funding my Masters studies. Without their financial support I would not have been able to fulfil a lifetime dream of obtaining a Masters degree. I want to thank them for believing that I could do this.

I would like to thank my mom and dad, Julianne and Andrew Kidd, who have always been the most supportive and inspiring parents. It is because of them that I have continued to push myself and strived to achieve the best that I can.

And finally, I would like to thank my wonderful fiancé, Russell Scott. He has had to witness me working through the night and listen to my endless musings on the questions lying within this paper. He has been my constant rock, my loudest cheerleader and the reason this paper is finished. He believed in me from the start and I hope I did him proud.

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Introduction

"The art business is a business, after all."

(Winkleman 2009: 187)

In this research report I examine the way in which the Goodman Gallery has played a role in the construction of cultural capital around the contemporary South African photographer Mikhael Subotzky (1981). Unpacking Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital" (1986: 243), and applying it to the South African art industry, I explore the direct impact that commercial galleries can have on the building of artists' careers through acts that result in the construction of cultural capital, and in what capacity they do this. In examining the interconnected, developing art industry in South Africa I explore how galleries can influence what is seen as relevant in our commercial and non-commercial art industries.

By selecting certain artists and artworks to be displayed and promoted, commercial galleries have a hand in shaping South African art history. My interest in the role that these galleries can play in the construction of art history stems from my own involvement in this sector, as a commercial art gallery curator. This paper is not without ambiguity, given that it forms part of an attempt to understand my own current chosen practice. My position as the writer of this paper is, therefore, not value-free, due to my investment within the field of inquiry. Nevertheless, I believe that a certain degree of critical distance has been upheld throughout the research and writing of this paper. I deem it important to investigate these private institutions and to unpack their often hidden workings in order to understand this aspect of the landscape of South African art history. Having gone through three years of undergraduate studies with Art History as one of my majors at the University of Cape Town (UCT), one year of Honours in Art History at the University of Witwatersrand (Wits), and two years of Masters in Art History at Wits, I have yet to encounter a course that mentions the role of the commercial gallery in the construction of South African art history.[1] As

[1] Elizabeth Mansfield, in her text *Art History and its Institutions: Foundations of a Discipline* (2002), touches on this notion. She stated that "Art history's unusual status complicates its institutional history. The institutions most often associated with art history's professionalization are the museum and the academy…as the most prominent and plentiful employers of professional art historians in the nineteenth century, the museum and the academy enjoy a justifiably high profile in histories of the discipline, they are not, however, the only institutions to guide art history's disciplinary formation. A much broader institutional history informs the field" (Mansfield 2002: 11). Whilst Mansfield's scholarship is located in North America and Europe, this paper demonstrates that this point can be applied to South African art history.

businesses, these institutions have profitable ambitions, and by successfully promoting the artists that they represent, they have the potential to influence South African art history.

I propose that there are various ways of gauging the cultural capital surrounding an artist in the South African art industry and that one can look at various aspects of an artist's career and assess their cultural capital. I substantiate this claim as well as explain why it is important to understand what role the commercial gallery may play in this construction.

Due to the potentially vast nature of this subject, I have chosen to focus on one contemporary artist, Mikhael Subotzky, and his relationship with the one South African gallery that he has been affiliated to throughout his entire professional career, the Goodman Gallery.[2] As much as every person's life is different, every person's career is different too, and in this way I cannot use Subotzky's career trajectory to explain those of all other contemporary South African artists.

The next question that needs addressing is: why Subotzky? In 2007, the third year of my undergraduate degree at UCT, I was enrolled as a student in Michael Godby's *Photography in South Africa: 1860 to the Present* Art History class.[3] In one of Godby's classes, he had arranged for a South African photographer, Subotzky, then 26 years old, to speak to us about his final year exhibit, *Die Vier Hoeke*.[4] In 2004, Subotzky had graduated from the Michaelis School of Fine Art, the art school associated with UCT, with 100% as his final year mark, the only student to ever do so in the history of the school (Williamson 2007). At that time, I had no specific ambitions to become a commercial gallery curator, a vocation that I only took up two years later, but my interest in Subotzky and his work had been sparked. I was interested in how he had made it so far so fast; if it was due to the merits of his work alone or if he had had help along the way.

Not only has my personal interest in Subotzky's career made him an interesting focus for this paper, but the fact that Subotzky has been affiliated to one commercial South African gallery throughout his career has made it simpler to examine the impact of the Goodman on his cultural capital. I would like to note here that whilst I have chosen Subotzky as the focus of this paper, and thus could be seen as reinforcing the status of a white male artist, I have

[2] From this point onwards I shall be referring to the Goodman Gallery as the Goodman.
[3] Godby, the retired Emeritus Professor of History of Art at UCT, received his BA from Trinity College, Dublin, his MA from the University of Birmingham, and his PhD from the University of the Witwatersrand. He has lectured and published on Early Renaissance Art, English Eighteenth-century Art, Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century South African Art, and the History of South African Photography (Gordon Institute for Performing and Creative Arts).
[4] *Die Vier Hoeke* consisted of documentary-style photographs of the inside of the Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town.

approached his position in a critical manner. It has become clear, through the examiners' remarks on this paper, that there is a reluctance to accept his position; a reluctance to accept that yet another white male appears to be succeeding in the commercial and non-commercial art industries, both locally and abroad. Despite this, I maintain that Subotzky was a suitable choice for this study, not only because he has been affiliated to one commercial gallery throughout his career, but because of his career trajectory that shall be discussed throughout this paper.

Pierre Bourdieu and Cultural Capital

This research report is informed primarily by the concept of "cultural capital" as first introduced by Pierre Bourdieu in *The Forms of Capital* (1986). Whilst cultural capital is the primary focus for this paper, it should be noted that it exists in conjunction with other forms of capital. Bourdieu defines them as follows: "Capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility" (1986: 243). Bourdieu expands on how it is benefitial to possess cultural capital by stating that "any given cultural competence derives a scarcity value from its position in the distribution of cultural capital and yields profits of distinction for its owner" (1986: 245).

Although Bourdieu's concept is almost thirty years old and conceptualised in a social sciences context, it has provided me with a framework that has allowed me to interrogate the role that commercial galleries can play in an artist's career. South African art historical critique does not have a framework that can be likened to that of cultural capital, possibly as there is so little written about the role of the commercial gallery locally, and so Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital enables me to speak from an established theoretical framework. Aside from South African art history not providing a similar framework, I believe that this concept still carries weight decades after it was first published and that it can be applied to various fields of study.

Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts (2008), edited by Michael Grenfell, was published more than twenty years after Bourdieu published *The Forms of Capital*, signifying the

ongoing relevance of Bourdieu's work. The book pays homage to the extended influence of Bourdieu's work and introduces him as:

> One of the foremost social philosophers of the twentieth century…since his death in 2002, Bourdieu's influence has continued to grow. His major work was in the areas of Algeria, anthropology, education and culture. However his output covered many other fields: economics, politics art…and now it is common to see his work referred to in a wide range of academic disciplines…This applicability and adaptability is in many ways a measure of the worth of Bourdieu's approach to the social sciences (Grenfell 2008: 2).

Grenfell's statement highlights the applicability of Bourdieu's concepts across several fields of study, a statement I have found to be true for this paper. The chapter titled *Capital* (2008) by Robert Moore, published in Grenfell's book, unpacks Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital in a critical way that has allowed me to relate it to my research question. Moore echoes Grenfell's statement by saying that "Bourdieu's extensive work is obviously open to multiple interpretations" (2008: 116). It is for this reason that I have felt confident in using Bourdieu's concept as a basis for this paper.

Bourdieu argues that capital forms the base for social life and prescribes one's status, claiming that it acts as within a system of exchange that bestows prestige upon those who prescribe to its structures. Another explanation of the concept comes from Chin-Tao Wu in *Privatising Culture: Corporate Art Intervention since the 1980s* (2002). Wu states that "the theory of 'cultural capital' is conceptually useful for understanding the system of taste and value, of which contemporary art is a part, within the general structure of political, economic and social formations" (2002: 7). Wu uses Bourdieu's concept to explore how cultural capital can be garnered by business and social "elites" (2002: 303) through commercial contribution to the arts. Her quote shows how the notion of cultural capital can be related to the concept of value within the art industry. Supporting Wu's observation, Moore writes:

> Usually the term 'capital' is associated with the economic sphere. However, Bourdieu's use of the term is broader…his purpose is to extend the sense of the term 'capital' by employing it in a wider system of exchanges whereby assets of different kinds are transformed and exchanged within complex networks or circuits within and across different fields (2008: 101-102).

It is important to note that Bourdieu's concepts are not without fault and that "central features of Bourdieu's theorising carry implications that extend beyond the theory and can potentially make problematical certain aspects of the theory itself" (Moore 2008: 114). I have found this statement to be true for some of Bourdieu's work; it can be contradictory in some

ways and vague in others, but the fact remains that he has created a framework that is useful for this study.

Bourdieu's cultural capital can be found in three forms: the *embodied* state, the *objectified* state, and the *institutionalised* state. The first state, the "*embodied* state, exists in the form of long-term dispositions of the mind and body" (Bourdieu 1986: 243). According to Moore, the *embodied* state is "incorporated within the corporality of the person as principles of consciousness in predispositions and propensities and in physical features" (2008: 105), such as the artist's race, gender and inherited cultural capital, which shall be discussed in Chapter 1.[5] Importantly this also speaks to the artist's agency, a role that is vital to understanding how they see or place themselves within the context of the gallery, given that it is not only the role of the gallery that fuels the artist's cultural capital, as this paper demonstrates.

The second state, according to Bourdieu, is "the *objectified* state, which is manifested in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, etc.)" (1986: 243). Moore expands on this by saying that when capital is *objectified*, "it is materially represented in things such as art works, galleries, museums, etc." (2008: 105). The *objectified* state therefore resides in Subotzky's work and, most significantly for this paper, the art gallery. Subotzky's artworks are products that have become synonymous with his name and have the potential to carry cultural capital. My understanding of the art gallery being a manifestation of *objectified* cultural capital is that it is a physical space, a building, an object if you will. However, as Chapter 2 and 3 will demonstrate, galleries are not mere buildings or objects; they are in themselves signifiers and generators of cultural capital. This cultural capital embedded within the gallery can in turn cultivate cultural capital around the objects/artworks that are stored and displayed within it.

The third state of cultural capital is the *institutionalised* state, or "formal education" (Moore 2008: 106). Bourdieu introduces it as follows:

> The *institutionalized* state is a form of objectification must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee…With the academic qualification, a certificate of cultural competence confers on its holder a…guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy and produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer (1986: 243).

[5] Moore explains further that "cultural capital is acquired in the systematic cultivation of a sensibility in which principles of selection implicit within an environment translate, through inculcation, into principles of consciousness that translate into physical and cognitive propensities expressed in dispositions to acts of particular kinds" (2008: 111).

I understand the *institutionalised* state to be the formal education that Subotzky has received and the subsequent cultural capital and financial advantages that resulted from qualifications from the educational institutions he attended. Bourdieu claims that:

> By conferring institutional recognition on the cultural capital possessed by any given agent, the academic qualification also makes it possible to compare qualification holders and even to exchange them (by substituting one for another in succession). Furthermore, it makes it possible to establish conversion rates between cultural capital and economic capital by guaranteeing the monetary value of a given academic capital…The strategies for converting economic capital into cultural capital, which are among the short-term factors of the schooling explosion and the inflation of qualifications, are governed by changes in the structure of the chances of profit offered by the different types of capital (1986: 248).

We see evidence of this assertion by Bourdieu in the ways in which Subotzky was approached by several commercial art galleries after he received his perfect grade of 100% from Michaelis. This concept shall be discussed further in Chapter 1 where I investigate Subotzky's education and academic achievements.

Bourdieu argues that these three forms of cultural capital can work together. Grenfell reinforces this in stating that concepts introduced and discussed by Bourdieu "should not be seen as independent entities. Rather, they are all interconnected, making up the structure and conditions of the social contexts Bourdieu studied" (2008: 2). In this paper we shall see that Bourdieu's concept can be applied to the South African art industry and that Subotzky's career can been seen to demonstrate the way in which these three components have become enmeshed in the construction of cultural capital around him.

Bourdieu describes other forms of capital, namely economic and social capital, which cultural capital exists in conjunction with. Bourdieu explains that not only do they exist in relation to one another, but they can be transformed into one another as well. Economic capital is money either earned by the individual or inherited (Bourdieu 1986: 242-243). Social capital is made up of social links and is created through social practices between society and families (Bourdieu 1986: 248-252).[6] I will not be addressing economic and social capital directly, as they do not speak to the research question embedded in this paper in the straightforward way that cultural capital does. So whilst I acknowledge that these concepts are all interconnected, and that Bourdieu's larger scholarship discusses these concepts that

[6] Moore substantiates this claim in saying that "The distinctiveness of Bourdieu's approach to cultural capital is that it is associated primarily with specialisation and accomplishment ('cultivation') and not directly with socio-economic status" (2008: 113). Cultural capital can therefore exist outside of the world of commerce and social status, but these forms of capital can be transformed between themselves.

speak to cultural capital, the focus of this paper shall remain on the cultural capital surrounding Subotzky as a result of the Goodman.

In order to understand how cultural capital manifests, I look at Sarah Thornton's book *Seven Days in the Art World* (2008).[7] Listing the structures that promote and support artists, Thornton states:

> Since the 1960s, MFA degrees have become the first legitimator in an artist's career, followed by awards and residencies, representation by a primary dealer, reviews and features in art magazines, inclusion in prestigious private collections, museum validation in the form of solo or group shows, international exposure at well-attended biennales, and the appreciation signalled by strong resale interest at auction (2008: 46).

Thornton's publication is a key text for this paper, as her analysis of the international art industry (largely based in Europe and North America) provides the reader with an in-depth investigation of the commercial workings of the art world. It should be noted that Thornton's text is a novel and is not situated strictly in an academic context. Despite this, Cobi Labuscagne quotes Thornton several times in her PhD thesis titled *Reflections on the Contemporary Moment in South Africa: Art Publics, Art Money, and Art Objects at Joburg Art Fair, 2008-2009* (2010). Thus, Thornton's text has been used in an academic context previously and I have felt comfortable citing her throughout this paper, despite her more casual writing style. It should also be noted that Thornton is speaking from within an extremely affluent context (Europe and North America) that has a more developed art market than the one in South Africa, a notion I shall explore further in this paper. Despite this, her candid explanations of the financial side of art have proved useful for this paper.

[7] Tom McNulty discusses the concept of value in *Art Market Research: A Guide to Methods and Sources* (2006). He has his own list for evaluating an artist's cultural capital that echoes Thornton's: "Exhibition history, critical reception, publication, and inclusion in major public and private collections [all contribute to an artist's cultural capital]. Many works accrue additional value simply by their inclusion in a highly regarded collection, whether private or public" (2006: 6 - 7). Olav Velthuis also has his own list of influences on cultural capital: "The audience may be influenced by the reputation of the gallery where the artist exhibits, by the galleries where he has exhibited before, by private collectors who have acquired work by him in the past or by the commercial success of the current exhibition" (2005: 160). Velthuis, who shall be introduced in Chapter 1, is one of the primary authors I have referenced in this paper. Velthuis is an Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology of the University of Amsterdam. He is currently studying the emergence and development of art markets in the BRIC-countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) (Dutch Art Institute).

Methodology and Chapter Outline

In terms of methodology, I studied many texts that covered notions of cultural capital, art institutions, art history, curating, how art can be valued, and local and international commercial and non-commercial art industries. Not all of these texts are referenced in this paper and for this reason I created a list titled "Other texts consulted as research for this paper" (p. 71), as these texts greatly assisted me in understanding how the art world functions, both locally and abroad. I also engaged with Subotzky's publications and media material, such as published articles and reviews that surround Subotzky's exhibitions and achievements. This material provided another voice that assisted me with understanding how Subotzky has been positioned in the media.

I also conducted structured interviews with parties I believed to be relevant to my research question. I interviewed Subotzky, as well as academics Prof Michael Godby, Prof Federico Freschi and Dr Rory Bester. From the Goodman I interviewed Linda Givon, Liza Essers, Kirsty Wesson and Neil Dundas.[8] I also interviewed Sean O'Toole, who has published several articles on Subotzky. All of these persons shall be introduced throughout the paper, as their views are presented. It is important to note here that I was so reliant on primary data because of the lack of published texts on the South African commercial art industry.

In terms of a chapter outline, the Introduction presents the research question embedded in this paper, as well as Bourdieu and his concept of cultural capital. I also introduce the writings of Moore and Thornton in the Introduction.

Chapter 1 explores the artistic career of Subotzky, primarily in relation to the Goodman's exhibitions and influences. This chapter sets up the understanding of Subotzky's career trajectory, dealing with the years before he graduated from art school, his career development, as well as his current career. I introduce three primary writers in this Chapter: Cobi Labuscagne, Olav Velthuis and Edward Winkleman.

The second and third chapters of this paper are divided into the two institutional frameworks that make up the South African art industry: the commercial art industry and the non-commercial art industry. This division has allowed to me investigate the Goodman's influences both within the sector that it obviously acts within (the commercial industry), as well as the extended influence of its reach into a sector that it supposedly does not operate within (the non-commercial industry). By dividing the chapters as such, I have been able to

[8] Unfortunately I was not able to use Givon's interview in this paper, as she reviewed the interview and felt it wasn not truly representative of what she wanted to say.

demonstrate the Goodman's impact on Subotzky's cultural capital beyond the realm of the commercial art industry.

Chapter 2 introduces the commercial South African art industry before relating the history of the Goodman and its position within this sector. The chapter then delves into Subotzky's commercial exhibitions, followed by a look at the prices achieved by the artist, as a result of the Goodman. The final part of this chapter examines the inclusion of Subotzky in the secondary market, or auctions. This chapter introduces the writings of Nicola Kritzinger, Johannes Wolfgang Fedderke and Kaini Li, and Sandy Nairne.

Chapter 3 begins with an introduction to the non-commercial South African art industry, followed by analysis of Subotzky's inclusion in academia. It goes on to explore the non-commercial exhibitions that Subotzky's work has been featured in. This is followed by an examination of the art criticism, media and academic writing that has featured and analysed Subotzky's work. I then look at the awards that Subotzky has achieved as well as the collections that Subotzky's work forms part of.

The conclusion draws the research together that is presented to support my assertions about the impact that a commercial gallery can have on the cultural capital surrounding an artist in South Africa, and poses some questions for future research.

Chapter 1

Mikhael Subotzky and his Relationship with the Goodman Gallery

> "Mikhael is one of those people who came to us at a very young age. The acceleration of his career trajectory has happened for only a very few artists. Even in a gallery like this, it is fairly rare for someone of that age to make those kinds of inroads and develop a career so quickly."
>
> (Dundas 2015)

This chapter explores Subotzky's artistic career, primarily in relation to Goodman exhibitions and influences, following the chronological format of a biography. I have drawn on three main sources for the mapping out of Subotzky's career: Subotzky's curriculum vitae featured on the Goodman website (Goodman Gallery 2015), interviews, and articles in the published media. It should be noted that a biography is a mediated interpretation of the truth. It is an account of someone's life written or represented by another, and in this way it can be seen as a form of an archive; as a selection and compilation of information. A biography is a selective summary of someone's life, as no biography accounts for every moment that the

person experienced from every angle.[9] I, therefore, acknowledge that this biography is in no way an objective description of events, and that external value judgements have been made in terms of what is included and excluded from Subotzky's career. This paper has further filtered those sources of biographical information mentioned above, as I have selected and highlighted various points and factors that are in the interests of the research question embedded in this paper.

The Early Years: 1981-2005

Subotzky was born in 1981 in Cape Town, South Africa. In the same year, Archbishop Desmond Tutu was arrested and had his passport confiscated, and the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa was organised by the United Nations, in cooperation with the Organisation of African Unity.[10] Subotzky was born in a time of social, political, economic and cultural tension; a time of isolation for South Africa from the rest of the world due to Apartheid.[11] The continuing repercussions of this isolation are evident in today's South African art industry that is still catching up to the international art world. This catching up is discussed by Cobi Labuscagne in her PhD thesis titled *Reflections on the Contemporary Moment in South Africa: Art Publics, Art Money, and Art*

[9] As Achille Mbembe argues in his essay *The Power of the Archive and its Limits*, "It seems clear that the archive is primarily the product of a judgement, the result of the exercise of a specific power and authority, which involves placing certain documents in an archive at the same time as others are disregarded. The archive, therefore, is fundamentally a matter of discrimination and of selection, which, in the end, results in the granting of a privileged status to certain written documents and the refusal of that same status to others, thereby judged 'unarchiveable'. The archive is, therefore, not a piece of data, but a status" (2002: 20). Subotzky's biography here is told "through archived documents…with pieces of time assembled, fragments of life placed in order, one after the other, in an attempt to formulate a story that acquires its coherence through the ability to craft links between the beginning and the end. A montage of fragments thus creates an illusion of totality and continuity" (Mbembe 2002: 21). Professor Mbembe, born in Cameroon, obtained his Ph.D in History at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1989 and a D.E.A. in Political Science at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris (Wits Institute for Social and Economic Research).

[10] Tutu is an internationally-recognised figure and honorary doctor of a number of local and international universities. Tutu was an anti-apartheid activist, campaigning for racial equality in South Africa. His work was recognized in 1984, when he was jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize (The Desmond Tutu Peace Foundation).

[11] In the early 1960s social, political and economic pressure from the international community was placed through sanctions on South Africa for it to abolish its Apartheid laws. These laws would only be overturned in 1994, more than thirty years later (South African History Online). The result of these sanctions was isolation from the international community, which had an impact on South Africa's cultural development in relation to the rest of the world. South Africa's re-entry onto the international arts platform since it became a democratic nation has therefore required much catching up, a process that is still in progress (Labuscagne 2010). "The disinvestment from South Africa was first spearheaded in the 1960s in protest of apartheid and in 1962, the United Nations General Assembly passed Resolution 1961, a resolution founding the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid which called for imposing sanctions on South Africa. In 1964 the UK-based Anti-Apartheid Movement arranged an international conference on sanctions. In 1966, the first of many UN seminars on apartheid was held in Brazil, and later in the same year the General Assembly proclaimed 21 March to be International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in remembrance of the Sharpeville Incident" (South African History Online).

Objects at Joburg Art Fair, 2008-2009 (2010), a key text for this paper.[12] While Labuscagne's research is located within discourses surrounding art fairs, her paper does reveal insights into how the commercial South African art industry operates. It is important for the purposes of this paper to understand the socio-political climate into which Subotzky was born, as these circumstances influence his *embodied* cultural capital.

Subotzky was initially schooled in Cape Town at the Michael Oak Waldorf School, Constantia Waldorf School and then, as South Africa entered its new age of democracy in 1994, at Westerford High School. Here Bourdieu's concept of *institutionalised* cultural capital comes into play. The Waldorf Schools' educational system employs an alternative, more organic approach to teaching, an environment that aims to cultivate the creative side of children. Such an environment could certainly have had an impact on young Subotzky's approach to the arts and self-expression.[13] Whilst I do not want to dwell on Subotzky's education, as that would digress from this paper's research question, it is important to note the context of Subotzky's upbringing as we start to look at his *embodied* cultural capital.

Subotzky was born as a white male into a society that favoured his demographic. This inherited advantage was coupled with the closeness of a family member who was deeply invested in South African photography, Gideon Mendel. According to the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York's website, "At an early age, [Subotzky] was exposed to the activist work of his uncle, Gideon Mendel, one of South Africa's notable 'struggle photographers,' and he grew up in a milieu of commitment to social democracy."[14] The term "social democracy,"[15] in a South African context, suggests that Subotzky's family did not agree with the socio-political conditions of Apartheid. Subotzky confirmed that this statement is true and that he grew up in a forward-thinking, liberal family (Subotzky 2015).

[12] Labuscagne works for Johannesburg-based events and sponsorship company Artlogic as a director where she heads up the Research Unit and produces the FNB JoburgArtFair.

[13] The Waldorf wesbite elaborates more on its mission statement: "Dr Rudolf Steiner founded the first Waldorf School in Stuttgart, Germany in 1919. His intention was to create an education system that provided more than rote learning, one that spoke to all aspects of the child. Considered revolutionary at the time, Waldorf Education is even more relevant as we enter the 21st century" (Michael Mount).

[14] According to Mendel's website, he is a "widely regarded as one of the world's leading contemporary photographers…He began photographing in the 1980s during the final years of Apartheid. It was his work as a 'struggle photographer' at this time that first brought his work to global attention" (Gideon Mendel Photography). Cedric Nunn, a South African photographer, describes the term as follows: "'Struggle photographers' is a name a handful of us acquired for our role in documenting the process of societal transition in South Africa. It's one we wear with pride, despite the fact that we are probably a lot more than that. But what it does suggest is that we were and are activist photographers, and there's no escaping that" (Cedric Nunn Photography).

[15] The term social democracy can be used to refer to the process in which a nation becomes socialist democratically. What this quote implies is that Subotzky's family was supporter of democracy and was opposed to the Apartheid regime.

Sean O'Toole is a widely published South African culture journalist, art critic, editor and writer, who is, according to Prix Pictet "particularly concerned with fine art photography in his writings" (Prix Pictet 2015).[16] O'Toole stated that "Subotzky's uncle was an influential early mentor, teaching him the basics of working with the panoramic format" (2012). In an interview for this paper, Subotzky explained that his relationship with his uncle was "and still is very close" but that his interest in photography only began "After buying a camera when I went travelling as an 18-year-old" (Subotzky 2015). The combination of his family's progressive attitude with the advantages of being born into a white family in South Africa in the 1980s, as well as having an uncle who was an accomplished photographer, all contributed to Subotzky's *embodied* cultural capital. Subotzky's comment does, however, highlight his own agency. Whilst he was born into circumstances that acted in his favour regarding his career: he was an independent adult when he decided to explore photography. Subotzky's agency and decisions regarding his career have contributed significantly to his cultural capital, something that shall be discussed throughout this paper.

In 2000 Subotzky enrolled in Michaelis, considered to be one of the top art schools in South Africa (Michaelis 2015). His graduation from this school with the mark of 100%, this direct awarding of *institutionalised* cultural capital, was emphasised by the standing of the school. Prof Federico Freschi, the Executive Dean of the Faculty of Art, Design and Architecture at the University of Johannesburg (UJ) remembers: "It was hot news on the art circuit because he got 100%, which was an extraordinary accomplishment for any student. And it was such a powerful, arresting body of work. As a student it was phenomenal" (Freschi 2015).[17] According to Dr Rory Bester, Head of History of Art and Heritage Studies Department at Wits, Subotzky's perfect grade created a "buzz in academic circles" (Bester 2015).[18] At this point in his career, Subotzky could have merely accomplished academic recognition, in terms of the marks he received, rather than a lasting entry into the commercial

[16] Prix Pictet is a global award in photography that addresses sustainability.
[17] Freschi offers a multifaceted view of Subotzky. He worked for many years at Wits as a professor before working for the Goodman in Cape Town from April to December 2012. He opened Subotzky's *Retinal Shift* (2012) exhibition when it came to Johannesburg at the Standard Bank Gallery. He then left the Goodman and joined UJ. He therefore worked with Subotzky from within the structure of the commercial gallery, yet his first encounter with Subotzky's work occurred whilst he was still in the academic field.
[18] According to The Wits School of Arts website, Bester "is an art historian, critic, curator and Head of Wits History of Art. His teaching and research areas include archive and museum practice, curatorial studies, exhibition histories, migration and diaspora studies, photographic histories, postcolonialism, and post-war South African art" (The Wits School of Arts). Bester went into more detail about *Die Vier Hoeke*, explaining why he thinks Subotzky's work caused such excitement: Subotzky was a white, Jewish, young man entering a black inhabited prison space, and it was this notion of access, of Subotzky stepping outside of his comfort zone, that gave his work such credibility.

and non-commercial art industries. However, his move from the world of academia into the South African art industry in 2005 was to happen swiftly.[19]

Thornton discusses "how difficult it is to be an art student looking into the abyss of graduation. Two or three of the lucky ones will find dealer or curator support at their degree shows, but the vast majority will find no immediate ratification. For months many of them will be out of a job" (2008: 58). Thornton's book, as previously mentioned, is located within an affluent European and North American context, so if it is so difficult to achieve recognition in a more lucrative environment, one can imagine how challenging it could be for South African artists, given that the local market is still developing. Subotzky echoed Thornton's statement by saying that "I thought I was going to have to be an assistant to a photographer and save money in order to produce my own work. I am lucky in that I have never had to do that" (Subotzky 2014). The reason for this is that the Goodman took Subotzky into their stable shortly after he graduated.

Here I would like to give some context to the South African art industry that Subotzky was entering in 2005, particularly in relation to photography. Kim Gurney, freelance journalist and Western Cape editor of ArtThrob,[20] discussed the state of photography in the commercial South African art industry in 2005. She quotes art gallery owner Andries Loots,[21] who described the state of South African photography by saying: "There is confusion amid the buying public…The average South African thinks that art is painting and sculpture and that anybody can take a photograph" (Gurney 2005).[22] Gurney then quotes art dealer Heidi Erdmann who said that, "The South African photography market is rapidly growing…The buying market has increased a great deal and there is a far better understanding of

[19] By interviewing Freschi and Bester for this paper, and taking their stance on Subotzky's work as fact, I can refer to a statement by Moore, who said that "In the field of arts cultural capital is presented as reflecting the intrinsic value of art works in themselves and the capacity of certain gifted individuals (those with 'distinction') to recognise and appreciate those essential qualities" (2008: 104). I understand that Moore is saying cultural capital can reside in the artworks themselves (the *objectified* state), as well as within the people who can recognise this (the *embodied* state). I have taken Freschi and Bester to be individuals of distinction in this paper, due to their qualifications and expertise in the scholarship of Art History.

[20] Gurney is an independent practitioner working across fine art, journalism and research, based in Cape Town, South Africa (Kim Gurney). ArtThrob, according to its website, was "founded as a one-person site by Sue Williamson in August 1997, ArtThrob is South Africa's "leading contemporary visual arts publication, reporting on the national arts scene and the involvement of South African artists in the international art world" (ArtThrob 2015).

[21] Loots owned a Cape Town based commercial gallery named 34FineArt.

[22] It is important to note here that Loots is not referring to the art-going/art-buying public when he speaks about the "average" South African. It is also important to note that such generalisations are not necessarily my own opinion.

photography" (Gurney 2005). [23] These two conflicting quotes seem to indicate a state of transition, an atmosphere of lingering doubt as to the legitimacy of photography as an art form coupled with new interest in the market. Gurney concluded that, "A new generation is forging their own style, as is apparent in the work of Zanele Muholi, Nontsikelelo Veleko, Pieter Hugo, David Southwood and Mikhael Subotzky" (Gurney 2005). This was the context of the industry that Subotzky was entering, a developing one, but one that appeared to be ready for something new.

Subotzky told me the story of how he came to be represented by the Goodman: Barbara Lindop, a Cape-Town based curator, had seen his final year exhibit and suggested introducing him to the Goodman, which at that stage was only in Johannesburg.[24] Liza Essers, the current director of the Goodman,[25] commented on this time in Subotzky's life:

> I saw Mikhael's student exhibition in 2005. I was completely blown away and I made contact with him. This was before I was part of Goodman. Everyone saw the brilliance in his work and at that stage he didn't have a gallery. I was interested in taking him on as Liza Nicole Fine Art, the independent curator/dealer. He was approached by Monna [Mokoena], [Michael] Stevenson and Linda [Givon] and he was not sure what to do. He called me asking for advice one day and I had a very frank conversation with him. He didn't know where Goodman was going. At this stage I had no intention of starting at or joining or buying the Goodman but I said to him, 'You have got to go with the Goodman' (Essers 2014). [26]

Following this conversation, Subotzky flew to Johannesburg for a meeting with the Goodman. He brought unframed photographs from *Die Vier Hoeke* (2005) with him into the Goodman, which he unrolled onto the floor. Neil Dundas, the senior curator at the Goodman,

[23] Erdmann is the founder and owner of Photographers Gallery ZA and Erdmann Contemporary, commercial art spaces in Cape Town.
[24] The Goodman Gallery opened its Cape Town branch in 2007.
[25] Essers bought the Goodman Gallery from its founder Linda Givon in 2008. The Goodman Gallery website introduces Essers as follows: "Current Director Liza Essers has transformed the gallery's focus and created an incisive programme that simultaneously fosters South Africa's most important living artists, roots the gallery within an African discourse, embraces the significance of the Global South and establishes the careers of a new generation of remarkable artists" (Goodman Gallery About Us).
[26] Mokoena, who will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, trained at the Everard Read Gallery for three years. He is an art adviser to the JSE and opened his Johannesburg based gallery, Momo, in 2003. Stevenson is the founder and one of the directors of Stevenson Gallery. "Stevenson is a contemporary art gallery with spaces in Cape Town and Johannesburg, and is jointly owned by its directors. The gallery opened as Michael Stevenson in Cape Town in 2003, and subsequently partnered with David Brodie in Johannesburg in 2008.That same year the Cape Town gallery moved into its current premises in Woodstock, and in November 2010 the Johannesburg space relocated to Juta Street, Braamfontein" (Joburg Tourism). The gallery is described as follows on the Stevenson website: "Stevenson has an international exhibition programme with a particular focus on the region" (Stevenson). Givon is the founder and previous owner of the Goodman Gallery from 1966 to 2008. She is a well-known member of the South African art industry who shall be looked at in more detail in Chapter 3.

watched Subotzky unfurl the works, and called into an adjoining office, "Linda, I think you need to have a look at this" (Subotzky 2014).[27]

Linda Givon, formerly Goodman, the founder and director of the Goodman for 42 years, had recently had a hip replacement and came slowly out of the office. Subotzky had heard rumours about the "iron matriarch" (Subotzky 2014) of the South African art world but instead he met a person who was to become his agent, financier, supporter and friend for many years.

Givon looked at the prints and said to Subotzky, "Would you mind if I took these for the front wall of my display at Art Basel?"

Subotzky replied, "I am sure that's fine Linda, but would you mind telling me what Basel Art is?" (Subotzky 2014)[28]

Subotzky had gone through four years at Michaelis with no knowledge of Art Basel; with no education about the art market and how the South African or international art industry operates. As I mentioned in the Introduction, I have had a similar experience with my art historical education and its lack of engagement with theory on the commercial sector. Thornton's statement that "most art schools turn a blind eye to the art market" (2008: 59) is echoed by Subotzky's claim that, "Going into the world I had no idea about tax or the practical side of things" (Subotzky 2014).

Dundas described his surprise at Givon's eagerness to make a commitment to Subotzky:

> I was amazed because Linda had been in the position for some years already where she was very cautious with anybody new proposing things for the gallery; not promising too much straight away, saying things like, 'Let's see if we can include you in a group show', or 'We will chat to you again in a month's time'. In that meeting, before it was over, she had basically said, 'We would like to represent you'. So I knew that she was in from the word go. He was absolutely a fine artist who was conceptually driven with prospects for his future. He knew where he wanted to go outside of South Africa across the world (Dundas 2015).

Perhaps the interest from the other art galleries, mentioned by Essers, contributed to Givon's ready commitment to Subotzky and her decision to take Subotzky's works to Art

[27] Dundas started working at the Goodman in 1983 and still currently works there (2015).
[28] Founded in 1970, Art Basel is an international art fair that takes place annually in Basel in Switzerland, Miami Beach in USA, and Hong Kong. The Art Basel website describes the event as "the premier international art show, providing a platform for artists and gallerists from around the world" (Art Basel 2015).

Basel. Subotzky had no idea how to price his artworks, but Givon rectified this quickly with the vast upward re-pricing of his works from Subotzky's exhibition at Michaelis to Art Basel.

Labuscagne interviewed Kirsty Wesson, Givon's assistant for ten years, who stated that Givon "has done amazing things for Mikhael [Subotzky]…she has the knack of chatting with someone when they are still quite young and helping them to grow" (2010: 59).[29] I interviewed Wesson for this paper, and she reiterated this point to me by saying that "Mikhael came to the gallery straight out of varsity. With the Goodman and Linda's reputation both locally and abroad we were able to put him on an international stage that may not have been available if he had started with a smaller gallery" (Wesson 2015). Wesson's statements highlight the nurturing role Givon has played in Subotzky's career, as well as her ability, as a gallerist, to recognise cultural capital in artists and to forge a connection with them.

In his book *Talking Prices* (2005) Olav Velthuis discusses the complex relationship between artists and dealers stating that, "Although artists are sometimes in a position to dictate prices to a dealer, dealers usually have the last word on the pricing decision. They are not only the ones who have to 'work' with the prices; dealers are also more knowledgeable about the market" (2005: 117).[30] This statement resonates with this set of circumstances where Givon, having opened her gallery almost 40 years prior to this meeting, guided the inexperienced Subotzky.

Velthuis declares that "depending on their character, artists may ask not only for practical assistance and business advice, but also moral support and input in their artistic endeavours" (2005: 55). Subotzky's age and inexperience when he first encountered the Goodman meant that the dynamics of the relationship between himself and Givon was that primarily of student and teacher. Edward Winkleman, described by Charlie Finch on *Artnet* as a "dealer/blogger and self-created minor art-world phenomenon" (Finch), wrote a book titled *How to Start and Run a Commercial Art Gallery* (2009). The publication, as its title suggests, discusses the particulars of starting up and running of a commercial art gallery. Winkleman's how-to-guide compliments Velthuis' *Talking Prices* (2005), which analyses the

[29] Wesson worked at the Goodman Gallery from 1998 to 2008.

[30] Velthuis stated that if an artist does not have a pricing history, "the rule is to start as low as is reasonable (and) to adopt existing price levels by comparing new art to works similar in style and size made by artists of comparable age, with a comparable resume, credentials or background…If an artist does have a pricing history, whether on the secondary market or in another gallery, the existing price level is adopted and extrapolated…in this process the reputation of the artist and the size and technique of the work are the three most important guideposts for setting prices" (2005: 125). Whilst Velthuis is speaking in a European and North American context, I have found in my own experience as a commercial art gallery curator that pricing works similarly in South African commercial art galleries.

international art market that commercial galleries exist within. Winkleman's comment that "Commercial galleries exist specifically to develop markets for their artists' work…in addition to sales, galleries offer career management services" (2009: 191) emphasises the potential depth and breadth of the commercial gallery/artist relationship.

Mikhael Subotzky's Career Development: 2005 - 2012

In 2005 Subotzky was included in six exhibitions, three of which were with the Goodman: *Vyf Kurators, Vyftien Kunstenaars*; *Click; Art Basel Miami Beach*; *Art 36 Basel*; *The Pantagruel Syndrome* and *Les Recontres Africaines de la Photographie*.[31] This was the year Subotzky also won his first award, the 2005 Special Jurors' Prize at the *Les Recontres Africaines de la Photographie* in Mali.[32] The international scope of these six exhibitions within the first year of an artistic career out of school, as well as the international award, indicates cultural capital beginning to accumulate around Subotzky. Goodman's inclusion of Subotzky in these three exhibitions reveals the Goodman's interest in making him visible.

Subotzky took a position as a part-time lecturer in photography at UCT from 2004 until 2006, and set up and ran photographic workshops inside Pollsmoor Prison in Cape Town from 2005 until 2008, suggesting that he was not only interested in the new-found commercial success of his work, but that he was also concerned with maintaining his connection with the academic institution and extending his relationships he had forged in his *Die Vier Hoeke* (2005) research and production process. This activity done outside of the Goodman space indicates Subotzky's own agency, his own desire to cultivate cultural capital; he clearly did not expect his entire career to be handled by the Goodman.

From 2006-2008 Subotzky's work was exhibited in *Snap Judgements: New Positions in Contemporary African Photography*,[33] a blockbuster, international exhibition curated by

[31] Here is the more detailed list of Subotzky's 2005 exhibitions: *Vyf Kurators, Vyftien Kunstenaars*, Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees, Oudtshoorn, South Africa; *Click*, Goodman Gallery, Johannesburg; *Art Basel*, Miami Beach, Goodman Gallery Booth, Miami, USA; *Art 36 Basel*, Goodman Gallery Booth, Basel, Switzerland; *The Pantagruel Syndrome*, T1, Turin Triennial, Turin, Italy; *Les Recontres Africaines de la Photographie*, Bamako, Mali.

[32] *Les Recontres Africaines de la Photographie*, translated to *African Photography Encounters*, is a biennale exhibition in Bakamo, Mali.

[33] In 2006 Subotzky was also exhibited in *New Code*, Studio La Citta, Verona, Italy; *Personae & Scenarios: New African Photography*, Brancolini Grimaldi Arte Contemporanea, Rome, Italy; *Olvida quien soy (Erase me from who I am*), Centro Atlantico de Art Moderno, Canary Islands; *Risk*, Exhibition of the 2006 Joop Swart Masterclass, FOAM, Amsterdam, Holland; *Art Basel*, Miami Beach, Goodman Gallery Booth, Miami, USA; *The Living is Easy*, Flowers East Gallery, London, England; *Art 37 Basel*, Goodman Gallery, Basel, Switzerland. *Snap Judgements: New Positions in Contemporary African Photography*, (2006-8) curated by Okwui Enwezor, International Center for Photography, New York, Miami, USA; Mexico City, Mexico; Amsterdam, Holland. *Snap Judgements* was concerned with reflecting the compound imaginations of today's

Okwui Enwezor.[34] According to Subotzky, "*Snap Judgements* was a big thing for me. I had never been on an international show before" (2014). *Snap Judgements* was never exhibited on African soil, making it an entirely international exhibition from a South African perspective. In terms of a biography timeline it is important to note how early on in Subotzky's career his work was chosen for the show, two years after his graduation. It is similarly important to note that the curator of the show, Enwezor, is considered to be one of the leading curators of contemporary art on the international arts platform. According to Dundas, it was through the Goodman that Subotzky met Enwezor:

> Linda's contact with Okwui assisted in this connection. And that type of contact mattered. The fact is that he is an opinion maker and a very influential curator. From our point of view, it always had mattered that we got to meet those kind of people (Dundas 2015).

Dundas' quote emphasises Enwezor's standing on the international arts platform, and the Goodman's recognition of the importance of connections with such people. By "kind of people" (Dundas 2015) Dundas is implying that Enwezor is important, a person to know. Bester suggests the same in saying that:

> There is no doubt that an exhibition and book of the scale of *Snap Judgements*, curated by a superstar curator at an institution that is one of the global benchmarks of photographic practice [International Center for Photography, New York], will have an influence on the career trajectories of some of the participating photographers. Every exhibition is part of an ongoing accumulation of capital, and as much as it's tempting to say an exhibition 'made' an artist, this dovetails too easily with a mythologising. It poses an important methodological question for you: how do you show the accumulation of an artist's 'capital'? For example, he is the youngest photographer, a common marker of differentiation (Bester 2015).

Bester's quote raises a number of interesting points. Firstly, he clarifies the significance of *Snap Judgements* in Subotzky's career, as well as the importance of acknowledgment from Enwezor, suggesting that the recognition from a well-known curator can assist with the building of the artist's cultural capital. He then queries the research question that is embedded in this paper, proposing that it is not at all clear cut. Bester's point

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African artists. It aimed to show work that was pioneering and would reflect Africa's innovative contemporary photography scene.

[34] Art Knowledge News calls Okwui Enwezor "one of the world's foremost curators of contemporary art" (Art Knowledge News). Enwezor is the dean of academic affairs at the San Francisco Art Institute. He was the artistic director for the second Biennial of Contemporary Art of Seville, the 1997 Biennial of Johannesburg, 2002 *Documenta*, and the 2015 Venice Bienniale.

certainly resonates with me, as my efforts to map out the Goodman's influence on Subotzky's cultural capital runs into many unquantifiable factors, a point I reflect on in the Conclusion.

New Code (2006) was Subotzky's first exhibition with Studio la Citta, a Verona situated gallery that now represents him.[35] It was also through the Goodman that Subotzky's introduction to Studio la Citta was made (Subotzky 2014). Having representation from an international gallery can be significant for a contemporary artist, as it indicates widespread interest and recognition from the international art world, as opposed to only local interest. Once again, a strategic introduction from the Goodman served to anchor Subotzky's reputation on the international arts platform.

In 2006 Subotzky was included in 11 exhibitions,[36] including *Die Vier Hoeke and Umjiegwana,* his first solo exhibition at the Goodman. [37] Velthuis mentioned that some gallerists like to "play the desirable role of the benevolent patron who has partial control over the artist's well-being" (2005: 64). This statement speaks to the first few years of Givon and Subotzky's relationship as they prepared for this show. Givon travelled with Subotzky into townships and abandoned industrial areas, to find and meet up with prisoners who had left Pollsmoor Prison since Subotzky photographed *Die Vier Hoeke* (2005). Givon set up a bank account to allow Subotzky to purchase items the prisoners needed, such as food, mattresses or clothes. It was during this time that the relationship between Givon and Subotzky was solidified (Subotzky 2014). Givon was clearly interested in investing time, money and energy into Subotzky and his work, revealing her interest in accruing cultural capital to the artist.

In 2008 Givon sold the Goodman to Liza Essers. According to both Essers and Subotzky, she has continued supporting and promoting him in a way that has proven to be

[35] Studio La Citta, situated in Verona, opened in 1969.

[36] Subotzky's 2006 exhibitions include: 2006 *Risk*, Exhibition of the 2006 Joop Swart Masterclass, FOAM, Amsterdam, Holland; 2006 *Art Basel*, Miami Beach, Goodman Gallery booth, Miami, USA; 2006 *The Living is Easy*, Flowers East Gallery, London, England; 2006 *Art 37 Basel*, Goodman Gallery, Basel, Switzerland; 2006 *New Code*, Studio La Citta, Verona, Italy; 2006 *Personae & Scenarios â'. New African Photography*. Brancolini Grimaldi Arte Contemporanea, Rome, Italy; 2006 *Olvida quien soy [Erase me from who I am*, Centro Atlantico de Art Moderno, Canary Islands. In 2007 Subotzky showed in *Beaufort West*, Studio La Citta, Verona, Italy; *Beaufort West*, FOAM (Foto Museum Amsterdam), Amsterdam, Holland; *Beaufort West*, Goodman Gallery Cape, Cape Town, South Africa; *A Legacy of Men*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, Johannesburg, South Africa; *Art Basel*, Goodman Gallery Booth, Miami Beach, Miami, USA; *NYC Photo*, Phillips de Pury & Luxembourg, Luxembourg; New York, USA; *Bare Life*, Museum on the Seam, Jerusalem, Israel; *says the junk in the yard*, Flowers East, London, England; *The Loaded Lens*, Goodman Gallery Cape, Cape Town, South Africa; *Lumo 07- 'us'7 USA*, 7th International Photography Triennale, Jyvaskyla, Finland; *Art 38 Basel*, Goodman Gallery Booth, Basel, Switzerland; *Lift Off II*, Goodman Gallery Cape, Cape Town, South Africa; *Reality Check: Contemporary Art Photography from South Africa*, Neuer Berliner Kunstverein, Berlin, Germany. His 2007 residencies were 2007-8 Civitella Ranieri fellowship, Italy and one-year residency at Fabrica, Treviso, Italy.

[37] In *Umjiegwana* Subotzky investigated the lives and sometimes successful, sometimes unsuccessful reintegration into society of released prisoners from Pollsmoor. This body of work was shown with *Die Vier Hoeke* at the Goodman.

beneficial to both parties (Subotzky 2014). Essers stated that "I immediately felt a connection to Mikhael, prior to the Goodman, and I still have a very special connection with him" (Essers 2014). This transfer of ownership shall be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, but it is interesting to note that Subotzky decided to stay with the Goodman.

2008 was not only an important year for the Goodman, it was a momentous year for Subotzky's career and an eventful year for the art world at large.[38] In September 2008 the international financial markets crashed and there was fear of the art market collapsing too.[39] *New Photography 2008,* an exhibition that featured Subotzky's *Beaufort West* (2007) body of work alongside works by Josephine Meckseper, opened at MoMA, as Subotzky remembers it, "around the same time as Damien Hirst's private auction sale. It opened a few days after Lehman Brothers crashed, and I have never sold so much work" (Subotzky 2014). [40] It is important to note here that both of these artists, Hirst and Subotzky, are white males. One of the questions this paper aims to raise is how commercial structures in the art world still work in favour of white male artists. This direct comparison of Hirst and Subotzky highlights the way in which white male artists are often foregrounded in the international commercial art industry. According to Charlotte Appleyard and James Salzmann in *Corporate Art Collections*:

> In September 2008, Lehman Brothers collapsed on the same day that Damien Hirst's one-man sale at Sotheby's made millions. The news that evening juxtaposed images of unemployed bankers leaving Lehman's offices, their belongings packed in cardboard boxes, with Hirst's

[38] In 2008 Subotzky was included in the following exhibitions: *New Photography 2008*, Museum of Modern Art, New York; *A Look Away – South African photography today*, Kuckei + Kuckei, Berlin, Germany; *Unseen, An Exhibition of International Photography*, Museum of Contemporary Art, Shanghai, China; *.ZA*, Young Art from South Africa, Palazzo delle Papesse, Siena, Italy; *Art 39 Basel*, Goodman Gallery Booth, Switzerland.

[39] An article published by *The Economist* summarised the international market collapse as follows: "The collapse of Lehman Brothers, a sprawling global bank, in September 2008 almost brought down the world's financial system. It took huge taxpayer-financed bail-outs to shore up the industry. Even so, the ensuing credit crunch turned what was already a nasty downturn into the worst recession in 80 years. Massive monetary and fiscal stimulus prevented a buddy-can-you-spare-a-dime depression, but the recovery remains feeble compared with previous post-war upturns. GDP is still below its pre-crisis peak in many rich countries, especially in Europe, where the financial crisis has evolved into the euro crisis. The effects of the crash are still rippling through the world economy: witness the wobbles in financial markets as America's Federal Reserve prepares to scale back its effort to pep up growth by buying bonds" (07/09/2013).

[40] *New Photography 2008,* held at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 2008, was a joint exhibition with Josephine Meckseper and featured Subotzky's *Beaufort West* body of work. Christoph Grunenberg in *The Modern Art Museum* describes the gravitas of MoMA as an institution: "The MoMA (founded in 1929) [is] the earliest and most influential museum of this type, and is credited with establishing the white cube as an international standard …since 1929 MoMA has played a crucial role in defining the modernist canon and in shaping the way that modern art is looked at and understood…MoMA made every effort to remove art from any association with the sphere of business…its galleries [served to] provide relief from the bustling metropolis outside and, more broadly, from the material world of production and consumption" (Grunenberg 1999: 26-34). It can be seen here that the MoMA is considered to be a significant institution. Having an exhibition at such an institution can contribute to an artist's cultural capital, an idea that I explore further in Chapter 3.

> preserved beasts and dot paintings being hammered down on Bond Street for seemingly unprecedented sums of money (2012: 28).[41]

Appleyard and Salzmann's book, published in association with the Sotheby's Institute of Art, is a handbook on international art business and examines the nature and significance of corporate art collecting. This quote highlights the power that contemporary art by a collectible artist can hold in society. Like Hirst, Subotzky sold an unprecedented amount of work while the rest of the world was clamping down on their finances.

It was through the Goodman that Subotzky was introduced to curators from MoMA. He said that:

> Susan Kizemeric, a photography curator at MoMA came to the Goodman, perhaps looking at [David] Goldblatt's work. It was near the beginning of my relationship with Goodman. She bought a *Vier Hoeke* work and took it back with her. It was through this that MoMA became aware of my work. It was very much through the Goodman. This exhibition made a huge difference to my career (Subotzky 2014).[42]

In addition to this successful exhibition in 2008, Subotzky's first monograph, *Beaufort West,* was published by Chris Boot Publishers and was included in *New Photography 2008*.[43] According to Bruce Ferguson in *Exhibition Rhetorics: Material Speech and Utter Sense,* "In the highly regulated and genteel spheres of museums and art history, the monograph and the single artist exhibition catalogue continue to have enormous purchase within art writing and critical thought as they most forcefully support individual markets" (1996: 127). This statement highlights the impact that a publication can have on an artist's cultural capital. A publication seems to imply that an artist's work deserves to be immortalised. Most exhibitions change or are taken down, whereas a publication is a more permanent public display of an artist's work.

[41] Appleyard and Salzmann continued that "as former Lehman employees wandered off against the media backdrop of Hirsts flying off the walls, art world insiders wondered what was going to happen to the art collections they had amassed" (2012: 28).

[42] According to the Wits website, "David Goldblatt is one of South Africa s most significant artists and one of the most influential photographers in the world today. For almost 35 years he has produced images of startling clarity and vision, ranging from nuanced and evocative portraits to striking explorations of the structure of urban and rural inequality in South Africa" (University of Witwatersrand). Goldblatt is represented by the Goodman.

[43] O'Toole alluded to the fast pace at which Subotzky's career seemed to be developing at this time by saying that "Three years separate the opening of Mikhael Subotzky's debut exhibition inside Pollsmoor Prison on the eleventh anniversary of South Africa's democracy (27 April 2005) and the publication of his first book, *Beaufort West*" (2012: 445).

In 2008, at the age of 28, Subotzky was the youngest ever photographer to be invited to become a member of the esteemed Magnum Photo Agencies.[44] Magnum is the "most prestigious group of photographers in the world" (Altschuler 2011: 62) that puts potential candidates through rigorous selection criteria.[45] Subotzky became a full member of Magnum in 2011. He described the application process as "long and convoluted", a process that was "separate" from the Goodman (Subotzky 2015). This is another example of Subotzky's own agency and ambition that operates independently from the Goodman. Dundas elaborated on how important it is for an artist to have a hand in their career choices: "What a gallery does for the artist is important, but it is equally important for the artist to promote themselves. If they really have a clear concept of where they want to go, where they see themselves, and they have that drive to be ambitious. It will happen" (Dundas 2015). It is clear that cultural capital surrounding an artist is not only due to actions by the gallery they are represented by but the artist's own willingness to take action in their career.

Dundas described another significant event in Subotzky's professional career in 2008: he was offered an exhibition with a New York based gallery (not mentioned here by name by request of Dundas). Subotzky decided at a later stage that he did not want to go through with the show. The New York gallery employees made it clear that they were disappointed with his decision, and that they would not be voting for the acquisition of his *Beaufort West* (2007) body of work into MoMA's collection, as some were members of the board that made such decisions. Nonetheless, the vote was still clearly swayed positively towards Subotzky, and MoMA acquired the entire body of work. Once again Subotzky's agency is highlighted here:

[44] According to O'Toole, "Initially motivated by a somewhat stern, almost idealistic belief in the capabilities of documentary photography, Subotzky early on in his career began to qualify his ambitions. In 2007 he was accepted as a nominee member of Magnum Photos, a cooperative photography agency found in 1947 and long at the vanguard of documentary practice" (2012: 448). This is the second time Subotzky's youth has been mentioned in relation to his career, Bester's comment regarding *Snap Judgements* was the first, and now O'Toole's comment in relation to him joining Magnum. What this brings to the fore is how quickly Subotzky's career developed.

[45] According to the Magnum website, "Magnum Photos is a co-operative owned and run by its members/photographers. They meet once a year during the last weekend in June to discuss the organization's affairs. One day at this meeting is set aside for considering and voting on potential new members' portfolios. Successful applicants will be invited to become a 'Nominee Member' of Magnum, a category of membership which presents an opportunity for Magnum and the individual to get to know each other, but where there are no binding commitments on either side. In each of the last 5 years, between zero and four new nominees have been selected from among the many portfolios presented. After two years of Nominee membership, photographers then present another portfolio if they wish to apply for 'Associate Membership'. If successful, the photographer then becomes bound by all the rules of the agency, and enjoys all the facilities of its offices and worldwide representation. The only difference between an Associate Member and a full Member is that an Associate Member is not a Director of the Company and does not have voting rights in its corporate decision making. Finally, after another two years, an Associate member wishing to apply for full membership presents a further portfolio of work for consideration by the members. Once elected as a full member, this effectively confers membership of Magnum for life or for as long as the photographer chooses" (Magnum Photos).

his thought applied to his career trajectory. It appeared however, in Essers' interview, that he did not make this decision alone. Essers mentioned that, "Mikhael was, right from 2008, offered shows at major New York galleries. But most were 2nd tier galleries. The great thing about Mikhael was him trusting me saying they are not the right gallery and that he shouldn't settle" (Essers 2014). Subotzky's decision seems to have been discussed with, or even influenced by, Essers, and whilst it appears that he made the choice himself, he had the backing of the Goodman behind his decision. The Goodman can, therefore, also provide support in terms of career choices that might have an impact on the artist's cultural capital.

In 2009 and 2010, Subotzky continued to take part in local and international exhibitions.[46] In 2011 a portrait of Subotzky graced the cover of the South African Art Times. The SA Art Times is a local arts publication established because, according to its founder, Gabriel Clark-Brown:

> For the sake of growing the visual arts community, there was a need for information-sharing that was not purely academic or commercial, but grass-roots in nature. So, the South African Art Times was started in December 2006 (Art Times About Us).

The SA Art Times, as indicated by Clark-Brown's quote, does not see itself as purely "academic or commercial", and therefore places itself at the nexus of the commercial and non-commercial art industries. Featuring in art critical writing, let alone on the cover of a publication, shall be elaborated on more in Chapter 3, but it can be noted here that this was a sure sign of Subotzky's newsworthiness, of his relevance to the commercial and non-commercial South African art industries.

In 2012, Subotzky was awarded the Standard Bank Young Artist of the Year for Visual Arts prize,[47] and produced the exhibition and catalogue titled *Retinal Shift* (2012).[48]

[46] In 2009 Subotzky showed in *Still Revolution: Suspended In Time*, Contact Photo Festival, Toronto, USA; *Nation State*, Goodman Gallery Cape, Cape Town, South Africa; *Armory Show*, Goodman Gallery, New York, USA; *Mythologies*, Haunch of Venison, London, England; *Three Stories: Pieter Hugo, Mikhael Subotzky, Paolo Woods*, Centre National de la Audiovisuel, Luxembourg, Luxembourg. In 2010 he showed in *Peekaboo! Current South Africa*, Helsinki City Museum and Tennispalast, Helsinki, Finland; 12th Cairo Biennale; *In Context*, South African National Gallery and Arts on Main, Cape Town and Johannesburg; *Contemporary African Photography from the Walther Collection: Events of the Self, Portraiture and Social Identity*, The Walther Collection, Ulm.

[47] He was also included in two other exhibitions, both located overseas: *State of the Art Photography*, The NRW-Forum, Dusseldorf and *Out of Focus: Photography*, Saatchi Gallery, London. The Standard Bank Young Artist Award "grants the winner a travelling solo exhibition, which customarily starts at the Monument Gallery in Grahamstown and then shows at as many public institutions around the country as are able to include it in their annual programme" (Buys 2012: 399). For *Retinal Shift*, these included the Iziko South African National Gallery, Cape Town and Standard Bank Gallery, Johannesburg.

Subotzky stated that "*Retinal Shift* was a very serious body of work for me. It was a lot of work" (Subotzky 2014). He mentioned that, for him, the value in the award lay in the way it enabled him to "do something new" (Subotzky 2014). He stated that "I felt my work was often misunderstood in South Africa, that it was often seen as documentary, so I saw the award as an opportunity to re-calibrate perceptions about my work" (Subotzky 2014). This attitude Subotzky had towards trying to "re-calibrate" perceptions towards his work extended beyond this exhibition into later bodies of work.

Mikhael Subotzky's Recent Career: 2012 Onwards

The relationship originally forged by the Goodman between Enwezor and Subotzky has paid off in numerous ways. In 2012-2013,[49] Subotzky was included in Enwezor's *Rise and Fall of Apartheid*,[50] a blockbuster show curated by Enwezor and Bester, and again in 2015 as Subotzky's work was chosen by Enwezor for the 56th International Art Exhibition at

[48] *Retinal Shift* was a momentous exhibition for Subotzky in that it allowed him to move away from the photographic medium, an indication that he is willing to take risks as an artist and not settle into the medium that he was finding commercial success in. *Retinal Shift* included a multiplicity of media: archival portraits from the last century, found surveillance footage, Subotzky's own photographs from various series' that are re-contextualised, CCTV footage, and Moses and Griffiths, an installation (O'Toole: 2012). Alan Crump, the curator of *Standard Bank Young Artist Awards, 25 Years* (2009), described the particulars of the award and the requirements of the winner: "A full solo exhibition of mostly new work had to be produced within the time of confirmation and the next festival, which was approximately a year. The new works might reflect a development of existing images or could depart into new creative areas…Another aspect of the prize for an award of this stature was a montary portion that would enable the artist to produce the works. Another unique inclusion to this award was the funding for a catalogue of each exhibition…This document…becomes an invaluable publication that remains after the dismantling of the exhibition and is probably the most difficult element in an exhibition for a young artist to finance…Seldom produced in South Africa due to financial constraints by commercial galleries and art museums, this is not the case abroad. It is an automatic requirement for international exhibitions" (Crump 2009: 16).

[49] In 2013, Subotzky's work was included in: *This House in Nouvelles Vagues*, Palais de Tokyo, Paris; *My Jo'burg*, La Maison Rouge, Paris, France; *Some Views of Africa*, Studio La Citta, Verona, Italy; *Earth Matters*, Smithsonian National Museum of African Art, Washington, USA; *Concrete – Photography and Architecture*, Fotomuseum Winterthur, Switzerland; *Structures*, Goodman Gallery, Cape Town, South Africa; *A Different Kind of Order*, The ICP Triennial, International Center of Photography, New York, USA; La Chambre, Strasbourg, France. 2014 exhibitions include: *Ponte City*, LE BAL, Paris; *From Sitting to Selfie*, Standard Bank Gallery, South Africa; *Destini/Storie/Vite*, Centro Arte Moderna e Contemporanea della Spezia, La Spezia-Italy; *Apartheid & After*, Huis Marseilles Museum voor Fotografie, Amsterdam; *Surfacing*, Goodman Gallery, Cape Town; *EXPO*, Museu de Arte Moderna in Rio de Janeiro; *In Context: The Portrait in Contemporary Photographic Practice*, Wellin Museum of Art, Clinton, New York State; *Public Intimacy: Art and Other Ordinary Acts in South Africa*, SF MOMA in partnership with the Yerba Buena Center for the Arts (YBCA), San Francisco, USA; *Contemporary Art/South Africa*, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut, USA*; Earth Matters*, Bowdoin Museum of Art, Brunswick, Maine, United States.

[50] *The Rise and Fall of Apartheid* was curated by Okwui Enwezor and Rory Bester. The Rise and Fall of Apartheid website describes the show as follows: "[The exhibition] offers an unprecedented and comprehensive historical overview of the pictorial response to apartheid. Based on more than six years of research, the exhibition examines the aesthetic power of the documentary form – from the photo essay to reportage, social documentary to photojournalism and art – in recording, analysing, articulating and confronting the legacy of apartheid, including its impact on everyday life now in South Africa" (Rise and Fall of Apartheid).

the Venice Biennale, *All the World's Futures* (09/05/2015 - 22/11/2015). According to Bester:

> Subotzky is motivated and knows how to network like no other artist in the Goodman stable. None of them network as hard as Subotzky. Other artists may ask 'How did Subotzky get to do this, how did Subotzky get included in that?' Sure, it's Goodman. But Subotzky is also doing a lot of the work. His visibility is secured as much by himself as it is by the Goodman. He works really hard. And good for him for doing it. Photographers are often so passive about getting their work out there, over-relying on the gallery to do all of that for them (Bester 2015).

Subotzky's strategic networking and agency could only play in his favour, and it is apparent that support from the Goodman has been so successful because it has operated in conjunction with Subotzky's own ambitions.

What we have seen in this chapter is how Subotzky's *embodied, objectified* and *institutionalised* cultural capital have all come together, and the role of the Goodman in this process, but we have also seen evidence of Subotzky's own agency, and how his attitude towards his career has created opportunities beyond the Goodman. According to Velthuis, "the relationship between an artist and a gallery is supposed to be monogamous" (2005: 56). What this chapter has shown is that while Subotzky has been exhibited with other galleries, curators and institutions, this has all been largely organised through the Goodman. In this way, whilst it may appear that Subotzky is not "monogamous" with the Goodman, every relationship has been mediated by them, which indicates that in some sense they are exclusive. What Velthuis calls the "intimate nature of ties" (2005: 57) between artists and dealers appears as a complex, often an emotional relationship, but one that is primarily strategic. The next chapter shall explore the history and position of the Goodman and the commercial art industry in which it exists.

Chapter 2

The Commercial South African Art Industry and the Goodman Gallery

> "The role that gallerists play in formulation of the canon is undeniable –especially considering how few contemporary art galleries existed until quite recently."
> (Kritzinger 2013: 35)

Kritzinger's quote highlights the significance of the role of commercial galleries in terms of what the South African art industry deems as important, as well as the growth that

this sector has experienced in recent times.[51] In order to create an understanding of the role the Goodman has played in bolstering cultural capital surrounding Subotzky, this chapter describes the commercial South African art industry, the history and position of the Goodman within the industry, and the Goodman's relationship with Subotzky. It would be too lengthy for this paper to recount the entire history of the almost fifty year old gallery, so this particular history is a condensed version, with events that I believe are relevant to the research question posed in this paper being highlighted. Once I have examined the local commercial art industry and the history of the Goodman, I look at commercial exhibitions Subotzky has been featured in, his sales results on the primary market and the secondary market.

The Commercial South African Art Industry

The commercial sector of the South African art industry is run mainly by commercial galleries and auction houses.[52] Fedderke & Li's paper *Art in Africa: Market Structure and Pricing Behaviour in the South African Fine Art Auction Market 2009 – 2013* (2014) is an in-depth analysis of the two highest grossing auction houses in South Africa.[53] Their paper is useful for understanding the structure of the commercial art industry in South Africa. They say:

> At the primary level, individual artists supply works to galleries, local art fairs, collective exhibitions, small dealers and private buyers. At the secondary level, art markets located mostly in major cities, such as Cape Town and Johannesburg, where art is frequently traded. In those cities, established artists, dealers, and public or private collectors circulate works by artists who have managed to make the transition from the primary market. Finally, at the highest level, the international market is characterised by the activities of the major auction houses such as Sotheby's or Christies (2014: 3).

What this quote demonstrates, by saying "managed to make the transition", is that featuring on the secondary market indicates progress for an artist and that featuring on international auctions is an even greater achievement. The local commercial art industry is

[51] Nicola Kritzinger's research report, *The Public Influence of the Private Collector: a Hand in History* (2013), discusses the nature of collecting in South Africa. Her exploration of the local art industry makes her research report a key text for this paper. Whilst I do understand that this paper was submitted as part of a student's Masters degree, and thus acknowledge that it did not go through as many rigorous academic processes before being published as some other texts quoted in this paper, it must be noted that it was written within an academic setting, making it appropriate for me to quote from it.

[52] I do acknowledge that there are other contributors to this sector, such as the museums, public galleries and collectors that purchase art, but their involvement is less overt than commercial galleries and auction houses. For this reason I discuss non-commercial institutions and collectors in Chapter 3.

[53] Strauss & Co. and Stephan Welz and Co. are the primary South African fine art auction houses and handle majority of the auction sales in South Africa in recent years.

constantly developing, particularly since 1994 when South Africa entered its new democratic era and the social, political, economic and cultural landscape was re-shaped (Labuscagne 2010).[54] The Goodman, before 1994, was one of the few galleries that supported and promoted artists of colour despite the trouble that this created between Givon and the authorities (Labuscagne 2010: 58-59), contributing to the legacy of the Goodman that shall be discussed further in this chapter.

Dundas commented on the growth spurt that the commercial gallery industry in South Africa has experienced since 1994:

> The playing field is widening. Which is a very good thing; competition is important. And once the doors opened to South Africa's art world, more and more people have been catching on. There is a wide enough pie for people to come and take a slice of. But it was important to Mikhael to be accepted straight away by a big gallery and be part of a place that could support him and back him up (Dundas 2015).

Dundas' statement sheds light on the influx of post-1994 "competition" that has created a more diverse South African commercial art industry, but reinforces the Goodman's status as a "big" gallery, suggesting, as this paper does, that the Goodman still exists at the forefront of the commercial gallery sector. The commercial galleries within this sector form a network of financial support for South African contemporary artists.[55] This is the current context for South African commercial art galleries, but the context in which Givon opened the Goodman was a very different one.

1966- 2008: The Goodman Gallery and Linda Givon

The Goodman was founded in 1966 in Johannesburg by Linda Givon (then Goodman). Born in Johannesburg in 1936, Givon graduated from Wits with a Bachelor of Arts degree. She then graduated from the London School of Dramatic Art with a teaching and acting diploma, followed by a year's internship at the Grosvenor Gallery in London. Givon

[54] Monna Mokoena is one example of a black gallerist opening a commercial art gallery post-1994. Mokoena's gallery, Momo, opened its doors in 2003 in Johannesburg, and displays local and international contemporary art.
[55] You might ask: why do artists not simply sell their work straight from their studios? Winkleman answers this question in saying that artists benefit from gallery representation because "a gallery represents a credible context for representing work" (2009: 191). As this paper demonstrates, galleries can perform is significant role in constructing cultural capital around the artists they represent, supposedly leaving the artist to focus on the production of their work. I have found this to be the case for with artists I work with: if an artist focuses too much on selling their work, they start producing the wrong kind of art.

returned to South Africa and opened the Goodman's doors in Hyde Park in 1966 (Williamson 1999). An article in the Artlook magazine discussed the opening of this new gallery:

> It was November 25 (1966) that saw the opening of Johannesburg's newest gallery, the Goodman Gallery. Givon's policy is simply to show the latest trends in the art of England and Italy, and also of South Africa, at prices serious collectors and followers can afford… Mrs. Goodman, who learned the art business in London, plans only about four or five splash exhibitions a year. The rest she will show from stock (Day 1966).[56]

As mentioned in Chapter 1, South Africa in 1966 was experiencing a time of social, political and economic upheaval, and was under international pressure to abolish its Apartheid laws. Geographically, South Africa is distant from the Western world, but the sanctions removed South Africa on a social, political, economic and cultural level. The local atmosphere of the time was one of desperation, of grasping at links to the outside world, and it was fashionable at the time to showcase international artists in South Africa. It was in this context, where the South African gallery community was trying to connect to the international art world, that Givon opened her gallery with the intention primarily to show international art.

According to Bester, Artlook was an "influential" (2007: 57) art magazine, and while it lacked critical gravitas (Bester 2007), it was the only South African art magazine that discussed the South African art industry during the 1960s, and published consistent gallery listings. It has allowed me to understand who the major galleries and artists were during that time. Artlook was published between 1966 and 1977, and during this period it seems, according to the listings, that the main galleries were Gallery 101, Egon Guenther, Lidchi Gallery, Avant-Garde Gallery, The Little Gallery, Pieter Wenning Gallery, Whippman's Gallery, Mona Lisa Gallery, and the Goodman Gallery. The few number of articles on the Goodman suggest that it was very much the newcomer.

An Artlook article titled *A Blast-Off Plan for Jejeune Joburg*, says "Linda Goodman has come up with the idea of starting an art discussion group, which she hopes will later grow into something more vital. To launch it, she is arranging a series of 12 weekly lectures, some of them to be given by artists" (Day 1967: 14). The article does not list the speakers, but it is interesting to note that Givon was positioning the Goodman as a dynamic space, as an

[56] This December issue of Artlook lists the "Opening-of-gallery show of international and SA artists, including Chagall, Dufy, Giocametti, Kandinsky, Klee, Matisse, Picasso, Villon" (1966: 20).

innovative contributor to the South African art industry that did not only have commercial ambitions in mind. By distancing the institution from a purely economic stance, Givon was cultivating cultural capital around the Goodman. This cultural capital embedded within the gallery may have influenced Subotzky to choose the Goodman to represent him.

In March 1968 Vol 2, the cover of Artlook featured an artwork by Paul Codling. The inside cover page captions the image as follows: "One of the vivid colour combinations in the *Coleman-Codling* show, currently at the Goodman Gallery in Johannesburg. The whole show, bright and thoroughly with-it, is making a powerful impression" (Greig 1968: 1). This idea was extended within the issue, with an article titled *Coleman and Codling* saying that "Johannesburg's swingiest art show has just opened in the Goodman Gallery…This show breaks new ground both in direction as well as in materials and techniques" (Greig 1968: 16). This is the first article appearing in Artlook suggesting that the Goodman was making an impact on the South African commercial art industry.

Remarkably, from December 1968, when Artlook came under new management, Givon inserted herself from time to time into Artlook in the position of a writer.[57] Her first article, titled *Roy Witlin* (1968: 18-19), frames the artist as being significant on the international arts platform: "His paintings belong to the Hard Edge movement in the contemporary art scene. This movement is new and largely misunderstood in South Africa, although fully recognized internationally. We tend to reject rather than accept Hard Edge because of lack of knowledge." She then lists Witlin's previous international exhibitions, and ends off with "He is due to exhibit at The Goodman Gallery for the first time in South Africa in March 1969" (1968: 19). To have a gallerist in the position of a writer, scolding the South African audience for not being more adventurous in their tastes, shows evidence of Givon's increasing integration into other aspects of the South African art industry.[58] It appears here that Givon was positioning herself as a willing trend-setter and educator.

Over the next 42 years, Givon would build the Goodman brand to be the frontrunner of South African contemporary art, an identity strongly intertwined with her own. In 1999,

[57] The first page of this edition states "With this issue Artlook falls under new ownership and management. The well-known publisher, Edward Braby, has purchased the entire control and rights to those magazines previously published by Lithographic Publications (Pty). Ltd." (1968: 1).

[58] Givon also positions herself as an interviewer in some editions of Artlook, interviewing artists that are due to exhibit at the Goodman. For instance, in 1969 Linda interviews Christo Coetzee in an article titled *Interview between Christo Coetzee and Linda Goodman* (1969: 10) and later in 1969 there is an *Interview between Linda Goodman and Nesta Hillman* (1969: 26). The latter article features a large portrait of Givon and of Hillman, captioned as "Nesta Hillman who will be exhibiting at the Goodman Gallery from 11th to 26th July" (1969: 10).

Sue Williamson, "an influential and highly respected [South African] writer and cultural worker" (Gurney 2003), wrote an article for ArtThrob about the Goodman, stating that:

> It is almost impossible to imagine what the South African art scene would be today had the Goodman Gallery never existed. And Linda Givon is the Goodman Gallery. Givon has…been immensely enabling in helping art and artists participate in international exhibitions. But in the end a gallery is judged by the quality of the work it shows, and although of course no gallery can get it right 100% of the time, the Goodman has been by far the most consistent over the years (Williamson 1999).

Williamson's article highlights the inextricable reputations of the Goodman and its founder. It also emphasises the position of the Goodman within the South African art industry: that of an innovator and a consistent contributor to the industry.

Givon's status was also underpinned by her philanthropic activities, detailed here by *Philanthropy SA*: "Ms Givon…donated a substantial starting gift towards building a new art gallery at Wits University, and has set up a fundraising committee for the gallery and inspired others to match and increase her gift. For many years, Givon has been a major donor of art to institutions around the country."[59] This quote speaks to Winkleman's notion of the "promotional strategies" (2009: 191) that commercial galleries employ in order to position their artists within non-commercial "museums or other institutions" who are often unwilling to have their academic approach "tinged by commercial concerns" (2009: 37). This is not to say that Givon's intentions were not purely based in wanting to support a non-commercial arts institution, but, as Chapter 3 shall demonstrate, non-commercial art institutions' collections are contributors to artists' cultural capital, and if the gallerist has a relationship with an institution based on patronage, one could assume that this institution might readily support the gallerist's artists in return by choosing to purchase and display their works. What is more, *Philanthropy SA*'s quote suggests that the institutions do not even need to purchase these works, but have works donated to them by the gallerist.

Givon's character and drive are often credited with building the Goodman up to where it is today, as is shown in this quote by Labuscagne:

[59] *Gauteng.Net* reinforces this view of Givon, saying that "Givon created a space to support artists and encourage them to exhibit works that challenged the tenets of apartheid and fostered cultural exchange in a racially divided country. After South Africa's democratic transition in 1994, the gallery shifted its focus to reflect the new dispensation, exhibiting work with local and global socio-political themes."

> Givon is a notoriously difficult character, a fact often mentioned by members of the art community and especially other gallerists. Her gallery assistant, Kirsty Wesson's description of her long time boss and mentor below is cautious yet displays a high level of respect. I position it here to introduce this formidable figure in the local art landscape from an insider's perspective: "She was the only person who was showing any black artists in the '60s, she was arrested by the security police and did all sorts of things. And I mean if it was not for her, the art world, or the landscape could be very different" (2010: 58-59).

Labuscagne's quote here serves, once again, to anchor the Goodman's position in the South African art industry, and demonstrates how a gallery can have *objectified* cultural capital built up around it.[60] Givon's cultural capital appears to be entangled with both the reputation she built for the Goodman and for herself, starting with her training at Wits and London, and later her position as a prominent gallerist. For a young Subotzky entering the South African art industry there would be a sense of certainty, of security in choosing to be represented by an institution so firmly surrounded by cultural capital.

Givon, often considered to be "a doyenne of the South African art world" (Inyaletho Philanthropy Awards), mirrors Velthuis' statement that "Dealers are *cultural* institutions which serve as gatekeepers to the art world; they elect and select artists from the many who seek to be represented, and promote new, innovative values that may go against the grain" (Velthuis 2005: 23). Velthuis' point here, whilst validating the significance of the gallerist, also suggests a sense of exclusion. A "gatekeeper" is one who lets people in, but also shuts others out. Within my personal capacity as the curator of a commercial art gallery, I often feel the weight of this responsibility, a feeling that became the driving force behind this paper. Whilst there are more South African galleries now than there was when Givon started the Goodman, this claim by Velthuis does bring to the fore the complications that come with the influence that commercial galleries can have on South African art history. An influence that, I believe, is not recognised sufficiently in our local art history literature.[61]

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[60] Freschi underpinned the prominent status of the Goodman by claiming that, "Goodman really holds the prime spot. And it has since the 1960s. I would go so far as to say that Givon almost single handily created a market for South African contemporary art. But she was not alone in this; she came around in a time when there was a shift towards a new kind of understanding of the South African art market and what it was capable of doing. Linda was basing her business model on what she had observed overseas, and she brought that to Johannesburg. It was an extraordinary leap of faith and vision. I mean the legacy of that has been extraordinary. If you look at the kind of artists that have been associated with Goodman over the years it is the ultimate who's who of South African serious contemporary art" (Freschi 2015). This lengthy quote serves to confirm the status of the Gallery and Givon's role within it.

[61] In 1996, Givon moved the Gallery from Hyde Park to its current location at an intersection on Jan Smuts Avenue. The location of the Gallery changed because the Goodman was growing and needed a larger space. Nairne expands on this concept of gallery location by saying that, "This activity (of staging contemporary art exhibitions) needs to be understood in terms of the relationship between exhibitions and their various purposes, audiences and locations. The commercial gallery dealer selects artists with sales in mind and chooses a building

In 2005, when Subotzky and Givon became acquainted, the Goodman held a powerful position in the South African art scene, but it was not the only significant commercial gallery in the local art industry. The Stevenson Gallery and Momo Gallery, as mentioned earlier by Essers, were also, and still are, influential institutions. Despite this, Subotzky chose the Goodman to represent him and to assist with his construction of cultural capital.

In contrast to the concerns highlighted by South African art industry members in Chapter 1 by Gurney, the art market on an international scale, according to Velthuis in his article *Accounting for Taste*, was booming in 2005: "In 2005 prices for contemporary art had surpassed their '80s peak. In the following two years, prices rose even faster, making the boom of two decades before seem a mere bump" (2008: 306). As mentioned earlier, the South African market cannot be equated to the international market, but, as the Goodman was operating on an international scale, taking part in international art fairs and biennales and dealing in art by international artists, it was, on some level, a participant in this global art market.

From 2005 until 2008, Givon and Subotzky's relationship developed, but Givon was only with the Goodman for three years after Subotzky joined. In 2007, they opened the Cape Town branch, indicating the breadth and depth of their market and their ability to fill an exhibition schedule with enough exhibitions for two South African cities.

2008 – Present: The Goodman Gallery and Liza Essers

In 2008 Liza Essers purchased the Goodman. As mentioned earlier, the economic climate was strenuous in 2008, both locally and abroad, but the sale went through and many believed it to be the end of an era. Labuscagne mentions how the sale of the Goodman is framed in the 2008 FNB Joburg Art Fair Catalogue:

> Consulting the catalogue for some context, you would have noticed that the section on the Goodman Gallery deviated from a clear formula applied to all the other galleries...The Goodman pages read as a narrative and told the story of the gallery owner over the past four decades through pictures…One might have read this as a nostalgic 'looking back' over the years of the gallery under the reign of Givon, as she was at the time on the brink of handing the entire empire over to a much younger art enthusiast, Liza Essers (2010: 58). [62]

with clients in mind, the question of where they will travel being critical" (Nairne 1999: 110). Labuscagne states that "their location has become the anchor of an 'art strip' of recent times as more and more smaller galleries have clustered around them" (2010: 58-59).

[62] Labuscagne continues in describing the Goodman's 2008 stand at the Joburg Art Fair: "Hung on the outside wall of this large booth, facing the corridor, were signature works by three of South Africa's most successful and influential artists: a large William Kentridge tapestry; an equally large Sam Nhlengethwa 'Jazz' diptych and a David Goldblatt South African landscape photograph – for any passer-by, these works would have announced,

The sale of the Goodman resulted in rampant gossip in the South African art industry as to its new owner, which was fuelled by the decision of Deborah Bell, a contemporary South African artist, to leave the Goodman and join the Everard Read Gallery shortly after Givon left (Dundas 2015). Whilst her reasons for leaving were never made public, the chatter in the art industry suggested that it had to do with the artist's lack of confidence in the Goodman's new ownership. Subotzky, however, stayed; demonstrating the artist's mainstay in being able to withstand this transition without affecting his work, and even using it to his advantage, as both he and Essers had ambitions to be more internationally recognised.

Freschi's following statement frames Liza's takeover of the Goodman:

> Liza has taken the same principles that Linda took and reinvented them for the 2000's. She has a vision of how the Goodman could function internationally. She is willing to take a risk here where the market is not as developed and is not as deep and does not have the ready capital. The Goodman is in many ways synonymous with serious-minded contemporary SA art. I think the work you are doing now will be the first of serious engagement of what is meant in the construction of the canon of South African contemporary art. It is a hugely interesting and important field of study (Freschi 2015).

Freschi's statement underpins Essers' ambitions to broaden the international scope of the Goodman's reach, a strategy that appears to have worked in the Goodman's favour and has allowed it to reinvent itself, rather than causing its downfall.[63] Whilst I acknowledge Essers' contribution to the Goodman, and her own cultural capital, I have chosen not to look at Essers' biography in the same way as Givon's, as Givon's biography was related here primarily to create an understanding of the founding and position of the Goodman within the South African art industry. Now that I have established what the South African commercial art industry looks like, and how the Goodman is positioned within that industry, I will look at commercial exhibitions and their potential impact on Subotzky's cultural capital.

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not only the Goodman Gallery's muscle in the art world, but the top of South African art in local and international terms. While looking at these works, you might have overheard, as I had, that the Kentridge and Nhlengethwa pieces were sold on the opening night of the fair, for just under R500'000 each" (2010: 58-59).

[63] Bester echoed Freschi's statements when asked what he thought about Goodman's position: "Until Stevenson came along Goodman was the premier art gallery in South Africa. When Goodman started in the mid-1960s they only showed international artists, but since starting to show local artists they have been instrumental in South African exhibition history. But because Goodman is the surviving gallery from that era we mustn't assume that they were the only dominant player. In the 1960s and 1970s there were many other galleries operating in Johannesburg in particular that were very influential. They might not have had the financial clout of Goodman but they showed important artists and hosted influential exhibitions" (Bester 2015).

Commercial Exhibitions

According to Sandy Nairne, the director of the National Portrait Gallery in London who has written several papers on the contemporary art market, exhibitions can be used "as a way of calculating reputation or standing in the art world, using exhibitions as the dominant guide to the use value of an artist and the price of work as an indicator of exchange value" (1999: 115).[64] Greenberg et al., in *Thinking about Exhibitions,* state that "exhibitions have become *the* medium through which most art becomes known" and that they "establish and administer the cultural meanings of art" (1996: 2). This statement is echoed in Paula Marincola's assertion that "exhibitions are strategically located at the nexus where artists, their work, the arts institution, and many different publics intersect" (2006: 9). Whilst Nairne, Greenberg et al. and Marincola are all speaking about non-commercial exhibitions, these points lead us to the understanding that both the quantity and quality of art exhibitions in which an artist's work is included can have a direct impact on the cultural capital surrounding the artist.[65] Exhibitions within commercial spaces may be seen as curated purely to sell art, and are therefore often overlooked by academics (Gule 2013).[66] These shows, nonetheless, increase the artist's newsworthiness and assist with the creation of material, whether they are the actual artworks, or the attention around them, which aids in garnering future research on these artists by historians, such as the present work I am engaged in. Commercial exhibitions also indicate a sense of commitment from the gallery's side: if they are willing to fill up the prime real estate of their walls, the space used to house the items they wish to sell, they clearly believe in the saleability of the artist's work.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Subotzky was included in numerous exhibitions both locally and internationally, at the Goodman itself, at galleries that the Goodman had introduced Subotzky to, and on art fairs in the Goodman's booth. Subotzky's inclusions in international exhibitions as a result of introductions by the Goodman indicate a thought-

[64] Nairne continued in stating that "There are an increasing number of exhibition venues, both private and public, despite differing aims and approaches, are the common ground through which collectors, critics and curators are connected. Exhibitions are central to the economic and social system within which all art is produced, distributed and debated" (1999: 113). He said that "The role for exhibitions [and their curatorship] at the centre of the economics of the art world is also in tension with their educational role as a vehicle for communication with the public" (Nairne 1999: 117).

[65] According to Emma Barker, exhibitions "arguably dominate the public perception of art" (1999: 103) and are "the primary site of exchange in the political economy of art, where signification is constructed, maintained and occasionally deconstructed. Part spectacle, part socio-historical event, part structuring device, exhibitions – especially exhibitions of contemporary art – establish and administer the cultural meanings of art" (1999: 7).

[66] Reviewing a Nicholas Hlobo exhibition at the Stevenson Gallery in Johannesburg, May 2013, Khwezi Gule said: "I feel ambivalent when writing reviews of commercial shows. After all, it is not as though the curatorial aspect is going to be presented with a critical edge. Art in the commercial context hardly provides something one can sink one's teeth into, something to rip apart" (2013).

through strategy in terms of the exhibition schedule by the gallery. It is also often through these exhibitions that sales are made, speaking to Bourdieu's idea that cultural capital can turn into economic capital (1986: 243).

Sales and Prices Achieved for Artworks

Whilst fine art is meant to be produced without commercial aspirations in mind, artists are still members of society who have monetary obligations to meet, and should therefore obtain some degree of financial comfort in achieving high prices for their artworks. According to Nairne:

> In most economic systems the price of a commodity is influenced by the supply, by the demand as well as the quality of its construction and materials. Art, however, is a product in which there is always a very limited supply because it is made not just by an individual but by a particular artist. Compared to the association of the work of art with a specific name, the actual qualities of the object itself may not count for very much. Demand thus becomes the crucial factor in the art market, with huge prices being paid for the work of a few sought-after artists while the great majority find it difficult to make a living at all (1999: 114).

This quote suggests that it is not always the actual art object that is worth something, but rather the name attached to it. Nairne is speaking about "sought-after" artists; artists that have substantial cultural capital built up around them, and their ensuing financial success. This notion highlights the plight of the contemporary artist: maintaining artistic integrity whilst earning a living is often a difficult balance to strike. The pressure to produce unique, expressive works of art exists in conjunction with the financial pressure that artists feel by existing in a commodified world. Achieving high prices can not only provide the artist with an easier financial life, but also creates an increased sense of value and desirability for the artist's work (McNulty 2006: 5).[67] What, you might ask, would compel someone to spend money on an artwork in the first place? Bourdieu himself answers this question by saying that "Cultural goods can be appropriated both materially, which presupposes economic capital, and symbolically, which presupposes cultural capital" (1986: 247). Bourdieu is suggesting that cultural goods, including artworks, are acquired in order to imbue the buyer with a particular cultural status. This is no doubt one of the countless reasons why people purchase

[67] Sagot-Duvaroux et. al.'s paper *Factors Affecting Price on the Contemporary Art Market* (1992) explores, in some ways similarly to this paper, various factors that impact the value of an artist's artworks. A statement they made in their text echoes the point I am trying to make here. They say that in a market, "price symbolises quality" (1992: 98), which is an idea I am establishing by saying that the price of that an artist's work does not only make his life easier, it also indicates cultural capital.

art, but I am highlighting Bourdieu's view in the matter here to demonstrate the tandem play between cultural and economic capital, one that favours both the artists and the buyer.

In an article titled *The View Looking Up* (2006) Gurney stated that, "Cape Town-based artist Jacki McInnes acquired a couple of limited edition photographic prints by Mikhael Subotzky at the time of his 2005 UCT degree show. When exhibited one year later, the same body of work had appreciated by 1000 per cent" (Gurney 2006).[68] One can see here the effects that economic guidance from a commercial gallery can have on an artist's market.

Winkleman elaborates on the concept of pricing an artist's work by stating that:

> Working with an artist to ensure that you are pricing the work appropriately is not just a matter of appeasing an ego or moving inventory; there are long-term considerations for both of you, the most important of which is building a stable, steady market of verifiable value…That does not mean price-fixing or anything illegal, just practical business decisions designed to ensure that you conscientiously build a market based on solid, credible pricing and never lose sight of the fact that all markets fluctuate (2009: 40).

What Winkleman is implying is that there are highly complex, subjective decisions made by the gallery in terms of pricing, something I have found to be true in my own experience working in South African commercial art galleries. It is interesting to note then, that the Goodman felt it could increase the pricing of Subotzky's works so dramatically and so quickly, indicating that they recognised cultural capital that could be converted to economic capital.

Sales results from Subotzky's exhibitions at the Goodman have not been obtainable despite repeated e-mailed requests for this information to three separate Goodman employees (06/04/2015; 08/05/2015; 20/05/2015). It is not clear where this reticence comes from, as pricelists are readily available to any visitors to the Goodman during exhibitions. However, not sharing this kind of information could be a result of the Goodman's wish to resist a direct analysis of the price increases of Subotzky's work, or for other reasons unknown to me.[69] I am, therefore, unable to determine the prices that Subotzky's work has sold for in the Goodman. I am able, however, to look at the secondary market, which publishes its sales results online.

[68] Whilst this article stated 2005, his show was in fact, in 2004.

[69] Velthuis' statement that "Unlike the prices attained by works of art offered for sale at public auction, those paid in the retail gallery world are very difficult, and often impossible to obtain or to verify. Although the pricelist is almost always available to even the casual gallery visitor, a good deal of bargaining goes on in the art world" (2005: 13), is reflected in the Goodman's attitude towards my requests.

Sales on the Secondary Market/Auction

Alongside commercial galleries, auction houses are prominent institutional contributors to the South African commercial art industry. The number of transactions in the South African art market has increased substantially in recent times. Growing interest from "international curators, and the development of an international art market [means that] South African artists have experienced raised profiles in the global art market, including greater involvement in a range of exhibitions and biennales" (Fedderke & Li 2014: 3). Internationally, Bonhams in London is the only major auction house with a South African art department, although competition is emerging from Sotheby's and Christie's.[70]

Fedderke & Li expand on the local auction scene in comparison to the international auction scene by saying:

> At the local markets, a limited number of buyers and less liquidity obtains because of a high degree of uncertainty regarding artwork quality, at the other extreme in international markets, reputation resolves the information problem and generates a much higher number of buyers, much more liquidity and less market volatility. This would imply higher prices in international markets, with secondary markets lying in between the primary and the international market. A countervailing force would be that artists enjoy greater cultural recognition and acceptance of the aesthetics of their artworks within the regional market, thus less uncertainty and higher demand from the market. Regional (secondary) art markets may thus have some efficiency advantages due to lower information asymmetries, that allows for more ready market clearing (2014: 4).

From Fedderke & Li's quote, we can see that the South African auction industry has some catching up to do. Only in the last five years have local auction houses started introducing contemporary art into their sales. According to Kritzinger, "Contemporary mediums that are not part of the traditional canon, like new media or installation for instance, they are mediums that have found little attraction in the South African market, as the collectors here are mostly collecting works to place in their houses" (2013: 38). The slow

[70] Bonhams sells South African art, and explains this on their website: "With sales exceeding $18 million in 2011 Bonhams is the global market leader in South African Art. We hold the world records for all the major South African artists. As proved by the successful auctions, this field is no longer of purely domestic interest. Modern South African Art has been propelled into the front lines of the global art market and is still producing exceptional prices. Of particular interest are works by 20th century artists including Irma Stern, Jacob Hendrik Pierneef, Gerard Sekoto, Alexis Preller, Maud Sumner, William Kentridge and Maggie Laubser among many others" (Bonhams). Sotheby's describes itself on its website as follows: "Sotheby's is an innovative global art business serving the most discerning clients. Auctioneers since 1744, today Sotheby's is so much more, offering clients extraordinary opportunities to transact" (Sotheby's). Christies introduces itself on its website as follows: "Christie's is a name and place that speaks of extraordinary art, unparalleled service and expertise, as well as international glamour. Founded in 1766 by James Christie, Christie's has since conducted the greatest and most celebrated auctions through the centuries providing a popular showcase for the unique and the beautiful" (Christies).

introduction of contemporary art into local auctions is following an international trend that started decades ago. Kritzinger comments on this by saying:

> Cementing certain artists in the canon and placing new artists into the realm of what is relevant is facilitated by auctions, including for contemporary work with an established market, in an auction of predominantly canonical artists…Established and successful contemporary artists could also make their way into the art historical canon through auction exposure in South Africa , as is evident from auctions abroad, but because of the availability of South African contemporary work on the market often with the offer of a discount, contemporary auctions don't seem to be particularly popular at South African auction houses (2013: 64).

Kritzinger's point highlights the lack of contemporary art on local auctions, as well as the potential impact that inclusion on an auction can have on an artist's cultural capital. Subotzky has had nine lots up for sale on auction (Last checked 06/11/2015),[71] the first one being in 2010 in New York and the other eight in South Africa. The average lower and higher estimates of his works are, respectively R31'666 – R45'400. Five of the nine lots sold; their average hammer price was R37'880, which falls around the middle estimate. Without going into an in-depth analysis of auction market results, I would like rather to discuss the matter of Subotzky's inclusion in the secondary market. Just to appear on the secondary market indicates faith from the auction house, as well as the artworks' previous owners, that there should be a developed secondary market for the artist, anindicator of cultural capital. It is interesting to note that one of Subotzky's works has been sold on an international auction which, as indicated by Fedderke and Li is the "highest level" (2014: 3) an artist's work can be sold at. This lot, however, went unsold, as did three other lots out of the nine. With close to 50% of his work going unsold, one has to ask the question, was Subotzky's work put onto the secondary market too soon, before enough cultural capital has been built up around him?

[71] These lots are: Lot # 486, "Moses and Griffiths : Film Stills II" (2012), Photography , Ink-jet print , 15 cm x 26.5 cm, Estimate: €436 - €570, Hammer price: Lot not sold, Stephan Welz & Co. - Cape Town, Constantia, South Africa, 20 Oct 2015. Lot # 475, Playing with Plastic, Toekomsrus, Beaufort West, Photography , C print , 48.5 cm x 59.5 cm, Estimate: €1,981 - €2,642, Hammer price: €2,015, Strauss & Co, Cape Town, South Africa, 12 Oct 2015. Lot # 409, *Johnny Fortune* (2004), Photography , Ink-jet print , 47 cm x 70.0 cm, Estimate: €431 - €719, Hammer price: Lot not sold, Stephan Welz & Co. - Cape Town, Constantia, South Africa, 28 Oct 2014. Lot # 456, *Runner-up Miss Teen Show Competition*, Beaufort West (2006), Photography , C print , 105.5 cm x 128.0 cm, Estimate: €1,540 - €2,310, Hammer price: €1,540, Stephan Welz & Co. - Cape Town, Constantia, South Africa, 04 Jun 2013. Lot # 2, *Boat 2* (2008), Photography, Ink-jet print , 60 cm x 48.0 cm, Estimate: €2,767 - €3,558, Hammer price: €4,112, Strauss & Co, Tokai, South Africa 30 May 2013. Lot # 144, *Church group Yeoville*, Photography , Ink-jet print , 248 cm x 55.8 cm, Estimate: €2,535 - €3,380, Hammer price: €2,113, Russell Kaplan Auctioneers, Johannesburg, South Africa, 30 Mar 2013. Lot # 329, *Runner-up Miss Teen show Competition*, Beaufort West (2007), Photography , C print , 105.5 cm x 128.0 cm, Estimate: €4,160 - €6,240, Hammer price: Lot not sold, Strauss & Co, Tokai, South Africa, 07 Mar 2011. Lot # 277, *Youths, Ox and Water Cart* (2009), Photography , Photograph in colors , 46.5 cm x 69.5 cm, Estimate: €2,093 - €3,140, Hammer price: €2,722, Strauss & Co, Tokai, South Africa, 11 Oct 2010. Lot # 160, *Cell, Boorberg Prison* (2004), Photography , Digital image , 50 cm x 70.0 cm, Estimate: €3,210 - €4,815, Hammer price: Lot not sold, Phillips de Pury & Company, New York NY, United States, 15 May 2010.

There is an alternative view to auctions; according to Thornton, "most artists have never attended an art auction and have little desire to do so. They're disappointed by the way auction houses treat art like any other exchangeable commodity" (2008: 7). She also states that "primary dealers [such as the Goodman], who represent artists, mount exhibitions of work fresh out of the studio, and attempt to build artists' careers, have tended to view the auctions as amoral and almost evil" (2008: 8).[72] These points demonstrate the overtly commercial nature of auction houses' ambitions, and while this may seem problematic to some, sales of artworks from auction houses indicate a greater depth of market support, because it shows that people are not only willing to buy from a gallery, they are ready to purchase an already owned work.

Commercial galleries and auction houses do not operate solely within the commercial South African art industry. Winkleman claims that an artist's work featuring in a non-commercial exhibitions "lends credibility and prestige to their artist's careers, which can help sales", but that commercial success is essential to an artist's practical success in the world (2009: 37). Winkleman suggests that success within both industries is essential to an artist's cultural capital, and that the gallery's role in the connection between these two industries is pivotal. Winkleman, as mentioned earlier, is speaking in a North American context but, as Chapter 3 will demonstrate, the commercial and non-commercial South African art industries do work together, signifying that Winkleman's statements are also relevant to our local context. Whilst it has not been possible to establish if the Goodman has had a direct hand in Subotzky's inclusion in these auctions, what this section does establish is that an artist needs a certain degree of cultural capital around him or her to be included in these sales in the first place. One could, therefore, suggest that the impact that the Goodman has had on the construction of cultural capital around Subotzky could have far-reaching effects within the commercial sector.

I would like to end this chapter with a question, rather than a conclusion. O'Toole sent me an excerpt from an interview he had with Subotzky in 2005 at the Goodman in Johannesburg. O'Toole asked Subotzky, "Has signing up to a gallery surprised you?"

[72] Velthuis elaborates more on the difference between the primary and secondary markets: "On the primary market, new works of a limited number of living artists that the gallery represents are sold, while the secondary market involves the profitable trade in high-priced artworks made by a variety of established, often deceased artists" (2005: 35).

Subotzky replied:

> Very much. I think it was quite a thing for me doing this type of work and operating in an art context. It was quite a point of confusion. Where am I showing my work? How and where am I operating? I am very happy to be sitting here, operating in this context. I think it is a context that could be quite dangerous for my work. It can be and is very seductive to me. I have done a couple of photojournalist assignments. I always imagined starting off in the route, trying to work as a photojournalist … the most important thing about suddenly being represented by a gallery and having interest from the art world, the most important thing is that I focus of developing as a photographer and image maker (Subotzky 2005).

This interview took place ten years ago, with Subotzky just having graduated from art school. It remains to be seen if he has managed to maintain this distance from the "seductive" world of the commercial gallery, and if he has been able to keep his primary focus of creating images.

Chapter 3

The Non – Commercial South African Art Industry

> "It is important that your work is seen in contexts where it will be more broadly validated rather than market validation. It's really what separates the important, serious artists from successful artists."
>
> (Freschi 2015)

Freschi's quote is interesting because it implies that you can be successful as an artist without having any credibility, and this notion of credibility is where acknowledgement from the non-commercial industry comes in. In order to understand what impact the Goodman has had on the cultural capital surrounding Subotzky I need to unpack his achievements in the non-commercial South African art world and the Goodman's hand in them, which is what I aim to do in this chapter. The local non-commercial art industry consists of spaces of academic enquiry such as universities, schools,[73] fine art and art history curriculums; non-commercial exhibitions in public galleries and museums;[74] recognition from important

[73] I am not just referring to art schools here. By "schools" I mean all learning institutions that include art and art history in their curricula.

[74] Local examples of these institutions are The National Gallery (Cape Town), the Johannesburg Art Gallery (Johannesburg) and the Wits Art Museum (Johannesburg). Whilst some establishments here are called museums and some are called galleries, the terms are interchangeable, as both refer to non-commercial art institutions.

curators; published academic writing, art criticism, and art media;[75] awards and, finally, collections.

Musha Neluheni, the curator of the contemporary collection of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, has argued that the non-commercial South African art industry "seeks to ensure the display, research, preservation and conservation of art", and exists outside of the realm of the money-making aspirations of the commercial sector whose "main purpose is to sell" (2014: 13). It is statements like this one by Neluheni that perpetuates the idea of non-commercial institutions existing entirely out of the realm of commerce. This chapter seeks to prove that this is not always the case and that these two industries do have points of interception.

Academia and Inclusion in the Curriculum

Subotzky's successful graduation from Michaelis in 2004 and the ensuing interest in his work indicates how academic achievement could contribute to cultural capital surrounding an artist. I discussed this in the Introduction and in Chapter 2, but I should reassert here that this acknowledgement from Michaelis helped to create that "buzz" (Bester 2015) around Subotzky, a buzz that created excitement about his work and could have compelled Givon to act quickly in deciding to represent him.

His subsequent inclusion in Godby's 2007 art history course at UCT indicates extended interest from the academic world. In an interview with Godby, he stated that he included Subotzky in the curriculum because "I had known him for a long time and I admire his work. Mikhael was, and still is, very young, and very exciting as a photographer" (Godby 2015). Being included in a tertiary education curriculum is indicative of ongoing recognition by the academic art world.

Michaelis has continued to recognise Subotzky as a high achiever, as is made clear by his inclusion in the Michaelis Alumni and Staff Exhibition and Auction held in 2011. According to Art South Africa:

> The exhibition and auction will feature over 80 artworks, celebrating and recognising Michaelis graduates who have achieved significant careers as artists in the local and international art worlds. It is also a unique opportunity to gather together the work of so many alumni and staff,

[75] South African art media, according to Kritzinger, includes *Art South Africa*, The *South African Art Times*, internet-based art criticism, art history portal *ArtThrob*, art reviews in any newspapers and the *AVA* in Cape Town" (2013: 63). According to VANSA (Visual Arts Network South Africa), "Art South Africa is a quarterly magazine, which addresses issues around contemporary visual art in South Africa, as well as the crossover between art and fashion, architecture, music and design. ASA has won two Mondi Magazine Awards for Reviews Writing and Design and Illustration (VANSA).

> with luminaries such as Marlene Dumas, Jane Alexander, Brett Murray, Mikhael Subotzky, Berni Searle, Gavin Jantjes, Barend de Wet, Hasan Essop, Husain Essop, Bongi Bengu and Ed Young, amongst others (Art South Africa 2011).

The inclusion of Subotzky's work on the auction signifies Michaelis' ongoing willingness to affiliate itself with him. As mentioned in the Chapter 1, Subotzky's part-time lecturing activities at UCT demonstrate his interest in maintaining his connection with the institution. It is this recognition from established institutions, such as an art school, that contributes to an artist's cultural capital.

Bester said in an interview for this paper:

> I think [Subotzky's] Michaelis graduate show is still his strongest body of work, which isn't good because it's done under a certain kind of mentorship (as much as he might disclaim his supervisors and his supervisors over-claim him). If he had produced five amazing bodies of work and the student work was one of those, then great, but I don't know that he's subsequently produced anything that's come close to *Die Vier Hoeke*. The main factor that might warrant his inclusion is his sheer presence in the art world is that he is everywhere (Bester 2015).

Die Vier Hoeke (2005) was Subotzky's only body of work produced when he was not represented by the Goodman. This begs the question: has he really grown as an artist or has the cultivation of cultural capital taken over? Bester is the only academic who outright critiqued Subotzky's work out of all my interviewees, which could be due to a number of things: perhaps the artist's work is so "faultless" that people genuinely struggle to critique it or maybe the Goodman has done such a good job of developing cultural capital around the artist that hardly anyone can see past it. It could also be that the documentary aspect of his work is what people find difficult to reconcile, given that it is often seen as an "awareness of social ills" that only gets seen or encountered within commercialised spaces. In other words it is a commercialisation of the suffering of the people of colour, which is a critique often directed at photographic work of this nature. The subject matter that Subotzky uses in his work has both been received with contention because of the way the black body is represented which continuously reinforces the "other", at the same time attracts some people because of the activism aspect to it, that which also plays with sympathy buying.

Non-Commercial Exhibitions

As established in Chapter 2, an artist's exhibition history contributes to the "accumulation of [cultural] capital" (Bester 2015). Exhibitions within institutions that could

be deemed as culturally significant could therefore serve as great bolsterers of an artist's cultural capital. Winkleman expands on this notion in saying:

> Perhaps the ultimate promotional activity you can work toward for your artist is an exhibition hosted by a museum or other institution. Openly describing any work you do toward securing one as a promotional strategy, however, can put you in an awkward position with the institution's curators and directors, who are loath to have their scholarly work tinged by commercial concerns. Still the truth of the matter is that art dealers work hard to promote their artists to and network with those in decision-making positions at such institutions precisely because such exhibitions lend credibility and prestige to their artist's careers, which can help sales (2009: 37).

Nairne discusses the relevance of museums to society as a whole, as well as the significance of the objects within the museum: "Museums serve not just the citizens of one nation but the people of every nation. Museums are agents in the development of culture, whose mission is to foster knowledge by a continuous process of reinterpretation" (2011: 154). From Nairne's statement we can deduce that museums are recognised as having a direct hand in carving out the landscape of art history. I suggest in this paper that commercial galleries can play a role in this too, and that their relationships with these museums and public galleries can assist with the construction of cultural capital around the artists they represent.

I would like to quote a statement from another one of Bourdieu's texts here, titled *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993). While this book does not form the crux of this paper in the same way as *The Forms of Capital*, it does include Bourdieu's writings that situate works of art within the social circumstances of their construction, circulation, and consumption. The following statement by Bourdieu is poignant and provides another view of museums alongside those of Nairne; Bourdieu writes that "regular museum attendance increases with increasing levels of education, to the point where although theoretically open to all, art museums become almost the exclusive domain of cultivated classes" (1993: 22). Bourdieu is suggesting that there is *objectified* cultural capital that lies within the museum, and those that enter its doors are too imbued with cultural capital. He seems to have a more exclusionary view of museums than Nairne who suggests it "serves" the "citizens of a nation" (2011: 154), but nonetheless highlights the important function that museums can play in society. Emma Barker is another theorist I have looked at regarding museums. Her book titled *Contemporary Cultures of Display* (1999) examines museums in detail and highlights their supposed neutrality. She quotes Ivan Karp, an American art dealer, gallerist and author, as saying "the alleged innate neutrality of museums and exhibitions is the very quality that enables them to

become instruments of power as well as instruments of education and experience" (1999: 14). Whether the museum truly does serve all aspects of society or not, what is evident from these quotes is that museums are meant to be representative of the society in which they exist and to serve great cultural purpose.

It is not only the museum's visitors that have cultural capital accrued to them, as is suggested by Bourdieu, but the artists whose works feature in their exhibitions and their collections. I have examined three non-commercial exhibitions in this paper, namely, *Snap Judgements* (2006 - 2008), *New Photography 2008* (2008) and *Retinal Shift* (2012).

Enwezor is considered to be a prominent curator internationally, and a great aspect of the value that *Snap Judgements* has held for the artist's cultural capital would be this introduction between Subotzky and the curator. Dundas elaborated on the importance of Subotzky's introduction to Enwezor and his inclusion in *Snap Judgements*:

> That is a big part of what a gallery can do, to keep that kind of network alive. And so it mattered enormously that once Subotzky joined this gallery he was able to be introduced by [Givon]. People said 'Why doesn't [*Snap Judgements*] come to South Africa?' But the most important thing was that it was seen in the context of New York at a time when it was retaking its mantle as the leader of the art world. Okwui's backing was massively important (Dundas 2015).

According to Irit Rogoff, curating "is the practice of putting on exhibitions and the various professional expertise it involves", whilst "curatorial" implies "the possibility of framing those [curating] activities through a series of principles and possibilities" (2006: 3). Subotzky's inclusion within these above mentioned exhibitions is therefore a result of curatorial framing, a curatorial decision that impacts on his cultural capital. Curators are, in both the commercial and non-commercial sectors, exhibition-makers (Obrist 2014: 25), and make decisions as to the inclusion or exclusion of an artist in a show. As discussed earlier in this paper, recognition from curators who have significant standing on the international arts platform, such as Enwezor, can be an indicator of cultural capital.

New Photography 2008, the exhibition at MoMA, was significant due to the enormous *objectified* cultural capital surrounding the institution. His commercial success following this exhibition mirrored Hirst's, and seemed to fly in the face of the world-wide financial panic that had influenced almost every industry. Once again, an introduction through the Goodman assisted in the accumulation of cultural capital around Subotzky; in assisting him with making a name for himself on the international arts platform.

Retinal Shift (2012) was shown at three local arts institutions: the Monument Gallery in Grahamstown, the Iziko South African National Gallery in Cape Town, and the Standard Bank Gallery in Johannesburg. This exhibition, linked to an award, was understood to be an "important national validation of his already important reputation internationally" (Freschi 2015). Freschi wrote an unpublished paper titled *Blinding the Truth* (2014) that was delivered as a speech for the 16th ACASA Triennial Symposium on African Art at the Brooklyn Museum in New York. The paper introduces Subotzky and *Retinal Shift* (2012) as follows:

> In 2012 Subotzky had already established a stellar, international reputation: at the age of 28 he was the youngest photographer to be invited to be a member of the prestigious Magnum Photo Agencies, he has exhibited widely on international platforms, and his work is held by major galleries, museums, and private collectors. The Award is one of the more recent of an impressive number of important awards that the young photographer has garnered, and puts him in the company of other internationally-recognized previous winners, including William Kentridge (1987), Jane Alexander (1995), Nicholas Hlobo (2009), Nandipha Mntambo (2011) and others (Freschi 2014: 1).

Here I want to refer back to a quote I used earlier (Footnote 19, p. 18) by Moore, who said that "In the field of arts, cultural capital is presented as reflecting the intrinsic value of art works in themselves and the capacity of certain gifted individuals (those with 'distinction') to recognise and appreciate those essential qualities" (2008: 104). This implies that having someone like Freschi, with a PhD in Art History, confer commendations on Subotzky reinforces the depth of his cultural capital.

Whilst the Standard Bank Young Artist Award can be seen as significant, there is an alternative view on the matter. Subotzky did not think the award "made" (Subotzky 2014) him on the international arts platform, in the same way as *New Photography 2008* had. Bester reflected on the award, stating that:

> I don't think being the Standard Bank Young Artist is as significant today as it was ten years ago. It used to be a much more prestigious award than it is now, mostly because there are so many more awards now, locally and internationally, in which South African artists feature. They maintain the momentum of an artist's visibility rather than necessarily act as game changers. Or not! If you look at the history of the Standard Bank Young Artist award, a lot of the early winners don't even feature anymore (Bester 2015).

Bester's statement highlights the changes that the South African art industry has undergone since the transformation to a democratic nation. Ten years ago was a time when South Africa was still coming out of isolation; today these opportunities have multiplied

because of the improved position that South African arts now holds in the art world at large. Bester's comment also makes clear, similarly to his earlier comment about Subotzky featuring in *Snap Judgements*, that the artist cannot rely on the award solely to construct his cultural capital. And, as is becoming clear in this paper, they cannot rely solely on their gallery either.

Whilst the Goodman would not have had a direct hand in Subotzky being chosen as the winner, Essers maintains that certain strategic actions by the Goodman may have assisted in Subotzky being chosen. She stated:

> Yes, the award was also due to the gallery's relationship with Standard Bank Gallery; how we bring certain artists to the attention of curators. We have ongoing relationships with curators, seeing them at exhibitions; maybe a meeting at the gallery. It is our responsibility to put our artists out there and our goal to keep these artists visible (Essers 2014).

In addition to this, the Goodman, according to Essers, assisted Subotzky financially with the production of the catalogue:

> The *Retinal Shift* book came through Artur Walther who bought David Goldblatt's work. I introduced him to Mikhael's work which he became very excited about. He has a great relationship with Steidl [who published *Retinal Shift*]. So it is very much about the gallery going beyond the collector and going beyond selling the work (Essers 2014).[76]

Essers' quote emphasises the notion of the Goodman going above and beyond, of not simply trying to sell artworks, but of actively cultivating cultural capital around the artists that they represent. Whilst the award, according to Subotzky, did not contribute to his cultural capital in the same way as *New Photography 2008* did, the catalogue, a large glossy book, is really what set Subotzky's *Retinal Shift* (2012) apart from previous winners.[77] In this way, the

[76] Artur Walther, a former partner at Goldman Sachs, is a well-known German art collector.
[77] Godby described the publication as a "beautiful book" (2015). It is an impressive hardcover publication with 490 pages, as well as essays by two South African art historical writers: Anthea Buys and Sean O'Toole. Dundas elaborated on the process behind the publishing of *Retinal Shift* by saying that "Subotzky said straight away to the Standard Bank 'I need a bigger budget, I want this to be a show that is going to garner attention, and I don't want one of those little catalogues that the Bank does. So I will speak to my gallery and I have worked with Chris Boot but I have seen what David Goldblatt has been doing with Steidl and I want to go there.' And I must admit at the time I was a bit alarmed. And at the bank, people like Mandie van der Spuy really had to go to bat to get that kind of leeway for him. He had to fight for that chance to make that catalogue that much bigger. And Steidl himself said 'I would like to do the book and I am really interested in your work, but it's a really big book and you want it to sell in South Africa while the show in on tour.' And so he got Karl Lagerfeld on board to help with his backing and some sponsorship money behind it so that they could produce the book and they could sell still it at a rate that was affordable. Even then people in South Africa were saying, 'It's going to cost

Goodman still had a direct hand in Subotzky's visibility as an outstanding artist. The award, in conjunction with the exceptional *Retinal Shift* (2012) catalogue, could be seen as significant contributors to the cultural capital around Subotzky. This discussion of these exhibitions demonstrates the potential impact that these international and local events could have on Subotzky's cultural capital. However, it is important to note that I have examined these exhibitions through the catalogues and press reports,[78] and therefore have a second-hand view of them.

As mentioned earlier, Subotzky's *Pixel Interface* was selected to take part in *All The World's Futures,* the 2015 Venice Biennale curated by Enwezor.[79] Biennales are also non-commercial exhibitions that can indicate an artist's cultural capital. Nairne confirms this in saying that "Several of the large international biennales…together with international exhibitions such as Documenta, can have a very considerable impact on an artist's reputation and influence" (1999: 119). According to Thornton, "a biennale is not just a show that takes place every two years; it is a goliath exhibition that is meant to capture the global artistic movement" (2008: 225). Thornton's statement suggests that biennales are meant to include the most important and cutting-edge art on the international arts platform, signifying that the inclusion in a biennale can have a significant impact on an artist's cultural capital.[80]

It is not only these exhibitions that have an impact on an artist's cultural capital, but the art critics' responses to the show, and the published media's framing of the artist within the public eye.

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how much? R600!' That was a lot of money for a Standard Bank Young Artist catalogue. Now at a price of R510 it's the most expensive one that they have ever produced. And there were a number of people who said 'It's going to cost that much? Oh no. Maybe we won't buy it.' But then people would come around and say, 'Oh remember that *Retinal Shift* book? I would like a copy'" (Dundas 2015). Dundas' quote once again highlights Subotzky's agency, his decision to take control of the situation at hand and grab the opportunity that the Award presented him with both hands.

[78] O'Toole remarked on this phenomenon of examining exhibitions in his *A Group Portrait* (2012) essay featured in the *Retinal Shift* catalogue. He said that while the exhibition "now exists only as an impressionistic collage of press reports, descriptive photographs and remembered details, the photobook is something far more tangible" (2012: 445). He continued in saying that a catalogue "is a portable object capable of travelling across time, unchanged. This is what distinguishes a book from an exhibition: the book arrives at every reader whole and intact, as its originator intended. Safer to start with this physical thing, with a book that not only confirmed a career already in the ascent, but also synthesized into a coherent singular statement, a lengthy period of photographic enquiry into crime and punishment in South Africa" (O'Toole 2012: 445).

[79] *Pixel Interface* (2014) is a "large-scale video installation that magnifies and combines a single line of pixels from three video plinths" (Goodman Gallery Exhibitions Show 'n Tell 2014).

[80] John Miller expands on this concept in *The Show You Love To Hate: A Psychology of the Mega-Exhibition* (1996). He suggests that "raised expectations and quick disillusionment which has come to typify big international survey shows" (Miller 1996: 193) mean that these shows are accepted, often, at face value, simply because of their size. He continues that these exhibitions are used to "tell the viewer 'what's going on' in an internationally commensurable field" (Miller 1996: 193) and that these events are powerful social tools.

Academic Writing, Art Criticism and the Media

Sue Williamson stated that "if beauty is in the eye of the beholder, the significance and importance of an exhibition is in the eye of the art critic" (2003). Art critics' opinions are, therefore, factors to be considered when looking at an artist's cultural capital. Reviews and articles published in print and online media provide another voice that can be compared with how the artist is positioned in academic publications. The reception of an exhibition by the public, Williamson continues, "will be mediated through the critics", who will "make judgements on the quality of the work and whether the exhibition advances and illuminates the ideas she/he has proposed, or not" (2003). It is interesting to note, as mentioned in Chapter 2, that Givon inserted herself into the *Artlook* publication in the position of a writer and interviewer. She had the vision to create critical credibility for herself, and to distance herself from being motivated by purely commercial goals in the South African art industry.

In 2005, Subotzky's *Die Vier Hoeke*, was reviewed in Art South Africa by Joyce Monson.[81] She described the show as:

> compelling both an intellectual and an emotional response. By giving a face to the faceless, the photographer challenges viewer empathy with the complex human dynamic of the prison community and offers elegant expression of the crisis within a system that fails both society and the individual (Monson 2005).

Such high praise for an artist's student exhibition highlights that body of work's critical acclaim. Latre in 2005, Subotzky was interviewed by O'Toole. O'Toole, as stated earlier, is a well-known South African art critic and author. He claimed in an interview for this paper: "I interviewed [Subotzky] shortly after [his graduate show] for the American design magazine ID. Not too long after I interviewed him again for the Dutch magazine Foam…I wrote about him for the Sunday Times too"(O'Toole 2015). Being acknowledged and written about by a critic of O'Toole's standing is an indicator of critical recognition. It is significant that Subotzky was interviewed shortly after graduating for an international magazine, a sign that from early on he was seen as internationally relevant.

It is not only the criticism itself that is significant, but also where it is published. According to Thornton, coverage from the "right" publication, such as *Artforum* "can have a tremendous impact on an artist's career" (2008: 150).[82] In 2008, Subotzky was featured in

[81] Joyce Monson is a South African art critic and regular contributor to ArtThrob and Art South Africa.
[82] According to Thornton, "*Artforum* is to art what *Vogue* is to fashion and *Rolling Stone* was to rock and roll. It's a trade magazine with a crossover cachet and an institution with controversial clout" (2008: 145). What Thornton is saying here is that *Artforum* is an internationally influential arts publication.

Artforum in an article titled *Mikhael Subotzky* by Dr Marek Bartelik, and then again in 2014 by Ellie Armon Azoulay in an article titled *Mikhael Subotzky and Patrick Waterhouse.* Bartelik, the author of several books and President of the International Association of Art Critics, holds great status in the international world of art criticism (Marek Bartelik 2015). He stated that:

> What makes Subotzky`s photographs truly engaging and consequential is their documentary yet highly introspective aspect, which derives from their structured but not artificially staged or manipulated nature. Subotzky sensitively reveals daily existence, observing it on an individual level. Each work is descriptively titled and tells its own story in a controlled yet emphatic manner (Bartelik 2008).

Bartelik's praise seems truly appreciative of Subotzky's technique and finished product, expressing critical acclaim for the *objectified* cultural capital that lies in Subotzky's work. Azoulay, a regular contributor to *Artforum,* reflects on Subotzky and Waterhouse's exhibition titled *Ponte City* (2014), stating that it is a "comprehensive and troubling portrait" of the building, and that most "striking is the artists' attempt to materially reconstruct the personal histories of the building's residents" (Azoulay 2014). These are the only descriptive words in the article, but they seem to be positive, or at least reinforcing.

Thornton interviews Adrian Searle, a British critic, who said that "Art critics are just like spectators who say what they think. If I were an artist, wouldn't it be truly dreadful if nothing were said about what I did? Don't things live not just by direct experience of them but by rumour, discussion, argument, and fantasy?" (2008: 151). In this way, online discussion and mention of Subotzky adds to the interest surrounding his work. In terms of media coverage and art critical writing, it would be naïve only to look at writing solely published in print media, and I therefore felt it necessary to conduct an online Google search of the artist. A Google search of the words "Mikhael Subotzky" brings up 55'800 results (14/11/2015). Today, in a world of great technological innovation, people often turn to the internet to look for information on an artist. While I do not suggest that the mentions of the artist online are all published within an academic context, it does relate to Searle's comment, that there is value in being spoken about as an artist.

The latest Subotzky article on ArtThrob is by Chad Rossouw, an artist, writer and lecturer (last checked 14/11/2015).[83] The article, titled *Show 'n Tell* (2014) describes Subotzky's exhibition by the same title as follows:

> The show in general, feels like an artist finding his feet, which is interesting because Subotzky is an established voice. In this sense, Subotzky is a brave artist. He is clearly looking in a new direction, and in the current climate of market-driven art-making, artists are more and more clinging to the style and content that initially worked for them. It's difficult as an artist, with pressure to regularly produce, to reveal the birth pangs of new work, new style and a different way of thinking. So while the show seemed, at times, flawed and awkward, it did contain something valuable (Rossouw 2014).

Coming from an artist/critic, it seems like high praise. Rossouw frames Subotzky as an "established voice" and a "brave artist", suggesting that Subotzky is courageous in his work and is willing to explore new territories. He speaks back to the claim from Subotzky that "re-calibrating" (2014) his work is important to him. Rossouw's article suggests that Subotzky is not clinging to a certain style or subject matter that has made him money in the past, high praise indeed.

According to Nairne, "the commercial network is reinforced through the most influential art magazines, which contain reviews of exhibitions around the world, filtering artistic activity to concentrate on artists whose work is perceived to fit an 'international' agenda" (1999: 112). Nairne is suggesting that art critics and the public media can be linked to the commercial success of an artist. Another way in which the commercial sector and art media is interwined is through advertising: "independent" publishers rely on advertising from commercial galleries, influencing the content between the covers, so in this way, one must be critical about publishers' choices when it comes to the artists and galleries they choose to highlight through their articles.

Subotzky's curriculum vitae on the Goodman's website includes a list of selected articles and reviews, making it easy for visitors to navigate the writings about the artist, as well as highlighting that the artist *has* been featured in art criticism, art media and writing.[84]

[83] Rossouw regularly publishes in Art South Africa, ArtThrob, The Mail & Guardian, The Big Issue and the London-based Art Newspaper.

[84] 2013 Chris Thurman, *Looking Back in Anger to be Seen*, Business Day Live, South Africa; 2013 Eugene Reznik, *Ponte City: An Apartheid-Era High Rise Mired in Myth*,Time Lightbox; 2013 Francis Hodgson, *Marrakech's Museum for Photography and the visual arts offers Surprises*, Financial Times, United Kingdom; 2012 Anthea Buys, *Observers of the Settler's Town*, Mail and Guardian, Johannesburg, South Africa; 2012 Blake Andrews, *Book Reviews: Retinal Shift*, 8 November; 2010 Camilla Peus, _Schwartz, Weiss, Und Alle Fabren, Art Magazine; 2010 Anthea Buys, *Sprawling Tales of Home*, Mail and Guardian, Johannesburg, South Africa; 2010 Ufrieda Ho, *A Nose and a Box To Draw Art Lovers*, The Star, Johannesburg, South Africa

This coverage would be bolstered by the Goodman regularly sending press releases to journalists, framing their artists as being newsworthy. An example of this is the newsletter that the Goodman sent out to its database on the 29th of May 2015. Titled *Mikhael Subotzky & Patrick Waterhouse Win Deutsche Börse Photography Prize 2015,* the e-mail gives details about Subotzky and Waterhouse's *Ponte City* (2014) body of work, as well as the prize itself. This is clear active strategy by the Goodman to garner more interest in the artist, to let the people who have subscribed to their database know what Subotzky is achieving. Awards make an artist newsworthy, as I shall discuss in the next section, and this e-mail is also a public relations endeavour, in that it most likely is designed to inspire a journalist to look into the details of the story and publish it, reaching an even wider audience than the Goodman mailing list.

Awards

Whilst local critical recognition can indicate an artist's cultural capital, it is usually writing only consumed by the South African art industry, or people who purchase and look up art critical writing, as opposed to people who might encounter an article on art in non-art-specific media. Awards are usually more highly-publicised forms of recognition, as we saw with the example of the Goodman mailer on Subotzky winning the Deutsche Börse Photography Prize. In accordance with Goodman's obvious wishes to make these accolades public, Subotzky's curriculum vitae on the Goodman website lists 15 local and international awards.[85] According to Thornton:

2010 Kei Wakabayashi, *Visions of South Africa*, GQ Japan; 2009 Charles Schultz, *The Subotzky Trajectory_, Vewd;* 2009 Joerg Colberg, *Beaufort West by Mikhael Subotzky_,Conscientious;* 2009 Alex Hawgood, *The Insider | Mikhael Subotzky*,The Moment; 2008 Raffaella Delle Donne, *Documenting and Inhabiting the Contradictions, Mikhael Subotzky_, The Sunday Independent*, South Africa; 2008 *The White/Nonwhite Divide*, Carol Strickland, The Christian Science Monitor; 2008 Karen Rosenberg, *Splitting a Gallery in Half to Focus on Social Strife*, The New York Times, New York; 2008 Ivor Powell, _Mikhael Subotzky, NKA: Journal of Contemporary African Art, Issue 22/23,Spring 2008, p114; 2008. Sean O'Toole, *Die Vier Hoeke*, Foam Magazine, Amsterdam; 2008 Joshua Mack, *Mikhael Subotzky: In His Images of South Africa's Fractured Communities,Photographer Mikhael Subotzky Dissolves the Barrier Between Us and Them*, Art Review, London; 2007 Michael Godby, *Mikhael Subotzky: Inside South Africa's Prisons*, Aperture Magazine, Issue 188, Fall 2007; 2007 Melvyn Minnaar, *Subotzky captures Beaufort West prison again*, Cape Times (Life), September; 2007.Leo Benedictus, *Mikhael Subotzky Best Shot*, The Guardian, London; 2007 Sue Williamson, *Mikhael Subotzky*, ArtThrob, South Africa (Goodman Gallery 2015).

[85] 2012 Standard Bank Young Artist of the Year Award for Visual Arts; 2011 Discovery Award at Rencontres de la Photographie, Arles; 2009 Lou Stouman Award, Museum of Photographic Arts, San Diego, USA; 2009 Leica Oskar Barnack Award; 2008 W. Eugene Smith Memorial Grant, New York, USA; 2008 ICP Infinity Award (Young Photographer Award), New York, USA; 2008 Goethe Institute Grant; 2007 City of Perpignan Young Photographer Award, Perpignan, France; 2007 KLM Paul Huff Award, Amsterdam, Holland; 2006 F25 Award for Concerned Photography, Fabrica, Italy; 2006 Participated in the 2006 Joop Swart Masterclass, World Photo Press, Amsterdam, Holland; 2005 Special Juror's Prize at the Les Recontres Africaines de la

> An ideal career narrative that starts with graduation from a respected art school and culminates with a solo retrospective in a major museum, prizes are important plot points, clarifying an artist's cultural worth, providing prestige, and pointing to the potential for long-lasting greatness (2008: 111).

This quote anchors the place of awards in the accrual of cultural capital around an artist, in conjunction with other contributors already discussed in this paper. Thornton continues by saying that "selling for high prices and winning prizes are two of the most newsworthy things an artist can do, hard facts in a life of relatively unquantifiable achievements" (2008: 112). It is this notion of "unquantifiable" achievements that I have tried to unpack in this paper.

In 2009 Subotzky won the Leica Oskar Barnack Award for his *Beaufort West* (2007) body of work. Art South Africa described the accolade as "highly acclaimed" (2009), explaining that "an international jury was involved in the selection process" and that "the prize is awarded to a photographer who has the ability to capture and express the relationship between man and environment without being obtrusive while maintaining a poignant and strong vision throughout the series" (Art South Africa 2009). In the same year, Subotzky received the Lou Stouman Award at the Museum of Photographic Arts in San Diego. The international scope of these awards signposts the accumulating cultural capital around Subotzky.

As mentioned previously, Subotzky was awarded the Standard Bank Young Artist Award in 2012, which Art South Africa describes as follows:

> "The Standard Bank Young Artist Award continues to remain South Africa's most heralded accolade," said National Arts Festival Director, Ismail Mahomed. "Bestowed to recognize and award excellence in the arts, the Award over the past 28 years has given added impetus to the careers and artistic voices of artists who have made strong impressionable footprints in both the South African and the international arena." Awards are presented annually to young South African artists who are either on the threshold of national acclaim or whose artistic excellence has enabled them to make international breakthroughs. The awards are specifically aimed at supporting the artists to extend their profiles to South African audiences by providing them with financial support and a platform for experimentation at the National Arts Festival in Grahamstown. As part of their prize, each of the winners will be featured on the Main programme of the 2012 National Arts Festival in Grahamstown [28 June — 8 July 2012 for *Retinal Shift*], where they will be given the opportunity to develop and première new works. The Award has entrenched its reputation as a significant commitment from Standard Bank to enhance the profile of South Africa's creative capital, and at the same time to endow to future generations a national treasury of artists whose work is intimately interwoven with our country's richly diverse artistic and cultural tapestry (Art South Africa 2012).

Photographie, Bamako, Mali; 2005 South African National Arts Council Grant; 2005 Goethe Institute Grant (Goodman Gallery 2015).

The article then frames Subotzky as being slightly more exciting or interesting than previous years by saying that "The visual arts programme has always seemed fairly low on the festival's agenda, but this year the NAF boasts a strong line-up of exhibitions and performances, including an exhibition by Standard Bank Young Artist Award winner Mikhael Subotzky" (Art South Africa 2012).[86] While this may seem like a public relations spin, by saying that the visual arts program has "always seemed fairly low on the festival's agenda" it does not appear to be trying to flatter the program, suggesting that the unnamed writer of the article really does consider Subotzky to be exceptional.

While these awards are meant to be impartial, neutral decisions, the comment by mentioned earlier by Essers that the "award was also due to the Goodman's relationship with Standard Bank Gallery" (2014) indicates that the hidden hand of the gallery has played a greater role in Subotzky's cultural capital than what initially meets the eye. This ongoing strategy by the Goodman to support their artists, to keep them visible, is evidence of the role they have played in the construction of cultural capital around them.

Collections

Winkleman claims that, "High-profile collectors greatly influence what art is viewed as valuable or important" (2009: 207). This statement is reinforced by Thornton who writes that, "Being placed in the collection of a prestigious collector can provide the value-added stamp of his or her provenance" (2008: 9). Speaking from a local context, Kritzinger states that "Dealers are very likely to entice collectors to promise works to institutions" (2013: 50). She substantiates this claim by quoting art dealer Marianne Boesky (2006: 35) who says, "The reason we want [an artwork] to go to a museum is because it raises the profile and prestige of an artist, and it will be taken care of, and exhibited to the public on and off, for eternity, hopefully" (Kritzinger 2013: 54).[87] All of these statements suggest that collectors and their collections can greatly influence an artist's cultural capital, and that it is in the interests of the gallery to "choose" a collector who is likely to pledge the artwork to a public institution, or to sell a work directly to the institution itself.[88] This idea of an artwork gaining

[86] I e-mailed Mohamed three times (09/04/2015, 30/04/2015, 07/07/2015) to try and verify the process through which Subotzky was chosen as the winner of this award, with only one reply to the first e-mail, saying that he would look at my questions (09/04/2015), but then I received no further correspondence after this.

[87] Kritzinger expanded on this in a South African context, before the 2008 financial crash. She said that "galleries expected a certain conduct from clients and during the pre-2008 art bubble, refusing to sell work to collectors whose collections were not deemed important enough for an artist's career, or not selling to collectors who did not promise the work to institutions" (Kritzinger 2013: 47).

[88] According to Dominique Sagot-Duvaroux et. al "it is better to sell one painting to a famous museum than a hundred to anonymous buyers" (1992: 93). The people who make the decisions about acquisitions are described

cultural capital in a collection speaks back to Givon's donations to art institutions. Her strategic transfer of the artwork from the commercial sector, her gallery, to the non-commercial sector, a museum or public gallery, accrues cultural capital to the artwork and artist in question.

When asked about this notion of placing artworks in collections, Dundas candidly described Goodman's strategy in this regard: "During Subotzky's first exhibition with us in Johannesburg [in 2005], we made a list of the people we believed should be adding Mikhael to their collection. But some of them contacted us before we had even called them. So word had spread very quickly" (Dundas 2015). Dundas' statement demonstrates not only how the Goodman strategically places their artists' works, but also that some of the market had heard of Subotzky and were keen to acquire his work. This interest, I believe, was a result the accumulation of cultural capital around Subotzky. At that stage, in 2005, it could have been Subotzky's mark of 100% from Michaelis and his ensuing media coverage that would have alerted collectors to his work, demonstrating the impact that both academic recognition and coverage from the media can have on an artist's cultural capital.

In Essers' interview, she explained her view on the matter: "What underpins value in the long run financially and in terms of art history, and creates an artist's career, is that the artist has been selected to take part in important shows and forms part of important collections" (Essers 2014). She continued saying that the first question she asks when she walks into an art gallery is what collections the artist's work belongs to, as a way of assessing the cultural capital surrounding the artist. She asks this both within a personal and a professional capacity. In accordance with her statement, Subotzky's "biography" section on the Goodman's website features a list of collections in which Subotzky's work can be found (Goodman Gallery). The years in which Subotzky was placed in specific collections are not listed, but the collections themselves must be mentioned in terms of his biography as significant points in his career.[89]

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by Barker: "The final arbiters (in museums), the people who make the judgements justifying the acquisition of a work for a collection or its inclusion in an exhibition, are the museum curators and directors" (1999: 13). Velthuis also elaborates on this notion by claiming that a commercial gallery's "waiting list enables them to screen their customers and 'place' artworks, as if they were their own children, in the safe hands of loyal collectors. Ideally these collectors will promise to donate the work to a museum, thereby increasing the prestige of the artist and, indirectly, of the dealer as well. If they sold on a first-come first-served basis, dealers argue, the works might end up in storage, or worse, at auction" (2008: 308).

[89] Some of the collections in which Subotzky's work can be found are The South African National Gallery, Cape Town and the Johannesburg Art Gallery, Johannesburg, locally. Some of the international collections that include Subotzky's work include Foam (Fotomuseum Amsterdam), Amsterdam, Holland; 21C Museum,

Some of the local public collections that Subotzky's work can be found in are the South African National Gallery and the Johannesburg Art Gallery. These two museums, situated in Cape Town and Johannesburg respectively, are significant cultural institutions both within their cities and nationally. As I established in the section on museums, these establishments are designed to contribute to the cultural legacy of a nation, and, therefore, acquisition of an artist's work suggests that the artist is thought by the museum either to have already contributed to South Africa's art history, or thought to potentially do so in the future. Yet the question remains that none of these institutions have hosted a solo exhibition of Subotzky's work, apart from his *Retinal Shift* (2012) exhibition which was part of the Standard Bank Award. This means that no local museum has conceptualised and funded a solo exhibition on the artist from their own coffers, raising questions as to whether Subotzky's cultural capital is actually as developed locally as much as one could originally assume.

Internationally, Subotzky has been collected by, amongst others, the Foam (Fotomuseum Amsterdam), in Amsterdam, the 21C Museum in Kentucky, the Museum of Photographic Arts in San Diego, the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the Elton John Private Photography Collection in London, the Simon and Catriona Mordant Collection in Sydney and the Tiroche Collection in Hong Kong. As discussed earlier in this paper, MoMA acquired Subotzky's entire *Beaufort West* (2007) body of work despite certain members of the board responsible for this acquisition having a personal vendetta against the artist. The international scope of these institutions reflects a broad interest in Subotzky's work, but it should be noted that the bulk of the international collections are located in North America and Europe, signifying that Subotzky has yet to make an impact in Asia, Australia, South America, and the rest of Africa. Nonetheless, the Goodman's strategy of placing artists' works in certain collections may come in handy in future, and we may see Subotzky's works being placed in collections all over the world.

Kentucky, USA; Museum of Photographic Arts, San Diego, USA; The Museum of Modern Art, New York, USA; the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, England; Elton John Private Photography Collection, England; Simon and Catriona Mordant Collection, Sydney and the Tiroche Collection, Hong Kong.
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Conclusion

> "It is always dangerous to say that money has nothing to do with something – it usually does, and art itself is no purer in this regard than any other big business."
>
> (Appleyard & Salzmann, 2012: 25)

As I mentioned in the Introduction, I have yet to encounter a course that mentions the role of the commercial gallery in South African art history, despite having gone through six years of tertiary education, majoring in art history. But what happens when the world of commerce does coincide with the world of art, and what happens when institutions that are driven by commercial gains are helping to determine what we consider to be important art? By cultivating cultural capital around artists that they represent, commercial galleries are playing a pivotal role in carving out the landscape of South African art history.

The contextual differences between the key references I have used in this paper, such as Bourdieu, Thornton, Winkleman and Velthuis, and this paper's location within the South African art industry highlights the lack of South African literature on the commercial art world, making, I believe, this paper relevant to South African art history. While there is very little written on commercial South African galleries, the recognition of the role they can play in the construction of cultural capital around artists is imperative to understanding our art history in this country. That said this raises questions regarding the *kind* of person that commercial galleries support. It is important to note here that in both Dundas and Essers' interviews, the only contemporary Goodman artists apart from Subotzky that they mentioned were David Goldblatt and William Kentridge, both white, male artists. Both of these artists have a dedicated department, a full-time staff member, at the Goodman who is responsible entirely for the archiving, publishing and managing of these artists' works. These artists are the jewels in the Goodman's crown. One has to ask the question, whilst it is clear that the commercial gallery can play a role in the cultivation of cultural capital around the artists they represent, should we not be looking closer at the *kind* of artists they choose to promote?

Using Subotzky and the Goodman as an example, I have attempted to highlight the impact that a commercial gallery can have an on artist's career. It must be remembered here, however, that Subotzky has his own agency and has played a large part in the construction of

his own cultural capital.[90] Besides his own agency, Subotzky's work itself is considered to be important, and art experts such as Freschi consider him to be "one of the most gifted photographers of our generation" (2015). Additionally there may have been other factors in the accrual of cultural capital to Subotzky that I have not recognised and included in this paper. The Goodman, as I have demonstrated in this paper, is a very successful gallery, and its effect on Subotzky's career cannot be compared directly to other South African commercial galleries and their relationships with their artists, but I hope that this paper will be the start of closer examinations of these businesses. I believe the crux of this paper is summarised by Velthuis in the following, rather lengthy, quote:

> The value of an artwork does not reside in the work itself, but is, under the conditions of uncertainty, produced and constantly reproduced by artists, intermediaries and audiences subject to numerous conventions and cultural codes of art worlds. In this social construction several elements interact. First of all, the appreciation of an artwork depends on the physical context in which an artwork is seen: is the work displayed at home, in a museum, or in a gallery? The second, related element in the social construction of value is the existence of previous appraisals by cultural institutions and cultural experts. This so-called institutional recognition manifests itself in the inclusion of artworks in museum shows, retrospective exhibitions, prizes that an artist has received, or favourable discussions of the artist's work by art critics. Institutional recognition influences the way the wider audience perceives an artwork: before belief in its value emerges, art needs to be consecrated by the symbolic capitalists, to put it in terms of Bourdieu. This construction of value is path dependent, since experts do not cast their vote in isolation from their peers. Whereas at the beginning of an artist's career chance and luck are crucial in the establishment of cultural value, succeeding acts of valuation will depend on previous ones. Thus, institutional recognition emerges in a gradual, social and path-dependent process (2005: 160).

Bourdieu's framework of capital has allowed me to unpack the contributions made to Subotzky's cultural capital through the Goodman in a structured manner, and has provided me with a greater understanding of how *embodied, objectified* and *institutionalised* cultural capital can all operate, co-exist and transform between themselves. The crux of Bourdieu's concept of capital is based on the fact that "The social world is accumulated history, and if it is not to be reduced to a discontinuous series of instantaneous mechanical equilibria between agents who are treated as interchangeable particles, one must reintroduce into it the notion of capital and with it, accumulation and all its effects" (Bourdieu 1986: 241). It is this

[90] Freschi described how this agency has managed to "accelerate" Subotzky's career in saying "I don't think his career trajectory is unusual, I think it's accelerated. I think it's a well beaten path of a young talented man who goes to art school, does well, wins competitions, gets represented by a gallery and then has the nouse and the energy and the focus to manage that well. He keeps the right relationships, he delivers on time. So it's not that unusual, it's just been done in an accelerated way. I suppose luck has something to do with it. But he has tenacity. He is driven, which I think is a function of his talent and his intelligence" (Freschi 2015).

"accumulation" (1986: 241) of factors that contribute to an artist's cultural capital that I have made explicit in this paper; an exploration of the idea that cultivating cultural capital does not come down to one single action or event.

By understanding how we come to value certain artists, we are able to gain greater insight into the landscape of South African art history. Investigation of the actions of the commercial gallery, both within the commercial and non-commercial art industries, allows the commercial establishment to be dissected and explored and in doing so, fleshing out the awareness of forces at play within art history in South Africa. We have seen evidence throughout this paper that supports the argument that commercial galleries play an important role in the construction of cultural capital, and perhaps the next step is to analyse in more detail the kind of artists that are promoted by these institutions. By choosing to display and promote some artists over others, these commercial galleries are performing a significant role not only in these artist's careers but in the shaping of our art history.

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Addendum 1: Curriculum Vitae | Mikhael Subotzky (last updated 22/10/2015)

Personal details Born on 15 September 1981 in Cape Town, South Africa

Principal Public and Private Collections

21C Museum, Kentucky

Andy Pilara Collection / Pier 21, San Francisco

Emile Stipp Collection, Pretoria

Elton John Collection

Foam (Fotomuseum), Amsterdam

Huis Marseille, Amsterdam

Johannesburg Art Gallery, Johannesburg

Kramlich Collection, San Francisco

La Maison Rouge, Paris

MAC/VAL (Musée d'Art Contemporain du Val-de-Marne)

Museum of Modern Art, New York

Museum of Photographic Arts, San Diego

National Gallery of Art, Washington

National Museum of African Art (Smithsonian Institution)

Saatchi Collection, London

San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco

Schachart Collection, Johannesburg

Simon and Catriona Mordant Collection, Sydney

Sir Elton John Photography Collection, London / Atlanta

Solomon R Guggenheim Museum, New York

South African National Gallery, Cape Town

Tate Collection, London

Tiroche Collection, Hong Kong

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Walther Collection, Neu-Ulm / New York

Wendy Fisher Collection, London / Cape Town

Monographs

Beaufort West

Retinal Shift

Ponte City (with Patrick Waterhouse)

Exhibitions, Grants And Competitions

Awards

2015 Deutsche Borse Photography Prize for Ponte City (with Patrick Waterhouse)

2012 Standard Bank Young Artist Award – Visual Arts, Johannesburg

2011 Discovery Award at Rencontres de la Photographie, Arles

2009 Oskar Barnack Award, Arles

2009 Lou Stouman Award, Museum of Photographic Arts, San Diego

2008 W. Eugene Smith Memorial Grant, New York

2008 ICP Infinity Award (Young Photographer Award), New York

2007 City of Perpignan Young Photographer Award, Perpignan

2007 KLM Paul Huff Award, Amsterdam

2006 F25 Award for Concerned Photography, Fabrica, Italy

2005 Special Juror's Prize at the VIes Recontres Africaines de la Photographie, Bamako, Mali

Grants and Residencies

2014 Goethe Institute Grant, Johannesburg

2013 MAC/VAL Residency, Paris

2013 Goethe Institute Grant, Johannesburg

2013 South African National Arts Council Grant, Johannesburg

2013 Business and Arts South Africa Grant, Johannesburg

2008 Civitella Ranieri fellowship, Italy

2008 Goethe Institute Grant, Johannesburg

2007 Civitella Ranieri fellowship, Italy

2007 One-year residency at Fabrica, Treviso

2006 Joop Swart Masterclass, World Press Photo, Amsterdam

2005 South African National Arts Council Grant, Johannesburg

2005 Goethe Institute Grant, Johannesburg

One/Two Person Exhibitions

2014 *Ponte City,* National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh (with Patrick Waterhouse)

2014 *Show 'n Tell*, Goodman Gallery Cape Town, Cape Town

2014 *Ponte City*, FotoMuseum Antwerpen, Antwerpen (with Patrick Waterhouse)

2014 *Ponte City*, Le Bal, Paris (with Patrick Waterhouse)

2013 *Stuff Barta*, MAC/VAL - Musée d'art contemporain du Val-de-Marne, Paris

2013 *Vos rêves nous dérangent (Your dreams disturb us)*, Parc de la Villette, Paris

2012 *Retinal Shift*, Standard Bank Young Artist Award, Touring show at various South African venues

2010 *Recent Works: Mikhael Subotzky and Patrick Waterhouse*, Goodman Gallery, Cape Town

2009 *Two Projects*, Goodman Gallery, Johannesburg

2008 *New Photography 2008: Josephine Meckseper and Mikhael Subotzky*, Museum of Modern Art, New York

2007 *Beaufort West*, Studio La Citta, Verona

2007 *Beaufort West*, FOAM (Foto Museum Amsterdam), Amsterdam

2007 *Beaufort West*, Goodman Gallery Cape, Cape Town

2006 *Die Vier Hoeke and Umjiegwana*, Goodman Gallery, Johannesburg

2006 *Die Vier Hoeke*, Constitution Hill, Johannesburg

2005 *Die Vier Hoeke* in the Nelson Mandela Cell at Pollsmoor Prison, Cape Town

Curatorial Projects

2013 *This House* in *Nouvelles Vagues*, Palais de Tokyo, Paris (with Anthea Buys)

Group Exhibitions

2015 *After Eden: Photography from the Walther Collection*, La Maison Rouge, Paris

2015 *Africa: Architecture, Culture and Identity*, Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, Copenhagen

2015 *56th Venice Biennale: All the World's Futures,* Venice

2015 *The Memory of Time: Contemporary Photographs*, National Gallery of Art, Washington

2015 *Deutsche Börse: Photography Prize 2015*, The Photographers' Gallery, London

2015 *Making Africa: A Continent of Contemporary Design*, Vitra Design Museum, Weil am Rhein

2015 *The Poetry In Between: South-South / 2015*, Goodman Gallery, Cape Town

2015 *Other People's Memories*, Goodman Gallery, Johannesburg

2014 *Junge Sammlungen 02*, Museum für moderne Kunst, Weserburg

2014 *Destini/Storie/Vite*, Fondazione Fotografia Modena, La Spezia

2014 *Art Unlimited*, Basel

2014 *Le Mur*, La Maison Rouge, Paris

2014 *4/30: Goodman Gallery and the Standard Bank Young Artist Award*, National Arts Festival, Grahamstown

2014 *Contemporary Art from South Africa*, State University of North Carolina Museum Appalachia

2014 *Contemporary Art / South Africa*, Yale Art Gallery, New Haven

2014 *In Context: The Portrait in Contemporary Photographic Practice*, Wellin Museum of Art, New York

2014 *Public Intimacy: Art and Other Ordinary Acts in South Africa*, Yerba Buena Center for the Arts / San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, San Francisco

2014 *Apartheid and After*, Huis Marseille Museum voor Fotografie, Amsterdam

2014 *Surfacing*, Goodman Gallery, Cape Town

2013 *Rencontres Picha Biennale de Lubumbashi*, Lubumbashi

2013 *This House* in *Nouvelles Vagues*, Palais de Tokyo, Paris

2013 *My Jo'burg*, La Maison Rouge, Paris

2013 *Magnum Contact Sheets*, Forte Di Bard

2013 *Structures*, Goodman Gallery, Cape Town

2013 *Expo 1: Dark Optimism*, MoMA PS1, New York

2013 *A Different Kind of Order*, Triennial at the International Center of Photography Triennial, New York

2013 *Earth Matters*, Smithsonian, Washington

2013 *Concrete - Photography and Architecture*, Fotomuseum Winterthur, Winterthur

2012 *The Unexpected Guest*, Liverpool Biennial, Liverpool

2012 *Out of Focus: Photography*, The Saatchi Gallery, London

2012 *Photobiennale-2012*, Multimedia Art Museum, Moscow

2011 *The 6th Curitiba Biennial*, Curitiba, Brazil

2011 *Highrise – Idea and Reality*, The Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, Switzerland

2011 *Arles Discovery Award Exhibition*, Arles

2011 *Appropriated Landscapes*, The Walther Collection in Neu Ulm/Burlafingen, Germany

2011 *Photography Now: Engaged, Personal, and Vital*, The New York Photo Festival,

New York

2011 *Fotográfica Bogotá*, Colombia

2011 *Figures & Fictions: Contemporary South African Photography,* Victoria & Albert Museum, London

2010 *12th Cairo Biennale*, Cairo

2010 *In Context,* South African National Gallery, Cape Town and Arts on Main, Johannesburg

2010 *Contemporary African Photography from the Walther Collection: Events of the Self, Portraiture and Social Identity,* The Walther Collection, Ulm

2010 *Languages and Experimentations,* MART (Museo di arte moderna e contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto), Rovereto

2010 *PEEKABOO – Current South Africa*, Helsinki City Art Museum, Helsinki

2010 *Breaking News: Contemporary Photography from the Middle East and Africa*, Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Modena, Modena

2010 *Ampersand: A Dialogue of Contemporary Art from South Africa & the Daimler Art Collection, Berlin,* Daimler Contemporary, Berlin

2010 *The Lie of the Land: Representations of the South African Landscape*, Old Town House, Cape Town

2010 *Magnum. Shifting Media. New Role of Photography*, C/O, Berlin

2010 *1910-2010: From Pierneef to Gugulective*, South African National Gallery, Cape Town

2010 *South African Photography 1950-2010,* Museum Gogh, Gogh and Johannesburg Art Gallery, Johannesburg

2009 *Us*, South African National Gallery, Johannesburg Art Gallery and Goodman Gallery Projects, Johannesburg

2009 *Still Revolution: Suspended In Time,* Contact Photo Festival, Toronto

2009 *Nation States*, Goodman Gallery Cape, Cape Town

2009 *Mythologies*, Haunch of Venison, London

2009 *Three Stories: Pieter Hugo, Mikhael Subotzky, Paolo Woods*, Centre National de l'Audiovisuel, Luxembourg

2009 *Trouble in Paradise,* Tucson Museum of Art, Tucson

2008 *Business as Usual,* Museum of Contemporary Art, Detroit

2008 *A Look Away - South African photography today*, Kuckei Kuckei, Berlin

2008 *Unseen,* An Exhibition of International Photography, Museum of Contemporary Art,

Shanghai

2008 *ZA, Young Art from South Africa*, Palazzo delle Papesse, Siena, Italy

2007 *A Legacy of Men*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, Johannesburg

2007 *NY C Photo,* Phillips, de Pury & Luxembourg, Luxembourg and New York

2007 *Bare Life,* Museum on the Seam, Jerusalem

2007 *Says the junk in the yard,* Flowers East, London

2007 *The Loaded Lens*, Goodman Gallery, Cape Town

2007 *Lumo 07 – 'Us'* – 7th International Photography Triennial, Jyvaskyla

2007 *Lift off II*, Goodman Gallery, Cape Town

2007 *Contemporary Art Photography from South Africa: Reality Check,* Neuer Berliner Kunstverein, Berlin

2006 *Snap Judgements: New Positions in Contemporary African Photography* at the International Center for Photography curated by Okwui Enwezor, New York

2006 *Risk*, Exhibition of the 2006 Joop Swart Masterclass, FOAM, Amsterdam

2006 *The Living is Easy,* Flowers East Gallery, London

2006 *New Code*, Studio La Citta, Verona

2006 *Personae & Scenarios – New African Photography,* Brancolini Grimaldi Arte Contemporanea, Rome

2006 *Olvida quien soy (Erase me from who I am),* Centro Atlantico de Art Moderno, Canary Islands

2005 *Vles Recontres Africaines de la Photographie*, Bamako, Mali

2005 *The Pantagruel Syndrome, T1*, Turin Triennial curated by Francesco Bonami and Carolyn Christov-Bakargiev, Rivoli

2005 *Click*, Goodman Gallery, Johannesburg

2005 *Vyf Kurators, Vyftien Kunstenaars [Five Curators, Fifteen Artists]*, Klein Karoo Nasionale Kunstefees, Oudtshoorn