

*An Archive of Upset:*

*The Shift from Commissioning to Curating Through  
South Africa's Representations at the Bienal de São Paulo  
and the Interstitial Nexus of Leonard Tshehla Mohapi  
Matsoso*

Nancy Dantas

ORCID <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0715-4304>

A thesis submitted to the Department of Fine Art at Rhodes University in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

## DECLARATION OF OWN WORK

### INFORMATION:

**Student No:** 16D8532

**Student Title:** Ms

**Student Name:** Nancy Isabel Dantas

### THESIS INFORMATION:

**Thesis Title:** *An Archive of Upset: The Shift from Commissioning to Curating Through South Africa's Representations at the Bienal de São Paulo and the Interstitial Nexus of Leonard Tshebla Mohapi Matsoso*

The thesis which I now submit for the degree of: Doctor of Philosophy

I hereby grant Rhodes University permission to make additional copies of it, in whole or in part, for the purposes of research.

I certify that this thesis has not been submitted for a degree in any other university and that it is my original work.

Nancy Dantas

6 December 2019

## ABSTRACT

Nancy Isabel Dantas: *An Archive of Upset: The Shift from Commissioning to Curating through South Africa's Representations at the Bienal de São Paulo and the Interstitial Nexus of Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso*

(Under the direction of Prof Ruth Simbao)

This thesis explores the distinction between commissioning and curating, adopting the *Bienal de São Paulo* (or *Bienal*) as its conceptual propeller and point of departure. The thesis regards exhibitions as palimpsests, in other words, platforms built on previous conscious or sublimated models, beyond the Venetian model inaugurated in 1895. By looking at world expositions, particularly the Cape presence at the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* of 1886, this project traces a lineage of commissioners, from Sir Henry Cole to Sydney Cowper through to the Director of the Pretoria Art Museum, Albert Werth. It distinguishes these men, their vision and allegiances from the curatorial model instantiated in South Africa by the late Okwui Enwezor as a consequence of the Second Johannesburg Biennale, held in 1997.

The aim of this research has been to provide a partial but crucial account of this shift, and to remain attentive to the silences and deletions, to what happens in the interstice, at transitional moments of 'betweenness.' I ask that readers consider the 1979 *Bienal* as an instance of an interstice where the occluded and silenced ghost of modernist artist Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, who represented South Africa at the 1973 edition of the *Bienal*, garnering a substantial award for his work in drawing, resides. Matsoso was the first and only Black South African artist to receive this accolade. This thesis posits that Matsoso's absence from the exhibition in 1979, an exhibition where he would rightly have featured, constitutes a curatorial haunting, wedged in the archive of the *Bienal's* history, and an opportunity for revision and evaluation of commissioning vis-à-vis curating.

In reading the exhibition histories' archive "along the grain" (Stoler 2002), the commissioner emerges as a man of letters, a privileged social category found in the archive; a colonial authority whose status was founded as much on his display of European learning as on his studied ignorance of local knowledge; an implementer of the taxonomic state and modernist art historical canon (in the case of Werth); a cultivator of the fine arts of deference, dissemblance and persuasion. At a later stage and moment of dissonance and disruption, the independent curator emerges to reconsider, question and expand the canon, distancing him/herself from the (South African) State to serve the artist or artists and a wider community.

This research aims to contribute, albeit in a small way, to a reappraisal of the position of Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso in South African modernism, and the distinction between commissioning and curating.

To my partner  
Carlos Adriano Marques Marzia  
this thesis would not exist without you

In memory of

Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso (1949–2010)

& David Nthubu Koloane (1938–2019)

## Acknowledgements

I acknowledge with gratitude the assistance and unwavering support of my supervisor, Professor Ruth Simbao. I wish to thank her for her encouragement, her gentle manner and willingness to provide what may have seemed like endless recommendations. Above all, I wish to acknowledge her unique and consummate support of Africa and the Global South and her creation of a platform welcoming of Pan-African camaraderie and scholarship. In no particular order, I would also like to extend a word of gratitude to the many brilliant and kind individuals who facilitated my research: Khadgy Fares and Ana Paula Marques at the Wanda Svevo Archive, São Paulo; Anri van der Westhuizen and Ammi Ryke at Archival and Special Collections, Unisa, Pretoria; Erika Lederman at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Solvej Vorster and Kashiefa Shade-Lucas at Hiddingh Hall Library, University of Cape Town; Ziphezinhle Gwala at the Johannesburg Art Gallery Archive; Stefan Hundt at Sanlam for the friendship, endorsement and hospitality; Koulla Xinisteris and Raymond Marlowe for granting me access to the SABC Art Collection; Jacob Thabane and Thembi Matlinsa for allowing me time and making room for me to peruse and process the endless death records at Avalon Cemetery, Soweto; Dirk Oegema and Gerda Guldemond for unconditionally opening the archives of the Pretoria Art Museum to my project, and Gabriele Mohale at Wits Historical Papers. I would also like to extend a word of thanks to Jill Wolvaardt, my students at Wits for their encouragement and interest in my research, and my darling friends Ana Guerra and Paulo Neves, and their son, for the “sleepovers” and warm support.

My deepest thanks go to Kagiso Pat Mautloa and the late David Koloane. In the face of an archive replete with holes and omissions, and the strong possibility of withheld information, your willed and warm recollections helped retrace the spindly lines that connect people, and slowly but surely led me to my greatest blessing, an encounter with the Matsoso family. A final and heartfelt expression of gratitude to Keketso, Khotso and Pontsho Matsoso for opening the doors of your home and hearts to me. You have helped me make sense of the fragile, incomplete and evanescent archival record. Last but not least, my family, Maria, João and Francisco for the lifelong

education and steadfast support. Without you and Carlos, I could not possibly have followed through.

## LIST OF CONTENTS

<b>Declaration</b> .....	i
<b>Abstract</b> .....	ii
<b>Dedication</b> .....	iii
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	v
<b>List of contents</b> .....	vii
<b>List of figures</b> .....	x
<b>Introduction</b> .....	1
Aim and rationale of research.....	1
A quick overview: South Africa and the <i>Bienal</i> .....	5
Research methodology.....	11
Definition of core concept and themes.....	16
Archive.....	16
World fair and expositions.....	18
Biennial.....	21
Commissioners.....	25
Curating (privileging the verb).....	29
Interstice.....	30
Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso.....	30
Shared histories.....	42
Terminology.....	44
Topics and problems explored in research, chapter by chapter.....	45
<b>Chapter one - Brooding archives: reconnecting unmoored exhibition histories</b> .....	52

A theoretical interlude: on archival turns and incantations.....	56
Archival effects and affects.....	59
Archival duty and re-turns.....	66
Silence and repression in the archive.....	72
The SAAA archive: a sliver of a prejudice riddled past.....	75
The association: twilight years and imprint.....	77
The National, alias Colonial Gallery.....	83
The association: mid years and the SAAA archives.....	92
A present without a past.....	94
An archive called Wanda.....	95
<b>Chapter two - An inconvenient truth: figures that cast long shadows.....</b>	<b>105</b>
Skeletons in the exhibition histories closet: the <i>Colonial and Indian Exhibition</i> .....	110
1886 and the humanitarian retreat.....	121
We were never native: defying the terms.....	126
The Cape staged for a tipsy audience.....	128
A new clerisy: exhibition commissioners.....	136
Henry Cole: commissioning father.....	140
Sydney Cowper: commissioning spawn.....	148
Some closing remarks.....	155
<b>Chapter three - Only just yesterday: the “wallahs” at Iberapuera.....</b>	<b>157</b>
The seventies in short and the <i>Bienal</i> .....	158
Understanding the local juncture: the role of censorship.....	163
Albert Werth: the last of the “wallahs”.....	172
The Pretoria Art Museum.....	174

Zooming in: lifting archival traces.....	179
Some closing thoughts.....	187
<b>Chapter four - After the “wallahs”: Caring for the uncared for in the anamnestic archive.....</b>	<b>189</b>
On paradigmatic distinctions and shifts.....	193
1979 and the decline of the “wallahs”.....	200
Biography as “dangerous memory” and research as healing.....	203
Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso as curatorial nexus and spectre.....	221
To be...means...to inherit.....	230
Commissioning crepuscule.....	234
Curatorial dawn.....	240
Some closing remarks.....	249
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>252</b>
On the distinction between commissioning and curating.....	252
The stakes.....	255
Unfinished routes and future research.....	256
<b>Bibliography.....</b>	<b>262</b>
<b>Appendices.....</b>	<b>292</b>
<b>Chronology.....</b>	<b>405</b>

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
1	Matsoso, L. 1973. <i>The Bushman</i> (sic). Charcoal on paper. 166 x 41 cm. Online image, available at: <a href="http://www.artnet.com/artists/leonard-matsoso/the-bushman-2WnOizGcikVmi5UzHVAL3Q2">http://www.artnet.com/artists/leonard-matsoso/the-bushman-2WnOizGcikVmi5UzHVAL3Q2</a>	34
2	Matsoso, L. 1979. <i>Nonquase I, II, III</i> (sic). Oil pastel on paper. 166 x 85 cm (each). Photography Carlos Marzia Studio.	37
3	Matsoso, L. 1979. <i>Man and Beast</i> . Oil pastel on paper. 166 x 85 cm. Photography Carlos Marzia Studio.	39
4	Matsoso, L. 1979. <i>Mabelele</i> . Oil pastel on paper. 85 x 166 cm. Photography Carlos Marzia Studio.	40
5	Matsoso, L. 1979. <i>Warrior and Beast</i> . Oil pastel on paper. Image courtesy of Sanlam Art Collection.	41
6	Dantas, N.I. (2016) <i>Laying Fallow, the SANAVA funds in 2016</i> [photograph]. Author's collection.	54
7	The contents of Andy Warhol's <i>Time Capsule 51</i> (1863-1968; bulk, 1953-60) [photograph] In: Wrbican, M. <i>Warhol's Time Capsule 51</i> . Available at: <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/10,13110/criticism,56,3,0687?seg=1#page_scan_tab_contents">www.jstor.org/stable/10,13110/criticism,56,3,0687?seg=1#page_scan_tab_contents</a>	59
8	Sandroek, B. (1973-2011) <i>Unisa campus on Muckleneuk Ridge, Pretoria</i> [photograph-online]. Available at: <a href="https://www.flickr.com/photos/hiltont/14057794548/in/photostream/">https://www.flickr.com/photos/hiltont/14057794548/in/photostream/</a>	61
9	Fundação Bienal de São Paulo. (2011) <i>Wanda Svevo's son Alberto unveils his mother's portrait</i> [photograph - online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.bienal.org.br/post/564">http://www.bienal.org.br/post/564</a> .	101
10	Look and Learn History Picture Library. (1886) <i>Opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition</i> [engraving-online]. Available at: <a href="https://www.lookandlearn.com/history-images/M080036/Opening-of-the-Indian-and-Colonial-Exhibition-The-Queens-Tour">https://www.lookandlearn.com/history-images/M080036/Opening-of-the-Indian-and-Colonial-Exhibition-The-Queens-Tour</a> .	110
11	Tennyson, A. (1886) <i>Ode on the opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition</i> [document/newspaper clipping]. Cape Town: National Library of South Africa.	111
12	Cartographer unknown. (1886) <i>Map of the world shewing (sic) the extent of the British Empire in 1886</i> [cartographic material - online]. Available at: <a href="https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230714079/view">https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230714079/view</a>	114

13	Royal Geographical Society of London. (1886) <i>Plan of the Royal Commission for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London 1886</i> [exhibition map]. London: Royal Geographical Society of London.	115
14	<i>Government notice no. 521 listing appointees to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition</i> [document/newspaper clipping]. C.L. Herman Papers/BC48/Cape Town: University of Cape Town Library.	117
15	Johnson, A.J. (1886) <i>Diamond Washing at the Cape Court for the Illustrated London News of October 16 1886</i> [engraving]. Author's collection.	132
16	Boehm, J.E. (1875) <i>Bust of Sir Henry Cole</i> [sculpture]. National Portrait Gallery, NPG 865, London.	140
17	South Kensington Museum (commissioned by). (1886) <i>South Kensington Museum, South Court</i> [photograph]. Victoria and Albert Collections, E.1103-1989, London.	142
18	<i>Undated family tree originally traced by Sydney Cowper</i> [document]. Sydney Cowper Collection, Folder MSB 687-1-12, Cape Town. National Library of South Africa/Cape Town Manuscripts.	149
19	<i>Letter of appointment to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition</i> [document]. Sydney Cowper Collection, Folder MSB 687-1-6, Cape Town. National Library of South Africa/Cape Town Manuscripts.	150
20	<i>Sydney Cowper's letter of appointment as Secretary to the Prime Minister</i> [document]. Sydney Cowper Collection, Folder MSB 687-1-6, Cape Town. National Library of South Africa/Cape Town Manuscripts.	154
21	Fundação Bienal de São Paulo. (2011) <i>Official opening of the Bienal by Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, Laudo Natel and Almirante Augusto Rademaker</i> [photograph–online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.bienal.org.br/exposicoes/12bienal/fotos/3909">http://www.bienal.org.br/exposicoes/12bienal/fotos/3909</a>	160
22	Figueiredo, V. (ND) 'Visite o Inferno (e Encontre com Você)' [photograph] In: Amarante, L. <i>As Bienais de São Paulo / 1951 a 1987</i> . São Paulo: Projecto Editores Associados, 1989, p. 216.	162
23	Photographer unknown. (1973) 'Official Brazilian retinue at the opening' [photograph] In Amarante, L. <i>As Bienais de São Paulo / 1951 a 1987</i> . São Paulo: Projecto Editores Associados, 1989, p. 215	163
24	Equipe3 (Lydia Okumura, Genilson Soares and Francisco Iñarra). <i>Pontos de Vista</i> . 1973 [photograph–online]. Available at: <a href="http://www.bienal.org.br/exposicoes/12bienal/fotos/3912">http://www.bienal.org.br/exposicoes/12bienal/fotos/3912</a>	168
25	Forest, F. 1973. <i>150cm<sup>2</sup> of newspaper</i> [document/newspaper clipping]. Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo, São Paulo.	170
26	Photographer unknown. 1964. <i>Portrait of Albert Werth</i> [document/newspaper clipping]. Pretoria Art Museum Archive.	172

27	Photographer unknown. 1973. <i>Consul L.H. Evans pointing to Leonard Matsoso's work in São Paulo</i> [document/newspaper clipping]. Pretoria Art Museum Archive.	179
28	Layout of the Bienal. Available at: <a href="https://issuu.com/bienal/docs/namee1bdf4">https://issuu.com/bienal/docs/namee1bdf4</a>	180
29	Photographer unknown. 1973. <i>Installation view of Johann van Heerden at the National Gallery</i> [document/newspaper clipping]. Pretoria Art Museum Archive.	181
30	Photographer unknown. 1976. <i>Exhibition view of the South African section at the Bienal</i> [document/newspaper clipping]. Pretoria Art Museum Archive.	180
31	Clémen, C. 1979. <i>Poster of the 15<sup>th</sup> Bienal</i> [poster]. Available at: <a href="http://www.bienal.org.br/exposicoes/15bienal/cartazes/4241">http://www.bienal.org.br/exposicoes/15bienal/cartazes/4241</a>	200
32	Photographer unknown. Date unknown. <i>Early portrait of Leonard Tshebla Mobapi Matsoso</i> [photograph]. Matsoso Family Archive.	203
33	Dantas, N. 2019. <i>Leonard Tshebla Mobapi Matsoso's last resting place</i> [photograph]. Author's collection.	206
34	Photographer unknown. 1972. <i>UTA pavement art competition</i> [document/newspaper clipping]. Matsoso Family Archive.	211
35	Photographer unknown. Date unknown. <i>Portrait of Matsoso and Khumalo (sic) at work</i> [document/newspaper clipping]. Matsoso Family Archive.	212
36	Matsoso, L. 1968. <i>Portrait of Ezrom Legae</i> . SABC Collection, Asset 11013049, Johannesburg.	214
37	Matsoso, L. ND. <i>Heaven help the man on the street (study)</i> [drawing]. Matsoso Family Archive.	216
38	Matsoso, L. <i>Helpless, Helpless</i> . 1972. 52,5 x 36,5 cm (portfolio of 8 screen prints). Edition of 55. Courtesy of Sanlam Art Collection.	221
39	<i>Original entry forms submitted in 1979</i> [document]. Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo, São Paulo.	224
40	<i>Telegram from the Embassy of India in Brasília</i> [document]. Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo, São Paulo.	225
41	<i>Original call for curatorial panel</i> [document]. Manuscripts Collection, MSS 194, Pretoria: University of South Africa Archives and Special Collections.	235

42	<i>Layout with positioning of Belinda Blignaut</i> [document/floor plan]. Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo, São Paulo.	239
43	Photographer unknown. Date unknown. <i>Leonard Tshebla Mhapi Matsoso's Horse and Rider (1986), exhibited with pride in the heart of the Pitje home</i> [photograph]. Johannesburg Art Gallery, artist's folder, Johannesburg: Johannesburg Art Gallery Archive.	260

## *Introduction*

### *Aim and rationale of research*

By principally looking at South Africa's largely unwritten representation at the *Bienal de São Paulo* at distinct moments in time, this research thesis aims to draw out a fundamental distinction between commissioning and curating. It explores the deep colonial history of commissioning and its ties to world expositions, trade fairs and human display as practices that served to bolster and uphold Empire and State (albeit at different moments in time), and posits these against curating in our day, which, ultimately, as I hold, is behoved to serve the demos. The hazy shift from one paradigm to the other is delineated through the prism of the São Paulo *Bienal*, where a chasm or an interstice is located, one that hold ghosts in suspension. This thesis seeks to release and uphold the memory of these spectres and forgotten-ones.

The core question, "Can a distinction be drawn between commissioning and curating in the South African instance?" has been pursued by way of a conceptual propeller, namely the *Bienal de São Paulo*.<sup>1</sup> Although I initially also intended on analysing at the Venice Biennale, I decided on the *Bienal de São Paulo* given its longevity, its rapport with South Africa and my own positionality as a Portuguese-speaker, with a foot in both cultures and an interest in "lusophone" legacies across the Atlantic. There are many lessons to be learnt by looking at Brazil through a sustained, analytical and historic gaze, and a critical shift of perspective, different to the dominant top-down, North–South gaze. Instead of this Eurocentric gaze, I propose that we look and see *across* the South, for as art historian Ruth Simbao notes, it is important to consider "the *direction* [emphasis added] of the hand, tongue and eye" (2015, p. 271) when rewriting accounts of art. Although my intention was not necessarily or foremost one of contributing to South–South histories and dialogues, but rather to the nascent field of exhibition histories and practices, this project aims to provide insight to those of us with an interest in the cultural rapport between Southern regions, and how cultural networks have aligned or misaligned across these geopolitical divides. This thesis offers itself, if only partially, as a perspective on what biennials from a Southern

---

<sup>1</sup> Also referred to in this thesis as São Paulo *Bienal* or simply *Bienal*.

perspective might look like. When I speak of ‘Southern’ I do so with Anthony Gardner and Charles Green (2013) in mind. For them, the South is something more than a mapping of the southern hemisphere, more than the geo-economic contours of the ‘Global South’ as a category of economic deprivation. South encompasses the histories of colonialism, the ties of tragedy that connect indigenous communities and settlers in ways distinct to those imposed by the imperial North (Gardner and Green 2013, p. 443).<sup>2</sup> South, as they write, quoting historian Kevin Murray, is a direction as well as a place. It is a “social construct” (Simbao 2015, p. 262, footnote 3) and is most crucially to the work we do, a “zone of agency and creation, not simply poverty and exploitation” (Gardner and Green 2013, p. 444). It is a “mode of inquiry as well as a cultural marker” (Gardner and Green 2014, p. 29). I posit my research and musings on the South African modernist painter Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, developed in chapter four, and his oblivion as an instance of a ‘Southern’ moment.

The approach I have adopted for this study on the shift from commissioning to curating practices by way of the *Bienal de São Paulo* has been one of what I call boring from the surface to the bedrock. Not wanting to abuse terms that are likely to be dear to geologists, I hope that this metaphor of ‘drilling’ helps readers imagine a resulting profile where cross-sections, at times of contested knowledge, are placed in relief; where layers or strata and their composition open themselves to examination.

We start digging in the allegorical site of the *Bienal* and the variegated space allocated to South Africa.<sup>3</sup> The first sample is the deepest and dates back to 1886.<sup>4</sup> We make

---

<sup>2</sup> To be clear, these shared histories include the afterlives of dictatorship in Brazil and Apartheid in South Africa. Our two nations share the effects of a colonial extractive economies and their exploitative practices and we are still troubled by and grappling with the effects of these ongoing practices.

<sup>3</sup> I am drawing on Craig Owens conceptualisation of the allegory and the method of reading one text through another. In this instance, I read the history of exhibitions as a palimpsest. Through the *Bienal* as palimpsest, I see traces of Venice, colonial exhibitions, and the history of commissioners and curators. I quote: “Allegorical imagery is appropriated imagery; the allegorist does not invent images but confiscates them. He lays claim to the culturally significant, poses as an interpreter. And in his hands the image becomes other (*allos* = other + *agoreuei* = to speak). He does not restore an original meaning that may have been lost or obscured; allegory is not hermeneutics. Rather, he adds another meaning to the image. If he adds, however, he does so to replace: the allegorical meaning supplants an antecedent one; it is a supplement” (Owens 1980, p. 69).

<sup>4</sup> I have inverted the logic of boring or the dig, which I use as a rhetorical and metaphorical device. Logically, one would start with what is found closest to the surface, but in my case, I have chosen to start with what lies deepest, at the bedrock.

our way up. The second sample dates from 1973. The third sample dates from 1979. Our attention is captured by a striation from 1997.

With this image in mind and another of the prism that is the São Paulo *Bienal*, this diachronic analysis of exhibition history seeks to disentangle commissioning from curating practices, releasing its nexus, its purpose and soul, the spectral story around Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso.

Standard entries on the artist **Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso**, largely identified in the literature as Leonard Matsoso, emphasize his association with Polly Street, where he first studied under Cecil Skotnes and Bill Hart (Dewar, 1971) and later under Sydney Kumalo and Ezrom Legae, positioning him as part of the Polly Street group of artists. This art centre was significant in that it was the only venue available to young Black students wishing to learn and hone their creative skills in music, drama, dance and fine art (Koloane 1989, p. 213) and was in many respects the breeding ground for a second generation of Black modernists.<sup>5</sup>

Created in 1948 under the auspices of the Non-European Adult Education Committee, the centre was first located in an old brick building on no. 3 Polly Street. Instructors included Mrs E.K. Lorimer, Fred Schimmel, Gideon Uys, Larry Scully and Mary Duxbury, who offered their services voluntarily. Art classes were held once a week, with ballroom dancing, judo, choral music and boxing offered on other days. On Saturdays, famous musicians like Dolly Rathebe and Boyce Gwele used the Centre for rehearsals “and the whole place came alive” (Koloane 1989, p. 215). Cecil Skotnes took over the administration in 1953, when the committee was disbanded. He was charged with looking for sponsors, donations and developing publicity. By 1954, there was an average of forty students attending twice-weekly classes (Koloane 1989, p. 217).

---

<sup>5</sup> As David Koloane has noted, pioneer artists of the generation before Matsoso's worked in isolation and hardly came into contact with one another. In this respect, George Pemba was in Port Elizabeth, Gerard Bengu was in Natal, Gerard Sekoto, John Koenakeefe Mohl and Ernest Mancoba were all in Johannesburg. They had little to no education opportunities and in the case of Sekoto and Mancoba, turned overseas to expand their skill set. Mancoba, for instance, arrived in Paris in late September of 1938. In mid-October, he began studying sculpture with Professor Henri Vallette at the École Nationale Supérieure des Arts Décoratifs, where pedagogy, according to Joshua Cohen, “was fairly conventional and routine” (2020, p. 140).

When Matsoso joined, the school had moved to its new premises on Jubilee Street, in Eloff Street's motor town area. The building had previously housed the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work. Skotnes continued as instructor, with Sydney Kumalo taking over in 1967. Ezrom Legae who had studied under Skotnes and Kumalo, succeeded Kumalo in 1968. Matsoso was significantly a pupil and product of these Black instructors and their tuition. According to Koloane, he was part of a group of protégés<sup>6</sup> of the Jubilee Centre whose “work became intuitive and introspective,” with a linear and sparse technique. “They appeared to isolate details from the crowded compositions of their predecessors and redefine them in diverse stylistic interpretations” (Koloane 1989, p. 228)

Whilst still in training, Matsoso held his first solo exhibition at the Goodman Gallery in 1970. His career sky-rocketed after his presence at the Bienal de São Paulo in the early seventies and promise of a second representation in 1979 (an artist's curriculum has been provided in this thesis's auxiliary materials as appendix 1). This second exhibition never came to be due to covert Brazilian boycott of South Africa. Despite these obstacles and frustrations, Matsoso continued to work on his oeuvre, producing a body of work made of interlocked forms, hewn from an indigenous aesthetics and episteme, in response to the nefarious predations of apartheid. He is, to my mind, an exponent of Black modernism in South Africa as *resistance*.<sup>7</sup> In part, this thesis, posits the hurdles Matsoso encountered as part of a long history of systemic exclusion, and his resilience as a paragon of *modernism as resistance*.

---

<sup>6</sup> Among the group which I would hazard to call the Jubilee group, identified by Koloane, were Dumile Mgxaji, Winston Saoli, Andrew Motjauadi and Julian Motau. These would have Matsoso's peers. I would encourage further research into this group.

<sup>7</sup> As art historian John Peffer has noted, modernism in South Africa manifests in two forms, as “settler modernism” and “black modernism”. The two often explore the grey areas of cultural hybridity (2009, p. 39). Settler modernists were involved, like their Australian and New Zealander counterparts, in a two-sided appropriation: of modernist technique from Europe and of indigenous aesthetic forms (Peffer 2009, p. 21). The root of this approach “was a desire on the part of settler artists to formulate their differential local status vis-à-vis the European modernist metropolis.” White settler modernists in part treated their African subjects as picturesque material for modernist compositions (Peffer 2009, p. 16). This group of white men and some women, who also worked as educators, had their eyes dually fixed, on the overseas and at home, paying homage to local tradition whilst purloining its imagery and aesthetic (Peffer 2009, p. 21). In the case of the latter, Black modernists were involved in cultural crossings did not seek to affirm their domination, but “to interpret the world of black persons living modern, aspirant lives.” Their renderings were sympathetic but also biting commentaries on social inequity.

Hinged on a conception and awareness of time as a journey through the thickets of history, this thesis unfolds linearly with occasional detours and spiralling interruptions so as to uncover certain, but certainly not all, meaningful events of history, their flow and their afterlife. It assumes serial time, but at the same time, it seeks to dive into the thickness, the dark waters of history, into what philosopher Merleau-Ponty termed the *épaisseur temporelle*, revealing, by way of this plunge, what Frank Chouraqui has so aptly referred to as “sedimented determinations inherited from the past” (2011, p. 204). Through the lens of the Brazilian *Bienal*, the colonial undercurrent of commissioning practices is identified as determinant of curatorial practice.

This body of thought is defined and inflected by a particular conception of history as sedimentation and build-up (as opposed to a teleology or logical unfolding). Time is taken as an accumulative thickening and calcification, with every sedimentary event taking ground in a previously sedimented event, thus calling for an archaeology. Hence Chouraqui’s affirmation that “historical sedimentation is the production of an event that has *assimilated* a previous event” (2011, p. 408). These layers or sediments obfuscate, hence the need to bring the sedimented invisible to visibility; to flesh out and rehabilitate what (and who) has been assimilated or quashed by the chasm, the interstice between commissioning and curating.

### *A quick overview: South Africa and the Bienal*

In 1948 Italian émigré, industrialist and rising philanthropist Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, also known by his sobriquet Ciccillo, travelled to the Venice Biennale as a commissioner to the Brazilian representation. It was here that it dawned upon him that a modernizing São Paulo required a similar event. To this effect, in 1951, with the support and blessing of public and private authorities, the greatest event in the city, and possibly in Latin-America’s cultural history took place, the *Bienal de São Paulo*. Like the Venice Biennale, it divided its artists by national representation, while granting awards to individual artists. Lourival Gomes Machado, the biennial’s director, wanted to “place modern art in Brazil not in a mere comparative position, but in live contact with the art of the rest of the world and to make of the São Paulo Biennial a strong rival of the Venice Biennial, if not the world’s centre” (Barnitz 2001,

p. 44). Shortly after its inception, other biennials emerged in Latin America. Historian Jacqueline Barnitz (2001) offers the Kaiser Industries American Biennial in Córdoba, Argentina (1962–1966) and the Coltejer Biennial in Medellín, Colombia (1968–1972, briefly revived in 1981) as examples. Since its inception in 1951, thirty-three editions of the *São Paulo Bienal* have taken place, making it the second oldest biennial, and a “stubborn fact” (Whitelegg 2009).

In their study of biennials, particularly biennials of the South, historians Charles Green and Anthony Gardner (2016) position the *São Paulo Bienal* as part of what they term “second wave” biennials, that is, biennials taking place between 1951 and 1989, “between the nineteenth century origins of biennialization and the ‘biennial boom’ from the 1990s onwards.”<sup>8</sup> Fuelled by the production and interrogations of Caroline A. Jones, who remarks on how so few critics of contemporary biennials are willing to dig into their collective background (2010, p. 70), this thesis seeks to contribute towards a “longer history” (2010, p. 66) of the organizing, conceptual and display practices that are particular to South Africa, and have found expression at biennials, particularly the *São Paulo Bienal*,<sup>9</sup> and the colonial exhibition, if we cast our net further back in time.

By looking at this “longer history,” I aim to unlock the enmeshed histories of commissioning and curating, and with these histories, artist Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, taking up what Saidiya Hartman refers to as “tending to the dead” (Saunders 2008). In more ways than one, this thesis offers a response to one of Jones’ critical questions: “Why is biennial culture so embarrassed about its history?”<sup>10</sup> I offer

---

<sup>8</sup> Caroline A. Jones’ second wave does not coincide with that of Green and Gardner. She suggests that the second wave coincides with the proliferation of biennials post 1990.

<sup>9</sup> For Jones, “the contemporary art biennial is deeply connected to the vast international expositions of the nineteenth century (which, in turn, developed from national trade fairs of the late eighteenth century” (2010, p. 68). This “long history” reveals how “many of the features of those earlier world pictures are replicated or *implied* [emphasis added] in the present (among them: presumptive universality, goals of knowledge production, ties to tourism, implications for urban infrastructure, regulation of international art-world trade routes, rehabilitation – through the cosmopolitan city – of previously restrictive or totalitarian regimes, and openings for multinational capital investment and new geopolitical ambitions, all in paradoxical conjunction with local political purposes)” (2010, p. 69). In this thesis, I propose that practice of commissioning be added to Jones’ characterization. As such, and in order to manifest this long thread or “long history,” to adopt Jones’s apposite term, I look at Henry Cole in 1851, Sydney Cowper in 1886 and Albert Werth in 1973.

<sup>10</sup> Writing on the belated emergence of exhibition history, Felix Vogel (2014) points to a denial of the historicity of the exhibition.

that the biennial's ontology, its ties to the grand imperial exhibitionary forms of the nineteenth century and the dubious practices and world-views of their commissioners are what make this "ontogeny" (Jones 2010, p. 72) undesirable, almost repressible.<sup>11</sup> Even though the biennial may have been conceived as an antidote and a break with world fairs, which were seen as "places of pilgrimage to the commodity fetish" (Benjamin 2008, p. 101), I intend to show that its actors (commissioners) remained unchanged, guaranteeing a spectral imperial and colonial continuity well into the twentieth century.

As Jones notes, world fairs produced a template for biennial culture (2010, p. 78). If the language of biennials is one of futurity (Jones 2010, p. 72) and prospection, retrospection must necessarily be left aside. The past, as Jones notes, is usually apostrophized as something belonging to the museum (2010, p. 73). According to this logic, museums hold the past, and biennials the "new" or the "future." I offer that we counter this arrangement, that we face our legacies and tend to our ghosts. For as Anthony Gardner and Charles Green (2013) warn, if we fall into the beguiling spell of biennials, which "doom us to fixation on an alluring, ever-changing yet perpetually present *now*" we risk "ignoring the past and the return of colonial spectres within the neocolonial."

The focus of this thesis, as has been noted, is South Africa. It should be emphasised that the aim of this project has not been to provide a chronology of South Africa's presence at the *Bienal*, but has been rather to look at significant moments in time, translating their significance to the purpose and intended double helix of this study: the disentangling of curating from commissioning practices and the study of subjects at the interstice, which are regarded as affective sites of latency and dormancy. What follows is a brief overview of South Africa's presence, where I highlight some illuminating moments. Rather than a complete history, the following paragraphs offer themselves as a commented synopsis and open gateway to this history.

---

<sup>11</sup> Jones argues that the biennial came into being as a trade-specific miniature and antidote to the exhausted world fair (2010, p. 72). Such was the case of the Venice biennial. If trade and world exhibitions developed from the grand expository form, biennials are a branch or offshoot and development of trade and world exhibitions.

Still a Union, South Africa participated for the first time in the *Bienal* in 1957.<sup>12</sup>

Somewhat surprisingly, the nation was not treated by the Brazilians as African, and did not appear in the official catalogue. With regards to the former, this may have been the result of their interlocutors being exclusively White whilst the latter may find an explanation in slow communication channels (at this time, the exchange of messages was almost exclusively conducted by telegram, and was often sent to the attention of embassies and consulates). This edition was also the first to be organised by the parastatal South African Association of the Arts (henceforth SAAA) – studied in chapter one.<sup>13</sup> The SAAA invited artists to submit work for the *Bienal* directly to the quadrennial exhibition they had been organizing since 1956. Up to one hundred invitations were sent. Submissions were directed to the National Gallery for assessment by a board, presided by Professor M. Bockhorst, the then president of the National Gallery. A total of thirty paintings and six sculptures were selected. No Black artists were included or represented.

It was only in 1961 that work by a now eminent Black South African artist, Peter Clarke, was included amongst a selection of twenty-nine names. It is likely that the attention given to Clarke's work would have been attenuated by the crowded display.<sup>14</sup> The year of 1967 marks another exception, with Dumile Feni presenting five drawings produced in 1966 and Sydney Kumalo four sculptures. Feni's *Woman with Two Children* (1966) and Kumalo's *Zulu Chief* (1966) are reproduced in the catalogue.

The subsequent edition repeated the bias of the past. Curated by Neville Dubow (then a lecturer at Michaelis School of Fine Art), only six artists were included (Kevin Atkinson, Kenneth Bakker, Janet Fraser, Patrick O'Connor, Helmut Starcke

---

<sup>12</sup> According to art historian Esmé Berman (1983, p. 381), the SAAA was advised that South Africa would be invited to participate in 1955. Given that the association was not in a position to fund the South African entry, official support was needed. Government assistance at the time was not available, with the matter receiving attention the following year. Hence despite receiving an invitation in 1955, it was only in 1957 that South Africa effectively participated for the first time.

<sup>13</sup> In short, the SAAA was a parastatal that organised national, international and local art exhibitions. In a funding document (Grant-in-Aid) submitted by the organising secretary, L.A. Sanderson to the Secretary for Education, Arts and Science (then NACAE), dated June 14 1961, it is clearly stated that activities were in the interest of Europeans only (cf. appendix 2).

<sup>14</sup> Once again, South Africa fails to appear in the official catalogue. It is more than likely that this was an issue of communication, i.e., getting information to the *Bienal* offices in time for publication. It was only in 1965 that South Africa managed this feat.

and Eduardo Villa). In 1971, Nel Erasmus (the then director of the Johannesburg Art Gallery), acting as the official commissioner, selected work by Judith Mason, John Muafangejo, Stanley Pinker, Cecil Skotnes and Herman van Nazareth. In her text, Erasmus disparagingly refers to Muafangejo as viewing “the historic an (sic) the mythical from his own primitive and unaffected world,” pitting the poetic expression and evolution of White artists, who move back and forth in time, against a prejudiced view of the Black world as timeless and staid, thus reflecting the biases of an art historical discourse. In essence, Erasmus crucially denied the coevalness of Black and White artists, a prevalent view at the time.

After Erasmus, Professor A.J. Werth was appointed commissioner of the South African representation to São Paulo of 1973 (discussed in chapter two). Werth, the director (and many would argue patriarch) of the Pretoria Art Museum, chose work by Johann van Heerden, Leonard Matsoso, Ronald Mylchrest, Alexis Preller and a small offering of tapestries produced by Rorke’s Drift artists for the 1973 edition.<sup>15</sup> Preller’s work was foregrounded as a “central figure,” per the official catalogue text.<sup>16</sup> Somewhat tellingly, no complete installation shots exist of the South African presentation, that is, images of Matsoso’s work in dialogue with that of his peers. It could be argued, nonetheless, that Werth’s focused and pared selection allowed Matsoso to shine, to such an effect that he was awarded a prize for drawing at this

---

<sup>15</sup> In short, Rorke’s Drift is a legendary centre for the role it played in the development of art amongst the Black population during apartheid. At the time, it was not possible for a Black artist to pursue an education in art except in private institutions. Rorke’s Drift began in Umpumulo in 1963 as the E.L.C. Art and Craft Centre under sponsorship of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Africa. The first workshop was a weaving workshop including wool carding, spinning and dyeing. In 1965 the centre moved to Rorke’s Drift, Natal, where it was run by the Swedish couple Ulla and Peter Govenius. The tapestries themselves can be defined as a natural synthesis of lore, biblical legend and scenes of everyday life.

Readers with an interest in this history can start with Pauline Burmann’s *The Thread of the Story* (2000) which focuses on the experience of Allina Ndebele who at a stage taught nearly eighty weavers and sixty spinners and several fine art students (Burmann 2000, p. 156).

For Burmann, the quintessential tapestry does not always follow a logical story line. “Scenes usually get mixed up or flow into an overall vision that triggers the spirit of fantasy. The entire tapestry is filled with images; every part is used to tell something. The process of tapestry making is a very long and contemplative one.” Each tapestry is the size of the weaving machine. In the case of Allina Ndebele, her machine was one and a half metres wide (Burmann 2000, p. 156).

According to a letter dated February 14 1975 (ref. BSP/5,027/75), sales of tapestries at the *Bienal* amounted to 3.287,80 USD (Saracho 1975).

<sup>16</sup> The catalogue states the following: “The central figure around which this South African contribution has been built up is Alexis Preller” (Werth 1973).

successful edition.<sup>17</sup> Matsoso was the first and only Black South African artist to receive such an accolade in São Paulo.

An attentive and critical viewer and witness to the South African representations will not only have noticed the absence of Black artists, but also how certain producers were represented time and again, signifying their status as artists of the regime.<sup>18</sup> Further analysis also reveals how painting was held as the exclusive province of White artists (although this admittedly may be linked to the cost of materials), though many would argue the disingenuousness of this perspective.

The edition of 1979, known as the “*Bienal das Bienais*” (the biennial of biennials) marked the end of South Africa’s presence. This *Bienal*, although neglected and often referred to as a biennial of crisis, marked a shift in Brazil from the dominant, authoritarian commissioning mode, which had reigned until then, to curating in 1981. Chapters three and four offer insights into this tectonic, but mostly understated transition. By 1979, after years of crisis, criticism and the boycotted edition of 1969, where Brazil’s authoritarian regime and its blinding censorship came under international fire, the *Bienal*’s state funders determined that its now inconvenient ties needed to be severed with South Africa.

Following an absence of fifteen years, South Africa was invited to participate in the 1994 edition. If Brazil had moved on from its military dictatorship to embrace democracy, South Africa was still grappling with the shackles of apartheid. Curated by a group of White men (Kendell Geers, Andrew Putter and Andrew Verster), with technical assistance provided by Thomas Mulcaire (who went on to work for the First Johannesburg Biennale) the group of artists selected for the show was a step in the wrong direction. This is an indictment of curatorial incongruity (I refer to the curator’s text, which speaks of White South Africans as “just another minority

---

<sup>17</sup> At the time, Matsoso’s unmistakable style was that of cross-hatching to create powerful sculptural forms (De Jager 1979, p. 60). Writing for *The Sowetan* some time later, Elliot Makhaya (1989) confirms the maturation of Matsoso’s style noting the “pronounced plasticity of his powerful interlocking forms” as his hallmark.

<sup>18</sup> Walter Battiss participated on four occasions (1957, 1961, 1963 and 1965), as did Eduardo Villa (1957, 1959, 1963 and 1969) and Cecil Skotnes (1957, 1959, 1961 and 1967). Skotnes was also an advisor to the selection committee that appointed A.J. Werth as the South African commissioner in 1973. To my mind, this signals the existence of an unflagged bias and conflict of interest.

group,” yet upholds the domination of this minority group in its selection). This edition alone received over 8000 visitors per week.

### *Research methodology*

For readers to understand this thesis and the research methods adopted, it is important to recognise and acknowledge that my initial research question and scope morphed as the project evolved. As such, I abandoned my preliminary exacting temporal frame of 1961 to 2011 (included in my first proposal) to a broader frame to include the hauntings of world expositions. I also discarded my intention to include the Venice Biennale in this analysis, having found that the material on Brazil was significant and in relative abundance, and that it could meaningfully contribute to understanding the core concern of this thesis, namely the shift from commissioning to curating. Should I have decided to pursue and include Venice in this analysis, my argument for reading the South would lose hold.

Metaphors aside, working from Cape Town, I realised that this project would imply gathering tangible and intangible threads from a range of South African and Brazilian sources. In terms of my research method, in the first instance, I determined from the very start that I needed to gather as much local primary information on organizing bodies and commissioners as possible, to then refocus and impart on work in Brazil. I phased my work by geographic regions, stretching my radius from Cape Town to Pretoria, then Johannesburg, followed by Brazil.

In the first instance, I determined that I had to find information on the South African commissioners. I flagged Neville Dubow, who had worked at UCT as one avenue, Nel Erasmus as another, and Albert Werth as a third. Realizing that Ms Erasmus was one of the last living commissioners of the 1970s, I was dogged in my determination to contact her, and considered this to be my first priority.<sup>19</sup> As a retiree, this proved a frustrating process, but through Andrew Lamprecht, a colleague in the Art History

---

<sup>19</sup> Nel Erasmus is most famous for her role in acquiring the Picasso drawing of a harlequin for the Johannesburg Art Gallery, partly funded by the then newly formed Friends of the National Gallery (Carmen 2013, p. 242). To my mind, Erasmus's role within South African modernity deserves greater attention.

Department at the University of Cape Town, I eventually contacted her gallerist, David Ras, who generously provided me with Ms Erasmus's information. Unfortunately, this avenue proved unproductive as she had left the bulk of her documentation and correspondence relating to the *Bienal* and archive at the Johannesburg Art Gallery (henceforth JAG). According to JAG archivist, these records were not to be found.<sup>20</sup> This was one of my first, but certainly not the last cul-de-sac. Nevertheless, and at the advice of Ms Erasmus, I contacted Nandi Hilliard of the Association of Arts Pretoria who in turn informed me that the old SANAVA archive – the original organizing body – had been donated to Unisa Library. At her recommendation, I contacted Marié Coetzee, who in turn directed me to the archivists at Unisa. In March of 2016, I travelled to Pretoria where I delved into the first of 36 boxes of archival information. With regards to Neville Dubow, I consulted his slide collection at the University of Cape Town with the intention of scouring material on Brazil and São Paulo. Although the collection contains a small scattering of slides from the Johannesburg Biennale, I was unable to identify anything relative to his commissioning experience of 1969. Knowing that any and all information on Albert Werth would be in Pretoria, I left this segment of research to last.

At Unisa, I singled out documents that would provide me with information on the SAAA (which I subsequently grouped into minutes, constitutions, annual reports, financial reports, expenditure reports and correspondence, mostly between the SAAA and the Minister of Education, Art and Science), with a particular emphasis on the years of 1973 and 1979. In total, I collected in excess of 1000 photographic reproductions of original documents. Given the wealth of information, I adopted the name Leonard Matsoso as a primary and key search word, scouring documents one by one for the name. My first visit to Unisa took place between March 11 and March 16, 2016. On my second visit, between May 24 and May 28, 2016, I located a folder on the artwork produced by Leonard Matsoso and Marguerite Weavind for the 1979 *Bienal*, work that was then diverted to the Spoleto Festival in the United States. On July 8, 2016, I met with Bronwen Lovegrove of the State Theatre in Pretoria to view

---

<sup>20</sup> This can be pointed to mismanagement, lack of funding and political disinvestment that has plagued the institution, allowing it to fall into a state of neglect and disrepair. For instance, in January 2012, *The Star* newspaper revealed that sewerage was building up in the basement. The pumps had broken down in November the previous year.

and document the five works produced by Matsoso for the 1979 *Bienal*. I returned to Unisa for a last research trip on this occasion.

In terms of the historical antecedents of biennials, namely trade exhibitions and world fairs, it was on reading about the early history of the South African Fine Arts Association, located within the SANAVA fonds, that the name Sydney Cowper emerged as a connective node between the SAAA and these occluded colonial histories. In addition to raising these documents, it was with much excitement that I located the report originally penned by Cowper on the 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* at the National Archives of South Africa (Cape Town Archives Repository). This report was crucial to identifying the working men and women on display. As far as I know, no other research has been conducted into Sydney Cowper, although my London peer, the very collegial Erika Ledermann, is likely to touch on Sydney as the son of Isabel Agnes Cowper, the first woman museum photographer at the South Kensington Museum and sister of the photographer Charles Thurston Thomas, whom she has been researching. Like Ledermann, I too have looked for a portrait of the Cowpers and promised to remain in touch with her should something emerge.

By April 2017, I was ready to travel to Brazil.<sup>21</sup> In preparation, I exchanged emails with Ana Paula Marques, who provided me with a preliminary document classification plan (*plano preliminar de classificação do documentos da Bienal*) which enabled me to understand how documents had been classified. This in turn assisted me in adopting an approach that would allow me to make the best use of their short library hours, aggravated by an unexpected city-wide strike. According to this plan, there are six broad categories with a number of subcategories, listed in parenthesis as follows: institutional management (direction, internal organization, legal relations, promotion, institutional relations, audience relations); event planning (planning, selection, shipping/accommodation, transit, communication materials, installation/de-installation, opening ceremony, education programme, awards); selection/application; financial management (budgetary control, resources; cash flow, accounting); material and asset management (maintenance, materials control, asset control, security),

---

<sup>21</sup> I wish to acknowledge and extend a word of gratitude to Rhodes University for their full support of my research trip to Brazil as well as my short trips to Pretoria during the initial research phase.

human resources (admissions, training, audience numbers, payments); information management (archive, computerisation, reprographics). On arrival, I requested information on the awards of 1973 and all press clippings available on South Africa. Once I combed through this initial selection, I sought to peruse event-planning documents. It was by way of this archive that I encountered another hidden connective node between the *Bienal* and the Johannesburg Biennale, detailed in chapter four. This visit also rendered in excess of 2000 images which I accordingly arranged on a spreadsheet by edition.

In tandem with these visits to the archives, I arranged semi-structured interviews, where I employed a blend of closed and open-ended questions, which I tentatively posed to Matsoso's peers, artists David Koloane and Patrick Kagiso Mautloa. My choice of questions sought to gently elicit their recollections of first meetings and shared experiences. Through these conversations, I became increasingly aware of the fact that "absence is presence with distance" (Bayard 2017).

The interviews were held at the Bag Factory in Johannesburg. I interviewed Koloane first, on May 26, 2016 and Mautloa shortly thereafter, on July 7, 2016. With regard to the former interview, Koloane looked ashen and poorly in the winter draught of his Johannesburg studio. Having dabbled with the thought of transcribing and reproducing our hour-long conversation, I decided it would be unfair to replicate our exchange within the ambit of this thesis, although his words in print have been widely referred to and acknowledged here. At the time, I did not know he was battling cancer. Nevertheless, I wish to note that my conversation with Koloane informed and shaped my 90-minute conversation with Mautloa sometime later, and it was thanks to this interview that I eventually managed to locate Matsoso's grave and family. On Saturday April 13, 2019, I had my first introductory meeting with the family at his sister's home in Diepkloof. On this occasion, I told them about my work and intentions, assuring them that my research would not be used for commercial purposes. After consulting with the extended family and representatives, I was informed that I had been granted access to the family archive. My second visit to the family home took place on the morning of Saturday May 11, 2019. Within this informal and cherished archive, I found press clippings, certificates, correspondence and studies towards larger works. This was possibly the most rewarding, humbling

and precious moment of my work and journey as a postgraduate scholar. By this time, I had moved and was living in Johannesburg.

It was also around this time (November 2018) that I travelled to Pretoria to visit the Pretoria Art Museum and access its archive. Here I located two artworks by Matsoso: *Die Koning en sy Indoenas*, 1981, Cray Pas on paper, 169 x 81,5 cm, inventory no. 81/71 and *Mens en Dier*, 1970, pen on paper, 53 x 36 cm, inventory no. 89/34. The former is described as previously owned by Linda Givon and the latter identified as previous property of the Goodman Gallery. In addition to these artworks, I also encountered a surprising wealth of press clippings on Matsoso and his peers, which I shared with his family on meeting them. It was here too that I managed to access Werth's PhD thesis and an abundance of newspaper clippings on the museum's first director. It should be noted that in 2019, I had the opportunity to look into the Esmé Berman Papers at Wits Historical Papers (Inventory A2286), particularly the Matsoso folder (Ba8). The records I found therein were mostly repeated press clippings of what I had managed to find through the family archive and holdings of the Pretoria Art Museum. It is important when speaking of the Berman Papers to bear in mind that Kathy Berman, Esmé's daughter, recently delivered further documents to the care of Wits and that these (particularly Esmé Berman's archive of images, which includes slides she used in her lectures and images taken for publications) have not been sorted or catalogued. As such, these papers represent an unmined source and could potentially shed further light on the period, the artist and his peers.

In terms of locating the artist's oeuvre in public collections, in addition to the previously mentioned South African State Theatre<sup>22</sup> and Pretoria Art Museum, the Iziko South African National Gallery, Sanlam (Cape Town and Johannesburg offices), the South African Broadcasting Corporation, hereon referred to as the

---

<sup>22</sup> According to the State Theatre inventory, the five pieces are *Nonquase* (sic) *I, II and III*, *Mabalela* and *Man and Beast*. All are identified as cray-pass on paper, measuring 100 x 65 cm each (framed, either horizontally or vertically). They are described as follows: "Sponsored by Secunda, Evander and Kinross. It is the three-dimensional vision of Nongquase (sic) legend revieled (sic) in myths and tales. This is Matsoso's reflective vision on the tale of the prophetess who was raised by a witch doctor and whose visions led to the slaughtering of cattle and other live stock (sic) and the Great Famine of 1858. It is a complex piece of work in vibrant Afrocentric colours, the tones carefully blended to give the shapes that rounded three-dimensional illusion." The works were originally located in the Drama Foyer Lift Lobby. I have engaged in an analysis of the works elsewhere (Dantas 2017).

SABC (where his work is displayed in several corridors),<sup>23</sup> Standard Bank, Johannesburg Art Gallery, Fort Hare University and Constitutional Court hold several significant pieces by the artist.

In closing, this thesis is hinged on the essential, riveting, unsettling and at times upsetting findings of this primary research and a sincere and humble engagement with the memory of Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, his friends and family. In these engagements, my orientation has been one of *listening*, of privileging my interlocutor's voice, their "accentedness" and "inflections" (Coetzee 2013) so as to create "new archives that will allow us to write our fractures histories and understand the conflicted present" (Coetzee 2013, p. 16).

### *Definition of core concepts and themes*

The core concepts (and themes) provided below have been included as entry points to the greater text. They can also be read as independent, stand-alone introductory entries. Readers will see that I have provided some pointers to chapters. These core concepts also provide an indication to the reader of some of the literature that has shaped the thesis.

### **Archive**

The archive is a node in this thesis and knowing what it means to work with archives an initial and constant concern. Like curating (tackled further ahead), the notion of what the archive is, is ever-expanding and subject to constant interpretation (as will be mentioned in chapter one). For Judith Halberstam, for instance, the archive is not only a repository, but it is also a theory of cultural relevance, a construction of collective memory (cited in Abbas and Abou-Rahme 2013, p. 358). In my work, I have espoused this definition and the awareness that the archive is a "spectral place," where, as Lewin Laubscher writes, "stories and experiences reach [us] from a no-place, from memory, and absence." This has demanded a spectral scholarship of me,

---

<sup>23</sup> Sadly, hardly anyone I spoke to at the SABC had knowledge that Matsoso has been an employee and that he was one of the first Black graphic designers to produce work for this state-owned company.

and an acceptance of conjuring, my “engagement with the dead and the past, and the unknown of a future-to-be” (Laubscher 2010).

I commence by addressing the archive as *archi*-tecture, highlighting its exclusionary and hegemonic functions, the violence of the totalizing knowledge it proposes, “the delusion of a timeless and essential understanding fully present to itself” (Laubscher 2010) which it embodies. Central to my intellectual and affective journey within the multitude of archives I have entered, considered and engaged, have been the writings and musings of South African archivist Verne Harris and Algerian philosopher Jacques Derrida. All that I have uncovered in this research pays testimony to how the past is still an abiding authority over the present, which both authors underscore in their production.

This thesis was fuelled by an interest in what Basel Abbas and Ruanne Abou-Rahme (2013) refer to as “material on the fringe” and images of archival “interstices” or gaps which help make the connection between different times, spaces and imaginaries visible. The spectral scholarship I undertake in this vein manifests in my last chapter. Here I solicit, I *re*-cord, I *re*-call, I *re*-inscribe, I *re*-surrect, I *re*-member (Laubscher 2010), apostrophizing Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso. My labour has been one of listening to the “calling from some elsewhere” (Laubscher 2010), of disinterring and reactivating forgotten, seemingly insignificant material – the dissonant images, fragments and traces in the archive that speak to the here and now.

The manner I have approached archives has been influenced by the writings of Ann Laura Stoler. I wish to acknowledge my debt to her guiding and illuminating text *Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance* (2002), where she recommends that researchers and scholars read archives *along* the grain, that is, that we understand the conditions that shaped what could be written, what could be repeated, what competencies were recorded, what stories could not be told, and what could not be said, detailing “the language of rule,” before we read these repositories *against* the grain, “prowling” for stories of resistance. As such, in my first chapter, I describe the “scaffolding” of the archive, illuminating it as a state machine and a “template that

decodes something else” (Stoler 2002, p. 99).<sup>24</sup> I refer to the constellation of activities that enable archives: the circuits of communication – the shipping lines, courier services and telegraphs Stoler mentions – that have kept these repositories flush; the processes of selective duplication, dissemination and destruction that have shaped them; the buildings that were constructed to make sure that their content was properly stored; archival conventions that designated, for instance, who was considered a reliable source; and the clerks and copyists who keep the service running. In doing this, what Stoler calls the “un-State-d” histories (Stoler 2002, p. 99) surface. Such is the case of Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso.

### **World fairs or expositions**

Within the ambit of this study, world expositions are treated as the precursors of biennials. I am not alone in making this assertion. Caroline A. Jones (2010) notes, “the contemporary art biennial is deeply connected to the vast international expositions of the nineteenth century (which, in turn, developed from national trade fairs of the late eighteenth century).” Like the world expositions that came before them, which aimed to present to an international audience “a miniature version of the world that was as true to scale as possible present for only a limited time at a clearly defined site within the ever-changing host city” (Geppert 2018) biennials, like their historical predecessors, are very much about providing authored world pictures. Taking up and adapting Jones’s basic argument, the artwork in the biennial, like any other commodity in the world exposition – be it a bottle of wine, a fan, a spear, a basket, a log of wood, a fern, etc. – is inserted *into (in order to complete)* a certain picture or inventory of the world. Taking the aforementioned example a step further, in 1886, Cape basketry would have been presented as a timeless African tradition from a colonial dominion, contrasted with the centrality of industrious and industrializing European nations and their machines. Eighty-six years later, the artwork of Leonard Matsoso would still be framed discursively as torn between a questionable African world of myth and tradition and an equally questionable

---

<sup>24</sup> Although I initially refer to the archive figuratively as a metaphor for a “corpus of selective forgettings and collections” (Stoler 2002, p. 94), I move to look at it in concrete, as a material site and set of documents.

European world of enlightenment and progress, between a “lesser” and “higher” art (or the today dubious, unstated categories of craft and fine art).

The age of biennials, which has been defined as our own, is characterized by multiple resistances to a Eurocentric centre (the North-Atlantic axis) from where an ordering (birthed during the Enlightenment) radiates to a periphery (the majority world). Despite this resistance, world expositions and biennials remain “enlightenment projects” (Jones 2010) that order, inventory and offer to consumption. For early twentieth-century observers like migrant and cultural observer Walter Benjamin, world exhibitions were seen critically as glorifying the exchange value of the commodity. Writing about Paris in the nineteenth century, Benjamin noted how these platforms created a framework where use value would recede into the background, opening a phantasmagoria that viewers would enter in order to be distracted. Part of this phantasmagoria were human displays, which integrated the colonies and their peoples into “the universe of commodities” (Benjamin 2008, p. 102). For Benjamin, the phantasmagoria of capitalist culture attained its “most radiant unfolding in the world exhibition of 1867.” On visiting the *Expo '67*, one hundred years later, Umberto Eco is reminded again of Benjamin’s prescience, noting how merchandise continues to be enthroned on these world stages, surrounded by an aura of amusement. Eco (1986:294) speaks of world exhibitions as an “enormous collection of goods,” a “Missa Solemnis of traditional capitalist society.” On the contemporary form of these expositions, he remarks:

[a] country no longer says, “Look what I produce” but “Look how smart I am in presenting what I produce.” The “planetary society has already standardized industrial production to such a degree that the fact of showing a tractor or space capsule no longer differentiates one image of civilization from another. The only solution left is symbolic. Each country shows itself by the way in which it is able to present the same thing other countries also present. The prestige game is won by the country that best sells what it does, independently of what it actually does (Eco 1986, p. 296).

In this thesis, I have chosen to look at the 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, an exhibition that opened on 4 May to a second verse of the national anthem, sung in Sanskrit and an ode by Tennyson. John MacKenzie (1984) notes that around twenty

catalogues were produced for this show, together with reports on the individual colonies. I draw on the original South African report (Cowper 1887) located at the Cape Town Archives Repository of the Western Cape Archives and Records Service. Penned by Sydney Cowper, this otherwise buried document provides an account of the Cape's participation and role in the event. In my second chapter, I excavate and inscribe South Africa into the literature around this specific exhibition, which has mostly been produced by colleagues interested in the study of Southeast Asia, particularly Peter Hoffenberger (2001) and Alayna Heinonen (2012), but also Paul Greenhalgh (1988) and John MacKenzie (1984). My analysis of this exhibition seeks to highlight Cowper, who was strategically placed in Cape Town, working not only for the nascent association that would metamorphose into the SAAA, but as a member at the service of an imperial clerisy and network. As such, this thesis contributes to complementing and adding to what we know about the 1886 exhibition, and more importantly, the role played by commissioners.

Within this lineage, the *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations*, opened by Queen Victoria and her German husband Prince Albert is commonly regarded as the first large international exposition (Geppert 2018).<sup>25</sup> As John MacKenzie notes, exhibitions of the mid-nineteenth century largely followed the classification system originated by Prince Albert and Lyon Playfair for the Crystal Palace of 1851, in which "exhibits were divided into raw materials, the manufactures created from them, and the arts that decorated the manufactures" (1984, p. 98). In these exhibitions, control over the natural world was paramount and was exemplified in numerous ways. Amongst them were stuffed animals, which were introduced for the first time in 1851. Later, MacKenzie notes, live animals representative of their regions were made to wander amongst the exhibits, as at the *Greater Britain Exhibition* of 1889 and the *Coronation Exhibition* of 1911 (1984, p. 99). The practice of bringing peoples from overseas seems to have begun later in Paris (1867) where visitors were served exotic

---

<sup>25</sup> The 1851 Exhibition was also the progenitor of the Victoria and Albert Museum (then known as the South Kensington Museum). The £168 000 profit generated by ticket sales was used to purchase the site where the museum would be built. It was also constructed with collections derived from the exhibition (Barringer 1998). However, "the institution which grew up at South Kensington from 1856 was not just a museum. Also on the site were a large art school and the offices of the Department of Science and Art, which controlled government art and design education through a centralized network of art schools with standardized methods of teaching and extended throughout Britain and Ireland [and the Cape]" (Barringer 1998, p. 14).

products by those who apparently produced them (MacKenzie 1984, p. 114). This practice was present at the 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, with groups presented in “villages” such as the one organised by the then Native Department of the Cape (see chapter two).

It should be noted that these exhibitions were culturally significant given their spread and attendance. The Paris exhibition of 1889 drew 32 million visitors. In 1900, it drew 48 million. The *Exposition Coloniale Internationale* of 1931 drew a crowd of 33.5 million. In Chicago, the 1893 exhibition attracted 27.5 million visitors (MacKenzie 1984). According to Qureshi (2011, p. 255), world fairs fell into demise following World War One.

### **Biennial**

According to curator Paul O’Neill “biennials” are temporary, mediated spaces that are transformed at recurring intervals. Generally speaking, they refer to a large-scale, international group exhibitions that happen every two to five years (2012, p. 52). Typically, they present a large number of works, rely on a generous budget and are driven by an “ambition to be part of an international art world nexus” (O’Neill 2012, p. 52).

For historians Charles Green and Anthony Gardner (2016, p. 49), much like their disavowed precursors world expositions, “biennials bring artists and works from one culture or region to another, ideally to establish dialogues, tensions and resonances between different cultural products, and all through an exhibition medium transposed from its nationalist foundations at the Venice Biennale in 1895.” As curator Adam Budak has noted, today more than ever, biennials are seen as “a sort of vehicle to produce new localities” (Gray 2010, p. 64),<sup>26</sup> as tools for making cities and placing them on the radar.

---

<sup>26</sup> In a similar vein, Rachel Weiss states “ideally a biennial is an opportunity to redraw the global map with the centre newly located. As new areas log on to the global contemporary circuit, a biennial can magnetize a location, drawing in attention, ideas and works from faraway places and aligning them with the local reality” (Wineland ND).

Within the twentieth century, these exhibitions have traditionally had internationalism at their core, or what Green and Gardner refer to as a “yearning for new-found global relevance” (2016, p. 49). Green and Gardner (2016) employ the metaphor of waves to describe the development of biennials, to such an effect that the moment we are living corresponds to the “third wave.” This image is most instructive given how each wave washes, and even crushes the other, their substance intermingling momentarily, with the tide possibly pulling in one direction or another. At this point in time, where the so-called third wave has taken hold, the primacy of national selection is no longer applicable, notions of the Establishment within the art world are unsettled, and artists beyond Western centres have come to be the focus, signalling a “new transnationalism” (O’Neill 2012, p. 53). This third wave coincides with what Peter Osborne (2014) has termed the “age of the biennial,” which we are currently experiencing. I consider the Second Johannesburg Biennale, which I address briefly in chapter four, as a threshold, if not the door, to this third wave.

The *Bienal de São Paulo*, which is the yoke of this thesis, features, as mentioned in my rationale above, as an instance of “second wave” biennials, together with those of Alexandria,<sup>27</sup> Egypt, Ljubljana, Yugoslavia (1955), the Sydney Biennial created in 1973,<sup>28</sup> the Arab Art Biennial (Bagdad, 1974)<sup>29</sup> and the Carnegie International initiated in the mid-1980s.<sup>30</sup> For Green and Gardner (2016, p. 50), one of the markers

---

<sup>27</sup> The *Biennale de la Méditerranée* took as its driving force Mediterranean regionalism. Another of its distinct features was that of foregrounding, even if rhetorically, cooperation as opposed to competition (as was the case of the Venice Biennale). Another major achievement on the part of the biennial’s patron, Gamal Abdel Nasser, pointed out by Gardner and Green (2013) was that of bringing together artists from both sides of the Iron Curtain, as well as countries subject to dictatorships, which was no small feat at the height of the Cold War. The regionalism Nasser envisioned proved to be a way of breaking through these geopolitical divisions.

<sup>28</sup> The first Sydney Biennial was launched to commemorate the opening of the Sydney Opera House in 1973. Its second edition (1976), curated by Tom McCollough, aimed to encourage a Pacific Triangle of exchange and mutual influence, with Australia and New Zealand forming a third triangle with Asia and the American West Coast (Gardner and Green 2013, p. 449). This edition “gathered together sculpture and performance from the Pacific Rim, bringing Australian land art and modernist sculpture into dialogue with similar works by Japanese and Korean artists, as well as with installations from the San Francisco Bay Area” (Gardner and Green 2013, p. 449). I mention this edition as an example of how second wave biennials attempted to integrate the local with the regional, forging modes of internationalism that departed from the Cold War binaries of East and West, capitalism and communism, and their attendant antagonisms.

<sup>29</sup> This was intended to be a migrant biennial. As Gardener and Green (2013) acknowledge, this biennial established by the Baghdad-based Union of Arab Artists pre-empted the roving Manifesta biennial by almost twenty years.

<sup>30</sup> Briefly, Gardner and Green (2014) attribute four characteristics to second-wave biennials. The first is their conception as state instruments, the second is their ideology and rhetoric as “forms of intercultural friendship,” the third has to do with exhibition practice and the emergence of the itinerant

of this second wave of biennials is their becoming self-conscious, “revealing themselves to be concerned with their form as well as their content” (2014, p. 28). These biennials “sought an often-self-conscious rejection of the cultural pretensions – and certainly the cultural hegemony – of the North Atlantic. Others linked their biennials to the civic project of cultural modernization and internationalization.” It should be noted that Green and Gardner omit the Dak’Art Biennale, created in 1989 by the government of Senegal to promote art in Africa, from this “second wave”.<sup>51</sup> To my mind, this biennial stands on the tipping point of their “second wave,” with its vision of what curator and historian Ugochukwu-Smooth C. Nzewi (2018) has decisively termed “Pan-African internationalism.”

Interestingly, as Green and Gardner (2016) point out, both the *Bienal de São Paulo* (founded in 1951) and the Sydney Biennial (founded in 1973) were founded by Italian immigrants: in São Paulo, Francisco “Ciccillo” Matarazzo Sobrinho, in Sydney, Franco Belgiorno-Nettis (this does not mean that philanthropists determined or are necessarily characteristic of this so-called second wave). Their motivations, according to the aforementioned authors, were similar. Both shared stark life-experiences of a post-World War Two diaspora, both had established themselves as important industrialists in their respective cities, both participated with pride in their city’s civic and national desires for international recognition “as nascent global cities and as nodes of business and capital in their respective regions in the Southern Hemisphere” (Green and Gardner 2016, p. 53). Like Sobrinho, Belgiorno-Nettis “civic-minded boosterism, nostalgia, and philanthropy” drove him to develop, invent and support a new biennial in Sydney with resources provided by the family’s conglomerate, the powerful Transfield Corporation, which built bridges, railways, and major infrastructure projects throughout the Sydney region. But the Sydney Biennial, unlike São Paulo, did not divide it artists by national representation. As Green and Gardner rightly note, Sydney was not the first platform to dispense with the Venetian model. The *Bienal de Arte Coltejer*, which began in Medellín, Colombia, in 1968, “had been presenting sprawling group shows with international and local

---

biennial, the peripatetic curator and/or the biennial as a form of infrastructural development and even activism, that is, the biennial as a catalyst for renovating spaces or generating collections. The fourth and last characteristic has to do with legacy, that is, the existence or precariousness of the archive.

<sup>51</sup> The same could be said of the *First World Festival of Negro Arts* (1966). This lacuna has fortunately been addressed by David Murphy’s edited volume of 2016.

artists' works placed alongside each other regardless of nation or medium since its founding" (2016, p. 50).<sup>32</sup> Other similarities between the two biennials, lifted by Green and Gardner's analysis, pertain to US state intervention. Both Brazil and Australia fell under the programme of soft power implemented by the Central Intelligence Agency. In the Australian instance, exhibitions such as *The Family of Man* and *Two Decades of American Painting* anchored briefly in Melbourne and Sydney as part of their CIA-sponsored tours. I briefly detail the complex history of US interests and intervention in Brazil my first chapter.

The first wave begins with the Venice Biennale of 1895, an exhibition characterized by its scale and international (albeit European) profile, and is generally acknowledged as the first art exhibition to recur on a regular basis (Niemojewski 2010).<sup>33</sup> The show featured 516 works, nearly three-fifths by non-Italians, and was a space for "debate on regionalism and on the recent reunification of Italy" (Martini and Martini 2011, p. 101). Artworks were displayed according to the artist's country of origin and with "a conspicuous attachment to the nineteenth century notion of schools and style" (Niemojewski 2010, p. 92). This arrangement evolved into a system of national representation and, in terms of infrastructure, into national pavilions constructed in the Giardini at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>34</sup>

Having provided a working definition of biennials, it seems appropriate at this point to ask why they have thrived and are so ubiquitous, to the point of the term "biennialization" (Tang 2009) being coined and popularized, and a "new proto-sub-

---

<sup>32</sup> The first *Bienal de Coltejer* (1968) was named after the city's textile business, which was the largest at the time in South America, and was organised by dentist and artist Leonel Estrada. According to Gardner and Green (2013), hundreds of works were shown by artists from across the Americas and the Caribbean, as well as from Canada, the US and Spain. "Masks from Haiti, kinetic art from Venezuela, mail art from Peru, paintings, engravings and installations intermingled to emphasise the diversity of Ibero-American practices" (Gardner and Green 2013, p. 448).

<sup>33</sup> The first Biennale was planned to coincide with, as Lawrence Alloway (1969, p. 31) notes, the silver anniversary of the marriage of King Umberto I and Queen Margherita of Savoy. "The site chosen for the exhibition was the public garden [the Giardini], out beyond the mouth of the Grand Canal, on the way to the Lido. The area had been reclaimed from the Adriatic during the Napoleonic occupation and was, in 1893 [when planning began], in use as a public garden, with an elephant named Toni for children to ride, and stables for cavalry horses."

Alloway too is perhaps the first to relate the Biennale to the "giant nineteenth-century exhibitions in which art from all countries was combined with technology and science," (1969, p. 36) and the Great Exhibition in London of 1851 and the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris of 1855.

<sup>34</sup> Marco Malazzani (2014) offers a comprehensive guide the pavilions designed for the Giardini since 1887.

discipline” (Osborne 2014, p. 21) of art history, “biennology” (Filipovic, Van Hal and Ostvebo, 2010) being founded.<sup>35</sup> In short, the biennial has become a champion of neoliberal networks (Gardner and Green, 2014). Post 1989 biennials have become ineluctably tied up with corporate, municipal, national and regional development projects, and property markets in particular, as was the case of the First Johannesburg Biennale.<sup>36</sup> To state this does not mean that biennials are unaware or unresponsive to this state of affairs. No matter how hard they try, biennials are a part of the business. They are also, and this is their allure, part of a “collective fantasy: the fantasy of providing comprehensive coverage of the globe” (Osborne 2014, p. 16).

### Commissioners

Exhibition commissioners were, as Professor Peter Hoffenberger (2001) has noted, among the first generation of cultural bureaucrats who applied administrative skills and scientific knowledge to public culture and national education by way of exhibitions, particularly world exhibitions and trade fairs.

In essence, they were responsible for preparing, collating and dispatching exhibits to London, to venues such as the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace.<sup>37</sup> They were

---

<sup>35</sup> In Peter Osborne’s estimation, in 2014 alone there were at least 175 biennials. This has led to a “problem of overproduction.” All of these biennials are competing for the same contemporaneity, seemingly without end. As Osborne writes, “not only is every-other year always-this-year, but every-other-place is always next week” (2014, p. 26).

<sup>36</sup> For more, see Jane Duncan’s doctoral thesis of 2007 where she analyses the First Johannesburg Biennial in its relation to the country’s Reconstruction and Development Programme.

<sup>37</sup> The Crystal Palace is arguably a lost icon and a “remarkable artifact” (Preziosi 2001, p. 32) of world expositions. It was an immense iron and glass building, designed along the lines of a garden greenhouse (Bonython and Burton 2003, p. 134), created “for all to see” (Preziosi 2001, p. 37). An enormous and impressive venue, 1 848 feet long and covering 19 acres, it was undoubtedly designed to attract audiences and attention. In Donald Preziosi’s estimation, it was modernity’s most *unsurpassable* artefact; “the translucent embodiment and semiological *summa* of the principle of the modern itself: infinitely expandable, scaleless, anonymous, transparently and stylelessly abstract” (2001, p. 33). It offered an impartial instrument for making legible both the differences and the similarities, and the cognitive, aesthetic and by consequence ethical hierarchies amongst peoples by means of their juxtaposition and displayed products and effects (Preziosi 2001, p. 33). To my mind, it is also arguably a precursor of the mega museums we see mushrooming around us today, which the Zeitz MOCCA, the Guggenheim Bilbao and Guggenheim Abu Dhabi attest to. The Crystal Palace, as Donald Preziosi (2001) proposes, is the imaginary lost origin, the unconscious (ideal plenitude) of these museums.

According to biographers Elizabeth Bonython and Anthony Burton (2003, p. 139), the palace was twice the length of the riverfront of the new Houses of Parliament. Some 2000 men were brought in each day by horse to work on this incredible building. Bonython and Burton mention that there was so much wood in the building that nine-inch fire hydrants were installed all around and sappers trained to fight fires. Despite these provisions, on November 30, 1936, due to its somewhat advanced state of disrepair, the building eventually did catch fire, as Henry Cole had feared. Despite the effort of four

also charged with ensuring that materials were correctly classified, publishing extensive reports and introducing new, improved and profitable colonial products to the British market, for instance, South African wines, diamonds, copper, crocidolite and gold, but also timber, cereals, jams and preserves, amongst others. Not only did their selection fall on finished products, but they were also charged with sourcing and evaluating the benefits and commercial value of raw materials, and demonstrating the capacity of Britain's labour force in its dominions, albeit in a veiled manner.<sup>38</sup> In addition to setting up what many expected to be awe-inspiring displays, these men were also expected to promote a particular vision of social order, attracting emigrants to London, promoting national and imperial beliefs, values and behavior, and attenuating tensions between social classes. In addition to all of these responsibilities, certain high-ranking individuals were also charged with the evaluation of exhibits as jurors.

A new "clerisy," these men linked imperial organizations, travelling to London and back, forging the Empire's national communities and its "networks of knowledge" (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 31). In his treaty *Empire of Display*, Peter Hoffenberger gives the example of the ties between the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of West India (Bombay), the Australian Museum (Sydney) and the Science and Art Department (London), which were forged at these exhibitions. In the South African instance, per my first chapter, I demonstrate how these ties developed locally by way of this clerisy, drawing the Colonial Gallery (today the National Gallery), the South African Fine Arts Association, the Central School (Cape Town's first art school) and even the Johannesburg Art Gallery, by way of Lady Phillips, around the Science and Art Department (today the Victoria and Albert Museum), the heart of this vast,

---

hundred firemen, nothing remained besides two vast water towers. There was never an official inquiry. No one was killed (Bryne).

<sup>38</sup> The 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, for instance, included an illustration of the Diamond Mining Industry in South Africa. It was, according to the report (dated July 13 1887) penned by the Secretary to the Executive Commissioner Sydney Cowper, the most popular exhibition, attracting an immense crowd of spectators, and included a complete series of models, drawing and specimens of blue ground, hard rock and reef, the arrangement of which was entrusted to a Mr F. Schute, "a Special Commissioner appointed to look after the Diamond Mining interests." The display included a fully operational rotary washing machine, borrowed from Davey, Paxman & Co. of Colchester. Cowper notes: "The operation of washing the blue ground, sifting the gravel and picking out diamonds were carried on daily for two to three hours before a crowd of intently gazing watchers. No exhibit excited more general interest or more closely riveted the attention of the public than this actual process of diamond-washing on a large scale."

invisible and highly influential imperial web or radius; “a delicate network” that connected voluntary societies and administrative bodies throughout the British Empire (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 31).<sup>39</sup>

Comprised of mostly of White men (with a few exceptions, the most notable that we know of being Trilokya Nath Mukharji from Calcutta),<sup>40</sup> this “clerisy” (Hoffenberger 2001, p. xviii) produced guidebooks, classification systems, organised space in such a way as to provide a grammar for the reading process of the exhibition. They too were responsible for staging part of the “extensive social drama” (Hoffenberger 2001, p. xix) and the “interactive arena” (Hoffenberger, 2001: xxii) that was Victorian display and world expositions, and the process of observing and being observed. As such, these men fundamentally shaped colonial culture and many of the institutions we have

---

<sup>39</sup> In terms of this imperial clerisy, Sadiah Qureshi reminds us that anthropologists too were a part of this network of knowledge. For instance, during the 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, several talks were held at the Anthropological Institute. These included discussions of African collections from both the Cape of Good Hope and West Africa (2011, p. 257). As Qureshi notes, “some of the courts were personally curated by members of the Anthropological Institute; for instance, Robert James Mann, an expert of South African ethnology, superintended the display of the ethnological collections from Natal. It is more than likely that Mann and Cowper met during the installation of the collections, and are likely to have become acquaintances. Could Cowper for instance possibly have attended these Anthropological Institute?”

“Once the exhibition had closed its doors, its resources continued to prove useful, since the lion’s share of the 1887 volume of *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* featured papers either presented at the exhibition or based on its official exhibits, ranging from foreign performers to material artefacts.” According to Qureshi, the talk around the Cape Colony gravitated around “Bantu” workmanship to include pottery and what were described as fetish objects, musical instruments and three performers. During one of the talks, one of the performers had his strength tested. He was made to squeeze and pull at an apparatus in an appalling and demeaning contest against a machine with the strength of 10 000 persons (Qureshi 2011, p. 257).

<sup>40</sup> Mukharji, “a Bengali from the upper castes” (Qureshi 2011, p. 245) was one of many South Asians employed in the Raj’s vast system of libraries, art schools, museums, literary societies, and other public culture projects. He undertook exhibition duties in his official capacity as exhibition assistant for the Government of India’s Department of Revenue and Agriculture (Hoffenberger 2010, p. 50). Mukharji threw himself into his work, detailing indexes and classifications undertaken by earlier commissioners. By way of his revisionist practice, he produced more comprehensive and accessible work and placed himself in a position to represent India like no other. Hoffenberger (2001, p. 54) makes particular mention of the index he produced for the 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* which visitors could refer to for a description of what they observed. His survey of artware, for instance, included descriptive notes from exhibition catalogues, reactions from international jurors, location, size, chief characteristics and uses. According to Sadiah Qureshi (2011), upon his return to India, he wrote a fascinating account of his visit to Europe, transforming his own role within the exhibition from a government official to an observer of the English. Mukharji as such provides an important counter-gaze and account of the reciprocal observation between people of varied ethnicities, stating: “we were pierced through and through by stares from eyes of all colours” (Heinonen 2012, p. 125). Mukharji was undoubtedly very much aware of the fact that Europeans viewed him as a part of the colonial spectacle, as a “native”, but at the same time, he compared Europeans to Indian tribal peoples (the Naga) (Heinonen 2012, p. 125), returning the gaze. And as scholar Alayna Heinonen notes, although he may have reasserted imperialist views, for instance of Indian racial difference, he complicated monolithic racial conceptions of Indians, making of him a fascinating and complex individual and commissioner.

inherited and work with today. Such is the case of the Victoria and Albert Museum and its early influence on collections and education in South Africa, which I explore in chapter one. The heirs of these men, as Hoffenberger critically notes, continue to shape official cultural policy in a seemingly postcolonial Australia and India (and South Africa, I shall argue).

It should be acknowledged that commissioners “never formed their own professional organization, unlike nineteenth-century engineers, architects and anthropologists” (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 36). I choose to differ with Hoffenberger and his view that they did not construct their own intellectual aristocracy, with its structure of family ties and seemingly inherited offices (the case of the familial link between Henry Cole and Sydney Cowper, provided in chapter two, should suffice to prove otherwise).

Within the purview of this thesis, I look at the figures of Henry Cole and Sydney Cowper as two successive archetypes of the colonial commissioner. This is undertaken in my second chapter. Although much has been written about Cole (I refer to the full-length biography, produced by nineteenth-century historian Elizabeth Bonython and Anthony Burton), Cowper – whom I see as a veiled protégé – has fallen to the margins and into obscurity, despite his contribution to the 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* and the Fine Art Association. This thesis places Cowper squarely within this network of knowledge and line of commissioners, bringing the tradition “home,” that is, to South Africa, and thus situating the Cape squarely within Cole’s project. After considering Cole and Cowper as elements in an early chain of command and obedience, I posit Albert Werth, the director of the Pretoria Art Museum and commissioner of the 1973 South African representation at the *Bienal de São Paulo*, as a late heir to this officious, obedient and abiding practice. I would like to note my unease and caution in writing these histories. The possibility of unleashing their violence upon readers again is real. Bearing this mind, I wish to state that I have attempted to create a space that is respectful, where primary sources are brought to light and interrogated, so that we do not fall into the trap of “dismemory” (Nikro 2011).<sup>41</sup> This has not been an easy task and I have tried to perform my work with the utmost respect, affection and care for the unaccounted.

---

<sup>41</sup> For the eager reader, an explanation of dismemory is offered in my first chapter as a musing around the discarding of upsetting histories and archives.

### Curating (privileging the verb)

Curating erupts in South Africa with the rift caused by Nigerian curator Okwui Enwezor on the occasion of the Second Johannesburg Biennale (per my fourth and final chapter), and coincides with the democratic moment, the forging of a demos – a true people, as perceived at this most optimistic time – in South Africa.<sup>42</sup> 1997, as Michael Brenson (1998) notes, was “the curator’s moment.” Five international biennials took place during this year – Cairo, Havana, Venice, Istanbul, Johannesburg and Documenta (Kassel).

Unlike the figures who came before him, Enwezor disrupted and upset the South African clerisy and hegemonic commissioning lineage, passed down from generation to generation since colonial times. Different to the “curators” who came before him and were still operating in the commissioning mode, Enwezor was decisively and decidedly an outsider with no state allegiances. In a hurried interview with Hazel Friedman (1997) for the *Weekly Mail*, a somewhat exasperated sounding Enwezor affirms: “people don’t understand the role of the curator, particularly the intellectual role.” A bit further into the discussion, he adds: “The curator today is not an administrator as in previous years. He or she is more critically engaged with the subject matter, more willing to be implicated in it and accountable for it.”

In this body of work, I have tactically privileged the verb curating over the noun curator to distinguish and emphasise doing or what is done as critical to definition of curating, given that the label “curator” is shifting signifier that is flaunted and employed so loosely and widely in contemporary times.

Perhaps one of the features of Enwezor’s modus operandi was the externalizing of action, what professor Jérôme Glicenstein calls “*l’affirmation d’une externalization de son action*” of working with curatorial teams, a strategy he took a step further with

---

<sup>42</sup> According to Christopher Blackwell (2003), the Greek word demos (pronounced “day-moss”) has several meanings. *Demos* – or *deme* – is the Greek word for “village”, the smallest administrative unit of the Athenian state, much like a voting precinct or school. Provided they were not slaves, and their parents Athenian, young men who were eighteen or older would present themselves to the “deme” to enrol in the “assembly list.” Another meaning of *demos* was “people” as in People of Athens, the body of citizens collectively. A young man would enrol in his *deme* to become a member of the *demos*.

Documenta XI (Kassel) and the creation of five platforms. For Enwezor, art history was not separable from history and the laws that govern life in the real world (Friedman 1997). To my mind, this is what truly distinguished Enwezor from the average cultural bureaucrat.

### **Interstice**

The interstice is, to quote Anthony Coughlin (2017), “an interruption or void that emerges from the connection between two images.” In chapter three leading on to chapter four, I look at the 1979 edition of the *Bienal* as a paradigmatic shift from commissioning to curating in Brazil, which indirectly and almost imperceptibly impacted the South African representation. I ask that my readers picture commissioning and curating as two images. Between the two exists an interval, a gap. This interval, this interstice does not represent an absence, a blank space, a “blink” or a lack. It represents, as Coughlin would have it, a resistance, a remnant energy that the artwork and presence of Leonard Matsoso (and in more ways than one, the *Bienal* itself) embodies.

The concept of the interstice, translating Deleuze loosely, is the method of between, between two images. It is the method of and, of “this and then that.” The interstice renders the frontier between two actions, between two affections, between two perceptions, between two visual images discernible. It is a reference to a virtual space that emerges in the differentiation between two images; the endless gaps that operate not just within the frame, but outside it (the implied out-of-field) (Coughlin 2017).

The interstice, Coughlin notes in his thesis, “is not a question of looking between, but of looking at ‘the between,’ the space between subjects where there exists a shade which alters their constituents, i.e., the figures themselves” (2017, p. 18).

### **Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso**

For this extended entry — which can optionally be read as an introductory stand-alone account — I adopt the traditional custom of South Africa, whereby one introduces a person by way of genealogy. Rather than accede to the “culture of instant

gratification, “ as Professor Njabulo Ndebele has called it elsewhere, where the awkwardness of meeting a stranger is hidden through the deft device of false familiarity (2003, p. 63), I have chosen to acknowledge his lineage, albeit in brief, and build and understanding of the artist through my writing, bearing in mind that the intimacy of a first name is something that is earned, not declared, as Ndebele well reminds us.

Born on June 21, 1949 in Pimville (Soweto) Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso was the son of Khauhelo Edward Matsoso, a Mosotho, and Angelina Matsoso, a Morolong. Both parents were practising Anglicans. Leonard is survived by his younger brother, Khotso Matsoso, who shares his smile, and older sister, Keketso, whom I met in the face-brick home she built from her salary, earned working as a nurse in the Middle East during the 1990s; a home she shared with her brother Leonard in his late years.<sup>43</sup> It was her garage at the back of the property that Matsoso improvised as a live-in studio, and it was from here that the country sound of Jim Reeves echoed through the corridors; a favourite he would repeatedly play whilst he drawing the vicissitudes of apartheid and imagining a life after its demise.

In the early stages of my research, I thought erroneously that Matsoso was still alive, and that if I was tenacious enough, I could meet him. As most listings failed to acknowledge him as deceased, I reckoned he was still living and working in Johannesburg. After numerous calls, I eventually arrived at Kagiso Pat Mautloa who originally met Matsoso at Polly Street and later worked with him at the South African Broadcasting Corporation.

On this note, Matsoso was one of the first Black designers to work on props and television show intros for SABC 2 and 3, channels programmed exclusively for Black audiences.<sup>44</sup> His work graces the walls of the building today, but its workers know little to nothing about him, and were surprised to hear of his story.

---

<sup>43</sup> Matsoso had three children with his first wife, Thenjiwe Memory Matsoso (née Ncala). They divorced in August 1985. I only met Pontsho, his stepdaughter, who is close to Matsoso's siblings. Pontsho intervened on my behalf and acted as a kind facilitator and ambassador to the family.

<sup>44</sup> Several thwarted attempts were made on my part to access the SABC archives to see if any maquettes or material memory remained of Matsoso and his colleague Sam Nhlengethwa's tenure. Besides numerous emails to Sias Scott, and unanswered messages to Daphny Sotho, Duma-Sandile Mboni, Pieter Ferreira and a Ms. Van Deventer, I travelled in 2018 to the SABC headquarters in

Mautloa was immensely generous with his time and recollections, and I owe him a huge debt or recognition and thanks. I met with him on several occasions at the Bag Factory in Johannesburg. It was Mautloa who broke the news to me, on our first call, that Matsoso, who I already felt was constantly evading me, had already transitioned. Although he could not recall the exact date, he did attend the funeral. Tellingly, no obituaries were to be found in the newspapers or art journals of the time. Neither the family's archive nor the many repositories I visited, including the Johannesburg Art Gallery and Pretoria Art Museum, where dossiers on Matsoso exist, contained notices to this effect.

The decision and impetus to become an artist was provided to Matsoso at the tender age of 10 or 11 when he was awarded the Road Safety Art Competition two years in a row. The first award came when he was in standard 5, the second when he was in standard 6, at ages 10 and 11 respectively. Between the ages of 13 and 20, that is, between 1962 and 1969, he studied at the Jubilee Art Centre (formerly known as the Polly Street Art Centre) first under Cecil Skotnes and Sydney Kumalo (often assisted by Ben Arnold and Ephraim Ngatane) and then under Bill Hart and Ezrom Legae, after Skotnes's resignation in 1965. In 1972, Louis Maqhubela is reported to have assisted him with experiments in gouache. Matsoso additionally had painting lessons under the tutorship of Bill Ainslie at the Bill Ainslie Studios, later known as the Johannesburg Art Foundation. I contacted Bill's daughter, Sophia, who lives in the US and teaches at Northeastern University. Sophia was organizing her father's estate at the time. No traces of Leonard's time at the studio could be found although Pat Mautloa assures me that Matsoso slept over on many occasions because of prohibitive pass laws which incarcerated or fined Black workers for being in the city after hours.

On the subject of education, and art education specifically in South Africa, it is important to note that training for Black artists took place entirely outside the normal education sector, a situation that prevailed, according to art historian Elizabeth Rankin (2011), until the mid-1980s. From then on, White universities were allowed to enrol Black students, but this was initially done on an ad-hoc basis. Louis Maqhubela,

---

Kempton Park, hoping that my palpable desperation would open the archival gates. I got no further than their busy reception.

for instance, left South Africa to pursue studies in the US. In 1959, he had wanted to enrol at Wits, but the extension of the University Education Act barred his entry to that institution. Maqhubela paid little attention to Skotnes in the ensuing years, who assured him that he was already a good artist and did not need more tuition (Rankin 2011, p. 63). As Rankin notes, his mentor's opinion was in line with the then patronizing belief that talented Black artists would be spoiled by formal education.

Shortly after leaving Jubilee Art Centre, Matsoso was awarded another prize, the UTA pavement art competition with the prize being a European tour. This was his first international trip. He visited London, Paris and Rome.<sup>45</sup> The trip, according to art historian E.J. de Jaeger influenced him profoundly, opening new avenues of artistic and creative exploration, resulting in, for example, a strengthening of form and the introduction of colour into his work. At first, Matsoso worked in black and white media only (chalks, pen and ink), but from about 1973 on he introduced colour into his palette (by ways of oil pastels).

A year later, Matsoso participated in the twelfth *Bienal de Sao Paulo* (South Africa's ninth time at the *Bienal*). Although the *Bienal* of 1973 has been written off by many critics as belonging to the *Bienal's* years of decline and a manifestation of Brazil's increased isolation – it has even been referred to as a void in Brazil's history – art historians Isobel Whitelegg (2009) and Vinicius Spricigo (2013) have recently provided a re-evaluation of the *Bienal*, restoring it to its rightful place in history (see chapter three). As Whitelegg and Spricigo articulate, this bienal was a precursor of relational aesthetics, with interventions by *Grupo 3*, the call for participation articulated by French artist Fred Forest with his "Space Media" works in local newspapers and the derailing of the opening event by Grupo Segurança, and should not be overlooked or relegated to the "rubbish pile" of biennale history.

Albert Werth, the then director of the Pretoria Art Museum and commissioner of the South African representation, built the South African display around Alexis Preller as

---

<sup>45</sup> Included in one of Matsoso's curricula, found in the Johannesburg Art Gallery archive, Matsoso is quoted as having said, "I visited the National Museum in London, the Louvre in Paris, I saw the Mona Lisa, some Picassos and it all came as a shock to me. I had seen them in prints and in books, but when I came face to face with the originals it was as though I was seeing them for the very first time." This is one of the rare instances of encounter with the artist in his own words.

a central figure. Eleven works by Preller were catalogued, as were four sculptures by Johan van Heerden, three oil paintings by Ronald Mylchreest and a selection of four Rorke's Drift tapestries (identified as *O Casamento Zulu*, *Crueldade de Shaka*, *O leão cruel* and *O curral Zulu*).<sup>46</sup> Three works by Matsoso were listed in the catalogue: *Dança Tribal Africana* (African Tribal Dance), *Agonia e a Besta* (Agony and the Beast) and *O Matreiro* (The Cunning One). *African Tribal Dance* and *Agony and the Beast* were acquired by the National Gallery. Records provided to me were remiss to their exact date of purchase or cost.



Figure 1: Leonard Matsoso, *The Bushman*, 1973

---

<sup>46</sup> The catalogue entry has been provided as an appendix.

Looking at the work featured in the catalogue, titled *The Bushman*, this drawing reflects Matsoso's early style of producing stark black and white figures on blank backgrounds, an influence that is likely to have come from his admiration for Ezrom Legae (which I elaborate in chapter four). The composition presents a hunter riding what looks like a ram. The figure, which precedes his later use of colourful cubist elements, is made up of a disjointed body, a collage-like composition of bare bones. The emaciated figure steers the agonized animal on a hunt. Bulging eyes, grimace, exposed rib cage and starved torso bespeak of a people starved, fighting for survival.<sup>47</sup> This drawing, the latent or *remnant energy*, of the artist's hand — one must remember that he spent hours pouring ritualistically over each work, producing superbly controlled drawings — stood in stark contrast to the spectacular surface sculptures of van Heerden. It was this exact work that garnered Matsoso the award mentioned in chapter three.<sup>48</sup> It is also likely to have been prompted by news of the forced removal of the Xhmani (or Khomani), the last group of traditionally living “Bushmen” from what is now known as the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park.<sup>49</sup>

As art historian Lize van Robbroeck (2011) has noted, Matsoso has been portrayed within South African art history and writing, as she notes, well into the 1990s (2011, p.94), as torn between two worlds — Africa and Europe — a framing I object to and hope to surpass. As Van Roebbroeck notes, “the modern black artist is represented as fundamentally schizoid in that he participates in two distinct mindsets: Europe and Africa — the twin poles of the African artist's imagination.” This combination, she further notes, is articulated as a problematic and irreconcilable confrontations; a “two-

---

<sup>47</sup> Not all of Matsoso's production was bleak. There is celebratory work, work that elicits Black joy in the viewer. Such is the case of the vibrant drawing dedicated to musician Kippie Moeketsie, drawn with the same hand as *The Bushman* in 1972 (part of the University of South Africa's collection).

<sup>48</sup> Basson, writing for *Bantu* in June 1976, captioned fig. 1 here (used as an illustration in her original text) as follows: “'Die Boesman' deur Leonard Matsoso wat die eerste prys vir teken op die 173(sic)-Biennale in Sao Paulo verower het.”

<sup>49</sup> Stasja Koot and Bram Büscher have noted that eviction of the Xhmani San people began when the land became part of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, established in 1931. According to *Open Democracy*, in 1972 (the year preceding Matsoso's drawing) the last group of traditionally living “Bushmen” were forcibly removed from the country. *Open Democracy* highlights how the discovery of large kimberlite deposits at Gope, within the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, has contributed and continued the practice of violent dispossession of the people of their land. It should be noted that in 1995, with the assistance of lawyer Roger Channels, the Xhmani San launched a land claim. Koot and Büscher note how people returned to the park and “pointed out trees, the graves of relatives, the best places for a variety of plants and so on” (2019, p. 7). For more on this claim, see *Giving Land (Back)? The Meaning of Land in the Indigenous Politics*. The documentary *Regopstaan's Dream* (2001), directed by Christopher Walker, tells this story in the first person.

world syndrome” (2011, p. 87) inscribed by authors like Jenny Basson, writing for journals such as *Bantu*. This paternalistic writing positioned Black artists of this generation as embodying the trauma of the African man torn between the world of African legend, myth and folklore, and the seductions of modern urban life. This dichotomy between “African myth” and “Western reason”, positioned the urbanised Black artist as displaced, bewildered and lost, unlike the modern man who was a master of his fate.<sup>50</sup> In contradistinction to these period readings, I propose that we look at Matsoso as determined and dogged, as opposed to lost, divided, uncertain or ambiguous. Through his drawings, particularly from the period of the 1970s, when he was sure to have felt emboldened, emblazoned and enthused by the recognition lent to him by the *Bienal*, Matsoso was determined to assert the humanity of the debased majority in the face of a dehumanizing and destructive minority. This was no easy task given the policing of production, local voices and the “two-world syndrome” which was “employed to defer in perpetuity the attainment of full modernity for the African” (Van Robbroeck, 2011, p. 91). I ask that readers see Matsoso imagery as purposeful and strong, not liminal to modernism, but squarely located within it, countering and defying the effects of apartheid with stark compositions of battle, such as *Warrior and Beast* 1979 (Sanlam Collection, Parow) or his Nongqawuse suite, produced for the 1979 *Bienal* (South African State Theatre Collection, Pretoria).

---

<sup>50</sup> This strategy, as Van Robbroeck, with great and admirable acumen notes, ensures the “ensures the importance of white agency (the 'lost' African needs a guide in the urban jungle) and simultaneously serves to keep the modern black artist in his (marginal) place” (2011, p. 91).

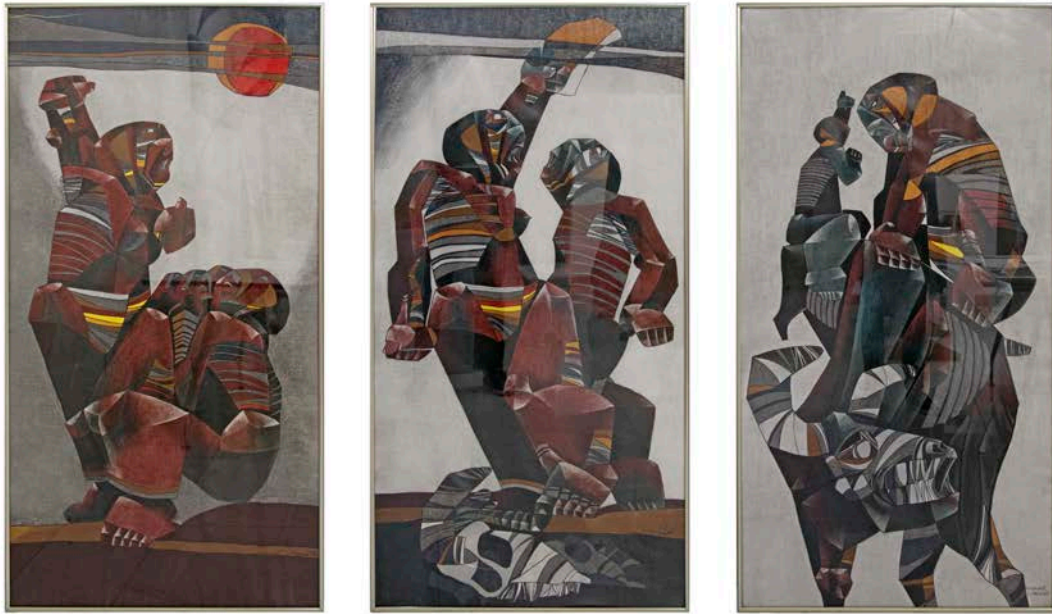


Figure 2: Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, *Nonquase I, II, III (sic)*, 1979

The *Nonquase*<sup>51</sup> triptych (fig. 2) was a haunting history that Matsoso wished to channel and interpret. For apartheid South Africa, the story of Nongqawuse was dismissed as the stuff of myth, but for many today, and I would speculate Matsoso too, this event serves to call to mind the dogged and selfless *resistance* of the Xhosa people and tragedy of colonial expansion.

In brief, events, which speak of the nefarious effects of the colonial presence, happened in 1856, amidst a severe drought and the arrival of bovine pleuropneumonia (Peires 1987, p. 45). Nongqawuse, a young Xhosa girl had a vision. According to her seance, the ancestors were preparing themselves to return to life with new cattle (Ashford 1991, p. 581). In order to prepare for their coming, all the Xhosa must burn their crops and slaughter their livestock. Despite reluctance in some sectors, when the ancestors failed to arrive by the prescribed date, most people had slaughtered the cattle (and compromised their livelihoods). Catastrophe ensued. An estimated 40.000 people starved to death (Peires 1987, p. 43). The survivors, forced to seek assistance in the British Cape Colony, were driven into the service of the colonialists. The

---

<sup>51</sup> Anglicized version of the Xhosa original Nongqawuse.

colonial administration, under the leadership of Governor Sir George Grey, brutally exploited and capitalized on the situation. “The power of the Chiefs was broken and their lands seized for European settlement” (Ashford, p. 581).

Although there is much to be said of this complex event, which has served different agendas over time, I would argue that Nongqawuse’s vision was not located in the past, but in the future-present, creating a compelling haunting amongst her people; a dream of regeneration — a decolonial desire — which Matsoso, with his “Brazilian” suite, wished to tap into and possibly share with his Portuguese-speaking counterparts. As I have written elsewhere:

Each of Matsoso’s panels portrays a monumental Nongqawuse, a seer and liminal being and daughter of Mhlakaza, associated with the Xhosa cattle killing in different scenes. In the first, Nongqawuse addresses a group of four crouched, grimacing figures, attentively listening and drawing on her words under a crimson, apocalyptic, African sun. A long cloud of grey stretches across the sky, possibly caused by burning fields. Nongqawuse’s right arm is raised, her fist clenched in apartheid defiance and leadership as she addresses her hungry, broken people. Like others included in the scene, the exposure of the lines of her thoracic cage are exacerbated, alluding not only to the drought of the summer of 1855-6 (Peires 1987, p. 45), which would have reduced the food supply available to local peoples, but also, and more importantly, to the diseased cattle and loss of land brought about by English colonizers. The scene encapsulates the emotion and despair of a people whose entire wellbeing rested with its cattle, and who, as Peirce writes, “loved each beast individually.” Thanks to colonial settlers, cattle owners and shepherds were forced to watch their animals putrefy from the inside out<sup>52</sup>. Moving on to the second scene, Nongqawuse stands erect with another figure, their conjoined bodies indissociable. At their feet lies the carcass of a dead animal. There would have been many more corpses, but Matsoso, I would argue, chose to represent the familial unit and its individual

---

<sup>52</sup> According to Peires description of the disease: “Death from lungsickness occurred in a particularly horrible manner. First the affected cattle began to cough, then they gasped for air, breathing faster and more urgently. Yellowish fluid crept over their lungs which stuck to their ribs, and as the disease spread, the cattle putrefied from the inside out, becoming first constipated and then diarrhoeic. In their final agony, the beasts were unable to move or lie down at all. Their nostrils dilated for lack of air and their muzzles frothed with saliva until, unable to eat, they wasted away and died mere skeletons (...). The Xhosa did what they could to check the dissemination of the disease. They drove their cattle into the mountains, they fenced them off, they burnt all the pasturage around, and they kept strange cattle away from their own herds. Nevertheless, in spite of their fears and cautions, the epidemic continued to spread. The virtually invisible lungsickness bacteria could lodge for very long periods in the lungs of a beast without manifesting themselves. Secretly infected cattle thus mingled freely with uninfected animals and, in some cases, laid whole herds low some eighteen months after the owners believed the danger to be past. Thus not only was lungsickness impossible to control; it was impossible to know where or when it would strike next” (1987, p. 47).

connection to each animal. Nongqawuse touches and is connected to both earth and sky. In this scene, she holds the sun in her hand. In the third and last panel of the triptych, Nongqawuse rests atop of a living Nguni bull. Her back is bent from exhaustion. The skies have cleared and she is again one with animal. Her partner however, is represented divorced from her, in the background, pleading to an absent, possibly Christian God. Still near to her, not all has been lost (Dantas 2017).

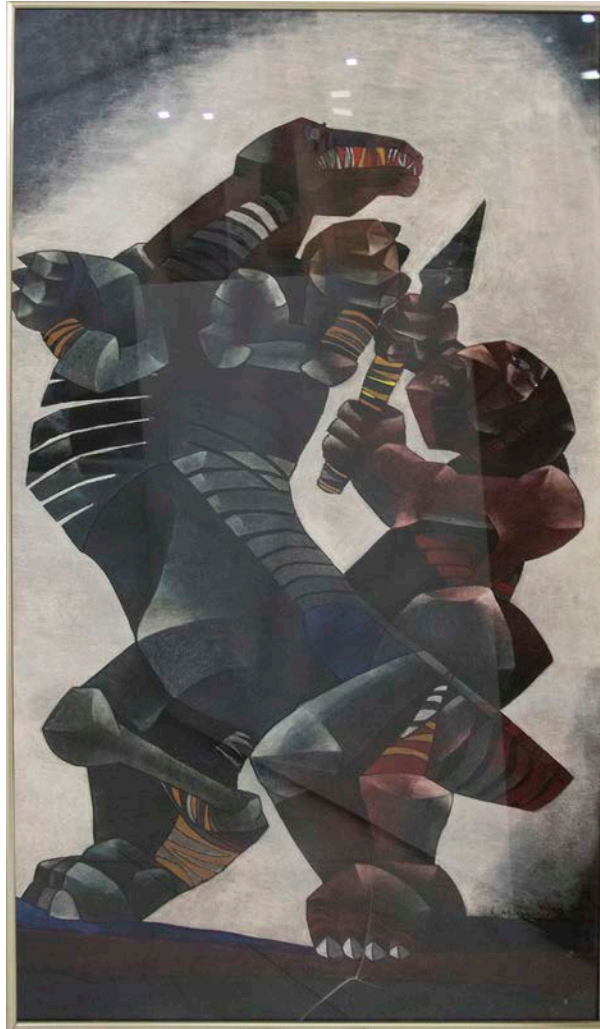


Figure 3: Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, *Man and Beast*, 1979

In addition to the Nongqawuse triptych, Matsoso produced two other works around the veiled theme of apartheid resistance. As I see it, they were created together, at a particular moment (three years after the Soweto Uprising, which resulted in the death of an estimated 575,<sup>53</sup> followed by a cycle of protest and repression that reverberated across the land) and thus arguably inform and inflect each other,

---

<sup>53</sup> For a list of casualties, see <https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/june-16-soweto-youth-uprising-casualties>. This list details the name, place of death, age, date and cause of death.

forming what I refer to as a “suite”. In the vertical, almost life-size work *Man and Beast* (fig. 3) a man, possibly Xhosa, wrestles a giant toothed monster with a poised diminutive spear. The giant crocodile depicted in this battle alludes to *Die Groot Krokodil* (Afrikaans for The Big Crocodile), a nickname used for PW Botha, the prime minister of South Africa from 1978 to 1984 and the first executive state president from 1984 to 1989. In the other horizontal panel, titled *Mabelele* (Whilst they were asleep) (fig. 4) the crocodile has almost dominated its human prey. Although pinned down and trapped by the reptile’s heavy grey body, the warrior looks death squarely in the face.



Figure 4: Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, *Mabelele*, 1979

As previously alluded, Matsoso's oeuvre can be divided into two periods: an early monochrome period (1970s) where he worked mostly in chalks, ink and charcoal, producing stark figures hewn from a primordial rock<sup>54</sup> and a subsequent period, where he started to work in oil pastel and acrylics. In this second phase, his tones are dominated by reds and ochres, applied in semi-kinetic sequences, to reflect the colours of the South African soil and landscape. His early phase is one dominated by graphic distortions of the human (Black) body and its metamorphosis into beast. Like

---

<sup>54</sup> Whereas Berman sees wood in these early figures, I see lopsided, fragile human figures with bodies made of raw, unchiselled rock. It seems worth considering that this rock might be a reference to the hard rock excavated by labourers from the gold mines of Johannesburg; men Matsoso knew and encountered on a daily basis.

Dumile Feni before him, Matsoso, through these images of human-animal metamorphosis, was demonstrating an understanding of the condition of colonized peoples, that is, their status as beasts of burden working for a colonial economy of masters, to paraphrase Peffer (2009, p. 48). In his later works, marked by a neo-Cubist use of colour, these figures transfigure into armoured warriors, giving form to what John Peffer has termed, “the coming revolution” (2009, p. 41). As South African art historian Esmé Berman has pointedly noted, these figures possess a heraldic quality that is intensified by the nature of colour, namely the “emphasis on metallic tones—steel greys and coppers—with small accents of chromatic reds, yellows and greens; and the linear divisions of surface—recalling traditional, segmented breastplates and cuirasses” (1983, p. 279). Such is the case of *Warrior and Beast* (1979), represented below. Berman was one of the first historians to pay attention to and settle her gainly gaze upon Matsoso's skill.



Figure 5: Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, *Warrior and Beast*, 1979

### **Shared histories**

A last abbreviated entry on the shared histories of Brazil and South Africa is provided here. This theme, although latent within the thesis, is made explicit here. Both South Africa and Brazil, as philosopher Edson Teles has pointed out, are instances of young democracies with authoritarian legacies (2007, p. 11).

As he notes, for 15 years, Brazil suffered a dictatorship after a military coup, covertly ushered in by the US. From the very onset, opposition to the coup was brutally repressed and human rights violated. Thousands of people saw an end to their civil and political rights with the passing of the new Constitution of 1967 and the institution of censorship by way of a regime of exception. Almost four hundred people died or disappeared (in Argentina, the numbers swelled to 20 000 and Chile 5 000) (Teles, p. 305). Young democratic institutions that had just been implemented were substituted or assimilated by an authoritarian State founded on the Doctrine of National Security. This regime of unspoken torture would only come to an end in 1985 with the return of civilians to Brazil's Electoral College. The transition to democracy, enacted by the Constitution, was an attempt to reconcile the nation. A rotating government was set in place and the possibility of impeachment of a president elect made possible.

South Africa, in turn, like its Janus-face Brazil, has a long history of colonization and dispossession. After years of violent imposition of racial segregation, which culminated in the formalization of apartheid in 1948,<sup>55</sup> and further intensified by the implementation of Bantustans in the 1960s, the authoritarian regime which brutally separated people and subject them to death and dehumanizing treatment was substituted by the Interim Constitution of 1993, which stated:

This Constitution provides a historic bridge between the past of a deeply divided society characterized by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice, and a future founded on the recognition of human rights,

---

<sup>55</sup> Apartheid was a policy best described, to my thinking, aimed at physically draining away the Black population. Readers who are not familiar with life under apartheid have a plethora of books and authors to choose from, ranging from Alan Paton to Ezekiel Mphahlele, and Albert Luthuli to Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

democracy and peaceful co-existence and development opportunities for all South Africans, irrespective of color, race, class, belief or sex.

The pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South African citizens and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society.

The adoption of this Constitution lays the secure foundation for the people of South Africa to transcend the divisions and strife of the past, which generated gross violations of human rights, the transgression of humanitarian principles in violent conflicts and a legacy of hatred, fear, guilt and revenge.

These can now be addressed on the basis that there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu but not for victimization (Guelke, 1999, p. 21)

How each country dealt with these crimes against humanity, however, is where our shared paths diverge, if only slightly. After an extended dictatorship, the public archives of Brazil remained closed and the victim's claims circumscribed to documentation. Their voices were never publicly heard and the circumstances of death and disappearance never clarified. According to Brazilian reparation laws, the onus of proof lies with the victims, even though the state is responsible for the archives and for all information on acts of repression (Teles, p. 316). Not only were victims obliged to prove their victimhood, they had to do it alone. No public arena based on freedom of expression, like South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, was provided. As such, the symbolic acceptance of amnesty as a law annihilated any possibility of justice.

South Africa too sacrificed its people's access to justice in exchange for the well-being of the social body (Teles). Even though the international courts had declared apartheid a crime against humanity, the social contract of reconciliation determined the suspension of acts of justice. No one was tried or sentenced for these crimes. Valuing subjectivity instead, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission listened to 29 000 accounts and produced a report of 3 500 pages.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> For Mamphela Ramphele (2008, p. 24), "The TRC was confined to examining gross violations of human rights, leaving the violations of socio-economic rights unaddressed."

When considering these histories, Edson Teles (2007) raises important questions and concerns: what is the role of the past in the present? What is the role of the memory of these authoritarian years in political action today? Can we forget the horror that was experienced and turn towards a future without violence? These questions have shaped my rapport with archives and biennials, how we engage with them and how they illuminate the present. Indubitably, the past — the unburied and unmourned bodies of Brazil and the call for justice beyond testimony in South Africa — haunts us as we toil on exhibitions and in archives. If there is a history we share, it is one of unfinished business.

### *Terminology*

Reconstructing past perspectives, as Sadiya Qureshi (2011) has noted, raises issues about the use of language that has fallen into disuse. A large portion of the sources I have used, particularly in chapters two and three, employ terms that are highly contentious. Many of these words, such as *Malay*, *Bantu* and *Bushmen*, to lift a few examples, encapsulate the chauvinism and racism of their time and must be recognised as offensive and prejudicial. Throughout the text, I have tried to be careful with my words, restricting hurtful and damaging terminology to parsimonious and wary quotations or passages where these views are reported or summarized. I wish to affirm my unease with the pathos and voyeurism that certain citations entail, which has led me to curb the use of original text. In no way do I wish to reify these abhorrent attitudes. When these historical terms are employed, the intention has been to create a distance between past attitudes and present analysis.

Readers will notice that I have capitalized both *black* and *white* when used as racial terms. I have also sought to give other groups the same visibility conferred by a capital letter. I acknowledge that in many instances, these are broad and arbitrary labels. I believe in calling people what they want to be called and am humbled by any correction and interaction with the text.

Lastly, I wish to affirm my discomfort with terms that emerged whilst reading and writing my last chapter. I have circumvented my use of marginalizing and potentially derogatory terms such as “primitive” and its derivation, but also “township art.” With

regards to the latter, I acknowledge, like John Pfeffer, that this was a form of “collective memory that constituted a body of evidence about the working and living conditions of urban black Africans in South Africa” (2009, p. 34). Nevertheless, as Pfeffer further notes, “critics used the term reductively to gloss a whole category of vital art practice in South Africa” (2009, p. 27). I have held this in mind and tried to side-step this “‘catchall term’ that has been used to mean ‘black artist’” (Pfeffer 2009, p. 27). With regards to Matsoso, I wish to make it clear that I have chosen to treat the artist primarily as a modernist. Part of my intention is to include rather than exclude the artist from global modernism’s transnational web.<sup>57</sup>

### *Topics and problems explored in research, chapter by chapter*

The research question posed by this thesis around the distinction between commissioning and curating has required the consideration of a broad spread of literature across a variety of disciplines, from philosophy to anthropology to art history. As such, it has unearthed and brought together disparate strands of historical narrative and testimony. The prism I have chosen – to trace this distinction by way of the *Bienal de São Paulo* – has taken me to the archives of the *Bienal*, but also to Unisa’s Archival and Special Collections Department, where most of the organizing documents of South Africa’s representations have been stored, but also to the Western Cape Archives and Records Service, the National Library of South Africa, the Iziko National Gallery Archive, the Johannesburg Art Gallery Archive and the University of Cape Town Archives and Special Collections.

Given the astounding and deafening absence of the voice of Leonard Matsoso in these archives – by voice I mean correspondence such as requests, responses and forms, or

---

<sup>57</sup> As opposed to a dominant history of Western modernism, which sidelines the achievements of non-Western artists and the massive infusions of their influence “into the metropolitan heartland throughout the twentieth century” (Hassan 2010, p. 452). Unfortunately, the scope of my thesis does not allow for extensive engagement with the debate on global, multiple or polycentric ideas of modernism (which I hope to develop elsewhere) but for clarity, I adopt Stuart Hall and Salah Hassan’s view that the world can no longer be structured according to a binary model of center-periphery (2010), which reigned at the time Matsoso was working, and thus determined the framing, consumption and valuation of his work. My reading of Matsoso relies on an acceptance of plural modernism “and the realization that there are other modernisms beyond the European context” (Hassan 2010, p. 454). Matsoso’s modernity was a modernity of the margin, a modernity of translation, of *resistance*, a modernity “born out of the struggle for decolonization” (Hassan 2010, p. 459) and the right to exist. This is furthered in chapter four.

simply notes on the margin – I felt compelled to try to find further indices and traces in other archives, namely the archive of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, the archives of the Pretoria Art Museum, which was a revelation in terms of the volume of clippings, and the archives of the National Library of South Africa (where I perused endless copies of *Bantu* to see what, if anything could be found). The latter proved to be an effort in vain; a dead end – one of many – which led me slowly to the recognition and acceptance of Leonard Matsoso as my elusive ghost. I also determined that I had to meet his peers, namely David Koloane and Kagiso Pat Mautloa, both based at the Bag Factory at the inception of my research, and thus try to find my way to any of Matsoso’s living relatives.

Although this information is not predominant in this body of work, I have managed to locate a substantial amount of Matsoso’s production, including the five drawings (Cray-Pas on paper) he produced for the *Bienal* in 1979 (currently part of the South African State Theatre’s collection) – detailed previously within this section – as well as many of his studies, which I hope to include in an exhibition that I intend on holding, as an extension and afterlife of this thesis.

On undertaking this task, I felt a sense of profound urgency to correct the basic historical record and the many misgivings around Matsoso. When I first embarked on this study, Leonard Matsoso was believed by many to still be alive, and recorded in numerous publications and exhibition labels as such.<sup>58</sup> I determined that my research would also be a small ceremony, and that this modest ritual would entail finding and visiting his grave, which I managed to do four years into this project, and putting him to rest by recording him as deceased, but altogether remembered.

The thesis consists of four chapters. In my first chapter, I begin by considering the archive not only as object, but as subject, an imaginary and an “*archi-tecture*”. The purpose of this chapter has been to convey to the reader which archives have informed this thesis – where they are located, why they were created, whom they serve and have served in the past. Although I may have engaged with many dry and dusty repositories and collections during the course of my two to three years of

---

<sup>58</sup> An example of which is *A Black Aesthetic*, curated by Same Mdluli for the Standard Bank Gallery in 2019.

fieldwork, I have determined that this body of work was shaped by two major holdings, the SAAA in Pretoria and the Wanda Svevo Archive in São Paulo.

Whilst living in Cape Town, I visited the SAAA (now SANAVA) fonds, housed at Unisa in Pretoria, on three separate occasions, documenting my findings by way of photographs. In the case of the Wanda Svevo archive in São Paulo, I spent in excess of a week working through boxes identified as having South African content. In both instances, I was left with the feeling of anxiety; plagued by the unknown, the errors and the vulnerabilities of archives, and a nagging feeling that I had neglected something, that I had missed *something* due to my own haste and visual exhaustion, even though I had amassed thousands of images which I then spent months cataloguing and sorting. Working in the archives is both a performance, a ritual and hard labour; battling with neck ache and dry eye, at times both, on others, one or the other, and deep-seated insecurity. It is deeply human (and solitary) work, affected and delayed by pain, and encouraged by encounters and the enthusiasm of strangers.

The first chapter starts with the archives of the SAAA, which I use as a cue for discussing the beginnings of the association, its ties to an imperial network and one of the protagonists and subjects of my research, Sydney Cowper. I then move to discuss the Wanda Svevo archive which in turn also serves as a cue to discuss the creation of the *Bienal* and situation in Brazil. This chapter thus brings the twofold historic ideological backdrop of the association and the *Bienal* to the fore.

Following mention of South Africa's participation in the nineteenth-century imperial network, in my second chapter, I home in on the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* of 1886 to centre on Sydney Cowper as an instance of an early commissioner. I do this to demonstrate that the practice of commissioning is deeply seated and enfolded in our institutions. In this chapter, I show how Cowper was born into a community of patrician heroes and authority figures who paid sycophantic deference to the British Empire and respected class pride and social order, much like Darcy in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*. These supercilious and conceited men conducted themselves with propriety in the social theatre which extended to exhibitions and fairgrounds, both at home and abroad. In his instrumental contribution to the field, Peter Hoffenberg (2001) names some of these "exhibition wallahs," connecting them to this "delicate

network” (2001, p. 31). Among them are Sir Redmond Barry, the executive commissioner for the colony of Victoria during the 1860s and 1870s who, as Hoffenberger notes, enunciated the function of commissioners, that is, to induce loans; to classify and display effectively; to evaluate contributions by way of official essays; and to repack exhibitions for return, exchange or future exhibition); Jules Joubert who organised exhibitions in India, Australia and New Zealand, and recommended that they be run commercially, as businesses;<sup>59</sup> John Lockwood Kipling, the director of the Mayo School of Art in Lahore, who organised a large collection for the Calcutta International; Edward Combes, who was active in New South Wales as an engineer, pastoralist, politician and painter, and served as a juror and commissioner for the Australian colony at exhibitions across the globe, from Paris to Philadelphia, but also in Melbourne and Adelaide;<sup>60</sup> John G. Knight who gained prominence for his role in traversing Victoria to provide information about and solicit exhibitions for the 1862 London International Exhibition; Joseph Bosisto, who served as Australia’s executive commissioner for the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* and was later selected as a trustee for the Melbourne Exhibition Building, and last but not least, Sir Henry Cole and Lyon Playfair who jointly toured English manufacturing regions to obtain exhibits and support for the 1851 Great Exhibition. In the late 1820s and 1830s, Cole was, as his biographers Elizabeth Bonython and Anthony Burton (2003) have noted, a member of John Stuart Mill’s group of philosophic radicals, and was therefore more or less present at the birth of utilitarianism. Cole’s connection with the Great Exhibition began in February 1850 when he entered discussions about the classification of exhibits. It was agreed that a similar system to that used by botanists to classify plants would be employed (Bonython and Burton 2003, p. 130).

With this thesis, I propose that Sydney Cowper be added to this growing list of exhibition bureaucrats who managed these enterprises aimed at producing “knowledge” and “culture.” This second chapter details the ties that bound Cowper to Cole, and Cole in turn to Prince Albert and his vision of “useful learning” (Robertson 2004, p. 1) embodied in the complex that was the South Kensington Museum – now

---

<sup>59</sup> According to Hoffenberger (2001, p. 35), Joubert advocated the restriction of salaries, the sales of advertising spaces in catalogues and the restriction of committees.

<sup>60</sup> His experience ultimately led to his nomination as the director of the Arts Section at Sydney’s International Exhibition of 1879 (Hoffenberg 2001, p. 42).

the Victoria and Albert Museum.<sup>61</sup> Prince Albert envisioned South Kensington as a “metropolis of learning” (Robertson 2004, p. 2), a vision that extended and incorporated the dominion of the Cape by way of schools such as the Central School, mentioned in chapter one, which was run by the association that is one of the branches of this thesis.

Still within this chapter, I propose that the reader try to envision the SAAA as a translucent substance that binds and holds the disparate figures of Sydney Cowper and Albert Werth together. Although Cowper may have been an Englishman and Werth an Afrikaner, I ask that readers consider the similarities between the way they worked, and whose interests they ultimately served, which were undoubtedly not those of the artist, particularly the Black artist.

In chapter three, I look at two striations in the *Bienal's* geology, 1973 and 1979, but not without looking at the social context, particularly in Brazil, where authoritarianism and its veiled arm, the compliant commissioner, were the subject of protest. In 1973, Albert Werth commissioned the South African presence at the *Bienal* from which an award emerged for Leonard Matsoso. Although this was celebrated, albeit with typical apartheid restraint, the true test of South Africa, and indeed Albert Werth's support for Black artists came in 1979, the *Bienal* of awards, where Matsoso was likely to figure with prominence amongst others in a long hall of fame. Instead of supporting the artist, it was decided that Matsoso's work feature alongside a large tapestry by Judith Mason, whom he is likely to have met at Polly Street as a student. Had the exhibition happened, it is likely that Mason's epic tapestry would have dwarfed Matsoso's drawings. But the exhibition never took place, being cancelled due to souring relations, a diplomatic chill that swept over Brazil, with Itamaraty, the foreign relations department, giving South Africa the cold shoulder from then on and until signs that the much-anticipated democracy was on its way.

---

<sup>61</sup> According to the diaries held by Cowper's granddaughter (information communicated to me by email on March 10 2019), Cowper began work under Cole in South Kensington in 1873. Activities recorded in his diary include the arrangement of museum objects at St Peter's College in January of 1876, work on the Persian collection in the museum in February of 1876, followed by a meeting with the Pteridological Society. For readers less familiar with the term, pteridology is a branch of botany dealing with ferns and related plants such as horsetails and club mosses. One might argue that this interest speaks of Cowper's interest in nomenclature and taxonomy, an ordering of the world, which his work with exhibitions served to illustrate, expound and cement.

Documents reveal the discrepancy in the treatment and disinvestment in Matsoso's work. No text or entry was provided for Matsoso in the official catalogue, even though the artist received an award for his drawings in 1973. Within the archive, Mason speaks, she demands, whilst Matsoso is spoken for. Werth, who indeed amassed a significant and pioneering collection of Black artists for the museum he headed, remained silent and acquiescent.

In my fourth and final chapter, I adhere to Walter Benjamin's concept of solidarity with the dead, where I not only seek to empathize with a past generation, but also to provoke a "cessation of happenings." As Martha Hewitt writes on Benjamin's idea of arrest:

The fullness of the past is not recovered by trying to integrate it into the flow of historical continuity, where it becomes absorbed by the totalizing power of master narratives (the narratives of the masters and the victors) and thus falsified; rather redemption becomes possible in arresting the historical continuum by blasting a specific area out of the homogenous course of history – blasting a specific life out of the era or a specific work out of the lifework. The awakening of the past occurs through a cognitive shock that results when the horrors of past brutality and exploitation are made visible (1994, p. 78).

In this vein, this chapter stops events and halts our attention, placing history at a standstill, at the site of the *Bienal* of 1979 to release Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso from the illusory continuity and occlusion that is history as progress. Following Benjamin, I argue that the memory of Matsoso resides at the fissure of a historical continuity between commissioning and curating, and that his memory urges retrieval from the cracks and possibly the trauma caused by the tectonic shift that was the 1979 *Bienal*. In this, I tentatively adopt the position of the historical materialist who "blasts history apart" (Hewitt 1994, p. 78). I do so without wanting to dissolve Matsoso into an abstract category of "the oppressed" nor do I wish to posit him as a victim, or myself as a saviour. In my account, I emphasise the agency of his work and how it was at the forefront of the struggle against oppression, explicitly conveying what curator Same Mdluli has emphatically termed "Black pain, Black suffering and Black anguish"

(2019, p. xxi).<sup>62</sup> This chapter thus reclaims and restores his dangerous memory,<sup>63</sup> whilst disentangling and introducing curating through the figure of Okwui Enwezor and the disruptive and awakening event that was the Second Johannesburg Biennale. Within South Africa, Enwezor embodied the non-aligned, independent curator, a novel figure who opened the scene, delivering what seemed to be the end of the milieu's parochialism.

Although not immediately evident, the Johannesburg Biennale and that of São Paulo share filiations. Johannesburg's original organisers turned to Brazil for training and a blueprint, although the Italian term "biennale" betrayed its true affinity, the grand tradition of the north and the Venice Biennale.

On the whole, this thesis offers a range of vectors to its readers. In the first instance, it disentangles commissioning from curating, emphasizing how these agents operate and who they ultimately serve. On the one hand, the model is that of the concentration of power and the holding of an ideological centre. On the other, the model, as I see it, is one of disruption and distribution, a spreading of strength. Between the two lies a precipice that requires a leap of faith and a plunge into the void.

---

<sup>62</sup> Mdluli crucially frames Matsoso, whom she included in the exhibition *A Black Aesthetic: A View of South African Artists 1970–1990* (Standard Bank Gallery, Johannesburg) as one of the artists that documented the realities of Black experience, and who created a space for what she considers "Black expressive modes" (Mdluli 2019, p. xxii). To this effect, and within the exhibition, Mdluli appositely placed Matsoso in spatial dialogue and proximity with his peers Dumile Feni and Ezrom Legae. I encouraged Pontsho Matsoso, Leonard's daughter, to visit the exhibition, which she did. She returned with her family on the weekend.

<sup>63</sup> To quote Benjamin (1940), "to articulate what is past does not mean to recognise 'how it really was.' It means to take control of a memory, as it flashes in a moment of danger." A dangerous memory is precisely one that flashes at us in a moment of danger, at a precipice or interstitial moment.

## Chapter One

### *Brooding archives: reconnecting unmoored exhibition histories*

This ‘multi-sited research’,<sup>64</sup> a term I have gleaned from anthropologist George Marcus (1995), broadly weaves together the stories of two archives – the South African Association of the Arts (henceforth the SAAA) and the Wanda Svevo Archive in Brazil, ultimately joining, intertwining, reconnecting and triangulating the loose threads found in each of these topically administrative repositories. In doing this, my research seeks to recognise that voices of the past “speak through various intermediaries, located in different archival sites” (Ludwig et al. 2012, p. 12). This chapter broadly delimits how these archives came into being and how they were rationalized. It speaks of my very literal, physical encounter with them, and the effect that this has had on how I have come to understand and appreciate the stories they throw into relief, and the ones they obfuscate. Both archives referred to here contain fragments of the largely administrative and organizational tableau of South Africa’s fraught, and for many years, uncomfortable presence at the *Bienal de São Paulo*, allowing for a glimpse into this troubled and troubling exhibitions legacy.

The purpose of looking at these archives is not only to ultimately provide an historical analysis of South Africa’s representations at the *Bienal*, but to highlight the somewhat hazy and at times indistinguishable but fundamental shift from commissioning to curating. In doing this, specific practices of display, care and engagement (a reference to Bourdieu’s *savoir engagé* are disentangled), or lack thereof, as well as certain meaningful historical lacunae and anomalies are lifted from the interstices and tectonic shifts in biennial history.<sup>65</sup> These historical mufflings are dealt with in subsequent chapters.

---

<sup>64</sup> To paraphrase Marcus, multi-sited research defines its object of study through different modes or techniques. These techniques can be understood as practices of construction. Multi-sited research has the “capacity to make connections through translations and tracings among distinctive discourses from site to site” (1995, p. 101). Following Marcus’s definition, this thesis draws on a set of archives located in distinct geographies. It lifts certain documents that have been “sequestered” in these vaults, arranging and re-connecting their threads, thus providing an understanding of exhibitions as ideologically driven, meaningful practices. My metaphorical tool has been a hidden blunt letter opener which I used to pry open the folds and reconnect the weave. With this knife in hand, I slowly pull open sections of information, revealing swirling layers; the historical bedrock of *longue* exhibition histories.

<sup>65</sup> Sociologist, anthropologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu was an advocate that social sciences and militancy should be two sides of the same coin. Bourdieu recognised a sinister and artificial dichotomy

Like my thesis at large, this chapter seeks to provide a reasoning and elaboration for an “archival turn” (Stoler 2002) in exhibition studies, taking the South African instance, via São Paulo, as a rich case in point to understanding how it is that we have reached our present juncture, how this history matters to our present choices and future possibilities.<sup>66</sup> Biennial and exhibition histories, like archival histories, matter even though they remain “safely sequestered on the distant fringes of national narratives” (Stoler 2011, p. 121). Sometimes these “disabled histories,” which are simultaneously available and out of reach, “transgress the proprietary rules of historiographic decorum, trample manicured gardens, uproot precious plants, or ignore trespassing signs and zoning ordinances . . . They raise unsettling questions about what it means to know and not know something simultaneously, about what is implicit because it goes without saying, or because it cannot be thought, or because it can be thought and is known but cannot be said” (Stoler 2011, p. 122).<sup>67</sup> To paraphrase Stoler, we know that curating has a long history, but what do we *really*

---

between scholarship and commitment, between those who dedicate their time to scientific/academic consecration, and those who place their knowledge at the service of others. Bourdieu (2002) argued that independent scholarship could produce committed scholarship. At the risk of exposing my argument prematurely, I have taken Bourdieu’s distinction and applied it to a parallel dichotomy, that of commissioner and curator. My work positions the commissioner as an agent who, similar to the reverent academic scholar, seeks institutional approval and thus stays within the system. The independent curator in turn works as a producer of *savoir engagé*, exposing the system. One can choose to work towards the approval of an elite, one’s so-called colleagues, and/or one can choose to work towards social transformation. By this “and/or” I wish to illustrate that the categories are not mutually exclusive, but serve as critical curatorial self-reflexive tools.

<sup>66</sup> The “archival turn” writes Ann Laura Stoler (2002, p. 87) “registers a rethinking of the materiality and imaginary of the collections and what kinds of truth-claims lie in documentation” (2002, p. 87). This turn implies a crucial “move from the archive-as-source to archive-as-subject” (2002, p. 86).

<sup>67</sup> Stoler’s vocabulary is vast. For instance, she differentiates “disabled histories” from “forgotten histories,” “memory-holes” and “collective amnesia.” Disabled histories are histories that are rendered to the present as a vestige. They are generally unavailable, safely removed from the domain of current conceivable human relations. Their moorings to their originary events have been severed. Disabled histories are histories of disremembering (Stoler 2009, p. 20). Forgotten histories are obscured histories. These histories erupt and then are remanded back to their place of obscurity. In the case of collective amnesia, Stoler uses the term to reference the effect caused by the exclusion of certain histories from school curricula: for instance, slave histories in Portugal. (Having been a student in Lisbon, Portugal is a personal reference. I have no recollection of learning about the slave trade whilst at school in the 1990s). Collective amnesia emerges when certain histories are kept at a low profile. Memory holes in turn refer to histories that somehow get “lost” after catastrophes such as colonial wars. Finally, Stoler employs the term “aphasia” when an occlusion of knowledge becomes an issue. In the case of aphasia, a blockage and a loss are recorded. The subject is unable to address the issue, the subject is unable to recognise the issue, the subject is unable to comprehend what is spoken (Stoler 2011). To my thinking, the commissioning history I engage is an instance of a disabled history, one that potentially generates aphasia. How my work is received will acknowledge or disavow the colonial aphasia.

know about this history in the South African instance? What are we willing to admit about this history?

The first archive I visited was that of the South African Association of the Arts, currently known as the SANAVA (South African National Association for the Visual Arts). According to archivist Ammi Ryke of the Archives and Special Collections Service at Unisa,<sup>68</sup> the fonds' current custodian, a total of thirty-six cardboard boxes ranging in size, weight and durability were donated by Anton Loubser, a former SANAVA executive, to the university library in September 2014. These makeshift containers hold the history and collection of an arts association originally conceived when the Cape was still considered a dominion by the British, and part of an active and all-encompassing imperial network. Due to an array of constraints, the wealth of material I encountered on my first trip in 2016 had not been sorted, arranged or described by the small staff of librarians (fig. 6). To be clear, this is not an indictment of Unisa's library or its personnel, who with great diligence, plough through older fonds, choosing to dedicate their limited resources and time to in-process holdings, thus ensuring methodological consistency and non-dispersal.<sup>69</sup>



Figure 6: Lying fallow, the SANAVA fonds in 2016. Photographer: Nancy Dantas

---

<sup>68</sup> A wing of Unisa's Department of Library and Information Services.

<sup>69</sup> It is unclear when the SANAVA fonds will be processed. When I last visited the archives, librarians were still busy processing the fonds of the South African Museum's Association (SAMA), another holding of potential interest to art historians, curators and museologists.

After hurriedly opening at least two or three of these boxes, I realized each successive container I pried open was the mirror of at least one or two shelves or filing cabinets in the association's original office; the many manila folders and ring-bound files accumulated over more than a century, untouched since their removal from their assigned space within the association's otherwise busy, industrious and officious space. Once an active archive and resource for the association, its secretaries and directors, this storehouse of policies, exchange and practices had now been put to rest, becoming a sort of cenotaph; a metaphor employed by philosopher Jacques Derrida (2010, p. 19) in *Copy, Archive, Signature* to describe the tomb-like quality of archives. Dormant and latent, carefully placed on the side and at the margins of Unisa's safe house, it and its phantoms awaited reactivation and release, in this instance, through my blunt opener and desire to unleash the ghosts and all sorts of unexpected archival incantations and affordances.

I begin with a theoretical interlude to situate my understanding of the archive. This offers my readers an overview of the literature with which I have engaged, and how I have chosen to approach these vaults of (his)story. After this brief interlude, I move on to provide some insight into the making of these two major archives that have mostly fed this research (there being other exceptions) and the identity and vision of their founders.<sup>70</sup> The socio-historical context behind these archives and the events that led to their creation illuminate what we find in them. The SAAA archive, which I deal with in the first instance, is historically tied to the South African Fine Arts Association, an entity first formed by a group of colonial art lovers in Cape Town. The Wanda Svevo archive, which I address thereafter, was initiated by the seemingly unassuming and somewhat hushed Wanda Svevo, who was originally hired by the Italian metallurgy magnate and founder of the *Bienal de São Paulo*, Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho. This Italian émigré and philanthropist, whose figure dominates the *Bienal's* early years, hired Svevo to organise his personal archive at his company

---

<sup>70</sup> In addition to the SAAA and Wanda Svevo archives, I also delved into the Iziko National Gallery Library, the Johannesburg Art Gallery archive and the informal family archive of Leonard Matsoso. In addition to archives, I complemented my research with visits to a number of libraries and repositories, namely the University of Cape Town Library, Wits Library, the National Library of South Africa and the Cape Town Archives Repository.

Metalúrgica Matarazzo (Pereira 2016, p. 45). It was the beginning of an ongoing project which stands as a testament to a “living archive” (Hall 2001).

### *A theoretical interlude: on archival turns and incantations*

In South Africa, memory is not fractured, “rather it is splintered, rent apart, torn into a multitude of pieces” (Christie 2000, p. 8). It is these shards that this project attempts to gather, restore and somehow put back together. We all know that archives are not merely receptacles of the past and that concepts of history are shaped by them (Derrida 1998). The relationship between power and knowledge can be found in the material and metaphorical spaces of the archive (Schwartz and Cook 2002) and the aforementioned archives of the SAAA and Wanda Svevo archive are no exception. Within these walls we are able to determine who had the power to make, record and thereby produce and mould history. For Michel Foucault, the archive sheds light on “the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events” (1968, p. 196). In the case of the archives of the SAAA, presently deposited at Unisa’s Special Collections Library, minutes of meetings and executive decisions which fall under the time frame of this study reveal or speak a distinctive male, racist, sexist, misogynist, and uncannily familiar (to those who lived under apartheid), at times Anglophile (imperial and colonial), at other times Afrikaner (nationalist) voice, depending on the epoch or decade at hand. Painful enunciations make their way, with male Black employees casually referred to as “tea boys” and Black artists demeaningly as those “who paint in a primitive style.”<sup>71</sup> This section aims to situate the research undertaken within archival theory at large. As such, it recuperates and revisits extant literature, thus providing the reader with a sense of where and how this project positions itself, that is, within a post-positivist reading of the archive that embraces meaning and significance as unstable, or, to use archivist Verne Harris’ words, “imbricated in ever-shifting contexts, determined, in principle, by a future which is always coming” (2012, p.154).

---

<sup>71</sup> In 1969, a Mr Allan van Rhede is identified as “coloured office help” in an annual grant application. This is one of the few instances where a Black employee is referred to by name. Generally, in official correspondence, “coloured” employees were ascribed a gender and/or age but no name.

Archives, as cultural theorist Stuart Hall has emphasised, “always stand in an active, dialogic relation to the questions which the present puts to the past; and the present always puts its questions differently from one generation to the other” (2001, p. 92). Although archives may seem settled, they are not inert collections, but reflect the discontinuities and contingency of (his)story and its writing. One of the questions I ask of the archive is, can this repository of exhibition histories be unlocked, can we pry it open and, when read critically, from a decolonial or anti-colonial present, what (if anything) do these histories reveal? To re-turn to the archive(s) is not to deny what lies therein. To turn to something, as Stuart Hall (2017, p. 275) has written, is to operate a move that forces the re-examination of something, in our case, the re-examination of exhibition histories and commissioning vis-à-vis curating. To return is to practise anamnesis, to recollect *forgotten* knowledge.

But first, a foundational question needs to be answered, that is, what is an archive, or, stated differently, what counts as an archive? Today more than ever, the archive seems to embrace everything, from the personal to the collective; from the anecdotal to the solemn; from scrapbook to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Harris 2002). I would like to begin with Verne Harris’s useful understanding of archives as set out in his short text on *Genres of the trace*.<sup>72</sup> Harris (2012, p. 150) usefully states that archives are defined by three fundamental attributes; “one, a trace on, or in, a surface; two, a surface with the quality of exteriority, and; three, an act of deeming such a trace to be worthy of protection, preservation and the other interventions which we call archival.” He further adds that until the traces constituting memory on an external surface have been deemed archival, then we cannot speak of archives per se. He then moves to provide the following anecdote:

In the final phase of imprisonment, Nelson Mandela was accommodated in a prison house under the watch of warder Jack Swart. On many days, Mandela left notes for Swart at the entrance to the house, to be picked up by the latter on his arrival in the morning – fragments, ephemera, if you like. For instance: ‘please make me a light breakfast’ and ‘please don’t kill

---

<sup>72</sup> Verne Harris is the Head of Memory Programming at the Nelson Mandela Foundation’s Centre of Memory. He was the former Deputy Director of National Archives and was appointed as the head liaison between the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the National Archives of South Africa. Harris was seconded to the Commission’s investigation into the destruction of records by the apartheid state “and spent the best part of two years scouring security offices and vaults” (Harris 2012, p. 148) for apartheid-era files.

the mouse'. To Swart, however, they had great value, and he kept every one for a collection which he still holds, now over 20 years later. He deemed them worthy (Harris 2012, p. 151).

This case illuminates the fortuity of certain archives. Taken a step further, within the fine arts, art historian Charles Merewether in his text *Art and the Archive* (2006) provides another example of an archive, evoking Andy Warhol's "time capsules," boxes that the artist filled on a daily basis with whatever came his way.<sup>73</sup> According to Merewether, Warhol "ironically named them after the caskets of carefully chosen objects ceremoniously buried for future generations to discover" (2006, p. 11). I have chosen to highlight Warhol via Merewether as he too, albeit indirectly, contributes to the definition of the archive through the metaphor of a time capsule, a container or shell which once opened, unleashes the past.<sup>74</sup> I suggest that this evocative capacity of the archive, its ability to unleash the past, be added to Harris's characterization, for if the archive does not stir and ultimately disturb, then surely it is not worth keeping?<sup>75</sup>

---

<sup>73</sup> John Smith mentions how each capsule contained a world of its own. Diversity, abundance and a mixture of the common and the singular were traits of the "Time Capsules". From a mummified foot to silverware from an Air France flight; from a dress worn by actress Jane Harlow to a pair of Clark Gable's shoes, Warhol's desire was not necessarily to know the world, but provide evidence of his belief that he could contain it (Smith 2001).

<sup>74</sup> To this effect, Eric Ketelaar notes how archiving is not about history looking backward, but about storing and securing for the future (2002, p. 233). If the archive is a "time capsule" for Warhol, it is a "time machine" for Ketelaar (2002, p. 233).

In his text on Warhol's *Time Capsule 51* (fig. 7), Matt Wrbican provides an inventory of objects found in this particular capsule. The box stands as a synecdoche for Warhol's obsessive work (and archive) and the telling nature of each item included therein. For instance, *TC 51* contains evidence related to Warhol's years as an art student, in this case, a signed copy of Gladys Schmidt's *Alexandra* (New York: Dial Press, 1947). Warhol failed Schmidt's course on 'Thought and Expression' at Carnegie Tech (Wrbican 2014, p. 688).

<sup>75</sup> Another image of the archive, similar to the time capsule, which adds to its allure, is the archive as time machine. Popularized in science fiction, time capsules await discovery and reactivation. Typically, the story tells of a group of nomads who stumble upon a hidden information systems. By reactivating the system, they access and unleash a message from the past or future. The encounter, as Chris Horrocks (2013, p. 416) has noted, "is revelatory, destroying the recipient's assumptions and upsetting his *axis mundi*."



Figure 7: The contents of Andy Warhol's *Time Capsule 51* (1863–1968; bulk, 1953–60)

### *Archival effects and affects*

For the layperson and novice, the archive holds status and power. Hence access to records can be extremely and profoundly empowering, but also equally intimidating. For the citizen, these “house(s) of history” (Burton 2005, p. 17) and “sites of safekeeping” (Stoler 2009, p. 19) are also towers of preservation and “pyres of Empire” (Stoler 2009, p. 19).<sup>76</sup> It is here that families go to trace ancestors, family histories and roots. Besides stability, endurance, “immortality (or the semblance thereof)” (Jimerson 2006, p. 24) and durability, archives are seen to provide evidence (Harris 2012, p. 147).<sup>77</sup> For instance, through the archive, we are able to read continuities of bloodlines and allegiances, but also breaks and shifts with the past and

---

<sup>76</sup> In the Portuguese case, the national archives are kept at the *Torre do Tombo*. Torre do Tombo literally translates as archival towers.

<sup>77</sup> Evidence, according to Michael Buckland (1991, p. 353), can be defined as something which, if found and correctly understood, can change one's beliefs concerning a matter. Kimberly Anderson (2012) in her text *The footprint and the stepping foot* provides a solid and welcome analysis and problematization of this concept as a socio-cultural construct that arises from a particular view of time. I address Anderson's text further on.

certain paradigms. Oddly enough, archives have importance for people who hardly ever use them, although they may not immediately acknowledge this. In periods of personal and collective crisis, they serve to protect rights, privileges, and property of individuals by establishing citizenship, ownership of property, eligibility for benefits, and participation in public life.

An important and evident part of the power of the archive and its portent is conveyed by the physical container that gives it shape, a status, an institutional ranking, but also a physical address and an abode. Achille Mbembe (2002) rightfully tells us that the sense of grandeur imparted to these homes of history is accorded via architectural form, which is intended more than often to humble and intimidate patrons. “The archive,” he writes, “has neither status nor power without an architectural dimension, which encompasses the physical space of the site of the building, its motifs and columns, the arrangement of its rooms, the organisation of the ‘files’, the labyrinth of corridors, and that degree of discipline, half-light and austerity that gives the place something of the nature of a temple and a cemetery” (2002, p. 19). Alternatively phrased, Eric Ketelaar proposes that “temples and churches convey by their architecture the idea of surveillance and power. The architecture and the ceremonies serve to initiate the novice, they instil submissive awe and enforce silent obedience. In our world, many archives are temples as well. Some are built as a classical temple, as the Archivo General de la Nacion of El Salvador and the National Archives of the United States” (2002, p. 233).

To complete Mbembe’s evaluation, Arlette Farge, a French historian known for her output on social history and work in the archives, provides the following evocative description of a first-time encounter with the standard archetypical state repository. I repeat her description as it rings familiar to all novice researchers and students (which Farge somewhat disappointingly, although possibly unwittingly, assumes to be of the male gender). We have all been students, and we have all cowered on encountering this perceived locus of authority and eminent permanent residence of knowledge:

On the front door there is a sign listing the library’s hours. There is no way for the uninitiated to know that they do not coincide with the hours the documents are available for consultation. Lower down on the sign, one can find a list of holidays, as well as the accompanying days the

library will be closed before and after weekends . . . The building is majestic, the stone staircase is very comfortable: large, even steps tailored to the rhythm of the climb, and a smooth banister ending in a fake crystal ball that is tilted slightly to the right. On the landing there is a bust of some unknown figure, whose name engraved underneath is of no help. Our reader guesses that perhaps this was some erudite archivist, or perhaps a generous donor, and goes on his way. Large painted murals, vaguely bucolic and markedly academic, darken the walls of the adjoining hallways . . . In front of him are several closed doors, which seem to promise access to a reading room. But nothing indicates one door from another. It is at this point that he begins to lose a little of his confidence. We see him hesitate, slightly intimidated, before affecting an air of false certainty. He has lost the relaxed nonchalance of his arrival (Farge 2013, pp. 18–19).

Professor of history and director of the Archives and Records graduate programme at Western Washington University, Randall Jimerson, provides a similar account to Farge's of first encounters with the archive, but in his instance, the archive appears as an oppressive, stifling dream that reveals itself all too close to reality:

In my dream I am entering a temple. Its ornate façade and tall spires give me hope. I will find enlightenment there. I push open the massive door and enter. The door clangs shut behind me. I am in a dimly lit room with high windows that prevent the sunlight from reaching me. Despite the heat outside it is cool in here. A security guard approaches. The temple has become a prison. The guard tells me to surrender my pens and put my briefcase in a locker. I sit at a table. Guards and security cameras watch me constantly to prevent escape or theft (Jimerson 2006, p. 19).

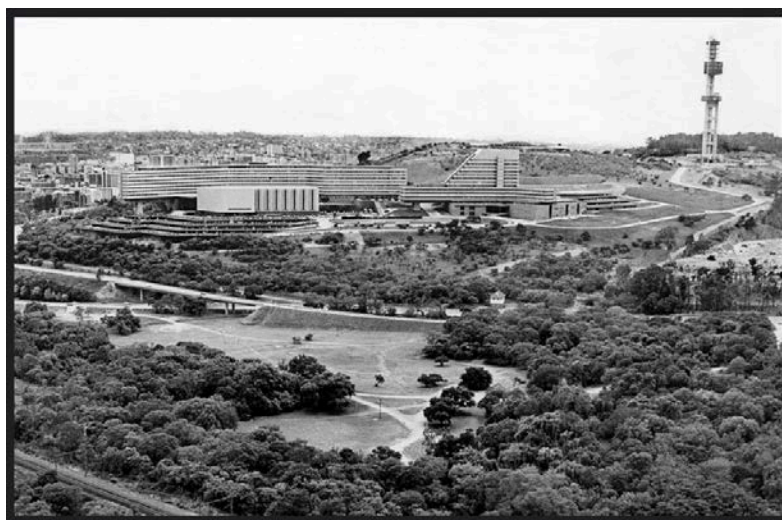


Figure 8: Brian Sandrock's New Campus for the University of South Africa at Muckleneuk Ridge. The library and archives where the SAAA fond is held are to the right.

And so, we arrive, not by way of the ascending Fargian staircase, but by a descending stairwell that leads to corridors and fire doors to the dungeons where the SAAA fond is held, deep within the unoxygenated bowels of Unisa's brutalist body (fig. 8). One might argue that the SANAVA/SAAA was perfectly aware that to be an archive, or to be treated as such, their history needed to acquire a permanent, even if borrowed, architectural dimension and abode. Whether wittingly or unwittingly, it was certainly with an inkling as to the effects of the archive (not only a guaranteed afterlife, but also, and more importantly, the seal of institutionalization) that the association bestowed its fonds specifically on the University of South Africa, thus congealing its desire for stateliness and officialdom. As such, the SAAA archive, now a fonds within Unisa's Special Collections, is currently housed in a once state of the art facility on the campus pictured above, an edifice and symbol of what Foucault would call a particular configuration of power, and what Basil Brink (2012) has termed "apartheid modernity," a particular style that speaks to the ideals of "purism, power, progress, prosperity, virility, superiority, authority and impenetrability" that were dear to the National Party (NP) and Afrikaner Broederbond (AB), but also, and by association, the SANAVA and its many predecessors.

With regard to its newfound container and custodian, in his text on the work produced by architect Brian Sandrock for the University of Pretoria and the University of South Africa, Brink usefully distinguishes the architecture of apartheid modernity (of which Unisa is an example) from architecture for apartheid. Whereas "the former intended to create confidence in the expertise and abilities of the apartheid state apparatus through prominent, imposing, modern public edifices," the latter, or architecture for apartheid, "comprised hardcore apartheid buildings, such as prisons, army barracks, police stations, and hostels for migrant labourers in South Africa and in so-called 'Homelands'. . . With minor exceptions, apartheid modernity buildings were designed by architects in private practice, while hardcore apartheid buildings were designed by salaried architects in state employ, e.g. in the Department of Public Works, the SA Defence Force, SA Railways and Harbours, and local authorities" (2012, p. 4).

Unisa's dramatically cantilevered megastructure, laid out on the Muckleneuk Ridge south of Pretoria, stands as an example of the "monumental modern" (Brink 2012, p. 16), and was intended to proclaim the country's state-of-the-art design and its technological capacity to the wider world. For Brink, its almost entirely uniform aesthetic falls squarely into and is a forerunner of apartheid modernity. Unlike the Brazilian and tropicalized modernity of Oscar Niemeyer which created "hybrid metaphors capable of referencing both Brazil and international modernism" (Le Blanc 2012, p. 106), Sandrock's "expressionist modernism" (Brink 2012, p. 5) was not an interpretation like Niemeyer's, but was far more of a disciplined and literal product, churned out by the then declining modernist production line.<sup>78</sup> The structure was meant to be read "horizontally as a neutral symbol extending education into distant horizons" (Brink 2012, p. 17).

In addition to the visual power and not-so "neutral" ideology that underpins this particular vault, which is extensive to the Olympian and colossal space of the archive at large, to use metaphors employed by Burton and Farge respectively, Unisa was equally envisioned by its purveyors and architects as a space of surveillance. The archive is a place of work but is also a panoptic setting "whose claim to total knowledge is matched by its capacity for surveillance" (Burton 2005, p. 9).<sup>79</sup> Like other forerunners, Unisa's endless balconies and windows were arguably designed to discipline and dampen the pulse to pilfer, to disobey, to chat and loiter. This is quite palpable as one walks into the lobby with its overpowering, winding staircase and multiple balconies with endless views to hidden but all-viewing custodians and Benthamite wardens who warranty the productivity of scholars through their controlling gaze. For, as Professor Emeritus of Archivistics Eric Ketelaar notes, surveillance and discipline are ingrained in the archivist's professional distrust of anyone other than the archivist using the archives (2002, p. 236).

---

<sup>78</sup> Niemeyer's architecture will be addressed further ahead under the section on the Wanda Svevo archive.

<sup>79</sup> The panoptic refers to Jeremy Bentham's design of the panopticon, a prison where inmates are kept under constant surveillance by guards in a central control tower. The prisoners sense they are being constantly watched; they are seen by an invisible seer, by a warden who is generally out of sight. As Eric Ketelaar notes, "Bentham believed the power of the system to be that it not only locked up prisoners in their cells, but, more so, by the prisoner's self-consciousness of knowing that they were constantly being watched and guarded" (2002, p. 227). According to Ketelaar, the concept of the panoptical building not only inspired the architecture of prisons, but of libraries too (2002, p. 227). When I refer to the panoptic, I refer to this experience of "seeing while unseen" (Ketelaar 2002, p. 234).

Up to this point, I have addressed the materiality, the surface of the archive. I would now like to delve its workings, in other words, what archives do, that is, the effects and myths of the archive. An archive presupposes an archivist, a traditionally invisible pale European hand which dutifully collects, classifies and orders. According to Professors Joan M. Schwartz and Terry Cook, archivists are seen by outsiders as “hewers of wood and drawers of water” (2002, p. 1), in other words, as unassuming receivers and conveyors of historical knowledge. Within the profession, archivists have traditionally preferred to see themselves as “neutral, objective, impartial” (2002:1), but as Arlette Farge reminds us, this pallid archival hand historically operates with violence, severing people from their lives, cementing them in notices, complaints, announcements, “(pinning) them down like trembling butterflies” (Farge 2013, p. 26).

In terms of what archivists customarily keep – records – these are commonly perceived as reflections of “reality” that have been inconsequentially culled from the world. Records are taken and used later as a source of empirical evidence. Evidence in turn provides credibility to that which can be empirically observed, logically tested and/or vetted by a “relevant” scientific community (Anderson 2013, p. 371). Within this modern and positivistic purview, the record is a “provisioner of evidence” (Anderson 2013, p. 352). Framed within this understanding, archival theorist Hilary Jenkinson considers that archives cannot lie. “We may”, he grants, “through laziness or other imperfection of our own misinterpret its statements or implications, but itself it makes no attempt to convince us of fact or error, to persuade or dissuade: it just tells” (Jenkinson 1984, p. 20). Following this line of reasoning, it would seem fair to affirm that archival documents are carriers of truth, that the untouched, external record simply tells.<sup>80</sup> Records, particularly records of a transactional nature (think

---

<sup>80</sup> Truth as the TRC holdings demonstrated can be a live, active, multi-way process. I mention the TRC as it complements and adds nuance and complexity to the empiricist notion that documents and only documents hold truth. According to this version of truth, the truth lies dormant and it is the researcher, the historian and the detective who stumbles upon it, determining its validity within an argument. Despite its shortcomings and its “deliberately attenuated, rather than ‘complete’ version of the past” (Posel 1999), the TRC provided some insight as to the many places where truth can be retrieved, beyond the archive and the morgue. To this effect, in addition to factual or forensic truth found in the archive and deadhouse (the truth that comes about when factual, corroborated evidence is brought to light), the TRC acknowledged personal or narrative truth, whereby previously dismissed and silenced individual narratives were heard and validated, but also social or dialogic truth, and healing or restorative truth. In the case of social truth, this is a truth that is established through interaction,

records of conveyance) are thus seen to objectively represent an actual historical activity. As such, the archive becomes and is a powerful instrument and tool to posit fact against fiction.

Through her work of unpacking this empiricist acceptance of the record, Kimberly Anderson has shown us how this particular conception and acceptance of the archive is a western socio-cultural construct which excludes a range of significant human experience and knowledge that does not necessarily take on the requisite logographic form. She has demonstrated how this concept of the archive, and more importantly evidence, excludes non-Western ways of knowing, particularly forms that cannot be fixed through physical capture.<sup>81</sup>

Still under the modernist archival spell, for the uninitiated and accepting researcher and archival visitor, the archive comes across as a deep and endless vault. Bewitched by this “fantasy of completeness” (Hall 2001, p. 91), archives can seem “excessive and overwhelming, like a spring tide, an avalanche or a flood” (Farge 2013, p. 4), and almost impossible to describe (Hall 2001, p. 91). To come to grips with the archive, to tame the surge of history contained in it, archives are ordered and structured according to systems that are more or less easily decipherable. Compliant researchers hold on to these systems of control like castaways to a life jacket, clinging to these groupings and compilations, obsequiously refraining from breaking them up, lest they be cast to the choppy waters of unknowing and uncertainty once more.

Not only the site of supposed reason and enlightenment, the archive, *sensu stricto*, is also parallelly a universe of the senses, a garden of forking paths and multiple wonders. Farge (2013) speaks of the archive as a space of allure; a tactile universe where the document can be touched; a spatial universe brought together, the

---

discussion and debate. With regard to healing truth, this kind of truth takes place when facts find meaning within the context of human relationships. What the TRC productively shows us is that truth is not held solely in a shard or sliver, but that it, like history, is subjectively proposed and intersubjectively constructed. I have borne this in mind, seeking truth, not only in multiple archives, but in the social field and in healing and listening, as per my final chapter and work around Leonard Matsoso.

<sup>81</sup> To this effect, she writes: “Archives can only capture dynamics practices such as oral tradition, dance, or ritual by translating them into a fixed snapshot of a specific performance or a specific narration. If dynamics practices are frozen, they are no longer dynamics practices but static examples of such a practice” (2013, p. 371). As such, records in certain instances transform information. With this transformation comes loss.

documents occupy space and represent volume; a visual universe because its architecture can be seen, in many instances from afar (as in the case of the University of South Africa). It is equally a cognitive universe because it can be read and decoded (Mbembe 2002, p. 20). The sensuality (and tactility) of the document generates a sense of wonder in the researcher, who becomes beholden to this house of empiricism:

We experience the wonder of the register when it finally comes, its look, the touch of its binding, the feel of its paper or parchment. We struggle with handwriting difficult to decipher and are relieved when reading is easy (Farge 2013, p. xii).

This direct connection with the document means that in some instances, researchers have in their hands a link to persons long dead. “The archival document is a tear in the fabric of time, an unplanned glimpse offered into an unexpected event” (Farge 2013, p. 6). In unfolding the document, one gains “the privilege of touching the real” (Farge 2013, p. 11). As such, it stands as a physical link to the handiwork of persons whose voices have long since stilled, and for many historians, Farge included, this connection, this tangibility (even though it may reveal nothing more than its physical presence) strengthens one’s sense of commitment and purpose to tell of the other past. In Farge’s case, as in mine, this is not the past of the victors (this has been written and recorded), but the rather past of the underling and the underclass, so that their condition, their grievances, their will becomes a force (Zinn 1977, p. 25).

### *Archival duty and re-turns*

One re-turns to the archives with the spear of the Black Consciousness Movement Steve Biko in mind. According to his partner, Mamphela Aletta Ramphela, he believed that one had to write history to make history (McEwan 2003, p. 742). We also re-turn to the archive with an awareness, as Antoinette Burton has written, that archives “do not simply arrive or emerge fully formed” (2005, p. 6). They are the result of struggles for power in their creation, but also in their interpretative application:

Though their own origins are often occluded and the exclusions on which they are premised often dimly understood, all archives come into being in and as history as a result of specific political, cultural, and socioeconomic

pressures – pressures which leave traces and which render archives themselves artifacts of history (Burton 2005, p. 6).

Hence archives are “figured.” They “all have dynamic relationships, not just to the past and the present, but to the fate of regimes” and are impressed and moulded by their physical environment, the serendipity of bureaucrats, and the care and neglect of archivists (Burton 2005, p. 6). Altogether, records are, as Terry Cook and Joan Schwartz have commented, “value-laden instruments of power” (2002, p. 178). It is for this reason that it is important to speak about the backstage of archives – how they have been/are constructed, how they have been/are policed, how they have been/are experienced, and how they have been/are manipulated. Context matters.<sup>82</sup> But not context only. In addition to it, we need to address our own lingering assumptions and attachments to “claims to objectivity” (Burton 2005, p. 7) which have been passed on to us since the nineteenth century. Within this spirit, my research has been motivated and propelled by the fact that history is not merely an activity of fact-retrieval, “but is also a set of complex processes of selection, interpretation, and even creative invention – processes set in motion by, amongst other things, one’s personal encounter with the archive, the history of the archive itself, and the pressure of the contemporary moment on one’s reading of what is to be found there” (Burton 2005, p. 8).

In the South African case, existing records, and by extension, the archives we have inherited, are supremely warped with a huge mass of the country’s recent history going unrecorded or ill recorded. The culprit was without a shadow of doubt the apartheid regime and its supremacist ideologies, which devalued, subalternized and wilfully silenced the contributions of Black subjects, their experience and their history. These on the ground practices of silencing have resulted in epistemic violence.<sup>83</sup> The task of mending this history, of setting the record straight, might be

---

<sup>82</sup> Ann Stoler urges that those who wish to refigure the archive to pause rather than bypass its conventions, to read the archive along its grain. “These are practices that make up its unspoken order, its rubrics of organisation, its rules of placement and reference. Archival conventions might designate who were reliable ‘sources’, what constituted ‘enough’ evidence and what – in the absence of information – could be filled in to make a credible plot” (2002, p. 94). Further on, she adds, “attention to these conventions may lead in two directions: to the consensual logics they inscribed but, much more directly, to their arbitrary rules and multiple points of dissension” (2002, p. 95).

<sup>83</sup> Reading Kristie Dotson provides great insight into how members of oppressed groups are silenced with respect to testimony. She observes that a successful linguistic exchange happens when there is reciprocity; interlocutors recognise one another’s speech as it is meant to be taken. This means that

impossible, but it is certainly one that researchers, particularly decolonizing<sup>84</sup> and anti-colonial researchers, working in postcolonial contexts should all aspire to.<sup>85</sup>

The task is fraught. Bantu Education discouraged the emergence of written expression and recording (McEwan 2003, p. 743). Added to this, Mamphela Ramphele tells us that “the instability of the life of the poor and marginal, subject to forced removals and the vicissitudes of inadequate shelter, led to the loss of many important historical and other documents” (McEwan, p. 743). For the destitute, the weight of family keepsakes, heirlooms and vital evidence was too great. It was in this context that, in addition to the losses experienced by families, Verne Harris represented the National Archives at the Truth and Reconciliation Commission between 1996 and 1998. It was here that he attested to the “large-scale and systematic sanitization of official memory authorized at the highest levels of government” (Harris 2002a, p. 64). Between 1990 and 1994, huge volumes of public records were destroyed in an attempt to keep the apartheid state’s darkest secrets hidden. In fact, Harris tells us that the National Intelligence Service headquarters destroyed an estimated 44 tons of paper-based and microfilm records in a six to eight-month period during 1993 alone (2002a, p. 64). It also destroyed many other non-public records

---

they not only understand each other’s words but take the words as they are meant to be taken. In this, the speaker successfully communicates what she had intended. Dotson also insists that being heard is essential to a successful illocutionary act. She identifies epistemic violence as a testimony where a “refusal, intentional or unintentional, of an audience to communicatively reciprocate a linguistic exchange” due to what she terms pernicious ignorance (2011, p. 238). In the case of apartheid archives, I would argue that the testimonial oppression we find is a “testimonial quieting” (Dotson 2011, p. 242). According to Dotson, “testimonial quieting occurs when an audience fails to identify a speaker as a knower. A speaker needs an audience to identify, or at least recognize, her as a knower in order to offer testimony” (2011, p. 242). Bhekizizwe Paterson confirms this quieting on writing: “colonial and apartheid authorities consistently denied the existence of any legacy among Africans worth preserving, an attitude born out of their insistence that Africans had no history” (2002, p. 29).

Reading the late Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot in tandem with Dotson, we understand that silence not only occurs at the moment of testimony, when facts are recorded (what Trouillot calls “the making of sources”), but is extensive to “the moment of fact assembly (the making of the archives); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of narratives); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of history in the final instance)” (1997, p. 26).

<sup>84</sup> I employ the term decolonial here as a verb, not a metaphor (Tuck and Yang 2012), in reference to practices of devolution, repair and restitution within the expanded archive (to include museums) and beyond.

<sup>85</sup> The suffix “post” in the term postcolonial is employed here to denote an aftermath or after-flow of this particular configuration, as per the writing of Stuart Hall (2017, p. 275). Hall writes, “I do not use the term to mean ‘after’ in a sequential or chronological sense, as though one phase or epoch or sense of practices has ended and an absolutely new one is beginning . . . The post-colonial is not the ending of movement but is what happens after the end of national Independence movement. All those contradictions and problems which constituted the dependency of colonial societies are reconvened, partly now within old colonised societies, but also inside the metropolis” (2017, p. 276).

during raids on and bombings of anti-apartheid structures and premises, both inside and outside South Africa (Harris 2002a, p. 70).

One might argue that the National Party took this lesson in destruction and self-preservation from the British and *Operation Legacy*, set in place by Britain on exiting its former colonies such as Kenya. According to investigative journalist Ian Cobain, on December 3, 1963, nine days before Kenya formally achieved independence, four large wooden crates were loaded onto a British United Airways flight bound for Gatwick Airport. “There were persistent rumours in Nairobi that those crates contained hundreds of sensitive files. Some Kenyans spoke of other crates being flown over the Indian Ocean to be dumped at sea” (Cobain 2016, p. 105).

It is a well-known fact that the British were meticulous record-keepers. Cobain tells us that there were no fewer than three different departments within the administration that kept records on more than a hundred thousand prisoners. Yet despite this, only a few hundred of those records appear to have remained. In April 2011, the British House of Lords finally admitted that it held a total of 8,800 files in a purpose-built facility in Hanslope Park. These files contained “hundreds of thousands of pages of official documents, from thirty-seven colonies. Some, such as Palestine, Cyprus and Aden, had been territories from which the British had withdrawn amid bloody conflict” (Cobain 2016, p. 112).

Most of the documents had been removed secretly from the colonies in line with a telegram of 3 May 1961 from Colonial Secretary Iain Macleod that set down four main criteria for selection. The documents that were to be sent back to Britain would be those that might embarrass members of the police, military forces, public servants or others, such as informers; that might compromise sources of intelligence information; or that ‘might be used unethically by ministers in a successor Government. They were to be loaded aboard RAF aircraft or a British-owned airliner and flown to London. If they must be transported by sea, they could be entrusted only to the care of a British ship’s master on a British ship (Cobain 2016, p. 112).

The British had a name for this hidden cache – the migrated archive – and files were still being added to it in the late 1970s (Cobain 2016, p. 113). It was thanks to this hidden stash that 5 228 Mau Mau claimants received £19.9 million in compensation

and costs in June of 2013. As this case unfolded, a group of veterans from the rebellion against British rule in Cyprus also watched closely. According to the Ethniki Organosis Kypriou Agoniston or EOKA, “at least fourteen Cypriots, including two seventeen-year-old boys, died under interrogation, and . . . hundreds more were beaten and waterboarded – allegations that appeared to be supported by some of the Hanslope Park papers, as well as by the International Committee of the Red Cross reports of the time” (Cobain 2016, p. 114).

It is commonly held that archives mirror reality, that they provide an immediate, unmediated and direct image of a process, an event or an action. This metaphor can be misleading and requires deconstruction, for the archive is a “product of a process” (Harris 2002a, p. 65) shaped fundamentally by the act of recording and the many people or conduits behind that recording; the people who create those recordings, the functionaries who manage them, the archivists who select them for preservation and make them accessible for use, and the researchers who use them in constructing accounts of the past. Harris further observes:

Archivists, it is argued, should be impartial custodians. They should avoid complicity in the processes of creation. Their contextualising activities should be restricted to detaining meaning intrinsic to the processes of creation. Such a view, at best, is but a pipe dream. However they might define their role, archivists are co-creators of the archival record. In choosing what they will preserve, what layers of contextualisation they will provide, and how they will mediate it, archivists artfully fashion memory. This holds whether they are archiving textual records or converting orality into material custody. Archivists are storytellers, telling stories with and about stories. They cannot detain meaning. They can only release meanings. They cannot resolve mystery. They can only tend it (2000, p. 114).

The archive as such is ultimately a medium, a non-neutral, intervening presence. Its records have been impressed and shaped by the ideologies and intentions of its makers so as to deliver a particular composition or representation of reality to its users. Such is the case of the SAAA, but also the Wanda Svevo archive. Archives – and their absence or *migration*, to use the British term – mediate what historians or researchers are able or unable to *see*. We see the past through archives, like a frame, a window, a screen, or a lens. The outlook has been carefully chosen. What is foregrounded or carefully placed in relief is the result of an intention, one that can

potentially distort and silence other determining stories. Archives provide us with histories that in many instances are not only fragmented, but histories that have decisively been filtered. Hence, to adopt Verne Harris's metaphor, archives in many instances only provide us with "a sliver of a sliver of a sliver" (2002a, p. 65).

In order to understand archival culture in South Africa and the "skewing of social memory" (Harris 2002a, p. 73), it is equally important to bear in mind who "embodied" (Burton 2005, p. 9) archival practice.<sup>86</sup> Until the mid-1980s, public service legislation established that only White (men) could be appointed to professional and most legislative posts. Senior positions were dominated by White, Afrikaans-speaking men. Harris writes that by 1990, not a single professional post in the State Archive Service had been occupied by a Black person. In 1990, the service's staff comprised 70 people. All of them were White, 39 of them were women, the remainder men (Harris 2002a, p. 72). Most of the service's appraisers were taught as undergraduates by establishment-aligned Afrikaner historians to ignore Black experiences or narrate them through White eyes. This was the character of the system, one that had important nuances, such as Black bureaucrats, including archivists in the so-called Bantustan administrations, and, as Harris reminds us, from the 1980s, in black local authorities' "own affairs" administrations and other branches of the state.<sup>87</sup> These "gendered credentials" (Stoler 2002, p. 93) have left a lasting mark on the archive and historical science.

### *Silence and repression in the archive*

This research project reads the archive(s) "against the grain," (Hamilton, Harris and Reid 2002, p. 16)<sup>88</sup> highlighting the silences (Carter, 2006, p. 215; Trouillot, 1995)

---

<sup>86</sup> On this point, Antoinette Burton (2005, p. 9) reminds us that archival activity is shaped by national identity, gender, race and class, as it is by professional training and credentials. This is what she means by archival work as an embodied experience.

<sup>87</sup> Bhekizwe Peterson (2002, p. 31) confirms this view on writing: "[E]xcept for a few cases, archives, and, in particular, public archives in South Africa, have been monolingual: they have embodied and voiced only experiences and discourses of the successive white oligarchies that have governed throughout the twentieth century. The experiences and insights of Africans, women, workers and other communities were generally either ignored or criminalized, at times even banned and destroyed."

<sup>88</sup> Paraphrasing Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris and Graeme Reid in their introduction to *Refiguring the Archive*, put simply, to "read against the grain" is to highlight what the controllers of the record sought to obscure. Reading the archives against the grain reveals "the voices that were never recorded" (Wieviorka 2006), the "undocumented truths" (Basu and De Jong 2016).

whilst bearing in mind Toni Morrison's injunction that "certain absences are so stressed, so ornate, so planned, they call attention to themselves" (1988, p. 136). Paging through the currency of the SAAA archives – flimsy onionskin typewritten correspondence of the 1960s and 1970s, waning fax transmissions of the 1990s, handwritten financial ledgers, draft minutes, government grant application forms, draft constitutions and resolutions – one encounters a range of voices within the association, some more resounding and commanding than others. The loudest and most sonorous within this particular "contact zone" (Burton 2005, p. 11) are those of White men; males of rank – read directors and commissioners – mostly occupying long-standing positions of trust within national institutions such as museums and universities, as opposed to the soft querying voices of civil society and artists, and the almost inaudible voices of its members and perhaps the most disenfranchised and muted of all, its Black employees.

I reiterate, the notion that archives are neutral spaces with no vested interests is a fallacy. Archives, as Rodney Carter asserts, are spaces of power:

Archival power is, in part, the power to allow voices to be heard. It consists of highlighting certain narratives and of including certain types of records created by certain groups. The power of the archive is witnessed in the act of inclusion, but this is only one of its components. The power to exclude is a fundamental aspect of the archive. Inevitably, there are distortions, omissions, erasures, and silences in the archives. Not every story is told (2006, p. 216).

Like Carter, I too have found myself drawn to the gaps, blanks, void regions and silences in the archive, particularly the archive of the SAAA. These have become evident in at least two manners: acts of removal and blatant omissions. With regard to the first, during the course of my compressed time with this particular archive's records – the first of many consulted – I serendipitously came across evidence that records had been destroyed. This was tellingly signalled in two highly visible handwritten commands, found interspersed amongst the countless documents I set aside as relevant to my research. Handwritten in blue felt tip pen on the top edge of two files, I encountered the same powerful command – keep – a verb that presupposes its exact opposite – destroy (cf. appendix 3).

The removal of documents by archivists in preparing a deposit for the archive is admittedly a standard practice. According to Stephanie Decker, “once a structure is established by which a catalogue is created that is unique to the deposit, archivists take decisions on which files are worth keeping. This process is known as ‘de-accessioning’ or, more colloquially, as ‘weeding,’ and helps archivists to manage space” (2012, p. 10). In the case of the SAAA archive, produced during the reign of apartheid within South Africa, the deposit I consulted did not entirely correspond to clearly managed and thoroughly catalogued records, but was rather the equivalent of a “filing cabinet full of material that once had some relevance to the organization it created” (Decker 2012, p. 10) with documents arranged by the nineteenth-century principle of pertinence (by topic or issue) as opposed to provenance. The missing records are likely to have been removed for slightly more sinister reasons. I suspect this imperative “keep” denounces a migrated archive at best, and a tampered one at worst.

One of the unsigned documents that remains from this possible purge (cf. appendix 3) develops a surprisingly vehement critique of the association and its passive acceptance of “its role as a body which in effect is used as an excuse by the Government, and most particularly, by the Department of National Education, for its virtually total inactivity in support of the fine arts in South Africa,” further identifying the association as “a sordid handmaiden in its cultural propaganda excursions.” I found myself immediately asking why this document had been kept. My sense is that whomever conducted the purge wished to keep a trace of this dissent and call for the association to be dissolved. It seems this document was produced some time after 1978 and was kept as an exception which serves, like any other, to confirm the rule; that dissent was simply out of the question.

In terms of omissions, within the purview of my study, the most significant and compelling was that relating to the events of the historic *Bienal* of 1979, known in Brazil as the biennial of biennials (“*A Bienal das Bienais*” [Alambert and Canhête 2004, p. 155]). This fifteenth edition of the *Bienal*, which was presented from October 3 to December 9, happened in the shadow of the United States’ Cold War intervention in South America and “its conflicted sponsorship of brutal, authoritarian military regimes” (Green and Gardner 2016, p. 52). The absence of a text and biography on

Leonard Matsoso – one of the recipients of a *Bienal* award, and as such, one of the artists who should have featured prominently in this edition but did not – constitutes a gaping wound, a blank and void region that I have adopted as my nexus. Nexus, from the Latin, meaning “that which ties or binds together.”<sup>89</sup> Historically overlooked, this omission pulled at my attention, drawing on my resources and imagination with the gravitational effect of black matter. From the well, I have heard and cannot ignore the haunting voice of Leonard Matsoso.

Silences haunt every archive (Carter 2006, p. 217), but muteness can be contested and those who have been hushed can be invited to speak, although they may not always accept this invitation. Carter advises:

Once archivists are aware of the silences in their archives, they can try to allow for multiple narratives to fill some of these gaps, to make users aware of the silences, and to attempt to understand and respect the choice of certain groups to keep their silence (2006, p. 217).

This archive, albeit indirectly, shows how Leonard Matsoso was denied the ability to speak, to make a statement, to voice his opinion and contribute to it. There are no hand-written letters, no telegrams, no notes, no indications in the margin, only indirect references and a deferred presence. As a result of this, our memory of biennials and art history in South Africa was deeply compromised in both 1973 and 1979. We do not know the impact Matsoso had on the *Beinal*; we do not know what impact the award had on relations between South Africa and Brazil and South Africa and the world; we do not know what impact this nomination had on the artist’s life and self-esteem. The ghost of Leonard Matsoso, without a doubt, is a ghost, perhaps *the* ghost, that haunts South Africa’s participation at biennials. In *Archive Fever*, Jacques Derrida speaks of the structure of the archive as spectral. “It is spectral *a priori*: neither present nor absent ‘in the flesh,’ neither visible nor invisible, a trace always referring to another whose eyes can never be met” (1998, p. 84). In the archives of the SAAA, those eyes are the brown, stirring eyes of Leonard Matsoso who is our “returning ghost” (Derrida 1998, p. 88). Haunting, as Derrida writes, implies a place, a habitation, and always a haunted house; in our case, the boxed

---

<sup>89</sup> <https://www.etymonline.com/word/nexus>

archives of the SAAA. It does not matter if this ghost is real or not, but that the delusion of seeing and speaking to ghosts offers us the possibility, under examination, of finding truth. Derrida refers back to Freud, recognizing the truth of delusion, a truth of insanity or of hauntedness. The truth of Matsoso, if we read this occlusion through Derrida and Freud, is a material truth – about dispossession – which the archive of the SAAA suppresses or represses. Yet it resists and re-turns.

### *The SAAA archive: a sliver of a prejudice riddled past*

This section provides a detailed genesis of South African Association of the Arts and its origins in a profoundly colonial-minded South African Fine Arts Association. It goes to some effort to provide an overview of an association that has arguably left an indelible imprint, by way of its segregationist, patriarchal, colonial, sexist and racist origins on early art education in South Africa, the creation of the South African National Gallery (known locally as the I-SANG), and more important to this project, on South Africa's exhibition history, namely through its organization of the *Bienal de São Paulo* (which it superintended from 1957 to 1994), and Venice Biennale (from 1958 to 1995).<sup>90</sup> By including this information, I intend to imprint in my reader a

---

<sup>90</sup> The current SANAVA (formerly known as the SAAA) states that it was responsible for the selection process and/or administration of South Africa's participation in the following biennials, triennials and international exhibitions since 1957:

- 1954 Founding member of the International Association of Art (IAA)
- 1957 Bienal de São Paulo
- 1966 Biennale di Venezia
- 1971 Exhibition of graphics in Belgium and the Netherlands
- 1973 Bienal de São Paulo
- 1974 'Contemporary SA art' exhibition, Museum of Athens
- 1975 Bienal de São Paulo
- 1976 Exhibition of graphics, Brussels
- 1977 Bienal de São Paulo
- 1978 South African graphics exhibition, Germany
- 1979 4<sup>th</sup> Valparaiso Biennial
- 1979 Watercolours exhibition, Germany
- 1980 USA Sculpture Conference, Washington
- 1981 5<sup>th</sup> Valparaiso Biennial (cancelled)
- 1982 South African graphics and watercolours, Germany
- 1983 6<sup>th</sup> Valparaiso Biennial
- 1984 'World exhibition of the visual arts in the 1908's', Copenhagen
- 1985 7<sup>th</sup> Valparaiso Biennial
- 1987 8<sup>th</sup> Valparaiso Biennial
- 1987 International art competition, Monte Carlo
- 1987 International enamel art competition, Coburg, Germany
- 1987 International exhibition of satirical works, Giulianova, Italy
- 1988 Exhibition Académie des Beaux Arts, Paris
- 1988 International art competition, Monte Carlo

sense of the long history of exhibitions, as well as the lengthy and lingering shadows and deep roots the association laid for itself, with ties to collections, foreign institutions, education and notions of good taste. In other words, whether to our liking or disliking, this association is present within the bedrock of our educational and institutional projects.

The history of this association, “the first of its kind to be formed in South Africa,”<sup>91</sup> echoes the long tradition of exclusion and disenfranchisement of Black artists and women in South Africa, from its inception in 1871 as the South African Fine Arts Association through to the early 1990s, that is, over 120 years of greater or lesser marginalization. Although it has had several name changes over time, from its original title, the South African Fine Arts Association to the South African Association of the Arts in 1944, to the South African National Association for the Visual Arts (or SANAVA as of 1998), the origins and colonial source of this association, despite its many appellations, can indeed be traced, and are indeed a part of our institutional foundations. In what follows, I will reveal the SAAA’s amateur, chauvinist and racist roots, and how the work of the “archons” (Derrida 1998, p. 55) and their “regime or practice” (Foucault 1991, p. 75) worked to normalize and naturalize (through language), and subsequently file away (through minutes), thus concealing, camouflaging and suppressing amongst the “archival debris” (Ludwig et al. 2012) this

---

1989 9th Valparaiso Biennial  
1989 Exhibition, Asunción, Paraguay  
1989 International art competition, Monte Carlo  
1989 International art and graphics competition, Nice  
1990 Exhibition, SA embassy, Paris  
1990 International art and graphics competition, Nice  
1990 ‘Intercontinental Third World’ exhibition, Marsala and Palermo (Sicily) and Milan  
1991 *Tendances dans l’art contemporain en Afrique du Sud*, SA Embassy, Paris  
1991 International art and graphics competition, Nice  
1991 Exhibition, SA Consulate General, Hong Kong  
1992 International art and graphics competition, Nice  
1993 Biennale di Venezia  
1993/94 Exhibition, Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam  
1994 Bienal de São Paulo  
1994 New Delhi Triennial  
1994 World Federation of United Nations Association’s art and philatelic programme competition  
1995 Biennale di Venezia  
1998 *EXPO 98*, Lisbon

Since 1998, the association has maintained a regular programme of low-key, diplomatic “dialogue” exhibitions with Mozambique, China, France and Greece. A clarification of what is meant by “dialogue” has not been provided in the extant documentation.

<sup>91</sup> See FH Kendall’s (1941) *Short History of the South African Fine Arts Association* (cf. appendix 5).

inconvenient history and truth. It should not be lost upon us that although the colonial and apartheid related SAAA no longer exists, several of its branches remain, such as The Association of Arts Pretoria, responsible for taking the initiative to deposit this particular colonial archive at Unisa. Other contemporary institutions such as the AVA Gallery in Cape Town (formerly known as the SAAA, Western Cape) share and arguably shy away from these disconcerting bloodlines.<sup>92</sup>

### *The association: twilight years and imprint*

The South African Fine Arts Association first came together on April 21, 1871 at a time when the Cape of Good Hope was still a British colony.<sup>93</sup> Thanks to a circular, a “large and influential meeting of patrons of Art residing in and near Cape Town was called together . . . with a view to forming an Association for promoting the cause of Art in South Africa” (cf. appendix 4). A programme was drawn up, delineating core activities such as the formation of a permanent art gallery and art library (which was to become the institution known today as the Iziko South African National Gallery or I-SANG); the holding of so-called Art Unions (temporary salon-like exhibitions of voluntary submissions, mostly by self-taught artists working in the then colony)<sup>94</sup> and

---

<sup>92</sup> On this note of ties, bloodlines and invisible networks, Marilyn Martin is a name worth noting. Not only is she the vice-chairperson of the AVA, but she was also an active member of the SAAA, becoming its president in 1988 (prior to her appointment as director of the National Gallery). In her thesis of 2018, Qanita Lilla draws out these ties, albeit in brief. Lilla argues that it was thanks to the SAAA that Martin “came to understand how officials understood art and this helped her understand how to harness the power of such officials to further not only their own political objectives, but also those of the visual arts.” Lilla explicitly refers to this institutional history as “sordid” (2018, p. 133).

<sup>93</sup> For Anna Tietze (2017, p. 29) Cape Town at the beginning of the nineteenth century “was a small agrarian community which served as a refreshment station for Europeans en route by ship to and from the East. It contained virtually no cultural or educational institutions. With no high schools, library, museums or gallery and no press or debating societies . . . it was a strategic way-station at the tip of Africa that awaited development.” It should be noted that this view of the Cape disregards indigenous communities and their own systems, organizations and bold presence in the Cape.

<sup>94</sup> Salon exhibitions were huge state-sponsored shows held in late nineteenth-century Paris. These were not the only platforms available to artists, as art was viewed in diverse spaces, including at Universal Expositions and at galleries, clubs, bookstores, artists’ studios, in apartments and in private homes (Ward 1991, p. 599). What characterized salons was their heightened sense of exchange. They were seen critically by many, including many Impressionists, as marketplaces rather than forums for public enlightenment.

Generally, salons occupied large rooms that were “stacked” full (Ward 1999, p. 559). According to Ward, in a letter penned in 1870 for the *Paris-Journal*, Edgar Degas describes the hanging as crowded with works up, down and across the walls according to symmetry, with art being considered as *décor* rather than *tableaux*.

Salons began to abandon their allegiance to the central academic concept of the hierarchy of genres in 1861 (with history painting occupying pride of place in exhibitions for their didactic and inspirational value), with works hung thereafter in alphabetical order. Despite this change, attention was given to

the creation of facilities for the “disposal” of artworks, as well as the offering of “prizes to be competed for by Art Students” (cf. appendix 4). Exhibitions of the latter, it seems, were well attended, with no direct or clear mention in records made to the particular demographic of the audience. By way of selection, these “unions” or temporary salon-style displays (from which contemporary graduate shows were arguably born) were intended not only to “promote the beauties of nature,” but also provoke a “consequent improvement of public taste” (cf. appendix 4). Taste, it should be noted, without wishing to state the obvious, was established according to Victorian and European standards as opposed to African criteria. As stated previously, the formation of this association has left an indelible imprint on the present, not only in the form of the National Gallery, but also in the shape of awards such as the Sasol New Signatures Award and Cité Internationale des Arts, two high-profile engagements managed by today’s SANAVA (former SAAA).

This section, as mentioned earlier, seeks to provide the reader with an overview of the association’s inception, its infancy and first activities. It begins with an account of the association’s involvement in early art education in the then Cape Colony (by way of the Central School, which it began), but also the teaching methods and curricula adopted, which art historian Anna Tietze has identified as the South Kensington curriculum, “a model of art education inspired by the democratising crusades of designers like Henry Cole” (2017, p. 52). Despite its waning status in Britain (Tietze

---

medium, with paintings generally hung in the busier areas of the *Palais d’Industrie*, whilst works on paper were reserved for the more dimly lit and secluded galleries.

In England, unlike France, the “skying” of artworks had been abandoned by the Royal Academy in the 1860s. At the 1867 exposition, the English were praised by the French press for the generous spacing of their watercolours and choice of neutrally tinted screens. They also used gentle, indirect lighting and neutral carpets throughout. By contrast, the colours of the walls in the French section were red and works “struck from above by harsh, raking light and from below by reflections scattering of whitely waxed floors” (Ward 1991, p. 601). It was also common practice to subdivide rooms with divans and plants, “which also served to diversify the coloration otherwise dominated by the dull red of tapestried walls and the muted gold of frames” (Ward 1991, p. 605).

Salon-inspired rooms contained another tell-tale feature: a waist-high railing “that allowed the viewer to balance his or her weight while closely inspecting a work to appreciate the detail of the depiction or the execution of the surface” (Ward 1991, p. 606).

According to Rejane Cintrão (2010, p. 15), generally, works were distributed by genre and divided according to importance. First came historical painting (biblical and mythological scenes as well as historical feats), then portraits (of architects, sculptors, musicians or actors), thereafter genre painting, followed by still life painting, and lastly, landscape painting. All of these features form a part of what I refer to as salon-style exhibitions.

2017, p. 52), the South Kensington curriculum was embraced and implemented by the association.<sup>95</sup>

The school, known at the time as the Central School, showed a preference for unmarried women settlers as students and consigned assessment to otherwise faceless examiners in Britain. It was attended by no more than 52 pupils in its first year and was directed by Mr James Ford who arrived in the Cape at the recommendation of the assistant Director of the South Kensington Museum on December 4, 1880 (cf. appendix 4). Classes were officially opened by the Colonial Secretary, Mr Fuller, on January 19, 1881. These were segregated, although the term is never encountered on record, and were arranged into morning classes for “ladies” (four times a week), afternoon classes for teachers (on Wednesdays and Saturdays) and evening artisan classes (also four times a week). At the time, teachers’ classes were the most attended, with 31 students in total. One of the most revealing statements proffered by Ford in his first report was of regret with regard to the absence of local Muslim artisans in the classroom (cf. appendix 4). Ford’s suggestion that a special class be created for the group seems to have gone unheeded, as no direct evidence or mention thereof can be found on record.

Form, skill and handicraft were valued in the curriculum, with an emphasis on the study of drawing and painting. When addressing art students in May of 1880, Sir Bartle Frere (Ford 1880), the then British colonial administrator, emphasised drawing as a means of educating the faculty of perception (cf. appendix 4). In his words, “drawing from nature is valuable as an education of the eye and hand” and was, more importantly, “a help to the memory” (cf. appendix 4):

For Frere, drawing from nature, as opposed to the then popular exercise of drawing from copies, served to raise particular considerations and concerns in pupils such as how to convey distance, colour and form, which he identified as a process of thought and invention. He further affirmed:

---

<sup>95</sup> Anna Tietze establishes a contrast between this model, which “sought to close the gap between non-utilitarian fine art and utilitarian design training thereby making ‘art’ relevant to ordinary life” (2017, p. 52) and the model adopted by the Michaelis School of Fine Art at a later stage, modelled on the Slade School of Art, which “fostered intellectualism and a distance from the needs of ordinary life” (Tietze 2017, p. 53).

Addressing the female cohort, whom he referred to patronizingly as ladies “who have done so well with their chalk heads,” Frere condescendingly urged them to draw “some of the little street figures, the ragged little boys, with their picturesque brown faces, and many coloured garments, and slouched hats.” It is most likely that these subjects – the pastoral landscape<sup>96</sup> and its romanticized, seemingly docile people – were the chosen and preferred motifs of the colonial school. I mention this because these very motifs, particularly landscape, are privileged in South Africa's biennial representations almost seventy years later, a fact one might easily recognise, I posit, as a sign of stagnation, conservatism and reactionism which was to become endemic to the milieu.

By 1883, a school in connection with the association had been opened in Port Elizabeth under the superintendence of Harry C. Leslie of the Slade School (London), an indication of the association's growing scope and geographical influence. According to a report of that same year, the committee of the South African Fine Arts Association stated that it had reason to believe that through its influence, drawing had been given a place in public schools (cf. appendix 6). By 1883, there were 83 students enrolled in the Central School. In terms of occupations, students ranged from hotel-keepers (1), schoolboys (1), in-training male teachers (15), school-girls (2), governesses (2), public works department employees (1) photographers (3), lithographers (2), jewellers (2), engineers (7), government teachers (34), clerks (2), surveyors (1), watchmakers (1), carpenters (2), drapers (1), printers (1), “no occupation” (5). Ford repeated his request for special, separate classes for “Malay” artisans, “considering they are the chief stucco decorators of the public and private buildings in Cape Town” (cf. appendix 6).<sup>97</sup> Although I have little proof to

---

<sup>96</sup> Acquisitions made to enrich the art gallery in 1884 (Fairbairn 1884), for instance, reflect landscape as the dominant and valued motif, as below:

*Oxen and cart*, oil painting, MacCallum

*Booma Pass*, watercolour, T.W. Bowler

*Wolf River, Kaffraria* (sic), watercolour, T.W. Bowler

*Fort Armstrong*, watercolour, T.W. Bowler

*King William's Town*, watercolour, T.W. Bowler

*Table Bay*, watercolour, T.W. Bowler

*The Knyana*, watercolour, T.W. Bowler

*River Scene* (acquired as a prize), oil painting, Rolando

<sup>97</sup> I turn to scholar Saraah Jaapie for assistance with regards to a clarification of terms. Jaapie (2011, footnote 7) writes: “The terms ‘Cape Malay’ and ‘Cape Muslim’ both refer to the descendants of the

substantiate this assertion, it seems possible that Ford must have been approached by artisans of colour, and it was for this reason that he tried to motivate for these special classes, albeit based on the patronizing premise that “their taste should be improved by a proper course of tuition in the elements and principles of art and design” (cf. appendix 6). The names of artisan students went unrecorded, hence there is no way of knowing if a small cohort of pupils of colour did in fact attend Ford's artisan classes, although this seems unlikely. It is also telling that “Malay” students are mentioned, but not “African.”

In the space of three years, from 1883 to 1886, student numbers increased to 197 pupils of indubitable European extraction (cf. appendix 7). It is interesting to note that 59 of these students were “pupil-teachers,” a term employed by John Fairbairn, the acting secretary of the association at the time. Unlike “pupil-teachers” who were recommended by the Superintendent-General of Education to be exempted from fees, artisan students were charged seven shillings and sixpence for four sessions per week. If not by direct racial exclusion, “Malay” and African students, if any, would probably have been deterred from attending by way of the existence of this exorbitant fee.<sup>98</sup>

It should also be noted that students were not examined locally. Their work and papers were in fact sent by “carriage” to South Kensington, London at the expense of the local authority (cf. appendix 7). It is not clear if all students’ work, including artisans’ work was sent to London for examination. Ford's report reveals how art

---

Muslim slaves, exiles and convicts sent to the Cape of Good Hope from around the Indian Ocean Basin. Although this is essentially a Creole community, historically they have been referred to as ‘Malay.’ That the Muslim population was originally referred to as Malay, despite their diverse origins has been explained on the basis of their lingua franca, Melayu, and the appropriation of the word ‘Malay’ to mean ‘Muslim’ in the Cape context. A political discourse of ‘Malayism’ was adopted in the 1920s and ‘Malay’ became a racial subcategory of ‘Coloured’ during apartheid. Given the racial divisiveness of the term, it was rejected by politically conscious Muslims during apartheid and is still seen as problematic. Achmat Davids, a community historian, suggested ‘Cape Muslim’ as an alternative identity marker, based on religion rather than race.”

<sup>98</sup> As far back as the 1830s, John Iliffe (1987, p. 114) tells us that Cape Town “already knew the family poverty of the ill-paid or jobless proletariat.” Its poor “included Coloured (sic) people of Khoi origin, freed slaves, and impoverished white men, all huddled together in multiracial slums.” He further adds, “most poverty in Cape Town in 1933 was conjunctural,” but “poverty among Coloured (sic) people was mostly due to low wages” (p. 120). In terms of salaries, Iliffe informs the contemporary reader that “before the First World War, African farm labourers in the Cape earned an average wage of 10 shillings a month in cash and perhaps as much again in kind” (p. 126). I wish to highlight a further observation lifted by Iliffe from the 1930s Carnegie Commission with regards to the Cape Town Board of Aid, which states that it “did nothing to combat the causes of poverty. South Africa, so experts explained, still assumed that poverty was natural and inevitable rather than eradicable” (p. 121), a sliver from the past that is of enormous significance to understanding the present.

education in public schools was geared toward women. To this effect, entire afternoon class for pupil-teachers and teachers at public schools was solely comprised of “ladies” (cf. appendix 6).<sup>99</sup>

In 1889 the practice of sending works abroad for examination was discontinued as “students were complaining of the delay in returning their drawings . . . and there appeared to be no advantage in sending the works for examination, when there was no report either on the different schools (Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown) or on the individual work” (cf. appendix 6).

Classroom conditions were pitiable. The difficulties were particularly acute in afternoon classes. Not only were artisan students obliged to come in after a strenuous day's work, but they were made to study and exert themselves doubly, the classrooms lit by paraffin lamps fixed to desks. This hazardous system was eventually replaced by a more effective gas lighting system in 1890 with the raising of the mortgage on New Street. By then, an elementary certificate for art teachers in the subjects of “freehand drawing from flat objects,” “linear perspective,” “model drawing” and “blackboard drawing, delineation of objects, diagrams, etc.” was introduced at a time when the teaching of drawing in schools was declared compulsory in England and Wales (cf. appendix 6). According to a report submitted by the art examiner, a J.S. Moreland, on April 7, 1891 most freehand and perspective drawings showed “qualities of care and accuracy.” In terms of the perspective drawings, Moreland mentions the large scale of the drawings as a drawback: “in some instances, objects were drawn the full size of the paper and consequently shut out the lines and points” (cf. appendix 8). In his opinion, fully worked out drawings on a smaller scale would have been better. He also makes a point of mentioning the lack of geometrical knowledge in perspective students as being rather palpable, with right angles in many places identified as

---

<sup>99</sup> They were: Miss Robbins, Miss Bradshaw, Miss E. Claton, Miss A.M. Clayton, Miss A.B. Clayton, Miss De Croes, Miss Dryden, Miss Forbes, Miss Hart, Miss Kamp, Miss De Kock, Miss Mason, Miss Musson, Miss De Roos, Miss E. Solomon, Miss G. Ross, Miss Whyte, Miss Flanagan, Miss Lynes, Miss Webb, Miss Ashley, Miss Clegg, Miss Sheppard, Miss Adams, Miss McKay, Miss G. Clayton, Miss Parker, Miss Guild, Miss Rudolf, Miss Gatt, Miss Farrand, Miss M.M. Whyte, Miss Walsh, Miss Nicholson, Miss Flannery, Miss Hodges, Miss Bentley, Miss Harrison, Miss Pos, Miss Booms, Miss Galvin, Miss Eaton, Miss Peacock, Miss Bell, Miss Long, Miss Dale, Miss C.M. Kolbe, Miss J.H. Kolbe, Miss Hockley, Miss De Wet, Miss Kirsten, Miss banner, Miss Wasserfall, Miss Wilters, Miss Staines, Miss Thieberts. It is telling that the class seems to have been entirely comprised of unmarried women, which in turn speaks of the patriarchal roots of education in South Africa.

“wanting.” It is only in a document of 1893 that the content of artisans' classes is referred to as being *limited* (my emphasis) to freehand and architectural, engineering and mechanical drawing. If morning classes were confined to European “ladies” and afternoon classes to European teachers and pupil-teachers, which one infers from names and surnames, then it seems unlikely that African creatives would have found (should they have been allowed to join) the visual and creative stimulus they may have been looking for in artisan classes, which were, as mentioned previously, confined to a command of technical drawing and less to activities of visual expression. From January 1, 1895 all classes ceased to be under the management of the Committee of the South African Fine Art Association. This included the annual examinations of art students throughout the colony as “it was felt that the certificates so granted would have a much higher value than those received from a voluntary Association” (cf. appendix 9).

### *The National, alias Colonial Gallery*

I would now like to steer the reader’s attention to the creation of the National Gallery, which still remains erect, albeit under a different guise, much like the SAAA vis-à-vis the SANAVA. Sheltered by the green, welcoming canopies of Cape Town’s Company’s Gardens, this “gracious ‘Cape Mediterranean’ building” (Proud ND) slowly reveals itself as it emerges from the shadows.

The inception of what is today known as the Iziko South African National Gallery can be traced to this association and the year of 1894, when members of the Committee of the South African Fine Art Association began negotiations with government to nationalize their collection. The idea of the museum may have been an easy one, but its materialization was slow, halted by war, economic depression and the lagging machine of government. The following section details this process with the intention of highlighting the association’s early presence and agency in bringing about the institution known today as the South African National Gallery, which has arguably defined and determined interest and aesthetic value, if not in South Africa, then in Cape Town. Dates are provided to give a sense of protraction and indecision. In addition to this chronology, certain (but not all) acquisitions have been mentioned to highlight the colonial, imperial and patriarchal genes that underpin its inception.

The institution's inception, as mentioned previously, can be traced back to July 12, 1894 when the then Honorary Secretary of the Fine Art Association, in a letter addressed to the Colonial Secretary, requested that the association's collection consisting of "oil paintings and water-colours, engravings, photographs, photogravures, casts, books, &c." deemed to be of a value of more than £2 000, be taken over by Government so as to form the nucleus of the National Gallery. It was proposed that the collection and landed property on New Street (building and mortgage) be taken on, "on the understanding that the paintings, &c., especially those obtained under the will of the late Mr T.B. Bayley . . . become inalienable property" (cf. appendix 9).<sup>100</sup>

Having obtained consent from the trustees and after several interviews with ministers, it was found that the trustees could and should only divest themselves of the property entrusted to them by gift, bequest or purchase, through the sanction of an act of parliament.<sup>101</sup> To this effect, a bill was drafted and placed before the attorney general. In it, government was to provide suitable accommodation for the collection, which included the aforementioned Bayley bequest, which was to be managed by a board of trustees, part of which nominated by the governor, part by the Fine Arts Association (cf. appendix 9). In transferring the art gallery to government, the committee considered that it had achieved one of the objects of its creation in 1871, which was the formation of a permanent national art gallery, also referred to as the Colonial Gallery (cf. appendix 9). Incidentally, in 1894, the so-called year of 'nationalization' of

---

<sup>100</sup> Thomas Butterworth Charles Bayley, identified as T.B. Bayley, was the son of Charles and Mary Anne Bayley (not to be confused with the British reforming chief magistrate). According to the Biographical Database of Southern African Science (Plug ND), Bayley was born on November 21 1810 in Kolkata, India. He arrived in the Cape in 1836 to recover from a prolonged illness, possibly chronic bronchial disorder. In 1844, he purchased Haartebeestkraal, a farm in the Riviersonderend Valley, which he renamed The Oaks. Here he became a successful horse breeder, but also a successful cultivar of Havana and Virginia tobacco. Bayley never married and when he died, he left his fortune to various charities and individuals. The trustee for his bequest of twenty landscapes and £500 to the Colonial Gallery was Abraham de Smit (Plug ND), a leading member of the association, Surveyor General of the Cape (1872–1889) and an amateur artist (Lilla 2017). It should be noted that according to Joe Dolby (1981, p. 38), the Bayley bequest was made up of forty-five paintings. According to the aforementioned database, most of his books were left to the South African Library.

<sup>101</sup> The South African Art Gallery Act was accordingly passed. In a letter dated October 23, 1895 the Prime Minister undertook to pay the association "interest at the rate of 3 per cent per annum upon the balance of £6 000, the appraised value of the New Street premises . . . the payment to continue until the capital in the hand of the Government is expended in the construction of a permanent Gallery" (cf. appendix 15).

the collection, a sum of £100 was forwarded to Mr Armstrong of the Science and Art Department of South Kensington to be spent on the acquisition of paintings. The acquisitions made were as follows:

1. *A Cumberland Ghyll near Coniston* by S.G.W. Roscoe
2. *Afternoon, Late Autumn* by S.G.W. Roscoe
3. Untitled watercolour painting by Percy Dixon

The committee also purchased a “large oil painting of South African Frontier Scenery” by Mr Simpson.

In 1898, four years after the collection’s nationalization, these “pictures” and other works of art remained in temporary quarters in the South African Library, pending the provision of a more suitable location. Owing to failing health, John Fairburn resigned later that year as Trustee and Secretary, with his successor, Sydney Cowper garnering momentum for the project, after negotiations seemed to have come to a standstill. Cowper, it should be noted, is a figure I lift from commissioning history in the second chapter. As such, I encourage readers to observe his role within the history of the Fine Art Association and inception of the Colonial-cum-National Gallery, detailed here.

At this point, insurance upon the Trustee's collection had increased to £3 000. It was at this time that Thomas Armstrong, the Director of Art at South Kensington Museum was approached again by the trustees to select “suitable works and send them to the Colony.” Armstrong reported the purchase of an oil painting by George Wetherbee, “now exhibited at Burlington House, and a water-colour by Mr Herbert Marshall, the well-known street scene painter, and these works are expected to arrive shortly” (cf. appendix 10). Rather than contain the collection in the absence of suitable accommodation, it seems trustees were more than willing to see it grow. By June 1899, the ever-expanding collection continued in its temporary quarters on Queen Victoria Street. Construction of the gallery, which was to form a new wing of the South African Museum, was proceeding rapidly. Trustees were hoping to take occupation before the next report.

After almost six years of waiting, that artworks were finally transferred to their new quarters, an annexe of the South African Museum, “which had been suitably furnished” (cf. appendix 11) and installed with electric lighting. The gallery opened to the public in October 1900. Between then and June of 1901, the gallery received almost fourteen thousand visitors (cf. appendix 12). Gallery Trustee acquisitions continued, becoming more regulated in 1901 by way of a said clause 13, which stipulated the appointment of at least three to five members to an acquisitions committee. Appointed annually, said committee was also authorized to “instruct a qualified person (or persons) in Europe with regard the purchase of works of Art (sic) on behalf of the Association” (cf. appendix 12). The main principles guiding these purchases were that “pictures” be works of art of merit, irrespective of school, be instructive in forming and educating the public taste and love for art, “and be worthy of being placed as examples and models before the Art students of the Colony” (cf. appendix 12).

By 1904, over an incredibly short period of only four years, the annexe had become unsuitable, being far “too restricted” and necessitating “the crowding of pictures in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of their true beauty and worth being noted” (cf. appendix 13). The Water Colour Gallery was also considered “unsuitable in every way, the lighting being most defective” (cf. appendix 13). Complicating things further, the Corporation of the City of Cape Town approached the trustees requesting that the gallery open on Sunday afternoons between 2 and 5 pm. The result proved satisfactory, with over four hundred visitors on the first Sunday afternoon alone (cf. appendix 13). Naturally, the rooms continued “congested” (cf. appendix 14). From an educational standpoint, the sentiment was that the collection had lost most of its value, given that students could not work in the space. Attendance on weekdays in 1909 was of 40 258 visitors and on Sundays that of 9 089 visitors. With these numbers, accommodation for the growing collection in the annexe was woeful, and in the president of the association’s words, “utterly unsuitable for the purpose” (cf. appendix 15).

By January 1911, the matter of new accommodation was raised with General Smuts who showed himself to be aware of the facts and the government’s obligation, coming up with a solution in the form of Government House. Counter proposals included the

utilization of the Law Courts (which would entail a delay of two years) and a new building on the site of the then Government House kitchen garden. After some discussion, it was agreed that the trustees should approach the Public Works Department about using Government House. The Secretary of Public Works conceded that Government House could be successfully adapted for the purpose of an art gallery and would lend itself more to this than the then High Court building. In a communication of May 2, it was unanimously decided that the offer of Government House be accepted. (cf. appendix 16). But by 1912, a spanner had been thrown into the works: where to house the collection of Old Dutch Masters presented to South Africa by Max Michaelis?<sup>102</sup> By accepting this responsibility, trustees turned to the City Council with the intent of finding suitable accommodation for the Michaelis collection. Rooms in the City Hall were temporarily loaned (cf. appendix 16), but shortly thereafter, the issue of a site for a permanent gallery was again on the table, seemingly back at square one, with the governor suggesting that the following buildings: The Castle, the Old Supreme Court Building, the house occupied by the late Mrs Koopmans de Wet, the Old Town House on Greenmarket Square and the Good Hope Hall. For the trustees, none of the proposed buildings met the requirements of a modern art gallery; and further, “none of them could be altered so as to meet such requirements and at the same time retain the features which those interested in the preservation of such buildings wish to keep undisturbed” (cf. appendix 16). In light of this, it was suggested that a new building be erected at the then Government House kitchen garden (cf. appendix 16). It was also at this time that the trustees of the late Alfred Beit presented the gallery trustees with a “valuable collection of plaster casts of antique statuary.”<sup>105</sup>

Without a definitive resolution as to the location of a permanent gallery, Lady Phillips, the wife of Randlord Lionel Philips, intervened, finding accommodation for

---

<sup>102</sup> Communicated officially in a letter for the Minister of the Interior, dated December 9 1912.

<sup>105</sup> “This was a large consignment of more than 40 plaster casts of antique classical statuary, including the *Victory of Samothrace*, the *Belvedere Torso*, the *Ilissos*, the *Torso of Eros Praxiteles*, the *Head of Julius Caesar*, a *Bust of Homer*, three examples of the Parthenon frieze and much more” (Tietze 2017, p. 42). The gift was received with little enthusiasm given the amount of space it would occupy. Funnily enough, upon their arrival in South Africa, all of the works were stored behind a locked door for reasons of propriety. It seems the “nude gladiators, athletes, gods and goddesses were kept behind locked baize doors, of which the curator held the key. He, poor man, had to use his discretion in allowing young viewers to view the nudities or not” (Tietze 2017, p. 44).

the Michaelis bequest in the Old Town House (cf. appendix 17).<sup>104</sup> It was thanks to her that City Council consented to the Old Town House being vested in the Government for the purpose of the display of the Michaelis Collection.

It is also rather remarkable, although admittedly an aside, that a veil of doubt seems to have overshadowed the Michaelis collection, if only temporarily, with the detection of a fake Rembrandt, valued at £30 000. According to Fairburn, Sir Hugh Lane returned the painting, replacing it with eighteen Old Dutch Masters, selected by an unnamed eminent art judge.<sup>105</sup> Despite the association's reservations with regards to the suitability of the building, it was decided that the collection would be housed in the Old Town House with the understanding that "proper structural alterations" be undertaken (cf. appendix 17).

---

<sup>104</sup> Lady Phillips, born Dorothea Sarah Florence Ortlepp, later known as Florence, met her husband in the diamond fields in 1883. The couple, in gallerist Michael Stevenson's words "subscribed to the attitudes of the British settlers who tended to be dismissive of the Boers and blacks and viewed their own influence as a 'civilising' one" (1997, p. 165). It was primarily Lionel who convinced his fellow Randlords to provide funds for the establishment of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, one of the couple's main philanthropic projects, which like the National Gallery, "invariably set out to benefit whites" (Stevenson 1997, p. 180).

<sup>105</sup> Hugh Lane, left an indelible imprint on early collections in South Africa, particularly the collections held by the Johannesburg Art Gallery and at the Iziko Old Town House (currently closed for works due to the imminent threat of fire which Fairbairn presciently call out in the early 1900s). Lane who helped form these collections, was integral to a tight and intimate imperial and colonial network. I have drawn on Viola Barrow's largely hagiographic account of the life of Lane, which was read to the Old Dublin Society in 1974 in what follows.

Born in Cork, Lane's greatest imprint can be found in Dublin, but also South Africa. It was Lane who gathered together the collection that formed the basis of the Municipal Gallery in Dublin, and it was Lane, through his acquaintance with the Phillipseys, that populated the Johannesburg Gallery and Old Town House with distinct collections. He met the Phillipseys in Italy and not only managed to convince the wife of mining magnate Lionel Phillips that she should have her portrait painted by Antonio Mancini (an artist he supported), but persuaded her to collect modern art as opposed to Old Masters. To be more precise, Lane spent the year of 1909 buying "pictures" for the Phillipseys, and on September 15, 1910, with more than 130 pictures and sculptures in tow, he sailed for Cape Town. This was the first time he travelled outside of Europe.

Like Dublin, the gallery that Phillips had envisioned for the city of Johannesburg had not yet been built, a parallel colonial reality that is worth noting. The exhibition of acquisitions, in temporary quarters at the new university, was opened by the Duke of Connaught on November 29, 1910, with a catalogue penned by Lane. At the end of 1911, Lane resigned as the buyer for the gallery, with his place being filled by Robert Ross, "art critic and friend of Oscar Wilde" (Barrow 1975, p. 133). It is unclear whether Lane resigned from the gallery to pursue another challenge posed to him by Lady Phillips: the transfer of Old Masters to Max Michaelis, another mining magnate. Michaelis acquired all of the Dutch and Flemish paintings in Lane's possession (the most important being *A Portrait of a Lady* by Frans Hals), albeit with one exception, *The Portrait of a Young Woman* by Rembrandt.

In 1908, Lane was made a Foreman of the City of Dublin and also a member of the first governing body of University College Dublin. In 1909 he received a knighthood for his services to art. "At his bequest Tom Bodkin wrote a long letter to the papers calling for the establishment of a professorship of the Fine Arts in the newly created National University" (Barrow 1975, p.132). Lane felt strongly that there was a need in Ireland for the study of art. Within the framework of this thesis, I posit that Lane's core position is that of a dealer and buyer.

In the midst of all these developments, it was only on April 29, 1914 twenty years after the collection's nationalisation that confirmation from the Public Works Department arrived, corroborating the construction of a new art gallery on the site then occupied by Government House stables on Stal Plein (cf. appendix 18). Having heard of these plans, a Mr R. Stuttaford of Cape Town pledged a sum of £1 000 for the purchase of artworks, originally referred to as "pictures" (cf. appendix 18), to be added to the existing collection. The trustees accepted this generous offer, submitting a list of well-known English artists who might be disposed to assist him in choosing a suitable selection of artworks. The following candidates were selected by Stuttaford: Professor George Clausen, Charles Shannon and T.C. Gotch. Unfortunately plans for building the gallery came to another standstill as the city council protested the decision. Stal Plein could only be used as an open space, park or garden. An alternative was then found in Good Hope Gardens, but with the outbreak of war in August, the site on Good Hope Gardens could not be obtained, nor the consent of ratepayers for the necessary loan.

By December 31, 1915 no purchases had as yet been made on behalf of Stuttaford, but that the Corporation of the City of Cape Town had purchased a portion of what was known as the Good Hope Gardens.

Thanks to the tireless instigations of the Association, on November 3, 1930 the National Gallery was finally opened by the Earl of Athlone.<sup>106</sup> This would not have been possible without a decisive contribution by government in 1914 whereby foundations were laid, in addition to a later contribution in 1925 of an amount of £24 000 steered towards the construction of the building. A further £10 000 was added so as to include "two side galleries and a small corner room as well" (Kendall 1941). The Liebermann Bequest to the City of Cape Town provided a supplementary sum of £10 000 to be expended on a public monument – "a Triumphal Arch at the foot of Government Avenue having been the original suggestion," according to Kendall (1941). For various reasons, this turned out to be unviable, the funds eventually

---

<sup>106</sup> The architectural team was comprised of Franklin Kendall, John Cleland (the Union's Chief Architect) and Frederick Mullins of the Public Works Department. "Herbert Baker acted as advisor on the layout of the grounds in front of the gallery" (Tiezte 2017, p. 54).

reverting to the gallery. “A further £6 000 was generously contributed by the City Council towards the building fund and it so transpired that four large galleries enclosing a court for sculpture, four small rooms and a medium-sized room for water-colours, keepers’ quarters, etc.” transpired (Kendall 1941), taking on the configuration and layout we know today.

Thus far, we have seen how the trustees doggedly shaped the collections and institutions that housed them, but they also played an instrumental role in campaigning over the years, arguing its interest to audiences, claiming the gallery and its collections to be in the interest of the humanist with a concern for the art of the past, the worker with a “need for healthy visual entertainment and moral instruction . . . and the trainee artist with a professional interest in the subjects and techniques of experienced artists’ work” (Tietze 2017, p. 35).

In pursuance of the association’s wide imprint, by 1941, not only was the SAFAA firmly rooted within the systems of the National Gallery, but by then this group of art enthusiasts had established a scholarship of £30 for two years “tenable at the Michaelis School of Fine Art, University of Cape Town.” Another point worthy of note pertains to Ruth Prowse, who was elected a member of the association in 1909. Prowse later bequeathed her house for use as an arts centre, leaving a lasting legacy and imprint on art and its education in South Africa.<sup>107</sup>

By 1944, the association had widened its activities to such an effect that it assembled in sections, namely Fine Arts, Architecture, Ballet, Theatre and Music. According to minutes of the committee meeting of October 24 (Te Water 1944), this “would be in itself a means toward increasing membership.” It was also at this time that the association omitted the word “fine” from its title, seen as limiting, thus becoming the SAAA (South African Association of the Arts).<sup>108</sup> As such, and in accordance with the minutes of the Special General Meeting held on October 31, the object of the

---

<sup>107</sup> <https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/ethel-ruth-prowse>

<sup>108</sup> The minutes (Te Water 1944) proposed that the interest of the Association should cover all of the Arts “in the widest sense of the word and that it should endeavour not only to encourage and assist these arts but should also endeavour to extend their influence.”

association was to become “the advancement of the Arts and the encouragement of their application to and inter-relationship with industry, commerce and science.”

In addition to establishing the National Gallery, between 1948 and 1960 the association was responsible for organizing the South African Contemporary Art Exhibition for the Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival,<sup>109</sup> the South African Art exhibition for the Rhodes Centenary Festival, the South African entries to the Venice Biennales of 1952, 1954, 1956 and 1958, for circulating the UNESCO prints exhibition, for organizing the First Quadrennial Exhibition of South African Art of 1956 and Festival Quadrennial of 1960, and the official South African entry to the *Bienal de São Paulo* in 1957. It also held campaigns to save historic buildings such as the Old Supreme Court, Cape Town, and Rheeziq House, a property on the higher slopes of Oranjezicht. Although I do not discuss these activities in the pages that follow (with the exception of the *Bienal de São Paulo*), I mention these exhibitions and sundry activities to highlight that not only was this association responsible for a proto arts curriculum in South Africa, but equally for the establishment of its first art gallery and its collections, albeit indirectly. This succinct list has been given to indicate the scope of the association’s activities, and encourage fellow and future scholars to pursue these avenues of research. In my case, to delve into these histories would be to stray from my focus and nexus, although I am certain they too would be useful to illustrate and strengthen the epistemological distinction and shift that is at the core and is the overarching concern of this thesis.

### *The association: mid years and the SAAA archives*

Stemming from the South African Fine Arts Society founded in Cape Town in 1871, the South African Association of the Arts (SAAA) of the 1960s, which was the starting point of the temporal arch of this study, remained a not-for-profit association with a “civilizing” mission and identity, having set itself the broad task of making “good taste” applicable to its thinking and surroundings. This included “towns, buildings, streets, open spaces, and . . . homes, inside and out” (cf. appendix 19).

---

<sup>109</sup> The exhibition, according to a memorandum dated July 26 1966, drew in more than 2000 entries. After special screens had been constructed, it was displayed in the Lady Barnard Ballroom of the Cape Town Castle and is purported to have been visited by thousands during the festival.

Operating nationally by way of its multiple branches, the association urged the broad application of the concept of *kieskeurigheid*, which I have translated as discerning taste, to its activities and exhibitions, which included foreign representations.<sup>110</sup>

Although no certainty can be offered as to the demographic of the South African Fine Arts Society, although unstated, in the 1960s, the SAAA was open exclusively to White members. The association cast its net far and wide, possibly to ensure funding and sustainability by way of membership fees. These were, it should be noted, prohibitive to the Black majority who were subject to the infamy of desperately low wages, as was the case in the late 1800s. As such, the association was open, in the words of B.J. Versfeld of the Pretoria Branch, “to [white] painters of pictures and sculptors, but also architects, musicians, actors, craftsmen in every field, teachers, engineers, those who knew the historical background of their area and could talk about it” – and I wish to here highlight Mr Versfeld’s sexist tone, which left women to last on his desired membership list, for their fine handicraft (cf. appendix 19). According to Versfeld’s paper of July 2, 1961 presented as part of a first annual conference of branches, the implementation of good taste or discernment could be achieved by way of exhibitions, subject to the approval of a special selection committee composed of members who should be “knowledgeable as to good standards in arts and crafts” (cf. appendix 19). It was recommended that new branches to this expanding association, such as Pretoria, attract young members, particularly students at a reduced subscription fee, and that exhibitions include the work of younger members, under the category of “children’s art,” as well as “bantu art of all kinds, some of which are disappearing,” again a mention left to last (cf. appendix 19). This hierarchy of activities and the placement of “children’s art” ahead of “bantu art” speaks volumes of the priority and value afforded to Black art and artists. As Lize van Robbroeck (2011, p. 82) has noted, the association followed the orientations of the South African Information Service, which was intent on pursuing a “flourishing cultural *eiesoortigheid*,” which van Robbroeck translates loosely as true to its own character or kind.

---

<sup>110</sup> The Pretoria Branch (known then as the Northern Transvaal Branch) dates from 1947 when it began under the directorship of Adriaan Louw Meiring (1904–1979). For those with an interest in his career as an architect, introductory information can be found on <https://www.artefacts.co.za/main/Buildings/archframes.php?archid=2364>.

By 1974, the association's constitution revealed a certain refinement of terms, language and an inclination towards a loose idea of scholarship, although ideas of criticality and reflexivity, absent from previous constitutions, remained entirely alien to its directors and constitution. Politics was strictly prohibited. The SAAA's purpose thus evolved to that of the "furtherance of all matters pertaining to the Arts both in the past and present, both independently and in their inter-relation with industrial, commercial and scientific activities" (cf. appendix 20). This same document continues to state that in the pursuance of its purpose, the SAAA would:

- a) hold, sponsor or assist within or without Southern Africa exhibitions, demonstrations or performances of the Arts and Crafts, or any other activities amenable to artistic design or treatment;
- b) provide lectures or papers on any subjects relevant to the purposes of the SAAA;
- c) promote an Arts Journal;
- d) assist state, provincial or municipal galleries in the acquisition of works of art and obtain grants for this purpose, as well as the administration of bequests;
- e) provide assistance to art education or students of the arts and artists.

Perhaps the most determining and decisive of "involutions" since the 1960s was that which stated "the association shall hold itself aloof from any political activities or activities having a political tinge" (cf. appendix 20), and proviso (9d) included in a government grant application of 1967/70 (Meiring 1969), which stated "audiences of gatherings composed of both Whites and non-Whites are not permissible." The former clause was reiterated in the SAAA's constitution in 1990, albeit with a slightly different formulation, being that "[t]he association should not align itself with political parties or activities having political connotations." By this time, the SAAA's scope of influence had solidified and congealed by way of its perpetual representation on the Board of Trustees of the South African National Gallery, represented by the National President or *h/w* alternate and the Chairman of the Western Cape Branch or *h/w* alternate. Other activities had been inscribed in the association's pursuance, namely participating in the organization and administration, "where desired," of competitions for the visual arts, such as the ABSA L'Atelier Award, as well as the administration of a Trust Fund or Trust Funds.

Referring back to the 1970s, no real long-term investment or promotion of the work of artists of colour was realised. The only publications artists of colour were granted were pricelists for the general public (cf. duplicate of letter by the organizing secretary, Ms K. Gunther, appendix 21). According to another duplicate letter:

Regarding art exhibitions and non-europeans (sic), we have, over the years held in our gallery one-man (coloured) exhibitions, coloured group exhibitions, a group of Bantu artists, as well as exhibitions comprising both coloured and European artists. In the case of the Bantu artists, their works were on loan (and some for sale) from Johannesburg Galleries, so *they were not invited to attend the opening* [emphasis added] but in the case of the others mentioned above, these artists as a courteous gesture were invited to the opening. All the exhibitions in our gallery are frequented by all the various race groups and up to the present we have encountered no difficulties from any authority in this regard.

It should be noted that this document, dated August 6, 1970 was written in response to a query from the Eastern Province Society of Fine Arts with regards to the SAAA's stand on such matters (cf. appendix 22). I would like to make explicit the distinction between a courteous invitation and a warm invitation.

### *A present without a past*

The act of depositing the archive at Unisa was possibly an expedient response to the silent but pressing concern: what do we do about our prejudice riddled (and possibly cursed) past? It can be read in many ways, including that of the association relieving itself of the burden of history and the weight of shame, quarantining its members from the nagging of this history closeness and its irksome memory.

Perhaps by depositing this fonds, the SAAA was doing what the late Spanish historian Santos Juliá calls *echar al olvido* (casting into oblivion), which he distinguishes from *olvidar* (forgetting). To cast something off implies that it might be possible to recuperate at a later time, whereas forgetting allows it to disappear. By placing their history at Unisa's Special Collections, the association would be able to "move on": what some might perceive as a good and useful outcome. But somehow, this act also translates a dis-remembering, a willed "dismemory" of the association's

role in implementing colonial and apartheid cultural policies, and a denial of accountability.

In his text on disrupting dismemory, Norman Saadi Nikro (2011, p. 4) defines dismemory as a “formal politics of deliberate, convenient forgetfulness.” Dismemory is related not only to a particular way of situating the past, but essentially stabilizes the present as a vantage point through and from which to disremember the past.

Dismemory as such is a strategy that “preserves and prevents the present from exposing itself to the past.” Dismemory absolves the agents of responsibility, but also, and more importantly, of taking responsibility. I return to this, albeit indirectly, in my fourth and final chapter.

### *An archive called Wanda*

On opposite Atlantic shores, the Wanda Svevo archive was approached within the ambit of this thesis as a means of understanding the complex tableau of South Africa’s representations at the São Paulo biennial. Like the SAAA archive, which may seem static – a space where dust settles to be wiped away by the curious and unsettling hand of the inquiring individual, compelled by the desire to “hear the stories of their ancestors and predecessors, to learn of past actions of their governments, and to examine the activities of private organizations” (Carter 2006, p. 216). This archive, much like the other, has the potential of instigating historical and critical practice. Looking at both repositories reveals the documents and correspondence that archivists have deemed worthy of storing and keeping for future interpretation. In the case of the SAAA archive, its correspondence awaits processing, residing in limbo, waiting for its potential to be unleashed, somewhat like a Pandora’s box. In the case of the Wanda Svevo archive, documents are treasured, carefully handled, lovingly stored and constantly called on by local and foreign researchers.

On entering each of these repositories, I have done so bearing in mind their quieted yet tumultuous historical backdrops. In the case of São Paulo, this archive and much of the period of interest to the present research project coincided with the rise and fall of fascism and repression in Brazil. In the case of the SAAA archive, the change from colonial dominion to union to republic to democracy. It has been interesting to note

how archives are commonly considered neutral entities; what archives professional Sam Winn (2017) has termed the “hubris of neutrality in the archives,” how they are seen as detached and untouched by the events of history – the archive as a constant (here I am thinking of José Saramago’s *All The Names*) – yet history and political strife have dictated the resources allocated to archival work, thus moulding these storehouses (and memory) in multifarious and indirect ways.

Initially known as the *Arquivo Histórico de Arte Contemporânea* or Historical Archive of Contemporary Art, the now Wanda Svevo archive was envisioned in 1954 by the secretary of the biennial precisely when the city of São Paulo was preparing to commemorate its 400th anniversary. São Paulo of the 1950s was quickly adopting the contours of a metropolis, and by this time, had already outshone Rio de Janeiro at the vanguard of economic, political and cultural change. If the city had previously relied on the coffee industry and its attendant bourgeoisie (*burguesia cafeeira*) for its development (Pereira 2016, p. 20), it was now dependent on industry.<sup>111</sup>

To celebrate the new image of the city as a progressive and modern metropolis – “the fastest growing city in the world” was the slogan employed at the time (Curi 2015, n.p.) – the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary was seen as a means of not only consolidating this ideal, but also highlighting the city’s elite. Celebrations established the *Parque do Ibirapuera* (created specifically for the occasion by Rio-based architect Oscar Niemeyer) as a symbol of the modern city.<sup>112</sup> It was thanks to industrial moguls and the expanding

---

<sup>111</sup> I would like to add to Pereira’s observation by highlighting the role of enslavement in the development of the coffee industry and the actual city of São Paulo. As the Government of São Paulo recently acknowledged (2004), for three and a half centuries, the Black population of Brazil not only built the nation, but contributed to the economic foundations that ushered the process of industrialization, particularly that of São Paulo in the twentieth century.

Coffee production in the preceding centuries contributed to improve Brazil’s trade deficit. The capital used to build Brazil’s industry came from coffee, which was planted and harvested by Black arms and hands. During the last years of enslavement, in the Vale do Paraíba, the Black enslaved worked for weeks on end for up to sixteen hours a day. When immigrants arrived in the mid nineteenth century, particularly Italians, the industry had already been consolidated. Their arrival in São Paulo contributed to the city’s wealth and growth, but it was the Black community that contributed for the longest period of time, with no recognition or compensation. When these arrivals replaced the enslaved farmhands, they were employed as salaried workers, who were welcomed as part of Brazil’s whitening project. As professor Hélio Santos has noted (Government of São Paulo, 2004), it was believed and held that the modernization of Brazil was tied to growing the White population at the expense of indigenous and Black communities.

<sup>112</sup> Plans for the park met with an initial backlash, although silenced in the historiography (Barone 2009, p. 295). With a total area of 1,584,000 m<sup>2</sup>, in one of the city’s *bairros nobres* (noble’s areas), opposition essentially took issue with the buildings and occupation of São Paulo’s first metropolitan park (Barone 2009, 299). According to Ana Cláudia Castilho Barone, from the Faculty of Architecture

press that a new wave of cultural patronage emerged, spearheaded by arch-rivals Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho (1898–1977) and Assis Chateaubriand (1891–1968).<sup>113</sup> This new social, economic and political juncture and its duo of protagonists gave rise not only to the archives – the focus of this section – but also a number of museums, namely the Museum of Modern Art of São Paulo (otherwise known as MAM-SP), and the Museum of Art of São Paulo (MASP). Whereas Sobrinho played a decisive role in the creation of the MAM-SP (and the Wanda Svevo Archive), rival Chateaubriand was the driver of MASP.<sup>114</sup>

---

and Urbanism of the University of São Paulo, there were two factions: the first argued for commemorations in the newly established university campus or the *Bairro de Interlagos*, whilst the other defended the park. Detractors argued that the park ought to be free of construction, a *zona de respiração* (breathing zone). The language used included words like mutilation, attack, destruction and distortion. For more, see Barone 2009.

In addition to this initial backlash on the location, the *Parque Ibirapuera* also embodied the polemics and discontents of Brazilian modernist architecture. There was much debate at the time around its so-called “indulgences.” The dispute can be traced to Swiss artist and designer Max Bill. Bill, a much-celebrated artist at the time, had won the sculpture prize for his work *Tripartite Unity* at the first edition of the *Bienal*. By 1953, he had travelled to Brazil twice, the first time for a public speaking engagement, the second to act as a juror for the second edition of the *Bienal*. “It was during his first trip, at the height of his status in the visual arts, that he delivered an inflammatory lecture decrying the direction that Brazilian architects had taken in recent projects, condemning it as ‘utter anarchy in building, jungle growth in the worst sense’ . . . Bill rejected their application of modernist architectural principles, in particular free form planning, the all-glass wall, *brises-soleils*, and pilotis (piers or supports, such as columns, pillars or stilts that lift the building above ground or water). He contended that Brazilians were missing these elements, which were fundamental to European modernist architecture, thus straying from the true ‘duties of the architect in the service of man and society’” (Le Blanc 2012, p. 103). Bill maintained a strictly dogmatic and functionalist view of architecture and found Niemeyer’s buildings to be superfluous in form. Architecture, in his view, ought to be rational and sober. There were many responses to Bill’s criticism, especially after it was published in the October edition of the British *Architectural Review*. Gropius, Le Blanc tells us, “expressed a fundamental respect for the Brazilian’s audacity in seeking radically to make over their architectural environment” (2012, p. 104). Niemeyer, with Costa and Affonso Reidy, in fact, saw European modernist architecture as a “schema to be both absorbed and adapted to their tropical conditions, seeking to celebrate rather than conceal the differences that separated the Brazilian context from the European or North American ones. These Rio-based architects joined constituents of both local and foreign derivation – *palmeiras*, or palm trees, and pilotis – to create a national style of modern architecture. In the process of this synthesis, functionalist architectural components, such as the *brise-soleil* and the all-glass wall, were converted into signifiers of Brazilian architecture. In their innovations, these architects demonstrated that modernity and ‘tropicality’ were not mutually exclusive concepts, but could be brought together to create an expression particular to Brazil” (Le Blanc 2012, p. 105).

<sup>113</sup> As an enterprising philanthropist, Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, or Ciccillo as he was commonly known, contributed towards the creation of the *Teatro Brasileiro de Comédia* (TBC) towards the end of the 1940s and the *Companhia Cinematográfica Vera Cruz* (Schroeder 2011). This theatre and cinema were integral to the cultural landscape of the city. Assis Chateaubriand, on the other hand, was what we would now identify as a media mogul. Chateaubriand founded *TV Tupi*, the first television channel in Latin America (Oliveira 2001).

<sup>114</sup> In her doctoral thesis, Verena Carla Pereira (2016, p. 22) tells us that the relationship between Sobrinho and Chateaubriand had always been one of frank and open rivalry. Both were authoritarian in stance and had friends in common, particularly Yolanda Penteadó, Sobrinho’s wife and Chateaubriand’s childhood sweetheart. According to Pereira, Chateaubriand had asked for Yolanda’s hand in marriage on several occasions. With regard to their visions for their respective museums, Chateaubriand wanted, or so Sobrinho claimed, to work for an elite, whereas Sobrinho had the everyman at heart.

It should not be forgotten that this period was equally marked and shaped by the United States' by then waning interest in Latin America. The Latin American appeal can be traced back to the 1930s to president Franklin Roosevelt's adoption of Herbert Hoover's Good Neighbour Policy towards the region,<sup>115</sup> which was seen as a tool to deal with the hardships brought on by the Great Depression, but also curtailing the increasing number of Brazilians who were drawn to the ideology of Germanism.<sup>116</sup> Brazil, as Roosevelt saw it, presented an opportunity for the US to restructure its economy and impart its ideal of Progressivism ("to work, to produce, to earn money, and to consume," as Adriano Pedro Tota writes) to the "other America" (Tota 2009, p. 9), thus conquering it. The principle was that the US would channel its production to Latin America, and Latin America in turn would provide the US with precious resources.<sup>117</sup> Nelson Rockefeller, an "evangelist missionary" (Tota 2009, p. 24) and owner of Standard Oil, who also ran the Office of Inter-American Affairs, was charged with convincing his southern American counterparts of the US's fraternal

---

<sup>115</sup> "Elected in November 1928, President Hoover embarked on a trip through Latin America. Before taking office . . . he intended to change some important aspects of American foreign policy. As soon as he arrived in Honduras, president Hoover gave a speech in which the expression 'good neighbour' was used; this expression would be adopted by President Roosevelt in 1933. Hoover was preparing ground for his Latin American foreign policy. However, he was not well received in all the countries he visited. Argentina and Uruguay showed little enthusiasm. In Buenos Aires, there were protests against the presence of the American president. But when president Hoover arrived in Rio de Janeiro on December 21, 1928, he received a warm welcome. The poet Oswaldo de Andrade welcomed the North American leader in his own way: 'Hip! Hip! Hoover! Poetic Message to the Brazilian People'" (Tota 2009, p. 14).

Many intellectuals supported the policy, but it was possibly Waldo Frank, the American author and activist, who was its truest messenger (Tota 2009, p. 18). In 1942, funded by the CIA, Frank toured through Brazil, Argentina and Chile. According to Harris Feinsod (2014), he was hailed as a "creative diplomat" and received wide coverage, especially after he was attacked by a group of fascist sympathisers in Argentina. "The idea of the American melting pot, according to Frank, should be carried beyond American borders. The cabala supplied the bases for a curious theory of integration between the North and the South of the continent: the feminine aspect of God (Shekinah) had been separated from its divine head; later, a sacred marriage joined the parts again, forming a union of God with the feminine principles. Frank drank from this source and re-created the popularized interpretation according to which the United States always had been seen as the masculine part and the Latin peoples as the feminine part of the Americas. For him, there should be a union between the feminine and the masculine parts of America, and not the domination of one over the other" (Tota 2009, p. 17).

<sup>116</sup> The transformation of Nazi Germany into a world power captured the attention of Brazilian army officers. According to Adriano Pedro Tota (2009, p. 12), General Pedro Aurélio de Góis Monteiro was even invited to attend a huge military parade, one of the many that existed in Berlin.

<sup>117</sup> To this effect, by mid 1942, the construction of the Parnamirim Field, a well-known American base in Brazil, was completed. "Airplanes began to arrive in Brazil, bringing soldiers and technicians from the United States. They departed from the Northeast of Brazil to North Africa to help British soldiers trapped there by the Germans under the leadership of Rommel, the leader of the Africa Korps." By this time, Americans were living amongst Brazilians from the Northeast (Tota 2009, p. 1).

interests, and in turn, was expected to convey a positive image of Brazilian culture.<sup>118</sup> As a part of this bridging project, Orson Welles and Walt Disney travelled to Brazil. In turn, painter Cândido Portinari and Carmen Miranda travelled to the US.

With regard to the visual arts, Rockefeller had ties to the Museum of Modern Art in New York and National Art Gallery in Washington. It was in under the Good Neighbour Policy that the Republican donated thirteen works of art to the MAM-SP and MAM in Rio. In addition to this donation, he also established a partnership between MAM-SP and MoMA whereby MoMA would lend its consultation services to the team in São Paulo in order to build and develop their museum.<sup>119</sup>

The archive and *Bienal* were born into and of this socio-political context. If the *Bienal* is forever tied to the image of Sobrinho, its attendant archives could not have been achieved without the initial impulse of Wanda Svevo. Born on January 21, 1921 in Trieste, Wanda Matijevic Schmitz Svevo, an Italian Jewess, arrived in Brazil in 1940, leaving behind tragedy but not the will to recover. In curator Ivo Mesquita's words, she was a "beautiful blonde with deep blue eyes" who spoke six languages and was related to the Italian writer Italo Svevo. Scholar Verena Carla Pereira (2016) reports that Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho hired her to organise his personal archive at his company Metalúrgica Matarazzo. Svevo was a seasoned and popular professional, having worked at MASP with Pietro Maria Bardi, at the *Fundação Álvares Penteado* and

---

<sup>118</sup> Nelson Rockefeller was the second son of John D. Rockefeller Jr. He graduated in economics from Dartmouth College in 1930. Adriano Pedro Tota mentions how he did not have a vocation for business, but an interest in the arts, which he inherited from his mother's side of the family. Rockefeller was educated "with evangelist precepts. Every morning at 7.45 am the family congregated around the breakfast table for first prayers and to eat. This ritual was repeated in the evening before dinner. Following the same religious principles, the Rockefellers adopted a philanthropic policy aimed at changing the image of its companies, known for violence in the treatment of their workers" (Tota 2009, p. 25). Nelson's involvement with economic activities can be traced back to the Foreign Department of Chase National Bank. Rockefeller worked in the "clan's" (Tota 2009, p. 25) headquarters located in room 5600 at 30 Rockefeller Plaza, in the Rockefeller Centre, an art deco-style set of buildings on Fifth Avenue in New York City. Thanks to the intervention of his mother, he became president of the Museum of Modern Art and trustee of the Metropolitan Museum.

<sup>119</sup> It should be noted that relations between the US and Brazil shifted drastically with the victory of the guerrilla movement in Cuba in 1959. After this moment in history, the US became obsessed with the rise of a communist tide in Latin America. Amidst the tension of the Cold War, the US decided to intervene in Brazilian politics. As such, Washington financially bolstered the election of Goulart's adversaries, channelling financial aid to governments that were in support of American interests. This eventually led to the overthrow of the Goulart government in 1964 by military forces and to years of obscurantism and sectarianism in Brazil, and what Paulo Eduardo Arantes (2010) terms *sociedade do desaparecimento* (society of disappearance). As such, the US arguably escorted a discretionary and violent regime, which enacted violence and torture on its people.

at MAM. According to Mesquita (2008), she was also the director of one of the first modern art galleries in the city, *Ambiente*, where she is said to have “discovered” artists such as Fernando Odriozola, Raimundo Oliveira and Spacal.<sup>120</sup> Mesquita, interestingly, seems to be the only researcher to highlight and acknowledge the latter.

In 1955, a year after the launch of the library, which was part of Sobrinho’s project to emulate Venice, Wanda Svevo, taking advantage of her position as a respected figure in the Brazilian milieu, sent out a standard letter with slight adaptations to a select group of artists. Written in English, German, Italian and French, depending on the situation and recipient, Svevo requested that biographies, catalogues, photographs, awards and special mentions be sent to her. The letter translated into a statement of intentions: to create a resource that would facilitate contacts between agents and highlight contemporary practice (Sala 2001, p. 130). If Sobrinho decided to model the *Bienal* on what he had witnessed in Venice, the same happened with regards to the archive, which was conceived with the *Archivio Storico d’Arte Contemporanea della Biennale di Venezia*, created in 1928, as its model.<sup>121</sup> According to Fernanda Curi, “Svevo imported references from Venice, including their cataloguing standards and information files” (2015, p. 2).

The original proposal for the library, drafted by Svevo, stated that the archive was created with the purpose of stabilizing, by way of the continued collection of data, all of the living knowledge of contemporary practice. This included information on the *Bienal*, its parallel events and institutions – museums, exhibitions and initiatives – within the country and beyond that could potentially be of interest to the organization (Sala 2001, p. 130). For Svevo, the archive was not merely intended as a body that would collect and organise information, but should systematize, and more importantly, update this information, disseminating what was happening near and far. As such, it was more than a mere referencing room, but also a site at the service of

---

<sup>120</sup> Professor Maria Lúcia Bueno has provided a succinct survey of galleries and the art market in São Paulo and Rio between 1950 and 1960. She has indicated that *Galeria Ambiente* started trading in 1951 at the initiative of Leo Seicman. The gallery was a combination of modern furniture and art (Bueno, 2005, p. 389).

<sup>121</sup> Wanda Svevo’s role and capacity to launch the archive, albeit with the seal of approval of Sobrinho, should not be underestimated or undervalued. As architect and museologist Fernanda Araújo Curi has noted, Svevo created the archives in 1955; the Museum of Modern Art in New York, founded in 1929, only constituted its archives in 1989 (Curi 2012, p. 2).

disseminating art and fomenting its exchange. In my estimation, it was to be a “living archive,” as per Stuart Hall’s (2001) definition.<sup>122</sup>

Made official by decree in 1955, between the second and third biennials, the archives were charged with the care and collection of all documentation produced for and by the *Bienal* such as records of institutional activities, including all of the official and administrative correspondence between the *Bienal* and participating artists and nations, as well as any and all documentation pertaining to them. In 1962, the *Bienal* was detached from the São Paulo Museum of Modern Art as the *Fundação Bienal de São Paulo* came into place. It was decided that the historical archives would fall under the administration of this new foundation, somewhat unsurprisingly headed by a somewhat despotic Sobrinho. It was also in 1962 that the archive adopted its new name, Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo, in honour of Svevo, who died in a plane crash over the Andes on a mission to Lima that very year. At the time, she had been promoted to Executive Secretary and was thus responsible for the *Bienal*’s exhibitions.



Figure 9: Wanda Svevo’s son Alberto unveils his mother’s portrait, thus inaugurating the *Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo*. Unidentified photographer.

---

<sup>122</sup> To paraphrase Hall, a living archive is one that is present, ongoing, continuing, unfinished and open-ended. Hall writes: “This notion of ‘living’ is strongly counter-posed to the common meaning accorded to ‘tradition’, which is seen to function as the prison house of the past” (2001, p. 89).

By way of the Portuguese concept of *tombamento*, the archive was registered and protected by way of a resolution of the Secretary of Culture of the State of São Paulo, SC-16 of November 13, 1993, published in the Official Gazette of the State of São Paulo on November 16, 1993 (Sala 2001-2, p. 131).<sup>125</sup> Three years after attaining officiation, the archive was reinstalled in a 184 m<sup>2</sup> facility, especially designed to house its expanding collection. These amenities were partially financed by FAPESP, the *Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo*. A growing archive, according to its coordinator Dalton Sala, the *Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo* in 2001 alone occupied approximately 1000 linear metres and is considered to be one of the most important holdings of documents on Latin-American modern and contemporary art (Curi 2015, p. 1). In 2001, it was believed to have approximately 60 000 letters, folders on approximately 18 000 artists, an extensive newspaper archive, a specialised library with over 16 000 titles, 1 000 videos, 450 periodical publications, projects, photolithographs, a collection of posters amongst other historical documents (Sala 2001, p. 131).

During the 1960s and 1970s, work within the archive was undertaken by a small team of two or three professionals who maintained the methods proposed by Svevo, producing collections on artists, newspaper clippings, as well as developing the archive's holdings of specialised books and publications (Curi 2015, p. 3). This diminutive team amassed materials, but did little in terms of organisation. "These documents," Curi writes, "were put together on (sic) a separate room, which was called the 'Dead Archive.'" The period, she also writes, coincided with the dictatorship, "which is also reflected in the many existent gaps" in the material produced over this period (2015, p. 3). During the 1980s, when Brazil was being re-democratized, archivists Vera d'Horta and Elza Barbosa employed a new approach, opening this so-called dead archive to uncover its precious history, "organizing the documentation in a first attempt to understand the Archive as a whole" (Curi 2015, p. 3). On the fiftieth anniversary of the *Bienal* (2001), the first digital database was

---

<sup>125</sup> The Portuguese word *tombamento* is etymologically related to the Latin *tumulum*, or storehouse. Ann Laura Stoler traces the verb *tambar* to Portugal's national archive, the Torre do Tombo, located in the capital Lisbon. *Tambar* is "to crystalize, to fix in the form of something, to fall, to knock down, or to drop dead" (Stoler 2013, p. 171). In Portuguese law, *tambar* is a verb that means to make an inventory (Oliveira 2008, p. 120).

implemented using information culled from the biennial catalogues on exhibitions, artists and artworks.

According to Curi's description (2015), the archive is currently structured into three fonds:<sup>124</sup> the Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho fonds, comprised of around 6 000 documents and the Museu de Arte Moderna and *Fundação Bienal de São Paulo* fonds, which together, comprise around two million documents, and is essentially comprised of text-based documents (more than 4 000 boxes), images (around 170 000 items amongst which enlargements and digital images), sound (around 250 items) and audio-visual materials (around 2000 items).

In 2017, on the occasion of my only visit to the archive, I gained insight into this dedicated space run by a group of specialised, multilingual archivists (mostly interns who take the experience as a tremendous honour). As an ever-growing repository, work areas were limited to such an effect that labour by shifts had been implemented, with alternating teams working to morning and afternoon schedules. Translated, the desk that is used by a Canadian researcher in the morning is given over to an intern in the afternoon to sort and conserve documents. The task is gargantuan, with a part of the team working on scanning the *Bienal's* fragile photographic archive, the other on its paper archives, delicately removing acidic folders, toxic plastic and rusting paperclips and staples from this otherwise fragile archive. At the time I visited, a great part of the photographic archive was inaccessible due to the aforementioned digitization project. The South African files had only been sorted up until 1994. From this date on, all documentation was mostly unprocessed and found in large batches.

Thanks to Sobrinho's industrious and visionary secretary,<sup>125</sup> the material contained within this active and jostling space of memory, which in many instances is not only unique but irreplaceable, has provided for a number of readings and re-readings of

---

<sup>124</sup> Archival inventories are generally subdivided into fonds, the name given to collections of documents which are grouped together either because they are similar in subject, or because they were donated by a particular individual (Farge 2013, p. 4).

<sup>125</sup> MoMA, MAM-SP's older sibling, founded in New York in 1929, only constituted its archives in 1989 (Curi 2015, n.p.). This goes to demonstrate how pioneering Svevo and Sobrinho's project was at the time.

cultural policies and practices in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, of which this thesis too attests.

With the history, and the colonial and Eurocentric ideologies in which these archives are couched having been given, the chapter that follows addresses the figure of the commissioner that emerges in tandem with the SAFAA/SAAA and its attendant institutions. In a later chapter, I will argue that commissioner remained active in the South African instance until the mid-1990s, finding their antagonist in Nigerian curator Okwui Enwezor. The chapter that follows looks at two of these colonial figures, Henry Cole and Sydney Cowper. It was principally Cole, through his relative Cowper, who laid the groundwork for how expositions and exhibitions would be organised, and for the partitioning of the senses and of peoples, and the exhibitionary trauma, calamity and hurt we have come to inherit.

*Chapter Two*  
*An inconvenient truth: figures that cast long shadows*

This chapter marks a return to historical work and archaeological and genealogical practice. In referring to genealogical practice, I do so bearing in mind feminist scholar Maria Tamboukou's (1999) acceptance of said practice. For Tamboukou, genealogy conceives of human reality as an effect of the interweaving of certain historical and cultural practices, which it sets out to trace and explore. "Instead of seeing history as a continuous development of an ideal schema, genealogy is oriented to discontinuities. Throughout the genealogical exploration there are frequent disruptions, uneven and haphazard processes of dispersion, that bring into question the supposed linear evolution in history. In this context of reversal, our present is not theorised as the result of a meaningful development, but rather as an *episode* [emphasis added] a result of a struggle and relations of force and domination. Genealogy is the history of such fights, their deep strategies, and the ways that interconnect them." Holding on to Tamboukou's words, this chapter establishes the imperial and proto-colonial figure of the exhibition commissioner as an *episode* of the repressed and declined forebear of the contemporary biennial curator. It asks and simultaneously hinges on three fundamental questions: who were these commissioners? Why do they matter and what is their legacy?

From the deep and *longue* South African exhibitions archive,<sup>126</sup> I have chosen to single out the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* of 1886 with a fine arts section organised by the South African Fine Arts Association as the fulcrum and point of departure for my analysis and delineation of this imperial-cum-colonial exhibition's protagonist. This inconvenient ancestral figure is embodied here in the person of Sydney Cowper. A recent émigré to the Cape, during the London exhibition, Cowper acted as Secretary to the Cape Central Committee, Secretary to the Finance Sub-Committee, and was a member of the Fine Arts, Malay and Wall Diagrams Sectional Sub-Committees.

---

<sup>126</sup> *Long(ue)* as in *longue durée*, a term borrowed from Fernand Braudel to designate "the most stable temporal relation of the longest duration in the problem under consideration. [*Longue durée*] forms the stabilizing ground against which cyclical variations of other temporal structures are established" (Tomic 2011, p. 53). *Longue durée* as such allows the ordering of historical enquiry.

Readers may be immediately assailed by the question, why this exhibition, why not another? My response would be to highlight the relevance of this event to exhibition histories at large, namely in the way that it marks a shift in a particular geographic and ideological purview, from predominantly national trade exhibitions to “dominion” or colonial exhibitions (MacKenzie 1984), which I posit as pre-figurations and shadow figures of biennials. I have also chosen this exhibition due to the availability of research material (and its hardly coincidental preservation) as well as its contribution to this latent and expansive exhibitions archive. I have also elected the 1886 exhibition due to its ties to the South African Fine Arts Association, which would soon become the South African Association of Arts, an organisation responsible for a host of national and international exhibitions and representations by South Africa during the twentieth century, as mentioned in my previous chapter. It was the SAAA that implemented and upheld these imperial-cum-colonial-cum-segregationist commissioning practices, which can be broadly defined as taxonomical, racist, segregationist, disciplinary, formalist, appropriationist, extractive, exoticising, primitivising, dichotomising and distancing.

By looking closely and in detail at this Victorian exhibition, a particular figure and practice is demarcated, one which I posit has been carried over in its spectral form to the twentieth century. This chapter takes cognisance of these colonial and imperial bones. It obliges readers to look further back in time, beyond the thicket of the twentieth century and its markers and hailed (White) father figures and celebrated heroes – the “pioneers” of curating, according to Hans Ulrich Obrist (2014): Harry Graf Kessler, Alexander Dorner, Hugo van Tscudi, Willem Sandberg, Walter Hopps, René d’Harnoncourt, Pontus Hultén – to name but a few of the curatorial grandfathers and patriarchs. As such, this thesis delves into the nineteenth century; a time dominated by Victorian imperialism and a modern and industrialist worldview, thus locating and identifying part of the often-disavowed genetic makeup of the biennial curator in the colonial exhibitions’ commissioner.

To my way of thinking, the contemporary curator, particularly the biennial curator, chooses either to possess an acute awareness of this patriarchal and patrician lineage, responding to it, directly or indirectly, through strategies of distancing (preferring the periphery, thus detaching themselves from government and state intentions), privileging

acts of disobedience and refusal over compliance and acceptance – or disavows this legacy through problematic unquestioning, a-critical acceptance and ultimate emulation, repressing this unsettling ancestry, and thus perpetuating the malaise and discomfort of what I see as the curator's Achilles heel.

This history, these facts, although seemingly in and of the past, matter to how we understand exhibitions and how and why they are put together, and still have currency and contribute to certain world orders and partitions of the globe in our time. This lineage forms a part of what I consider to be the curatorial repressed, a lingering malaise amongst curators who fail to recognise how exhibitions and biennials are colonial structures with mutable histories that manifest and condition or impress on the present, thus contributing and compounding what I tentatively term curatorial unknowing.<sup>127</sup> The German word Freud generally used to describe repression was *Verdrängung*, which literally means “pushing away” or “thrust aside.” “A repressed idea is one that has been pushed aside, or even driven from conscious awareness” (Billig 1999, p. 15). I would argue that this *longue* and unsettling colonial exhibitions' history forms a part of the shameful secrets of early exhibition practices, that is, when exhibiting was imperial commissioning and human display.

Could it be that the term curator has been adopted and marketed to hide this shameful past? Could it be that curating in certain instances is a misnomer and a formation of “colonial aphasia” (Stoler 2011), that is, the incapacity to assess and comprehend colonial histories? For Freud, talk was to be the medium for the cure (Billig 1999, p. 18). I offer this chapter as a way of reading, learning, *knowing* and reflecting on the relational violences of imperialism and colonialism, effected by commissioners through assembly and exhibit, not with the intent to cure or heal, but so that we may become proficient in decoding modernity's statecraft and the doings of liberal humanism and late capitalism which veil the coloniality of exhibitions.

---

<sup>127</sup> This is an inflection of ‘colonial unknowing,’ as developed by co-authors Vimalassery, Pegues and Goldstein (2016) in their text *Colonial Unknowing*. Colonial unknowing is an epistemological orientation that seeks to “render unintelligible the entanglements of racialization and colonization, occluding the mutable historicity of colonial structures and attributing finality to conquest and dispossession.” Colonial unknowing is not only about a forgotten or hidden past. A forgotten past can be seen as a passive relation and a concealed past, as the authors write, might suspend culpability. Colonial unknowing is an ignorance that is aggressively made and reproduced, “affectively invested and effectively distributed in ways that confirm the social relations and economies of the here and now.” I suggest that colonial and curatorial can be used interchangeably.

In terms of exhibition history, as mentioned, I wish to take up the South African Fine Arts Association's link to the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* held in London and its response to the call by its organisers to make a "perfect a collection as possible of views of Cape scenery" (cf. appendix 23) as a significant, but disavowed and possibly repressed event in the history of display and commissioning in South Africa. This enormous exhibition was deeply important to the British Empire and would certainly have had an affirmative, reinforcing impact on the association that organised and contributed to it, shaping its ideology and its commissioning/exhibition practices at that very moment, but also in the thereafter, constituting and contributing to how exhibitions were conceived, thus forming, so I will argue, part of South Africa's suppressed, and in many instances, repressed exhibitionary proto-history. In terms of dormant exhibition histories, the 1886 exhibition was in fact a watershed moment. From then on, as John MacKenzie has written (1984, p. 99), exhibitions became almost entirely concerned with Empire:

These exhibitions marked an imperial world-wide control, as expressed through the many displays on exploration, a new agricultural and geological understanding, and naval and military might; a capacity for global exploitation of resources, as exemplified by the plantation system (there was much emphasis on tea, sugar, tobacco, and later cocoa and rubber), and mining of all sorts.

This magnanimous imperial showcase impacted how these first "international" exhibitions were conceived. Inherently performative (staging "first" encounters, rituals and labourers at work), they crossed the boundaries between science and entertainment (Mathur 2000, p. 492). These colonial spectacles were designed to reinforce motherland England, promoting "external commonwealth and internal nationalism" (Hoffenberg 2001, p. xiv). These early showcases, as art historian Saloni Mathur observes "created a powerful stock of images of the non-Western world for European consumption, which in turn helped fashion metropolitan social space" (2000, p. 492), defining centre and periphery, distinguishing North from South, East from West, with the compass held steadfast by a pale masculine manicured commissioner's hand. They also defined early practices of display, that is, the practice of collating and arranging produce, products and indigenous peoples attractively,

within existing patriarchal “scopic economies,”<sup>128</sup> as commodities to be eyed, consumed and exploited by a diverse audience, with traces that can still be located well into the twentieth century and its international expositions and biennials.

Like those of Australia, the Cape and Natal representations were created to demonstrate how “progress” was made under White settlers. Visitors to the colonial representations observed photographs, maps and plans for rising cities, samples of gold and manufactured goods (Hoffenberg 2001, p. xiv), which were placed in counter-distinction to the “atavistic” lives of local peoples. The exhibitions also served to bring the colonies closer to the British, cementing the idea of the empire as a “federation” and a “prepolitical form of the commonwealth” (Hoffenberg 2001, p. 240), familiarizing visitors with these distant and strange shores. In addition to highlighting the material wealth of the empire, the exhibition served to engage and soothe the British polity, bringing it closer together in its purported civilizing mission. Historian Peter Hoffenberger has stated that these exhibitions helped to forge a Victorian public. Today, this idea remains a tenet and motive for biennials, which are openly marketed and deployed as a means to “making publics”. Victorian advocates “contended that the spectacles, displays, and performances would not only mediate imperial and colonial identities, but would also resolve tensions between social classes.” Hoffenberger further adds: “The exhibitions were one of many attempts to resolve the crisis of representation and change, to mediate political and social tensions by suggesting cultural bonds and shared fantasies” (2001, p. 3).

---

<sup>128</sup> Scopic hegemonies, as Madelaine Harrison Caviness (2001, p. 22) explains, are hegemonies created and maintained by looking.

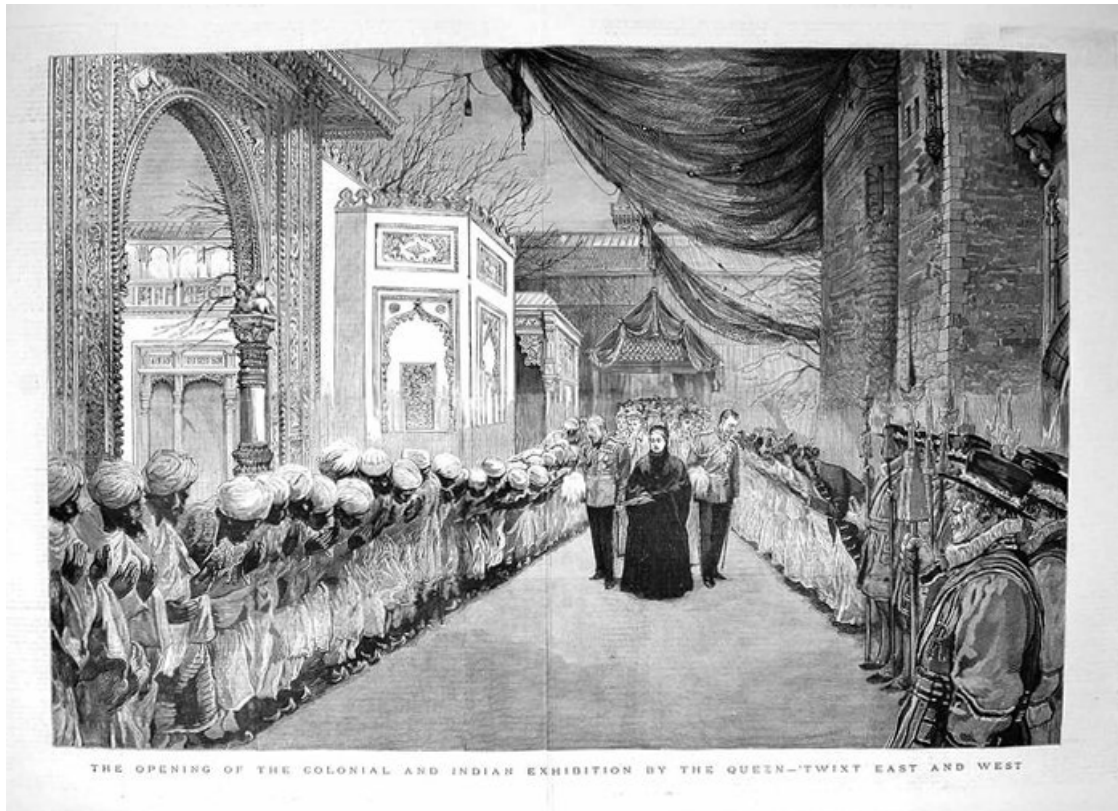


Figure 10: Artist unknown, *Opening of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Queen's Tour*

Inaugurated by the Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Kenmare at South Kensington under “splendid weather” (*Cape Times* 1886 [May 2], p. 2), the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* was created as part of the celebration of Queen Victoria’s jubilee, but also in response to the threat of dissolution, brought about by those in favour of “Home Rule for Ireland.” The event opened to a flourish of trumpets and a royal procession led by Queen Victoria and her son. According to the *Cape Times* of July 16, the queen wore a dress of black velvet with black lace (fig. 10), “whilst over a small black bonnet gracefully drooped a white ostrich feather.”<sup>129</sup> The second verse of the national anthem was sung in Sanskrit, and an ode by Tennyson (fig. 11), set to music by Sir Arthur Sullivan, was sung by Madame Albani from Canada (MacKenzie 1984, p. 101):

<sup>129</sup> In all likelihood, this ostrich feather, an export from South Africa and signifier of growing interest in the colony, was a token that would have brought great satisfaction to Cape colonialists observing both near and far.



Figure 11: Tennyson's Ode on the opening of the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, reproduced in *The Cape Times*, May 6, 1886

Over a period of about six months, the site accommodated 5.5 million visitors.<sup>130</sup> It should not be forgotten that London was the first metropolis in history to house a million souls, as Sadiya Qureshi has noted (2011, p. 223). “Between 1883 and 1884,” she writes, “its population surpassed 5 million, and far from abating, the growth continued,” there being more Londoners in 1914 than in 2000, living in an area about half the size of modern London, but roughly double the size of London in 1883.

According to a news report penned by J.G. Sprigg on July 15, 1886, these numbers increased with the exhibition: “Hotels are crowded, and it is said that there [are] no less than fourteen thousand Colonists in London, all of whom have come here for the exhibition . . . The average amount spent by those who rush about by rail, by cab, and to the theatres, is not less than £2 per diem.” Visitors included South Africans, who according to the Cape Commissioner (Sprigg 1886, p. 2) had their share of attention: “You find them wherever you go; in the streets of London, at the hotels; in the cabs, and in groups at garden parties. They have a wonderful clannish way of gathering together.” To the colonialists, one would have to add incoming visitors, fuelled by the then somewhat established culture of excursion (Breckenridge 1989). Fellow countrymen arrived on London’s new underground railway, which led users to the entrance of the Indian exhibits.

<sup>130</sup> The *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* of 1886 failed to match the numbers attained by its predecessors, namely the 1851 and 1862 exhibitions, which topped 6 million visitors. It should also be noted that none of these British exhibitions was able to exceed the enormous successes of Paris, which had, as John MacKenzie rightly points out, the entire continent to draw on for audiences. The 1889 Paris exhibition was visited by 32 million people, the 1900 exhibition by 48 million, the 1931 *Exposition Coloniale Internationale* by 33.5 million and the 1937 exhibition by 34 million (MacKenzie 1984, p. 101).

Not only was the underground instrumental in bringing visitors to the exhibition, but connections between London and its colonial territories and peoples was becoming easier. According to Qureshi (2011, p. 224), in 1820 it would have taken five to eight months to sail from London to Calcutta by ship, but:

By 1825, with the use of steam-assisted ships, the journey had been reduced to just over three months. By 1852, one could go from Southampton to Singapore in forty-five days, to Shanghai in fifty-seven, and Sydney in just seventy-five. Meanwhile, a one-way trip from England to Cape Town, South Africa, was reduced from forty-two days in 1857 to just nineteen days in 1893.

In addition to improvements in travel by sea, between 1850 and 1870, the British laid more than five thousand miles of railway track in India. “Telegraphy too was rolled out overland, particularly in India and Africa, and beneath the sea, notably with the transatlantic connection and direct communications to Cape Town (via Africa’s east coast) by 1879.” All this made it “easier, and less expensive to learn about increasingly far-flung places and their inhabitants” (Qureshi 2011, p. 226).

Organised by the Prince of Wales, the exhibition was an “imperial object lesson in England’s power and grandeur” and was “intended to provide ocular proof of the commercial wealth and power of England beyond the seas” (Briefel, p. 2). It was the Prince’s desire too that the subjects of England witness “the marvellous development of their colonial brethren” (Cape Times 1886 [May 2], p. 2). According to J.R. Seeley’s introduction to *Her Majesty’s Colonies* (1886, p. xii), a series of papers issued under the authority of the Royal Commission:

To the individual Englishman visiting the Colonial and Indian Exhibition the most important reflexion is that throughout these vast continents wherever he may wander he is at home, almost as much at home as between the hedge-rows of an English lane. Everywhere he will find the same language, the same institutions, the same beliefs, the same books.

At the time, the “English Realm” was “sixty-six times as large as the mother country” (Seeley 1886, p. xi), “thinly peopled by tribes all barbarous, and in part even savage” (Seeley, p. x). The dominion of Canada, according to this same introduction, had an

area of 3 173 340 square miles, the seven Australasian Colonies an area of 3 173 340 square miles, India 1 383 504 square miles, and “British South Africa” 1 383 504 square miles. Seeley did not tire in problematically emphasizing the “original emptiness of the territory” (p. xiii). With regards to the Cape Colony, his description emphasised stretch, vastness and although unstated, availability:

The Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Colony, as the British possessions in the extreme south of the African continent are indifferently named, extends from the Indian Ocean as far north as the Orange or Gariep River. On the west its shores are washed with the waters of the Atlantic, on the north it is bounded to the west of the 22<sup>nd</sup> meridian of east longitude by the Orange River, on the northeast by the Orange Free State and Natal, and on the east and south by the Indian Ocean. The Colony has a length, from east to west, of nearly 600 miles, with a breadth, from north to south, of upwards of 450 miles. The coast-line is little short of 1 200 miles in extent, and the area of the entire territory (including British Transkei) is estimated at about 212 000 square miles (Seeley 1886, p. 427).

Preparations for this “extraordinary” (Cundall 2012) show began on 24 November, 1884 fourteen months prior to the official opening. The then Prince of Wales took on the role of executive presidency of the Royal Commission, consisting of 120 noblemen and gentlemen. It was he who issued a letter of invitation “to India and the whole of the British colonies to come forward . . . [and] give to the inhabitants of the British Isles, to foreigners and to one another, practical demonstration of the wealth and industrial development of the outerly portions of the British Empire” (Cundall 2012, p. 4). With a few exceptions – Newfoundland, Tasmania, Heligoland (a small archipelago in the North Sea) and Gibraltar – all British colonies acquiesced.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup> “Her majesty’s colonies” (fig. 12) listed at the time by Cundall were Canada, the Australasian Colonies (Newfoundland, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Fiji), the Western Pacific, New Guinea, the West Indies (British Guiana, Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados), the Windward Islands (St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, St. Lucia), the Leeward Islands (Antigua, St. Christopher, Nevis, Anguilla, Dominica, Montserrat, the Virgin Islands), the British Honduras, the Bahamas, Somers Islands or the Bermudas, the African Colonies (the Cape Colony, Bechuanaland, Pondoland, Natal, St. Helena, Ascension, Tristan D’Cunha, the Inaccessible Islands, Nightingale Islands), Ceylon, Straits Settlements or the Malay Peninsula, Hong Kong, British North Borneo, the West African Settlements (Sierra Leone, Gambia, Gold Coast, Lagos, British Sherbro, Niger), Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, the Falkland Islands, Heligoland, Aden and Port Hamilton.



Figure 12: Lithographed map printed in blue on linen, sold at the exhibition with highlighted British possessions. This map allowed visitors to “process through the empire in miniature” (Barringer 1998, p. 23). The vignettes include a Canadian family on a toboggan, an Australian gold prospector and a British “Tommy” in India (Christies 2014).

This map, or a similar version, is likely to have been seen by visitors above the southern entrance to the Central Annexe and would have been surmounted by a series of five clock faces, which simultaneously proclaimed the time in Greenwich, Calcutta, Ottawa, Sydney and Cape Town. The “colossal map” was “overtopped by a colossal figure of Britannia” (Cundall 1886). Beneath it were placed statistics of the area, population and trade of the British colonies.

In terms of exhibition layout (fig. 13), the remoteness of many of the participating dominions precluded correspondence so it was decided that the Royal Commission should allot a portion of the exhibition buildings to each colony. The whole of the South Galleries were devoted to India and Ceylon – the largest exhibit of all, signalling the importance of the territory to the Empire – whilst the dominion of Canada was located “in the Central Gallery, in part of the West Gallery, in the East and West Arcades, in a portion of the permanent gallery to the west of the exhibition, and also in the South Promenade” (Cundall 2012, p. 4). The Australian courts were situated in the centre of the exhibition, “subdivided amongst the five divisions of the island continent and New Guinea and Fiji, flanked on the west by New Zealand, and

on the east by the West Indies and British Honduras” (Cundall 2012, p. 4). Between the West Indies and Queensland, visitors would find British Guiana and Hong Kong. Per Cundall’s report, “in the Queen’s Gate Annexe are found contributions from all that belongs to England in Africa – the Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Gold Coast, Lagos and the West African Settlements; while the Eastern and Atlantic Possessions are placed in the East Arcade” (Cundall 2012, p. 4).

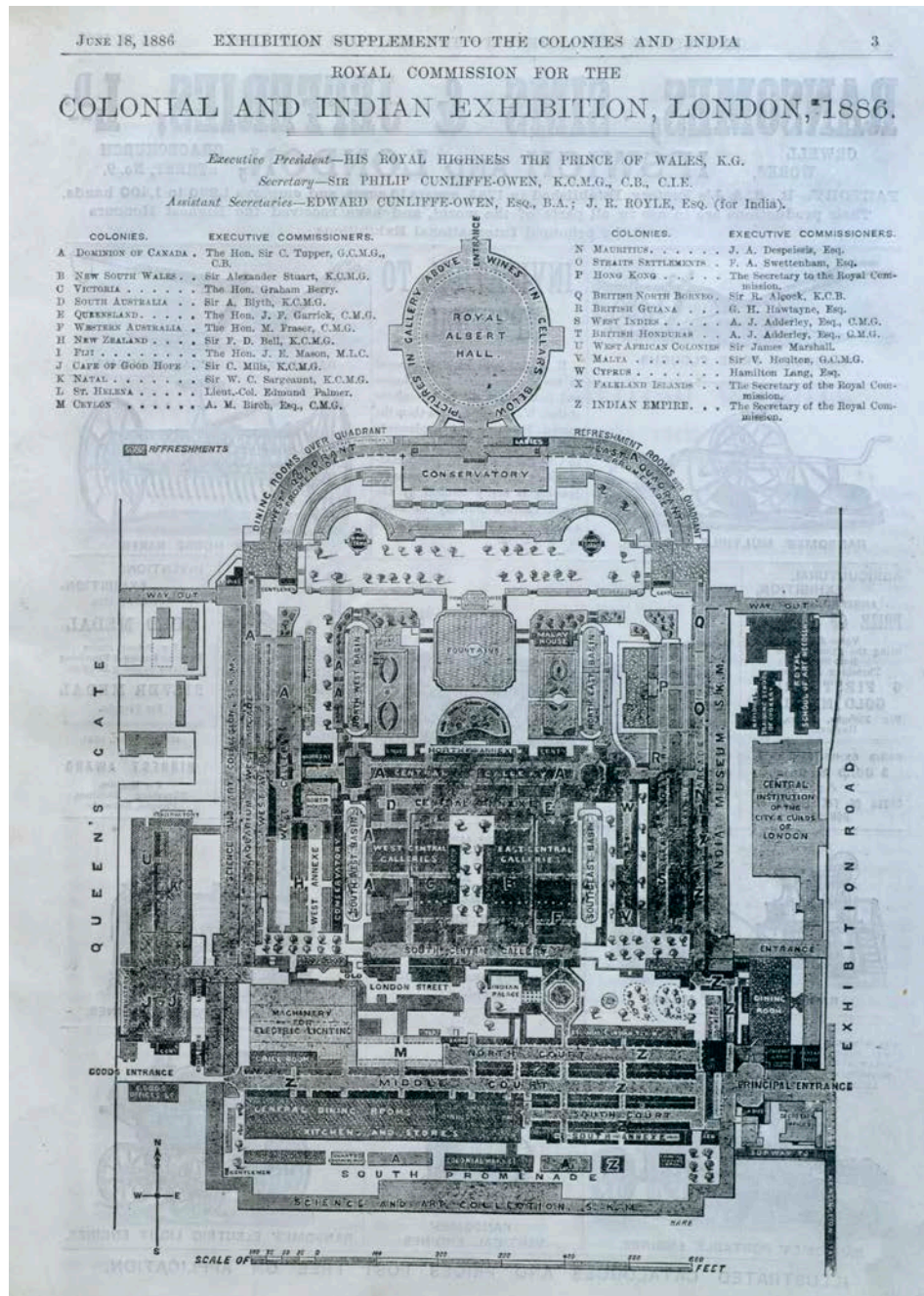


Figure 13: Plan for the Royal Commission for the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, London 1886. Image courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society, London

Given the size of this imperial endeavour, the Royal Commission felt that it was impossible to draw up a classification that would “embrace or do justice to the very varied products of the different colonies.” The executive president thus decided to allow every colonial commissioner to prepare a classification best suited to its own requirements. Like other colonies, the Cape of Good Hope published a catalogue of its exhibits, which translates the system of classification and terminology adopted by its organisers.<sup>132</sup> Exhibits presented samples or gathering of products and implements under sections, thus creating an allusion of what Carol Breckenridge (1989) has termed “cognitive control” and what Peter Hoffenberg (2001) has referred to as a grammar for the process of reading and viewing.<sup>133</sup>

In total, the Cape Colony catalogue presented a total of eight major sections which guided the British through a detailed inventory of what the colony had to offer the Queen and her subjects: (1) Maps, Statistics, Public Works which served to provide a survey of the territory (2) Native Department, where several collections of implements and tools, as well as San drawings presented by a Charles Currey, mealing stones, rocks, spearheads, pottery, attire and weapons (3) Malay Department (4) Animal Products (5) Vegetable Products (6) Minerals (7) Printing and Bookbinding and lastly (8) Fine Art, intended as a demonstration of Britain’s educational reach.

There were varied interests at stake in the Cape and in participating in this exposition. Analysis of correspondence between Dr Christian Lawrence Herman,<sup>134</sup> the secretary of the medical sectional sub-committee in Cape Town for preparing the Cape Colony contribution to the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, reveals that their particular contribution was driven by the desire to establish the colony as a “health

---

<sup>132</sup> According to Cowper’s report of 1887, the fact that Charles Mills was able to present the prince with a bound copy of the handbook, covering 300 pages, was a sign of the Cape’s good planning and capacity to rise to the occasion. The handbook was compiled for the exhibition by John Noble, an “authority” on South African geography and history.

<sup>133</sup> According to John MacKenzie, exhibitions that became popular in the nineteenth century followed to a great extent the original classification systems implemented by Prince Albert and Lyon Playfair at the Crystal Palace in 1851. Here exhibits were divided into “raw materials, the manufactures created for them, and the arts that decorated the manufactures” (MacKenzie 1984, p. 98).

<sup>134</sup> According to the Biographical Database of Southern African Science, Dr Herman (1857–1940) was interested in medical organization, medical education and public health. With J.H.M. Beck and Dr H.A. Ebdon, he founded the South African Medical Association in July of 1883. Herman’s archive is available for consultation at the University of Cape Town’s Archives and Special Collections.

resort for [British] invalids."<sup>135</sup> A committee chaired by C. Lawrence Herman (fig. 14) was thus appointed to collect and collate information to this end.

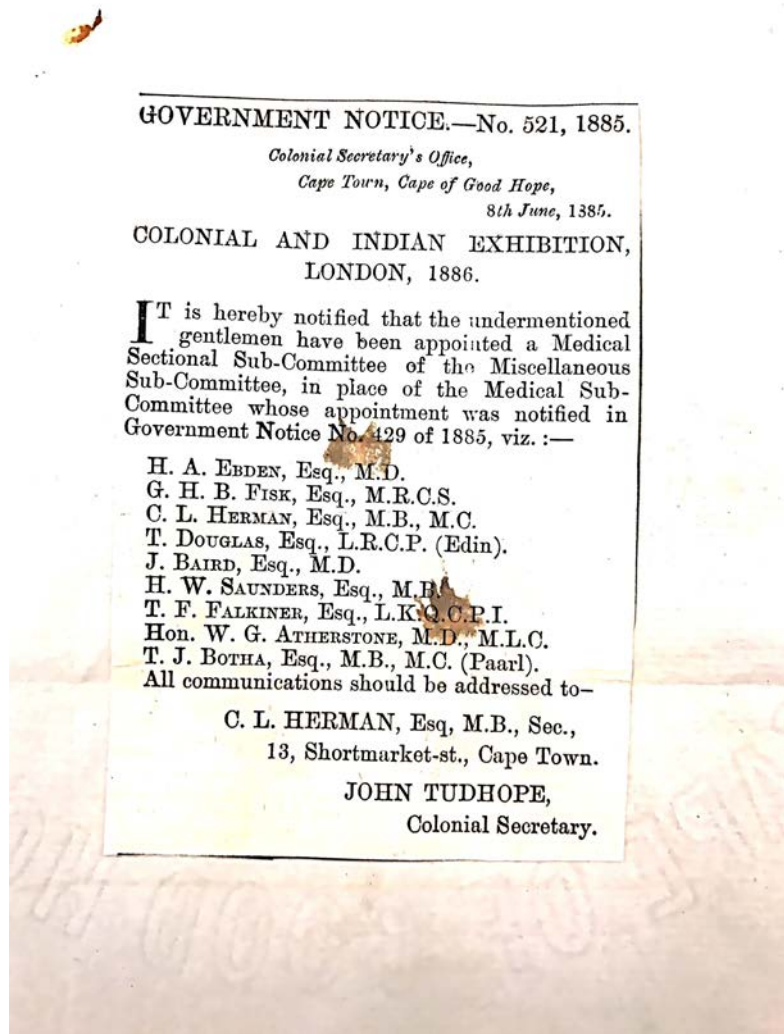


Figure 14: Government Notice No. 521, 1885 listing appointees to the medical sub-committee for the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*

In fact it was Herman who wrote to representatives of Adelaide, Alexandria, Aliwal North, Calvinia, Carnarvon, Claremont, East London, Fraserburg, Hanover, Herbert, Hopefield, King Williamstown, Mossel Bay, Oudtshoorn, Paarl, Port Alfred, Port Elizabeth, Richmond, Simonstown, Stutterheim, Tembuland, Uitenhage and Wellington requesting that they contribute with written information, statistics,

<sup>135</sup> Further justification is given in C.L. Herman's letter of April 9, 1885 for this endeavour. He writes: "Very little is as yet known even here in Cape Town as to the most favourable localities for invalids and what maladies are most benefitted by a residence or sojourn here." For Herman, it was "very much desired that such information were collected and published authoritatively."

maps and photographs or references to sources on the climate of South Africa and its effect on disease.<sup>136</sup>

In tandem with the large encyclopaedic publication that resulted from such a systematic analysis and structured rigid taxonomy, the exhibition as a whole (that is, not only the medical section) was designed to provide samples that could not only be

---

<sup>136</sup> According to a draft paper found in the C.L. Herman archive, it was indicated that each report should ideally include systematic, standardised, ordered information on:

- I. Situation
  - a) Elevation above sea level of town and surrounding district
  - b) Whether wooded or not, character of vegetation
  - c) Character of surrounding district (whether plain or mountainous, on or near a river)
  - d) Exposure to the sun, sheltered from the prevailing winds or not
- II. Climate
  - a) The Seasons: character with reference to disease
  - b) Sun: length of day – number of days on which sun is obscured/observed
  - c) Temperature: mean daily range for each month with maximum and minimum temperatures, or indication of where obtainable
  - d) Winds: direction of prevailing winds. Their character, moist or dry. Months in which they blow. Their influence on health generally and disease of the lungs particularly.
  - e) Rain: yearly rainfall. The rainy months, daily rainfall. Humidity of atmosphere.
- III. Food and water
  - a) Kind of food
  - b) Water supply – analysis
- IV. Diseases
  - a) Prevalent diseases
  - b) Lung diseases – with cases
- V. Medical and surgical attendance
  - a) Names of medical practitioners
- VI. Communication
  - a) Railway, roads, ports, telegraphs
- VII. Baths and Springs
  - a) Sea bathing
  - b) Mineral waters, properties of, analysis
- VIII. Religious institutions
- IX. Commercial and other institutions
- X. Amusements
  - a) Societies
  - b) Libraries, newspapers
  - c) Walks, sights
  - d) Sport
- XI. House accommodation
  - a) Sanitation: drainage and sewerage
  - b) Hotels, homes and pensions
  - c) Sanatoria
- XII. Trade and manufactures
  - a) Employment for invalids
- XIII. Clothing
- XIV. Cost of living

looked at, but in many instances, touched, savoured and, less intentionally perhaps, smelt.<sup>137</sup>

From the general narrative, one extracts that it was not only an ocular, colourful and deeply competitive extravaganza but a sensory and all-encompassing experience with olfaction (smoke from “indigenous” campfires) and sound contributing to visitors’ sense of stupefaction, awe and bedazzlement.

According to the “Exhibition Notes” (Cape Times 1886, p. 2), penned on May 20 by an unidentified South African emissary (possibly Sprigg), there was an overarching sense of rivalry and a comparative edge to the exhibition:

We show our corn – and magnificent samples they are – whilst Canada displays her biscuits in immense variety. We show our woods, whilst Canada proves what wood she has for the manufacture of her harmoniums and organs, the music of which is listened to by critical ears as well as by the holiday-makers. Canada, of all the colonies, is the most advanced in manufacture, and in the infinite variety of her resources. The wealth of the Indian Court is enormous; the beauty of its wares without compare; the carvings of its palaces exquisite; but to the English crowd which has its Kensington and other museums there is really nothing novel to it. People walk through the court in the same way that they walk through museums, but you find them clustering around the pools in the Australian Courts by the models of natives spearing fish, or making fires in the veld for the cooking of their meals, and by the rude log-hut in which the new comer in the Australian bush makes his home.

This short description alone tells of the “elevating” sound of music that would have filled the Canadian Court vis-à-vis the possible sensual scent of felled and treated wood, the appropriation of India and her wares, and the pungent and transporting odour of smoke and dust that would have been present in parts of the Australian Court. It also bespeaks how displayed peoples were presented as if they were “historical artifacts,” in a state of atavism, as “relics of the past” (Qureshi 2011, p. 242).

---

<sup>137</sup> According to John MacKenzie (1984, p. 102), altogether “there were no fewer than twenty catalogues for the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, together with the reports on the individual colonies. A large number of booklets on the ‘History, Products and Natural Resources’ of almost all the Dominions and colonies were produced, usually at 6d each. The *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* marks the beginning of the popular exhibitions at which vast quantities of ephemera were produced at a low cost for wide circulation. The educative and propagandistic message could now be taken home.”

According to an observer from Adelaide (“An Australian view of the Cape Section”, 1886, p. 3), the Cape Colony’s presence lay to the extreme west of the gardens, close to the so-called West African Colonies with exhibits, according to this narrator, “suggestive of the life of Ashantee and Gold Coast.” The Cape representation was in no way distinguishable from Natal: “Cape Colony and Natal are very intimately associated with one another, having, in fact, no very definite division between their courts.” Their joint entrance was marked by a “shady and cosy wine bar” where Cape wines found ready consumers. Exhibits of tobacco and walking sticks skirted the door leading to it and around the corner was a “small attempt at scenic effect in the shape of a little recess devoted to a scene painted landscape, with stuffed ostriches and sheep in the foreground.” Londoners, according to this same unnamed Australian critic, were attracted mostly to the shape of small glass rooms in which operations of diamond cutting and setting were carried on by men and women in “great blouses” who scrubbed away “industriously at the small stones, and never seem to find the presence of strangers near their valuables in the least distracting.” In addition to this spectacle was a round platform holding a model of the Bultfontein Mine at Kimberley, “a huge excavation in the ground surrounded by small building used for puddling and sorting, and little searching huts where the miners are examined as they come from their daily toil.”

In addition to these dioramas, it was under the hand of the “Native Department” that visitors would have encountered the “tableau-vivant” (Greenhalgh 1988, p. 82) of vernacular dwellings, which included an indigenous kraal and a so-called bushman hut, thus providing visitors with what was by now the pre-requisite face-to-face, and mostly “unregulated contact” (Qureshi 2011, p. 227) with Africans.<sup>138</sup> MacKenzie (1984, p. 114) tells us that native villages in British exhibitions always performed one

---

<sup>138</sup> The 1886 exhibition served as a predecessor to Frank Fillis’s *Savage South Africa*, the largest exhibit of Africans ever hosted in London (Qureshi 2011, p. 228). Fillis imported over two hundred Africans and dozens of Afrikaners for this spectacle. He also imported hundreds of animals, including examples of large game. Fillis set up a kraal in Earls Court which he surrounded with painted backdrops of the African veldt. It was here that he re-enacted the Ndebele war of 1893 and the Ndebele and Shona revolt of 1896. According to Qureshi, Fillis was banking on these recent events with the certainty they would attract audiences. The show’s sense of occasion, as Qureshi writes, was reinforced by the presence of Peter Lobengula, the purported son of King Lobengula, and the newly restored Gwelo coach, which had been attacked twice during the battle, and included as a sign of “savagery” (Qureshi 2011, p. 232).

function, “to show off the quaint, the savage, the exotic, to offer living proof of the onward march of imperial civilisation.”

According to the aforementioned Adelaide observer, there were about “ten natives (sic) to one European [in South Africa] so that the Exhibition would be incomplete without something to indicate the manner of life prevailing among the bulk of the population” (1886:3). The kraal and “bushman hut” were included to this effect, although as Qureshi has argued, the true intent and purpose of these stagings was to signal and emphasise the unequal relationships between Britain and its colonized subjects (2011, p. 270), but more importantly, their significance to the British Crown, principally as cheap labourers (p. 243).

### *1886 and the humanitarian retreat*

The mid to late nineteenth century was undeniably, as Professor Andrew Bank has noted, an era of “humanitarian retreat” and transition to “strident racism.” According to Philip Curtin, as cited by Bank, this was a period marked by the transition movement from the “age of humanitarianism” to the “age of imperialism”; an age of the “assertion of white superiority” (Bank 1999, p. 364), which found its translation and manifested in world expositions. For Bank, this change of attitude is pinpointed by the Indian Mutiny of 1857, which heralded the end of Company rule, and the Morant Bay Rebellion in the West Indies of 1865, which was seen as “an explicit demonstration of the failure of British civilizing policy.” In addition to these events, we have the 1835 Xhosa (or Cape Frontier) War. For Bank, the latter was much more of a formative experience for British imperialism than has been acknowledged:

By the 1840s the humanitarian liberal position on frontier relations had been completely overturned. It was in their transformed attitude to the Xhosa and frontier policy after the Seventh Frontier War of 1846–47 that the humanitarian liberals’ loss of faith in an earlier model of interaction was most dramatically demonstrated. The continued advocacy of diplomatic solutions to the frontier problem, albeit in more cautious terms, in the late 1830s gave way to stridently imperialist language of conquest, appropriation and punishment from the late 1840s. If the 1835 Frontier War prompted leading humanitarian ideologues to qualify their assessments of frontier relations, the War of the Axe sparked an outright

reversal of ideas and a rejection of the idea that frontier relations could be mediated through negotiation and treaties.

In direct response to the alleged “betrayal” of the Xhosa, Fairbairn and his supporters came to insist that it was necessary to “add Cafferland (sic) to the dependencies of the Cape.” This was followed up with demands for severe retribution (1999, p. 369).

It was in this climate and this transition from “ethnocentrism to racism” (Lorimer, 1978), that the exposition was arranged. Situated in the exhibition grounds opposite the Malay (sic) location, the kraal and hut were occupied by four men as well as a Khoisan representative and his wife who carried out their respective “industries”, including the manufacture of weapons, sticks, baskets, wickerwork mats, sieves, beadwork and wire ornaments. The catalogue also mysteriously announced that an addition to this “interesting community” was expected during the Exhibition (Noble, 1886:7) but no evidence as yet could be found of what this addition could possibly have been. It should be noted that there were two distinct human showcases in the Cape Colony, one of the kraal and hut, organised by the “Native Department” and the other of a family of four, “presented” by the “Malay Department” to demonstrate their work in wicker and basketry.<sup>139</sup>

This was very much in line with the rest of the exhibition where, as Qureshi (2011, p. 240) notes:

Indians were almost always shown as weavers, printers, stonemasons, carpenters, painters, and metalworkers. Three Cypriots were shown weaving silk on a loom. The Africans, along with many of the displayed peoples on-site, worked on a diamond-mine. Discovered at the Cape in 1867, diamonds transformed the economy and labour patterns of the region and, by the early 1870s, had established Kimberley as the second-largest city in South Africa. Unsurprisingly, in the middle of the Cape Court, “the washing of diamonds” attracted the “greatest attention.” The interest in mineral resources extended to other sections, most noticeably in the Australian courts, which featured a “Queensland gold-digger” washing alluvium in search of the metal’s yellow glimmer. The fruits of his labors (sic) were displayed in a large glass cabinet and augmented with a

---

<sup>139</sup> Although this thesis is not about human showcases per se, their existence is undeniably tied to commissioning practices. Paul Greenhalgh (1988) identifies four types of human exhibits, which he labels the Imperial, the Educational, the Commercial and the Ambassadorial. These self-explanatory designations were not exclusive, with displays featuring two or more features. As Greenhalgh writes, “most had the pretensions of the first two, and those which escaped the influence of the first were often afflicted with a dubiously abrasive nationalism” (1988, p. 82).

“large and varied collection” of precious stone and minerals. 1886 also proved to be the year in which gold was discovered in the Witwatersrand – a discovery that led to the foundation of Johannesburg.

Together with other colonies, the Cape Colony and its commissioners actively participated and set the path for dehumanising and objectifying choice of presenting “native” villages or the spectacle of living peoples for the gratification and alleged education of others, a practice that endured well into the twentieth century.<sup>140</sup>

Qureshi, citing Cundall, confirms that the 1886 exhibition constitutes the most extensive use of displayed foreign peoples within the context of a nineteenth-century British fair:

A total of 89 living “natives” were featured in the programme, including 46 Indians, 10 “Ceylonese,” 10 “Red Indians” from British Guiana, 5 Cypriots, 5 “Malays,” 9 Africans from the Cape of Good Hope, and 4 individuals from the “Straits Settlements.” The living performers were complemented by human models that were scattered around the site and arranged in “native groups” (Qureshi 2011, p. 239).

The large Indian section of the 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, constructed under the Raj’s autocratic governance, was created to display and differentiate its cultures, and I present it here as there are some parallels and associations to be drawn between

---

<sup>140</sup> MacKenzie (1984, p. 114) dates the practice of bringing peoples from overseas to 1867 *Exposition Universelle*, namely as attendants, servants and shopkeepers, so that Parisians could be served exotic products by those who allegedly produced them. We do not know how many South Africans, for instance, had been exhibited prior to 1867. Nonetheless, there are known cases, such as Sara Baartman, the first celebrity exhibit, known by her stage epithet the “Hottentot Venus.” Prior to this, Dr Robert Knox, presented the fabled “Bushmen” of Africa at London’s Exeter Hall. Sadiah Qureshi (2011, p. 1) begins her tome on the parade of peoples by re-narrating a specific encounter which took place on the evening of Monday, May 17, 1847: “After presenting tickets to gain entry, eager patrons filed in and took their seats. Those prepared to pay the requisite fee of 2 shillings and sixpence were able to avoid the possible rush for seats and take up reserved places; others paid a shilling and were left to find an accommodating spot. The audience faced a platform on which two men, two women, and a young infant were quietly squatting. Shortly after eight o’clock, a middle-aged man appeared; he introduced himself as the infamous anatomist Dr Robert Knox and his guests as the fabled “Bushmen” of Africa. Knox then presented a lecture covering the natural historical classification and the foreign policies governing Britain’s presence in their homeland . . . At about 9 o’clock the lecture ended and Knox announced that the group of “pigmies” would “go amongst the company if not in an obstinate temper.” Fearful of being disappointed, spectators enticed the Africans off the stage with money and oranges.” It is important to note that the exhibition of peoples was a lucrative exercise. Men, women and children were transformed into professional “savages,” becoming, in certain cases inextricably and to the death, tied to a new form of cheap mass entertainment. These were commercial enterprises run by men like German businessman Carl Hagenbeck and Robert Knox. South African novelist Zakes Mda masterfully encapsulates the industry and its characters in his *The Zulus of New York* (2019).

the Indian presence and that of the Cape Colony, despite the latter being void of the caste system.

According to Professor Alayna Heinonen, “with the establishment of the Raj government in 1858, British officials institutionalized racial classification in India in order to bolster the political fabric of British rule” (2012, p. 113). The caste system was instrumental to British rule, and crystallized and intensified itself, finding its way into the 1886 exhibition by way of life-size models of native soldiers and officers of the Indian army, presented by the Military Department of the Government of India, through a display that distinguished Punjabi Sikhs and Nepalese Gurkhas as “martial races” (Heinonen 2012, p. 114) versus recruits from Bengal and lower India, who were portrayed as “inferior.” The display also included twelve sub-courts in the economic section where model “natives” were exposed according to their respective races and regions (Heinonen 2012, p. 115). Andaman Islanders, for instance, were distinguished from Hindoos and Sikhs. According to Heinonen, “the exhibition situated the Andaman Islanders in the lower echelons of the racial hierarchy in India, narrating anthropological assumptions about these peoples in the public arena” (2012, p. 116). The Economic Courts included models of village scenes that presented views of Indian peoples through immutable tradition. As Heinonen (2012) narrates, one scene displayed the landed and Hindu elites of a village in north India. It had a Zamindar landlord in his house representing the class structure found in Oudh. The apparently illiterate Zamindar had the village accountant read rent collections to him as he dispensed his justice to villagers who could not make payments. Next to this scene of the “village landlord”, colonialists placed the Brahman or village priest of Hindu caste, decorating a village idol. These scenes were meant to reinforce the British conception of India as place dominated by unchanging tradition. The regime relied on emphasizing signs of difference, as opposed to those of acculturation, to justify its rule.

Although not formally part of the exhibition, a compound on the outskirts of the exhibition near Queen’s Gate Road (Heinonen 2012, p. 118) further distinguished colonized peoples, with the exception of Canada, whose government was averse to the idea of living displays and chose to represent itself by way of goods alone. The compound housed forty-six Indians who served as “living” artisans, “servants” and

drivers of the Durbar carriage (Heinonen 2012, p. 121), together with peoples from other nations, in segregated quarters. Those people would include the aforementioned South African representatives. Newspapers such as the *Daily News* of 22 April, 1886 highlighted what they considered to be the features of different races within the Compound, stating that “Malays” and “Cingalese” (inhabitants of Sri Lanka, then Ceylon) could be recognised by “their long hair twisted into a knot” (Heinonen 2012, p. 119). Zulus, in turn, were described as having fine coffee-coloured skin, stalwart proportions, and a “heavy type of face” (Heinonen 2012, p. 119). The article also notes how some members of the compound showed signs of assimilation, there being a “well-favoured” unidentified Black woman dressed in European style who spoke good English, and was a favourite up and down the building (Heinonen 2012, p. 120).

The 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* packaged, like the Great Exhibition before it and others, first peoples into displays, distilling colonized peoples into racial categories. I use the word “package” to emphasise the artificiality of these fabricated scenes and the deeply dehumanizing and violent treatment of these otherwise unnamed and hollowed persons. These were colonial fictions, created to serve imperial masters and narratives, to such an extent that the eight Indian artisans, presented as traditional dyers, were in fact inmates from the Central Jail of Agra who had been reformed through training in craft-making:

The ‘living’ artisans in the Exhibition were brought to London by the shipping firm Messrs. Henry S. King & Company, contracted by the Royal Commission. In exchange for the profits made at its private exhibits through sales of teas, coffee, cocoas, and tobaccos, the Company undertook the costs of bringing over and caring for the Indian artisans. Dr. J.W. Tyler, the superintendent of the Agra Jail, chose the artisans who would perform at the Exhibition, and undertook their recruitment and care (Heinonen 2012, p. 122).

As Saloni Mathur has written, this ultimately undermined the purported authenticity and purity of this particular cultural performance (2000, p. 493).

*We were never native: defying the terms*

Before returning to the South African representation at the exhibition, I would like to turn to Mathur once more (2000, p. 503) and her report of how the apparently silenced people used in these displays actually *resisted* the terms proposed to them, for instance, the duration of the display, having tried to renegotiate and refute the terms of their engagement.

Instances of resistance can be found in the narrative of elite Indians who assisted with the administration of the 1886 Exhibition. According to Sadiah Qureshi (2011), Trilokya Nath Mukharji was “a Bengali from the upper castes” who enjoyed a higher status in the British Raj working as a collaborator with British officials, collecting economic products for display, but who also concomitantly problematized racialized othering. Although he “reasserted imperialist views of Indian racial difference, he also complicated monolithic racial conceptions of Indians” (Heinonen 2012, p. 125).

Mukharji even questioned the arbitrary labelling of “coloured” colonial peoples as “natives” believing that Indians were never “natives” before, but that they suddenly found themselves in this artificial category. As such, “Indians not only shaped the Exhibition, they observed and offered alternative meanings to the official narrative of colonial displays” (Heinonen 2012, p. 126). Moreover, Mukharji’s writing returns the gaze of Europeans. He transforms, as Qureshi remarks, the exhibition into a space where “Europe” too could be observed, having written “We were pierced through and through by stares from eyes of all colours – green, grey, blue and black – and every movement and act of ours, walking, sitting, eating, reading, received its full share of ‘O, I, Never!’” (Qureshi 2011, p. 246).

Although not in relation to the exhibition of 1886, but world exhibitions at large, Greenhalgh (1988, p. 99) notes:

Few who visited these exhibits intellectualised what they saw in order to fully comprehend the exploitative nature of the enterprise. More usually a romantic vision of another world was all the visitor could or chose to see, an exotic explosion of peoples and dwellings, a vehicle to transport the mind from routine and hardship. Indeed, the mingling of Chinese, African and Asian peoples in colourful ethnic dwellings, against a backdrop of the grand imperial pavilions, aided many to rise to hitherto unachieved heights of literary eloquence . . . An experience of the senses, the whole was

undoubtedly a delight, certain to influence artists and writers of a symbolic, romantic or escapist bent.

Prior to 1886, Erin Bell has written about how a group of Zulu performers resisted the terms of their engagement.<sup>1</sup> Billed as “Farini’s Friendly Zulus”, the troupe was engaged to show the customs of the country and style of warfare. The group would eventually consist of seventeen men, three women and at least one child (Bell 2011, p. 2). In December of 1879, a performer from this group appeared at a hearing at the Westminster Police Court. Charley, in his English appellation, presented a formal objection to how he and his fellow performers had been handed over to their new manager, without prior consultation. They also claimed they were still owed money from their former manager for performances held in Paris (Bell 2011, p. 33). Their objection translated into a refusal to work.

Sadiya Qureshi too begins her chapter on the recruitment of entertainers citing another instance of objection, this time in 1850. According to a report of May 8, one of the San men included in the “Bosjeman’s Exhibition” drew an arrow at a member of audience who tried to get his attention by making grimaces and shaking his head in a menacing manner towards him. Zulu chief Manyos too in September of 1853 found himself in court facing charges of assault:

Reports indicate that the previous day, the chief had gone for a walk in Hyde Park with four other members of the troupe. Caldecott, their manager, asked them to return. Nevertheless, the chief refused and had to be escorted back to their residence at St. George’s Gallery by a policeman. Here, instead of going straight indoors, the Zulus stood outside the exhibition venue. A crowd gathered around the group and watched as Caldecott attempted to push the chief aside. Manyos responded with a blow and would have hit Caldecott again if others had not stopped him . . . In court, it was clear that Manyos felt he had been pushed simply for going out, and he argued that there was nothing in his contract to prevent it. He also believed that a man of his social standing should not have to be treated with such apparent disrespect, and maintained that if someone pushed him aside he must retaliate (Qureshi 2011, p. 140).

The judge, naturalist William Broderip, ruled that Caldecott had no legal right to inhibit Manyos from going outdoors, even if it was intended for his protection. Another chief named Larcher, who was also exhibited in London with his wife and child, appeared in court over a pay dispute (Qureshi 2011, p.

140). Larcher argued that his family was owed the equivalent of 35 shillings, but Cawood, his contractor, argued that the sum was 10 shillings.

These vignettes, as Qureshi reads them, provide a glimpse at how the displayed resisted their treatment, and often openly showed signs of objection and resistance. As Qureshi observes, it is important to acknowledge that these men, women and children were not passive victims, and that they often rebelled against the terms of their employment, and often, of their involuntary confinement. It is also important to acknowledge that not all foreign peoples would have had the opportunity, or known about the opportunity to present a grievance. As Qureshi notes, Manyos only appeared in court as the result of an arrest, not because he voluntarily filed a complaint.

### *The Cape staged for a tipsy audience*

But let us turn our attention again to the Cape, its exposition and the subsequent official report. According to the commissioner's report, penned by Secretary Sydney Cowper (and published by W.A. Richards & Sons, Government Printers on Castle Street in 1887) more wine was sold by the Cape representation than any other colony with about £200 of wine passed over the counter. The bar served wine and brandy to the parched exhibition viewer, which would most certainly have loosened the audience and its behaviour (possibly to the annoyance of exhibition workers). A glass of a tiple would certainly have constituted one amongst many attractions available to visiting audiences. Besides wine, displays included animal products. Although the commission had initially considered sending live animals to London, it was decided that specimens of skins be secured instead. They were stuffed and set up on Karoo soil, amongst native bushes with a background of characteristic scenery. Angora goats presented by Frank Holland were admired for the long glossy hair, while a supply of ostrich feathers was purchased in Cape Town, and the process of cleaning, dressing and curling shown in the exhibition. All displays were placed in separate compartments, each ticketed with the name and address of the exhibitor, thus imparting an aura of authenticity, genuineness and value to these codified objects. As Tim Barringer has written, although not in regard to the Cape in particular, the meaning of objects was thus inflected, "even re-invented by the context in which it is

displayed” (1998, p. 12) – from item to specimen; from artefact to relic; from spoil of war to token of loyalty; from product to commodity; from object to gift,<sup>141</sup> but more decisively, from raw material to potential profit.

In addition to the aforementioned wares, Cape sealskins were displayed, together with a collection of game and antelope heads and horns, loaned by Courtenay Selous, Jamieson and Montague Ker, all known hunters at the time. According to Cowper’s report, “karosses, sheep and goat skins covered the western wall of the Court, but were damaged during the damp weather which prevailed during the closing months of the Exhibition” (1887, p. 6).

An exhibition of silk produced in the colony was also included. The issue of inexpensive labour was raised here as a determining factor to an industry that was competing with Italy and India at the time. The most popular show however, in Cowper’s estimation, was the previously mentioned diamond mining exhibition, which included a series of models, drawings and specimens of blue ground, hard rock and reef.<sup>142</sup>

The arrangement of these collections was entrusted to an F. Schute, the Special Commissioner appointed to look after the Diamond Mining interests. A full-size rotary washing machine was obtained from a company in Colchester and blue ground was washed and sorted for two to three hours daily in front of live audiences (fig. 15). The display included a large collection of rough stones, in all 40 000 carats. Cowper tells us that this display entailed considerable labour in that the valuable stones were transferred every night to a fire and burglar proof safe, and replaced in their cases before the public was admitted every morning. The diamond section included a neatly constructed enclosure, “ebonized and gilt, and with plate windows on all sides” that stood at the centre of the eastern section of the court. There were eight diamond mills

---

<sup>141</sup> To illustrate this, fans made by a Mr Record were accepted as a gift of the Cape Colony to her Majesty.

<sup>142</sup> In his report Cowper explains that “to place the Bultfontein model in a manner that it could easily be inspected, a portion of the flooring had to be removed and several tons of Earth dug out, the model then being lowered so as to stand but two feet from the floor. The old system model, the horse-whim, the Kimberley section, and the various diagrams and photos were placed close by, and the rough diamonds in cases parallel to the Bultfontein model” (1887, p. 14).

in this enclosure, with an experienced diamond polisher seated at each of them. These plied their trade from 11 am to 8 pm, in full view of the public. Cowper adds:

It was by the exhibition of such interesting processes as the diamond washing and cutting, the dressing of feathers, the manufacture of crocidolite jewellery, and the working of Cape woods that such enormous crowds were attracted to the Cape Court (1887, p.8).

Part of the Cape exhibition seems to have remained in London, namely the Forest Herbarium, which gained the attention of a Dr Thistleton Dyer, who wished to have it transferred to Kew Gardens. In addition to the herbarium, two specimens of Giant Elephants Feet were transferred to Kew Gardens.

With regard to the Arts Section, Cowper tells us that the most noticeable painting was “Mr F.L. Pickering’s faithful and artistic delineation of Table Valley, painted specifically for the Cape Commission at the instance of the Fine Arts Committee” (1887, p. 12). Writing for the *Cape Times*, the Special Commissioner categorised these paintings as “advertisements.” In his review of events, which was penned on April 22 but only published on May 15, the position of the Cape and Natal landscapes had been selected to catch the eye (Cape Times 1886). These panels were positioned on the right end of the hall as one entered. Below them was an “Indian jungle, where a tiger is seen stealthily creeping through the high reeds. The jungle flanks the entrance to the Indian hall.” From here, visitors could either step out into what was called the Garden of the World on the one end or into a facsimile of the streets of London “such as they were when from the Court of Elizabeth” on the other. Flanking the court was a conservatory where “dragon flowers of Albany, the ferns and palms, and other plants indigenous to the Cape, growing as happily as if they were in their native soil in their native climate” (Cape Times 1886, p.2) could be found.

If nature and its resources predominated amongst all exhibitions, an overt presence of the pastoral dominated the Cape and Natal arts section, confirming that to the colonial mind, including the colonial artist, only the land was of interest, its habitants negligible. Although referring to a later stage of imperial exhibitions, these pastoral renderings form a part of what art historian Christine Boyanoski has referred to as “Dominion art” (2006, p. 158) or “the lingua franca of Imperial art” (2006, p. 167),

landscapes devoid of human content, where figural work is thrust into the background so that scattered amongst landscape paintings and sculptures, a broad range of the local populace is represented. Boyanoski further refers to pastoral landscape painting as the embodiment of the British national character in art, and characteristic of the “British love of nature”. As she writes, Dominion art was seen as a perpetuation of the British tradition. In the British Empire Exhibition, held in 1924 at Wembley, North London, “organisers went to great lengths to include the ‘Retrospective’ section in order to demonstrate ‘how the Daughter nations have developed their art from the English school . . . British critics clearly wanted to see the difference that location made to their stock, particularly in the fine arts.”

Returning to the grammar and choreography of the 1886 exhibition, Saloni Mathur points out the importance of electrification:

It should be noted that the introduction of electricity meant that artificial lighting could be manipulated to alter the visual effects of display, highlighting the contour of objects or increasing this initial grammar of display. Outdoor illumination of gardens and fountains created the site as a spectacle both day and night, while certain interior spaces were more dimly lit, creating darkened chambers of oriental fantasy (2000, p. 496).

Bearing this in mind, it seems fair to assume that Cowper and his associates would have also used the device of lighting to create drama and effect, playing with light and shadow as others did with their shows in an effort to keep audiences interested. According to a letter received from “a gentleman of Cape birth residing in London” at the time, published in the *Cape Times* on July 19, “the whole building, gardens, arches, trees &c, were lighted up with different coloured lights, and when the fountains started they were simply amazed and dumbfounded” (*Cape Times* 1886, p.3).

It is remarkable how Cowper leaves the indigenous peoples who were taken to London for last in his report. His document provides no motive for their inclusion, except that of providing labour (a view confirmed by historian John Legassick [2006:78], who saw the inclusion of “Bushmen” as representative of migrant or productive labour). As such, there were no educational motives behind the

displaying of these peoples, merely an imperial motive – to show and compare indigenous peoples either as curiosities or as (submissive) manual labourers; as a workforce to be tapped and exploited, ceremoniously presented as “subjects of the British Crown” but peoples outside of the canon of White, Western, British culture, hence occupying a servile status. Cowper’s report nonetheless proves invaluable as it identifies and “orders” who these individuals were, intentionally placing “Malays” at the summit of the “native” scale and the Khoisan at its bottom end. This hierarchy is inferred by the order and detail of Cowper’s description.

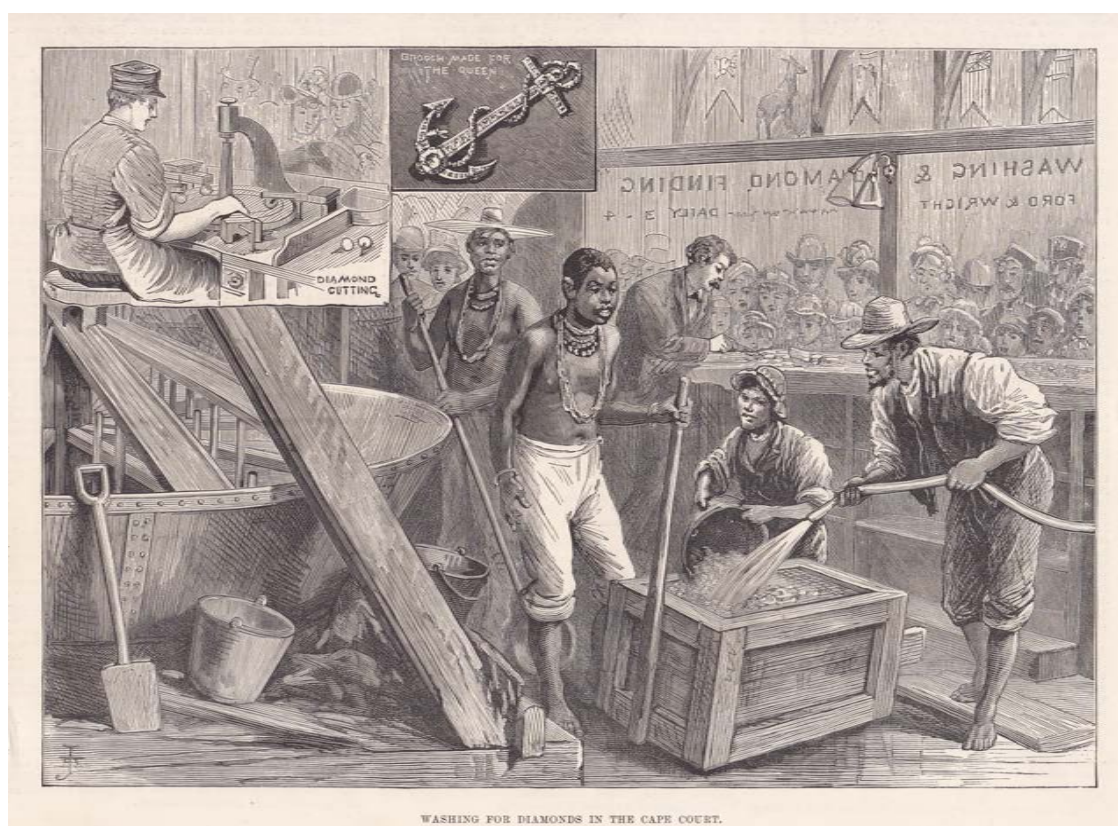


Figure 15: A.J. Johnson, *Diamond Washing at the Cape Court for the Illustrated London News of October 16 1886*. Besides the human attraction of the two-bare chested muscular labourers, positioned as the focus of the composition, a diamond brooch in the form of an anchor also appears within the composition, highlighting another item of interest included in the Cape Court. Londoners crowd behind the vitrines, enthralled by the spectacle and promise of riches.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>143</sup> It is my understanding that Frank Cundall’s description of an illustration of the rotary washing machine, originally published in *Reminiscences of the Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (1886) corresponds to this image. Per Cundall’s description, to the right stands a six-foot tall man identified as Silos (Jan Silo, according to Cowper’s report). In the centre of the picture stands Andries Mafine who rocks the cradle. Klaas Jare is identified as the man distributing ground over the sieve. On the left, Jeremiah, who is identified as a “Tambookie” or, to be more exacting, an abaThembu, is described as “a man who has faithfully served the Cape Government for twenty years.” He directs the water onto the cradle. Behind the group, at a sorting table, stands James Smart, a “Krooman” (from the Kru people of West

According to the original document, the party of so-called Malays was made up of Hadje Menan, his wife (who remains nameless), his daughter Georgina, “Master Menan” and Jakoof Menan. Menan was employed in dusting and cleaning the court (one would imagine no easy task), and Jakoof, his nephew, attended to the stall where Cape curiosities were sold. The whole family were attired in full Malay costume on state occasions. Cowper writes, “their picturesque costumes gained them much attention, and they were generally respected for their good behavior,” (Cowper 1887, p. 15) a comment that denounces the disciplining patriarchal gaze that would have certainly been extended and exacted by commissioners. The Black contingent consisted of Jeremiah, his wife and son, Jan Silo and Andries Mafine. No surname had been provided for Jeremiah. The Khoisan family – gathered by John Scott, the appointed special magistrate to the Northern Border of the Cape Colony in 1880 (Legassick 2006, p. 63) – was comprised of Klaas Jare, his wife and son (tellingly identified in the original text as male child).<sup>144</sup> They were employed in cleaning the court, building a hut in the compound and another in the exhibition. They equally laboured at the life-size washing machine. Scott also collected and sent what was described as an interesting collection of “Bushmen” weapons and utensils to be exhibited in the Cape Court. Scott, who delivered lashings to uncompliant “Bushmen” (Legassick 2006, p. 72) received a letter of thanks from the Cape Prime Minister with a diploma and medal from the President of the Royal Commission for his “valuable assistance” in connection with the Colony’s representation at the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (Legassick 2006, p. 77).

This group of exhibition workers would have most likely struggled with the cold, if reports in the *Indian Mirror* of the time are anything to go by. November and December of 1885 recorded the coldest temperatures in 30 years (Mathur 2000, p. 503). Below-freezing temperatures had brought outdoor work in certain places in

---

Africa. These men were employed by the British Navy, having arrived in Simon’s Town in 1838 [Young 2010]).

<sup>144</sup> According to Qureshi (2011, p. 243), who cites Legassick’s ‘From Prisoners to Exhibits,’ the San contingent had been imprisoned for theft when they stole food to survive after refusing to work as labourers on settlers’ farms. According to Legassick, Klaas Tilletjies, not Jare, was described as a “stock thief” and a “very good specimen indeed” by John Scott, the special magistrate to the Northern Border of the Cape Colony (Qureshi 2011, p. 133) who not only procured Jare/Tilletjies for the show, but his wife, who in Scott’s words was “larger but pure bred and possessed of the peculiar female bushman physical characteristics in a well-marked degree.”

London to a standstill. In fact, the harshness of the winter of 1885–1886 is said to have been an important factor contributing to rioting that occurred in London that February. In his report, Cowper confirms this, stating “the winter was an unusually severe one, and when (building) work actually began on the 8<sup>th</sup> March, the distemper frequently froze upon the walls and work had to be discontinued” (1886, p. 13).

Interestingly, Cowper chooses to provide an extract from an article published in the *Times* of May 3, 1886 which describes how the Prince of Wales, accompanied by Tyrwhitt Wilson was received: “[l]ike most of our Colonial pioneers, the Prince of Wales had to face the native question at the very threshold of his Imperial tour. Many of the natives from India and the Colonies are housed near the Queen’s Gate Entrance, and a considerable number of them assembled to wait the arrival of the Prince” (Cowper 1887, p. 15). One can only imagine how the prince looked down at this crowd of diverse peoples, but also, and more importantly, how they in turn regarded him.<sup>145</sup> This was, as Hoffenberg has written, “an extensive social drama” of observing and being observed (2002, p. xix), one of complex interactions between the exhibited and their consumers.<sup>146</sup> The time allowed for the Cape Colony on the

---

<sup>145</sup> The so-called native question (McNab 1977) formed a part of the imperial dilemma: what to do with indigenous peoples so as to avoid the almost certain conflict between settler and indigenous populations, thus ensuring free trade? The native question was therefore as much an economic question as it was a racial question: by positioning indigenous peoples as lower in class – much like the Irish and the poor – White men, who saw and projected themselves as superior in intelligence and power, believed in the fallacy that they were naturally selected educators, leaders and rulers. For certain imperial administrators, such as Herman Merivale, by ameliorating the condition of “natives” through education and religion, indigenous populations would adapt, “amalgamate” and accept British rule. Translated to exhibitions, by “revealing” the apparently “degenerate” state that conquered peoples lived in, conquest not only became more acceptable but necessary for their “moral rescue”. To this effect, Greenhalgh (1988, p. 98) ventriloquizes the colonial logic: “The Senegalese or Dahomayan man [exhibited in Paris, for instance] became less than human, a pitiable part of an untamed environment who has not yet begun to ascend the ladder of civilization. The village he had built for himself and his companions in Paris was proof not only of his intellectual inability but of his proximity to nature. He lived so as to be more comparable, in the eye of the visitor, to animals rather than European me. His animal state made him a fair subject for development, as one might develop crops, livestock or land.” Exhibitions provided ocular proof that warrior nations like the Dahomeyans, the Zulus, American-Indians and the Maori could be “tamed.” This was, as Greenhalgh (1988, p. 109) states, “a source of morbid pride for the crowd.”

<sup>146</sup> It seems relevant to cite Mukharji’s experience at this point. Mukharji, for instance, observed how the English observed foreigners. Foreigners in turn also observed the English. Qureshi (2011, p. 246) provides us with an example. Whilst reading a newspaper, Mukharji became increasingly aware of being watched by a group at a nearby table. He overheard a teenage girl say “Oh, how I wish I could speak to him?” Mukharji approached the girl, who seems to have been left somewhat stunned. His notes tell of show she took delight in everything he said, and expressed her astonishment at his knowledge of English. The “compliment” was extended to his band. Unfortunately, Mukharji was not part of the West Indian band to which she was erroneously referring, and winced at her ignorance. Within the bounds of the exhibition grounds and beyond, Mukharji was seen as a living “Blackie” and was approached by the English to speak.

official programme was approximately six minutes, but according to Cowper, the prince spent more than half an hour inspecting the courts, especially the diamond mine from Kimberley (Cowper 1887, p. 15). His interest is likely to have rested not with the humanitarian, but the material, and what he saw as profitable industry and an untapped, uninterrupted font of inexpensive labour.

To conclude and build on the idea of observation, Qureshi (2011) has shown us how between the 1840s and 1860s exhibitions of peoples began to explicitly and routinely be advertised as an opportunity to indulge in scholarship of human natural history and development. If the “voyeuristic consumption” (Qureshi 2011, p. 235) of the foreigner began in the Great Exhibition of 1851 with the Indian court alone featuring a collection of more than sixty groups of models designed to illustrate Hindu castes, and wax models of North and South American peasants clothed in national garb in the fine art court, by 1886, exhibitions were now presenting “Ethnology Sub-Courts” where living performers, models and natural history displays were grouped together. As Qureshi notes, “displayed peoples at the Colonial and Indian exhibition were portrayed in both their ostensibly natural and built environments [in the South African case, the kraal and hut]. Not only were indigenous peoples displayed in these courts, but their presentation extended to conferences organised by the Anthropological Institute.”

According to Qureshi (pp. 256–257), these talks included several discussions of the African collections from both the Cape of Good Hope and West Africa. These deliberations were illustrated by specimens of workmanship which included pottery, musical instruments, so-called fetish objects and three performers. “During the talk,” Qureshi notes, “one of the performers had his strength tested using the same instrument Galton has used to measure the strength of nearly 1000 persons in the anthropometric laboratory he had set up at South Kensington’s International Health Exhibition in 1884. The man, identified only as a ‘Bushman’ had already been weighed and his height determined. He then squeezed and pulled on the apparatus, adapted from fairground machines to test muscle strength.” This harrowing account provides evidence not only of an agonizing experience, but how indigenous people were manipulated, employed, tortured and used as “specimens” to illustrate ongoing research mostly in physical anthropology. In the aforementioned case, Galton

concluded that the South African man had the average strength of an Englishman, “even when allowance is made for his small weight.” Qureshi (2011, p. 258) adds: “After the lectures, members of the institute would be guided around the exhibition grounds by the expert speakers and invited to interpret displays as both illustrative of the theoretical claims under discussion.” Human resources of the exhibition also became the basis for papers published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* and underpinned calls for the establishment of a permanent anthropological collection in England. “Even after the exhibition had closed its doors, numerous research publications demonstrate that anthropologists continued to make use of displayed peoples where possible throughout the 1880s and 1890s” (Qureshi 2011, p. 268).

#### *A new clerisy: exhibition commissioners*

Historian Peter Hoffenberg (2001, p. 51) notes how exhibition commissioners formed a new class of experts and professionals, not exclusively comprised of “scientific men,” but also managers and bureaucrats in influential positions who could cast an organizing vision over vast colonial territories such as India, Australia and South Africa. Within the museums where some of them worked, but also in the world fairs they organised, they advanced the mission of “practical education” by way of the joint principles of observation and comparison, establishing endless categories such as savage versus civilized, timelessness versus progress, incommensurable versus measurable, nature versus culture, idle versus industrious, common versus distinguished, centre versus periphery. As such, these men of letters distinguished what was worth reading, and what was worth consuming – they ordered and scaled the natural and the man-made – mediating the relationship between material culture’s reproductions and its originals (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 68). This included the elaboration of conventions and treaties on works of art and their casting, circulation, value, collection, as well as the elaboration of guidelines for the collection of national antiquities and colonial relics.

These men were poised as “cultural experts” and public “stewards” who partook in an ideal of a universal class, forming a “new aristocracy” that followed the “ideology

of the disinterested country gentleman” (Hoffenberger 2001, pp. 66–67). As Hoffenberger notes:

Commissioners and their staffs brought out objects and bodies from private and enclosed spaces, such as homes and factories, reconstructing and reclassifying them with new meaning and value for shared public observation and consumption at the exhibition halls. They were thus part of the more general nineteenth-century reorganization of the public space and the bodies and commodities that occupied this space (2001, p. 64).

Through their work, they manipulated how their projects should be seen, that is, that they should be viewed as impartial and technical; a reading enforced by glass cases and exhibition labels. Indeed, commissioners “shaped the ways in which visitors gazed at exhibits and the visual organization of those exhibits, thereby influencing how the material world was classified, observed and interpreted – or, in general, *naturalized* and *consumed* [emphasis added]” (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 70). The exhibition experience was in many ways about disciplining vision and the ways to manipulate the process and products of sight.

Commissioners established hierarchies of seeing and being seen at these events. The shows demonstrated new forms of vision, including photography, and suggested the empire and nation as ways to visually organize unprecedented variety and quantity. Exhibition classifications paralleled the camera’s capacity to organize and authenticate the particular and the discrete within a general schema; this process merged the universal and the particular, providing imperial and local or national meanings to exhibits observed. *The world became a series of images expressed in an aesthetic grammar for observation and consumption at the shows* [emphasis added] (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 71).

Commissioners assumed a variety of responsibilities in their capacity as official organisers, judges and exhibitors at fairs and expositions, participating “sometimes as *agents of their government* [emphasis added] and sometimes as private citizens or representatives of voluntary societies” (2001, p. 34). Through their practice, which involved the circulation of objects, information and public engagements, they contributed to a “delicate network” (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 31) which connected voluntary societies such as the South African Fine Arts Association, one of the connective nodes of this thesis, to other more official administrative bodies within the greater British Empire, in this instance, South Kensington Museum. These

commissioners, known in India as the “Exhibition Wallahs” (Hoffenberg 2001, p. 31), legitimated the ideas and practices of Empire, forming a community of experts, contributing in this to what Tim Barringer has termed a moment of “academic imperialism, characterized by an increasingly prominent assertion of scholarly and popular interest in, and authority over, non-Western objects and the non-Western world” (1998, p. 12). Cape experts thus connected and made exchanges with their Australian, Indian, Canadian and British counterparts, creating a “community of scholars” (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 32). Since the Great Exhibition of 1851, these exhibitions evolved into “a floating institutional foundation for imperial and national art and science experts” (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 32). Commissioners, like other showmen who organised expositions and fairs throughout the century, were also held responsible for the commercial success of these grand lavish platforms.

By way of this section and chapter, I suggest that Sydney Cowper be added to Hoffenberger’s list of “Exhibition Wallahs” or exhibition bureaucrats, a roster that includes, amongst others, historical figures such as Sir Henry Cole, who would indubitably have influenced Sydney Cowper, or the lesser known, somewhat ambivalent figure of Trilokya Nath Mukharji, a “native” commissioner or informant; to some a sycophant of the Imperial exercise, to others a critic of imperialism and othering (Qureshi, 2011). In doing this, I am no manner implying that Hoffenberger’s work is incomplete, and wish to state the exact opposite, that his research not only establishes an avenue of research, but opens it to further scholarship, widening the scope of exhibition studies to include Oceania and Africa. This stated, Hoffenberger writes the story of these (exclusively English speaking) exhibition commissioners. He pinpoints their source and HQ to South Kensington and the offices of the Science and Art Departments and its cohort of technicians, tasked with the promotion of the collection and exhibition of colonial articles, the organization of museums and displays in England, and the supervision of official British Sections at overseas shows (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 37).

My argument, for the purpose of this thesis, is to state that the invisible line of ascendants of exhibition commissioners can be traced back to Henry Cole, and that this line of ascendancy should include Sydney Cowper (1854–1926) and certain apartheid patricians who emerged much later, such as Albert Johannes Werth

(1927–2004), the director of the Pretoria Art Museum and commissioner at the São Paulo Biennial of 1973. Theirs was a racialized, colonial, Eurocentric and state-serving way of doing, hidden under the double guise of [imperial] progress, in the case of Cowper, and [capitalist] modernism and progress in the case of Werth; a mode of operating that continued in South Africa well into the twentieth century with its spell being finally broken by Nigerian curator Okwui Enwezor (1963–2019) and the Second Johannesburg Biennale.

According to Cowper's most accessible biography, record has it that he joined the South Kensington Museum as a technical assistant in 1875.<sup>147</sup> At the young and impressionable age of twenty-one, Cowper would have been exposed and most certainly influenced by the department's operations, but more incrementally, or so I posit, by its head, Sir Henry Cole whom I further offer, was Cowper's mentor and role model. In the following section, I will detail Cole's preferences, vision and ideals and suggest that these would have been clearly conveyed to his team, and by extension, a young and impressionable Cowper, not only in meetings, but through correspondence (Cole was an avid writer and provided instructions to his staff even when he was out of office) and the familial tie, which I will detail further on.

Although it is almost impossible to determine what kind of a leader Cole was (I see him as a figure comparable to Cecil John Rhodes), his vast achievements would have certainly meant that he was looked upon with admiration, awe and envy by those working under and around him. These men would have been impressed by Cole's charisma and colonial vision of a world open to Britain, a world theirs for the taking, and would have carried his vision and *modus operandi* with them throughout Britain and its "dominions." Cole could certainly not have achieved the *Great Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations*, held in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park in 1851 and South Kensington Museum alone. The unwavering and dedicated support of loyal allies such as Charles Wentworth Dilke, Matthew Digby Wyatt, Lyon Playfair and Lord Granville, and staff who worked under him for almost twenty years, such as Richard

---

<sup>147</sup> A letter from The Assistant Secretary of the Science and Art Department at South Kensington, Norman MacLeod, dated February 10, 1879, reference no. 729/79, acknowledges Cowper's official resignation, expressing regret at the loss of his services. It states appreciation for the efficient manner in which he invariably discharged his duties. Cowper was thus in the employ of the museum for 4 years.

Redgrave, Norman MacLeod, Philip Cunliff Owen, Richard Thompson and George Wallis, but also, Sydney Cowper, indubitably built and developed Cole's vision, taking it well into the twentieth century by way of the collections, institutions, taxonomies and practices they established. To this effect, Hoffenberger (2001, p. 207) writes: "The process of creating an inventory was as powerful as the inventory itself ." The creation of this new social taxonomy in fact "provided precedent for the later construction of the political British Commonwealth of Nations."

*Henry Cole: commissioning father*



Figure 16: Sir Joseph Edgar Boehm, *Sir Henry Cole*, plaster cast of bust, 1875

A civil servant, entrepreneur, "agent in the field of cultural production" (Bonython and Burton, 2003:6) and "museum master" (Bonython and Burton, 2003:7), Henry Cole (fig. 16) was born in Bath on 17 July, 1808 of middle-class parents.<sup>148</sup>

---

<sup>148</sup> Cole's parents were living in lodgings over a shop in Milsom Street when he was born. His father, an army officer, had been seriously injured in 1803 by rioters in Dublin (Bonython and Burton 2003, p. 13).

According to his biographers, he left school with few skills besides his penmanship and a unique energy and talent that got him a job in the Public Records Office. It was here that he became part of a group of self-educating young men, the “philosophical radicals” around John Stuart Mill, where he imbibed the utilitarian attitudes and made contacts that would allow him to move on to the Royal Society of Arts.

In terms of his accomplishments, Cole oversaw the examination, preservation and selection for publication during the early 1830s of approximately six thousand documents concerning the site of the new National Gallery and participated in various schemes to develop said gallery, which included the annual exhibition of works by living artists and the use of the funds generated by sales and admissions to foster further development of this nascent institution. Amongst his most salient achievements was his role as executive commissioner of the Great Exhibition of 1851, his directorship and founding of the South Kensington Museum through profits generated by ticket sales at the Great Exhibition,<sup>149</sup> his secretaryship of the School of Design, as well as his sponsorship, identification and cataloguing of “ancient” Indian monuments at South Kensington. As Hoffenberger has stated, “under his guidance, Indian objects became historical relics” (2001, p. 39). Cole was the principal force behind the development of the Department of Science and Art, and was “directly influential in the creation of the Royal Horticultural Society’s gardens, which have now disappeared, and the splendidly surviving Royal Albert Hall, Albert Memorial, Royal College of Science (now Imperial College) and Royal College of Music” (Bonython and Burton 2003, p. 4). Besides the Great Exhibition of 1851, he also threw his weight behind other international exhibitions, namely the exhibitions of 1862, 1871 and 1874 (in England) and Paris in 1855 and 1867. Not only did Cole create these institutions, but he exercised social control over them, embodying, endorsing and promoting certain values, namely utilitarianism, which

---

<sup>149</sup> According to Barringer (1998), the £186 000 profit was used to purchase the museum’s site whilst the core of its collections derived from purchases made at the Great Exhibition. These were made using a £4,217 1s 5d of a government grant of £5,000 voted for the purpose. “About half of this was spent on continental European objects, acquired to assist the competitiveness of British designers [what we would today term benchmarking]; but the next in order of magnitude – greater than the amount spent on British objects – was a sum of £1,276 10s 0d for items from the East India Company” (Barringer 1998, p. 13).

would “accommodate art to the lives of the bourgeoisie” as his biographers aptly state (2003:10).

In terms of personality and temperament, “Cole was a rough, tough man to work with” (Bonython and Burton 2003, p. 1). His determination was such that Lyon Playfair, with whom he worked on the Great Exhibition of 1851, commented “if he came to an obstacle, it was a delight to tunnel under it in secret, and unexpectedly come out on the other side” (Bonython and Burton 2003, p. 2). As such, he was considered to be ingenious and resourceful, notable for his abrasive but persuasive debating skills and ability to get things done (Bonython and Burton 2003, p. 3). His productive powers were seen to be inexhaustible by men such as Lord Grey (one of Prince Albert’s right-hand men [Bonython and Burton 2003, p. 102]) and he was considered able to accomplish almost anything, even if this went against the rules. According to his biographers, he was a “larger-than-life character: strenuous, incorrigible, sometimes preposterous, often funny, occasionally harsh, always invigorating” (Bonython and Burton 2003, p. 4).



Figure 17: *South Kensington Museum, South Court*, gelatin silver print, photographed ca. 1886

Not only was Cole responsible for the South Kensington Museum's collections (fig. 17), but as museologist Christopher Whitehead has expounded, he was equally responsible for the "stylistically eclectic, historicist building" which was "intrinsically related to, and implicated within the development and character of the collections" (2005, p. 208). Cole was an admirer of architecture (he had written about it under the pseudonym of Felix Summerly) (Whitehead 2005, p. 208) and the many buildings he was involved with - which included Albert Hall - were a reflection of his travels in Europe. Cole not only harvested objects for the museum's collections during his travels, but he also culled ideas for the many buildings that would make up the South Kensington complex from his "numerous and lengthy journeys in continental Europe to visit museums, schools of art, architectural sites, potteries, art dealers and areas of natural interest" (Whitehead 2005, p. 209). Cole kept journals where he wrote short notes on his acquisitions. In addition, he arranged for the "Talbotyping" of buildings that he considered to be especially worthy of study, such as the "Fisherman's House" on the South Side of the River Dijle in Mechelen (Whitehead 2005, p. 211). In terms of what he liked, Cole was especially drawn to hybridity and exuberance. To this effect, Whitehead cites Cole as having written "we looked at St Nicholas Church [Cologne] built by the Jesuits in 1628 – which is gorgeous & (sic) imposing but of the strangest architecture something looked like a cross between Saracenic, German Gothic, Romanesque & Louis quatorze (sic)!" (2005, p. 220). Cole embraced and celebrated polychromy and the "relationships of sculpture, decoration and structural elements" (Whitehead 2005, p. 221). He paid great attention to three-dimensional detail and had a "special affection for Italian and Italianate buildings." Cole "tended to perceive historical architecture as intrinsically better" and "paid very little attention to neoclassical buildings" (Whitehead 2005, p. 228). All of these features are patent to us today in the conglomerate that is the Victoria and Albert Museum.

When it opened, the South Kensington Museum contained multiple museums: the Museum of Ornamental Art and the Sheepshanks Gallery, the Patent Museum, the Museum of Animal Products, the Food Collection, the Museum of Construction and the Education Museum, as well as the short-lived Economic Museum. After the Food Museum, the "picture collection" proved to be the most popular of all (Robertson 2004, p. 6). In his alternative history of the museum, Bruce Robertson

narrates how all of these collections grew at a staggering rate through purchase and donation, offering visitors a somewhat jarring and dissonant experience. Collections, for instance, offered the opportunity to experience fish runs in the hatcheries located on the second floor. As such, as late as 1866, “one could go to the South Kensington Museum and see salmon and trout hatch on the way to look at Turner’s pictures, having just perused the latest medieval acquisitions” (Robertson 2004, p. 6).

This bewildering variety of displays was the outcome of the vision of Prince Albert, who envisioned in 1851 “a collection of institutions and museums (on land then still unavailable) across the whole range of educational endeavor” (Robertson 2004, p. 1). At the heart of this vision, which Cole wholeheartedly and unequivocally espoused, was the notion of “useful learning”, “whether in the physical sciences, engineering, manufacturing of the arts. South Kensington was to be ‘A College of Arts and Manufactures’” (Robertson 2004, p. 1). As a matter of fact:

Albert envisioned a metropolis of learning, organized around the production of useful knowledge and benefitting the entire nation. He saw the benefit of learning based on objects, and the Exhibition of 1851 was simply a first step in waking up the country and the capital to these ideas. (Robertson 2004, p. 2).

The museum’s first priority was education, and as long as Cole was alive, the institution never waived from its initial didactic mission. Unlike the British Museum, which was “deeply distrustful of the public good for most of the nineteenth century,” and the National Gallery, which was “founded on the principle that high art magically transforms its audience into better people” (Robertson 2004, p. 4), the South Kensington Museum was a school with a collection that admitted “everybody.” Robertson rightly highlights that it was in fact two schools: one in art, the other in science. Whereas Cole was in charge of the Department of Art and Science, Lyon Playfair, a prominent chemist, was responsible for the science side. Playfair left in 1856 after which time Cole was to become the sole head. Readers at this point should be reminded of the connection between this school and the Central School and Education Museum at the Cape Colony, delineated in chapter one. Not only were the school’s curricula determined and driven by the South Kensington Museum’s imperative to “educate the skilled craftsman” (Arieff 1995, p. 419) but exams were

sent directly to England for assessment, reinforcing the centrality of the museum (and by extension Cole) as well as his/this imperial network.

In terms of his collecting practices, Cole had been pursuing the collection of objects abroad even before the opening of the South Kensington Museum in 1852 (Wainwright 2002, p. 47). Together with J.C. Robinson, Richard Redgrave and advisors such as Charles Drury Fortnum and agents such as Edward Rutter and Juan F. Riaño y Montera (an advisor based in Madrid), Cole managed to create a remarkable collection, most known perhaps for its Italian Renaissance sculptures. Clive Wainwright (2002) provides enlightening information on the many middlemen Cole used to source items and negotiate purchases, which were often made in cash. His text also speaks of the antagonism between Cole and his fellow “museum men”,<sup>150</sup> particularly Robinson, who denigrated Cole’s purchases, exaggerating the number of fakes among them (2002, p. 49). Robinson would eventually be demoted from curator to advisor in 1863 by Cole himself, due to his unsavoury opportunism, architectural plundering and role, albeit indirect, in the spoliation of ancient edifices in the absence of national heritage laws in the countries they visited. In fact, one of Robinson’s most ambitious projects was the purchase of the Capella Maggiore or the choir of the Florentine church of Santa Chiara. Until 1842, the church had been in use, but was then turned into a sculptor’s studio (Wainwright 2002, p. 54). In 1860, Robinson participated in the removal of portions of the edifice, namely the ashlar stone facings of the interior, together with the marble high-altar, which were brought to England and rebuilt on the North wall of the North Court (Robinson 2002, p. 55)! This was but one instance of a dubious acquisition, fuelled by the dual impulse of trophy hunting and bargain searching that propelled the spirit of conquest of these “museum men.”

It is Allison Arieff (1995) however who provides a clear translation of the museum’s intentions and ideology. Although Cole wanted above all to create a school that was accessible to everyone, his intentions, although altruistic in appearance, were in fact directed towards bolstering the practices of Britain’s growing industrialists – middle-

---

<sup>150</sup> I borrow the term “museum men” loosely from Sally Anne Duncan and Andrew McClellan’s *The Art of Curating: Paul J. Sachs and the Museum Course at Harvard* (2018).

class men who practiced a deep evangelicalism and puritanism. The South Kensington Museum, known today as the Victoria and Albert Museum, played a key role, as Arieff explains, in supporting industrialization and mass production, “with little regard for the social consequences of such a shift” (1995, p. 403). Arieff situates the emergence of the South Kensington Museum squarely within the heyday of British industrial capitalism, that is, between 1851 and 1867, to which she adds:

England enjoyed unparalleled prosperity in these years. The Victoria and Albert Museum was born out of the spirit of free trade and liberalism that flourished after the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832. Included in the bill was the Voting Rights Act, a piece of legislation that assisted the rise of the middle-class constituencies to political prominence. This political enfranchisement made institutions answerable to a broader public, hence Cole’s proclamation of education for “everyone” (1995, p. 405).

Cole was one of the many social reformers active at the time. By way of the *Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations*, held in 1851 at the Crystal Palace, in an attitude no different from that of the British government and monarchy, Cole made every effort to cater to the interests of this new class of industrialists. I would argue that amongst this class of (later) social reformers was Sydney Cowper who communed with Cole and his promotion of exhibits as a means to stimulate trade (and colonialism as extractivism) under the guise and pretence of education, edification and social upliftment (of British audiences, to be clear).

Arieff compels us to look back at the 1851 exhibition and how half of the exhibition was allocated to Britain and its colonies with the other half to participating countries and their colonies. As she notes (1995, p. 407), this imbalance was intended to reinforce the idea of Britain’s dominance, but also to show how free trade (the anodyne term for colonization, expropriation and exploitation via, for instance, the plantation system [MacKenzie 1984, p. 99] and an emphasis on cultures such as tea, sugar, tobacco and later cocoa and rubber) was beneficial to “all,” further justifying the imperial project. Cowper would have communed with all of these concerns and interests: an interest in the future of England; a belief in the civilizing mission of the British; a belief in the superiority of British policy, ingenuity and identity; a belief that the world was theirs for the taking. In fact, Cowper habitually signed off his correspondence, asserting his loyalty and service to Britain and its Crown.

This long lineage of exhibition commissioners, with Henry Cole at its helm, can thus be defined as a group of deeply patriotic civil servants and state bureaucrats who held fast to the benefits of progress, seeing themselves as enlightened social reformers, and museums and exhibitions as “rational recreation” (MacKenzie 1984, p. 97); tools at the service of the interests of the Empire and the cause of capitalism under the guise and helm of education. These (White) men, as Tony Bennett has written (1988, p. 79), “sought to make the world, past and present, metonymically available in the assemblage of objects and peoples they brought together and, from their towers, to lay it before a controlling vision.” Not only did they control the arrangement of wares, but they were also responsible for creating rules and measures that would control social contact and feelings of awe, as Peter Hoffenberger (2001) has emphasised in his writing.

Commissioners not only promoted and promulgated Empire, they also policed and controlled crowds. Not only did they have to serve the economic pursuit of the exhibition, to be publicists and marketeers of their own shows, embodying and being the suitors of audiences and ticket sales, but they were equally responsible for ensuring a “correct view” and a “lengthened observation” (Babbage 1851, p. vi) of industry, science and institutions and peoples via the dioramas and displays they created.

As Hoffenberger writes (2001, p. 207), at these first imperial contact zones, commissioners were “faced with the challenge of defining cultural difference and policing social intercourse” between peoples of all “races and tribes, including every imaginable shade of colour.” Per the *Review*:

Celebrities moved among commoners, Europeans rubbed against non-Europeans. The list of those who “brushed against” one Australian exhibition officer included “Royalties, Statesmen, men of letters, men and women of mark in every department of life. But for the student of human nature,” he concluded, “there was just as much interest to be got out of the middle-class and the great unwashed” visiting the show . . . Among those at South Kensington were artisans and princes from Ceylon and India, as well as politicians and miners from Australia (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 205).

To bring this social ordering to effect (an ordering that valued and prioritized the influence of the White man above all), commissioners not only organised products, but they also organised and policed humanity, determining how peoples should be seen and with whom they should engage. To do this effect, they created inventories, implemented taxonomies, created compounds and erected separate lodgings. To these, they applied severe restrictions. Cole and his successors not only selected, analysed and represented objects but they did this with populaces too – both at home and foreign.

Exhibitions and museum men, which included Philip Cunliffe-Owen, Henry Cole's successor after his retirement in 1873, quickly understood that these profitable spectacles garnered them prestige, power and rank, allowing them to partake in a "new cultural aristocracy" (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 63).<sup>151</sup> By way of exhibitions, cultural bureaucrats attained the authority, acceptance and prestige, becoming part of a new "clerisy" – a term used by Samuel Taylor Coleridge for a new gentlemen's class responsible for the cultivation of ideas, the maintenance of intellectual life, and the linkage between the state and the professions; a "class of seemingly disinterested public servants" (Hoffenberger 2001, p. 63) who were also the "co-architects of the vast imperial cultural network" (2001, p. 240).

### *Sydney Cowper: commissioning spawn*

It is certainly no coincidence or irrelevant that Sydney Cowper was the son of Isabel Agnes Cowper, the first woman photographer to work at the South Kensington Museum (today the Victoria and Albert Museum).<sup>152</sup> Little is known about Sydney's

---

<sup>151</sup> It was still under Cole's superintendence that African objects seized during the bloody campaign of 1873-4 were placed on permanent display. This included "King Koffee's Umbrella", a trophy that brought enormous publicity to the museum. For an image of the umbrella, see: <https://picclick.co.uk/7x10-punch-cartoon-1895-ASHANTI-AGAIN-king-koffee-362725346700.html> I have been unable to do further research on this artefact, and would urge peers with an interest in repatriation to take up this project. It is suggested that anyone interested start with Dr Kwame Opoku's *When Will Britain Return Looted Golden Ghanaian Artefacts? A History of British Looting of More Than 100 Objects* (2011).

<sup>152</sup> Cowper's ancestry (fig. 18) was equally confirmed via email correspondence with Erika Lederman on November 1, 2018. According to Lederman, two of the Cowper descendants still own *Southernmost*, the most Southern property on the African continent. The house and surrounds were acquired by their father, Sydney's grandson. It should be noted that Isabel took over as official photographer from her brother, Charles Thurston Thomas, after his death.

mother, but thanks to historian Erika Lederman (2013), we do know that she was the sister of the museum’s first official photographer, Charles Thurston Thompson (1816–1868) – Henry Cole’s brother in law – and superintendent of the museum, Richard Anthony Thompson. Not only was Sydney born into a family of museum people but he was raised in South Kensington at The Residences (the official home of the curator) with his three siblings,<sup>153</sup> and was ultimately and thus irrefutably poised to become a “museum man” himself, denoting how the museum profession then (and arguably now) was closed and ruled by inheritance and lineage.

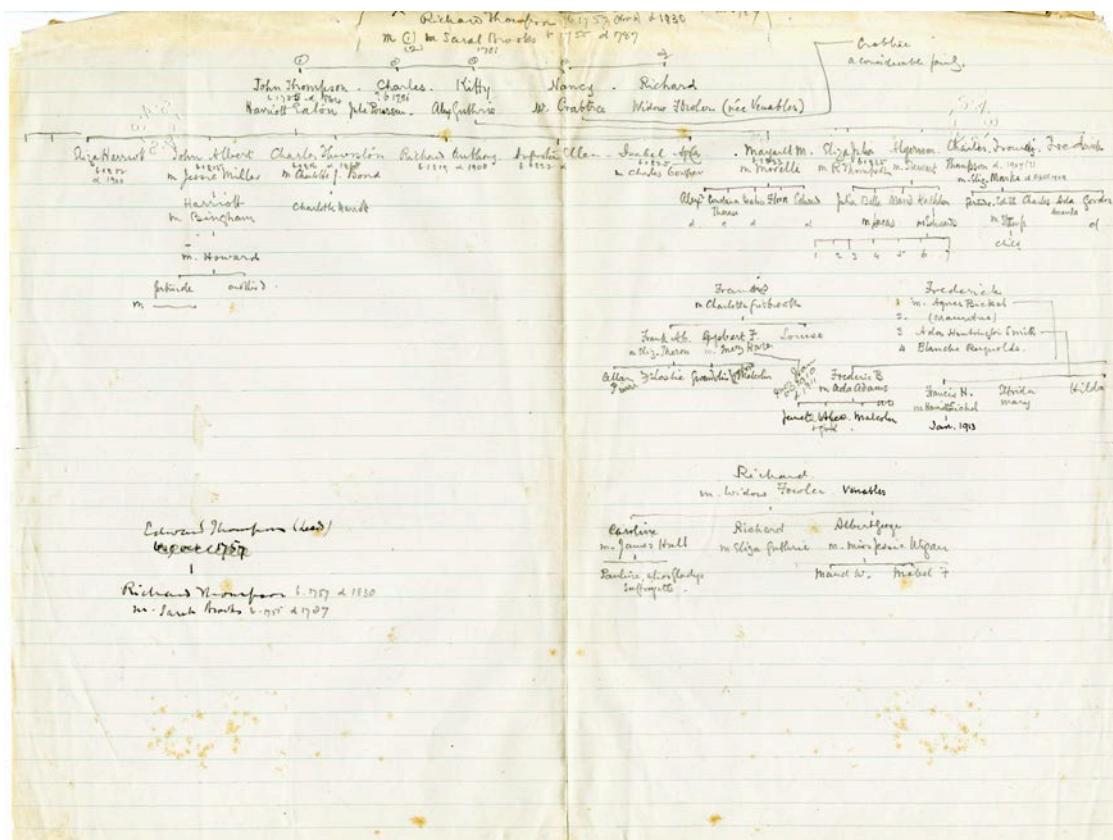


Figure 18: Undated family tree originally traced by Sydney Cowper.

Born in 1854, Cowper attended Kings School in London. After a successful examination in Pure Mathematics in 1871 (MacLeod 1871) – he obtained a First Class at the First Stage – he soon joined the busy corridors of the museum as a technical assistant, working under the leadership of Henry Cole and the patronage of his uncle and mother.<sup>154</sup> Perhaps it was political ambition that brought him with his

<sup>153</sup> According to Lederman (2013) the 1871 UK Census lists Isabel A. Cowper as living with her three children at 3, The Residences, South Kensington Museum, London, the official curators’ residence.

wife, Mary Cockerton, to Cape Town in 1881/2, but in South Africa, he began work as a First Class Clerk. Given his museum experience and knowledge of the milieu in England, he was soon promoted to Secretary to the Executive Commissioner at the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* (fig. 19), with functions that extended well beyond secretaryship. Not only was he Secretary to the Cape Central Committee to the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*, but he also doubled as Secretary to the Finance Sub-Committee, and Member of the Fine Arts, Malay and Wall Diagrams Sectional Sub-Committees, thus revealing the scope, breadth and influence of his person, and his role in the arrangement not only of objects, but of peoples both visiting and exhibited.

Cowper, as his letters reveal, was also seen locally as an art expert and someone who could dispense advice on painters such as John Constable.

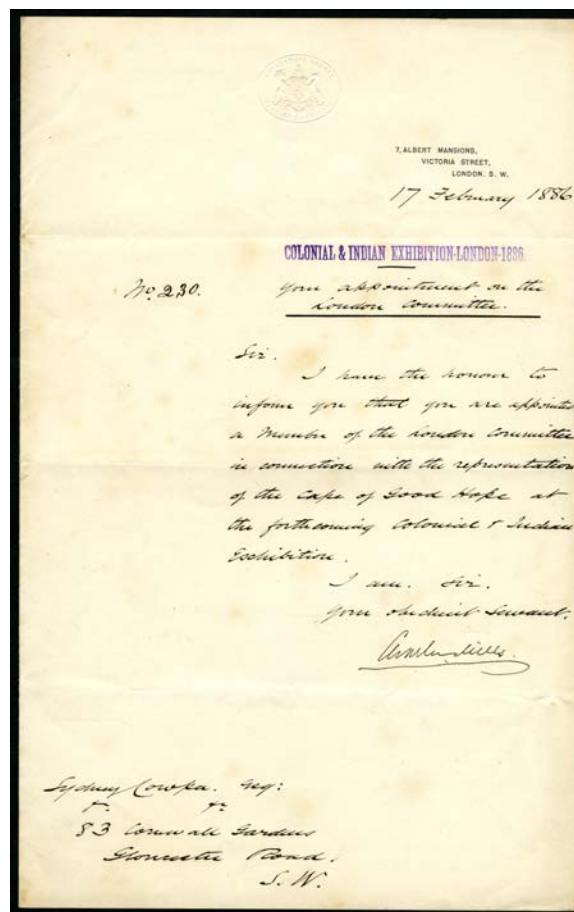


Figure 19: Letter of appointment to the London Committee

By September of 1885, it seems Cowper was already working towards the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*. In a letter deposited at the National Library of South Africa (Cape Town campus) dated September 30, Cowper informs his mother that he has just received a telegram from Kimberley where a diamond weighing 406 carats has been found in Dutoitspan. "There is a chance of its being sent to the London exhibition." He adds, "my exhibition work begins to look favourable. I think a good show is almost a certainty" (Cowper, 1885).

Acting under instructions from the Executive Commissioner, Cowper left Cape Town for England on January 20, 1886 arriving at his destination little less than a month later, on February 13. On arrival, a respectful and dutiful Cowper placed himself under the orders of Charles Mills, one of the Royal Commissioners for the exhibition. Unlike his superiors, Cowper worked on ground level, dealing with problems directly, as they emerged, making in situ decisions and ultimately determining what form the exhibition would take under such adverse circumstances. For instance, on arrival at the building set apart for the Cape section in the South Gate, Cowper found that the company that had accepted the contract for decorating the Cape Court in October 1885 had made no progress with their work. It seems that Gillow & Co. only began work in the cold month of March (Cowper 1887, p. 12). Given that the distemper had frozen on the walls, the decoration of the court was only completed on the arrival of the exhibition cases from Cape Town. In addition to this, the roof was not watertight and "snow and sleet drifted through the louvre boards," making for a truly uncomfortable and unhealthy installation process. To compound things further, the "largest shipment of exhibits from the Cape reached England in the Easter week, and the ship which brought them was the first to make the experiment of berthing at the New Tilbury Docks, causing additional delay in the delivery of cases at South Kensington, which only took place five days before the opening".

With a small and untrained staff at his disposal, the exhibition was a last-minute scramble and Cowper was unable to open and properly display many items on the opening day. Very few exhibitors had sent cases and fittings for their shows and at a moment's notice, Cowper and his team had to find ways to meet the requirements of the many goods received. In addition to all of these problems, on unpacking, many

exhibits were found to be damaged and glass broken. “These all had to be repaired before they could be exhibited, and much valuable time was lost.” Many paintings were also found to be loose in their frames, and the loose paintings damaged each other. Walls of the buildings were so damp that it was impossible to utilize them, and screens were made for the purpose of exhibiting the art. All this culminated an exhibition that a “gentleman of Cape birth, residing in London,” in a letter published in the *Cape Times* of August 6, 1886 considered to be “very poor,” adding:

(A)fter the diamonds and diamond cutting there are very few things of interest. It is true there is a fine collection of horns of various sorts of antelopes, but what they are we cannot see, as they have no names attached to them. There are large quantities of ostrich feathers, but even to the uneducated eye they are poor in quality, some of the feathers being very small and ragged. If instead of quantity, they had quality, the show would be improved . . . The collection of birds is no doubt good, but they are unmounted and stowed away in cases sometimes two deep, so that the under ones do not get a fair chance. Quite different is the Australian collection of birds, &c. They are beautifully stuffed and arranged, some sitting, others flying, all amongst trees or bushes, or on the edge of the water, according to the habit of the bird. I am very disappointed in the Cape section. The material, doubtless, is there, but there is no method, no arrangement, and it cannot compare with the Australian Court.

Drawing on the assistance of a Thomas Hedley, Cowper was able to complete the rushed arrangements for the opening day. Together with India and New Zealand, the Cape was ready to receive an inspection and first visit by the Prince of Wales on May 3.

Cowper was no doubt able to put the exhibition together thanks to his autonomous spirit and familiarity with the city of London, staff at the South Kensington Museum and several service providers. In his report, he recounts how he promptly went to visit the establishments of Sage, Drew and Cadman to check on showcases, only to find that these had already been engaged by other exhibitors. In response to the unavailability of cases, Cowper engaged the services of a Johnstone & Norman on New Bond Street who took the showcases back at the close of the exhibition for a rather sympathetic and well-negotiated reduction of 20%. A cost-conscious Cowper (to be expected from a member of the finance sub-committee) further recounts:

With the view of keeping the expenditure within the narrowest possible limits, I engaged the services of Mr George King, for many years foreman carpenter at the South Kensington Museum whose knowledge of exhibition requirements enabled me to have inexpensive but suitable fittings prepared with dispatch and economy. An immense amount of work had to be done in the Court, for it was simply a wooden barn, with a part glass roof, and had no fittings or furniture of any description. There was no regular wall space, the joists were arranged promiscuously, and before pictures could be hung the walls had to be battened. This added greatly to the expense. The then director of the South Kensington Museum, Mr Richard A. Thompson, rendered most valuable assistance, by the loan of frames and cases, and on the day before His Royal Highness's inspection provided me with some forty workmen who, trained to Museum work, in a few hours cleaned up, swept, and washed the Court, so that Messrs. Treloar & Son were enabled to lay down the matting before the Prince's arrival in the morning.

From the above, it seems fair to assume that Cowper was instrumental to the fine arts exhibit and other displays, determining where and how things (and peoples) should be displayed. After about ten months of tweaking and work on the exhibition, on November 26, Cowper returned to South Africa, arriving in Cape Town on December 20. For his services to the crown, Cowper was appointed secretary to the Prime Minister in 1887 (fig. 20), a position that gave full flight to his political aspirations and ambitions.<sup>155</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup> This office was abolished on March 23, 1891 per official correspondence, ref. no. 4/776/844, as found in the National Library of South Africa. Sydney Cowper Collection, Folder MSB 687-1-6. Cape Town Manuscripts, National Library of South Africa.

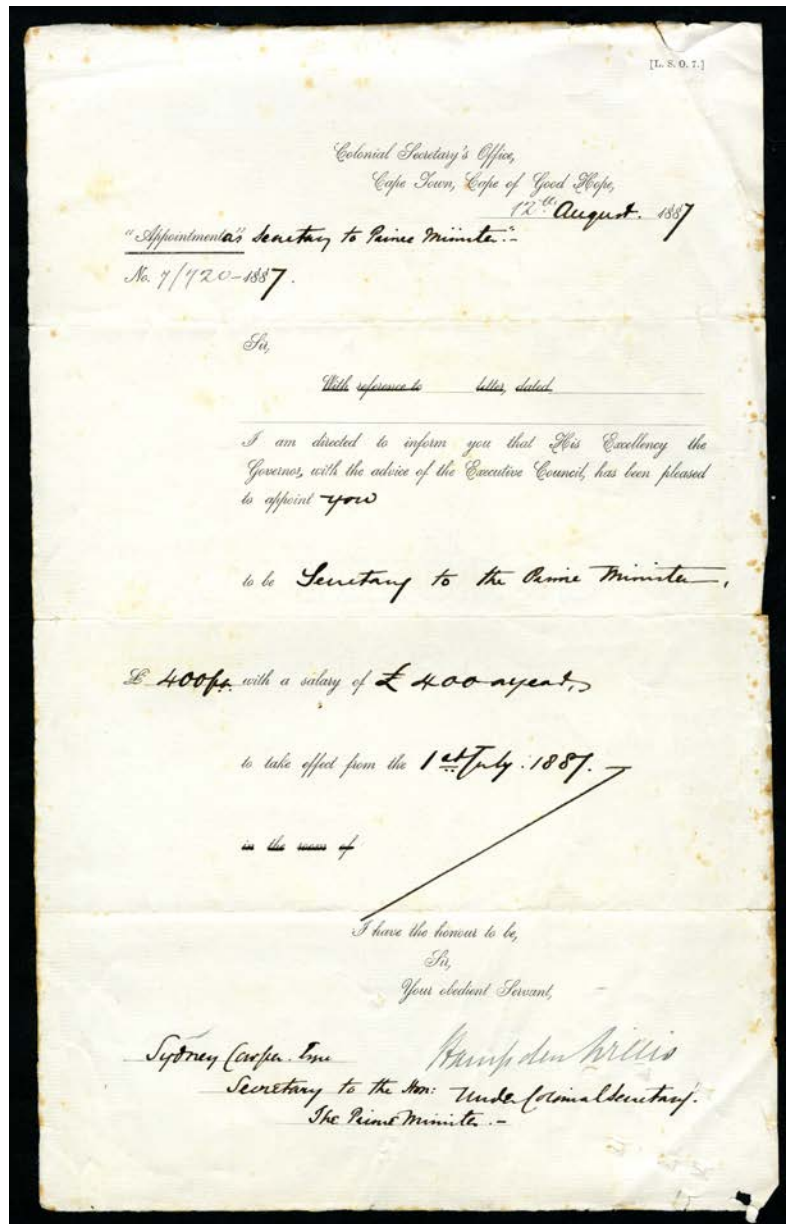


Figure 20: Letter dated 12 August, 1887 appointing Sydney Cowper to the influential position of Secretary to the Prime Minister

Cowper's ultimate admission to the colonial guild would come full circle with his arrangement of the procession and general scheme of Cecil John Rhodes' funeral. He choreographed what was seen by colonial authorities as a successful, aesthetically pleasing event. The colourful procession included Parliament, the Bar, the Civil Service, the religious and commercial world, the army, navy and educational life. Black and khaki were the predominant colours, relieved by the dark blue of the uniform of military personnel and the multicoloured hoods of university men, whilst the red and black gowns of the City Councillors added further contrast to the gathering.

### *Some closing remarks*

This chapter has considered the colonial commissioner as a repressed, disavowed and disregarded forebear of the biennial curator. By employing the genealogical method as a counter memory of resistance, I consider the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* of 1886 as an *episode* in the longue history of large-format exhibitions. Conceived as world views – in the case of the 1886, as a demonstration of an empire on which the sun never set – its commissioners, men like Sydney Cowper, were members of a colonial guild charged with this vision. The chapter begins by highlighting what distinguished the 1886 exhibition from others, namely its concern with Empire, but also its extensive use of foreign peoples as displays, thus congealing imperial and racial hierarchies under the pretext of education by exemplification.

Lifting the South African participation in the 1886 exhibition from the archival debris, this chapter has cast a spotlight on otherwise forgotten and lost reports, occluded by archival accretion. In these documents, strict pragmatic categories come to the fore as well as the making of this enormous exhibition. Written by Sydney Cowper, the report on the making of the exhibition details how it came together at the last hour, and how many unexpected curveballs were launched in the direction of this unsuspecting but well-networked and established commissioner. The chapter also draws on scattered newspaper reports and reviews to enable a narrative re-staging of the exhibition – for instance, what visitors would have encountered and how they reacted.

I have disclosed how Cowper formed part of a network of dutiful bureaucrats and administrators who diligently worked to uphold Britain as a beacon of civilization, progress and industrialization. It should not be lost upon us that this was an exhibition that employed light to impress and bedazzle audiences, selling the rhetoric of progress, translated to shows of light for the masses. On the other hand, commissioners worked to create displays, particularly mining displays, that would impress on royalty what could be extracted, what could be gained and profited from dominions. I urge my reader to hold onto the imperial categories that these exhibitions enacted (particularly notions of progress versus stagnation, which would

later morph into notions of civilization versus primitivism, abstraction versus figuration, rationalism versus myth, city versus rural life in displays, including those of fine art).

With this chapter, we see how vassalage characterized the comportment of commissioners. This is vital to understanding late commissioning practices and the difference instantiated by the independent curator, which I will develop in my fourth and final chapter.

*Chapter Three*  
*Only just yesterday: the “wallabs” at Iberapuera*

This thesis makes use of several conceptual tools and methodologies. In this chapter, I cast a penetrative gaze at another later episode in exhibition history, the 1973 *Bienal de São Paulo*. This leap is performed in the style of Russian filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein as a gesture of montage as collision (Hershatter 2010). I employ this splicing of jarring, dislocated, disparate and distant images – joining colonialism and apartheid – intentionally condensing time and space so as to make apparent the continuity of commissioning in the late twentieth century.

In the previous chapter, I looked at commissioning forefather Henry Cole and his acolyte, Sydney Cowper, highlighting their role in the creation of the *1851 Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations* and subsequent South Kensington Museum, and the *1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition* respectively. The connections between invisible dots were foregrounded so as to trace an Imperial and colonial network, a web of ties and allegiances that would remain otherwise unbeknownst to us today. These ties were not only domestic and familial, but institutional too.

What ultimately connects the *1886 Colonial and Indian Exhibition* to the *Bienal de São Paulo* is the organizing parastatal institution, known in 1886 as the South African Fine Arts Association (an entity founded by a group of fine arts lovers in 1871) and in 1976 by the abbreviation, SAAA. This connection, although veiled by the sheaths of time, calls for delineation and analysis. It is an ideological thread which subordinates the non-European to the European, in gaze and taxonomy, and is an ideology that was made manifest in the 1886 exhibition by way of human displays that worked to expose the ingenuity of the European man vis-à-vis the muscle of the “native.” In 1973, this ideology had morphed to look substantially different, one might say slightly less obvious, less graphic. If racism was grossly displayed in 1886, it was masked by a guise of humanism and inclusion at biennials, becoming implicit in 1973. This chapter looks at what guise this ideology took at this juncture and the commissioner who brought it to bear.

As mentioned in my first chapter, the aforementioned South African Fine Arts Association ran the first art school in Cape Town according to an exclusionary curriculum, entirely designed by the South Kensington Museum and ultimately, Sir Henry Cole. Not only was Cowper a member of Cole's extended family, but he worked at the museum before establishing himself in Cape Town as an active member of the association. Cowper was known as someone with museum skills and eye for art (being a water colourist himself). In the chapter that will ensue, I have chosen to isolate Albert Werth (who was coincidentally a water colourist too), presenting him as an instance, or an episode, of late commissioning practices, and another instance in this long line of commissioning successors. Eighty-seven years had elapsed, but the hierarchies, and commissioners as implementers of Eurocentric practices were still busy at work.

In many ways, this chapter suggests proscribed, unfathomable and inconvenient parallels between 1886 and 1973 through the figure of the commissioner. It summons "moments of danger" (Basu and De Jong 2016). Incidentally, it also opens a window, an archival reprise onto the history of the *Bienal de São Paulo*, particularly the underestimated editions of 1973 and 1979, and their importance to South African art history.

### *The seventies in short and the Bienal*

In South Africa in the 1970s, as elsewhere, divisions had been drawn and specialist platforms created for the display of art, leading to fine art's apparent abandonment of the cluttered generalist world fair. Art in the 1970s was advanced by a growing specialist market of galleries and *marchands* or traders, amongst them Linda Givon from the Goodman Gallery, but also Fernande Marie-Louise Haeggi, the Swiss émigré who founded the Gallery 101 Group with her son, Fernand F. Haeggi.<sup>156</sup>

---

<sup>156</sup> The Haeggis opened their first branch on the first floor of the Rand Central Building at 165 Jeppe Street in Johannesburg CBD. In 1970, the gallery was extended to two locations: Hollard Street and Hyde Park Corner. Shows were mostly by South African artists such as Lionel Abrams, Walter Battiss, Lucas Sithole, Ernst de Jong, Stephanie Watson, Cecil Skotnes, Azaria Mbatha and Dumile Feni. In 1974, Fernand Haeggi decided to open a London branch, Gallery 21. The London wing opened on February 19, 1975 with a group show titled *African Arts from South Africa*. Included were works by Dumile Feni, Lucas Sithole, Sydney Kumalo, Louis Maqhubela, Leonard Matsoso, Stanley Nkosi and Lucky Sibaya (PELMAMA 2015). According to an identified article from the

These agents worked in a stratified, growingly refined sphere which Brian O’Doherty would define in 1976 as the white cube.<sup>157</sup> In tandem, the model of the Museum of Modern Art in New York had taken hold, becoming a global reference thanks to its instrumentalization as a tool of soft power during the Cold War (alluded to in chapter one).

From the overwhelmingly eclectic world trade fair of the colonial period, modern art and its alterity (so-called ‘primitivism’) was now administered and hung (growingly according to the “neutral” and “clean” precepts of Alfred H. Barr [Birkett 2012]) either in biennials of São Paulo, Venice or Sydney, and museums such as the state-of-the-art Pretoria Art Museum. The protagonists and gatekeepers at the helm of many of these institutions, in other words, the commissioners or “wallahs,” I will argue, remained unchanged in their worldviews, unflinching in their Eurocentric and North-Atlantic loyalties.

In 1973, Brazil would be hosting its twelfth *Bienal*. South Africa would participate for the ninth time with Albert Werth, the director of the Pretoria Art Museum, as commissioner and Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso as one of the featured artists (an elusive ghost to be called on in my next chapter).<sup>158</sup> According to the daily newspaper *Diário de São Paulo* of August 28, in a piece titled ‘África do Sul envia obras para a Bienal,’ South Africa’s, selection of artworks was the first to arrive in Congonhas and Santos.

Announced in the *Gazeta* newspaper on October 2, star footballer Pelé would not only attend the opening on October 5, but the *Bienal* would include a colour film *O Mestre e seu Método* [The Master and his Method], sponsored by Pepsi-Cola in an attempt to lure in more audiences and possibly increment ticket sales. In addition to Pelé, the *Jornal do Brasil* in its Rio de Janeiro edition of October 6, 1973 listed as

---

Johannesburg Art Gallery archive, titled *Black artists impress*, (cf. appendix 24), work from this popular exhibition was sold to collectors with homes in Canada, West Germany and Iran.

<sup>157</sup> The ideology of the white cube was expounded by O’Doherty in a series of essays originally published in *Artforum* magazine.

It should be noted that when the Goodman Gallery opened in 1966, it did so with “reformist aesthetics” (O’Toole 2016, p. 16), with black walls, a black ceiling and a white floor (Day 2016, p.13). According to David Day, the walls were skilfully lit, allowing the paintings to glow like jewels in the dark.

<sup>158</sup> São Paulo was considered by the South African authorities as a good venue “where art and politics are *not* [emphasis added] inextricably bound together” (*Cape Times* 1975).

having attended the 11 am opening, the local governor Laudo Natel, the mayor Miguel Colassuono, the commander of the Second Army, General Humberto Melo, as well as a number of foreign diplomats and cultural liaison officials (fig. 21).



Figure 21: Official opening of the *Bienal* with Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, Laudo Natel and Admiral Augusto Rademaker. Photographer unknown.

In her narrative of this edition of the *Bienal*, journalist Leonor Amarante, in her book *As Bienais de São Paulo: 1951 a 1987* (The São Paulo Bienal: 1951 to 1987) – one of the first on the Bienal – begins by recalling how in 1863, almost a century earlier, Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* had been excluded from the official Paris Salon and included in the Salon des Refusés.<sup>159</sup> It is a familiar adage that history repeats itself, and art history is no exception. By refusing ninety percent of the works submitted by

---

<sup>159</sup> Amarante looks individually at each edition in her book, from the first to the nineteenth over a sequence of nineteen chapters. In the book, each chapter is demarcated by way of a golden-brown double spread. The left page lists organisers, juries and award winners (and curators as of 1981), together with an iconic image. In the case of the 1973 edition, the image chosen to represent this *Bienal* is an unidentified photograph of a group of fourteen soldiers forming an impressive guard of honour. The black-and-white image is a low-angle shot. It clearly emphasises the soldiers polished boots, their rigid pose and impeccable contrasting white gloves. This is an image of discipline and control, taken with the intention of foregrounding a strong, determined military presence which occupies the entire composition, and by extension, the *Bienal*.

Brazilian artists for inclusion in the 1973 exhibition, the Brazilian organization unintentionally created another side show, the *Bienal dos Recusados* (Biennial of the Refused).<sup>160</sup> This seems significant, as the narrative of the São Paulo biennial is marked by many ghosts and the weight of a range of inconvenient legacies, one of them being authoritarianism and censorship, the other exclusion. Thus, on October 5, 1973, as official bodies and footballer Pelé attended the inauguration of the *Bienal* at Iberapuera, Galeria Spade on Pamplona Street in São Paulo opened its doors to 78 of the 236 artworks rejected by the jury.

With a range of artworks demanding audience participation and interpersonal relations that would either activate meaning or complete the work itself, bringing it to full fruition (pioneering what Nicholas Bourriaud [2002] would some decades later term “relational aesthetics”), a particularly conservative and right-wing sounding Leonor Amarante describes the *Bienal* as “*caotica do ponto de vista conceitual, formal ou de montagem*” (chaotic from a conceptual, formal point of view and even in terms of arrangement). Audiences, according to her dismissive description, were overwhelmed with a range of activities: “*pintar, fazer fantasias de papel crepom, escorregar sobre uma grande língua, transpor de gatinhas um túnel estreito, com o chão movediço feito de bolinhas de isopor, mandar mensagens por telephone, fazer soar sinetas ou até procurar um nome para Deus*” (from painting to constructions with crepe paper, climbing up a giant tongue [fig. 22], crawling through a narrow tunnel with a moving floor of foam balls, sending messages by telephone, ringing bells, to even renaming God.) Part of a what she saw as a distracted and mindless audience was happy to deliver itself to play and interaction, whereas a more “discerning” viewer, in Amarante’s view (read Brazil’s elite), was left slightly adrift and “*irritados com a confusão*” (annoyed by the chaos), desperately trying to find a thread that would link the fifty nations taking part.

---

<sup>160</sup> According to the *Diário Popular* of August 29 1973, the idea of holding a parallel event, a “Salon des Refusés,” was provided by engraving artist Lucília de Toledo (cf. appendix 25).



Figure 22: Vera de Figueiredo, *Visite o Inferno (e Encontre com Você)*, ND

One of the most “troublesome” proposals (in Amarante’s estimation) accepted by the jury could not even fit into the actual pavilion and was thus placed at the entrance to the exhibition. The group of five architects known as *Grupo Segurança* had proposed the inclusion of a working concrete mixer on site. Throughout the duration of the biennial, the machine produced smoke that filled the first floor with noxious fumes (Whitelegg 2009), unbearable noise and a flow of cement that was poured fresh, rendering the venue an impromptu and seemingly endless construction site. Period images show visitors clad in formal attire meandering through the site with its profusion of warning signs at a biennial (fig. 23), which seems to have successfully staged the opposition between art and anti-art, as per the 1973 edition’s intention and premise.<sup>161</sup>

---

<sup>161</sup> In addition to this “inconvenient” installation, the group produced “an aggressive happening” (Amarante 1989, p. 215) one month after the official opening. The event was deemed a threat to the Kandinsky hanging in the rooms just above. Arriving on site in black tie, one of the members proceeded to play a piano whilst others threw themselves over candy which had been strewn over the floor. In the midst of the happening and confusion, four white mice and two frogs were released from inside the piano. As the audience attempted to flee, the group released a gooey substance from bottles, covering the remains of the happening and unsuspecting audience members whilst they were at it. This was considered an affront. Sobrinho, the *Bienal* director, ordered that the group be removed the next day.



Figure 23: Image of official retinue meandering through Grupo Segurança's *Faixa de Segurança* (1973) installation as reproduced in *As Bienais de São Paulo: 1951 a 1987* (Amarante 1989). According to Amarante (1989, p. 215), these officials were unaware that this was one of the “avant-garde” proposals included in the exhibition.

For artist Maria Bonomi, this edition of the *Bienal* was “*um amontoado de coisas, armazém do naturalismo programado, exibido e consumido sem nenhum fio conductor que expresse o valor e a importância do gesto artístico para o homem de hoje*” (a pile of objects, a warehouse of programmatic naturalism, exhibited and consumed without a nexus to express the importance and value of the artistic gesture to the man of today) (Amarante 1989, p. 217). Interestingly, Isobel Whitelegg (2009) and Vinicius Pontes Spricigo (2013), writing from the vantage point of retrospect, provide a positive and productive reading of this edition, which has been neglected and consequently sidelined by scholars, including Amarante, who have accepted it as belonging to the “years of decline” (an expression widely used, including by Rita Oliveira in her 2001 thesis on the historical form and cultural production of the *Bienal*).

#### *Understanding the local juncture: the role of censorship*

For many writers, including Briton Margaret Garlake (Whitelegg 2009), the 1970s corresponds to a phase of total isolation in Brazil; a void and period where artists

were unable to view foreign art and were only on occasion able to peruse magazines. Whitelegg's analysis proves the reverse, that the intervening editions or the so-called "decline years" were in fact moments where artists kept on working, particularly with a range of experimental practices including video, slide installations, performance and urban interventions, in an often openly hostile and threatening climate, producing work that would be elevated, reconsidered and praised in subsequent decades.

Without wanting to lapse into a prolonged history of the *Bienal*, it is important to understand why the triumphant *Bienal de São Paulo*, defined by philosopher Vilém Flusser as a "stubborn fact" (Whitelegg 2009), would have entered into a period of decline (five editions, from 1969 to 1981). One might attribute this descent from grace to the participation (by formal invitation) of certain pariah states (a case in point being that of South Africa), but according to the dominant and accepted narrative, the *Bienal* lapsed from critical attention due to the presence and interference of Emílio Garrastazu Médici's military government (1969–1974), a fact that the boycott of the 1969 edition served to highlight.

To understand the boycott, we need to wind back to December of 1968. It was at this time that military government passed the AI-5 (Institutional Act Number Five) which allowed the state to enhance its repression of divergent groups. By July of 1969, the *Destacamento de Operações de Informações – Centro de Operações de Defesa Interna*, otherwise known as DOI-CODI, an intelligence organ of the state, began silencing dissident voices within Brazil. In her doctoral thesis, Caroline Saut Schroeder (2011) clarifies that whilst the state propounded a beautified nationalism, embodied in a pacified and mixed-race nation, which it conveyed as a symbol of genuine democracy, artists and intellectuals linked to the vanguards promoted a more critical version of Brazil, denouncing the authoritarianism of state institutions, and deprivation and suffering of its people.

Brazil was re-signified by the military regime to denote natural exuberance, racial democracy, social reconciliation, national harmony, an unbloodied past, cordiality and *joie de vivre* (Schroeder 2011). It was this image that the regime wished to see expounded, culminating in a myth of hope and optimism, which still holds sway

today. “*Os militares acreditavam-se imbuídos de uma ‘missão civilizatória’ que levaria o Brasil para uma nova realidade econômica, política e moral*” (The military believed themselves to be tasked with a civilizing mission that would elevate Brazil to a new economic, political and moral plane). Countering this civilizing delusion, film directors such as Glauber Rocha began developing his *Estética da Fome* (Aesthetics of Hunger), valuing the humble roots of “Braziliannes”, farmworkers and people on the periphery, denouncing social inequality, thus unveiling the hidden Brazilian reality. Musicians in turn developed *Tropicália*, recouping rejected indigenous and popular musical traditions, breaking with what was officially expounded as “*bom gosto*” (good taste).<sup>162</sup>

With the implementation of AI-5, a cleaning up operation began not only at exhibitions, but at universities with the punitive retirement of critical thinkers such as Mário Barata, Quirino Campofiorito, Mário Schenberg, Abelardo Zaluar, and architects Vilanova Artigas and Medes da Rocha. Brazilian censorship had two faces, one repressive, the other disciplining: “*A primeira diz não, é puramente negativa; a outra é mais complexa, afirma e incentive um determinado tipo de orientação*” (The first declines, and is purely negative; the other is much more complex, it affirms and points in a particular direction) (Renato Ortiz cited by Schroeder 2011, p. 28).

For readers to understand the scale of censorship, I have provided a few examples that would have preceded the 1973 *Bienal*. In São Paulo, works included in the exhibition *Proposta 65* were accused of infringing ethics. As a response, Wesley Duke Lee, Nelson Leirner and Geraldo de Barros withdrew their participation as a first sign of protest. Later, in 1967, censorship reached the Fourth Salon of Contemporary Art in Brasilia. According to Schroeder, Claudio Tozzi’s *Guevara vivo ou morto* (Guevara dead or alive) was damaged by a right-wing group. The panel, divided into three parts, placed a portrait of Ernesto “Che” Guevara in the centre as

---

<sup>162</sup> The songs of Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil, as the *Tropicalistas*, rediscovered and offered a critique of Brazilian tradition (Favaretto 2000, p. 31). Their compositions juxtaposed diverse cultural elements in an anthropophagic whole (Favaretto, p. 26), eliding contradiction (the binaries archaic-modern, local-universal, alienated art-participatory art), joining aesthetic fruition with social critique. This was inscribed into the actual making of their songs, and not only as a surface theme or subject (Favaretto, p. 21). Their novel and singular work equally sought to integrate non-musical elements — a *mise en scène* of electronic effects (exploring the affordances of microphones, high-fidelity, diverse recording channels) — which amplified the possibilities of arrangement, vocalization and presentation (Favaretto, p. 34). I encourage readers to consult Celso Favaretto who historicises and interprets the movement magnificently.

a guerrilla fighter, and protesting young paupers on the sides. That very year, the regime prohibited certain “offensive” works from being included at the tenth *Bienal. O Presente* (The Gift) by Cybele Varela, which displayed a pop-up map of Brazil with a sentence from the national anthem was removed. In addition to the exclusion of this artwork, it was announced that Itamaraty’s acquisition prize would not be awarded to works with an “erotic” or “political” bent. Not only did the regime take issue with Varela, but it also took offense at a series of flags by Quissak Júnior, alleging that Júnior had misappropriated a national symbol. The artwork in question was a polyptych made of five mobile box-paintings. When shifted, different compositions would emerge from elements of the Brazilian flag. Ironically, as Caroline Saut Schroeder reminds us, this was the same edition that eulogized Jasper John’s *Flag* series (2011:31).

In addition to that of São Paulo, the *Bienal da Bahia* also succumbed to the effects of censorship in 1969. Although slightly less high profile, this biennial worked to promote and integrate artists neglected by the Rio–São Paulo axis. At its second edition, orders were received that certain “subversive” works be removed. The organisers refused to execute the order and proceeded to hold an opening ceremony. The following day, political police weighed in, locking down the venue. According to Schroeder (2011, p. 33), certain prohibited expressions were used by the then Governor Luiz Viana Filho in his opening speech. These included “*toda arte jovem tem de ser revolucionária*” (all emerging art should be revolutionary) and “*a liberdade caracteriza a arte*” (freedom shapes art). Not only was the exhibition sealed off, but its organisers were imprisoned for thirty days! Meanwhile, at the Museum of Modern Art in Rio de Janeiro, an exhibition of works by Brazilian artists to be featured in the Sixth Paris Biennial was suspended before its official opening.

All of these events culminated in a manifesto written in Paris by exiled Brazilian artists, titled *Non à la Biennale*. The document presented a list of names of artists and committees who had decided to withdraw their participation from the 1969 *Bienal*. All of the Brazilian signatories were living abroad (Sérgio Camargo, Lygia Clark, Arthur Luiz Piza, Flávio Shiró, Rossine Perez and Franz Krajcberg were living in Paris; Rubens Gerschmann in the US; Antônio Dias was in Italy; Hélio Oiticica in London). This list was posted anonymously to an array of countries. Attached to it

were statements and documents providing evidence of censorship. According to the *New York Times* of July 17, 1969 “after a debate in Paris, 321 artists and intellectuals signed a boycott petition.” Hans Haacke adhered to the boycott, as did Pontus Hultén, the then director of the *Moderna Museet* in Sweden. In response, the Brazilian government declared the president of the Paris Biennial a *persona non-grata*.

Perhaps the greatest loss to the 1969 edition was that of Pierre Restany, who had been invited by Sobrinho to work on a supranational *bors concours* exhibition in 1967. The Frenchman proposed an “anti-biennial” within the biennial: a themed exhibition around art and technology with works sourced from 15 different countries. This special display with computers would eliminate all barriers between nations. The proposal was cancelled as Restany adhered to the boycott.

In an article published in the *Correio da Manhã* newspaper on August 3, 1969 (Schroeder 2011, pp. 89-90), Restany extolled the “anti-artist” as the artist who rejects traditional art forms and works towards an “anti-career” in correlation with “anti-forms” (not objects, but situations that commanded audience participation). Restany’s adhesion to *Non à la Biennale* circulated in the *New York Times* and the *Corriere della Serra* generating further support for the boycott, but news of his withdrawal and the international boycott did not find space in Brazilian newspapers, which spoke of the discontent as a mere aesthetic dispute.

By 1970, Latin-American artists living in the US had formed MICLA, Movimento por la Independencia Cultural de Latino America (Movement for the Cultural Independence of Latin America), which Schroeder (2011, p. 131) describes as a kind of virtual museum designed to counter the activities of the Centre for Inter-American Relations that headed the display and representation of Latin-American art at the time. One of the main objectives of this group was to ensure that the boycott of 1969 was continued and that the military regime in Brazil opposed. The group garnered further signatories including conceptual artist Gordon Matta-Clark who published a letter in *Art Forum*, lending his support to the cause. Given the climate of suppression that was felt in Brazil, Matta-Clark questioned the possibility of holding an “independent” *Bienal*, clearly stating that artists who chose to exhibit their work in Brazil were in support of a totalitarian government and its allies.

Despite the cultural embargo, not all Brazilian artists chose the avenue of exile. Many continued to live, work and produce art in an increasingly isolated Brazil, even seeming to take up Restany's call to the anti-artist, a case in point being not only *Grupo Segurança* (mentioned earlier), but also *Grupo3*, also known as *Equipe3*. Comprised of Francisco Iñarra, Genilson Soares and guest Lydia Okumura, the group inhabited the *Bienal* of 1973, with each artist occupying a corner of the exhibition space (fig. 24). They used different formal devices to alter its shape and appearance.

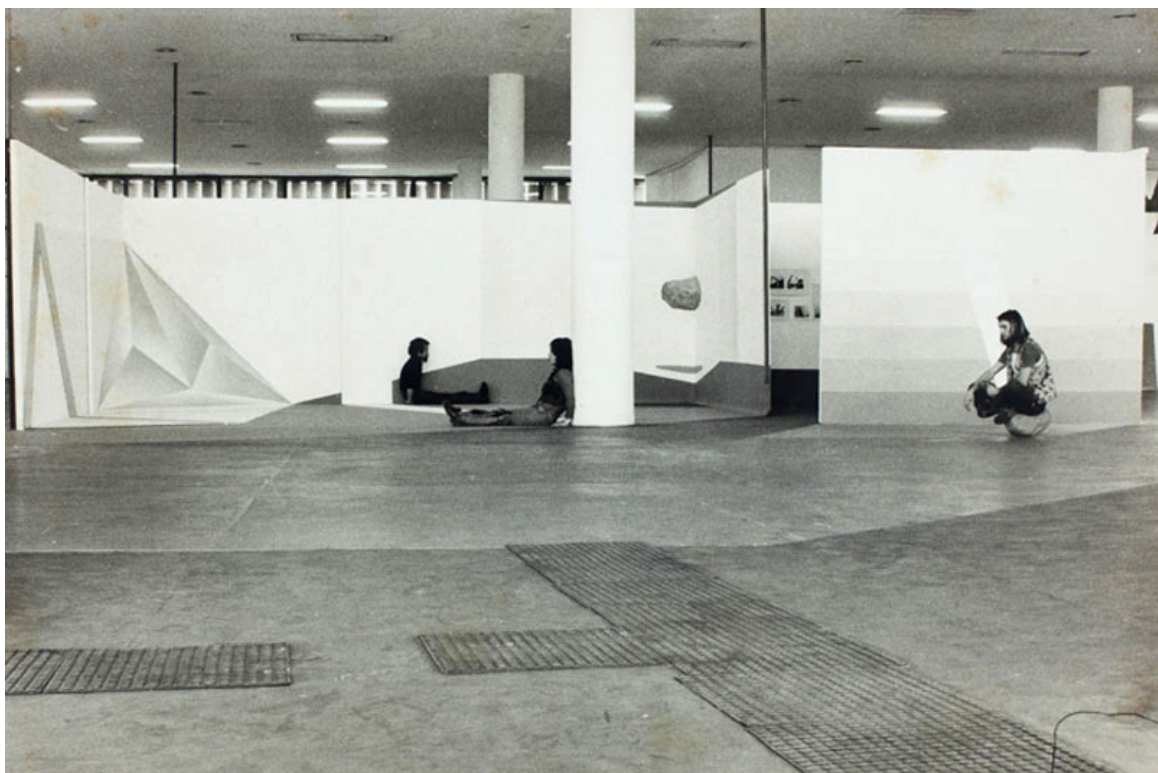


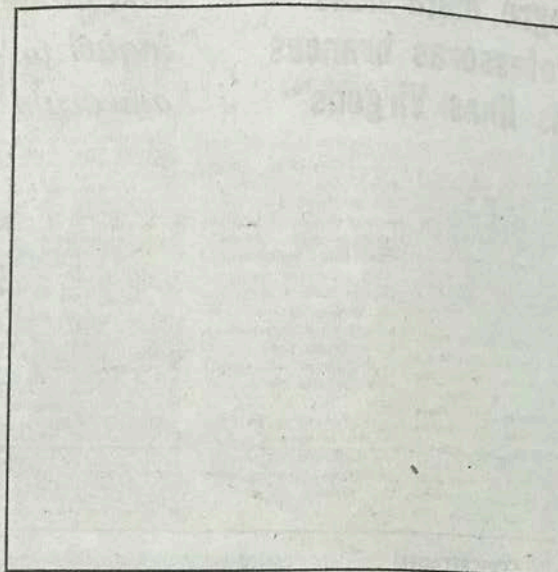
Figure 24: Equipe3, *Pontos de Vista*, 1973

Isobel Whitelegg (2009) provides the following account of their presence:

Referencing each other's work (for example one artist's found object was counteracted by another's figurative depiction of it), their abstract battles of line, plane and shadow introduced an illusory incline within the floor and constructed walls. In this way, they reduced the pavilion from emblematic building and international stage to physical space for temporary collective intervention.

*Grupo 3* was not alone in its rethinking of the space occupied by the *Bienal*. Another participating artist, French-Algerian artist and sociologist Fred Forest, speaking of himself as a former painter and draughtsman, conceived of a range of symbolic utopian spaces for open expression. In collaboration with Forest, several newspapers such as *O Globo* (fig. 25) published a blank square in their spreads. Measuring 150 cm<sup>2</sup>, this intervention, which the artist refers to as “Space Media” was designed to “*tirar as pessoas da passividade; fazê-las pensar, entrando em contato com outras pessoas*” (shake folks from their apathy; making them think by engaging with others).

Readers were invited to write or draw in these blank spaces and post their contribution to Forest for display on shelves in the *Bienal* (an address was provided for this purpose). According to Whitelegg (2009), readers could also call Forest at the exhibition to have their voices projected in the exhibition space. In an article published in the *Diário da Noite Edição Vespertina* of October 2, 1973 Forest states how he planned on taking this a step further by reproducing the best responses and distributing them around the city. His intention was to then interview people, asking them if they considered this output to be art. Their response would be filmed and projected at the *Bienal*. He equally planned to hold a round table discussion with journalists, psychologists and other specialists. This was not the first time Forest had intervened in newspapers with “Space Media” projects, having received 800 responses from readers of the *Le Monde* and 400 responses from readers of the newspaper *La Tribune* in Lausanne. In terms of working with mass media, Forest had also worked with French television where he introduced a blank screen and voice-over, calling viewers to fill in the void.



## Utilize este espaço e participe da XII Bienal

**EXPERIÊNCIA DE COMUNICAÇÃO:** Utilize esta superfície branca para sua mensagem, por meio de desenho ou de escrita. Assim, você participará da XII Bienal de São Paulo, onde a sua resposta será apresentada, entre 3 de outubro e 3 de dezembro de 1973.

Devolva, sem demora, à "ANIMAÇÃO DE IMPRENSA — FRED FOREST — FUNDAÇÃO BIENAL DE SÃO PAULO". Caixa Postal 7832. São Paulo.

SÃO PAULO (O GLOBO) — Os objetivos do pintor Fred Forest são: o fim do isolamento dos detentores da cultura; a abertura de influências de cultura artística ao grande público, através de sua participação ativa; a utilização dos meios de Comunicação de Massa; e a abolição das barreiras entre as artes e outras atividades humanas.

A exemplo do que fez na França e na Suíça, Fred Forest está lançando uma nova forma de Comunicação de Massa, no Brasil. Convidado para o Setor de Comunicação, da XII Bienal de São Paulo, ele está solicitando aos jornais que publiquem espaços em branco, para que os leitores os preencham como quiserem: com cartas de amor, fotografias, pinturas, desenhos ou qualquer outra manifestação pessoal.

Esse espaço em branco — de 150cm<sup>2</sup> — é denominado "Space Media" e faz parte do projeto "Animação de Imprensa", destinado, segundo o seu autor, a "fazer as pessoas da passividade; fazê-las pensar, entrando em contato com outras pessoas". Ele acha que atualmente, "o ar-

tista não tem mensagem para transmitir; por isso, sua função é ajudar a comunicação geral".

### Quem é

Nascido na Argélia, Fred Forest vive atualmente na França. Pintor, jornalista, sociólogo ou humorista, nem ele mesmo sabe se definir, porque há três anos deixou a pintura tradicional, para dedicar-se à Comunicação de Massa. No jornal "Le Monde", da França, lançou a primeira experiência de "Space Media", tendo feito exposições em alguns jornais.

Utilizou, também, a televisão, em Janeiro de 1972, para a promoção "Tele-Midi": no meio do programa, aparecia um espaço em branco e o aviso: "Atenção, Atenção. Seu aparelho não está quebrado. Aproveite este espaço". A experiência foi, por ele, denominada de "60 segundos de vazio". Experiências semelhantes têm sido realizadas em diferentes países e cidades.

Na Bienal de São Paulo, ele pretende, inclusive, distribuir o "Space Media" ao povo, no centro da cidade, para que um maior número de pessoas participe de suas pesquisas.

## Viúva de Kandinsky chega hoje

Pela primeira vez na América do Sul, serão exibidas as obras mais importantes de Wassil Kandinsky — o pintor que, em 1910, deu o passo decisivo para libertar a pintura da representação das aparências. Os 22 quadros, que representam todas as épocas da conquista da abstração, foram reunidos por sua esposa, Nina Kandinsky, que chega hoje a São Paulo, para participar da Bienal.

Desde a primeira aquarela abstrata, Kandinsky foi considerado como um dos fundadores da arte do futuro, que ele próprio chamou de arte absoluta. Muitas vezes, porém, reivindicou o termo arte concreta, em vez de abstrata. Num livro, publicado após sua morte — "Pourquoi Concret" — ele explicou que o fenômeno da abstração significa extrair da realidade, a beleza, a espiritualidade que ela contém.

As obras que representarão o Chile na XII Bienal tiveram de superar diversos obstáculos, para chegar a São Paulo, em virtude dos acontecimentos político-militares daquele país. Os artistas e a comissão da representação chilena — Luz Pereira de Mendez — informaram que chegaram a acreditar ser impossível vir ao Brasil: os voos comerciais estavam suspensos e as fronteiras fechadas.

A Embaixada do Brasil foi que possibilitou o transporte das obras e dos artistas Carmem Adunate, Francisco Copello, Sérgio Castilho e Matilde Perez e das tapeçarias primitivas de Isla Negra. A Embaixada conseguiu um avião do Correio Aéreo Nacional e o Governo chileno, então, concedeu autorização especial para a viagem.

Figure 25: 150cm<sup>2</sup> of newspaper, a project by Fred Forest as published in the *Globo* newspaper on October 4, 1973

If there is such a thing as restorative research, Isobel Whitelegg and Pontes Spricigo provide examples of how this can be done. Rather than accept the elisions of the 1973 *Bienal* and its loss to the narrative of censorship (Whitelegg, 2009), or its “devouring” by dominant Anglo-Saxon exhibition histories, which posit the Havana Biennial as the biennial of the ‘global turn’ (Spricigo), these authors recover proposals and responses to the boycott that cannot be ignored. As a matter of fact, Spricigo (2013) research into the archives of Czech philosopher Vilém Flusser demonstrates that as early as 1972, the *Bienal* and its colonial structure was being rethought. To this effect, at the invitation of Sobrinho, the aforementioned Flusser intended on rearticulating the relationship between centre and periphery, opening the *Bienal* to other cultural perspectives.

If we consider and engage with the twelfth *Bienal* as a biennial of tensions, fault lines, rifts and frustrations – as a profoundly critical, participative and a precursor of relational aesthetics – further dimension is added to how we read South Africa’s presence at this edition. The 1973 edition thus can no longer be overlooked. At a later point in this study, I will discuss how Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso too was a subversive and subtly critical and *political* presence within the 1973 edition, which has been passed off by historians and critics, with the exception of Whitelegg and Spricigo, as a *Bienal* of decline and thus of little interest. It was in 1973 that the seeds were launched for Zanini’s *Bienal* in 1981, a biennial designated as the first truly curated show in the event’s history. 1973 was certainly part and parcel to the decline of the “wallahs” and patriarchs.

*Albert Werth, the last of the “wallabs”*



Figure 26: Portrait of A.J. Werth, curator of the then about to be inaugurated state-of-the-art Pretoria Art Museum. Photographer unknown

As previously mentioned, South Africa's participation at the twelfth *Bienal* had as its commissioner Albert Johannes Werth (fig. 26).<sup>163</sup> Born in 1927 in the district of Bethlehem in the Orange Free State, Werth obtained an MA in History of Art and Culture (1952) with a thesis titled *In hoeverre dra in die Suid-Afrikaanse skilderkuns 'n eie stempel?* (Has South African art developed its own signature?). The issue of the development of a national stamp (*stempel*) or soul (*siel* in Afrikaans), used somewhat interchangeably, would remain a close concern and cause for Werth. Aged 24, a fortunate Werth began teaching at the University of Pretoria. He worked as a designer for the South African Air Force from 1953 to 1958 before taking up a position at the Pretoria School of Art.<sup>164</sup> He was installed as head a year later, in 1959. On April 1, 1963 Werth was lodged as the curator of the Pretoria Art Museum, a position he maintained for a lengthy 30 years (until November of 1992). The two names, Werth and the Pretoria Art Museum virtually became synonymous. In September of 1984, he was appointed to the prominent regional council for cultural affairs, a position he held for three years.

Werth benefitted enormously from his position in the museum, not only receiving a handsome salary package (approximately R3,948, cf. appendix 26)<sup>165</sup> but the opportunity to travel the world at large. In 1975, for instance, the US government, driven by Cold War politics, and thus seemingly unperturbed by the injustice and inhumanity of apartheid and growing sense of international unease, invited Werth to attend a Foreign Museum Professionals Project as an official guest. The visit, according to the *Pretoria News* of 15 May, 1975 offered a 45-day trip to the US with visits arranged to Washington, New York, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Chicago, Minneapolis, San Francisco and Los Angeles. Under the American Association of

---

<sup>163</sup> In terms of commissioners before Werth, in 1961, L.A. Sanderson appears as the organizing secretary of the South African representation at the *Bienal*. The 1963 edition named Theodore Hewitson as the head of the Honorary Committee with a text penned by Sanderson. The 1965 edition in turn included a text by Matthys Bockhorst, the Director of the National Gallery in Cape Town. In 1967, the commissioner is clearly identified as being Robert A. du Plooy of the Department of Foreign Affairs, who would later serve as the South African ambassador to the then Transkei. Neville Dubow, chair at Michaelis School of Fine Art, was appointed commissioner in 1969 and Nel Erasmus, the then director of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, signed as commissioner in 1971.

<sup>164</sup> It should be noted that Werth was a "weekend painter" (Werth himself used this expression in an interview with Michael Calenborne, published in *News* on September 19, 1979). According to Riena van Graan in an article titled "*Werth se styl verbeter*", published in the *Beeld* (August 28 1978), landscapes and seascapes were his theme of choice, with an emphasis on clouds and atmosphere.

<sup>165</sup> Using Inflationtool.com, R3,964 in 1964 is equivalent to R329,298.82 in 2019.

Museums, “a course of lectures and demonstrations on a variety of subjects which will include museum technology, special education facilities, museums and the law, display techniques, lighting and gadgets used for audiovisual projects. The whole works, “would be on offer.” In 1979, he was awarded a medal of honour by the South African Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (Academy for Science and Arts). According to the staff reporter of the *News*, Werth was not a controversial figure, but did cause a stir now and again, for instance, with his conservative and debasing position on photography: “photography can be a form of art, but one should not put a painting next to a photograph and judge both by the same aesthetic principles” (Calenborne 1979). Werth also felt equally strongly about “protest art”, having ironically stated in 1979 *“Daar is vandag n’ skool wat glo as jy nie sosiaal-politiek, betrokke skilder nie, jy buite jou tydgees staan. ’n Ander faktor in kuns is propaganda. Ek voel as dié sort kuns esteties nie verantwoord is nie, is dit vals en oppervlakkig. Die Nazikuns byvoorbeeld, was ongelooflik swak! Alle kuns waar die hoofsaak net is om ’n politieke podium te bekom en waar die visuele waarde en tegniek ingeboet word, is slegs tydgebonde. As “kunswerk” sal dit nie verby die spesifieke tyd leef nie”* (There is a school today that believes that if you do not paint social politics, get involved, you are out of your time. Another factor in art is propaganda. I feel that if this sort of art is not aesthetically justified, it is false and superficial. Nazi art, for example, was incredibly weak! All art where the main thing is just to obtain a political stage and where the visual value and technique is lost is only time-bound. As a "work of art" it will not live past that particular time (Goosen 1979). This thesis, by way of Matsoso, aims to prove Werth wrong, that political art does withstand the test of time, speaking to a range of generations and geographies.

### ***The Pretoria Art Museum***

In terms of the museum he headed and took as his own, it took twelve years of deliberation before the first founding stone of the Pretoria Art Museum was laid (Herber 1976).<sup>166</sup> Werth received the keys to the new art museum from the town clerk on March 19, 1964. According to a technical description provided in a meeting of the Council of October 31, 1960, the impressive architecture would open itself up

---

<sup>166</sup> The cornerstone of the building was laid at a function held on October 19 1962 by the then Prime Minister, H.F. Verwoerd. When I visited the museum in 2018, the commemorative plaque was still surprisingly in place.

to viewers.<sup>167</sup> Paraphrased, the scheme as a whole had been designed to allow any portion to function independently of any other. The building was to be entered off the terraced podium from which views of the reflecting pool and sculpture court could be obtained. On accessing the foyer, viewers would amble past the enquiry desk and control station into the state-of-the-art galleries, which were designed to be altered or re-arranged at any time. Top lighting was to be provided to all galleries with an additional provision for electric lighting during dull weather or for evening use. Owing to the cost, a separate lecture hall was not included in the general scheme. In a Council management meeting held on August 14, 1963, landscaping around the museum began with the creation of a pool, the paving of kerbs to the service entrance and Schoeman Street, as well as lighting and sprinklers. Provisions were also made for “European and non-European toilet blocks.” At the time of its inception, Thursdays were set aside for “non-whites” to visit the museum (Pretoria News 1964). I mention these instances to lift the otherwise naturalized, bland and seamless instances of segregation and aggression in the literature – what Hannah Arendt has termed the banality of evil (Bergen 1998) – not to indulge or reify their perversity, but to call on their spooky existence. I also mention the design of the museum to highlight the standard at which Werth worked, which I will call upon later within this chapter.<sup>168</sup>

Curators were authorized by the management committee to give free advice to members of the public regarding the authenticity, value and care of works of art (Pretoria News 1964). This would certainly have brought them closer to particular stakeholders and constituencies, and would also have cemented their sense of self-importance, conceit and prestige, much like commissioners in the 1800s. By October of 1964, the South African Press Cutting Agency was approached to provide a “periodical cutting service” at a tariff of seven rands per 100 cuttings. It is very much thanks to these clippings, and Werth’s insistence that they were made, that we are able to piece the narrative of the museum and Werth together.

---

<sup>167</sup> The museum was originally designed by Tony Doherty from the firm Burg and Doherty.

<sup>168</sup> I encourage readers to consider the impact that the new Javett Museum in Pretoria will have on the Pretoria Art Museum. As far as I am aware, little has been said or written about this. A similar situation emerged most recently in Cape Town, with potential precious resources being funnelled to a private museum at the expense of a public institution. I refer to the case of the National Gallery vis-à-vis the recently inaugurated Zeitz MOCAA. Both instances augur the increased and alarming privatization of spaces of public interest.

To scrutinize Werth is to scrutinize a patriarchal museum and museological practice, which introduced trays in halls with a “brief summary of the *man* [emphasis added], *his* work [emphasis added], chief aim and discussion of a particular painting” (Herber 1976), particularly after his aforementioned trip to the US. This statement clearly stipulates that artists worthy of description were of the male gender. A patriarch, Werth surely saw himself over time as the father of the museum, South African art and Black artists, and preferred the supporting role of assistant curator to be taken up by women. The first assistant curator to be hired was Martie Boyazoglu who worked at the museum for three years until April of 1968. Having obtained a Fine Arts degree at Pretoria University, it is likely that Boyazoglu would have been a student of Werth’s. She was succeeded by Riena van Graan and Katinka Kempff in 1974. Werth was ironically succeeded by a woman, Ms Dirkie Offringa as Director.<sup>169</sup>

Titled *The Influence of Primitivism on the Visual Arts with a Special Reference to Southern Africa*, Werth submitted his doctoral thesis in June 1973, months before he commissioned the South African presence at the *Bienal*. It would not be unreasonable to maintain that his thesis would have influenced how he cast the works on display, given this coincidence and near overlap. In short, Werth identified five strains of primitivism: romantic primitivism, which he identified in the work of Paul Gauguin and successors; emotional primitivism, which he linked to Fauvism; intellectual primitivism, which he tied to Kandinsky, cubists and Modigliani and Mondrian; primitivism of the sub-conscious as “the attempt to reveal the hidden activities of the human mind” (1973, p. 177), and lastly, contemporary or sophisticated primitivism (1970)<sup>170</sup> with its “direct approach to reality” and “new approach to the myth and symbol.” It was the last of these that captured his interest and where he positioned South African practice.

---

<sup>169</sup> Werth retired as Director of Municipal Museums, namely Pretoria Art Museum and Melrose House on November 30, 1992. It is worth remembering that Nelson Mandela had been released from prison two years prior. Werth’s retreat would have signalled to many a tide of change. It was hoped that he would devote more time to his watercolours (Harmsen, 1992).

<sup>170</sup> In his foreword to the *Art of Africa* catalogue published in 1970, Werth speaks of a form of primitivity, yet states, “one cannot call it primitive. It is rather a sophisticated primitivity.” One can infer that he applies this term to not only Cecil Skotnes and Sydney Kumalo, mentioned in the original text, but also “art produced by West-African tribes.”

This exhibition is a rather interesting case of cognitive dissonance, with Werth stating from the outset “This is not an ethnographic collection, therefore the accent is on art.” The way Werth, however, treats the objects in the catalogue, by tribe and country, is needless to say ethnographic.

In a manuscript (Werth 1983) submitted to Professor Herman Vekeman of the University of Cologne (in Germany, for inclusion in the journal *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands en Afrikaans*, with an adapted title from his original thesis (*Influences of Primitivism on Certain African Artists*), Werth opens his piece quoting Ulli Baier, intimating that African cultures had long been “corrupted and depopulated by their participation in the slave trade” and that “many of the old African empires were already degenerate and breaking asunder when the colonial powers appeared on the scene” (Werth 1983). Although this is not the platform to unpack this deeply contentious and loaded statement, it is important to take note of the (disputable) degeneracy Werth attributed to African art and artists.

To Werth’s mind, contemporary African production was seen as impure and “degenerate.” In his Manichean vision, white artists of Southern Africa carried with them the load of centuries of European cultural tradition, which they desperately desired to set aside. Werth pitted sophisticated White artists as drawing on and serving themselves of the influence of African art (in the case of Cecil Skotnes), developing it from where it had “stopped” (in the case of Walter Battiss with regard to so-called rock art). If White artists actively sought influence, Black artists were cast as passive receptacles “copying certain White cultural manifestations, manifestations, however, which they had not truly grasped or understood.” In his work, Werth failed to see “primitivism” as a Western myth (Hiller 1991), falsely applied to the work of Black artists who were drawing from their own tradition. Werth did not understand primitivism to be a Western male projection, phantasy and construct, in fact he contributed to its promotion, ultimately serving and enabling the misapprehension of African art. Not only did Black artists draw on formal and plastic qualities of Western tradition and education, they did it *selectively and intentionally* – developing marks of what Chika Okeke terms *twentieth-centuryness* (2013). This was done in many instances with a particularly covert, and at times overt political and conceptual anti-colonial intention. Such was the case of Leonard Matsoso.

Writing for the *Bienal* catalogue of 1973 (cf. appendix 27) Werth states that the work selected was “traditional” and “presents the reactions of South Africans of different races to the challenge of the African continent today” even though the focus of the

*Bienal* was that of art as a form of mass communication. Werth built the display around Alexis Preller as a central figure, writing that he had already “established a potent African mythography,” taking generalist motifs from “African tribal life, its rituals, its belief in animism, its ancestor worship.” In his rendering, Werth indirectly posited that White artists (embodied by Preller) and Black artists (embodied by Matsoso and Rorke’s Drift artists) were moving in different directions, the former swimming upstream (towards the source), the latter downstream (away from it towards Evangelism, in the case of Rorke’s Drift community).<sup>171</sup>

A close reading of his text reveals a further unflinching racialized distinction between those highly skilled in science and technology from those “living in a semi-primitive state.”<sup>172</sup> Werth identifies artists Johan van Heerden and Ronald Mylchrest as exponents of the former, remaining silent with regard to the latter, but his Manichean vision informs and speaks for this omission. A man of the system, a patrician, Werth tipped the scales in favour of White artists, never questioning the contrived supremacy of the White practitioner, never questioning the conceptual and political undercurrent, the contemporaneity of Matsoso, who was placed by Werth as being neither here nor there.

---

<sup>171</sup> Per the official catalogue, four Rourke’s Drift tapestries were on view:

1. *O Casamento Zulu* (retranslated as *The Zulu Wedding*) – 182,8 x 624,3 cm  
Design: Ephraim Siqubu; Weaving: Esther Nxumalo and Philda Majoji
2. *Crueldade de Shaka* (retranslated as *The Cruelty of Shaka*) – 188 x 246,3 cm  
Design and weaving: Esther Nxumalo and Philda Majoji
3. *O leão cruel* (retranslated as *The Cruel Lion*) – 134,6 x 190,5 cm  
Design: Jessi Dlamini; Weaving: Jessi Dlamini and Regina Buthelezi
4. *O Curral Zulu* (retranslated as *The Zulu Pen*) – 137,2 x 209,5 cm  
Design: Jessi Dlamini; Weaving: Jessi Dlamini and Regina Buthelezi  
Property of R. Olowin

It seems significant that the word “property” is used as opposed to “collection,” denoting the “othered” status of the tapestries.

<sup>172</sup> This racist and debasing view finds an echo in Jenny Basson’s writing (1973): “This bond between our artists can also be seen in the confrontation in Africa between man living in a semi primitive state and man, highly skilled in science and technology, living in highly civilized modern cities. Of the latter type of man the artists Van Heerden and Mylchrest are the true exponents.”



Figure 27: Image of South Africa's consul in São Paulo, L.H. Evans and unidentified woman with a copy of the official catalogue in arm admiring Leonard Matsoso's prize winning entry at the 1973 *Bienal de São Paulo*. Behind Evans is *The Bushman*, an artwork reproduced in the official catalogue but not included in the listing of works.

### *Zooming in: lifting archival traces*

In 1972, the South African Association of the Arts (SAAA) received an annual grant of R7 500 from the *Departement van Nasionale Opvoeding* (National Department of Education) to be used for administering and organizing national and international exhibitions during the accounting years of 1972 and 1973 (Potgieter 1972). These funds would have been partially channelled to the South African presence in São Paulo. According to the journals of the SAAA, R169 would have been attributed to the São Paulo Biennial of 1971. By December of 1973, the credit on this item had reached R445.

Although the selection of work may have been determined by a selection committee,<sup>173</sup> it was Albert Werth (like Sydney Cowper many years before him) who was

<sup>173</sup> Minutes of the meeting (Meiring 1972) of the executive committee of the SAAA held on February 10 1972 announced the appointment of Bettie Cilliers-Bernard (in the place of Nel Erasmus), Gunter van der Reis, O. Schröder and Andrew Verster as part of the selection committee, with Erik Laubscher, Lippy Lipshitz and Esmé Berman as alternates. M. Bockhorst and Cecil Skotnes were

ultimately responsible for how the work was viewed – its schemata, so to speak – having travelled to Brazil in advance of the opening to assure that the South African presence would be installed on time.

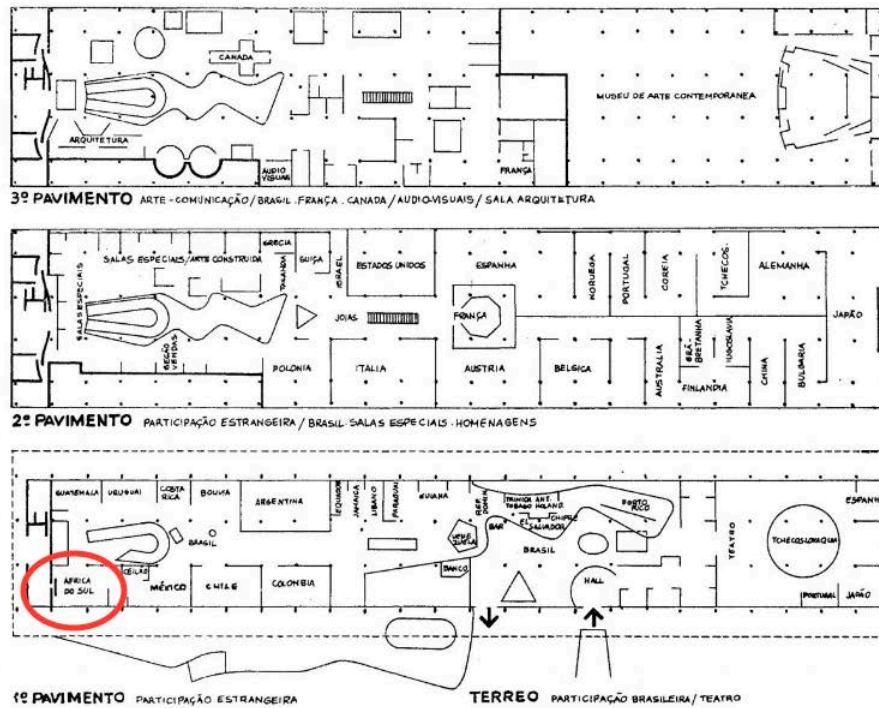


Figure 28: Layout of the 1973 *Bienal*

Period images (fig. 27) reveal how Werth chose to display the work of Matsoso. Pinned directly to the wall at eye level, there seems to have been little regard for the preservation of these works amidst the heat, damp and crowds of São Paulo. Unframed and exposed, this comes across as a rather surprising choice for a national representation, choreographed by the director of a public museum who positioned himself not only as an authority and pioneer of museum and conservation practice, but as an advocate and surrogate father of Black art. Although no images could be found of the remainder of the corner of this booth-like setting allocated to South Africa on the first floor or *primeiro pavimento* (fig. 28), press images from the 1973 exhibition (fig. 29) show an impressive sculpture by Johan van Heerden, which seems to have been given pride of place within the Cape Town version of the

---

appointed as advisers to the committee, with Albert Werth as commissioner and W. Gavett as alternate. Unisa Archival and Special Collections, Pretoria, South Africa.

exhibition,<sup>174</sup> with ample negative space having been contemplated between each sculpture. The image shows one piece seen through the other, in frank dialogue, suggesting not only depth of field, but also a *mise en abyme* effect. These are powerful curatorial decisions that do not seem to have transpired in Matsoso's lacklustre presentation.

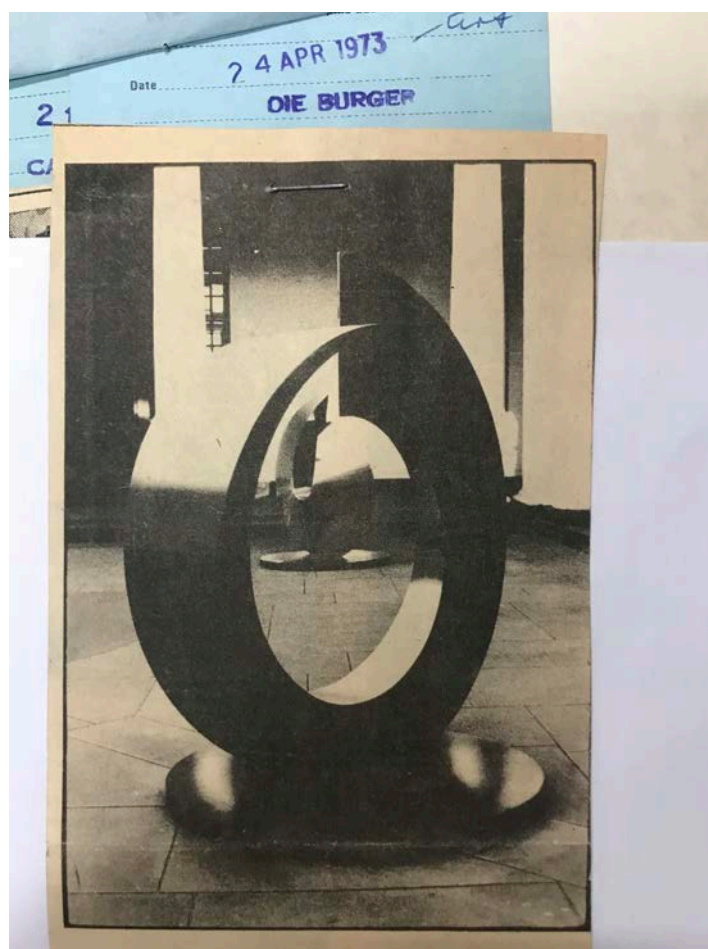


Figure 29: Installation view of Johann van Heerden works selected for São Paulo at the National Gallery in Cape Town. The columns in the back, window and paving suggest that the sculptures were exhibited in the gallery's inner courtyard. Originally published in *Die Burger* (April 24, 1973)

<sup>174</sup> The exhibition is likely to have taken place in April. According to a review by Eldred Green (1973), three of Matsoso's large conté crayon on paper drawings were on view. Green refers to Matsoso as a "worthy newcomer" to the *Bienal*, yet he saves mention of Matsoso for last, giving pride of place to Preller in his article. In relation to Matsoso, he writes: "The lines in which the crayon is applied are an integral part of the expressive surface of the various figures and No 1. African Tribal Dance [one of the drawings exhibited in São Paulo] shows Matsoso's relationship to what may be called the Polley (sic) Street School (sic) of Johannesburg. Also on view in the National Gallery are large drawings by Malaba Dumile and Julian Motau and in common with African Tribal Dance most of the emotion is expressed in the feet and writhing toes. It is worth noting how the unshod express emotion through the feet rather than through the hands." This last sentiment, which concludes the review, could arguably be considered indirectly offensive and racist, the so-called unshod employed as a metonym for the Black man, and an indictment of Matsoso and his peers.

Images of the 1975 representation (fig. 30), as culled from the archives, reveal the further careful and considered hanging and framing of works, and their dialogue amongst each other, as opposed to the isolation, paucity and outright negligence present-day viewers might potentially gather from Matsoso's "corner" (fig. 27). Despite the absence of a dignified and elevating frame, and against all odds, Matsoso was awarded a prize of about R1 700 for his drawing. Larry Scully, the then national vice-president of the South African Association of the Arts, in a brief notice published in the *Rand Daily Mail* (1972) said it was a "tremendous achievement."

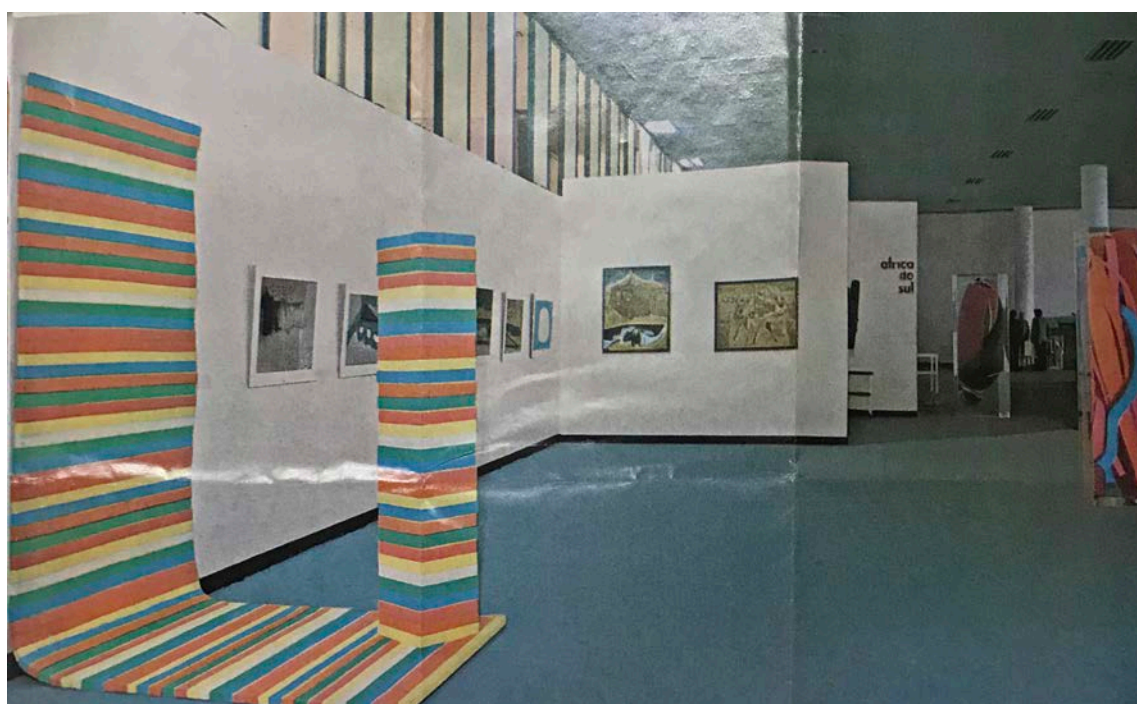


Figure 30: View of the South African exhibit featuring one of Claude van Lingen's foam rubber sculptures in the foreground. Originally published in *SA Panorama* (February 1976)

Looking at the work featured in the official catalogue (fig. 1 and 27), *The Bushman* appears somewhat obfuscated by the South African consul in figure 27 and his outstretched, directing arm. This drawing reflects Matsoso's early style of producing stark black and white figures on blank backgrounds, an influence that is likely to have come from his teacher and mentor, Ezrom Legae, which I explore in chapter four. The composition presents a hunter riding what looks like a ram (the head is reminiscent of a sheep's head, a South African delicacy also known as a "smiley"). This figure, which precedes the artist's use of colourful cubist elements that appear in

the latter part of the artist's production of the 1970s, and works produced for the 1979 Bienal, is made up of a disjointed body in a collage-like gathering of bare bones. The emaciated figure — a constant in Matsoso's work of the 1970s — rides this agonised animal. Bulging eyes, grimace, exposed rib cage and starved torso together bespeak of the deprivation and dispossession of San people, evicted from their ancestral territories. This work was likely to have been produced as a response to the expulsion of the Xhmani, the last group of traditionally living San from what is now the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park.<sup>175</sup> Although it is unclear if a particular work, or the group of drawings earned Matsoso the attention of the international jury, but this drawing was included in the official catalogue, and was amongst the first reproductions (the catalogue was arranged alphabetically with South Africa, *África do Sul*, appearing first). Thus, it is likely to have been the most viewed work. I wish to argue that not only its visibility, but rootedness in political events, its anti-colonial indigeneity, captured audiences and caught the jury's attention.

According to the *Folha de São Paulo*, an international jury of five art critics was established to distribute the customary prizes. The jury included Antonio Bento de Araujo Lima (then President of the Brazilian section of AICA (*Association Internationale des Critiques d'Art*)), Robert Delavoe (then director of the *Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Architecture et des Artes Visueles de Bruxelles*), Lung Ke Kung (then professor at the Political Academy of Art and Universal Culture, China), Jiri Kotalik (then Director of the National Gallery in Prague) and Donald Baum (then Director of the Department of Arts at Roosevelt University and Consultant to the Arts Council of the University of Illinois).<sup>176</sup> The team was assisted, according to the minutes recorded on October 9, by Ms Radhá Abramo, an art historian and member of AICA. The jury began its work on the afternoon of September 28, 1973. According to the *Diário de São Paulo*, they initiated their inspection on October 1, beginning with works included in the Art and Communication section, having then moved on to screen the Brazilian artists and the twenty-nine projects by a diverse range of collectives working with conceptual and land art, as well as projects with a focus on audiovisual work. They had lunch at the *Bienal* and continued to view work on the third floor immediately after. On October 2, the jury of five men analyzed work by foreigners included on the

---

<sup>175</sup> [https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/article\\_267jsp/](https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/article_267jsp/)

<sup>176</sup> This was paid work, with each juror receiving an honorarium of Crs 300 for jury services.

second floor. In all, they scrutinized work presented by twenty-four countries, amounting to approximately one hundred and twenty artists. That afternoon, they examined the Brazilian projects located outdoors and within the venue. It was on the morning of October 3 that the jury viewed South Africa's offering in addition to the Latin-American and Celonese presentation on the first floor. The afternoon was handed over to viewing eleven films and the foreign contingent included in the Art and Communication section.

There were a number of awards on offer (nine types in total, in addition to acquisition prizes).<sup>177</sup> The Grande Prémio Itamaraty (Grand "Itamaraty" Award) to the amount of \$10 000, would be given to the artist who achieved a minimum score of four out of five votes, regardless of the materials employed. The international awards, to the amount of \$20 000, would be distributed amongst the winners in parcels of \$2 500 each. It was also determined regardless of materials and technique. In addition to these awards, the Santos Dumont award, sponsored by the Secretary of Culture, Sport and Tourism, would be delivered to Brazilian nationals selected by the juries of the states of São Paulo, Guanabara, Minas Gerais, Pará, Bahia and Ceará. The State Governors award (Cr\$ 10 000), the Municipal Award (Cr\$ 10 000), the Grand Latin-America "Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho" award (one thousand dollars) and the award for a foreign artist (Cr\$ 15 000) and Brazilian artist (Cr\$ 15 000) included in the Art and Communication section added to the substantial monetary prizes on offer.<sup>178</sup> One imagines that the award ceremony would have been a "highly ritualized theatre of gestures and counter-gestures," as sociologist James F. English writes, one quite distinct from the "drama of marketplace exchange" (2005, p. 5).

---

<sup>177</sup> Not only did the *Bienal* distribute prizes, but it was also the recipient of an award that year. According to the *Jornal do Brasil* of September 5 1973, the International Institute for Promotion and Prestige in Geneva awarded the *Bienal* and its founder and president, Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho, with the International Arts and Culture Trophy.

<sup>178</sup> According to the previously mentioned minutes (provided in French), the awards were distributed as follows: the Grand Prix Itamaraty, to the amount of \$10 000, to Jean Michel Folon (Belgium); The Grand Honorary Award to Miguel Perrocal and the International Biennale de São Paulo Award (to a total of \$20 000) to Leonard Matsoso (South Africa), Klaus Rinke (Germany), John Armstrong (Australia), Dario Villalba (Spain), H.C. Westermann (USA), Hugues Patrice (France), Amalia del Ponte (Italy), Chihiro Shimotani (Japan), Franciszek Starowiesky (Poland) and Bohdan-Mrazekani (Czechoslovakia). There were many other awards, but these do not fall under the purview of this study and have thus not been listed.

Now is as good a time as any to pause and take stock of these awards and Leonard Matsoso's apparent entry into this "economy of prestige" or the "economy of symbolic cultural production" (English 2005). Modelled on the Venice Biennale, the *Bienal de São Paulo* was and is very much part of an "age of awards" (English, 2005), much like its Italian predecessor. Awards, prizes and nominations are still seen as ways of rewarding excellence, of bringing the public to "serious" or "quality" art (thereby encouraging, as English writes, the presumably philistine public to consume higher-grade cultural products), of assisting struggling artists in a post-patronage era and of creating a "forum for displays of pride, solidarity, and celebration on the part of various cultural communities" (2005, p. 25). The rationale for award-giving at São Paulo in 1973 was very much in line with these motivations.

On the exponential multiplication of awards, James F. English tells us that the Gale's standard reference work *Awards, Honors, and Prizes* "has swelled to two phonebook-sized volumes and more than two thousand pages. Priced at nearly \$700 a set, this index has been adding new prizes at the rate of approximately one every six hours." In order to control and regulate this explosive scene, the International Congress of Distinguished Awards was created in 1994. It counts more than one hundred "distinguished" prizes carrying awards greater than \$100 000 (2005, p. 20). With so many prizes at play, English rightfully asks how one accounts for them, and which is more valuable than the other.

In 1973, there would most certainly have fewer awards on a global scale. If we consider this, in tandem with the longevity of the *Bienal*, its geographic spread, and its public scrutiny in national news spreads,<sup>179</sup> I would argue that Matsoso's nomination holds weight, even though it did not translate over the long run into "capital intraconversion" (English 2005) or fame.<sup>180</sup> This had little to do with the prize itself, and more to do with

---

<sup>179</sup> The prestige of the award in 1973 came under fire and was almost imperilled with the nomination of Donald Baum as a member of the jury. As reported by the *Gazeta Vitória – Espírito Santo* of October 2 1973 (the same piece announcing Pelé's presence at the *Bienal*), Baum's nomination was seen as a conflict of interest as he was already commissioning a controversial exhibition of the Chicago School at the *Bienal*. The *O Popular* of Goiânia – Goiás of September 27 1973 reported that it was unable to determine who appointed Baum, but was reassured by the directors of the Foundation of his honesty, and that "não se perderá em favores para seus compatriotas" (he would not get involved in returning favours to his fellow countrymen).

<sup>180</sup> Although diverse, jurors prior to 1973 were predominantly male and excluded African expertise, as listed by the *Bienal*:

---

**XI Bienal:** Rafael Squirru (Argentina), James Gleeson (Australia), José Geraldo Vieira (Brazil), Eugênio Barney Cabrera (Colombia), Vicente Aguilera Serni (Spain), Nello Ponente (Italy), Zoran Krzinsnik (Yugoslavia), Masayoshi Homma (Japan), René Berger (Switzerland).

**X Bienal:** Prof. Dr Wilhelm Mrazek (Austria), Marc Berkowitz (Brazil), Dores Shadbolt (Canada), Patrick Waldberg (France), J. Swaminathan (India), Moshe Spitzer (Israel), Eduino de Jesus (Portugal), Marian Vaross (Czechoslovakia), Jorge Paez Villaró (Uruguay)

**IX Bienal:** Werner Schmalenbach (Germany), Ignácio Pirovano (Argentina), Robert Giron (Belgium), Geraldo Ferraz (Brazil), Andrew Ritchie (USA), Alan Bowness (Great Britain), Sadaziro Kubo (Japan), Ida Rodriguez (Mexico), Ryszard Stanislawski (Poland)

**VIII Bienal:** Werner Schmalenbach (Germany), Wilhelm Mrazek (Austria), Paulo Mendes de Almeida (Brazil), Luiz Oyarzun (Chile), Kim Byung-Ki (Korea), Luis Gonzalez Robles (Spain), Walter Hopps (USA), Jacques Lassaigue (France), Lilian Somerville (Great Britain), J.N. van Wessen (Netherlands), Cesare Brandi (Italy), Yoshinobu Masuda (Japan), Jorge Hernández Campos (Mexico), Ryszard Stanislawski (Poland), K.G.V.P. Hultém (Sweden), Jiri Kotalik (Czechoslovakia), José Gomez Sicre (Pan-American Union), Maria Luisa Torrens (Uruguay), Inocente Palacios (Venezuela)

**VII Bienal:** Werner Schmalenbach (Germany), Julio Llinás (Argentina), Wilhelm Mrazek (Austria), Antonio Mariaca Arguedas (Bolivia), Geraldo Ferraz (Brazil), Alejo Carpentier (Cuba), Luís González Robles (Spain), Martin Friedman (USA), Jean Leymarie (France), Lilian Sommerville (Great Britain), Tony Spiteris (Greece), N.R.A. Vroom (Netherlands), Giulio Carlos Argan (Italy), Haim Gamzu (Israel), Zoran Krzinsnik (Yugoslavia), Kenjiro Okamoto (Japan), Hocio Florez-Sánchez (Mexico), Ryszard Stanislawski (Poland), Lars-Erik Astrom (Sweden), Jiri Kotalik (Czechoslovakia), José Gomes Sicre (Pan-American Union), Luís Garcia Pardo (Uruguay)

**VI Bienal:** James Johnson Sweeney (USA), Emile Langui (Belgium), Jorge Romero Brest (Argentina), Jean Cassou (France), Werner Schmalenbach (Germany), Kenjiro Okamoto (Japan), André Gouber (USSR), N.R.A. Vroom (Netherlands), Ryszard Stanislawski (Poland), Oreste Ferrari (Italy), Mario Pedrosa (Brazil)

**V Bienal:** Prof. Dr Ludwig Grote (Germany), Dr Vinzent Oberhammer (Austria), J. van Lerberghe (Belgium), Kiri Kotalik (Czechoslovakia), Prof. Luis Gonzales Robles (Spain), Richard Davis (USA), Roland Penrose (Great Britain), Prof. Abraham-Marie Hammacher (Netherlands), Haim Gamzu (Israel), Gian Alberto Dell'Acqua (Italy), Aleksa Celebonovic (Yugoslavia), Kikihide Tokudaiji (Japan), Mieczslaw Porebski (Poland), K.G. Húltén (Sweden), José Gomez Sicre (Pan-American Union), Tapani Raitilla (Finland), Dr Paulo Mendes de Almeida and Dr Lourival Gomes Machado (Brazil)

**IV Bienal:** Ludwig Grote (Germany), J. van Lerberghe (Belgium), Luiz Gonzalez Robles (Spain), Alfred Barr (USA), Jacques Lassaigue (France), Philip Hendy (Great Britain), J.C. Heyligers (Netherlands), Marco Valsecchi (Italy), Marcel Ianco (Israel), Shinken Kurihara (Japan), Jiri Kotalik (Yugoslavia), Livio Abramo (Brazil), Wolfgang Pfeiffer (Brazil), Lourival Gomes Machado (Brazil), Maria Martins (Brazil), Flexa Ribeiro (Brazil)

**III Bienal:** Jean Cassou (France), W. Sandberg (Netherlands), Umbro Appollonio (Italy), Gustav Beck (Austria), Haim Gamzu (Israel), Grace McCann Morley (USA), Sergio Milliet (Brazil), Mario Pedrosa (Brazil), José Valladares (Brazil), Tomás Santa Rosa (Brazil), Wolfgang Pfeiffer (Germany)

**II Bienal:** Emile Langui (Belgium), Herbert Read (Great Britain), James Johnson Sweeney (USA), Rudolfo Pallucchini (Italy), E. Hanfstaengl (Germany), Bernard Dorival (France), W. Sandberg (Netherlands), Juan Ramón Masoliver (Spain), Max Bill (Switzerland), Jorge Romero Brest (Argentina), Sergio Milliet (Brazil), Mario Pedrosa (Brazil), Tomás Santa Rosa (Brazil), Wolfgang Pfeiffer (Germany)

**I Bienal:** Emile Langui (Belgium), Eric Newton (Great Britain), Jan van As (Netherlands), Jacques Lassaigue (France), Jorge Romero Brest (Argentina), Marco Valsecchi (Italy), René d'Harnancourt (USA), Wolfgang Pfeiffer (Germany), Sergio Milliet (Brazil), Tomás Santa Rosa JR. (Brazil)

the apartheid milieu Matsoso inhabited, which was quick to leave Matsoso's achievement behind, containing, as opposed to building on this achievement. On this note, James F. English states (2005, p. 21):

It is almost as though winning a prize is the only truly newsworthy thing a cultural worker can do, the one thing that really counts in a lifetime of more or less nonsalable, indescribable, or at least unreportable cultural accomplishments. In this context, it is the prize, above all else, that defines the artist.

The events of 1979, and Matsoso's failed reappearance at the *Bienal*, as explored in the next chapter, arguably confirm this effort to contain, to curtail, to muffle the celebration of Matsoso's achievement.

### *Some closing thoughts*

This chapter has taken the 1973 edition of the *Bienal* as an episode in South Africa's exhibition history. It has proposed that the events of 1973 be considered as an illustration and example of late commissioning practices. Focusing on the figure of Albert Johannes Werth, the appointed commissioner to the South African representation, it posits the once director of the Pretoria Art Museum as a member in the long line of commissioners which can be traced back to Imperial Britain and the South Kensington project, with the thread binding these histories together being spun by the SAAA. By highlighting his allegiance to Apartheid government, his deliberate and considered weighting of the artists at the *Bienal*, in particular his treatment of Leonard Matsoso, this chapter draws an unthinkable parallel (that privileges "epistemic disobedience" [Mignolo 2011]) between Werth and Cowper, two museum men bound by their commitment to a project of hierarchisation, subjugation and colonial upkeep.

In this chapter, I have highlighted Werth's swift ascent to the position of director of the Pretoria Art Museum, his position as an authority on "primitive art" by way of his Masters dissertation and PhD thesis, and his discriminative choices of display, to argue how the racist structure of world exhibitions that pitted industrialized nations against non-industrialized nations, and images of progress against atavism, remained

active although morphed in the 1970s. Although less obscene than nineteenth-century displays, Werth's attention fell almost entirely on the contingent of White South African artists, the promotion of their practice and how he considered them to be equipped with the advantage of greater insight into African traditions than any European "primitivist" forebear (Werth 1984, p. 214).

This chapter has also raised the award received by Matsoso from the dust of the archives. It has shown that not only was Matsoso's work the subject of scrutiny by a panel of judges, but his work exhibited in a *Bienal* and amongst the work of peers that were pushing the boundaries of art, instigating the greater participation and engagement of audiences, working in collectives against an environment of frank oppression – an untold and suppressed history. Without a doubt, Matsoso's existentially knotted drawings captured the attention of judges, audiences and artists, earning him a prize despite the willed relegation of his work on site by his commissioner. It is this relation, or non-relation, a disaffectedness towards the artist, that sets the commissioner and curator apart. The latter is explored in the next chapter.

## Chapter Four

### *After the “wallabs”: caring for the uncared for in the anamnestic archive*

*If the past is the point to return to, it is also the point of no return. The tragedy of time is that it cannot be reversed* (Bal 1996, p. 203).

*The struggle of man against power is the struggle of memory against forgetting* (Kundera 1980, p. 3).

Curating, which I link to the independent curator, appears in contradistinction to commissioning, and does so rather belatedly in South Africa, as it did too in São Paulo. Within apartheid, there could be no such figure as the independent curator, for as Boris Groys (2019) highlights, “the curator – including the so-called independent curator – makes his or her choices ultimately in the name of the *democratic public* [emphasis added].” Granted that the term curating may have been loosely grabbed and appropriated by agents in the field prior and shortly after democracy in 1994,<sup>181</sup>

---

<sup>181</sup> For purposes of clarity, and as Paseka Ncholo (1994) has noted, “no democracy is possible without the right to vote.” In terms of South African history, the process of universal suffrage was tentatively implemented in 1994 and has been honed since. 1994 therefore serves as a watershed moment in history and is referred to here as a landmark event, a moment of inception, imagining and perfecting of democracy in South Africa.

In short, and for readers who are less familiar with South African history, it is important to go back in time to 1910. At the time, opinion widely favoured the exclusion of the Black majority from the political process, with the exception of the Cape Province which maintained its existing franchise for certain Black voters. Here the vote was limited to Black and “Coloured” men. All women were excluded. “In 1927, the government made its first attempt to remove the Cape’s black voters from the common voter’s roll” with disenfranchisement attempts continuing until all Black voters were eventually removed in the only province that allowed their participation.

Until 1983, the right to vote was open to Whites only. Africans were completely excluded from the national voting process and were only expected to vote in municipal elections and in Bantustans. With the introduction of act 110 in 1983, Indian and “Coloured” populations were included in the political process by way of separate Houses within Parliament where they would deal with their “own affairs”, per the separatist language adopted at the time. As Ncholo (1994, p. 59) notes, their inclusion was not predicated on democratic, non-racial and representative principles.

With the first democratic elections of 1994, the issue of who was entitled to vote, and who constituted a citizen came to the fore. Until then, citizenship per the National States Citizenship Act (26 of 1970) stipulated that every Black person in the Republic of South Africa was a citizen of a Bantustan by birth, language proficiency, domicile, blood relationship, and/or racial background. Urban Blacks who had resisted Bantustan citizenship were given what was termed “bare” citizenship of the mainland (Ncholo, 1994, p. 62). The latter was reverted in 1986, but as Ncholo (1994, p. 62) notes, “this capitulation was not without limitations since people still had to meet criteria set out in the Restoration of South African Citizenship Act (73 of 1986).” Other issues relating to eligibility are further explored by Paseka Ncholo. For reasons of brevity and complexity, I have chosen not to mention them here. To conclude this footnote, in 1994, there was no voter registration and no voters’ roll was compiled (to avoid double voting, a UV ink system was employed). Voter registration was de facto only introduced in South Africa for the 1999 national elections (EISA 2011).

appearing here and there, I would however contend that the dominant mode, the hangover and institutional structure, was still that of commissioning, with the commissioner making his choices in the name of and for the state.<sup>182</sup> In this chapter, I contend that the appearance and understanding of the critical curatorial mode would only become tangible to the South African community in 1997 with the prominent figure of Okwui Enwezor and his curation of the Second Johannesburg Biennale. This second edition helps illuminate the curator vis-à-vis the commissioner through the independence embodied by its chief curator, Okwui Enwezor (1963–2019). In the chapter that follows, I frame this non-dependence as a critical and formal distance from the State and its institutions, a “settledness” which Enwezor countered as an unsettled and unsettling “*Gastarbeiter*.”<sup>183</sup>

Cognisant of the problematics of dichotomies and over simplifications, but nonetheless certain that oppositions in certain instances help to shed light on what would otherwise remain opaque and unclear, this chapter probes the dialectics between the curator and the curatorial mode (which I posit is an activity located in the postcolonial moment) and the commissioner and the commissioning mode (located within a colonial and an arguably neo-colonial moment, which is also arguably our moment today). If I overstate my case, I do so at the very least to introduce a means to understand commissioning and curating, knowing that these are multiple practices with rough edges that have been pared down and simplified. I am not alone in drawing an impermanent line in the ground and will show how Jérôme Glicenstein (2015), although writing in French and from a different and distinct geography, does so too. Part of this section, which will address the occlusions brought on by commissioning, has been written as an act of care, and as such, is a curatorial and curative act; an act of repair and suturing around the chasm brought on by the shift between these two dialectical modes, and those who have arguably been lost to it.

---

<sup>182</sup> I have intentionally gendered the commissioner as male and posit that he is predominantly of European extraction.

<sup>183</sup> The terms “settledness”, “unsettledness” and “*Gastarbeiter*” have been purloined from Vilem Flusser (2003). From a philosophical perspective, Flusser considered rooted and settled people to be “experientially impoverished shrubs” (Stearns 2012, p. 147). Like Aristotle, he, and, I would argue, Enwezor too, believed the starting point of philosophy had always been unsettledness. Flusser, it should be noted, was not writing about the predicament of migrants or refugees fleeing wars, collapsed states, political persecution, drought, famine and disease – which he had in part experienced as a Jew who fled the Nazis to Brazil – but about the enlightenment brought on by global cultural flows, to borrow from anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1990).

I quote Boris Groys (2006): “It is no coincidence that the word ‘curator’ is etymologically related to ‘cure’. Curating is curing.” Curing the powerless image, to paraphrase Groys, in its incapacity to present itself or making the invisible visible. Readers may be lead to think that curating has come after commissioning, but I would be quick to advise that in many instances, both continue to co-exist and co-mingle.

In the South African instance, which is where this research falls, commissioning was the mode of the colonial and imperial world (as established in chapters two and three), finding pride of place in trade exhibitions and world fairs, with curating, as I see it, emerging as a discursive and critical practice with a later, postcolonial reading of the world (to be argued in the present chapter). An instance of this – I would imagine – conflicted cohabitation of the curator and commissioner can be found in South Africa’s presence to this day at the Venice Biennale, with the co-habitation and co-existence of these two antithetical and agonistic figures.<sup>184</sup> Although Venice does not fall under the purview of my research, the historical ties that exist between São Paulo and Venice, South Africa and Venice, and South Africa and São Paulo, forming a triangulation, urges acknowledgement and reckoning. If we concede that coloniality (Mignolo 2007) exists,<sup>185</sup> then we must necessarily acknowledge that the commissioning mode too still persists, with the attendant expectation that exhibitions serve the state.

Readers will already have come across the thrust of this thesis in my introduction. Initially, my intention was to historicise South Africa’s representations at the São Paulo biennial. Dissatisfied and frustrated with this uninspired and uninspiring proposal, I asked myself – as I do my students – what could be learnt from this history, if anything; what could its “affordances in the present” be (de Jong 2016, p.

---

<sup>184</sup> I draw on Chantal Mouffe's (2016) distinction between agonists and antagonists. In agonism, the form is one of a struggle between adversaries. In antagonism, the struggle is between enemies. As Mouffe writes, albeit with regards to a different context, “the aim of democratic politics is to transform potential antagonism into agonism.”

<sup>185</sup> In short, coloniality refers to the organisation and systemic distribution of power through the control of access to material and immaterial resources (such as knowledge) by a dominant group. For Mignolo, this arrangement is not contemporary, but coincides with European expansion which began over 500 years ago. For Mignolo, coloniality is the reverse side, the so-called “darker side” of modernity. Both operate hand-in-hand. With regards to commissioners and their role in modernity-coloniality, they, I posit, are the bureaucrats and handmaidens to this on-going exploitative process. They are part of what Mignolo terms the “colonial matrix of power.”

8)? There are many responses, but perhaps one of the first things I immediately learnt, and much to my surprise, was that Leonard Matsoso had won an award for drawing at the *Bienal* in 1973. I learnt that he was the first Black South African to receive an accolade in São Paulo.<sup>186</sup> I asked myself why this was not known or spoken about; I asked myself where Matsoso was in life (much to my surprise, I discovered he was no longer with us, contrary to the public record at the time of the writing of this thesis); I asked myself if this otherwise singular event, this tremendous accolade had been celebrated. I realised too, and most importantly, that in 1979, the *Bienal das Bienais* (Biennial of Biennials), as it became known (a designation in reference to it being a retrospective of awards) did not include Matsoso. The catalogue, much to my surprise and indignation, had no entry on Matsoso. To my mind, this was, to quote Anthony Downey (2015, p. 20), a “caesura or aporia in a body of knowledge,” an epistemological fissure that offered itself as a productive aperture.

In retrospect, through the story and *nexus* of Leonard Matsoso, through the archival reserve that he represents,<sup>187</sup> I have managed to articulate the shift from commissioning to curating and an understanding of how archives can be used to produce visions for a decolonial future, how my work was about “pastness” (Trouillot 1997) and the profound recognition of past suffering and catastrophe, but also imagining a different future; another way of doing and worlding by way of a specific practice of research and imagining-imaging as care. As such, this thesis is not only historical in purpose, but curative (and curatorial) in intent.

The unjust story of Leonard Matsoso and the *Bienal* does not cease in 1973, but continues being written in 1979. Within this thesis, Matsoso represents a suppressed and occluded exhibitions’ history and an archival haunting; an Achilles heel of sorts or an unresolved and unresolvable past that impresses and presses on the present and future. The past is not past, it is not behind us but before and ahead of us. Stated differently, “the past – or, more accurately, pastness – is a position. Thus, in no way

---

<sup>186</sup> According to Esmé Berman (1983, p. 382), “prior to 1979, South African artists had been accorded recognition among the award winners on several occasions: in 1957, when Edoardo Villa won Honourable Mention for sculpture, and again in 1959, when Villa was awarded a Bronze Medal; South Africa’s first award for painting was achieved by Kenneth Bakker, who won Mention of Honour in 1963.”

<sup>187</sup> I use the term reserve in the sense of “that which has not yet been deployed”, as per the writings of Pad.ma (2015).

can we identify the past as past” (Trouillot 1997, p. 15). Thus, as Marsha Hewitt (1994, p. 75) writes, “the past is not finished and done with, but remains open to the present in ways that redeem both, creating possibilities for political action that may lead to liberating social transformation.” With this chapter, Matsoso (although not alone in historical obfuscation) is lifted squarely into our line of sight so as to obstruct the false and falsifying perspective of the oppressors’ account. The oppressor being, in this instance, the apartheid state and its open and disguised allies who are still amongst us today.

### *On paradigmatic distinctions and shifts*

In his 2015 publication, professor Jérôme Glicenstein treats the emergence of the curator as an “invention,” as indicated by his original title in the French, *L’invention du curateur: mutations dans l’art contemporain* (The invention of the curator: mutations within contemporary art). Although writing from a European perspective, with a focus on institutional practice, important distinctions and moments can be gleaned from his analysis, lending further credence to my argument of a paradigm shift that is notable within the São Paulo archive. Establishing a history of curating can be a fraught affair, with the risk of projecting contemporary categories and acceptations onto periods where these categories were non-existent or less accentuated (Glicenstein 2015, p. 36). As such, instead of focusing exclusively on the figure of the curator, Glicenstein advocates the adoption of a wider perspective, one that enables the understanding of the at times troubled relationship between artists, mediators and their publics.

Within his study, Glicenstein places the emergence of the curator strictly within the lineage or *démarche* of exhibition conservators and commissioners who emerged with modernity,<sup>188</sup> but he argues that the function occupied by this “vraiment récente” (truly recent) figure (Glicenstein 2015, p. 17) is now different. At a first moment, he turns to etymology to distinguish the traditional function of the curator from the function of the commissioner. Crucially, the curator connotes an idea of providing assistance, whereas the “commissioner” alludes to power relations and the idea of

---

<sup>188</sup> In the original: “conservateurs et commissaires d’expositions apparus à l’âge modern” (Glicenstein, 2015, p. 13).

delegating responsibility. The commissioner polices and responds to an established power structure (the [repressive] state and its representatives such as national museums and parastatals such as the SAAA [in the South African instance]). Nonetheless, and despite these crucial differences, the commissioner and the curator establish connections between objects and their frame of presentation, and it is for this reason that the names are consistently confused. Included in this semantic and cultural field, although perhaps less visible or central, is the conservator, otherwise known as a guardian of objects and collections. Unlike curators and commissioners, conservators are not involved with new acquisitions. Their main concern lies with the maintenance of collections and their public presentation.<sup>189</sup>

Glicenstein posits that one of the curatorial functions to emerge in the eighteenth century within the field of commissioning was that of scholarship. In his treatise, he links this form of mediation to the emergence of catalogues and “paper museums” that predominantly circulated in Europe at the time, bringing into association objects that were physically set apart and distant from one another (2015, p. 27). One of the functions of the curator – research and dissemination – was thus born with the art catalogue, from within practices of commissioning.<sup>190</sup> In addition to writing, the guardians of collections also began taking patrons on guided tours, which were not anodyne, but were in fact unique ways of connecting distinct and disperse artworks.

---

<sup>189</sup> Another perspective on the distinction between curating and commissioning is provided by Alexandre Dias Ramos (2010) in his introduction to *Sobre o ofício do curator* (On Curatorial Craft). For Ramos, curating is a particular attention to the space of display. Ramos situates curating’s emergence in the 1950s and relates its appearance with disappearance of the frame. Ramos (2012, p. 10) writes, “aquela parede, antes ‘invisível’, exterior à moldura, agora se tornava perigosamente ativa (desejosamente ativa). Esse diálogo entre parede e moldura – que não aconteceu evidentemente só com a pintura – fez com que a figura do curador (antes muito mais ligada à profissão que cuidava dos acervos) se tornasse central para o êxito de uma exposição. Como se pôde perceber, a curadoria é um ofício antigo, mas uma profissão relativamente nova” (The disappearance of the frame from the 1950s onwards certainly contributed to a greater attention to the exhibition venue. The previously “invisible” wall, beyond the frame, had suddenly become active (wantonly active). This dialogue between wall and work – which obviously did not only happen with painting – transformed the curator (who was previously connected to the profession of the care of collections) into a central determiner of an exhibition’s success. Curating may have been an old craft, but as a profession, it is relatively new).

<sup>190</sup> Coincidentally, Lawrence Alloway links the weakening of the curatorial function to the decline of the catalogue (1996, p. 227). For Alloway, the catalogue outlives the exhibition. Catalogues are the repositories of both the result of research and the critical ideas formed in contact with originals. To this effect, Alloway writes: “catalogues now carry unread bibliographies and short-winded writing . . . the writing itself, this often seems to have been produced under the misconception of what a museum catalogue is for. It is not for puffing and it is not for amateur aesthetics; it is useful if it contains verifiable biographical, stylistic, comparative, or social information in easily consultable form” (1996, p. 228). For Alloway, this purpose has been lost.

For Glicenstein, talk of “commissaires aux tableaux” (commissioners of painting) began to take hold with the foundation of salons within the context of the Royal Academy. As the second chapter of this study has demonstrated, these *commissaires* were not only involved in salons, but also trade fairs and world exhibitions. Commissioners were not only “*tapissiers*” (decorators) of salons, they were responsible for choosing works of art that were deemed apt within a specific academic order or taxonomy (Glicenstein 2015, p. 30). With the inauguration of juries in the mid-eighteenth century, commissioners were not only responsible for selecting works that would fit into strict academic structures, but they were equally responsible to the public for their display.

A number of authors currently defend the idea that the role of the curator is to be at the service of the artist (Glicenstein, 2015:57),<sup>191</sup> as opposed to the academy (or state, as would be the case of the commissioner). A facilitator, the curator enables artwork to become known and brings about its display in the best conditions possible. The curator, in this acceptance, is a polyvalent exhibitions specialist, someone who seconds the artist in realizing projects.

The curator thus occupies a simultaneity of roles, not only securing venues for artists and their work, but the means to bring about their production, communicating and imparting to audiences the importance of the project. All this is efficiently effected in the background (“*au second plan*” [Glicenstein 2015, p. 59]).

---

<sup>191</sup> Glicenstein provides the examples of Katerina Gregos and Robert Fleck. Gregos, one of the co-organisers of *Manifesta 2012*, describes her activity as being that of “un assistant d’artiste” (an artist’s assistant). Writing for *Manifesta Journal*, Gregos (2010/11, p. 49) affirms the following: “intrinsic to the definition of ‘curator’ is the word ‘care.’ This sense of care or custodianship is one of the key responsibilities underlying curating: caring for the objects or artworks one is handling as well as for the people who have produced them and are responsible for presenting them. This means ensuring the well-being of the artists as well as that of the entire team involved in the exhibition, making sure that the artists’ works are presented in the best possible conditions according to their wishes, finding solutions in the case where that is not possible, and not compromising on standards of presentation, down to old-fashioned but very important issues of hospitality.” Echoing Gregos, Fleck (as cited by Glicenstein 2015, p. 58) declares: “Un curateur est un facilitateur que aide à rendre les œuvres d’art visible de manière approprié (ce qui implique souvent de les produire). Le curateur ne devrait pas être considéré comme une ‘meta-artiste’, c’est à peine un assistant dont l’existence est légitimée par les artistes et les œuvres d’art auprès desquelles il s’implique.” For Fleck, the curator is a facilitator who assists in displaying the artwork appropriately. She is not a ‘meta-artist’ but an assistant whose presence is legitimized by artists and their work.

There are other portraits and acceptations of the modern curator. The second position in Glicenstein's categorisation envisions the curator as a mediator. The curator in this instance is fully cognisant of institutional procedure. For museum director Nicholas Serota, quoted by Glicenstein (2015, p. 61), the curator mediates between the work of art and its audience so as to *unlock knowledge*. This is done without intimidating the viewer or interfering with the artwork (*"le rôle serait de mettre en relation les artistes entre eux, tout en évitant d'interférer avec la création artistique"* [Glicenstein 2015, p. 64]). Within this category, the curator limits herself to approaching artwork, staging its relationship with other works of art (*mise en relation avec d'autres œuvres*) in space (*mise en espace*). This is necessarily done for a public which holds the curator responsible for the presentation as such. Within this purview, the curator is not an artist.

For Catherine Grenier (cited by Glicenstein 2015, p. 63), the curator's first vocation is to act like a "plug or tampon" between the artist and technical teams (*"Je crois que le commissaire d'exposition, c'est peut-être cela sa première vocation, c'est quelqu'un que est un tampon entre l'artiste et les différentes équipes, notamment les équipes techniques"*). A go-between for the artist and technical teams, the curator "protects" the artist, proposing solutions that will not "pollute" her work. This ideal of the objectivity and imperviousness of the curator, hinged upon an ideal of professionalism, is called to question by thinkers such as Mieke Bal (1992), but also Lawrence Alloway (1996), who highlights the numerous pressures, "some of them welcome and some of them not recognised perhaps, to keep within safe zones of activity." For Alloway (1996, p. 224), these pressures include:

1. The desire to get along with the artist or artists [when living].
2. The necessity to keep good relations with the artist's main dealer or dealers.
3. The necessity of maintaining collector contentment.
4. Taste expectations emanating from the trustees and director.
5. Taste expectations of other members of the curator's peer group.

A later, more contemporaneous, and arguably romantic and poetic take on the curator as mediator is delivered by Michael Kaethler (2017, ¶1) who conceives of the curator as someone who creates new physical and conceptual relationships, merging

audiences, spaces, and ideas into new composites that transcend their appearances, through the staging and framing of cultural artefacts. Kaethler begins his text offering Hermes as the god of curating, drawing on French philosopher Michel Serres account of Hermes as “a unique and necessary character able to connect objects, persons and events through time and space.” Hermes is an example of a “*knowledge operator* [emphasis added] who can forge passages between different knowledge worlds – the mimetic, scientific, mythical, physical, or put simply, between the reasons of the sciences and that of the humanities or the arts” (Kaethler 2017, ¶2). Further on, he adds: “Hermes is mediation, translation, multiplicity, and communication.” (Kaethler 2017, ¶3).

But let us return to Glicenstein’s reading. The curator is not only a mediator, but a catalyser (“*catalyseur*”) who “disappears” in order to benefit the artist (Glicenstein 2015, p. 65).<sup>192</sup> Glicenstein moves to the clear partitioning of responsibilities. Turning to etymology once again, he defines the curator as a carer of objects (“*celui qui prend soin de quelque chose*”) and the commissioner as someone who is charged with a mission (“*celui que est chargé d’une mission particulière*”). The curator is thus neatly distinguished from the artist and the idea of autonomous creation. The commissioner, on the other hand, is tasked not with self-referential labour, but with the execution of a mission (Glicenstein 2015, p. 67).

Glicenstein affords a subsection to what curating is in our time, delineating the curator’s core activities, such as liaising with audiences, organising exhibitions, providing advice to collectors and approaching dealers, contributing to the value of the artist and her work. This has been happening and evolving since the emergence of salons and galleries, and the consequent pulverisation and proliferation of art which gave rise to the need to connect audiences with work, as well as the need to establish a steady source of income for artists. Whereas other authors may wish to extricate the curator from a value generating system (such is the case with Kaethler), Glicenstein

---

<sup>192</sup> Glicenstein is quick to note that the curator is never completely invisible, and neither is she free of her actions. To this effect, he refers to Mieke Bal, who notes that although exhibitions work towards objectivity and the effacement of their creators, they convey information in a manner that is strongly directed. Exhibitions are neither windows, nor transparent realities or vistas that visitors simply regard. They are the result of a designation by someone (the curator) who not only says “look,” but “look here. This is what I have chosen for you to see” (Glicenstein 2015, p. 64).

offers a reading of the curator that situates her squarely within a shifting (capitalist, although the term remains unsaid) value chain. By the 1960s, other structures of valuing art, besides museums and salons, developed, with the rise of *Kunstballen*, contemporary art museums, biennials, fairs and artist residencies. In Glicenstein's view (it is important to recall his narrow North-Atlantic purview), if museums required curators as permanent staff members, in the 1970s and 1980s, these new structures needed exhibition makers who were able to work under thoroughly different conditions.<sup>193</sup> It is in this context that the independent curator emerges (Glicenstein 2015, p. 81). Unlike their modern predecessors, independent curators are highly mobile, making their presence noted at a range of international events such as art fairs, biennials and travelling exhibitions, where they contact artists and network. In Glicenstein's estimation, mobility is the greatest difference between the contemporary and the traditional curator. Not only do curators write for galleries, but they now work as scouts for collectors and dealers who are no longer tied exclusively to any movement or style.

With the 1990s, Glicenstein identifies another stage in this curatorial metamorphosis, with the fusion of the curator and critic into a kind of two-headed medusa. Glicenstein identifies Nigerian Okwui Enwezor as a model of curatorial mobility whereby discourse is generated that is not based on previous dictums, opening the work of art to other disciplinary fields, releasing it from its entrenchment in a self-reflexive world; an art world, I would add, that was until this point blind to its Eurocentrism and attendant biases.

Fundamental to my thesis, which adds an inflection to the Glicensteinian reading of the practice, is the idea that the contemporary curator's existence (both within and beyond the institution) is tied and dependent upon a democratic polity,<sup>194</sup> who increasingly call the curator's positions into question by way of strikes, sit-ins,

---

<sup>193</sup> It is in this historical context that curatorial demigod Harald Szeemann emerges. Interestingly Szeemann does not engage the exhibition venue as a receptacle for masterpieces or the site of art history, but as a place of encounter ("lieu de rencontre" [Glicenstein 2015, p. 83]). The exhibition is like a film set, a theatre scene, an open page where he rehearses, choreographs, edits or mixes heterogeneous elements into meaningful relations. Szeemann sees himself as occupying multiple roles, as an advisor to artists, providing them with ideas as to how to present their work, but also as a coordinator and an inventor of thematic exhibitions.

<sup>194</sup> In short, a system whereby preference of citizens and communities is reflected in outputs.

occupation and intervention.<sup>195</sup> Increasingly, the curator does not respond exclusively to the state (this is the commissioning mode which still persists in the case of South Africa and the Venice biennale), but to artists and their constituencies. How well the curator responds to the polity and “moments of reckoning” (d’Souza 2018) defines her from here on.

---

<sup>195</sup> Aruna d’Souza (2018) provides examples of recent and not-so-recent instances of public dissent in her volume *Whitewalling*, namely the Whitney Biennial of 2017 and the exhibition *Harlem on My Mind* (1969). In the case of the former, the “cultural earthquake” was triggered by the inclusion of Dana Schutz’s *Open Casket* (2016). Based on one of the most “iconic and charged photographs of the Civic Rights Era – a picture of fourteen-year-old black child, Emmet Till, in his coffin, horribly disfigured from a brutal beating that occurred when he was falsely accused of whistling to a White woman in 1955,” Schutz’s painting called into question the limits and responsibilities that go along with artistic freedom and curatorial judgement. In terms of the actual protest, which is only partially recalled here, artist Parker Bright launched what d’Souza terms an “opening salvo in the form of a performance” (2018, p. 19), which was recorded in video and then published on-line. D’Souza describes the performance, relayed through its video documentation, as follows: “In it, Bright is seen walking through the galleries to get to *Open Casket*. He takes off his coat to reveal a t-shirt with the words ‘Lynch Mob’ written and crossed out with a black Sharpie on the front . . . on the back of Bright’s shirt: ‘Black Death Spectacle.’ Bright makes it to *Open Casket* and stands in front of it with arms outstretched. He then turns around and begins to chat with museum visitors. With this gesture, the artist both obscures the painting’s view and adds a new, living layer to the surface of the work (2018, p. 19).

*Harlem on my Mind: Cultural Capital of Black America 1900–1968*, conceived by Thomas Hoving and Allon Schoener, was imagined by its organisers as an almost utopian effort to heal the fostering racial divide in New York, and was announced as the first ever exhibition of African American culture at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The exhibition oddly did not include Black art and its curators refused to cede control to Black expertise. To many, the only artist on view was the curator. Artist Romare Bearden, for instance, suggested that the show be cancelled given the museum’s mistreatment of the Harlem community.

In the South African instance, two recent cases come to mind: *Our Lady*, curated by Kirsty Cockerill, Candice Allison and Andrea Lewis for the Iziko National Gallery in 2016, and *All in a Day’s Eye: The Politics of Innocence*, curated by Gabi Ngcobo for the Javett Art Centre at the University of Pretoria in 2019. In common, both exhibitions presented the work of Zwelethu Mthethwa, albeit at different times and for entirely different reasons. In the case of the former, Mthethwa was in the process of being tried for the murder of twenty-three-year-old sex worker Nokuphila Kumalo. In the case of the latter, Mthethwa had already been sentenced to eighteen years imprisonment. Contestation of both exhibitions catalysed around SWEAT – the Sex Worker Education and Advocacy Taskforce – who called for the removal of Mthethwa’s work from both displays, considering both instances insensitive celebrations of a murderer, and thus curatorially indefensible and disingenuous.

In an open letter, signed by Bridget Baker, Njideka Akunyili Crosby, Khanyisile Mbongwa, Deborah Peyton, Tracey Rose and Penny Siopis, the framing of *Our Lady*, and decision to include Mthethwa as a means of opening up a dialogue, “rather than pretend these problems don’t exist” was seen by the signatories as “deeply cynical and blithely tone deaf.” Ngcobo’s curatorial strategy, on the other hand, was to address the violent targeting of women in South Africa, “especially women at the bottom of the social scale, whose work is not legally protected, and who often do not have a voice.” In an open letter, published on October 1 2019, Ngcobo states: “the intention with this intervention into the Javett Art Collection is to present a visual essay that opens this space up to scrutiny using the example of Mthethwa’s work, as it is our duty too, as black womxn in art spaces, to create platforms where these forms of violence can be exposed, challenged, and or criminalized.” The decision to include Mthethwa, despite the Cape Town precedent, and not to consult the victim’s family and community translates as unexpected arrogance on Ngcobo’s part.

### 1979 and the decline of the “wallabs”

The *Bienal* of 1979, known as the *Bienal das Bienais* (Biennial of Biennials), the fifteenth in a long line of events was to be an appraisal of a glorious past. Ideally, this would have entailed the suspension of all activities in order to evaluate and reflect on the years gone by, but this, as Leonor Amarante has written, would be detrimental to any biennial happening south of the equator (1989, p. 265). As such, it was decided that all of the artwork that had been graced with awards since the *Bienal*'s inception be displayed. This included artists selected by the Brazilian Art Critics Association (ABCA). Logically, Leonard Matsoso would feature in the show, but there was nothing logical or rational about the apartheid government and its plans for this edition. Ironically, 1979 also marked the abolishment of awards. Both the selection and awards committee were terminated.



Figure 31: Poster commissioned for the fifteenth *Bienal*. The frame surrounding the central information includes fourteen of the previous posters created to promote the event. This particular commemorative poster was designed by Carlos Clémen.

In the end, the *Bienal* was unable to accomplish the retrospective exhibition it had in mind. Of the 108 award recipients, only 66 managed to see their work displayed. Of the 58 Brazilians, only 43 of their works were shown. According to Amarante, many Brazilians and foreigners decided to stay away. Others were unable to send work given that the award-winning pieces had already been incorporated into collections or no longer existed, as was the case of ephemeral installations. Although France was unable to include work by Victor Vasarely, which would have lent gravitas to the *Bienal das Bienais* (Amarante 1989, p. 274), it did manage to include canvasses by award-winners Roger Chastel, Édouard Pignon, Germaine Richier, Alfred Manessier, Henri Laurens, Fernand Léger, Maria Helena Vieira da Silva and François Morellet. Italians contributed with work by Alberto Burri, Alberto Magnelli, Arnaldo Pomodoro, Giorgio Morandi, Giuseppe Capogrosso and Michelangelo Pistoletto. Of the five American awardees, the most important works to return to Iberapuera Park were by Jasper Johns, Ben Shahn and Adolph Gottlieb. Although small, in Amarante's estimation (1989, p. 274), the British contingent was one of the most significant, with sculptures by Henry Moore and Barbara Hepworth.

In the case of South Africa, the works Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso presented in 1973, identified incorrectly in the official catalogue as oil on paper,<sup>196</sup> were as follows:

*Dança Tribal Africana* (African Tribal Dance), 41 x 183 cm<sup>197</sup>

*Agonia e a Besta* (The (sic) Agony and the Beast), 43 x 178 cm

*O Matreiro ou O Colono* (The Cunning One or the Colonist), 41 x 166 cm<sup>198</sup>

It is unclear when the first two listed works were acquired by the National Gallery, but it was not the intention of South African officials to include them in the 1979 display. I will address what was decided in turn shortly.

Somewhat tepid and lacklustre ("*morna e sem brilho*") due to its hanging, the display was compared by Sheila Leirner to a musty wax museum (Amarante 1989, p. 267),

---

<sup>196</sup> *African Tribal Dance* and *The Agony and the Beast* are identified in the ISANG inventory as charcoal on paper, although information provided to the Bienal uses the descriptor "conte on paper."

<sup>197</sup> According to the records of the ISANG, *African Tribal Dance* measures 179x1005 and *The Agony and the Beast* 1005x174. This is a telling discrepancy that speaks volumes about the disregard and disdain of apartheid officials and their commissioners, but also of how researchers working in the present, with an intention of "cure" are required to be wary of all records.

<sup>198</sup> The titles in English, presented between brackets, are reverse translations from the Portuguese.

falling short on its potential to allow for a visualization and analysis of influence; for instance, its capacity to formulate and make manifest the impact, according to Frederico Morais, of Ben Nicholson (who received an award in 1957) on Arcangelo Ianelli, or of German award-winner Kurt Sonderborg (1963) on Abelardo Zaluar. Despite this, one can only imagine Leonard Matsoso amongst this pantheon, and what kind of effect this would have on his oeuvre and potentially on his self-esteem. Another question one might ask is, could Matsoso potentially have influenced a local artist or group of artists, as did Nicholson or Sonderborg?

As historians Charles Green and Anthony Gardner have written, “the 1979 edition was, in effect, an interim *Bienal*, suspended between two very different cultural moments and two very different stages of curatorial development” (2016, p. 68). The commissioning model adopted by the *Bienal* since its foundation in 1951 had undergone such criticism that it was at the end of its tether. The *Bienal* lacked direction and impetus, partially due to a system that privileged soft diplomacy and communication with consulates over direct relations and communication with artists. The commissioning paradigm was in crisis, and at a point where it was no longer capable of solving the field’s current problems of interest, to paraphrase Thomas Kuhn (ND). It was at such a stalemate that the needs and aspirations of artists – including Leonard Matsoso – and their work were sidelined and ignored. This was highlighted by artists’ collectives who created “pre-events” to clash with the events of the *Bienal*. According to Green and Gardner “the *Bienal* had lost any vanguard mission it had once aspired to, and was merely well-behaved” (2016, p. 69). They further add that it had become “one exhibition amongst others” (2016, p. 69). It was Zanini in 1981 who introduced a model revolution (I am once again alluding to Kuhn), although as we have seen, precursors to this new model – curating – had already emerged in 1973 (see previous chapter). For Green and Gardner, Walter Zanini’s *Bienal*, the sixteenth, “marked a definitive break with the past and was therefore, perhaps not so unsurprisingly, highly acclaimed.” Zanini removed the nationality-based structure of the *Bienal*’s main exhibition altogether, replacing it with themed sections and an open-invitation exhibition of mail art. His edition involved new art forms: mail art, video art, artists’ books, installation art and performance. These carried with them mobility and portability. All of this “conjured a world-picture of global connectivity” (Green and Gardner 2016, p. 70).



Figure 32: Portrait of Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso. Photographer and date unknown

*Biography as “dangerous memory” and research as healing*

The following section finds its impetus in Walter Benjamin’s idea of the history of the oppressed (Benjamin 1999) or as Panos Kompatsiaris (2017, p. 1) aptly writes, “the purposeful resurfacing of the oppressed historical moments so as to combat the homogeneity and linearity of dominant historical narratives.” Here I offer Leonard Matsoso as an exhibition histories alter-narrative, theoretically positioned within Benjamin’s theory of the oppressed as historical discontinuity and rupture, and curatorial amends (or, to use the Benjaminian term, redemption). This part of my thesis would not have been possible without the advice and recommendations of Kagiso Patrick Mautloa, who like Matsoso, attended Morris Isaacson High School (Miles, 2004)<sup>199</sup> and who later became his peer at the SABC (South African

---

<sup>199</sup> Readers who are familiar with South African history will know of this school’s role in the Soweto uprisings of 1976. Besides this well-known, much narrated fact, the Morris Isaacson High School significantly offered, as Clive Glasner (2015) has noted, working-class youths from Soweto “a vital route to upward mobility.” Under its headmaster, Lekgau Macauley Mathabane, the institution

Broadcasting Corporation).<sup>200</sup> I am deeply indebted to him for his vote of confidence and counsel. It was through Mautloa that I was able to piece together the otherwise fragmented story of Matsoso, who is still referred to as a living artist by the majority of South African curators and historians.<sup>201</sup> It was thanks to Mautloa's endeavours and his effort to recollect that I eventually located Matsoso's tombstone, and shortly thereafter, made contact with his surviving family.

Part of the impulse of this research, as I have mentioned, has been one of remembrance, ritual, respect, reckoning with a prejudiced and flawed art historical discipline, and the search for closure. As such, I felt that my project would have been incomplete had I not managed to locate and visit the last resting place of Leonard

---

produced a significant chunk of Soweto's educated professional elite. Former alumni include poet Wally Serote who attended the school in the 1960s, the late artist Winston Saoli, photographer Santu Mofokeng and political figures Murphy Marobe and Khehla Shubane.

According to Glasner, it was thanks to the bequeathal of £50 000 by wealthy businessman Morris Isaacson that the school first began. Funding was initially provided to a primary school, but was subsequently channelled to the Mohloding Secondary School in Jabavu, which was thereafter upgraded to a high school. In recognition of the grant, the school was renamed the Morris Isaacson High School. It attracted "students who were eager and serious but very rarely from elitist families" (Glasner 2015, p. 164).

In line with Glasner's account, "teachers encouraged students to read widely, to question and to challenge, to respect their own opinions, to treat text book material critically" (2015, p. 166).

Punctuality was enforced as well as "rounded education" with a range of extra-mural activities such as debating, drama, public speaking, poetry readings and choral singing. Mathabathe instilled in his students a sense of self-worth and pride in their African identity.

It should not be forgotten that this school, like many other across the land, had to deal with the ignominy of Bantu Education. Under this policy, the apartheid state was spending an average of R13 a year on Black school students compared to R158 for each White child. In 1965, only 936 Black students were to be found in matric classes nationally. This number had grown to 2 380 in 1968. The panorama of overpopulated classes was aggravated by the shortage of teachers. Despite this hardship, the Morrison Isaacson High School proved to be a haven, an "island of learning" (Gasner 2015).

<sup>200</sup> Matsoso worked at the SABC for a total of four years and eleven months. He was initially employed as a junior graphic artist from February 1982 to September 1983, and then as a graphic artist from October 1983 until December 1986. He was subsequently retrenched due to staff reduction, that is, when TV2 and 3 joined TV1 in the Auckland Park studios. This information was obtained from a certificate of service, issued on September 3 1986 by the South African Broadcasting Corporation, and a hand-written curriculum vitae, located in the family archive.

For the reader who is unfamiliar with South African television history, when created in 1982, TV2 and 3 initially only shared one channel. Programmes were on the air from Monday to Sunday between 18h30 and 21h30 and were divided between Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Southern Sotho and Northern Sotho (Hartman 1982, p. 5). TV1 on the other hand, created earlier, was dedicated to English and Afrikaans. According to Ilse Hartman, a survey conducted in March 1981 revealed that 250 000 Black families had television sets. 8% of transmission time was devoted to advertising in comparison with 6,5% on TV1 (Hartman 1982, p. 9). In addition, there were 80 executive staff members at Broadcast House by December 1981. Apart from décor and prop-makers, there were 10 set designers, 8 special effects artists, 8 make-up artists, 3 costume designers with assistants, 10 photographers and 7 graphic designers. One of them was D.E. Mambolo. It is assumed that Matsoso was a part of this count. On leaving the SABC, Matsoso decided to work as a full-time artist.

<sup>201</sup> An instance being *A Black Aesthetic* exhibition, held at the Standard Bank Gallery in 2019, with both exhibition labels and the official catalogue entries alluding to Matsoso as a living artist.

Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, and thus embrace *research as ceremony*, as wake and as means of honouring the dead. Here I draw on Christina Sharpe's elaboration on the semiotics of the wake:

Wakes are processes; through them we think about the dead and about our relations to them; they are rituals through which to enact grief and memory. Wakes allow those among the living to mourn the passing of the dead through ritual; they are the watching of relatives and friends beside the body of the deceased from death to burial and the accompanying drinking, feasting, and other observances, a watching practiced as a religious observance. But wakes are also the track left on the water's surface by a ship; the disturbance caused by a body swimming, or one that is moved, in water; the air currents behind a body in flight; a region of disturbed flow; in the line of sight of (an observed object); and (something) in the line of recoil of (a gun); finally, wake means being awake and, also, consciousness (2016, p. 21).

As a part of the "wake work" (Sharpe 2016, p. 17) I set myself, that is, a "mode of inhabiting and rupturing the episteme" (Sharpe 2016, p. 18), I set off to Avalon Cemetery, with absolutely no coordinates, to find the remains of Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso. To find a plot with no identity number, no record of death or indication of an undertaker is next to impossible. But this too was my imperative, for mourning is only possible when there are remains; the bones of the dead are part of mourning. On this note, Derrida (1994, p. 9) writes "nothing could be worse, for the work of mourning, than confusion or doubt: one *has to know* who is buried where."

As I did not have an exact date of death, an identification number or indication of the name of the undertaker, simply a recollection from one of Matsoso's closest friends that he was buried in Soweto, over the course of three full days, I pored over thousands upon thousands of paper-based records from a somewhat random period that I determined, from 2007 to 2013.<sup>202</sup> More than one hundred burials take place at Avalon Cemetery on Saturdays alone. This experience was a stark and haunting reminder of how apartheid segregated in life and in death. The vast majority of deceased are Black, many are unnamed infants, with only an occasional European name brandished on the records. By way of rather rushed telephone calls to report on my progress, Mautloa provided me with additional coordinates which eventually led

---

<sup>202</sup> When I first spoke to Mautloa in 2016, he recalled that Matsoso's death was quite recent. I left with a rough indication that he had passed away about five years prior to my meeting with Mautloa.

me to Lenasia Cemetery (unrecognised by GPS) (cf. appendix 28). With the help of local roadside police, on March 14, 2019, I was kindly marshalled to the latter, where I consulted further death records, searching for my proverbial needle in a haystack.

On the final day, as a “kind of redress, of acknowledgement, of commemoration, and I say commemoration in the sense of naming the dead” (Saunders 2008), I located the name: Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, deceased on October 4, 2010, buried four days later, on October 8. Undertaker, Kupane Funerals of Orlando East. With the help of a Rastafarian gravedigger, we meandered through unidentified plots to his tomb (fig. 33), and the epitaph, engraved on the recently placed, and yet to be unveiled headstone: “My subject matter is based on African people, Our (sic) diverse myths, legends, tribal customs and beliefs. There is a conflict of revolutionary, evolutionary and tormented ideas embedded deep within me and these surface at will in my art. Tshehla Matsoso”<sup>205</sup>



Figure 33: Bidding farewell. Tshehla’s last resting place.

---

<sup>205</sup> This epitaph was taken from the artist’s entry to the *Collector’s Guide to Art and Artists in South Africa*, published by the South African Institute of Artists & Designers in 1998.

I am profoundly indebted to Pontsho Matsoso, the stepdaughter of Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, to Keketso Matsoso, Leonard's eldest sister, and Khotso Matsoso, Leonard's youngest brother. It would not be fair to simply include them in my acknowledgements as their contribution, generosity and trust in my intentions requires the highest recognition and recording. Pontsho has been a diligent and admirable caretaker of the memory of her stepfather, not only in her coordination of the erection of a tombstone marking her beloved father's grave, but also in informally and lovingly cataloguing his documents, which I refer to hereon alternately as the family archive.

I recall the title of this chapter which refers to the anamnestic archive. *Anamnestic*, writes Marsha Hewitt (1994, p. 77), "derives from the Greek *anamnesis*, which is a form of knowledge not derived from direct experience, but occurs in acts of recollection, or remembrance. Remembrance allows later generations to enter into solidarity with the dead in acts of recollection that bring the sufferings experienced in the past to the light of contemporary knowledge." It was through Pontsho Matsoso that I encountered the anamnestic archive, perhaps for the first time as a researcher, in the form of a dark, soft sports bag containing the last personal items of Tshehla, as he is known amongst his closest relatives. This was almost like finding Walter Benjamin's missing briefcase<sup>204</sup> and held the promise of an untapped reservoir containing evidence of what transpired in his life. In it were the items, mostly personal documents, some clippings and studies for works and logos; metonyms for a son, father, husband, citizen and artist; all an indication of how he wished to be remembered, in tandem with the loose, mute mementos he held onto, amongst them, several portraits of Nelson Mandela after his release from prison and election as president of South Africa.

To bring this story forward is a tremendous responsibility. Part of this responsibility is to find a form that will capture an imagined space, the space Matsoso should have occupied but was denied to him. This is not intended as a historical undoing, but a

---

<sup>204</sup> I am referring to the philosopher's last archive and last secret. This is the briefcase he carried over the Pyrenees in September of 1940. It is believed this briefcase contained a manuscript which he considered more important than his life (Benjamin 2007).

reckoning with the inequities of the past in preparation for a just, equitable and sensible future.

Named after his grandfather, Leonard Matsoso was born on June 21, 1949 in Pimville, Johannesburg.<sup>205</sup> His father, Khauhelo Edward Matsoso and mother, Angelina Matsoso, lived in Jabavu Extension 1, Soweto, the family home Leonard claimed as his own in 2003. Between the ages of thirteen and twenty, that is, between 1962 and 1969, Matsoso studied at the Jubilee Art Centre (formerly the Polly Street Art Centre), firstly under Cecil Skotnes and Sydney Kumalo (often assisted by Ben Arnold and Ephraim Ngatane [Miles 2004, p. 142]), and then under Bill Hart and Ezrom Legae, after Skotnes's resignation in 1965 (Berman 1983, p. 277).<sup>206</sup> In 1972, Louis Maqhubela is reported to have assisted him with his experiments with gouache (Keill, 1973).<sup>207</sup> Matsoso additionally had painting lessons under the tutorship of Bill Ainsley at the Bill Ainsley Studios (later known as the Johannesburg Art Foundation).<sup>208</sup>

---

<sup>205</sup> In 2001, Leonard Matsoso eventually managed to formally and officially change his forename to Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso.

<sup>206</sup> According to Elizabeth Rankin (2011, p. 63), Polly Street, later known as the Jubilee Art Centre, had no entry requirements and "was open to all, although participants were predominantly male. It operated as much as a workshop as a venue for classes, and created an ongoing support structure and vital network for artists." Rankin highlights that the school did not "emulate the protracted theoretical courses of white schools . . . but tended to focus on economic outcomes rather than protracted educational development for its own sake." Sessions were conducted on a first name basis across the so-called colour line (Rankin 2011, p. 63). Like most other centres, Polly Street, like the Jubilee Art Centre, "inevitably perpetuated the racial hierarchies of South Africa: those in positions of authority were white, and the students were black. Even though black teachers eventually emerged, the students remained segregated" (Rankin 2011, p. 63).

In relation to the portrayal of Polly Street and the Jubilee Art Centres as spaces "established by White artists who saw an opportunity to assist their Black counterparts" (De Jaeger 1992, p. 26), I urge readers to reconsider this portrait of the beatific white lecturer. These were highly imbalanced relationships, where white lecturers, who were also practicing and exhibiting artists, reaped indigenous knowledge from their students without recognizing or acknowledging this exchange, dispossessing their disenfranchised peers a step further.

<sup>207</sup> Maqhubela left South Africa a year later to pursue further studies. Rankin notes that in 1959, after completing his matriculation, Maqhubela had intended on studying at the University of the Witwatersrand, but was unable to do so given the extension of the University Education Act, which barred his entry to the institution. Maqhubela paid little attention to Skotnes in the ensuing years, who assured him that he was already a good artist and did not need more tuition (Rankin 2011, p. 63). As Rankin notes, his lecturer's opinion was in line with the then patronizing belief that talented Black artists would be "spoiled" by formal education.

<sup>208</sup> It should be noted and stressed, for readers less familiar with South African history, that training for Black artists took place entirely outside the formal educational sector, a situation that prevailed, according to Elizabeth Rankin, until the mid-1980s. As the aforementioned author notes, from the mid-eighties, "White" universities were once again allowed to enrol Black students, but this was initially done on an ad-hoc basis (2011, p. 53). Rankin notes that the uptake of art training was modest, at least at first.

As indicated by Elza Miles (2004, p. 142), it was thanks to the Road Safety Art Competition that Matsoso won whilst attending the Morris Isaacson School, together with his reading of *The Outlaws of Art*, that he was encouraged to become an artist. In her account, Miles pays little attention to the rather ominous reference to this book by Pierre Cabanne, and this particular volume on despair and dissolution, often romantically and mythically framed as the keys to great art, as the title's translator, Denis George (1963) writes. One can only speculate as to the reason why Miles only mentions this otherwise significant reference in passing. In the book, Cabanne, who is mostly known for his dialogues with Marcel Duchamp, writes about Rembrandt, "the scapegoat of puritans, the butt of wits, the victim of plots, humiliated, ruined, the fallen artist whose disappointments wrote their own date at the foot of each of his works" (1963, p. 24); about a taciturn, misanthropic but great Goya (1963, p. 48); about a wanderlust driven Gauguin who was led by "a desire to live as cheaply as possible so that he could paint in peace" (1963, p. 53); a troubled Van Gogh, who was "full of impetuosity, choked by anguish, bruised by poverty and pain; a burning torch of which his work was a sort of transfigured reflection" (1963, p. 75); about a physically challenged Toulouse-Lautrec; about Modigliani, Pascin, Utrillo, Soutine and Nicolas de Stael. These were stories around (masculine) hardship, hardly what one might consider a selling point or call to an aspiring artist. Nevertheless, it is this book that Matsoso associated with his decision to become an artist, a decision that was in all likelihood driven by his desire to overcome the privations that characterized South Africa, and perhaps ultimately join this pantheon of greats, which was not without fault or criticism for being exclusive to men.

In more ways than one, Matsoso succeeded, garnering national and international recognition, but his path was marred by obstacles and at least two known dead ends, which we will attend to further on, the São Paulo *Bienal* of 1979 and the Valparaíso Biennial of 1981.<sup>209</sup>

---

<sup>209</sup> Like other Black artists, Matsoso had to work in accordance with the social conditions of his urban existence (Koloane 1989, p. 223), never leaving the confined space of the township where he lived, despite the promise of an international career. In fact, in his later years, Matsoso worked, lived and listened to the sound of his favourite musician Jim Reeves in his sister's garage, which they adapted to living and working quarters. Berman (1983, p. 278) romanticized this harsh reality, stating how he "prefers to work in isolation, at night" with Koloane later providing a corrective on the solitary existence of the Black artist in his contribution to *African Art in Southern Africa: From Tradition to*

According to anthropologist E.J. de Jaeger<sup>210</sup> (1992, p. 162), whilst he was still in what was then Standard 5, Matsoso won the first prize for a Road Safety Art Competition (mentioned above), as well as the second prize the following year. In 1971, he held his first solo exhibition with the Goodman Gallery, Hyde Park, followed by another in 1971 (presented contiguously to with a solo exhibition by Gunter Van der Reis and a collective titled *Four Women*).<sup>211</sup> In 1972, he was awarded the UTA (a now defunct French airline) pavement art competition, held on Saturday, March 11, with the prize being a European tour (fig. 34).<sup>212</sup> Matsoso was then twenty-three years old. According to Jeannette Keill (1973, cf. appendix 29), at the time, he was tall, lean, almost thin, with a worried look and a restless countenance." Participants in the competition included Cecil Skotnes, Cecily Sash, Bill Ainslie, Bettie Cilliers-Barnard and others. The trip to Europe, which included visits to London, Paris and Rome (Jephson 1989, p. 146), in E.J. de Jaeger's (1992, p. 162) terms, "influenced him profoundly, opening new avenues of artistic and creative exploration, resulting in, for example, a strengthening of form and in the introduction of colour into his work . . . At first Matsoso worked in black and white media only (chalks, pen and ink), but from about 1973 he introduced colour into his work." A year after the UTA award to Europe, Matsoso would receive the *Bienal* prize for drawing (refer to chapter three).

---

*Township*. Like his Black peers, Matsoso learnt to be adept in improvising a workspace in the absence of a proper studio. As Koloane (1989, p. 223) notes: "Such conditions invariably determine the scale of the work, the materials and, often, the technique. Hence most black artists' work is done on paper with a variety of drawing materials such as pencil, charcoal, pastel, and conté crayons."

<sup>210</sup> E.J. Jaeger is considered to have brought together the biggest collection of Black South African art. According to Evelyn Nicodemus, he assembled the collection in order to "document acculturation" (Nicodemus 2012, p. 44).

<sup>211</sup> In an article published in *The Star* (Friday, August 31 1971), Richard Cheales, writing about the latter exhibition at the Goodman, refers to Matsoso as an "ebullient talent." Cheales refers to his style as "fiercely jagged and knotted that you are left with a near-sculptural impression. The talent in these gigantic drawings is so assured that only the artist's sensitive touch in shading and stating complicated detail saves the work from being painstaking." Not all journalists viewed him in such favourable light.

<sup>212</sup> Matsoso speaks in an extremely rare first person about the trip he won to Europe in Jeanette Keil's piece for the *Rand Daily Mail*: "Unfortunately I had no introductions to well-known artists but I visited the National Museum in London, the Louvre in Paris. I saw the Mona Lisa, some Picassos and it all came as a shock to me. I had seen them in prints and in books, but when I came face to face with the originals it was though I was seeing them for the very first time."



Figure 34: Unidentified clipping from the Matsoso Family archive. According to Keketso Matsoso, Leonard is the second artist from the front. His back is turned to the camera.

Besides the *Outlaws of Art*, which undoubtedly marked Matsoso, to the point of him mentioning it to Elza Miles, it is evident that both Sydney Kumalo and Ezrom Legae, two of his aforementioned mentors at the Jubilee Art Centre, were amongst his early influences. It seems significant that Matsoso would keep the clipping (fig. 35) of himself at work under the attentive, and seemingly critical and adroit gaze of Kumalo.

Close inspection of the grainy, patinated image reveals a determined Matsoso, working under the watchful gaze of his mentor who sits patiently at his side, albeit at a distance that is supportive but not overbearing; close but not intrusive.<sup>215</sup> Kumalo, who is described by Jeanette Keill (1973) as “shortish, slightly heavy with a quiet

<sup>215</sup> Readers should be reminded that the centre did not follow a formal curriculum. Focus, as Rankin notes, was on individual interaction and critique so as to foster confidence in the student (2011, p. 61). I mention this point as it relates significantly to the denial of access to formal art education to South Africa’s Black community. Students who attended Polly Street did not accrue formal credits for their training. Ascension of the Black artist to academia was thus inexorably curbed.

expression on his face and shrewd, intelligent eyes” is clearly in charge of the situation and seems poised to give Matsoso further instruction, his arms not fully crossed, his left hand almost ready to reach out and guide. An approachable master and a mindful protégé are focused on the exercise at hand. Both seem resolute, unperturbed by the presence of the probing photographer, who shines a strong, somewhat invasive light on his busy subjects.

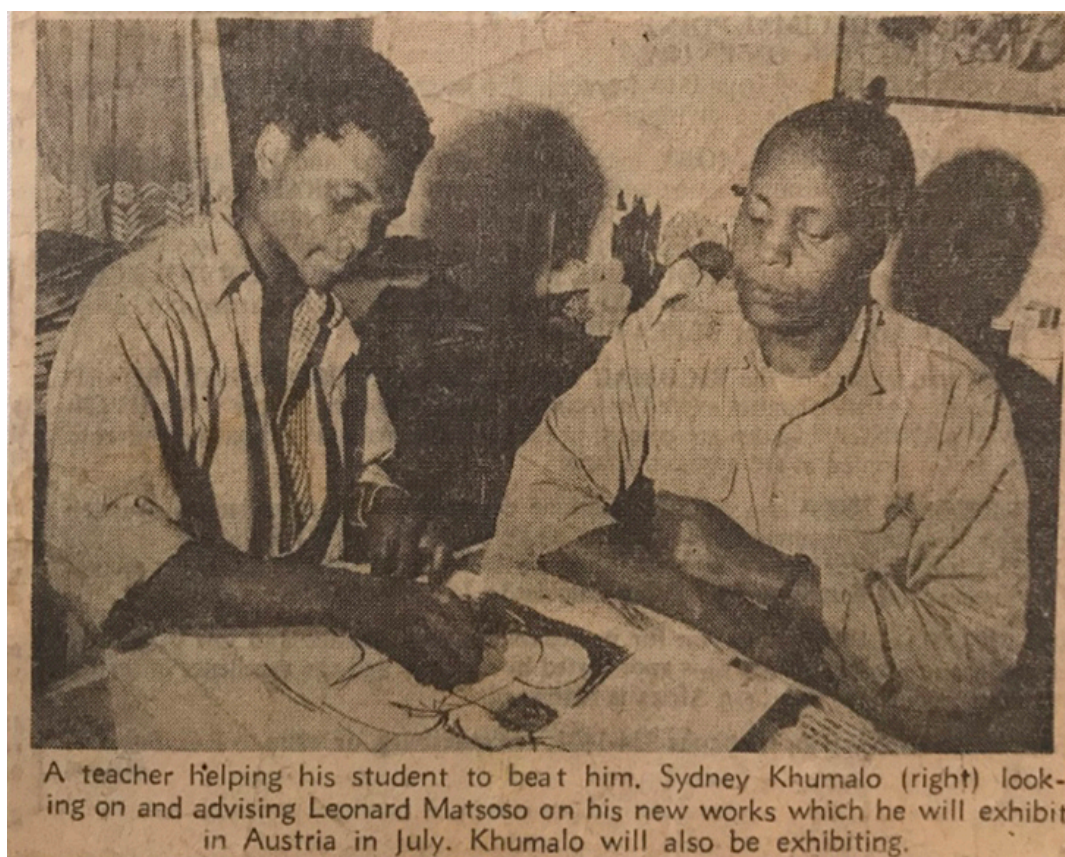


Figure 35: Unidentified clipping from the Matsoso Family Archive showing a young Matsoso working under the vigilant eye of Sydney Kumalo. If Kumalo resigned from the Jubilee Centre in 1964 to devote himself exclusively to his art (Miles 2004, p. 51), then it seems fair to assume that Matsoso must have been about fifteen years of age when this picture was taken.

According to Miles, the upper floor of the Jubilee Art Centre was allocated to the fine arts. It was here that this photograph was possibly shot. It was here too that:

(s)tudents were exposed to different art materials like charcoal, pencils, pastels, oil pastels, gouache and oils. They also modelled with clay and plaster.

Working from still-lives – a discipline requiring keen observation – was another important component of instruction at the centre . . . [S]tudents often arranged their own still-lives. Apart from the usual teapot, vase, flowers and drapery, still-lives often included objects of African material culture like calabashes, clay pots and wooden utensils. Chiaroscuro played an important part in these arrangements and they paid special attention to the fall of light and shadow (Miles 2004, p. 138).

It is unclear how often students and mentors would meet, but in the late 1950s, classes only happened once a week (Rankin 2011, p. 57), on Wednesday evenings. Materials were restricted by meagre funding and were supplemented by donations from local businesses such as paper from Spicer's, frames from Whippman's, and clay from brickworks in Primrose (Rankin 2011, p. 57).

In his appraisal of Matsoso, de Jaeger (1992, p. 162) too highlights the influence of Kumalo, "especially Kumalo's animal sculptures and figurative works," adding somewhat condescendingly "Matsoso has absorbed and assimilated this influence in a very successful way. He is able to use it in his own art in a personal and fully integrated manner."<sup>214</sup>

---

<sup>214</sup> John Peffer, in my estimation, best describes Kumalo's style: "He worked in various sculptural styles but mostly applied a classic modernist sensibility for the reduction of the body to an essential geometry, the mirroring of fluid shapes, the distortion of limbs, and the thickening of torsos" (2009, p. 42). In Matsoso's early work, the distortion of limbs is particularly evident, but it is geometry that remained a stylistic marker throughout his practice.

An admitted aside, according to Pat Mautloa, Matsoso was particularly gifted at geometric form and is known to have given remedial math and drawing classes to kids in the neighbourhood (cf. appendix 27).

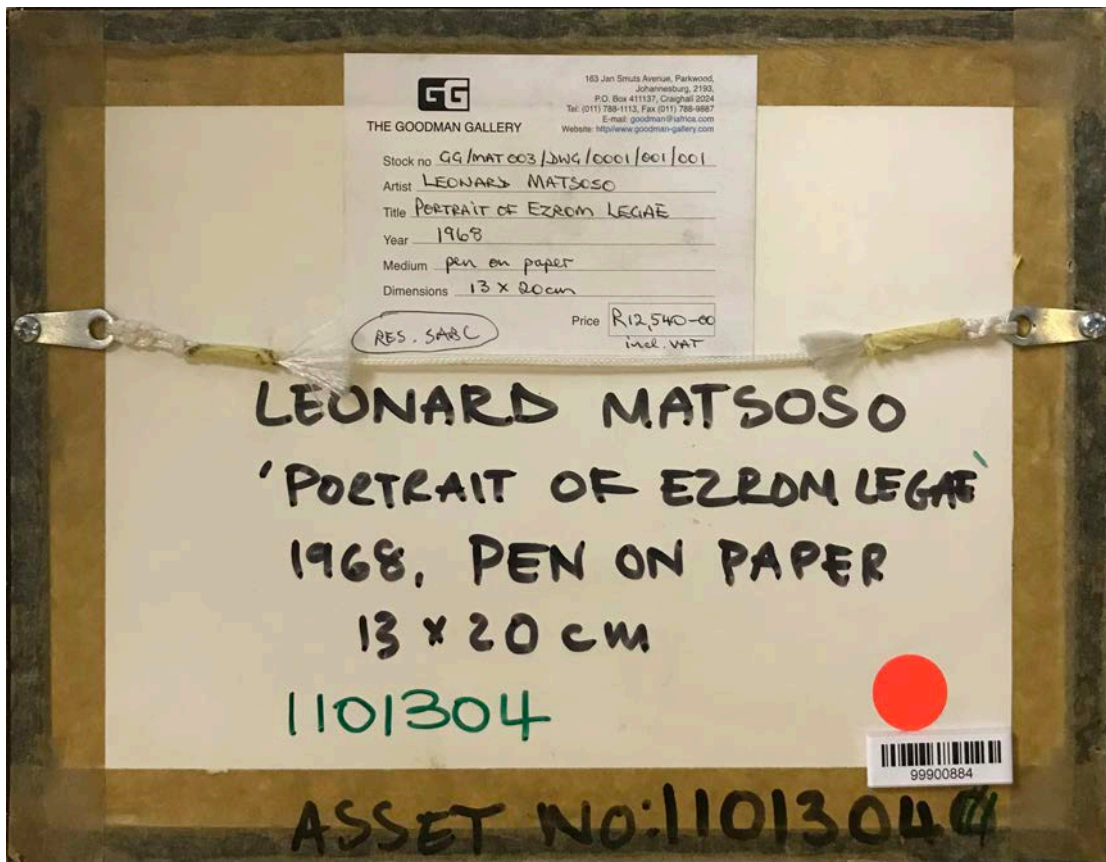


Figure 36: Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, *Portrait of Ezrom Legae*, 1968, pen on paper, 13 x 20 cm.

In a drawing from the SABC collection (fig. 36), Matsoso portrays Ezrom Kgebokanyo Sebata Legae, another of his mentors who took over from Kumalo at the Jubilee Art Centre. The portrait captures Legae a year before his resignation from the centre and subsequent move to the US to travel and study, by way of the United States South Africa Leadership Exchange Programme (Miles 2004, p. 136). In addition to his function at the centre, Legae was also director of the programme of the African Music and Drama Association (AMDA) from 1972–1974 (Miles 2004, p. 113).

According to Nat Mogosi, one of Matsoso’s peers at the centre, Legae’s life drawing classes were quite memorable (Miles 2004, p. 141). In these sessions, Legae “insisted on close observation and pointed out the connection between the different parts of the body. He emphasised the interconnectedness between the ears and the rest of the face and emphasised the importance of capturing balance and body weight; especially in repose when seated. Moreover, Legae insisted that they take note of the position of thumbs” (Miles 2004, p. 141).

Returning our attention to the aforementioned portrait of his mentor, one cannot help but wonder if Matsoso was depicting a moment of intimate repose, or of prayer, inspiration or recollection. This is an extraordinary drawing. as portraits with sitters, albeit involuntarily, do not figure prominently or overtly in Matsoso’s oeuvre, but it reveals in many ways how he viewed Legae, certainly with affection and respect; an elder, a master and one might argue, a prophet. One cannot but imagine that Legae, despite having his eyes closed, was in fact seeing something. Matsoso seems to have captured this moment of deep envisioning, of what Yoruba artists call *ojú-inú*.<sup>215</sup>

---

<sup>215</sup> Quoting Abiodun, Moyo Okediji explains *ojú-inú* as follows: “In order to capture and express verbally or visually the essence, character of primordial names of their subjects, Yoruba artists have the need of *ojú-inú*, literally the ‘inner eye,’ a special kind of understanding of a person, thing or phenomena. This is the source of an *aesthetic consciousness* [emphasis added] with which the artist must perceive the individualized form, colour, substance, rhythm, outline and harmony of a subject... Thus, it is with *ojú-inú* that an artist may know and use the right colours, designs and combinations of motifs” (2015, p.125).



Figure 37: Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, (study for) *Heaven help the man on the street*, pen on paper, ND

Legae's influence is palpable in Matsoso's work. Elza Miles remarks "Legae's expression inspired his students and his style finds resonance in the early drawings of Leonard Matsoso" (2004:141). Legae's rendering of foreshortened feet, viewed from below, was absorbed and internalized by Matsoso. Such is the case in figure 37, a study for the overtly political work, titled *Heaven help the man in the street*. It was this – I would argue overt political consciousness – that E.J. de Jager, writing for *African Arts* in 1979, termed the artist's "urban awareness" (1979). Complicit with and perhaps complacent about the times, de Jaeger makes no explicit reference to Matsoso's overt criticism of life under apartheid.<sup>216</sup> Matsoso was not numb, neither was he blind to the

---

<sup>216</sup> To do so, and in de Jaeger's defence, would put Matsoso at risk of being arrested.

harsh socio-political reality of racial segregation and political oppression. He was producing images, according to scholar Amanda Anne Jephson, that were a postcolonial projection, of a people “emerging triumphantly from white colonial domination” (1989, p. 148).

In this study, the beholder’s gaze is channelled from the chiselled pair of feet below to the raised open palm above, in a clear reference to historical painting and the dramatic perspective witnessed in cases such as *The Lamentation of Christ*. Not only was Matsoso, by way of Legae, versed in the technique of foreshortening, but like his predecessor and mentor Legae, he was an exponent of what Miles terms the “neo-African idiom” (2004, p. 126) but which I prefer to simply and without hesitation call modernism.<sup>217</sup> To this effect, Matsoso explored animism, although his primary focus was not exclusively the union or amalgamation of man and beast (as was the case of his forebear Legae), but man and earth or man and rock, present in his drawings at the *Bienal* of 1973, and the palette he developed thereafter. For Miles (2004, p. 122), “Legae’s drawings of copulation between man and animal express the interconnectedness of all living creatures.”<sup>218</sup> Following this line of thinking, I would posit that Matsoso, who initially like Legae, isolated his subjects on blank backgrounds, wished to emphasise the union of man – particularly his Black brethren – with land, through the expression and motif of the living rock. It seems fair at this point to call to mind the universalism amongst indigenous artists of this connection. Siberian shamans, for instance, believe that when people die, they go to an afterlife that exists within the Earth’s rock. In certain Native American traditions, stones are

---

<sup>217</sup> I wish to outright reject Matsoso’s inclusion in the derogatory and apartheid crafted category of township art, which artificially ensconced Black artists and worked to limit and curtail their production. An example of the segregationist undercurrent of this label can be read in Anna de Beer’s writing: “An artist expresses himself as an individual in the milieu in which he finds himself and the society as a whole. The bantu (sic) artist is preoccupied with himself and his people and the conditions and experiences of their lives. It is very seldom that he portrays the experiences and life of other races and cultures. His art is an expression of his relationship with the world in which he lives.”

As David Koloane trenchantly notes, “white artists based in the suburbs were not referred to as suburban artists, nor their work referred to as suburban art” (1999, p. 21) hence the unproductive and absurd label of “township art” ought to be dropped altogether.

<sup>218</sup> John Peffer takes this a step further, borrowing Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari’s “becoming animal” in his interpretation of Legae’s oeuvre, particularly his *Chicken* series. He writes, “becomings-animal are hybrids” and further adds, “the enemy, or the other, dissolves along with the idea of a distinct self and is metamorphosed into an aggressive monstrosity or an infectious community” (Peffer 2009, p. 59). Matsoso’s works, held by the South African State Theatre, which I have written about elsewhere (Dantas, 2017), take on the bestial, this psychic and physical “becoming-animal” which Deleuze and Guattari propose, and which Peffer applies to these transforming bodies, bodies which “take on the physical and psychic potential of animals” (Peffer 2009, p. 59).

clan symbols, with rocks being viewed as having consciousness. Rocks can sometimes be referred to as a “grandfather rock.”<sup>219</sup> In Chinese tradition, scholars’ stones or *gongshi* “share a telepathic connection with human souls.”<sup>220</sup> During the 1970s, this earthly connection and rock anthropomorphism characterized the bulk of Matsoso’s production, and calls to mind one of the Black and colonised subject’s greatest plights and traumas, the loss of land. It was this use and *détournement* of classical motifs (both European and African) towards a political end – liberation – that renders Matsoso’s oeuvre primarily modern.

I would argue that as a Sotho, I would argue that Matsoso’s rock-like figures were a motif, “an aesthetics and practice of reconnection” and rootedness (Martineau and Ritskes 2014, p. v) that he employed to evoke land and dispossession, possibly having in mind the “Conquered Territory”, the highland caves and environs of his homeland. This now-disputed land, as David Coplan writes (2003, p. 978), has always belonged to the ancestors of African chieftaincies. In their view, it could never be lost, ceded or sold. Nevertheless, it was on this ancestral ground, “a chain of sacred sites stretching from well north of Lesotho along the entire length of the Caledon River border until it trails away into the Free State at Wepener in the south,” that Afrikaners and Christian missionaries settled. Today, this ground and its cave shrines are owned by White farmers who claim it as their own, controlling access and at times charging pilgrims entrance to sites of ritual, healing and training (Coplan 2003).

Coplan (2003, p. 984) provides the example of Badimong or “place of the ancestors” and its connection to the founding fathers. Legend claims that as a young man, Moshoeshoe I – the founder of the nation – used to bathe in a small pool located high up on the plateau at the very end of the valley of Badimong. Not only did Moshoeshoe I practise holy rites, but it is here that the dirt from his own body was washed off, and it is here that it can be found. In addition to this belief, Coplan estimates that it was in the 1920s, in one of the cave sites variously known as Nkokomohi (meaning “to rise up like smoke” [Edelstein ND]) or Badimong, located about 30 km north-east of the northern border of Ficksburg, that Basotho farm

---

<sup>219</sup> See <http://www.native-languages.org/legends-rocks.htm>

<sup>220</sup> See <http://www.faena.com/aleph/articles/telepathic-stones-the-ancient-art-of-the-scholars-rocks/>

workers noticed columns of smoke rising from spontaneous combustion of decaying reeds lying in sinkholes beneath the surface surrounding a reed river bed. “On closer examination, the reed deposits were found to be rising or welling up from below . . . leaving mounds of pure white, black and dun-coloured (sic) powder on the surface, next to small round pools of clear water. The belief arose that ‘the ancestors’ (a generalized notion of past generations of Basotho) were causing the fire from within the earth (where ancestors were believed to live, the Christian heaven notwithstanding).” Coplan (2003, p. 985) also reminds us that this landscape is also the scene of the *Inore*, that is, the ancient hunting trails of San foragers, “represented even now by the paintings left on the walls of cliff overhangs all over the eastern Free State, including the famous depiction of ‘two lions’ at Coerland, a farm bordering on Wonderklip/Badimong.” Although no direct references exist to this history and these sites, I offer as scholarly speculation that these caves and their overhangs, these rocks, were at the back of or even on Matsoso’s mind – perhaps coming to him in dreams – for as Coplan (2003, p. 993) reminisces, “land can be expropriated, but not cultural memory.” I see these works as examples of radical relationality with the land (Martineau and Ritskes 2014) and disruptors of the myth of *terra nullius*. The case of Badimong refutes the logic of property, ownership and exploration — the settler’s material relationship to the land — with the communal knowing and sensing the land of Indigenous peoples.

Matsemela Manaka, writing in 1987 for *Echoes of Africa* (sponsored by what was then the Federal Republic of Germany) features Matsoso under the section “The search for African roots” and includes a colour reproduction of a poorly identified work, noted as *Family pastels*. I would counter Manaka’s title which implies that an essential Africa as something that has been lost, that has to be sought out by the working artist. I would argue that for an acculturated Matsoso, there was no dualism (or two-world thinking) (van Robbroeck, 2011).<sup>221</sup> Matsoso was not fooled or lost in the city and its trappings. If he was searching for something, it was freedom. Africa was always there; he had never tapped out or lost touch with his roots. In his text, Manaka links

---

<sup>221</sup> It should be noted that Van Robbroeck writes Manaka off in her thesis of 2006 (see footnote 341). She considers Manaka to have internalized colonial-style essentialism in his *Echoes of African Art* (1989) and qualifies it as “an unfortunate publication, marred by factual inaccuracies, sloppy scholarship, poor reproductions and derivative interpretations.”

Matsoso to Sokhaya Charles Nkosi, Ben Ntsusha, Billy Molokeng and others, observing “the significant influence of African masks and geometric designs of traditional art” in their work (Manaka 1987, p. 16), which the aforementioned *Family* is meant to illustrate by way of a luminous familial composition with the mother on the left, the father on the right and child in the centre. Manaka places this composition in formal relation to Billy Molokeng and an unidentified painting from Senegal on page 85, drawing an un-enunciated comparison between the figures of the nuclear family and the hues of the palette shared between the three. Through this juxtaposition, although this may not have been Manaka’s intention, Matsoso’s syncretism or synthesis is affirmed, which to my mind was truly singular, blending and bending the motif of the Holy Family to serve an African agenda.

Adding to this observation, Manaka more importantly pronounces a credo for art which is helpful to understanding what art-making was about for a practicing artist like Matsoso and his generation. Through Manaka’s words, we are able to come close to and perhaps even grasp the impetus of creating, not only for Matsoso, but for his generation:

Ultimately for an artist, the process of making art is more important than the final product. Making art is some form of a ritual. A spiritual obsession that becomes some kind of religion.

Since art is an integral part of the people’s culture, it bears witness to a people’s myth and beliefs. It is through art that we celebrate our lives. It is through art that we begin the struggle for social reconstruction. Our quest for freedom is not only the gaining of political power but also economic power and then social reconstruction. Our art should therefore serve the social, educational, religious, political and economic needs of our people. An artist has a social responsibility. Being an artist involves a consistent continuous commitment to the quest of freedom and respect for humanity. Such a commitment should be accompanied by a natural desire to serve humanity and not the compelling need to make money by even squeezing the last drop of blood from another human being.

Being an artist is being an educator, historian, interpreter and a prophet with a vision and a task to *integrate the past, present and future* [emphasis added]. To reiterate this point, art should be understood as a mirror and a custodian of people’s cultural history (Manaka 1987, p. 18).

This view is seconded by Basil Dube, as quoted by Sue Williamson (1989, p. 9). Dube states: “Art cannot exist without society. There can be no line separating the artist from his community . . . The artist in South Africa must seek new forms of changing his society for the better. The black artist particularly should dispute whatever obstacles he may face. He must avoid clenched fist protest and make an effective contribution. He must call on other cultural disciplines and discuss the role of art in a broader sense.”

*Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso as curatorial nexus and spectre*



Figure 38: Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, *Helpless, Helpless*, 1972

After the 1973 award, further uplifting news ensued for Matsoso who had gained wings and was poised to fly.<sup>222</sup> The 1979 edition of the São Paulo *Bienal* was to be a retrospective of awards, and Matsoso was likely looking forward to seeing his work featured once again with that of respected international peers. But the moment of excitement was short-lived, eventually turning bitter within the space of months. It was decided that Matsoso's work would not be featured on its own, but that he would be sharing the moment with Judith Mason and her collaborator, Marguerite Weavind. To add insult to injury, the final blow was given towards the end of July 1979, just weeks before the appointed shipping date (Berman 1983, p. 381), when the Department of National Education informed the National President of the SAAA that South Africa would not be partaking in the event for "political reasons."<sup>223</sup>

As a part of its bid to prepare the South African representation at the *Bienal* in 1979, the SAAA allocated an overall budget of R8 000 to the project. R3 000 was allocated to the Mason-Weavind production and R300 to Matsoso, per the provisional budget document located in the SAAA archive, dated July 5, 1979 – a today unimaginable ten-fold difference between Black and White peers.<sup>224</sup> According to this very document, artist and professor Larry Scully had been named official commissioner

---

<sup>222</sup> Between 1973 and 1979, Matsoso participated in the first group exhibition in the United States of Black South African artists, held at the Brooklyn Public Library in 1976. According to Stéfanie Potgieter, a visit to South Africa in 1974 by the director of the Brooklyn Public Library led to "this comprehensive exhibition of contemporary Black South African arts and tapestries." The exhibition, titled *Black/South Africa/Contemporary Graphics and Tapestries* (Peffer 2009, p. 32) ran for almost eight weeks and was seen by nearly 250 000 people (Potgieter 1976). It included the impressive tapestry *Life of Chaka*, measuring 1,85 x 4,40 m (Potgieter 1976). Potgieter's article reproduces Matsoso's *Helpless, Helpless* (fig. 38) although it is unclear whether this work was included in the exhibition. According to Peffer, the show featured Cyprian Shilakoe's *In Prison* (1969) and Vuminkosi Zulu's *Robbed Man* (1974), which were borrowed directly from the Rorke's Drift school's collection. The first reveals the face of Nelson Mandela, who was then incarcerated on Robben Island. Peffer notes, "for the American audience, the artists' political intentions would likely have gone unnoticed, since the accompanying catalogue mentioned neither the word 'apartheid' nor the name of Nelson Mandela anywhere between its covers" (Peffer 2009, p. 32).

<sup>223</sup> This period coincides with the aftereffects of Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and Soweto Youth Uprising of 1976 which led to mass worker action and global disinvestment. Responding to these events, the machinery of the cultural boycott had already been set in motion by 1979. In 1960, as Hazel Friedman (2011, p. 31) reminds us, South Africa was expelled from the Olympic Games. In 1961, the British Musicians' Union agreed that its members should not perform in South Africa as long as apartheid was in place. In 1965, the American Committee on Africa sponsored an anti-racism declaration that was revived ten years later. From 1968 onwards, South Africa was prohibited from participation in the Venice Biennale and excluded from international exchange. Brazil, particularly Itamaraty, was in no way deaf or indifferent to South Africa's untenable presence at the *Bienal*.

<sup>224</sup> Matsoso was acutely aware of the struggle of Black artists, as per this undated letter of support, penned in favour of MoAfrica Gallery at Regina Mundi Church, Soweto (cf. appendix 30). This letter may have been a reflection of the unfair treatment meted out against him in 1979.

(with Albert Werth, mentioned in an earlier chapter, as the runner-up), and the motivation provided for Scully to be granted a R60 per diem, and accommodation for no less than fourteen days in a two-star hotel. Over the course of 1979, Weavind invoiced the SAAA for a total of R2000 (the equivalent of approximately R59 000 today) in production costs (an initial R500 was charged for wharf expenses and wages, followed by R1 500 in July for mohair, photographic enlargements, wages, travelling and railway charges, and an additional R500 in August for backing wages, wharf and other).

*não Participou de XV-B*

P.S.

FUNDAÇÃO BIENAL DE SÃO PAULO  
Caixa Postal 7832 - São Paulo - Brasil

REPUBLIC of SOUTH AFRICA.  
Country / Pays

PARTICIPANT'S IDENTITY FORM  
FICHE D'IDENTITE DU PARTICIPANT

Full name/Nom **LEONARD MATSOSO**

Professional name/Nom d'artiste **L. MATSOSO**

Place and date of birth, nationality/Lieu et date de naissance, nationalité  
**SOWETO, SOUTH AFRICA : 21 JUNE 1949 : SOUTH AFRICAN**

Sex/sexo **MALE** Civil status/Etat-civil **MARRIED**

Address for correspondence/Adresse postale  
(St, number, postbox, city, phone) / rue, n°, ville, n° postal, tél)  
**GOODMAN GALLERY, HYDE SQUARE, HYDE PARK, SANDTON  
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA - 2106. TEL: 011-788-1113**

curriculum: (professional and scholar upbringing) scholarships, travels, etc. ...  
curriculum: (formation scolaire/professionnelle) bourses, voyages, etc. ...  
**SCHOOL: MORRIS ISAACSON HIGH SCHOOL, SOWETO (ISAACSON FOUNDATION BURSARY)  
ART STUDIES: JUBILEE CENTRE, JOHANNESBURG : 1962 - 1969  
under CECIL SKOTNES, SYENEY KUMALO, BILL HART,  
ESROM LECHE (part-time)  
PAINTING: BILL AINSWIE STUDIO : 1972 (part-time)  
TRAVEL: LONDON, PARIS, ROME : 1972 †**

participation in more significant individual or collective events  
principales expositions collectives ou personnelles  
**1970: FIRST ONE-MAN EXHIBITION, GOODMAN GALLERY, JOHANNESBURG, S. AFRICA (several since)  
: THREE-MAN EXHIBITION, VERNON GALLERY, PRESTON, ENGLAND.  
1972: GROUP SHOW - MIAMI, FLORIDA, USA  
: UTA PAVEMENT ART COMPETITION, JOHANNESBURG, S. AFRICA (see below) †  
: GROUP SHOW 'RSA 1972', TOURING S. AFRICA  
1973: SAO PAULO BIENAL (see below) \*  
1974: GROUP SHOW 'CONTEMPORARY SOUTH AFRICAN ART': NATIONAL GALLERY, ATHENS GREECE  
: GROUP SHOW, 'FESTIVAL OF S.A. GRAPHICS': GOODMAN GALLERY, JOHANNESBURG  
1977: GROUP SHOW, 'SOUTH AFRICAN GRAPHICS', TOURING AUSTRIA AND W. GERMANY  
-78**

Main prizes or awards/prix obtenus  
**1972: SECOND PRIZE, STAR SEASIDE FUND COMPETITION, JOHANNESBURG  
: FIRST PRIZE, UTA PAVEMENT ART COMPETITION (TOUR TO EUROPE: see above) †  
1973: SPECIAL AWARD for DRAWING, SAO PAULO BIENAL \***

Bibliography about the participant and his work  
Publications importantes s/oeuvre, s/artiste, etc. ...

'THE STORY OF SOUTH AFRICAN PAINTING': ESMÉ BERMAN: AA BALKEMA, CAPE TOWN, 1974.  
(Pp 211-212 + Illustration)  
'CONTEMPORARY AFRICAN ART IN SOUTH AFRICA': E.J. DE JAGER: C STRUUK, CAPE TOWN, 1973  
(Illustration p 67)  
'AFRICAN ARTS' - Vol XII No 2, FEBRUARY 1979

estimated space/surface requise

WALL SURFACE: 2 m x 8 m (+)

project dimensions/dimensions des oeuvres

5 PANELS, EACH APPROX. 2 m x 1 m

equipment and particular assembly requirements  
matériel spécifique pour le project-exigences particulières pour le montage

HANGING FACILITIES ONLY

project general characteristics/caracteristiques générales du project

5 DRAWINGS IN CRAYPAS ON PAPER, FRAMED  
GENERAL THEME: a) MAN AND BEAST  
b) NONGQUASE (XHOSA PROPHETESS,  
CENTRAL FIGURE OF TRAGIC  
HISTORICAL EVENT, 1856)

Sketch/croquis

POLAROID PHOTOGRAPHS  
& ENCYCLOPAEDIA EXTRACT (NONGQUASE) ATTACHED

HEAD OFFICE  
36th Floor,  
Volkas Centre  
230 V.d. Walt St  
PRETORIA  
2-3519

HOOFKANTOOR  
36ste Vloer  
Volkas-Centrum  
V.d. Waltstr. 230  
PRETORIA  
2-3519

Postbus/P.O. Box 1024 PRETORIA 0001  
Tel. Adres/Tel. Address "KUNSAART"

the participant's signature on the participation form will imply full acceptance of the rules and regulations.  
La signature de la fiche de participation implique l'acceptation du règlement.

Matsoso  
PARTICIPANT'S SIGNATURE  
SIGNATURE DU PARTICIPANT

date/date  
29 May 1979

Esmé Berman  
RESPONSIBLE'S SIGNATURE  
SIGNATURE DU RESPONSABLE

Figure 39: Original submission of works by Matsoso for the 1979 Bienal, co-signed on May 29 by Esmé Berman.

Matsoso’s five drawings (fig. 39), detailed in the introduction and prefatory entry on the artist, together with water-colours by Mason, were delivered by the Goodman Gallery to a Mrs Den Dalk at the SAAA offices in the Volkskas Centre, Pretoria, on September 11, 1979. By this time, it was a known fact that South Africa would not be participating in the 1979 edition of the *Bienal*. This moment, I argue, marks the beginning of the slow and reluctant demise of the (colonial) commissioner, and his manifest bonds to the state, eventually giving way in the 1990s to the (postcolonial) curator. Attempts were made in 1981 to regain entry to the *Bienal*, but the South African Ambassador in Rio informed Jenny Basson that “as things stand, it is unfortunately unlikely that South Africa would be allowed by the Foreign Ministry here to participate in international exhibitions held in this country”.<sup>225</sup> Relations continued between South Africa and Brazil, as did attempts at rejoining the *Bienal* until as late as 1983, but countries such as India were poised to veto this connection, as implied by the telegram in figure 40:

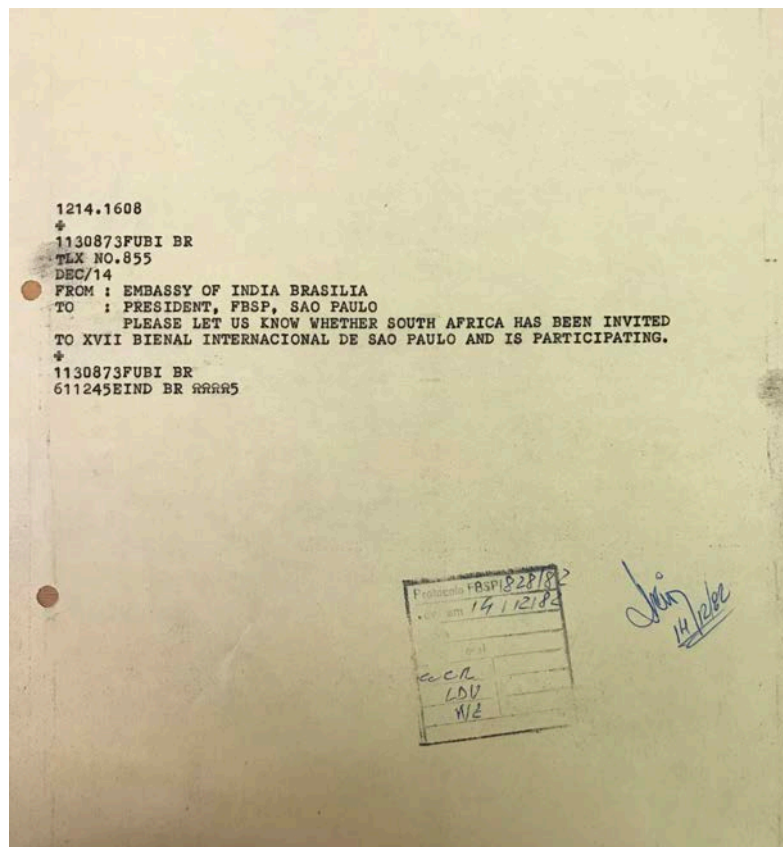


Figure 40: Telegram from the Embassy of India in Brasilia

<sup>225</sup> Letter dated December 18, 1981 referenced 88/71 on the top right (SANAVA Fonds, Unisa Library).

To avert the effects of this overt international rebuttal, the South African Information Service instructed the SAAA and its president G. Muller Ballot,<sup>226</sup> that it should apply to two festivals in the US, namely the Houston Festival (which would be held from March 20 – 30, 1980) and the Spoleto Festival (3 May – 8 June, 1980) with the five “crayon pastels” that Matsoso had produced and the tapestry woven by Marguerite Weavind for Judith Mason. On hearing about the possibility that the tapestry would travel, Mason insisted that she should be present at the first venue to provide instructions and supervise the hanging. Matsoso was not afforded the same consideration. The Mason-Weavind and Matsoso works were subsequently integrated into the South Africa State Theatre’s collection.

This was not the first time South Africa was participated in the Houston Festival, having integrated a selection of some fifty-seven artists in the Houston Light and Power Company in its first edition. The Spoleto Festival, on the other hand, was a slightly older, more renowned festival. At the time, it had already been running for twenty-two years from the town of Spoleto, Italy, with its first iteration in Charleston, Texas in 1977. Until then, it boasted having showcased modernists such as Robert Motherwell, William de Kooning, Andy Warhol, Robert Indiana, Jean Cocteau, and Helen Frankenthaler.<sup>227</sup>

The Goodman Gallery too came to the rescue of government in 1980, hosting an exhibition of works by the artists selected for the *Bienal*.<sup>228</sup> Not all opinions were favourable. Writing for the *Sunday Express* in 1980 (January 27), in a piece titled “What’s the point of the great Goodman yawn?” art critic Joyce Ozynski considered Matsoso’s displayed works to be “mannered and grotesque,” brushing him off as a

---

<sup>226</sup> Professor Muller Ballot would later take up the position of Cultural Attaché in Bonn.

<sup>227</sup> Per correspondence located in the SAAA archive (letter from the General Manager of the festival, James T. Kearney, to the SA Ambassador, dated September 13, 1979).

<sup>228</sup> According to an article titled ‘Artists to hold their own anywhere in the world,’ penned by H E Winder for the *Rand Daily Mail* on January 23 1980, the exhibition at the Goodman Gallery included works by artists chosen for the Valparaiso and São Paulo *Bienal*. One learns from Winder’s piece that the exhibition included Berenice Michelow’s *Merry-go-round*, a study of a wooden horse in a showground and *Clockwork Landscape*, a “delightful” silk screen print. In addition to Michelow, the gallery displayed a tapestry by Judith Mason and Margaret Weavind, titled *Cranes; Untitled II* by Neels Coetzee, described as “as African crouching beneath a shield in a thicket of thorns”; drawings by Ezrom Legae; and paintings by Leonard Matsoso, somewhat patronisingly and twistedly described by the author as “noteworthy of hanging in such distinguished company.”

protégé of the white establishment which was “driving him to eccentricity.” To my mind, Ozynski’s bone of contention was with the SAAA (and possibly with Linda Givon, the then owner of the Goodman, who formed part, albeit covertly, of the apartheid covenant, benefitting from her state dealings and complicity).<sup>229</sup> Ozynski’s appraisal of Matsoso as an eccentric should thus be taken with some reservation. Nevertheless, in articulating this critique, it seems fair to ask, what would be acceptable behaviour of Matsoso in Ozynski’s eyes? Was he to be barred from international success? Was he to be barred from ambition? Did she see him as apolitical and deceitful?<sup>230</sup> Was it fair to measure a Black disadvantaged artist with the same gauge and the same disdain as a White advantaged liberal? With regard to the latter, her disliking of the white establishment may have blinded her to the inner combustion and overt politics of Matsoso’s oeuvre.<sup>231</sup>

---

<sup>229</sup> All of the Matsoso works in the SABC collection, for instance, were sold by Linda Givon. It would be interesting to determine the percentage of works sold to this and other similar state collections prior to 1994. It is also rather telling that Givon closed her gallery in August 1995, just as South Africa had embraced democracy. In a personal letter dated June 23, 1995 (held in the Matsoso Family Archive), Givon states that the “decision has not been made lightly, but owing to the fact that people are not supporting the arts even as spectators.”

It should be noted that an attempt was made to interview Linda Givon in September of 2018 to enquire about the events of 1973 and 1979. This proved impossible due to her pending hospitalization. I was also informed that she was writing a book, which if published, would respond to my questions (which I had not fully formulated in my email). A follow up-email was sent without response.

<sup>230</sup> It should not be lost upon us that the ‘State of Art in South Africa’ conference was held at the University of Cape Town in July of 1979. One of the resolutions passed at this conference was that artists refuse to participate in state sponsored exhibitions until such a time as moves were made to implement a post-apartheid society (Richards 2010). According to Steven Sack, this resolution was submitted in the names of Cecil Skotnes, Bill Ainslie and Andrew Verster. The exact wording, as quoted by Sack, was as follows: “This Congress notes that it is the responsibility of each artist to work as diligently as possible to effect change towards a post apartheid society. It urges artists to refuse participation in State sponsored exhibitions until such a time as moves are made to implement the above-mentioned change” (Sack 1988, p. 24).

According to Ozynski (1979), only two Black speakers were included: Adam Small and Siphon Sepamla, poet and Chairman of FUBA. According to Ozynski, one of the speakers, Kelwyn Sole, “withdrew on the grounds that the R20 fee for delegates was an economic barrier against participation by all interested parties.”

<sup>231</sup> Koloane (1989, p. 223) offers a glimpse of the troubled existence of Black artists in South Africa, who faced isolation within their own communities. Whilst expressing the social conditions of their own existence, Black artists (Matsoso included) depended entirely on a White-controlled market with its attendant ramifications. Koloane adds that early Polly Street artists “were encouraged to paint in a particularly crude and naïve manner so as to present the kind of ‘African’ identity demanded by both the local and overseas markets. They were also required to mass produce specific subject matter such as ‘mother and child’, ‘musicians’ and ‘dancers’ which had immediate appeal and produced sales.” In Koloane’s estimation, the Black artist was “as much a victim of exploitation as his fellow blacks in the labour market. As an individual member of his community he is part of the wage-earning force which contributes to the total income of the township, irrespective of his status or category. His art, by virtue of these factors, is often intended for survival” (1989, p. 226).

According to Esmé Berman, in 1981 Matsoso fell victim again to a situation he had no part in creating (1983, p. 278). His work, which had been included in the South African entry for the Valparaíso Biennial, in Chile, was withheld in South Africa on instructions of the Department of National Education. Berman's entry for the Valparaíso Biennial in her 1983 volume *Art e<sup>3</sup> Artists of South Africa* reads as follows:

This biennial international event was inaugurated in 1973 and takes place in Valparaíso, Chile. South Africa participated for the first time in 1979. That year, four artists were selected for the entry [Neels Coetzee, Ezrom Legae, Judith Mason and Berenice Michelow], each represented in terms of the rules by no more than two works. Ezrom Legae received an award for his drawings, both entitled *Freedom is Dead*.

In 1981, the selection committee appointed by the Dept of Nat Educ (sic) invited five artists each to submit up to five works, from which two would be selected for inclusion in the SA entry to the *Bienal*. Two of the proposed artists declined the invitation. The committee decided to regard their reaction as a statement and not to replace them. The six items chosen from the work submitted by the other three artists [Nils Burwitz, Leonard Matsoso, Paul Stopforth] included local manifestations of the trend described as '*Protest Art*,' [emphasis added] which had been dominating most international exhibitions of the past few years.

Works of such kind are, of course, descendants of a venerable tradition, two of the most exalted examples of which are Goya's *The Third of May* and Picasso's *Guernica*. In the case of the 1981 SA entries to Valparaíso, the artistic comment related specifically to local political events and circumstances – and the government found itself unable to countenance their exhibition.

Regardless of strong protest from the members of the selection committee, the Dept of Nat Educ (sic) advised all three artists that it "could not be expected to promote and finance officially the exhibiting of such work abroad" and was therefore withdrawing South Africa's entry from the *Bienal* (Berman 1983, p. 463).

The late art historian and curator Colin Richards, on the occasion of South Africa's participation in the 1987 edition of the Chilean biennial, provides a most useful reading of the history in his piece *Feeding the Hand that Bites* (2010). According to Richards' text, the Valparaíso Biennial exhibition was initiated by Chilean state officials after the military coup of September 11, 1973.<sup>232</sup> Organised by the

---

<sup>232</sup> As noted by Richards (2010), the coup was led by three commanders of the armed forces, including Gen. Augusto Pinochet Ugarte and Adm. Jose Toribio Merino. Reliable estimates put the death toll of this bloody military coup as high as 30 000.

municipality of Valparaiso, like many organs of the military state, this was not an officially elected body and did not represent a democratic nor a transparent process. In his text, Richards casts a cursory glance at the biennial's honorary committee, highlighting the presence of high-ranking officials, notably the Chilean Minister of Exterior Relations, the Minister of Education, and most significantly, the South African Ambassador to Chile, Lt. Gen. A.M. Muller. As Richards notes, "a military man, as befits a country ruled by a military junta."

Richards labours against opinion and myth of the day to establish a parallel between the repression that was felt in South Africa and the depredations wrought on the people of Chile, teasing out the "South African Chilean alliance" (Richards, 2010: n.p.). The point of Richards' essay was to argue that participation in 1987 was untenable, particularly if artists signed a legitimating statement whereby they rejected all politically repressive systems (thus ignoring their own). Most importantly, Richards was equally critical of the SAAA's stance, which in 1987 falsely presented itself as "a democratic grassroots organization" and brazenly as a "non-political organization." Like myself, Richards saw in the SAAA the "false face of the state." Through the SAAA (and its commissioners, I would add to enforce my argument) the South African government presented an image of "liberal pluralism" to the outside world, presenting a group of "diverse" artists (where the work of Whites was made salient and given greater relief). Whilst maintaining and defending an image of apolitical autonomy, the SAAA operated under state sanction. It was not in a financial position to cause the Department of Information any displeasure. Chile and South Africa were the perfect bedfellows and each country was fully cognisant of this.

By 1987, the military and cultural alliance (against so-called Marxist forces), enforced by mutual official visits, was in full force. Richards notes how Chilean Army Day was celebrated at Fort Klapperkop, Pretoria, and how the Naval Attaché to South Africa (Brig. A. Rodrigues) spoke of the sinister "eternal friendship" between South Africa and Chile.

The 1981 Valparaiso Biennial, like the 1979 São Paulo *Bienal*, consequently integrates a paradigmatic moment of slow commissioning decline (of figures like Werth, who was a selector-judge for Valparaiso in 1979, chairman in 1981, and again selector-

judge in 1985, but also Marilyn Martin, who accompanied the South African entry in 1985 as the then association's national vice-president).<sup>233</sup> Two of the five artists that were to invited to partake in South Africa's 1981 entry declined. According to Richards, they were David Brown and Jules van de Vijver. "Personal reasons' were given as an explanation by the then national president of the SAAA, Prof. G. Muller Ballot" (Ballot 1981 cited in Richards 2010, n.p.). According to Richard's account, it was Paul Stopforth's harrowing forensic images of the corpse of Steve Biko (from the Biko series of 1979), that brought things too close to home, ultimately leading to the historically significant cancellation of the South African entry at this biennial.<sup>234</sup> Matsoso's association to and standing beside Stopforth, together with the cancellation of South Africa's participation at the biennial, deserves foregrounding and further speculation. In an explicit gesture against the depredations of apartheid, working on a collective cultural front, could this have been the beginning of the occlusion and obfuscation of Matsoso's trajectory?

*To be...means...to inherit*<sup>235</sup>

*Men make their own history but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living* (Victor Hugo, *The Eighteenth Brumaire*, cited in Derrida 1994, p. 108).

---

<sup>233</sup> According to Rose Louw in the *Pretoria News* (July 4, 1985), the selection committee of 1985 was convened by Esmé Berman and was comprised of Jill Addleson, Neville Dubow, Albert Werth and Andrew Verster. The four artists selected were Peter Schutz, Bekhi Myeni, Hylton Nel and Billy Mukhubele who submitted five works each. Of the five, two works were chosen for the biennial. The submitted works had to be created in a "specific technical discipline and not a mixture." According to Louw, they had in common "a certain primitive expression and a powerful spiritual kinship with the land."

<sup>234</sup> David Koloane (1999) also makes mention of this banning of Stopforth's work in his text *Postapartheid Expression and a New Voice*. Koloane included Stopforth's images as the curator for the South African section of *Seven Stories about Modern Art in Africa*, together with Sam Nhlengethwa's collage painting of Biko's corpse in a cell.

<sup>235</sup> Derrida 1994, p. 54.

In his magnum opus *Spectres of Marx: The State of Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, Jacques Derrida (1994) speaks of spectres and the undead, those who watch, observe, who even stare, often without our actually noticing them. Like Europe's spectre of communism, the undead impress themselves upon us, bearing silent witness to our times, appearing to remind us of our responsibility, demanding their due, commanding our attention. For social theorist Avery Gordon, haunting is a constituent element of modern social life. It is neither pre-modern superstition nor individual psychosis, but "a generalizable social phenomenon of great import. To study life," writes the influential Gordon, "one must confront the ghostly aspects of it" (2004, p. 7).

There are innumerable cadavers in the exhibitions histories archive, ghosts from unresolved times and moments of trauma that threaten to visit us. They appear, as Gordon tells us, "when the trouble they represent and symptomize is no longer being contained or repressed or blocked from view" (2011, p. 2). More than a dead or a missing person, the ghost – in our instance Leonard Matsoso – is a social figure. "Investigating [the ghost] can lead to a dense site where history and subjectivity make social life. The ghost or the apparition is one form by which something lost, or barely visible, or seemingly not there to our supposedly well-trained eyes, makes itself known or apparent to us, in its own way, of course" (Gordon 2004, p. 8).

One of the ghosts of South Africa's exhibitions past, its commissioning past, to make an apparition, perchance to me alone, is Matsoso. If we accept, as Gordon writes, that "haunting always registers the harm inflicted or the *loss sustained by a social violence*" (emphasis added), then ghosting happens (2011, p. 2). Ghosts emerge, they arise, "carrying the signs and portents of a repression of the past . . . The ghost demands your attention. The present waivers. Something will happen. What will happen of course, is not given in advance, but something must be done" (Gordon 2011, p. 3). What must happen, in these conditions is a "re-narrativization" (Gordon 2011, p. 3). When Matsoso's spirit (Geist) stirs, his non-presence demands that we take his time and his history into consideration, that we accord him his singularity, that we work against the "production of dismemory" as a "formal politics of deliberate, convenient forgetfulness" (Nikro 2011, p. 4). Dis-memory, as Norman Saadi Nikro pointedly writes, is a "strategy to preserve and prevent the present from exposing itself to the

past” (2011, p. 4). Matsoso urges us to excavate the past, to prise it open, to work against the expediency of reconciliation, amnesty and amnesia.

Derrida notes, the ghost “sees us during a *visit*. It (re)pays us a visit. Visit upon visit, since it returns to see us and since *visitare*, frequentative of *visere* (to see, examine, contemplate), translates well the recurrence of returning, the frequency of visitation” (Derrida 1994, p.101). He defines the spectre as “the frequency of a certain visibility,” in other words, the spectre is “the visibility of the invisible” (Derrida 1994, p. 100). Hauntology, as Derrida terms it (1994, p. 10), thus defies technologies of hypervisibility that lead us only to believe in what we can see, and everything that is available and accessible to our consumption. On this, Gordon remarks: “In a culture seemingly ruled by technologies of hypervisibility, we are led to believe that neither repression nor the return of the repressed, in the form of either improperly buried bodies or countervailing systems of value or difference, occurs with any meaningful result” (2004, p. 16). But through the spectre and nexus of Matsoso, I argue, we meaningfully see an invisible undercurrent of history, the history of commissioning, colonialism and its offenses.

The Matsoso-spectre, to paraphrase Derrida, first of all sees *us*, it sees *me*. “From the other side of the eye, *visor effect*, [he] looks at us even before we see [him] or even before we see period. We feel ourselves observed, sometimes under surveillance by [him] even before any apparition” (Derrida 1994, p. 101). Matsoso as spectre and nexus thus marks “the persistence of the present past, the return of the dead which the worldwide work of mourning cannot get rid of, whose return it runs away from, which [he] chases. Matsoso, like Derrida’s Marx, “announces and calls for a presence to come,” that presence being democracy, freedom, land, or as Avery Gordon (2011, p. 4) so aptly defines, “a demand for a liveable future.” This lovable future is a decolonial future. Our ghost weighs, he thinks, “he intensifies and condenses himself within the very inside of life” (Derrida 1994, p. 109).

Though the nexus of Matsoso, we experience the entanglement of time — the breaking down of colonial temporality — that this thesis seeks to stress. Matsoso, as our ghostly apparition, offers a disruption, a rupture of the continuous, an “escape route” (Martineau and Ritskes 2014, p. viii). To paraphrase Karen Barad, through

Matsoso, we see that “the past was never simply there to begin with” (the past hides) and “the future is not simply what will unfold” (2010, p. 260). Through his spectre, now our hauntological inheritance, the “past” and the “future” are reworked. “The past is not closed,” writes Barad, “it never was” (2010, p. 261):

The past is never closed, never finished once and for all, but there is no taking it back, setting time aright, putting the world back on its axis. There is no erasure finally. The trace of all reconfigurations are written into the enfolded materialisations of what was/ is/ to-come. Time can't be fixed. To address the past (and future), to speak with ghosts, is not to entertain or reconstruct some narrative of the way it was, but to respond, to be responsible, *to take responsibility for that which we inherit (from the past and the future)* [emphasis added] for the *entangled relationalities of inheritance* [emphasis added] that ‘we’ are, to acknowledge and be responsive to the noncontemporaneity of the present, to put oneself at risk, to risk oneself (which is never one or self), to open oneself up to indeterminacy in moving towards what is to come. Responsibility is by necessity an asymmetrical relation/doing, an enactment, a matter of différance, of *intra-action*, in which no one/ no thing is given in advance or ever remains the same (Barad 2010, p. 264).

Entanglements, Barad tells us, are not the intertwining of separate entities, but *irreducible relations of responsibility*. She adds: “There is no fixed dividing line between ‘self’ and ‘other’, ‘past’ and ‘present’ and ‘future’, ‘here’ and ‘now’, ‘cause’ and ‘effect’ . . . Entanglements are not a name for the interconnectedness of all beings as one, but rather specific material relations of the ongoing differentiating of the world. *Entanglements are relations of obligation* – being bound to the other – enfolded traces of othering. Othering, the constitution of an ‘Other’, entails an indebtedness to the ‘Other’, who is irreducibly and materially bound to, threaded through, the ‘self’” (2010, p. 265).

To conclude, “being haunted,” as Avery Gordon notes, “draws us affectively, sometimes against our will and always a bit magically, into the structure of feeling of a reality we come to experience, not as cold knowledge, but as a

*transformative recognition* [emphasis added]" (2004, p. 8). Up until this point, Matsoso's ghost lay wedged in the archive. On prising it open, his spectre has been released, unleashed upon curators and art historians, ghosting and asking for redress, for "re-narrativization" (Gordon 2013, p. 3). Unleashed, his ghost and his oeuvre, present their fugitive possibility (Martineau and Ritskes 2014).

### *Commissioning crepuscule*

In 1994, South Africa was readmitted to the São Paulo *Bienal* by way of an official invitation, extended from the Brazilian Government to its South African counterpart. The objective of the twenty-second *Bienal Internacional de São Paulo*, curated by Ivo Mesquita, was "to describe the transformation undergone by contemporary art." Since the 1960s, the very notion of support had undergone a significant expansion. Canvas and sculpture were encircled by multimedia events; subsequent artistic movements began to question pre-determined territories. Interventions in the human body, in the landscape, in the concept of what art effectively could be impacted on traditional supports. This was to be the focus of Mesquita's work.

In South Africa, the Department of National Education still held international exhibitions under its wing. In terms of infrastructure and institutions, these remained largely unchanged (but not necessarily unchallenged), that is, predominantly White, and predominantly male. In November of 1993, it therefore comes as no surprise that the Department of National Education requested the guidance of Christopher Till, then Director for Culture at the Johannesburg City Council on the matter of appointing a "curator" to the *Bienal*.<sup>236</sup> Till, with the support of Marilyn Martin (who held dubious historical ties and allegiances with apartheid and repressive governments, and was at this moment the director of the South African National Gallery [Richards 2010]), determined that an advertisement be placed in national newspapers. In an acquisitions committee meeting, held on November 16 1993 in the Town Clerk's Office of the Johannesburg City Council, it was clarified that the

---

<sup>236</sup> At the moment of writing this thesis, Till (who is past the age of retirement) is the founding Director of the Apartheid Museum and Director of the Javett Arte Centre at the University of Pretoria, albeit in a "part-time capacity" pending completion of the project. Hitherto unchallenged simultaneous directorships have marked Till's career, who is championed by the White establishment as a "museums veteran."

Department would pay for the call (fig. 41) and that the then Foundation for the Creative Arts would merely serve as an address for applications.<sup>237</sup> The SAAA continued to handle all legal contracts and administrative issues. It should be noted that a contract, elaborated most tellingly in Afrikaans, was signed between Diana Breedt of the SAAA and the Department, by way of Andries Oberholzer, in April of 1994.

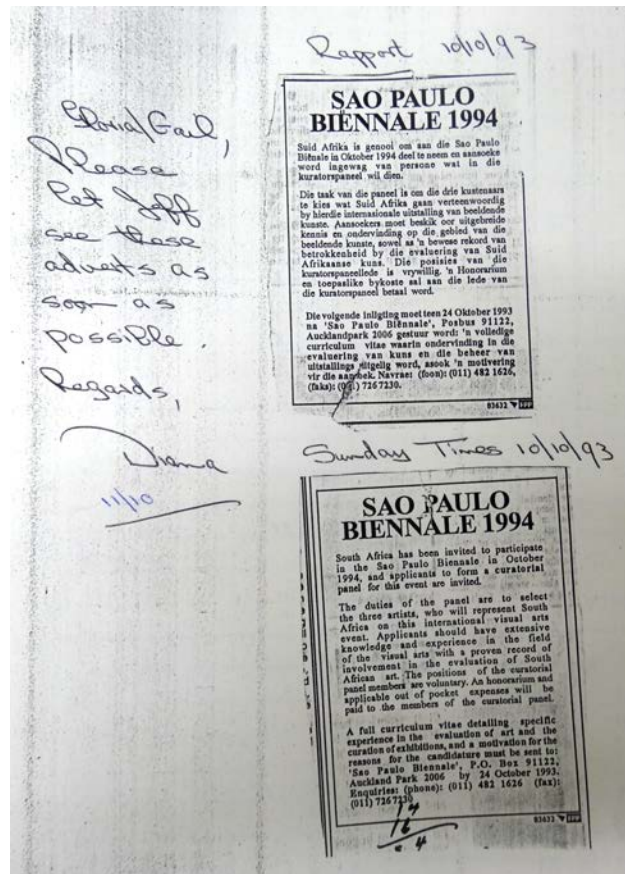


Figure 41: Call for “curatorial panel” as advertised in the *Sunday Times* of October 10, 1993

A number of applications to the “curatorial panel” were received in the form of typewritten faxes and letters. In his letter of motivation, submitted by fax on October 29, 1993 Kendell Geers, who self-identified then as a critic, curator and artist (in that order), would form a part of the panel, observed: “The 3 artists would need to complement each other to the greatest effect. The works would need to be produced specifically for the Biennial context by the artists who can produce work on that scale

<sup>237</sup> The call requested that a “full curriculum vitae detailing specific experience in the evaluation of art and the curation of exhibitions, and a motivation for the candidature” be sent to P.O. Box 91122 in Auckland Park by October 24 1993.

and ambition. The works must embody a South African identity while at the same time adding to the world's vocabulary of art. The artist would necessarily be selected according to their history and earlier works." Geers' loaded motivation deserves unpacking. Who at the time could produce work of such a scale and ambition? Which "world" vocabulary of art is Geers referring to? Were emerging artists to be excluded for lack of history and earlier works? Geers' statement is telling of the manner in which biennials were conceived: as the exclusive province of (White) privilege and unencumbered Eurocentrism. Other applications were submitted by S.D. Henry (1993), a caretaker at the Johannesburg Art Gallery,<sup>238</sup> Andrew Putter (1993), Andrew Verster (1993),<sup>239</sup> Donald A. Collins, Joan Fourie (1993) then Director of the *Skool vir Kuns en Ontwerp* (School of Art and Design) at the Port Elizabeth Technikon, Jan Vermeiren (1993), Edwine Simon (1993) and Lucas Vusumuzi Mohomo (calligraphy slightly illegible in the latter) (1993). The Organizing Committee nominated three "curators" for the *Bienal*: Kendell Geers, Andrew Verster and Andrew Putter, per article 10, chapter II of the *Bienal's* rules.<sup>240</sup>

As preparation for the *Bienal* advanced, so did a watershed meeting of the National Arts Coalition which according to the official press release (The National Arts Coalition 1993) was attended by more than 250 delegates from institutions and delegations around the country. Ninety-two percent of those present voted in favour of a separate ministry responsible for arts and culture; ninety-four percent that freedom of expression be constitutionally guaranteed and that the publications board of control be abolished; ninety-seven percent *that publicly-funded arts institutions be independent of state or party-political control and unilateral intervention in their decision making and policy-formulation processes* [emphasis added]; ninety-seven percent that programmes of development and affirmative action be taken to redress historical imbalances in the distribution of skills, resources, infrastructure and opportunities in the arts; all that arts education be part of the core curriculum at primary school level

---

<sup>238</sup> Henry's (1993) hand-written declarative application stated "(m)y bias will be towards proletarian machismo structuralism and against the camp effetism of bourgeoisie power suckers."

<sup>239</sup> In his application, Verster (1993) declares "(t)his is a chance for our artists to start to become part of the world again. The image we project will be scrutinized for what it says about where we are and where we are going. It is essential that we send the right message. It is not possible to predict what that message will be until one has looked at the things creative people are making. It would be foolish to be shackled in advance by preconceptions."

<sup>240</sup> This article states, "The Foundation suggests that the Curators of each country invited send a maximum of 3 (three) artists, save for special projects carried out jointly with the 22<sup>nd</sup> BISP."

and that every pupil should have at least one arts subject as a matriculation subject option; nine-nine percent that a “1% campaign” be launched to lobby national, regional and central government to allocate at least 1% of their annual budgets to the arts, and that companies be able to spend at least 1% of their annual turnovers on the arts, tax free; ninety-seven percent that access to the arts be decentralised through the establishment of multi-functional, multi-disciplinary community arts centres serving every 200 000 to 400 000 people.<sup>241</sup>

The three White South African artists featured at the 1994 edition of the *Bienal* were selected on merit, per a report on the 22<sup>nd</sup> International Biennial of Sao Paulo, produced by the Head Office of the SAAA. “It was the prerogative of the curators to make the selection without interference,” the aforementioned report additionally states. Barend de Wet, Joachim Schönfeldt and Belinda Blignaut were elected by the curatorial panel as the artists, with Kendell Geers subsequently appointed as commissioner.<sup>242</sup> An amount of R128 000 was made available by the Department of National Education for the project (this budget did not include airfare and accommodation for the artists). In terms of financial aid, each artist received a different amount for producing work, there being no justification provided or announced in the available records for this discrepancy. Belina Blignaut, the only

---

<sup>241</sup> It is likely that due to the rising pressure and urgency of transformation generated and made manifest by bodies such as the National Arts Coalition, but also criticism from Brazil, that Kagiso Mautloa, Jeremy Wafer and David Koloane were invited to be part of the ad hoc committee behind the organization of the *Bienal* on March 23, 1994. It should be noted that this invitation was extended to the three after curatorial appointments had been made (Kendell Geers’ letter of confirmation, for instance, is dated January 24 1994).

At a subsequent meeting of April 18, Christopher Till (1994) divulges that the *Bienal* organisers “had expressed their concern that the three curators and three artists were all white.” Prior to this ad hoc committee (which was envisaged to promote an idea of transformation, democracy and consultation, even though it had no vetting powers), an all-White organizing committee had already been constituted (the only person of colour to sit on the committee was artist Durant Sihlali). It included Christopher Till, Mike du Toit (Department of National Education), Rita van Zyl (Department of National Education), Lucia Burger (Institute of Contemporary Art), Diana Breed (National Executive Officer, SAAA), Marilyn Martin (South African National Gallery), Jeff Chandler, Herman van Niekerk (Foundation for the Creative Arts) and Eunice Basson (Art Lecturer). It should be noted that Mike du Toit and Rita van Zyl were excluded from decision making regarding the appointment of curators, per minutes of January 18, 1994.

<sup>242</sup> The selection of artists took place over a period of ten days. According to a letter written by Andrew Verster to Christopher Till, located in the SANAVA fonds, dated May 16, 1994: “In discussion we’d ruled out choosing on exclusively young and untested trio as well as one of established maturity. The formula we initially used was for one artist under thirty, one under forty and another over forty. This combined experimentation and adventure, a certain achievement and proven reliability.” It should be noted that this initial criterion was abandoned, with names being added and removed as discussions over fax and telephone between the three selectors progressed.

woman, received the least (R1 066,99)<sup>243</sup> with her male counterparts receiving more than five times the amount, that is R8 750 (Schonfeldt)<sup>244</sup> and R5 323 (De Wet)<sup>245</sup> respectively.<sup>246</sup> This is an historical iteration of unfair and discriminatory practices, specifically the discrepancy between Matsoso and Mason-Weavind of 1979, mentioned earlier in this chapter. It is my contention that by ignoring these objectionable discrepancies – these hauntings that carry and translate value and ideology – the work of White men continues to be rendered of greater value than that of White women and that of White women in turn above that of Black men, with Black women being the least favoured or noted. These practices are subject to gross repetition, as seen here. In noting these injustices, I hope to be contributing towards future reparation.

In a vexing presentation text, the curatorial panel (still vetted by the state by way of an all-White selection committee) submitted a presentation text titled *South Africa's Avant-Garde at the Crossroads*, which reflects the fears, prejudices and delusions of its committee, writing about how South Africa was “caught in a unique moment in history between the monolithic spectre of Apartheid and an unknown future political dispensation. The former white oppressors have today become *simply another marginal minority group* [emphasis added] fighting for the same rights as any minority group in the world.” To the contemporary reader, the emphasised text reads as a disingenuous. The future dispensation was obvious and the curators thus feared what they disavowed, democracy, choosing to be blind to their own whiteness, privilege and complicity in a duplicitous system. Joachim Schönfeldt, on the other hand, seems to take cognisance of his now-disabling whiteness in the biography he provided for the official catalogue:

I answer the telephone in the studio. The voice says in a foreign accent: “Hallo, may I speak to an African artist”, and I reply: “Yes, may I help”. She says: “No, I would like to speak to an African artist”.

---

<sup>243</sup> This amount would cover materials alone, that is, Cymtrim, 6 litres of nail varnish, 1 litre of primer and brushes.

<sup>244</sup> Per quotation provided by a company named Photophile on April 23, 1994. This included a styled studio environment, a model, large format material for presentation to production lab and final print.

<sup>245</sup> Per quotation provided by De Wet, received by Diana Breedts on April 5, 1994 to cover metal, stones, hangers, television set, video equipment and photography for catalogue purposes.

<sup>246</sup> Per memo dated September 14, 1994, titled “*São Paulo (sic) Biënnale: Finansiële Steun Aan Kunstenaars*”, signed by Ms Emmerentia Potgieter, located in the SANAVA fonds.

I reply: "Maybe you would like to speak to a black African artist", and she says: "Yes".

I look at my white hand holding the telephone piece.

It should be noted that according to the Wanda Svevo archives, artist Thomas Mulcaire was flown to Brazil as an assistant trainee.<sup>247</sup> Gustav Geldenhuys and Guy de Lancey were also present as part of a film crew sent by the SABC to document the event.

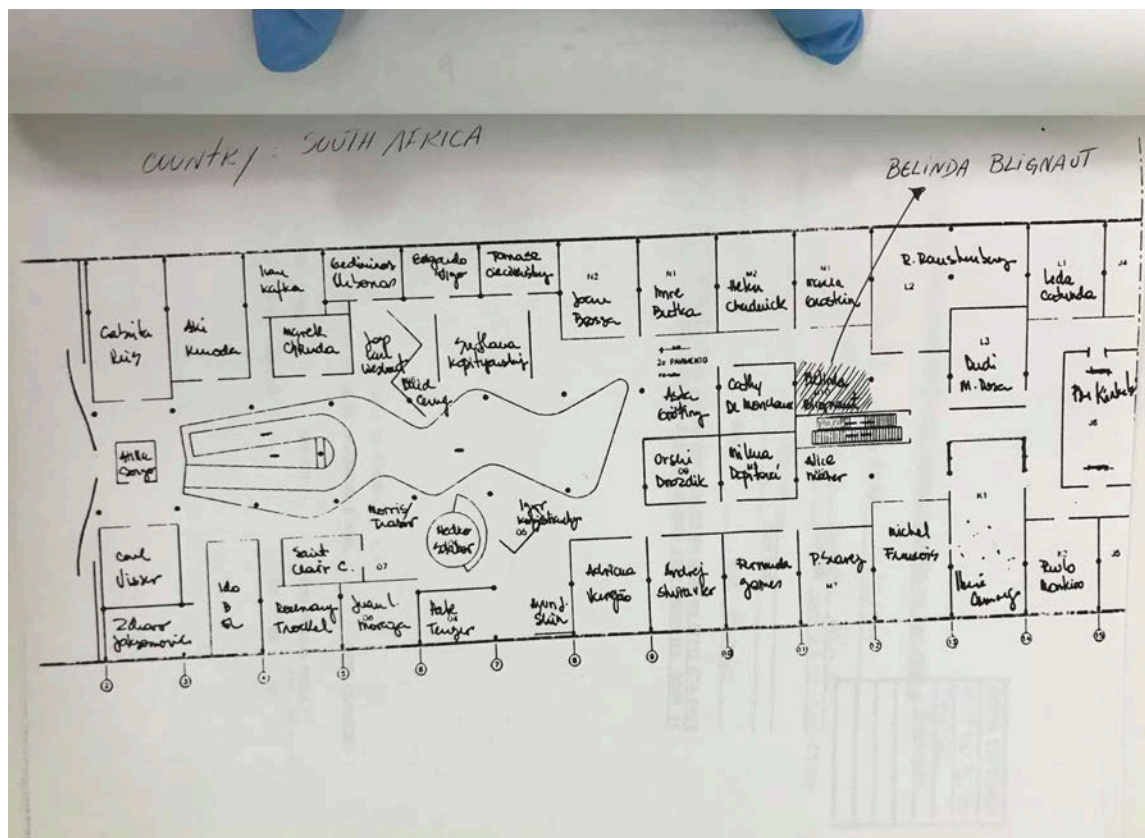


Figure 42: Belinda Blignaut is allocated a prime position just opposite Robert Rauschenberg per drawings signed off by the *Biala* architect, Randal Cavaliere.

In terms of reception, the *Biala* received approximately 8000 visitors per week.<sup>248</sup>

Writing for the *Herald Tribune* on February 28, 1995, Ivor Powell notes that the South

<sup>247</sup> In a fax received by the *Biala* on September 15, Christopher Till (1994) informs Suzanna Sassoun, the International Manager, that Mulcaire will be in São Paulo from September 23 to October 14 "to investigate the logistics and procedures involved in organizing a Biennale" (Mulcaire was to apply his training to the First Johannesburg Biennale, which Till was arranging and lobbying for at this time).

<sup>248</sup> As per letter from Suzanna Sassoun (1994) to the Curator, dated October 28. The intention of this piece of correspondence was to submit by-lines and instructions for re-packaging and re-exportation of artworks.

African presence was marred by prankster Barend de Wet, who was observed urinating on the leg of a senior South African (unnamed) diplomat at an official opening in an apparent protest against the old regime. Behind the scenes, this edition was also tainted by damage to Schönfeldt's *Meat Master*, which was destroyed as a result of incorrect packaging. A legal dispute ensued between the artist, who initially claimed a payment of R70 000, and the SAAA. According to the underwriters, replacement of the damaged image was offered to the artist at a cost of R8 515,80. The outcome was not recorded and the commissioners requisite report was not found in the SAAA folders. The exhibition ran from October 12 to December 11, 1994.

### Curatorial dawn

The Johannesburg Biennale and the São Paulo *Bienal* share tangible and intangible ties. Whilst Christopher Till was called to act as an advisor to the South African participation in Brazil, he was also directing the First Johannesburg Biennale as the Director of Culture for the City. Till and Lorna Ferguson (the biennale coordinator)<sup>249</sup> travelled to Brazil to lobby for Brazilian participation in the Johannesburg Biennale, with Ivo Mesquita as curator proposed by the South African organisers. Till, by way of Thomas Mulcaire, also used Brazil as an unofficial and unrecognised blueprint and benchmark, and an indirect lesson in organization.<sup>250</sup> At the official opening of the First Johannesburg Biennale, several Brazilian luminaries were present, namely the director of the *Bienal*, Nelson Aguilar, and the chairman of the *Fundação Bienal de São Paulo*, Edemar Cid Ferreira (Duncan 2007, p. 119).

One cannot speak about the Second Johannesburg Biennale without addressing the first, hence this brief incursion into its first edition. Both biennials were part of a

---

<sup>249</sup> Lorna Ferguson was known at the time as the former director of the Tatham Art Gallery, Pietermaritzburg (Koloane 1996, p. 50).

<sup>250</sup> In addition to Mulcaire, Alan Bowyer and artist Candice Breitz held positions as editors of the 300-page catalogue which reviewer Gareth Claassen described as a “scrapbook of a hyperactive eccentric.” He adds: “the catalogue is not user-friendly, and one can imagine future historians finding it a tantalizing but frustrating resource. Several artworks are unattributed, as are occasional news photographs. While some of the contributors include notes and references, a general bibliography would have been helpful. There is a roster of participating artists which includes brief biographical and bibliographical information on each, but the citations are often sloppy and incomplete. Critics, historians, and curators are simply identified by name, and one is not told why their achievements or affiliations made them a logical choice for participation in *Africus*” (Claassen 1997, p. 87). Available as a softcover, the book was sold via the Johannesburg Biennale for R140.00 (Koloane 1996, p. 50).

nation-building exercise on the one hand, and an attempt to integrate the international art world on the other, as Jane Duncan (2007) has expounded on in her thesis.<sup>251</sup>

Unlike Duncan, my focus is less on policy, and more on highlighting the shift from a declining commissioning mode to a nascent curatorial mode, which manifest in the Second Johannesburg Biennale by way of Okwui Enwezor. Unlike Till, Enwezor was not a government official and was not acting on the will of the state, and an expiring apartheid state at that.<sup>252</sup>

In short, the First Johannesburg Biennale was held from February 28 (shortly after the Twenty Second *Bienal*) to April 30, 1995, in the downtown area known as the Newtown Cultural District with additional exhibitions in Soweto.<sup>253</sup> Its purpose was manifold: to celebrate South Africa's re-entry into the international cultural arena; to place an emphasis on the complexity of issues around the production of art in South Africa, to establish South Africa as a major site for the production and thought around culture, "a site far enough from the American-European centre to offer exciting and challenging alternatives to more established contemporary art events." Two broad themes were proposed. The first, *Volatile Alliances*, was meant to provoke the exploration of issues of cultural difference and identity. The second, *Decolonising Our Minds*, probed the legacy of apartheid and colonialism (Koloane 1996, p. 50). Ultimately, the objective was to see South Africa legitimized, as a "nation amongst nations" (Duncan 2007, p. 171).

Till and Ferguson devised what they considered to be a unique and innovative process whereby each participating country appointed a curator who worked with

---

<sup>251</sup> Other objectives included playing an educational role while reconciling artists from different cultural backgrounds, and contributing towards the regeneration of Newtown (Duncan 2007, p. 170).

<sup>252</sup> As Duncan (2007, p. 114) has noted, the First Johannesburg Biennale was initiated by what was then still an apartheid government structure, and was, as she has written "born in sin". It was not an initiative of a government based on the will of the electorate, whereas the Second Johannesburg Biennale was. Lorna Ferguson, the co-ordinator of the first Biennale was aware of this parentage, as she insisted that the Biennale should only take place after South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994.

<sup>253</sup> According to veteran artist and curator David Koloane (1996, p. 50) "approximately 80 core exhibitions were held in 15 venues in and around Johannesburg and Soweto, with most of the exhibitions being installed in the downtown area known as the Newtown Cultural Precinct. As the organisers anticipated, a number of 'fringe' projects developed in response to the official events. In all, there were an estimated 100 exhibitions involving almost 500 artists from over 65 countries." For a detailed and considered relation of the fringe exhibitions, see Carol Duncan's doctoral thesis, particularly pp. 152–165.

and, it was hoped, inspired a young South African “trainee-curator”. The process was devised with the intention of “motivating South African potential with a view to developing a vibrant and aware group of young curators,” fostering reciprocal exchange, “allowing the international curators access to a specific South African vision in the process of their curatorial exchange.”<sup>254</sup> Although reciprocity may have been intended, the process was hierarchical and arguably disparaging, with an explicit power structure that necessarily undermined the intended dual carriageway of knowledge exchange, with trainees in a position of disadvantage, as recipients of knowledge, and curators in positions of power, as givers and carriers of expertise.<sup>255</sup>

As a part of the curatorial project, an international curators’ forum was planned for February 1994 at which time curators would meet their trainees.<sup>256</sup> This was followed by a ten-day tour with visits to artists’ studios, allowing for a free flow of ideas and familiarity with a South African context. Invited countries were given *carte blanche* as to their proposals, but it was asked that they “take into account at many complex levels, the relationships possible in setting up an exchange with (South) Africa.” In the proposal sent by fax to the *Fundação Bienal de São Paulo*, for the attention of Nelson Aguilar (October 27, 1994), mention was made that it was hoped that each “trainee” curator would be invited for a brief period of about four weeks to the international curator’s country to continue the curation process, meet foreign artists and

---

<sup>254</sup> In her doctoral thesis, Carol Duncan (2007, p. 131) points to evidence of two participants (the trainee curator for the Netherlands and Israel exhibitions, Clive Kellner, and the trainee curator for the British exhibition, Tumelo Mosaka) having continued their practice as curators. Kellner went on to become the project coordinator for the Second Johannesburg Biennale, the director of the Johannesburg Art Gallery between 2004 and 2009 and is currently the curator at large of the Gordon Schachat Collection. Mosaka in turn went on to work as the assistant curator at the Brooklyn Art Museum and is currently the curator of the Cape Town Art Fair. For Duncan, the success rate of the programme could have been higher if there had been follow-up support to its participants. She also notes that these two candidates had access to tertiary education programmes, and that these proved to be vital stepping stones to their future careers (2007, p. 132).

<sup>255</sup> According to Koloane (1996, p. 50), “the twelve trainees who were subsequently appointed were from varied cultural and educational backgrounds. Three were white and the rest were black. Steven Sack, who was on the Educational Advisory Committee, was also appointed Education Programme Facilitator and coordinated the trainee program. He had been director of an informal art centre known as the Johannesburg Art Foundation, situated north of the city; founded in 1983, it was the first non-racial institution in the country. Sack had no qualifications or experience relevant to museum or gallery operation. Neither did his assistant, Sydney Selepe, director of the Funda Art Centre in Soweto ... As a result the content of the program on the local level was ad hoc and improvised. It was not based on any formal model.” In her thesis, Carol Duncan pointedly notes that no trainees were placed in either African or South African exhibitions (2007, p. 128).

<sup>256</sup> Koloane (1996, p. 51) states that thirty curators from various European countries, the United States, the former Soviet Union, and Japan were invited to South Africa. He decisively notes, no African curator was amongst those invited.

administrators, to see and take part in selection processes and then return to South Africa to assist the local artistic and administrative coordinators in better understanding the work on a Biennale.

In his assessment of the Biennale, artist, critic and curator David Koloane took issue with the flawed training programme,<sup>257</sup> highlighting how “curators were offered pedestals like choirmasters” (1996, p. 51), giving little attention to community-based exhibitions, which were ensconced and “tucked-away” in “nooks and crannies around the major exhibitions” (Koloane 1996, p. 53) by the very professionals who preached even-handedness and integration.<sup>258</sup> In his piece, Koloane draws attention to these exhibitions, dealing with them at length, countering their official neglect by noting their location, the artists featured, the concept explored and the challenges faced, noting: “the community art and outreach program events appear not to have received the priority attention accorded to the international projects. The funding for local events was minimal and delayed. In most cases, the artists themselves had to organise every aspect of the preparation” (1996, p. 53). A historical review, Koloane’s serves as a testament to some of the inequities of curating under the aegis of the commissioning mode.

Unlike Till and Ferguson, who adopted a method termed “soft curating”<sup>259</sup>, the late Nigerian curator Okwui Enwezor envisaged a different type of exchange, drawing

---

<sup>257</sup> Less than a seventh of the Biennale’s R5.5 million budget was spent on the trainee programme (Duncan quoting Ivor Powell 2007, p. 117).

<sup>258</sup> According to Duncan (2007, p. 115), only in mid-1994 was the participation of community art centres considered. Less than five percent of the funding resources were allocated to community projects and development (Duncan 2007, p. 117). To be fair though, the Biennale office did partially fund a catalogue recounting the ten-year history of Funda, as well as the painting of a mural at the centre as well as others around Soweto. This however, as Duncan has noted (2007, p. 137), did not fundamentally change the marginal role played by community art centres in the event. On this point, it is interesting to bear in mind how Sydney Selepe described the involvement of community art centres in the Biennale as a performance, “designed to show international curators that things were happening at community art centre level, and that the City could take credit for these developments” (Duncan 2007, p. 137).

<sup>259</sup> Ferguson, according to Duncan (2007, p. 124), saw “soft curating” as the more appropriate model for the Johannesburg Biennale. Duncan notes: “The term was apparently first used by Bruce Ferguson at a conference at the 1994 São Paulo Biennale, in a discussion about the curatorial concepts underlying the soon-to-be-held South African Biennale. ‘Hard curatorship’ involves a curator choosing the artists and artworks to be represented, often around a single theme. The approach rests in a conceptually coherent exhibition, but is dictatorial in nature. The second approach, namely ‘soft curatorship’, is a process where decision-making is subjected to a rather more democratic process, including negotiated involvement of artists and artworks.” Further on, Duncan notes how “soft curating” was a purely rhetorical exercise on Ferguson’s part “in that the Biennale recognised a

together a group of peers from around the globe — a group he referred to, borrowing from Homi Bhabba, as a “tribe of interpreters” — acknowledging extant expertise in South Africa in the curatorial team he brought together around his chosen theme (in the South African instance, this expertise was embodied by the late art historian and lecturer Colin Richards, who decisively held no government or state post).<sup>260</sup> Unlike the First Johannesburg Biennale, with “its overtly nationalistic tone that was part of its organizational structure,” (Enwezor in an interview with Becker, 1998, p. 101), Enwezor chose not to “mimic a pre-existing model” (Enwezor 2012, p. 12).<sup>261</sup> Despite what audiences and critics may have thought at the time,<sup>262</sup> Enwezor took a great interest in South Africa,<sup>263</sup> investing and learning from the country and its artists, establishing long-term relationships with the place and its people;<sup>264</sup> building and nurturing relationships and an understanding of its long history, which he promoted until his death in 2019.

Born Okwuchukwu Emmanuel Nwezi, the youngest son of an affluent family of Igbos in Awkuzu, Nigeria, in 1963, Enwezor moved to the Bronx at the age of eighteen. He earned his Bachelor of Arts Degree at the New Jersey City University. After graduating, Enwezor took up poetry and performed at the Knitting Factory and Nuyorican Poets Café. In 1993, four years before his appointment to the Johannesburg Biennale, he teamed up with art historians Chika Okeke-Agulu and Sala Hassan to launch *Nka Journal of Contemporary African Art* from his Brooklyn

---

hierarchy of aesthetic approaches. The Northern thematic approach was clearly considered superior, with the Southern, nationally-based and consisting of largely Modernist art, being an inferior curatorial approach that would be corrected in time through exposure to the Northern approach through the medium of the Biennale. Hence the pluralist approach implied in soft curatorship masked an attempt to, at best encourage, and at worst impose, a curatorial approach that was considered by the organisers to be the only game in town” (2007, p. 126).

<sup>260</sup> It should be noted that Richards curated the exhibition *Taking Liberties* with Pitika Ntuli at the First Johannesburg Biennale. This exhibition took place at the then Gertrude Posel Gallery at the University of the Witwatersrand. According to Duncan’s description (2007, p. 146), “artists used the human body to reflect on the complexity of identity in South Africa. Several exhibits portrayed aspects of the human body very graphically.” Duncan highlights the work of Leora Farber, Reshada Crouse, Stephen Hobbs and Sfiso Ka Mkame in her text.

<sup>261</sup> To be clear, Enwezor was critical of the pavilion model from the outset and wanted to bid farewell to 19th-century model of Venice, saying no to national pavilions (Enwezor 2012, p. 11).

<sup>262</sup> Enwezor (2012) cut the number of South African artists from the previous biennale. According to *Art in America’s* Eleanor Hearney, the total number of participants was trimmed from 1995’s 500 artists to 1997’s 147.

<sup>263</sup> He lived in Norwood, Johannesburg, for two years, close to David Goldblatt.

<sup>264</sup> In 2012, Enwezor noted that despite the disillusion, he still remained “incredibly enamoured” with the country, coming back all the time. “I cannot think of a single show I have done since the Johannesburg Biennale that has not included South African artists.”

apartment. Enwezor had his first breakthrough as a curator with the exhibition *In/Sight* (1996), a show of thirty African photographers at the Guggenheim Museum. *In/Sight* has been dubbed as one of the first shows to frame contemporary art from Africa in the historical and political context of colonial withdrawal and the independence of African states. After the Second Johannesburg Biennale, Enwezor was appointed Artistic Director of *Documenta II*, until then the exclusive domain of the West. He was director of the Haus der Kunst, Munich and also held roles as adjunct curator of ICP (New York) and Joanne Cassulo Fellow at the Whitney Museum of American Art. In 2013, he was appointed curator of the Venice Biennale (2015), making him the first African-born curator in the biennale's 120-year history. Enwezor was awarded an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Cape Town and Harvard University and the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic of Germany (2014).

For Michael Brenson, *Trade Routes: History and Geography* was integral to what he terms the “curator’s moment.”<sup>265</sup> It spread through multiple locations in both Johannesburg and Cape Town from October 1997 to January 1998. As a whole *Trade Routes* featured more than 160 artists from sixty-three countries, including thirty-five South Africans. Despite the lack of resources, it included a conference organised by artist and art historian Olu Oguibe, a film series featuring independent films from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe, organised by New-York based Mahen Bonetti, and a catalogue with essays by Francesco Bonami, Julia Kristeva, Saskia Sassen, and ten other authors, as well as statements by the seven curators (Enwezor, Hou Hanru, Yu Yeon Kim, Kellie Jones [then adjunct curator at the Walker art Centre in Minneapolis], Gerardo Mosquera [the curator at the New Museum], Colin Richards [then lecturer at the University of Witwatersrand], and Octavio Zaya [then editor of the Canary Islands-based journal *Atlântica*]).<sup>266</sup> It is not within the purview

---

<sup>265</sup> Brenson reminds us that five international biennials took place in 1997: Cairo, Havana, Venice, Istanbul and Johannesburg. This moment marks the “transformation of the curator of contemporary art from behind-the-scenes aesthetic arbiter to central player in the broader stage of global cultural politics” (Mari Carmen Ramirez, then curator of Latin American art at the Jack S. Blanton Museum in Austin, Texas, cited by Brenson 1998, p. 17).

<sup>266</sup> In short, *Hong Kong, etc.*, curated by Hou Hanru, used the transition of Hong Kong from England to China to muse on a new stage of globalization. Kellie Jones’s *Life’s Little Necessities*, held at the Castle in Cape Town, adopted inclusion as its method, presenting art by women, navigating how the personal fits into and generates the global. Jones’s exhibition featured installations by Silvia Gruner, Maria Magdalena Campos Pons, Zarina Bhimji, Melanie Smith, Fatmah Tuggar, Lorna Simpson, Pat Ward Williams, Bernadette (Bernie) Searle, Glenda Heylinger, Valeska Soares, Veliswa Gwintsa and

of this thesis to engage readers in the mechanics or minutiae of this biennial, but is important to highlight that contrary to criticism levelled against the event at the time, which accused the display to having little bearing or meaning to what was happening at the time,<sup>267</sup> the biennial (perhaps this is the benefit of hindsight) which appeared to focus largely on diasporic citizens and issues of cultural displacement — was prescient, even though this may not have been evident to audiences engrossed in conversations amongst themselves and an accusatory climate generated by the TRC.<sup>268</sup> The juxtaposition, and apparent dissonance, of the postcolonial art world and the issues South Africa was dealing with actually complemented and provided ways to read and illuminate each another. Despite being anti-national, *Trade Routes* did not refuse locality. For Enwezor took locality — the cities of Johannesburg and Cape Town — as structuring devices and a strategy to approach the global.<sup>269</sup>

Included amongst the many works was Lucy Orta's social intervention, which deserves remembering as exemplary, foundational and generative. Collaborating with members of the local Usindiso Women's Homeless Shelter (comprised of migrant labourers who came from the countryside to Johannesburg seeking work, only to find

---

Wangechi Mutu. *Graft*, a section of the exhibition considered to best represent concerns in the context of South Africa, drew on references to "graft" as (1) transplanted, cut, joined "difference" (2) work, and (3) corruption. Curated by Colin Richards from Wits, it included work by Moshekwa Langa, Johannes Phokela, Alan Alborough, Angela Ferreira, Candice Breitz, Siemon Allen, Pitso Chinzima, Maureen de Jaeger, Bridget Baker, the SLUICE group, Anton Karstel, Marlaine Tosoni, Antoinette Murdoch, Tracey Rose and Sandile Zulu. Gerardo Mosquera described *Important and Exportant* as an exhibition of eight artists who are Cape of Good Hope themselves, "Works that connect different domains of culture, discourse, action, meaning, aesthetics, and ideas" (Sirmans 1997, p. 81). Yu Yeon Kim's *Transversions* at MuseumAfrica was envisioned as an investigation into the real, virtual, logical and biological realities that make up contemporary existence. This exhibition included an internet component which remained inactive, apparently due to the shortage of telephone lines in Johannesburg (Heartney 1998, p. 55).

<sup>267</sup> South Africa was, and still is, striving to solve bringing housing, water, sanitation, quality education and health to all.

<sup>268</sup> As Becker (1998, p. 89) has noted, during the biennale's opening days, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was holding meetings a few blocks away in a medium-size room at the Sanlam Centre. The former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, and the former Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, were making their amnesty testimonies. As Becker writes, "here, those who had grotesquely divided the populace, who ordered the "elimination" of individuals thought to be a threat to the apartheid government, were explaining to an incredulous audience that they never intended those orders to mean 'murder'."

Becker describes the climate of the biennial as being tense. Having spoken at the conference, she sensed as "a palpable tension that needed to be addressed" (Becker 1998, p. 95). During the "too polite conference," participants did eventually let off some steam, raising issues of privilege and the use of Black women's bodies by White artists without their consent. This can arguably be considered to be a first curatorial "moment of reckoning" and a coming to terms.

<sup>269</sup> As Enwezor noted in retrospect: *Trade Routes* "needed to be about South Africa in the world, and Africa in the world — renouncing parochialism" (2012, p. 11).

none), Orta created a paid ten-day workshop for participating women to create garments for an end performance. *Collective Wear Soweto* was donned on the last day by their creators who marched through the grounds and nearby streets singing Nkosi Sikelel'iAfrica and other hymns. According to Jen Budney (1998), little attention was paid to the workshop as it was located in the Worker's Library, which few people visited. As she notes, from this experience, women learnt skills and were able to manufacture and sell their creations from then on. In addition to this intervention, Coco Fusco too engaged with South African students and audiences, setting up a mock control point at the Biennale's entrance. Here visitors were forced to buy 'passbooks' in order to gain entry to the exhibition. Fusco noted how participants (the biennale's visitors) were able to negotiate their own identities whilst answering questions of race and identity, and how the performance too brought to the fore the issue of waiting one's turn, something White South African's weren't, and are arguably still not accustomed to (Budney 1998).

*Trade Routes* indeed worked to contextualize the historical processes at play in South Africa. In conversation with Carol Becker (2002, p. 13), the current Dean of the Faculty and Professor at Columbia University School of the Arts, Enwezor stated: "As we all know, Vasco da Gama made the first sea voyage from Western Europe to India. He rounded the Cape of Good Hope, traversed the Indian Ocean, and landed in Calicut. So if we want to state the exemplary side of globalization, it was this moment of both rupture and connection with the rest of the world. The basis for *Trade Routes* was the idea of exchange, the flow of commodities, the flow of history, of contestation, of a range of ideas transmitted via the trade routes that developed after da Gama found South Africa." The Johannesburg Biennale was one of the first, but definitely not last instances in an ongoing project, prematurely cut short by a losing battle with cancer, where Enwezor sought to bring contemporary art into the context of the geopolitical framework that defines global relations – between, as he writes, "the so-called local and global, centre and margin, nation-state and the individual, transnational and diasporic communities, audiences and institutions" – offering us a perspicacious view of the "postcolonial constellation" (Enwezor 2003, p. 58). For Enwezor, this constellation was not made up solely or exclusively of these dichotomies, but was understood as a set of arrangements of deeply entangled relations and forces founded by discourses of power. These discourses of power were

geopolitical in nature. I offer that commissioning was integral to these discourses of power, which Enwezor considered to be inimical to transcultural understanding. To paraphrase Enwezor, if geopolitical power was arranged along the same lines as the *ligne Maginot*, I offer that this was effected (as in executed) through the figure and displaying hand of the (colonial) commissioner.

In this same conversation, Enwezor confesses that his appointment as artistic director to the Second Johannesburg Biennale “was a kind of accident” (Becker 2002, p. 12). Having been invited to join the committee that would select the artistic director, Enwezor ended up being a candidate for the position. Although I do not go into great depth with regard to the contents of the Second Johannesburg Biennale (which was revisited more recently by the Stevenson Gallery in 2012), I would nevertheless like to question whether or not this biennial was almost cut short because Enwezor was not working according to the customary commissioning mode,<sup>270</sup> and rather in a manner that was unfamiliar to the establishment, that is “curating within culture,” as a *Gastarbeiter* or guest curator (Jones 2016).<sup>271</sup> Unlike curating within the canon (which is arguably part and parcel to the mode and practice of commissioning), and where power and authority sees itself mirrored and thus affirmed, Enwezor states:

I want to make a distinction between curating within the canon and curating within culture. Curating within the canon means to curate facing the formidable examples that have been used in the West. These are very valuable and we can never set them aside. There is something very peculiar about curating within art history itself – simply nibbling or making minor changes within that. The curator who endeavours to leave the institutional

---

<sup>270</sup> As a matter of fact, and as Green and Gardener (2016, p. 162) have noted, Enwezor wanted to create an anti-national biennial in Johannesburg. Inspired by the writings of James Clifford, Enwezor was interested in potential subversions of nationality and “ways of sustaining connections with more than one place while practicing nonabsolutist forms of citizenship” (Enwezor 1998, p. 39). Arguably, throughout his career, Enwezor was interested in engaging the transnational and translational regimes of contemporary production.

<sup>271</sup> Green and Gardner (2016) additionally note that Enwezor described his curatorial research as being akin to anthropological fieldwork in its reliance on physical travel and dependence on local informants. They write: “Acknowledging that anthropological fieldwork carries ‘rather problematic’ connotations, he nonetheless chose the label of the observing anthropologist-outsider, reflecting on his own experiences as a traveller moving amongst foreign people and ideas” (2016, p. 161). The aforementioned authors appositely note that the Second Johannesburg Biennale coincided with the publication of James Clifford’s *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*.

arena of art history and the canon has to risk a little bit. That is, to curate within culture is to see art in a totality that is not simply bounded by art history. It is there that we begin to make room for new forms of knowledge, new possibilities of articulating different types of intelligence that are unruly and cannot be disciplined by the academic world. This means that often the curator needs to be experimental. The intellectual biography of the curator has to be on shaky ground (Becker 2002, p. 26).

Had Enwezor adopted the position of the commissioner (an implausible stance given his disdain of nationalism, colonialism and distrust of the old guard), would the Johannesburg Biennale have run its full course without incident?<sup>272</sup> The intention of this rhetorical question is not to laud the commissioning mode as a mode of stability and fulfilment, but rather to posit that it was not exclusively for reasons of funding that the Johannesburg Biennale found itself under threat.

### *Some closing remarks*

In this chapter, I have counterpointed the commissioning mode with curating by way of extant literature, particularly Jérôme Glicenstein and Boris Groys, but also through empirical observation of several exhibitions through time. For Glicenstein, the commissioner is tied to the power. He delegates and polices, executing the orders and desires of specific power structures (be they statal or parastatal). He, as I write in a previous chapter, is a patrician and patriarch who locks and compartmentalizes

---

<sup>272</sup> For the non-South African reader, I am referring to the sudden withdrawal of funding by the Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council (GJTMC), which was to take effect on November 12, 1997. This would have cut the biennial short by at least a month (the show was planned to run until January 18).

According to a piece published by Roberto Greig in the *Sunday Independent*, the decision to halt funding would save an estimated R670 000 which would be used, according to the acting executive for metropolitan sports, arts, culture and economic development, Junior Ramovha, for “current expenditure”. In Greig’s piece (1997), it is stated that neither Enwezor nor other organisers were consulted about the cut or asked to find replacement funding. In a last-minute bid to save the biennial from closure, R208 000 were raised, avoiding the embarrassment and chaos of a premature closure. The Johannesburg Biennale had six exhibitions that involved 160 artists from 63 countries (Murinick 1998). Local and foreign funders contributed more than R8 million. The local council committed to R3 million (Bristowe 1997). Bongi Dhlomo, the director of the Africus Institute was certain that the sudden closure of the Biennale, would almost certainly prejudice future events, especially as far as foreign funders were concerned (Bristowe 1997).

According to Enwezor (2012), the Second Johannesburg Biennale was the first recipient of funding from the Prince Claus Fund. The Rockefeller Foundation paid for the conference.

knowledge. The curator, on the other hand, connotes an idea of assistance, of connection and mediation between objects and people. She is someone who unlocks and shares knowledge. She does not respond exclusively to the state or government, but to artists and their constituencies, to a polity. Within this chapter, I posit that the shift from commissioning to curating in the South African instance took place by way of a massive, unexpected earthquake: the Second Johannesburg Biennale and its independent director, Okwui Enwezor.<sup>273</sup> This biennial arguably rocked Johannesburg and South Africa, awakening the nation to what was happening in the world, but also closing the prolonged spell of commissioning which had gripped the nation since the 1800s. Unlike commissioners before him, whose allegiance was to a repressive apartheid state, Enwezor's fidelity lay beyond borders, with a community of artists and a postcolonial polity.

Although I have over-schematized the distinction, which many may come across to readers as a drastic simplification and attempt to fix class positions, the model I have erected aims to essentially elicit how commissioners and curators operate in the field of cultural production, serving the empire-cum-state on the one side, and what I optimistically and aspirationally view as a borderless postcolonial polity on the other.

A final caveat regarding Enwezor's work needs to be made to honour the complications of the position he occupied, which is arguably extensive to other curators working anti-colonially in postcolonial times. Enwezor inhabited the world of late capitalism and commodity exchange, and although he was following an anti-colonial impetus, he was doing so conspicuously, staging biennials like Johannesburg, but also Kassel and Venice, within the neo-colonial context of commodity culture. For

---

<sup>273</sup> This thesis does not claim that Enwezor's work as a curator was faultless nor problematic, but rather that he operated in a manner that was responsive to commissioning, opening the field and curatorial horizon in South Africa.

Enwezor's greatest critic is likely to be art historian Sylvester Ogbechie (2010) who equated Enwezor's curatorial practice to that of a cultural-broker. In Ogbechie's critique, cultural brokers are portrayed as the hedge-fund managers of art. In his view, Enwezor was a self-appointed and questionable arbitrator or broker of cultural value who was more than ready to deliver Africa as the new thing, the latest commodity for Western consumption. For Ogbechie, Enwezor delivered palatable contemporary African art on a platter, art that he had stripped and then clothed with Western garb. Enwezor's cardinal sin, in Ogbechie's critical gaze, was to relocate the prime place of African art outside of Africa, in the diaspora, but his greatest indictment and condemnation came with these words: "his curatorial work thus produces ahistorical interpretations of contemporary African art in general and advances a self-referential narrative of contemporary practice using a limited number of artists recycled in closed-loop exhibitions" (2010, p. 35).

critics, Enwezor may have been seen as having agreed to a share in the centre, to have “sold out” to pernicious capitalist causes, to have been conscripted into the service of a metropolitan (New York) elite or worse, a lackey to the system. His work, within this co-opted view, did not rupture the system, but merely displaced it. Others might see his work as part of a fetishizing process, one that turns the cultures of the ‘non-Western’ world into saleable objects, and partakes in the “postcolonial exotic” (Huggan 2003). As I see it, Enwezor acted with cognizance and purpose – knowing that we are enmeshed and almost always caught in this trap – and contended with the powers of the market (as evidenced in his judicious finding of sponsors), using them to suit his anti-imperial struggle.

What I am ultimately arguing is a position of vigilance, that wherever we may be positioned – on the margins or within cultures of imperialism – we must inhabit and invest in those systems in order to criticize them. These are positions that require the strategizing and negotiation of where we stand. If Enwezor’s worldliness was arguably a geography not of the colonial period but of late capitalism, and a part of the ‘spectacularization’ of cultural difference, did he not at least manage to engender new social relations and empower artists and colleagues on the margins?

## *Conclusion*

### *On the distinction between commissioning and curating*

This thesis set out to delineate a workable distinction between commissioning and curating, plotting each term as having a distinct lineage, the former with its roots in colonialism and imperialism, the latter finding its strength and definition in a post-fascist Brazil and a democratic South Africa. The dichotomy that emerges has been used mostly as a rhetorical tool or discursive device to open these practices to discussion and to enable and elicit (self)-inspection. Rather than final, or immune from critical inspection, the dyad that is proposed suggests two models, in other words, two activities and what we attach to each. The pairs I have set up are meant to assist in how we observe and perceive these practices, their foundations and potential allegiances

Although there is admittedly an oppositional logic to binaries, I would encourage my readers to think of the distinction I make as a means of approximation and understanding, and not a zero-sum situation. I have tried to give both commissioning and curating my attention, acknowledging that one may exist in the function of the other.

By distinguishing *term I* (commissioning) against *term II* (curating), what I have sought to provide are models which can be translated into contexts, and allow analogies to be discerned. Commissioning and curating are admittedly concepts that are rough at the edges, and there are lively, exciting and potential queering spectrums within each, which I invite my peers to locate and analyse. But even though there may be marginal, diverging and overlapping cases which complicate any endeavour at setting up clear conceptual distinctions, this does not entirely invalidate the distinction being made.

Perhaps one of the virtues of the distinction I set up is that it will encourage readers to differ, to disagree; to seek out and forge practices that destabilize and introduce disorder. For as Peter Elbow (1993, p. 23) has noted:

There are *two* traditions of binary or dialectical thinking. The better known is the Hegelian tradition. It uses binary thinking as a motor always to press on to a third term or a higher category that represents a transcendent reconciliation or unity: thesis and antithesis are always harnessed to yield synthesis (. . .) The lesser known but older tradition of binary thinking that I am calling on used the term 'dialectic' long before Hegel. This tradition sees value in accepting, putting up with, indeed seeking the nonresolution of the two terms: not feeling that opposites must somehow be reconciled, not feeling that the itch must be scratched.

In many languages besides English, the terms "curating" and "commissioning" are still used interchangeably at events such as the Venice Biennale, where the same person can potentially be referred to as both curator and commissioner, as head and tail of the same coin. What I have argued and demonstrated by way of historical examples, which I refer to as *episodes*, is that commissioner and curator can (and perhaps should) be at odds with each other, occupying distinct sparring positions and representing different interests. In the case of the former, the commissioner has been shown to be loyal to Empire, as was the case of Sydney Cowper, and Government and State, as was the case of Albert Werth. These *episodes* are given in chapters two and three respectively. In the case of the curator, she is loyal to a (nascent) demos, comprised of artists and others, as expressed in chapter four. If the commissioner propels the interests of state, the curator grows and nourishes the "imagings" (Enwezor 2003, p. 21) of demos (beyond notions of nation state as was the case of the Second Johannesburg Biennale).<sup>274</sup>

I have offered two editions of the São Paulo *Bienal* to readers as breaking points or moments in time where the commissioner loses hold: the 1973 edition, where Leonard Matsoso was awarded a prize for his drawing, much to the surprise of the South African establishment, and the 1979 edition, which marks the demise of an era of commissioning and the dawn of the period of curating at the *Bienal*; an edition where Matsoso is again relegated to the margins. I have conceptualized and integrated the

---

<sup>274</sup> In 1997, Enwezor saw South Africa as a society in transition, moving towards democracy and developing new concepts of global citizenship (2003, p. 21).

*Bienal* as a propeller, a revolving shaft that allows us to travel through space and time, and a site that offers illuminating vistas.

Commissioner and curator are not a Janus head, for this would mean their being somehow conjoined. Even if, as some like Glicenstein reckon, curator and commissioner were born as conjoined twins, I contend that it is thanks to curators like Okwui Enwezor, a clear scission, a deep cut, is made, dis-joining the two. As such, from the long exhibitions history archive, I have picked the late curator Okwui Enwezor, who was critically working as an independent at the time of the Second Johannesburg Biennale, as *different* to Albert Werth (and a more distant forebear Sydney Cowper). The models may seem extreme, and the historical cleft profound, but they serve to distinguish how commissioning and curating, when seen through the prism of biennials, are historically and ontologically distinct. I have argued that commissioning is tied to and entwined with trade exhibitions and world expositions, and service to the crown and Empire. On the other hand, I have proposed that readers consider the advent of contemporary curating in South Africa as coincident with the Second Johannesburg Biennale, in other words, the birth of democracy and the slow and reluctant opening up of South Africa, after a period of profound isolation, to the world and Africa.

From my first chapter, the parastatal SAAA emerges as an invisible thread that holds and connects a long line of commissioners together, from Sydney Cowper to Albert Werth. It is worth noting that Enwezor was never part of, neither was he drawn into this delicate web. As such, the first and second chapters speak of the scope and legacy of this imperial project and its initial imprint and influence on art education and museums in the Cape. It is within this frame that the commissioner emerges as an agent, a bureaucrat and a loyal subject of Empire.

The need to distinguish, to clarify nomenclature, and allegiances, has thus fuelled this thesis. On elucidating these otherwise muddled waters, the thesis provides readers with a historical understanding of the two terms which, it is hoped, will enable the reader to situate practices as embedded and possibly as a furthering of the traditions of commissioning or curating. I acknowledge that the distinction may not be as clear-cut for many, but I do wish to emphasize the importance of where we are coming

from and where we are headed. *Direction*, to take up a musing from my introduction, is crucial, particularly if we wish to stay clear of the menace, as Okwui Enwezor (2003, p. 7) has written of “the return of institutional power [as potential conduits of Empire and government] as the authorizing force of contemporary narratives of history art, culture, and ideas.” This distinction will do well by artists and their audiences, as explained in the section that follows.

### *The stakes*

The stakes between commissioning and curating are high, especially for artists. Such was the case of Leonard Matsoso whose spirit lies wedged in the exhibition histories’ archive, awaiting recognition and release. An imponderable question thus arises: would Matsoso’s history be different had he worked with a curator in 1973 and 1979? This thesis suggests that it most certainly would have, although this would have been unlikely given the oppression of apartheid and the absence of democracy, a pre-condition I have argued is essential to the emergence of reflexive, critical and restorative curating in South Africa. I contend that early commissioners were loyal to Empire, and that later commissioners aligned with State and Government. If one instantiated a centre/periphery scheme, the other perpetuated it. Independent curators, on the other hand, epitomized in this instance by Enwezor, are loyal to a demos, to an “imagined community” (Anderson 1989), where artists are at the forefront, beyond fixed nation states where we are all migrants and denizens. To quote Enwezor (2003, p. 6), the curator “embodies a new vision of global totality and a concept of modernity that dissolves old paradigms of the nation/state and the ideology of the “centre,” which now give way to a dispersed regime of rules based on networks, circuits, flows and interconnections. These rhizomatic movements are said to follow the logic of horizontality, whose disciplinary, spatial and temporal orders enable the mobility of knowledge, information, culture, capital, and exchange, and are no longer based on domination and control.” Enwezor was, it should be noted, aware of the antinomies of this model, a model which, as I see it, nonetheless endeavours to care, cultivate and create community.<sup>275</sup> If the curator holds “transnational artistic

---

<sup>275</sup> As Cuban curator Gerardo Mosquera notes in *Some Problems in Transcultural Curating* (1994), cross-cultural exhibitions are fraught with issues and run the serious risk of redesigning hegemonies. Mosquera rightly highlights that “connections [still] only happen inside a radial and hegemonic pattern

communities” (Enwezor 2003, p. 12), the commissioner with his bonds to the bedrock of Western imperialism, executes to edify empire and state, the latter depending on the period in history. As Gerardo Mosquera, Enwezor’s peer and co-curator at the Second Johannesburg Biennale has suggested, the curator’s work ought to be done “under the protection of Elegguá, the Afro-Cuban messenger, the trickster of change, the cross-roads and uncertainty. It must aim as much as for communication and transformation” (1994, p. 139).

In the instance or *episode* of Matsoso, it was the will of the apartheid government, and thus of its commissioner, that Matsoso be set up as secondary, in the shadows of Judith Mason and Marguerite Weavind in 1979, but also set against his White peers as a puerile counterpart in 1973. The precarious display of his work in the 1973 edition, unframed and pinned directly to the wall says as much. History determined that the apartheid government would not have its way. In 1973, Matsoso was named one of the recipients of a prestigious Matarazzo award. In 1979, the state would see it plans to pit White against Black on an unlevelled playing field thwarted yet again. As demonstrated in chapter three, by 1973, the *Bienal* had become a fully-fledged political conflict zone, with artists subverting officialdom by way of happenings, occupations and performances. By 1979, South Africa was considered an Achilles heel for the Brazilian organisers and motive for contestation on the part of non-South African artists. This edition would be South Africa’s last appearance with the country only being readmitted in 1994.

### *Unfinished routes and future research*

In the first instance, the material provided in chapter one has offered a detailed glimpse of institutional history of art and art exhibitions in South Africa, and

---

around centres of power, where the peripheral countries (most of the world) remain disconnected from one another, or are only connected indirectly, via – and under the control of – the centres.” Travelling to Lubumbashi, for instance, still costs five times as much as domestic air travel from Johannesburg to Cape Town. I use this example as the travel time is exactly the same. Unfortunately, Mosquera’s evaluation still rings true: “Most cross-cultural exhibitions showing one or more cultures to another, take place along the vertical axis from the centres down to the peripheries. They are financed, organised and curated by institutions and specialists in centres, who are the only ones who have the power and initiative to do it.” As I understand it, Enwezor was aware of these “antinomies” (Enwezor 2003). He sought to, as Mosquera suggests as a corrective, “take on projects in a dialogical sense and set up viable teams with clear objectives” (Mosquera 1994, p.137). The Second Johannesburg Biennale, as I see it, stands as an example, or an attempt, for the Enwezor sceptics, of this.

complementary information on institutional history in Brazil. From this chapter, a vast and expansive imperial and colonial network has emerged, connecting the South African Fine Arts Association, the Colonial Gallery and the Central School to the South Kensington project and curriculum. In this chapter, readers bear to witness to how the heart of Prince Albert's imperial project – South Kensington – by way of commissioners and envoys, spread roots to the far corners of the Empire connecting Indians, Australians, New Zealanders, Canadians and South Africans. These commissioners and envoys came together at platforms such as the 1886 *Colonial and Indian Exhibition* and the numerous conferences and meetings held around this spectacular event.

Buttressing this institutional overview is a theoretical interlude on the many archives that have informed this project, particularly the *Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo* in Brazil and the SAAA fond, currently deposited at Unisa Library. I have looked at their foundations, acknowledging their archival grain and their impact on my attempt to bring to the surface episodes which have been occluded and forgotten.

Chapter two builds further on the institutional histories of chapter one, offering the lesser known figure of Sydney Cowper to readers as a commissioner and proto “museum man.” This novel offering provides a first-hand narrative of events leading to the 1886 exhibition, ultimately including South Africa in the extant historical account on universal expositions, great exhibitions and world fairs. Although Cowper's diary was not accessed within the ambit of this research, it should be noted that this document may shed further light on events leading to and after the *Colonial and Indian Exhibition*. For anyone wishing to pursue this research, Gillian Cowper Fuller holds her grandfather's diary. In addition, Blythe House in Hammersmith and Fulham, London, may hold records on Sydney Cowper's years at the museum. The decision not to pursue this avenue was a weighed one. My intention with this thesis was to accord attention to the “castaways” of commissioners, to the “histories from below” (Basu and de Jong 2016) and less to the clerisy. As such, this entry in early museum history awaits further exploration by a keener scholar.

Chapter three has proposed Albert Johannes Werth as a commissioner in a long line that can be traced back in time to South Kensington via the SAAA. This section on

Werth is hinged on documentation located at the Pretoria Art Museum. I did not attempt to locate Werth's personal archive, knowing that the intent of this thesis was neither a biography nor hagiography of the man. Instead, this chapter reinstates Leonard Matsoso by singling out, elevating and emphasizing the importance of the award he received in 1973 and his contribution, although quietened, to a *Bienal* of dissent and upheaval.

For readers who are wondering about the Goodman Gallery, much to my surprise, no records were to be found on Leonard Matsoso in the actual gallery, despite the fact that the artist had been represented by Linda Givon since 1969. It is possible that Givon, the previous owner, holds these files, or that they may have been misplaced when compiling the book of the gallery's fiftieth anniversary in 2016. This information would have been useful in disclosing Matsoso's collectors and if he was ever afforded the opportunity to travel to Brazil in the 1970s. Matsoso and Givon parted ways in June of 1995. "People are not supporting the arts even as spectators, and due to the load of pressure of other work we cannot afford to keep our space running" explained Givon in a seemingly standard letter to the artist (cf. appendix 31). I contacted Linda Givon in September of 2018 but she was unavailable for an interview.

Likewise, I was unable to obtain further information on *The Five*, a group comprised of Sydney Kumalo, Ezrom Legae, Judith Mason, Leonard Matsoso and Cecil Skotnes, despite my attempts to engage with the physical, as opposed to the online Cecil Skotnes Archive. *The Five's* undated, unsigned manifesto can be found in *New Revolutions Goodman Gallery at 50: 1966–2016*.<sup>276</sup> The many questions I have regarding this collective thus remain unanswered, namely: When was the manifesto written? What was it was penned in response to? How often did the members gather? How long did the group stay together? Did they ever exhibit as a group? When did they disband and why? This information could potentially shed light on the 1979 *Bienal*

---

<sup>276</sup> The manifesto states: WE, members of the Group 'The Five' being aware that Africa demands many responses; believe in the individual rights of all South Africans and that this Group represents a great and unique diversity; that the practice of art must be free of official patronage; that the individual conscience is greater than the prescribed beliefs; that a caring response to our everyday situation is necessary and art must explore an increasing awareness of our artistic obligations to tell the truth about our common humanity.

and the relationship between Matsoso and Mason, which – I have speculated – could only have been strained.

A last loose end – a piece that I was unable to fit into the puzzle – which I hope to pursue in future, is that of Dr Godfrey Mokgonane Pitje, esteemed anti-apartheid attorney, and his possibly unrecognised role as a patron to Matsoso and conceivably, as a benefactor to other Black artists.<sup>277</sup> Pitje's name was mentioned to me by Pat Mautloa in casual conversation. It was at the Johannesburg Art Gallery, whilst perusing the artist's folder that a suggestive trace of his importance emerged. I refer to photographs of Dr Pitje's lounge included in the Matsoso manila folder (fig. 43), where at least one of the artist's works was displayed with pride in the family home beside the television.<sup>278</sup> The chosen piece was *Horse and Rider*, produced in 1986 and it would have certainly left an imprint on the minds of Pitje's children, Legwai Pitje and Mathomeledi Matlou, and any visitors given the centrality of its place within the Pitje home. This archival trace says "mark me – listen to me, see me, heed me, note me, notice me" (Laubscher 2010). Again, this proves an impossible task given that Pitje too now speaks from the realm of the dead.

---

<sup>277</sup> Dr Godfrey Pitje is described by Kenneth S. Broun (2001) as one of the most respected Black lawyers in South Africa. He was born the son of Bapedi parents on July 20, 1917 in Phokwane. Whilst studying at the University of Fort Hare, he established a branch of the ANC's Youth League at the university, thus extending the institution outside of the Transvaal. At its formation, the branch had no more than 20 members. This small group managed to recruit Robert Sobukwe. Other members included Herbert Chitepo, Ntsu Mokgetlhe and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Besides his role in creating this branch, Pitje is equally known for his work in the firm of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo. According to Broun (2001, p. 35), he was "fined for contempt of court for refusing to sit at a lawyer's table separate from the ones at which white lawyers sat." From October 31, 1968 to October 31, 1973, Pitje was placed under banning orders which forbade him from entering or being in certain places (for instance, Black locations, trade union offices, factories, etc.), from going outside a particular area or place, from communicating with any other person (usually another banned person), from receiving visitors (except an advocate or attorney managing his affairs), from attending any gatherings, and from teaching and writing (Aluka ND). Pitje has recounted the ignominies of working as a Black lawyer under apartheid (Tribute to the Founder of the BLA 2010).

He played an instrumental role in the creation of the Black Lawyers Association (launched in 1977), having acted as its first chairman.

<sup>278</sup> The details of each photograph are handwritten by the archivist: *Head*, 1990, oil and pastel on paper, dimensions not provided, and *Horse and Rider*, 1986, ink on paper, 55,2 x 38 cm. In order to be photographed, possibly for a catalogue, *Head* was taken from the wall where it originally hung, hence it is difficult to know its exact place in the Pitje household.



Figure 43: Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso's *Horse and Rider* (1986) [right], exhibited with pride in the heart of the Pitje home

The information I was nonetheless able to piece together was originally compiled by the Black Lawyers Association, which I contacted in 2019 with the intent of meeting Pitje's surviving family. My interest lay in determining the size of his art collection and how he obtained these works. This too revealed itself to be a cul-de-sac, or an avenue I hope to pursue in the near future.

In conclusion, it is my hope that the strength of this research lies not only the demarcation of curatorial and commissioning practices, but more importantly, in its "unanticipated affordances" (Basu and De Jong 2016), namely its contribution to what Gerard Mosquera has termed "South to South prestige" (1994, p. 136),<sup>279</sup> as well as the writing of remote exhibition histories and the potential to reinstate Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso to his rightful place, as a pre-eminent anti-colonial modernist. In the future perfect tense, it should contribute to the already mounting literature and research towards the unfolding and becoming of a more comprehensive and global modernism. My recent predecessors in this revisionist field include esteemed peers Nontobeko Ntombela and her work around Gladys Mgudlandlu, Portia Malatjie on Mmakgabo Helen Sebidi, and Same Mdluli, who brought together

---

<sup>279</sup> In short, the advocacy and assertion of South's capacity to legitimate.

the exhibition *A Black Aesthetic* and with it, the happy reunion of a “lost” family, not only father and child, but teacher and pupil, comrade and fellow.

From dormancy and latency comes rebirth.

## *Bibliography*

- Abbas, B. and Abou-Rahme, R. (2013) The Archival Multitude. *Journal of Visual Culture* 12(3), pp. 345-363.
- Accone, D. (1997) Decaying gelatine is a sign that Bonaparte Blenkins is slumming it in SA's high society. *Sunday Independent*, October 26.
- Accone, D. (1997) The job of Real Art is to challenge. *The Star*, December 19.
- Adam, L. (1940) *Primitive Art*. Middlesex: Allen Lane/ Penguin.
- Agamben, G. (1999) *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*. New York: Zone Books.
- A Gazeta – Vitória, Espírito Santo*. (1973) Pelé será presença em início da Bienal. October 2.
- Alambert, F. and Canhête, P. (2004) *Bienais de São Paulo: Da era do Museu à era dos curadores (1951–2001)*. São Paulo: Boitempo.
- Alfreds. L. (1997) Jo'burg preparing for huge Biennale crowds. *Star*, October 1, p. 2.
- Alloway, L. (1969) *The Venice Biennale 1895–1968: From Solon to Goldfish Bowl*. London: Faber & Faber.
- Alloway, L. (1996) The Great Curatorial Dim-Out. In: Greenberg, R., Ferguson, B.W. and Nairne, S. Eds. (1996) *Thinking About Exhibitions*, pp. 221–230. London: Routledge.
- Aluka. (2010) *Opponents to Apartheid Subjected to Banning Orders in South Africa*. [online] Available form:  
[http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1969\\_13\\_final.pdf](http://psimg.jstor.org/fsi/img/pdf/t0/10.5555/al.sff.document.nuun1969_13_final.pdf)
- Amarante, L. (1989) *As Bienais de São Paulo: 1951 a 1987*. São Paulo: Projecto Editores Associados.
- Anderson, B. (1989) *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, K. (2012) The footprint and the stepping stone: archival records, evidence, and time. *Arch Sci*, 13, pp. 349-371.
- Arantes, P. E. (2010) 1964, a ano que não terminou. In: Teles, E. and Safatle, V. Eds. (2010) *O Que Resta da Ditadura: A Exceção Brasileira*, pp. 205-236. São Paulo: Boitempo.
- Arieff, A. (1995) Reading the Victoria and Albert Museum. *Victorian Poetry* 33(4), pp. 403-424.
- Artlook*. (1971) Leonard Matsoso. August, p. 29.

- Ashton, L. (1975) US honour for city art director. *Pretoria News*, May 15.
- Atkinson, B. (1997) Routes to global culture. *Mail e3 Guardian*, October 10–16, p. 4.
- Ayala, W. (1973) Bienal: Critérios de seleção. *Jornal do Brasil – Rio de Janeiro*, September 3, p. 3.
- Ayala, W. (1973) As homenagens. *Jornal do Brasil – Rio de Janeiro*, September 5.
- Azoulay, A. (2007) The Tradition of the Oppressed. *Qui Parle* 16(2), pp. 73-96.
- Babbage, C. (1851) *The Exposition 1851: Views of the Industry, the Science and the Government of England*. London: John Murray.
- Bal, M. (1992) Telling, Showing, Showing Off. *Critical Inquiry* 18(3): 556-594.
- Bal, M. (1996) The Discourse of the Museum. In: Greenberg, R., Ferguson, B.W. and Nairne, S. Eds. (1996) *Thinking About Exhibitions*. pp. 201–218. London: Routledge.
- Baneshik, P. (1976) Art Detente. *Star*, July 15.
- Bank, A. (1999) Losing faith in the civilizing mission: the premature decline of humanitarianism liberalism at the Cape, 1840–60. In: Daunton, M. and Halpern, R. Eds. (1999) *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Barad, K. (2010) Quantum Entanglements and Hauntological Relations of Inheritance: Dis/continuities, SpaceTime Enfoldings, and Justice-to-Come. *Derrida Today* 3.2, pp. 240-268.
- Barben, M. (2015) *What does it mean to be a 'national' gallery when the notions of 'nation' transform radically? An analysis of the Iziko South African National Gallery's practices and policies in historical contexts*. Master's dissertation. University of Cape Town.
- Barnitz, J. (2001) *Twentieth-Century Art from Latin America*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Barone, A.C.C. (2009) A oposição aos pavilhões do parque Ibirapuera (1950-1954). *Anais do Museu Paulista* 17.2, pp. 295-316.
- Barragan, P. (2019) *1978: El año en que América Latina dejó de creer en sí misma*. [online] Artishock. Available from: <https://artishockrevista.com/2019/04/15/1978-el-ano-en-que-america-latina-dejo-de-creer-en-si-misma/>
- Barringer, T. (1998) The South Kensington Museum and the colonial project. In: Barringer, T. and Flynn, T. Eds. (1998) *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, material culture and the museum*. London: Routledge.

- Barrow, V. (1975) Hugh Lane. *Dublin Historical Record* 28(4), pp. 122-137.
- Basson, J. (1973) São Paulo Biennale. *Artlook*, November, pp. 16-18.
- Basson, J. (1973) Bringing a touch of Africa to Sao Paulo. *Pretoria News*, December 6.
- Basson, J. (1974) Bantu artist wins prize at Sao Paulo Biennale. *Bantu*, February.
- Basson, J. (1976) Santam en Sanlam Kunswerke vir die Buiteland. *Bantu*, June, p. 3.
- Basson, J. (1976) Work of Black Artists Still Popular. *Bantu*, December, pp. 2-5.
- Basu, P. and De Jong, F. (2016) Utopian Archives, Decolonial Affordances. *Social Anthropology* 24(1), pp. 5-19.
- Bayard, J. (2017) *Absence is Presence with Distance*. Master's dissertation. Hunter College, The City University of New York.
- Becker, C. (2002) A Conversation with Okwui Enwezor. *African Art Journal* 61(2), pp. 8-27.
- Becker, C. (2002) *Surpassing the Spectacle: Global Transformations and the Changing Politics of Art*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Beeld*. (1969) Die buiteland soek ons siel. February 11.
- Beeld*. (1976) S.A. kuns reis ver. January 14, p. 12.
- Beeld*. (1984) Hul het groot planne vir Kunsmuseum. February 27.
- Beeld*. (1988) Tuks benoem 3 ere-professore. February 18.
- Beeld*. (1992) Dr. Werth was dikwels teen die stroom. November 4.
- Bell, E.E.B. (2011) *Beyond the Exhibit: Zulu Experiences in Britain and the United States 1879–1884* (master's dissertation). Ottawa: Carleton University.
- Benjamin, W. (1940) *On the Concept of History*. Available from: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/benjamin/1940/history.htm>
- Benjamin, W. (1999) *Illuminations*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Benjamin, W. (2008) *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings on Media*. London: Belknap Press.
- Bennett, T. (1988) The Exhibitionary Complex. *New Formations* 4, pp. 73-102.
- Bergen, B.J. (1998) *The Banality of Evil: Hannah Arendt and "The Final Solution."* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Berman, E. (1983) *Art & Artists of South Africa: An illustrated biographical dictionary and historical survey of painters, sculptors & graphic artists since 1875*. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema.

Best, S. (2011) Neither Lost nor Found: Slavery and the Visual Archive. *Representations* 113 (1), pp. 150-163.

Birkett, W.F. (2012) *To Infinity and Beyond: A Critique of the Aesthetic White Cube*. Master's dissertation. Seton Hall University, New Jersey.

BLA (2010) Tribute to the Founder of BLA, First President and Director of the Centre: The late Dr G M Pitje. *African Law Review* 4.

Blackwell, C.W. (2003) *The Development of Athenian Democracy*. [online] Dêmos. Available from: [http://www.stoa.org/demos/article\\_democracy\\_development@page=2&greekEncoding=UnicodeC.html](http://www.stoa.org/demos/article_democracy_development@page=2&greekEncoding=UnicodeC.html)

Blignaut, C. (1997) How we see ourselves. *Mail and Guardian*, November 14, pp. 2-4.

Bojé, V. (1981) Two city directors go abroad. *News*, March 26.

Bojé, V. (1984) HNP no to works by black artist. *News*, September 27.

Bonython, E. and Burton, A. (2003) *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole*. London: V&A Publications.

Bosland, J. and Perryer, S. (2012) *Trade Routes Revisited: A project marking the anniversary of the second Johannesburg Biennale*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: Stevenson.

Bourdieu, P. (2002) *Pour un savoir engagé*. [online] Le Monde Diplomatique. Available from: <https://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2002/02/BOURDIEU/8602>

Boyanoski, C. (2006) Selective memory: the British Empire Exhibition and national histories of art. In: Coombes, A.E. Ed. (2006) *Rethinking settler colonialism: history and memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Brenson, M. (1998) The Curator's Moment. *Art Journal* 57(4), pp. 16-27.

Brink, B. (2012) Built with Sand, Rock and Broederbond: Brian Sandrock's buildings for the University of Pretoria and the University of South Africa. *SAJAH*, 27(3), pp. 1-27.

Bristowe, A. (1997) Biennale takes off today. *Sunday Times*, October 12.

Bristowe, A. (1997) Costs cut Biennale short. *Sunday Times*, November 30, p. 26.

Broun, K.S. (2001) Black Lawyers under Apartheid: The Soul of South African Law. *Litigation* 27(2), pp. 33-38 and 82.

Buckland, M. (1991) Information as a Thing. *Journal of the American Society of Information Science*, 42(5), pp. 351-360.

Budney, J. (1998) Who's it for? The 2<sup>nd</sup> Johannesburg Biennale. *Third Text* 12(42), pp. 88-94.

Bueno, M.L. (2005) O Mercado de Galerias e o Comércio de Arte Moderna: São Paulo e Rio de Janeiro nos anos 1950–1960. *Sociedade e Estado, Brasília* 20(2), pp. 377-402.

Burmann, P. (2000) The Thread of the Story: Two South African Women Artists Talk about Their Work. *Research in African Literature* 31(4), pp. 155-165.

Burton, A. Ed. (2005) *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Byrne, E. (2007) *The Crystal Palace was constructed of fire and glass – so how and why did it burn down?* [online]. BBC History Extra. Available from: <https://www.historyextra.com/period/modern/the-crystal-palace-was-constructed-of-iron-and-glass-so-how-and-why-did-it-burn-down/>

Cabanne, P. (1963) *Outlaws of Art*. London: Elek Books.

Calenborne, M. (1979) Medal for a fighting artist. *News*, September 17.

*Cape Times*. (1886) Colonial and Indian Exhibition Meeting [Minutes]. January 8.

*Cape Times*. (1886) The Indian and Colonial Exhibition (By Telegraph, Reuter's Agency). May 5, p. 2.

*Cape Times*. (1886) Colonial and Indian Exhibition: Opening Ceremony. May 6, p. 6.

*Cape Times*. (1886) Exhibition Notes. June 10, p. 2.

*Cape Times*. (1886) The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Home Welcome. May 15, p. 2.

*Cape Times*. (1886) The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Home Welcome. May 27, p. 3.

*Cape Times*. (1886) The Queen and the Colonies. June 26, p. 3.

*Cape Times*. (1886) The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Opening Ceremonial. July 16.

*Cape Times*. (1886) England and the Colonies. July 17, p. 3.

- Cape Times*. (1886) The Colonial and Indian Exhibition. July, p. 3.
- Cape Times*. (1886) The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Home Welcome. July 23, p. 3.
- Cape Times*. (1886) The Colonial and Indian Exhibition. August 6, p. 3.
- Cape Times*. (1886) The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: An Interesting Collection. August 31, p. 2.
- Cape Times*. (1886) The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: An Australian View of the Court. October 9, p. 3.
- Cape Times*. (1886) The Colonial Exhibition and its Lessons. November 24, p. 3.
- Cape Times*. (1975) *Art biennial in Sao Paolo (sic): A good venue?* October 20.
- Cape Times*. (1978) SA exhibition for West Germany. January 24.
- Carman, J. (2013). Johannesburg Art Gallery and the Urban Future. In *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City*. Edited by Tomlinson, R., Beauregard, R., Bremner, L. and Magcu, X. London: Routledge.
- Carrier, D. (1987) The Display of Art: An Historical Perspective. *Leonardo* 20(1), pp. 83-86.
- Carter, R.G.S. (2006) Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence. *Archivaria* 61, pp. 215-233.
- Caviness, M.H. (2001) *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: sight, spectacle, and scopic economy*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Chisholm, F. (1997) Biennale 1997 provides multicultural platform. *Cape Times*, October 14, p. 15.
- Chouraqui, F. (2011) Temporal Thickness in Merleau-Ponty's Notes of May 1959. *Chiasmi International* 13, pp. 407-427.
- Christie, K. (2000) *The South African Truth Commission*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Christies (2014) *Rare Maps from Kenneth Nebenzahl, Inc.* [online] Christie's. Available from: <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/the-india-colonial-exhibition-london-1886-5780605-details.aspx>
- Cintrão, R. (2010) As montagens de exposições de arte: dos Salões de Paris ao Moma. In *Sobre o ofício do curador*. Edited by Ramos, A.D. Porto Alegre: Editora Zouk.
- Claassen, G. (1997) Africus: Johannesburg Biennale, 1995. *African Arts* 30(2), pp. 87-89.

- Cobain, I. (2016) *The History Thieves: Secrets, Lies and the Shaping of a Modern Nation*. London: Portobello Books.
- Coetzee, C. (2013) *Accented Futures: Language Activism and the Ending of Apartheid*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Cohen, J.I. (2020) *The "Black Art" Renaissance: African Sculpture and Modernism Across Continents*. Oakland: The University of California Press.
- Cole, H. (1868) *Report by the Executive Commissioner presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty*. London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode.  
Available from:  
[https://archive.org/stream/reportsonparisun00grea\\_0/reportsonparisun00grea\\_0\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/reportsonparisun00grea_0/reportsonparisun00grea_0_djvu.txt)
- Cook, T. and Schwartz, J.M. (2002) Archives, Records and Power: From (Postmodern) Theory to (Archival) Performance. *Archival Science* 2, pp. 1-19.
- Coombes, A.E.S. (1985) 'For God and For England': Contributions to an image of Africa in the first decade of the twentieth century. *Art History* 8(4), pp. 453-466.
- Coplan, D.B. (2003) Land from the Ancestors: Popular Religious Pilgrimage along the South Africa-Lesotho Border. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29(4), pp. 976-993.
- Coulson, M. (1997) Last gasp from the Biennale. *Financial Mail (Holiday Special)*, December 12, p. 43.
- Coulson, M. (1998) Art fails to pull the crowds. *The Art Newspaper* 77.
- Cowper, S. (1881) *Report of the South African Fine Arts Association of the Year of 1880*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Cowper, S. (1885) *Letter to Isabel Cowper*. [letter] Sydney Cowper Collection. Cape Town Manuscripts. Folder MSB 687-1-8. September 30.
- Cowper, S. (1887) *Report of the Secretary to the Executive Commissioner for the Cape Colony at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886*. Annexures to the votes and proceedings of the House of Assembly, volume no. CCP1/2/1/70. National Archives of South Africa. Cape Town Archives Repository.
- Cowper, S. (1898) *Report of the Trustees of the Art Gallery and Report of the South African Fine Arts Association for the year ended 1897-1898*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Cowper, S. (1900) *Report of the Trustees of the Art Gallery and Report of the South African Fine Arts Association for the year ended 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1900*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts

Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Craps, S. (2010) Learning to Live with Ghosts: Postcolonial Haunting and Mid-Mourning in David Dabydeen's "Turner" and Fred d'Aguiar's *Feeding the Ghosts*. *Callaloo* 33(2), pp. 467-475.

Curi, F.A. (2015) *Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo – Fundação Bienal de São Paulo: An archive between past and future*. Paper presented at the International Committee for Documentation: New Delhi, India.

Cruise, W. (1997) Review of information on the theme and programme for the Second Johannesburg Biennale 1997. *De Arte* 56, pp. 40-41.

Dale, L. (1890) *Report of the South African Fine Art Association, 1889*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Dantas, N. (2017) *Decolonization of Heeding the Spectres in the Museum and-as Archive*. [online] *Wrong Wrong*. Available from: <https://wrongwrong.net/artigo/the-duty-of-decolonization-or-heeding-the-spectres-in-the-museum-and-as-archive>

Daunton, M. and Halpern, R. Eds. (1999) *Empire and Others: British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600–1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Davidstz, B. (1972) Matsoso se werk verdien pluimpie. *Die Vaderland*, July 8.

Day, D. (2016) The New Goodman Gallery. In *New Revolutions Goodman Gallery at 50: 1966–2016*. Johannesburg: Goodman Gallery.

De Beer, A. (1974) Bantu Art. *Bantu* (September), pp.10-23.

Decker, S. (2012) *The silence of the archive: post-colonialism and the practice of historical reconstruction from archival evidence*. [online] Aston University. Available from: [https://mpr.ub.uni-muenchen.de/37280/1/MPRA\\_paper\\_37280.pdf](https://mpr.ub.uni-muenchen.de/37280/1/MPRA_paper_37280.pdf)

De Jaeger, E.J. (1979) Six Artists. *African Arts* XII(2), pp. 60-64.

De Jaeger, E.J. (1992) *Images of Man: Contemporary South African Black Art and Artists*, Alice: University of Fort Hare.

De Jong, F. (2016) At work in the archive: introduction to special issue. *World Art* 6(1), pp. 3-17.

Derrida, J. (1994) *Spectres of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, & the New International*. London: Routledge.

Derrida, J. (1998) *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. London: The University of Chicago Press.

- Derrida, J. (2010) *Copy, Archive, Signature: A Conversation on Photography*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- De Villiers, D. (1975) London show for Blacks. *Star*, February 4.
- Dewar, J. (1971) African artist makes debut in England. *The Star*, July 12.
- Dewar, J. (1984) Mammoth task on SA art a success. *The Star TONIGHT*, June 25.
- Diário da Noite – Edição Vespertina (São Paulo)*. (1973) Júri internacional começou a julgar as obras da Bienal. October 2.
- Diário da Noite – Edição Matutina*. (1973) Maior participação do público na Bienal de 73. October 3.
- Diário de São Paulo*. (1973) África do Sul envia obras para a Bienal. August 28.
- Diário Popular – São Paulo*. (1973) Bienal dos recusados uma forma de protesto. August 29.
- Diário de São Paulo*. (1973) Bienal: Júri iniciou o exame das obras. October 2.
- Diawara, M. (1998) Moving Company: The Second Johannesburg Biennale. *Artforum XXXVI* (7), pp. 87-89.
- Die Burger*. (1978) Man, Beast and Ancestors: Vordering te sien in swart kuns. October 16.
- Die Burger*. (1976) S.A. kuns in V.S.A. March 24, p. 10.
- Dolby, J. (1981) A Short History of the South African National Gallery. *The Lantern* (December), p. 38.
- Donnelly, J.F.D. (1887) *Report of the South African Fine Arts Association, 1886*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Dotson, K. (2011) Tracking Epistemic Violence, Tracking Practices of Silencing. *Hypatia* 26(2), pp. 236 -257.
- Downey, A. (2015) Contingency, Dissonance and Performativity: Critical Archives and Knowledge Production in Contemporary Art. In: Downey, A. Ed. (2015) *Dissonant Archives: Contemporary Visual Culture and Contested Narratives in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Dullart, G. (1997) Sputtering Biennale not helped by Press Office claims. *City Vision Johannesburg*, October 23, p. 9.

Duncan, J. (2007) *Nation Building and Globalisation in the Visual Arts: A Case study of Art Projects of the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council (GJMC)*. Doctoral thesis. University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Duncan, S.A. and McClellan, A. (2018) *The Art of Curating – Paul J. Sachs and the Museum Course at Harvard*. Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute.

*Economist*. (1997) African biennale: Trade routes. October 18.

Eco, U. (1986) *Travels in Hyperreality*. San Diego: Harvest Book.

Edelstein, J. (ND) *Cave of the ancestors*. [online] *The Drawbridge*. Available from: [http://thedrawbridge.org.uk/issue\\_20/cave\\_of\\_the\\_ancestors/](http://thedrawbridge.org.uk/issue_20/cave_of_the_ancestors/)

Eichhorn, K. (2013) *The Archival Turn in Feminism*. Pennsylvania: Temple University Press.

Elbow, P. (1993) The uses of Binary Thinking. *Journal of Advanced Composition* 14, pp. 22- 51.

English, J.F. (2005) *The Economy of Prestige: Prizes, Awards, and the Circulation of Cultural Value*. London: Harvard University Press.

Enwezor, O. (1997) *Trade Routes: History and Geography*. Johannesburg: The Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council.

Enwezor, O. (1998) Between Localism and Worldliness. In: Lavrijson, R. (1998) *Global encounters in the world of art*. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute.

Enwezor, O. (2003) Mega/Exhibitions and the Antinomies of a Transnational Global Forum. *Manifesta Journal* 2, pp. 6-31.

Enwezor, O. (2012) Okwui Enwezor: Reflections [Artistic Director]. In: Bosland, J. and Perryer, S. Eds. (2012) *Trade Routes Revisited: A project marking the anniversary of the second Johannesburg Biennale*. Cape Town and Johannesburg: Stevenson.

Ernst, W. (2016) Radically de-historicising the archive. Decolonising archival memory from the supremacy of historical discourse. In: Aikens, N. et. al *Decolonising Archives*. L+Internationale Online. Available from: [www.internationaleonline.org](http://www.internationaleonline.org)

Fabbrini, R.N. (2001-2002) Para uma história da Bienal de São Paulo: da arte moderna à contemporânea. *Revista USP* 52, pp. 46-55.

Fairbairn, J.A. (1885) *Report of the Committee of the South African Fine Arts Association 1885*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Fairbairn, J.A. (1887) *Report of the South African Fine Arts Association 1886*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

- Farge, A. (2013) *The Allure of the Archives*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Favaretto, C. (2000) *Tropicália Alegoria Alegria*. São Paulo: Ateliê Editorial.
- Feinsod, H. (2014) *Poems to Waldo Frank: "Creative" Diplomacy in the U.S., Brazil and Argentina*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Studies Association Annual Meeting, Puerto Rico Convention Center and the Caribe Hilton. San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- Ferguson, L. (1997) Art at the crossroads. *Saturday Star*, October 11.
- Filipovic, E., van Hal, M. and Ostvebo, S. (2010) Biennology. In: Filipovic, E., van Hal, M. and Ostvebo, S. (2010) *The Biennial Reader: An Anthology on Large-Scale Perennial Exhibitions of Contemporary Art*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz.
- Findling, J.E. (1994) *Chicago's Great World's Fairs*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Fisk, H. B. (1892, May 31) *Report of the South African Fine Art Association for the Year 1893*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Flusser, V. (2003) *The Freedom of the Migrant: Objections to Nationalism*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Folha de S. Paulo*. (1973) África do Sul primeiro na Bienal. August 30.
- Folha de São Paulo*. (1973) O juri da Bienal. September 28.
- Folha de S. Paulo*. (1973) O júri da Bienal começa os trabalhos. October 2.
- Folha de S. Paulo*. (1973) A Bienal integrada na cidade. October 3.
- Folha de São Paulo*. (1973) A Bienal da cidade começa movimentar um mundo de verba. September 1.
- Ford, J. (1880) *Report of the South African Fine Arts Association for the Year 1880*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Ford, J. (1884, May 17) *Report of the Committee of the South African Fine Arts Association of the Year 1883*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Foucault, M. (1968) *L'Archéologie du Savoir*. Paris: Gallimard.
- Foucault, M. (1991) Questions of Method. In: Burchell, G., Gordon, C. & Miller, P. Eds. (1991) *The Foucault Effect*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Available

from: <https://laelectrodomestica.files.wordpress.com/2014/07/the-foucault-effect-studies-in-governmentality.pdf>

Fourie, E. (1983) Art communicates. *Informa*, February, pp. 5-7.

Fourie, J. (1993) *Fax transmission sent to Mr. N. Cronje* [fax] SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria. November 1.

Freshwater, H. (2003) The allure of the archive. *Poetics Today* 24(4), pp. 729-758.

Friedman, H. (1997) The curator as God. *Weekly Mail*, October 10-16, p. 5.

Friedman, H. (1997) The curator as God. *Weekly Mail*, October 10, p. 4. Available from: <https://mg.co.za/article/1997-10-10-the-curator-as-god>

Fysh, R. (1979) The art of the matter. *Pretoria News*, February 27.

Garb, T. (2017) Archiving the In-Between. In: *Àsikò: On the Future of Artistic and Curatorial Pedagogies in Africa*. Lagos: Centre for Contemporary Art Lagos.

Gardam, A. (1970) [Letter to Mrs Gunther enquiring about exhibitions with Black artists under the auspices of the SAAA]. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria. July 31.

Gardner, A. and Green, C. (2014) South as Method? Biennials Past and Present. In: Eilat, G., Enguita Mayo, N., Esche, C., Lafuente, P., Proença, L., Sagic, O. and Seroussi, B. Eds. (2014) *Making Biennials in Contemporary Times: Essays from the World Biennial Forum 2*. São Paulo: Biennial Foundation.

Gardner, A. and Green, C. (2013) Biennials of the South on the Edges of the Global. *Third Text* 27(4), pp. 442-455.

Geers, K. (1993) *Proposal and application to be a member of the selection panel for South Africa's contribution to the 1994 Sao Paulo Biennale*. [letter-fax]. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria. October 29.

Geers, K. (1997) Paying tribute to those who paid their dues. *The Star*, November 19, p. 12.

Geers, K. (1997) Where are the patrons? *Star*, November 26.

Geers, K. (1997) If you can't see the show, read the book. *The Star*, December 4, p. 18.

Geppert, A.C.T. (2018) *World Fairs*. [online]. European History Online. Available from: <http://ieg-ego.eu/en/threads/crossroads/knowledge-spaces/alexander-c-t-geppert-worlds-fairs>

Givon, L. (1995) [Letter informing Leonard Matsoso of the gallery closure]. Matsoso Family Archive, Soweto. June 23.

Glanville, S. (1997) Biased, dangerously naïve – or a hidden agenda? *Sunday Independent*, November 2, p. 13.

Glasner, C. (2015) Soweto's Islands of Learning: Morris Isaacson and Orlando West High Schools Under Bantu Education, 1958–1975. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 41(1), pp. 159-171.

Glicenstein, J. (2015) *L'invention du curateur: mutations dan l'art contemporain*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Goosen, J. (1979) Veelsydige Werth vereer met gesog Penning. *Hoofstad*, October 8.

Gordon, A.F. (2004) *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Gordon, A.F. (2010) Some thoughts on Haunting and Futurity. *Borderlands* 10(2), pp. 1-21.

Governo de São Paulo (2004), *A contribuição do negro para o crescimento de São Paulo*, <https://www.saopaulo.sp.gov.br/eventos/a-contribuicao-do-negro-para-o-crescimento-de-sao-paulo/>

Gray, Z., Kathrein, M, Schafhausen, N., Szewczyk, M and Urlus, A. Eds. (2010) *Rotterdam Dialogues: The Critics, The Curators, The Artists*. Rotterdam: Witte de With.

Green, C. and Gardner, A. (2016) *Biennials, Triennials, and documenta: The Exhibitions That Created Contemporary Art*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Green, E. (1973) Big contribution by Preller to the Biennial. *Cape Argus*, April 17.

Green, R. (1989) Showing the Werth of the Art Museum. *The Pretoria News*, April 10.

Greenhalgh, P. (1988) *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Gregos, K. (2010/1) The Sovereign and its Servants: On the Ethics of Curating. *Manifesta Journal* 12, pp. 44-50.

Greig, R. (1997) Biennale may be cut short as council chops funding. *Sunday Independent*, November 30, p. 3.

Groys, B. (2006) The politics of equal aesthetic rights. *Radical Philosophy* 137. Available from: <https://www.radicalphilosophy.com/article/the-politics-of-equal-aesthetic-rights>

Groys, B. (2009) From medium to Message: The Art Exhibition as Model of a New World Order. *Open* 16, pp. 56-65.

Guelke, A. (1999) Truth for Amnesty? The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Human Rights Abuses in South Africa. *Irish Studies in International Affairs* 10, pp. 21-30.

Gunther, K. (1972) [Letter to Miss Semann]. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria. October 3.

Hall, S. (2001) Constituting an archive. *Third Text*, 15(54), pp. 89-91.

Hall, S. (2017) Museums of Modern Art and the End of History. In: Newall D., Barker, E., Carter W., Christian K. and Dohmen, R. Eds. (2017) *Art and its global histories: a reader*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hamilton, C., Harris, V. and Reid, G. (2002) Introduction. In: Hamilton, C., Harris V., Taylor J., Pickover M., Reid G., Saleh R. Eds. (2002) *Refiguring the Archive*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Hamilton, K. (1984) Censorship comes of age. *Pretoria News*, December 18.

Harmsen, F. (1992) To city art, he's Werth his weight in gold. *Pretoria News*, December 14, p. 13.

Harris, V. (2000) Blindness and the Archive: an Exergue. In: Denis, P. Ed. (2000) *Orality, Memory and the Past: Listening to the Voices of Black Clergy under Colonialism and Apartheid*. Pietermaritzburg: Cluster Publications.

Harris, V. (2002a) The Archival Sliver: Power, Memory, and Archives in South Africa. *Archival Science* 2, pp. 63-86.

Harris, V. (2002) The Archive, Public History and the Essential Truth: The TRC Reading the Past. In: Hamilton C., Harris V., Taylor J., Pickover M., Reid G. and Saleh R. Eds. (2002) *Refiguring the Archive*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Harris, V. (2012) Genres of the trace: memory, archives and trouble. *Archives and Manuscripts* 40(3), pp. 147-157.

Hartman, I. (1982) Television for today. *Informa*, February, pp. 1-9.

Hassan, S. M. (2010) African Modernism: Beyond Alternative Modernisms Discourse. *South Atlantic Quarterly* 109(3), pp. 451-473.

Heartney, E. (1998) Report from Johannesburg: Mapping the Postcolonial. *Art in America* (June), pp. 51-55.

- Henry, S.D. (1993) *letter of application to curatorial panel*. [letter-fax] SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Herber, A. (1976) Avril Herber talks to Dr. Albert Werth, director of the Pretoria Art Museum. *Habitat*, p. 17.
- Herbst, M. (1998) Second Johannesburg Biennale: Alternating Currents. *African Arts* (Summer), pp. 74-76.
- Herman, C.H. (1885) *Letter to the Colonial Secretary, John Tudhope*. [letter] C.L. Herman Papers (ZA UCT BC489). University of Cape Town. April 9.
- Hershatter, J. (2010) *Montage: Eisenstein vs. Pudovkin*. [blog post] December 10. Available from: <https://jhershaemory.wordpress.com/2010/12/10/montage-eisenstein-vs-pudovkin/>
- Herwitz, D. (1997) SA must learn art of criticizing artworks in quest to take its value seriously. *Star*, November 13.
- H.E.W. (1971) Unusual door panels? *Rand Daily Mail*, September 1.
- Hewitt, M. (1994) The Redemptive Power of Memory: Walter Benjamin and Elisabeth Schuessler Florenza. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 10 (1), pp. 73-89.
- Hill, S. (2018) Creating Consciousness: Black Art in 1970s South Africa. *Nka Journal of Contemporary African Art* 42/43, pp. 196-210.
- Hill, S. and Rankin, E. (1998) Important & Exportant. *African Arts* (Summer), pp. 76-78.
- Hobbs, C. (2001) Personal Archives: The Character of Personal Archives: Reflections on the Value of Records of Individuals. *Archivaria*, 52, pp. 126-135.
- Hoffenberger, P.H. (2001) *An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hoffmann, A.M.P. (2007) *Crítica de Arte e Bienais: as contribuições de Geraldo Ferraz*. Doctoral thesis. Universidade de São Paulo.
- Hoofstad*. (1973) Bantoe-kunstenaar kry internasionale prys. November 3.
- Hoofstad*. (1979) Veelsydige Werth vereer met gesogte Penning. October 8.
- Hoofstad*. (1984) We can't do without the black artists. October 15.
- Horrocks, C. (2013) Disinterring the Present: Science Fiction, Media Technology and the Ends of the Archive. *Journal of Visual Culture* 12(3): 414-430.

- Huggan, G. (2003) *The Postcolonial Exotic: Marketing the Margins*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Huntley, M. (1988) Tribute to Namibian artist. *The Pretoria News*, August 25.
- Hynes, N. (1997) The rainbow nation goes global. *Financial Times (Weekend)*, November 2, p. VII.
- Hynes, N. (1997) Biennale raises questions of SA's identity. *Business Day*, November 28, p. 2.
- Hynes, N. (1998) Art for Africa's sake. *Prospect* (April), pp. 24-27.
- Iliffe, J. (1987) *The African Poor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Izar, M. (1973) Aberta para o mundo a XII Bienal de São Paulo. *Diário de São Paulo*, October 7.
- Jaapie, S. (2011) From the Madrasah to the Museum: The Social Life of the "Kietaaabs" of Cape Town. *History in Africa* 38, pp. 369-399.
- James, S. (1990) Who is South African art for? Museums take a look at their future role... *The Star*, October 5, p. 14.
- James, S. (1990) Complex situation calls for action. *Star*, November 23.
- James, S. (1989) Powerful Drawings from Soggot. *The Star*, June 29, p. 21.
- Jenkinson, H. (1984) Reflections of an archivist. In: Daniels, M.F. and Walch, T. (1984) *A Modern Archives Reader: Basic Readings on Archival Theory and Practice*. Washington: National Archives and Record Service.
- Jephson, A.A. (1989) *Aspects of Twentieth Century Black South African Art up to 1980*. Master's dissertation. University of Cape Town.
- Jimerson, R.C. (2006) Embracing the Power of Archives. *The American Archivist* 69(1), pp. 19-32.
- Johnson, N. (1994) Briton, Boer and Black in Savage South Africa. In: Pearce, S. Ed. (1994) *Museums and the Appropriation of Culture*. London: The Athlone Press.
- Jones, C.A. (2010) Biennial Culture: A Longer History. In: Filipovic, E., Van Hal, M. and Ostvebo, S. Eds. (2010) *The Biennial Reader: An Anthology on Large-Scale Perennial Exhibitions of Contemporary Art*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz.
- Jones, D. (1997) The Trade Routes are open. *The Star (Tonight)*, October 13, p. 3.
- Jornal de Brasília*. (1973) Bienal indica críticos que premiarão artistas. September 27.

- Jornal do Brasil – Rio de Janeiro*. (1973) Trinta países já enviaram obras que serão expostas na XII Bienal de São Paulo 1973. August 29.
- Jornal do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro)*. (1973) Júri internacional da Bienal de São Paulo começa exame de obras brasileiras. October 2.
- Jornal do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro)*. (1973) Almirante Rademaker abre a XII Bienal de São Paulo. October 6.
- Jornal do Commercio*. (1973) Bienal de SP, entre crises e inovações. September 30.
- Jornal do Commercio (Rio de Janeiro)*. (1973) Inaugurada ontem a Bienal de São Paulo. October 6.
- Kaethler, M. (2017) *The Curator as Hermes: A Mediator Between Knowledge Worlds*. [online] Z33 Research. Available from: <https://z33research.be/2017/10/michael-kaethler-the-curator-as-hermes-a-mediator-between-knowledge-worlds/>
- Keill, J. (1973) Vivid styles - but different outlooks on art. *Rand Daily Mail*, April 5.
- Kempff, K. (1979) Pretoria se Kunsmuseum. *Lantern*, August, pp. 49-53.
- Kendall, F.H. (1941) *A Short History of the South African Fine Arts Association*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Ketelaar, E. (2001) Tacit Narratives: The Meanings of Archives. *Archival Science* 1, pp. 131-141.
- Ketelaar, E. (2002) Archival Temples, Archival Prisons: Modes of Power and Protection. *Archival Science* 2, pp. 221-238.
- Koloane, D. (1989) The Polly Street Art Scene. In: Nettleton, A. and Hammond-Tooke, D. Eds (1989) *African Art in Southern Africa: From Tradition to Township*. Johannesburg: AD Donker.
- Koloane, D. (1996) Africus The Johannesburg Biennale: A Perspective. *African Arts* 29(1), pp. 50-56.
- Koloane, D. (1999) Postapartheid Expression and a New Voice. In: Herreman, F. and D'Amato Eds. (1999) *Liberated Voices: Contemporary Art from South Africa*. London: Prestel.
- Kompatsiaris, P. (2017) *The Politics of Contemporary Art Biennials: Spectacles of Critique, Theory and Art*. London: Routledge.
- Konya, P. (1979) Werth wins art award. *Pretoria News*, May 22.
- Konya, P. (1981) Arts Tribute. *Pretoria News*, February 25, p. 9.

- Koot, S. and Büscher, B. (2019) Giving Land (Back)? The Meaning of Land in the Indigenous Politics of the South Kalahari Bushman Land Claim, South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*. DOI: 10.1080/03057070.2019.1605119
- Korber, R. (1985) Rose Korber looks at the art scene at the Grahamstown Festival this year. *The Daily Mail*, July 22, p. 6.
- Kramer, N. (1990) Eclectic and quality collection on show. *Cape Argus*, January 29, p. 6.
- Kundera, M. (1980) *The Book of Laughter and Forgetting*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Ladwig, P., Roque, R., Tappe, O., Kohl, C. and Bastos, C. (2012) Fieldwork Between Folders: Fragments, traces, and the ruins of colonial archives. *Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology Working Papers* 141, pp. 1-27.
- Laubscher, L. (2010) Working with the apartheid archive: or, of witness and testimony. *Psychology in Society* 40, pp. 49-63.
- Le Blanc, A. (2012) Palmeiras and Pilotis: Promoting Brazil with Modern Architecture. *Third Text*, 26(1), pp. 103-116.
- Lederman, E. (2013) *International Women's Day – Historic Women at the V&A*. [online] Victoria and Albert Museum. Available from: <http://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/caring-for-our-collections/international-womens-day-historic-women-va>
- Legassick, M. (2006). From prisoners to exhibits: representations of 'Bushmen' of the Northern Cape, 1880–1900. In: Coombes, A.E. Ed (2006) *Rethinking settler colonialism: history and memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Le Roux, M. (1979) Kunsopvoeding lê na sy hart. *Hoofstad*, May 9.
- Lilla, Q. (2017) Classical Impressions, Modernist Aspirations: Shaping a Field of Contention at the South African National Gallery (1895–1947). In: Troelenberg, E. and Savino, M. Eds. *Images of The Art Museum: Connecting Gaze and Discourse in the History of Museology*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Lilla, Q. (2018). *Setting Art Apart: Inside and Outside the South African National Gallery (1895–2016)*. Doctoral thesis. University of Stellenbosch.
- Lindfors, B. Ed. (1999) *Africans on Stage: Studies in Ethnological Show Business*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Lorimer, D.A. (1978) *Colour, Class and the Victorians: English attitudes to the negro in the mid-nineteenth century*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- MacKenzie, J.M. (1984) *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- MacLeod, N. (1879) [Letter to Sydney Cowper]. Sydney Cowper Collection (MSB687). National Library of South Africa, Cape Town. February 10.
- Mahlangu, D. (1997) City's Biennale na explosion of creativity. *City Vision Johannesburg*, October 16, p. 13.
- Makhaya, E. (1989) Art exhibition in Hyde Park. *Sowetan*, June 22, p. 29.
- Malazzani, M. (2014) *Guide to the Pavilions of the Venice Biennale since 1887*. Milan: Electa.
- Manaka, M. (1987) *Echoes of African Art: A Century of Art in South Africa*. Braamfontein: Skotaville.
- Manoff, M. (2004) Theories of the Archive from Across the Disciplines. *Libraries and the Academy* 4(1), pp. 9-25.
- Marcus, G. (1995) Ethnography in/of the World System: The Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, pp. 95-117.
- Martineau, J. and Ritskes, E. (2014) Fugitive indigeneity: Reclaiming the terrain of decolonial struggle through Indigenous art. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3 (1): pp. i-xii.
- Martini, F. and Martini, V. (2011) *Just Another Exhibition: Histories and Politics of Biennials*. Milan: Postmedia Books.
- Mbembe, A. (2002) The Power of the Archive and its Limits. In: Hamilton, C., Harris V., Taylor J., Pickover M., Reid G., Saleh R. Eds. (2002) *Refiguring the Archive*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- McAllister, M. (1986) Business is a patron of art. *Business Day*, March 6, p. 12.
- McEwan, C. (2003) Building a Postcolonial Archive? Gender, Collective Memory and Citizenship in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29(3), pp. 739-757.
- McNab, D. (1977) Herman Merivale and the Native Question, 1837–1861. *Albion* 9 (4), pp. 359-384.
- Mdluli, S. (2019) *A Black Aesthetic: A view of South African Artists 1970–1990*. Johannesburg: Standard Bank of South Africa.
- Meiring, A.L. (1969) *Application for Government Grant* [Department of Cultural Affairs] for the financial year of 1969/70. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Meiring, A.L. (1972) *Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee held at the offices of the Association, Rooms 506/8, Commercial Union Buildings, Greenmarket Square, Cape Town, on*

*Thursday, 10<sup>th</sup> February 1972.* SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Merewether, C. Ed. (2006) *The Archive*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Mesquita, I. (2008, November 28) Wanda Svevo. *Jornal Semanal da 28ª Bienal de São Paulo*. Available from: <https://issuu.com/bienal/docs/name52bd94/166>

Mignolo, W. (2007) Introduction: Coloniality of power and de-colonial thinking. *Cultural Studies* 7, pp. 155-167.

Mignolo, W. (2011) *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Miles, E. (2004) *Polly Street: The Story of an Art Centre*. Johannesburg: The Ampersand Foundation.

Mohomo, L.V. (1993) *Letter of application to curatorial panel*. [letter-fax] SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria. October 13.

Mokoena, E. (1996) Jo'burg hosts the best in art. *Sowetan*, August 21, p. 14.

Molar, K.L. (1967) *Pride and Prejudice: Jane Austen's 'Patrician Hero.'* *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900*. 7(3), pp. 491-508.

Morrison, T. (1988) *Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature*. The Tanner Lectures on Human Values. 7 October 1988. Michigan: University of Michigan. Available from: [https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/\\_documents/a-to-z/m/morrison90.pd](https://tannerlectures.utah.edu/_documents/a-to-z/m/morrison90.pd)

Mosquera, J. (1994) *Some Problems in Transcultural Curating*. Available from: [http://www.saha.org.tr/docs/Mosquera\\_Gerardo\\_Some\\_Problems\\_in\\_Trancultural\\_Curating\\_1994.pdf](http://www.saha.org.tr/docs/Mosquera_Gerardo_Some_Problems_in_Trancultural_Curating_1994.pdf)

Mouffe, C. (2016) *Democratic Politics and Conflict: An Agonistic Approach*. [online] Política común. Available at: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/p/pc/12322227.0009.011?view=text;rgn=main>

Muir, T. (1901, June 30) *Report of the Trustees of the Art Gallery and Report of the South African Fine Arts Association for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1901*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Muir, T. (1904) *Report of the Trustees of the Art Gallery and Report of the South African Fine Arts Association for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> June, 1904*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

- Muir, T. (1910) [Draft Report: Trustees of the Art Gallery]. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Muir, T. (1912) *Reports of the Trustees of the South African Art Gallery and the South African Fine Arts Association for the Year ending the 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1912*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Muir, T. (1914) *Reports of the Trustees of the South African Art Gallery and the South African Fine Arts Association for the Year ending the 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1913*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Muir, T. (1914) *Reports of the Trustees of the South African Art Gallery and the South African Fine Arts Association for the Year ending the 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1914*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Murinick, T. (1998) R200 000 saves Biennale from premature closure. *Cape Times*, January 7, p. 11.
- Natal Daily News*. (1975) Black artist on view in London. February 13.
- Natal Witness*. (1975) SA artists in limelight. February 25.
- Ncholo, P. (1994) The right to vote. In: Steytler, J., Murphy, J., De Vos, P. and Rwelamira, M. Eds. (1994) *Free and Fair Elections*. Kwenwyn: Juta.
- Ndebele, N.S. (2003) *The Cry of Winnie Mandela*. Oxfordshire: Ayebiya Clarke Publishing.
- Nicodemus, E. (2012) *African modern art and black cultural trauma*. Doctoral thesis. Middlesex University London. Available at: <http://eprints.mdx.ac.uk/9026/>
- Niemojewski, R. (2010) Venice or Havana: A Polemic on the Genesis of the Contemporary Biennial. In: Filipovic, E., Van Hal, M. and Ostvebo, S. Eds. (2010) *The Biennial Reader: An Anthology on Large-Scale Perennial Exhibitions of Contemporary Art*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz.
- Noble, J. Ed. (1886). *Catalogue of the Exhibits of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope*. London: Richards, Glanville & Co.
- Nzewi, U.C. (2018) Dak'Art: Global Black Cultural Politics in the Twentieth Century. *NKA Journal of Contemporary African Art* 42-43, pp. 97-109.
- Obrist, H.U. (2014) *Ways of Curating*. London: Penguin.
- O Dia (São Paulo)*. (1973) Bienal exibirá filme técnico: Pelé – O Mestre e seu Método. October 7.

- O Estado de São Paulo.* (1973) Na Bienal, peças da África do Sul. Agosto 29.
- O Estado de S. Paulo.* (1973) Começa amanhã a XII Bienal de São Paulo. October 3.
- O Estado de São Paulo.* (1973) Curiosos atrasam montagem definitiva das salas na Bienal. October 3.
- O Estado de São Paulo.* (1973) Não se fazem mais Bienais como antigamente. October 4.
- O Estado de S. Paulo.* (1973) Comece a visitar a Bienal. Eis os premiados. October 5.
- Ogbechie, S. (2010) The Curator as Culture Broker. *Art Africa* 9(1), pp. 34-37.
- Oggenbladet.* (1981) Kunswerke van SA swartes te sien. July 8.
- O Globo.* (1973) Utilize este espaço e participe na XII Bienal. October 4.
- Oguibe, O. (1997) *History, Geography and Culture: The 2<sup>nd</sup> Johannesburg Biennale Conference*. Madrid: Asociación de Revistas Culturales de España.
- Okediji, M. (2015) Whither Art History? African Art and Language as Semioptic Texts. *The Art Bulletin* 92(7), pp. 123-139.
- Okeke, C. (2001) Modern African Art. In: Enwezor, O. Ed. (2001) *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa 1945–1994*. Munich: Prestel.
- Oliveira, L.L. (2008) *Cultura e Patrimônio: Um Guia*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV.
- Oliveira, R.C.A. (2001) *A Bienal de São Paulo: Forma Histórica e Produção Cultural*. Doctoral thesis. Pontifícia Universidade Católica, São Paulo.
- O'Neill, P. (2012) *The Culture of Curating and the Curating of Culture*. London: MIT Press.
- Opoku, K. (2011) *When Will Britain Return Looted Golden Ghanaian Artefacts? A History of British Looting of More Than 100 Objects*. [online] Modern Ghana. Available from: <https://www.modernghana.com/news/310930/when-will-britain-return-looted-golden-ghanaian.html>
- O Popular – Goiania – Goiás.* (1973) Júri para Bienal de São Paulo. September 27.
- Orlin, R. (1997) Curatorial triumph will convert even the most ardent art atheist. *Sunday Independent*, October 19, p. 14.
- Osborne, P. (2014) Every Year Is Always This Year: Contemporaneity and the Biennial Form. In: Eilat, G., Enguita Mayo, N., Esche, C., Lafuente, P., Proença, L., Sagic, O. and Seroussi, B. Eds. (2014) *Making Biennials in Contemporary Times: Essays from the World Biennial Forum 2*. São Paulo: Biennial Foundation.

O'Toole, S. (2016) Fifty Years. In: *New Revolutions Goodman Gallery at 50: 1966–2016*. Johannesburg: Goodman Gallery.

Owens, C. (1980) The Allegorical Impulse: Toward a Theory of Postmodernism. *October* 12, pp. 67-86.

Ozynski, J. (1979) Open the art schools. *Rand Daily Mail*, August 10.

Ozynski, J. (1980) What's the point of the great Goodman yawn? *Sunday Express*, January 27.

Pad.ma (2015) 10 Theses on the Archive. In: Downey, A. Ed. (2015) *Dissonant Archives: Contemporary Visual Culture and Contested Narratives in the Middle East*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Paterson, B. (2002) The Archives and the Political Imaginary. In: Hamilton, C., Harris V., Taylor J., Pickover M., Reid G., Saleh R. Eds. (2002) *Refiguring the Archive*. Cape Town: David Philip.

Peffer, J. (2009) *Art at the End of Apartheid*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Peires, J.B. (1987) The Central Beliefs of the Xhosa Cattle-Killing. *Journal of South African History* 28, pp. 43-63.

PELMAMA (2015) *Gallery 21 Johannesburg and its London branch* [online] The Johannesburg Art Scene from the 60's to the 90's. Available from: [http://www.pelmama.org/Johannesburg\\_artszene\\_Gallery21\\_JohannesburgPremises.htm](http://www.pelmama.org/Johannesburg_artszene_Gallery21_JohannesburgPremises.htm)

Pereira, V.C. (2016) *A Gestão das Artes Visuais Através da Bienal de São Paulo: Pode entrar sem medo que é só arte*. Doctoral thesis. Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas.

Piers, C.E. (1895, May 29) *Report of the South African Fine Art Association for the Year 1894*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Pitje, G.M. (1990) Un Regard Noir. *Revue des Deux Mondes*, pp. 100-105.

Plug, C. (ND) *S2A3 Biographical Database of Southern African Science*. Available from: [http://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph\\_final.php?serial=183](http://www.s2a3.org.za/bio/Biograph_final.php?serial=183)

Pople, L. (1997) Jhb-raad gee R3 m. vir kuns. *Beeld*, August 21.

*Popular da Tarde – São Paulo*. (1973) África do Sul mostra obras para a XII Bienal Paulista. August 29.

Potgieter, C. (1972) *Letter to Mrs K. Gunther*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Potgieter, S. (1976) Black artists exhibit in New York. *Bantu*, June, pp. 16-21.

Posel, D (1999). *The TRC Report: What kind of history? What kind of truth*. [online] Wits Institutional Repository Environment on DSpace. Available from: <http://wiredspace.wits.ac.za/handle/10539/8046>

Preller, K. (1997) The 1995 and 1997 Johannesburg Biennales as a 'reflection' of South African art. *De Arte* 57, pp. 28-47.

*Pretoria News*. (1964) Puzzled. June 30.

*Pretoria News*. (1964) Public can get advice on art. November 13.

*Pretoria News*. (1968) Pretoria art official off to Paris. March 15.

*Pretoria News*. (1974) Museum architect wants plaque back. April 9.

*Pretoria News*. (1978) City's art collection can boast a fine collection. September 7.

Preziosi, D. (2001) The Crystalline Veil and the Phallic Imaginary. In: Filipovic, E., Van Hal, M. and Ostvebo, S. Eds. (2001) *The Biennial Reader: An Anthology on Large-Scale Perennial Exhibitions of Contemporary Art*. Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz.

Proposal that the National Council discuss the following in the spirit of the utmost urgency [call for the dissolution of the SAAA] (1961) SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Proud, H. (ND) *Our National gallery: The 'Book' of Our Art?* [online] Helen Suzman Foundation. Available from: [https://hsf.org.za/publications/.../Hayden%20Proud\\_Our%20National%20Gallery.pdf](https://hsf.org.za/publications/.../Hayden%20Proud_Our%20National%20Gallery.pdf)

Punzalan, R. (2014) Archival Diasporas: A Framework for Understanding the Complexities and Challenges of Dispersed Photographic Collections. *The American Archivist*, 77(2), pp. 326-349. Available from: <https://americanarchivist.org/doi/abs/10.17723/aarc.77.2.729766v886w16007>

Putter, A. (1993) *Letter of application to curatorial panel*. [letter-fax] SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Qureshi, S. (2011) *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire, and Anthropology in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Ramphele, M. (2008) *Laying Ghosts to Rest: Dilemmas of transformation in South Africa*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Ramos, A.D. (2010) Apresentação. In: Ramos, A.D Ed. (2010) *Sobre o ofício do curador*. Porto Alegre: Editora Zouk.
- Rand Daily Mail*. (1973) Black artist wins prize. October 18.
- Rand Daily Mail*. (1973) Soweto artist wins R1700. November 12.
- Rand Daily Mail*. (1984) HNP objects to African art. September 28.
- Rankin, E. (2011). Creating Communities: Art centres and workshops and their influence on the South Africa art scene. In: Jantjes, G., Pissarra, M. and Carman, J. Eds (2011) *A Visual Century: South African Art in Context, Volume 2*. pp. 92–113. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Rapaport, H. (1998) Archive Trauma. *Diacritics* 28(4), pp. 68-81.
- Richards, C. (2010) *Feeding the Hand that Bites: South African Art & the Valparaiso Biennial of 1987*. [online] Africa South Art Initiative. Available from: <https://asai.co.za/feeding-the-hand-that-bites-south-african-art-and-the-valparaiso-biennial-of-1987/>
- Robertson, B. (2004) The South Kensington Museum in context: an alternative history. *Museum and Society* 2(1), pp. 1-14.
- Robinson, J. (2003) Johannesburg's 1936 Empire Exhibition: Interaction, Segregation and Modernity in a South African City. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29(3), pp. 759-789.
- Nikro, N.S. (2011) Disrupting dismemory: the memoir of Jean Said Makdisi. *ZMO Working Papers* 3, pp. 1-11.
- S.A. Digest*. (1980) SA art for US. April 18.
- Sack, S. (1988) *The Neglected Tradition: Towards a New History of South African Art (1950–1988)*. Johannesburg: Johannesburg Art Gallery.
- Sala, D. (2001) Arquivo de Arte da Fundação Bienal de São Paulo. *Revista USP*, 52, pp. 122-146.
- Sanderson, L.A. (1961) *Application for Government Grant*. [letter] SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- SAPA. (1973) Bantoe wen kunsprys. *Die Volksblad*, November 13.
- Saracho, C. (1975) *List of sales*. [letter] Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo. February 14.

- Sassoun, S. (1994) *Letter from the International Manager, Suzanna Sassoun to the curator*. Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo. October 28.
- Saunders, P. (2008) Defending the Dead, Confronting the Archive: A Conversation with M. Nourbese Philip. *Small Axe* 12(2), pp. 63-79.
- Saunders, P.J. (2008) Fugitive Dreams of Diaspora: Conversations with Saidiya Hartman. *Anthurium: A Caribbean Studies Journal* 6(1), article 7.
- Scherer, B. (1995) Johannesburg biennale: Interview with Lorna Ferguson. *Third Text* 9(31), pp. 83-88.
- Schmidt, H. (1980) Suid-Afrikaanse Kuns in die VSA Uitgestal. *SA Calendar*, May/June, p. 4.
- Schnapp, J. (2016) Buried (and) Alive. In: Aikens, N. et. al. Eds. (2016) *Decolonising Archives*. L+Internationale Online. Available from: [www.internationaleonline.org](http://www.internationaleonline.org)
- Schroeder, C.S. (2011) *X Bienal de São Paulo: sob os efeitos da contestação*. Master's dissertation. Universidade de São Paulo.
- Schwartz, J.M. and Cook, T. (2002) Archives, Records, and Power: The Making of Modern Memory. *Archival Science*, 2, pp. 1-19.
- Seeley, J.R. (1886) *Her Majesty's Colonies: A Series of Papers Issues Under the Authority of the Royal Commission*. London: William Clowes & Sons.
- Sharpe, C. (2016) *In the Wake: On Blackness and Being*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Shettym S. and Bellamy, E.J. (2000) Postcolonialism's Archive Fever. *Diacritics* 30(1), pp. 25-48.
- Simbao, R. (2015) What "global art" and current (re)turns fail to see: A Modest counter-narrative of "not-another-biennial." *Image e Text* 25, pp. 261-286.
- Simon, E. (1993) *Letter of application to curatorial panel* [letter-fax] SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Sirmans, F. (1997) Johannesburg Biennale: Meet the curators of 'Trade Routes: History and Geography.' *Flash Art* (October), pp. 78-82.
- Smit, L. (1984) Skitter-museum verjaar met Persiese prag. *Die Transvaler*, May 4.
- Smith, C.S. (2010) The Institutionalisation of Art in Early Victorian England: The Colin Matthew Memorial Lecture. *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 20: 113-125.

- Smith, J. (2001) Saving Time: Andy Warhol's Time Capsules. *Art Documentation: Journal of Art Libraries Society of North America*, 20(1), pp. 8-10.
- South African Association of the Arts Constitution 1974*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- South Africa: Voter Registration (April 2011) [online] Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa. Available from: [eisa.org.za](http://eisa.org.za).
- Spricigo, V.P. (2013) Oui a la Biennale de São Paulo: Vilém Flusser's Anti-Boycott. *Arara* 11, n.p.
- Sprigg, J.G. (1885). Government Notice - No. 10, 1885. C.L. Herman Papers (ZA UCT BC489). University of Cape Town.
- Sprigg, J.G. (1886) The Colonial and Indian Exhibition: The Home Welcome. *Cape Times*, August 6, p. 2.
- Star*. (1975) Exhibition by Black SA artists. February 25.
- Star*. (1984) HNP says 'No' to art works by blacks. September 28.
- Stearns, W. (2012) Review. *American, British and Canadian Studies*, 27(1), pp. 145-149.
- Stevenson, M. (1997) *Old Masters and Aspirations: The Randlords, Art and South Africa*. Doctoral thesis. University of Cape Town.
- Stoler, A.L. (2002) Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance. *Archival Science* 2, pp. 87-109.
- Stoler, A. L. (2002) Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance: On the Content in the Form. In: Hamilton, C., Harris, V. Taylor, J., Pickover, M., Reid, G. and Saleh, R. Eds. (2002) *Refiguring the Archive*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Stoler, A. L. (2009) *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stoler, A.L. (2011) Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France. *Public Culture* 23(1), pp. 121-156.
- Stoler, A.L. (2013) *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Stoler, A. L. (2016) *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in Our Times*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Tamboukou, M. (1999) Writing Genealogies: an exploration of Foucault's strategies for doing research. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 20(9), pp. 201-207.

- Tang, J. (2009) *Biennialization and its Discontents*. [online] Red Hook Journal. Available from: <https://ccs.bard.edu/redhook/biennialization-and-its-discontents/index.html>
- Teale, J. (1997) It's improved, but the Biennale still beats an uneven path to the soul. *SIND*, October 26.
- Teles, E. (2007) Entre Justiça e Violência: Estado de Exceção nas Democracias do Brasil e da África de Sul. In: Teles, E. and Safatle, V. Eds (2007) *O Que Resta da Ditadura: A Exceção Brasileira*. São Paulo: Boitempo.
- Te Water (1944) *Minutes of the meeting held in the Board Room of the S.A. National Gallery on Tuesday, 24 October, 1944, at 4.30 pm*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- The National Arts Coalition. (1993) *Outcome of the convention held at the Natal Technikon from 1–4 December, signed by Andries Botha*. [press release]. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Thompson, E.P. (1974) Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture. *Journal of Social History* 7(4), pp. 382-405.
- Thwink (ND) The Kuhn Cycle [online] Available from: <http://www.thwink.org/sustain/glossary/KuhnCycle.htm>
- Tietze, A. (2017) *A History of the Iziko South African National Gallery: Reflections on Art and National Identity*. Cape Town: UCT Press.
- Till, C. (1994) *Meeting of Sao Paulo Organising Committee held on 18 April 1994 in the Director's Boardroom, 2<sup>nd</sup> Floor, Civic Centre*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Till, C. (1994) *Letter regarding arrival of Thomas Mulcaire, South Africa's venue coordinator to São Paulo*. Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo. September 15.
- Tomich, D. (2011) The Order of Historical Time: The Longue Durée and Micro-History. *Almanack* 2, pp. 52-65.
- Tota, A.P. (2009) *The Seduction of Brazil: The Americanization of Brazil During World War II*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Trouillot, M.R. (1997) *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon.
- Tuck, E. and Yang, K.W. (2012) Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education e Society* 1(1), pp. 1-40.
- Van Graan, R. (1979) Kunsliefhebber vereer. *Beeld*, May 9.

Van Robbroeck, L. (2006) *Writing White on Black: Modernism as Discursive Paradigm in South African Writing on Modern Black Art*. Doctoral thesis. University of Stellenbosch.

Van Robbroeck, L. (2011) Race and Art in Apartheid South Africa. In Van Robbroeck, L (ed.) *A Visual Century: South African Art in Context, Volume 2*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.

Versfeldt, B.J. (1961, July 21) [Suggested office organisation document]. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria.

Vermeiren, J. (1993) *Letter of application to curatorial panel*. [letter-fax] SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria. November 15.

Verster, A. (1993) *Letter of application to curatorial panel*. [letter-fax] SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria. December 18.

Verster, A. (1994) *Letter to Christopher Till, Chairman Sao Paulo Organising Committee*. SANAVA Fonds, Manuscripts Collection (MSS 194). Unisa Archives and Special Collections, University of South Africa, Pretoria. May 16.

Vimalassery, M., Pegues, J. and Goldstein, A. (2016) On Colonial Unknowing. *Theory e3 Event* 19(4), n.p.

Vogel, F. (2014) Notes on exhibition history in curatorial discourse. *On Curating* 21. Available from: <http://www.on-curating.org/issue-21.html#.XUgyYZMzaV5>

*Volk&blad*. (1975) Swartes uit S.A. stal uit in London uit. February 20.

Wainwright, C. (2002) The Making of the South Kensington Museum III: Collecting Abroad. *Journal of the History of Collections* 14(1), pp. 45-61.

Ward, M. (1991) Impressionist Installations and Private Exhibitions. *The Art Bulletin* 73(4), pp. 599-622.

Werth, A.J. (1970) *Art of Africa*. Pretoria: Pretoria Art Museum.

Werth, A.J. (1973) *Die Invloed van Primitivisme op die Beeldende Kunste met Besondere Verwysing na Suidelike Afrika*. Doctoral thesis. University of Pretoria.

Werth, A.J. (1973) *África do Sul. XII Bienal de São Paulo*. São Paulo: Fundação Bienal de São Paulo.

Werth, A.J. (1973) *Letter from Albert Werth to Prof. Dr. Herman W.J. Vekeman at the Institut fur Nederlandse Philologie*. [letter]. Pretoria Art Museum Archive. January 10.

- Werth, A.J. (1983) *Influences of Primitivism on Certain South African Artists* [manuscript] Held at Pretoria Art Museum Archive.
- Werth, A.J. (1984) Influences of primitivism on South African artists. *Africa Insight* 14 (3), pp. 214-219.
- Winder, H.E. (1974) New Sophistication. *Rand Daily Mail*, November 21.
- Winder, H.E. (1980) Artists to hold their own anywhere in the world. *Rand Daily Mail*, January 23, p. 6.
- Wineland, J. (ND) *The Havana Biennale*. [Online] Available from: <https://www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/tourist/wineland.pap>
- Williamson, S. (1989) *Resistance Art in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Williamson, S. (1999) A little drop on a hot stone. *Mail & Guardian*, May 28.
- Whitehead, C. (2005) Henry Cole's European Travels and the Building of the South Kensington Museum in the 1850s. *Architectural History* 48, pp. 207-234.
- Whitelegg, I. (2009) The Bienal de São Paulo: Unseen/Undone (1969-1981). *Afterall* 22. Available from: <https://www.afterall.org/journal/issue.22/the.bienal.de.so.paulo.unseenundone.19691981>
- Wieviorka, A. (2006) *The Era of the Witness*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Winn, S. (2017) The Hubris of Neutrality in the Archive. *On Archivy*. Available from: <https://medium.com/on-archivy/the-hubris-of-neutrality-in-archives-8df6b523fe9f>
- Witz, L. (2003) *Apartheid's Festival: Contesting South Africa's National Affairs*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Wion, S. (2017) The hubris if neutrality in archives. Available from: <https://medium.com/on-archivy/the-hubris-of-neutrality-in-archives-8df6b523fe9f>
- Wrbican, M. (2014) Warhol's Time Capsule 51. *Criticism*, 56(3), pp. 687-699.
- Young, J. (2010) *The West African Kroomen and their link to Simon's Town*. [online] South African History Online. Available from: <https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/west-african-kroomen-and-their-link-simons-town-joline-young>
- Zinn, H. (1977) Secrecy, Archives, and the Public Interest. *Midwestern Archivist* 2(2), pp. 20-21.

## *Appendices*

## *Appendix 1*

List of exhibitions featuring Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso (individual and collective), compiled from information available on invitation cards and clippings gathered at the family, Johannesburg Art Gallery and Pretoria Art Museum archives. At the time of writing, the Matsoso dossier could not be located at the Goodman Gallery. This list is thus provisional and subject to further revision. It does however bring into evidence the dearth of solo exhibitions, calling into question the implications of this imbalance.

### **Solo:**

The Goodman Gallery (Hyde Park, Johannesburg), August 1970.

The Goodman Gallery (Hyde Park, Johannesburg), September 1971.

### **Group:**

*Three South African Artists: Winston Saoli, Cyprian Shilakoe, Leonard Matsoso*, Building Design Partnership, Vernon Gallery (Preston, United Kingdom), July 1971.

*Festival July '72* (featuring: Leonard Matsoso (silkscreens), Philipus, Thomas Masakela, John Bret Cohen, Struan Robertson, Benedikt), The Goodman Gallery (Hyde Park, Johannesburg), July 1972.

12th Bienal de São Paulo, São Paulo, October 1973.

*Welcome to 1974 at The Goodman Gallery*, The Goodman Gallery (Hyde Park, Johannesburg), January 1974.

*Matsoso, Kumalo, Maqhubela*, The Goodman Gallery (Hyde Park, Johannesburg), November 1974.

*Welcome to 1975 at the Goodman Gallery: South African Graphics*, The Goodman Gallery (Hyde Park, Johannesburg), January 1975.

Gallery 21 (London), February 1975.

Les Colonnades des Arts (Lake Buena Vista, USA), January, 1976.

*Black / South Africa / Contemporary Graphics and Tapestries*, Brooklyn Museum and Brooklyn Library (arranged by Kenneth F. Duchac, Director of the Brooklyn Public Library), March 1976.

Unifees School Hall (Old Warmbaths Road, exhibition opened by Justice J.F. Marais, National President of the SAAA), September 1976.

*Man, Beast and Ancestors*, Waterkant Gallery (Cape Town), October 1978.

Traveling Graphics Exhibition (arranged by the Dept. of Information and the Counsellor of Cultural Affairs, attached to the SA Embassy in Bonn), Residenz, Bamberg, January 1978; Institut für Auslands Beziehungen, Dortmund, April 1978; Bayreuth Festival, June 1978; Erlangen, July 1978; Haus Hamburg, Hamburg, November 1978.

Exhibition of graphic works by South African artists, Galerie Taugwalder, Zermatt (Switzerland), July 1979.

*Welcome to 1980 at the Goodman Gallery* (featuring works chosen for the Valparaiso and São Paulo Bienal. Valparaiso: Berenice Michelow, Judith Mason, Neels Coetzee, Ezrom Legae. São Paulo: Leonard Matsoso, Judith Mason & Marguerite Weavind), The Goodman Gallery (Hyde Park, Johannesburg), January 1980.

*Renaissance II*, South Gallery, Volkskas Centre (Pretoria), February 1980.

*Houston Art Festival* (USA), March 1980.

*Spoletto Festival*, Charleston, South Carolina (USA), May 1980.

Soweto Council's Art School/Mofolo Art School, Mofololopark (Soweto), November 1981.

*Eric French, Gail Catlin, Jan Visser, Olivia Scholnick, Carolyn Morrison, Jochen Berger, Judith Mason, Gordon Vorster, Peter Webber, Malcolm Payne, Ezrom Legae, Leonard Matsoso, Rachelle Lipschitz*, Gowlett Gallery (Cape Town), September 1982.

Mphatlalatsane Community Hall, Sebokeng (Vanderbijlpark), October 1983.

*African Art* (1820 Settlers' Monument, Grahamstown Festival), July 1985

*Tributaries: A View of Contemporary South African Art*, Newtown (Johannesburg), 1985.

*Madge Moss Gluckman's Black African Art of the 1970's*, 42 Mandeville Road (Johannesburg), April 1988.

*Braque, Chadwick, Coignard, Dali, Dine, Francis, Hasegawa, Hockney, Kenny, Kiff, Miro, Nicholson, Piper, Pissarro, Summers, Turnbull, Vuillard / Battiss, Bebrmann, Blomkamp, Burnett, Catherine, Findlay, Hodgins, Jones, Kentridge, Kgope, Konqobe, Kumalo, Matsoso, Moross-Ballen, Motswai, Schütz, Van den Berg, Vels, Verster, Webber*, The Goodman Gallery (Johanneburg), June 1988.

*The Neglected Tradition: Towards a New History of South African Art*, Johannesburg Art Gallery, November 1988.

*Making a mark* (featured: Percy Konqobe, Ezrom Legae, Tommy Motswai, and Leonard Matsoso), The Goodman Gallery (Johannesburg), June 1989.

*Contemporary Trends Part I* (featuring Ben Baloy, Patrick Holo, Percy Konqobe, Leonard Matsoso and Tony Nkotsi), Gallery 709 (Cape Town), January 1990.

*Anything Boxed*, The Goodman Gallery, 1994.

Afridesia Gallery, Red Bank, New Jersey (USA), April 1999.

Unisa Art Gallery (Pretoria), April 2003.

*Artways: Roads to Literacy*, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Art Museum, 2004.

According to *The Neglected Tradition* (1988), his works can be found in the institutional collections of the Johannesburg Art Gallery, the Pretoria Art Museum, the Sandton Town Council, the South African National Gallery, the University of Fort Hare, UNISA and the University of the Witwatersrand. To these I would add the Sanlam Collection in Parow, the South African State Theatre Collection, the South African Broadcasting Corporation Collection, and the Constitutional Court's Art Collection. Internationally, his work can also be found in the Görden-Behrens Sammlung.

*Appendix 2*

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND SCIENCE.  
NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR ADULT EDUCATION.  
Application for a Government Grant.  
 1961/2

The completed form must reach the Secretary for Education, Arts and Science not later than the 15th December.

1. (a) Name of City or Town ..Cape Town.....  
 (b) Name of Organisation .Southern African Association of Arts  
 (c) Name and address of Secretary .....  
 L.A. Sanderson, F.R.S.A. P.O. Box 3025, Cape Town.....
2. (a) Date of inauguration of the Organisation ..1944.....  
 (b) Present membership ...1721.....(c) Membership fees  
 £. R2-10..... p.a.(N.B. Capitation fees of 50 cents  
 per member only are remitted by Branches to Headquarters).
3. (a) Nature and scope of activities: .See Section 2 and 3 of...  
 the Constitution. Organisation of national, inter-  
 national and local art exhibitions.....  
 See also special Memorandum attached.

N.B. Comprehensive details are required. A copy of the constitution must accompany the application.

- (b) Available accommodation for activities .Galleries and....  
 Offices, 4th Floor, Argus House, 63, Burg St., CapeTown.
- (c) Nature of available equipment .Usual office furniture....  
 Addressograph and Duplicating machines.
- (d) State whether activities are in the interest of:-  
 (i) Europeans ..Yes..... (ii) Non-Europeans.....
4. (a) Statement of income during past financial year:-  
 (i) Grant from local authority and/or government  
 department(s) (Specify).  

Adult Education Grant	£ 32000-00
" " "	1100-00
.....	£ .....

 (ii) Membership fees ..... £ ...324-28.....  
 (iii) Donations ..... £x...157-30.....  
 (iv) Other income (specify)  

Interest	£ 230-48
.....	£ .....

xx plus see attached note on capitation fees received in 1961 from Transvaal Total ... £ R3812-06  
 Branch and new Branches.

buiteland te organiseer nie, maar ook vir die aanmoediging  
 op die oomblik slegs deur sy Tak Pretoria verteenwoordig word.

Appendix 3

Keep

Proposed that the National Council discuss the following in a spirit of the utmost urgency :

For too long the S.A. Association of Arts has passively accepted its role as a body which in effect is used as an excuse by the Government, and most particularly, by the Department of National Education, for its virtually total inactivity in support of the fine arts in South Africa.

Imbalance between the R23,000 allowed in 1978 for the sending of exhibitions overseas and the sum of R11,000 as the total subsidy to the Association as a whole, points out how the Department uses the S.A.A.A. as a sordid handmaiden in its outside cultural propaganda excursions. (I would like to remind members of the Council of an occasion when the Association did its own internal censoring of an exhibition - the exclusion of a Nils Burwitz work.)

The existence of the S.A.A.A. impedes effectively the possibility of the central authorities accepting their responsibility to the fine arts.

Let the Council also consider one extremely important, one absolutely revealing fact : the majority of really serious minded and committed artists do not see the Association as a body in which they would choose to seek representation.

Does the S.A.A.A. not believe that it should dissolve itself? Proposed that the National Council consider with utmost seriousness the implications of the leading article in the July issue of "Education & Culture", the official publication of the Department of National Education. As the S.A.A.A. accepts subsidies from and serves that Department, it may well consider how it stands in relation to the stated philosophy of the Department.

*Wes D3  
maak vir my 'n  
afskrif aub.  
MB*

① 3/2/83

1080121  
370 250

# EXAMINATION BOOK EKSAMENBOEK

EXCO

NAME ..... NAAM

SUBJECT ..... VAK

CLASS ..... KLAS

20 Pages  
Faint and Margin Perforated

20 Bladsye  
Def en Kentlyn Geperforeer

A BSC PRODUCT

*Appendix 4*

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

REPORT of the South African Fine Arts Association for  
the Year 1880.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Excellency the Governor,  
1881.

SCHEDULE.

I. General Summary .. .. .	Page 3
II. Report for year 1880-81 .. .. .	" 4
III. Art Master's Report .. .. .	" 5
IV. Statement.—Contents of Gallery .. .. .	" 6
V. Treasurer's Statement .. .. .	" 6

APPENDICES.

I. Sir Bartle Frere's Address, 27th May, 1880 .. .. .	" 8
II. Prospectus of Art School .. .. .	" 15

South African Fine Arts Association,  
New-street, Cape Town,  
31st March, 1881.

Acting Under-Colonial Secretary, Cape Town.

SIR,—In compliance with the request contained in your letter of the 7th January, I have the honour to forward for the information of Government, a Report of the proceedings of the South African Fine Arts Association for the year 1880-81.

This being the first report that has been prepared for Parliament, a short account of the work of the Association from its formation in 1871 is prefixed, and appended to the Report are (1) Sir Bartle Frere's address to art students; and (2), the prospectus of the Art School recently opened in connection with the Association.

I have, &c.,

SYDNEY COWPER, Hon. Sec.

REPORT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION.

On the 21st April, 1871, a large and influential meeting of patrons of Art residing in and near Cape Town was called together by circular, for the purpose of taking into consideration such suggestions as might be offered with a view to forming an Association for promoting the cause of

Art in South Africa, and a programme was drawn up embracing the following particulars :—

1. The formation of a permanent Art Gallery and Art Library.
2. The holding of Periodical Exhibitions of Works of Art.
3. The establishment of Art Unions and otherwise offering facilities for the disposal of Works of Art.
4. Offering prizes to be competed for by Art Students on conditions to be laid down from time to time by the Committee.

In accordance with the resolutions passed at this meeting, the South African Fine Arts Association was formed ; and following out the course above suggested, exhibitions of works of art have from time to time been held, and prizes have been offered for open competition by Students.

The Exhibitions have been largely attended, evoking favourable comment from the general public ; and the Association confidently expects that the work it has undertaken will ultimately prove of great benefit to the community at large ; for there can be little doubt that the exhibition for general inspection of carefully selected Works of Art not only promotes a more correct appreciation of the beauties of nature and a consequent improvement in the public taste, but has further a distinct commercial value, as is evidenced by the attendance at the recently instituted school, of a fair number of Students of the Industrial Classes,\* who necessarily expect to turn to account the knowledge thus gained.

The Association originally proceeded in an humble way, from want of funds and suitable premises, but the number of generous contributions from subscribers and donors encouraged the Association, in 1875, to purchase their present buildings in New-street ; and continued private support, supplemented by a small parliamentary grant, has at length enabled the Association so to enlarge its field of operations, that since the beginning of the current year, an Art School has been established under the direction of an experienced teacher specially engaged for the Association by the authorities of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington.

The Central School, which is conducted as far as possible upon the principles advocated by the Science and Art Department, is attended by no less than fifty-two pupils, many of whom have made substantial progress, notwithstanding the limited period that has elapsed since the classes have been opened ; and as proof of the increasing interest taken in the subject it may be mentioned that efforts are being made to secure the attendance of the master on several days during the week at classes to be formed in the neighbourhood.

## II. REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1880-1.

On the 27th May last, His Excellency the then Governor, Sir Bartle Frere, delivered an address to a large assemblage of Art Students and others interested in the work of the Association, and whilst generally commenting upon the advantages of an Art Education, particularly advocated the establishment of an Art School in connection with the Association. In June the Superintendent-General of Education having expressed his desire to deposit in one of the wings of the Art Gallery the collection of Art Models, Examples, Maps, and other apparatus of the Educational Museum, it was arranged that the rooms should be altered in accordance with his wishes. On the 18th August, the Secretary was able to state that these alterations

\* The following shall be considered Students of the Industrial Classes :—

- Group I. Schoolmasters, public or private, Schoolmistresses, Governesses, Pupils, Teachers, and paid Monitors.
- Group II. Artizans, Operatives in general.

say that I am well pleased with what has already been done, although the chief work has so far been of an elementary character. Five Students have been advanced to painting from the cast.

I regret that we have none of the Mahomedan community amongst our pupils, and would suggest the formation of a class for them, representing as they do the majority of artizan classes of the town.

(Signed) JAMES FORD.

IV. STATEMENT SHEWING THE CONTENTS OF THE ART GALLERY AND LIBRARY.

Oil Paintings	...	...	...	...	...	94
Water Colours	...	...	...	..	...	49
Photographs	...	...	...	...	...	140
Engravings	...	...	...	...	...	22
Casts	...	...	...	...	...	37

The Library contains several very important works, which are at all times available for inspection upon application to the Custodian; but which, in consequence of the limited space, are not publicly exhibited. Several valuable works have recently been added to the collection.

V. TREASURER'S STATEMENT,

As the Annual General Meeting of the Association does not take place until May, the Balance Sheet for the current year cannot be given; but that for the year ending 30th April, 1880, is appended:—

STATEMENT OF LIABILITIES and ASSETS of the SOUTH AFRICAN FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION for the Year ending 30th April, 1880.

1880—April 30.	£ s. d.	1880—April 30.	£ s. d.
To Mortgage Bond	800 0 0	By Property in Newstreet	2,000 0 0
„ Interest on Ditto from 1st January	16 0 0	„ Furniture and Fittings	30 0 0
„ Sundry Accounts, Printing, &c.	25 0 0	„ Balance in Hand	310 6 11½
„ Balance	1,549 6 11½	„ Remitted to A. W. Cape, R.A., for purchase of Pictures. Amount not spent	50 0 0
	2,390 6 11½		2,390 6 11½

(Signed) J. A. FAIRBAIRN, Honorary Treasurer, S. A. F. A. Association.

N.B.—In the above Statement of the Assets of the Association the contents of the Gallery and Library have not been included.—(Signed) J. A. F.

# APPENDIX No. I.

## SOUTH AFRICAN FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION.

AN ADDRESS TO ART STUDENTS BY HIS EXCELLENCY SIR BARTLE FRERE,  
27TH MAY, 1880.

I propose this morning, if you will allow me, to continue a few of the remarks which I should have been glad to have made at the end of our last meeting;\* but which I was prevented from making, partly by want of time, and partly because I thought they were not so much for those who are merely interested as amateurs in the study of art as for those who are art students. In particular, I omitted to make much reference to the very unrivalled collection of photographs—unrivalled so far as we are concerned in Cape Town—which have been lent to us by Mr. Cowper, who I am very glad to know will from to-day occupy the influential position of Secretary to the Association. I am heartily glad to welcome him to a position which will enable him to do a great deal of very good work for us. I have no doubt you took notice of the very well selected collection of photographs which he has had put out for us; but it struck me there were a good many things connected with them, to which it might be well especially to draw your attention as art students.

I may allude in passing also, to a collection which Dr. Dale has got out from England, and which I hope, if space is afforded us, may at no distant date be placed within the reach of students for their benefit, and to further their progress in art. That, however, may not be for some months hence, and meantime when this Exhibition is closed, which it must be at no distant period, I am afraid that we may lose a great deal of the benefit which might otherwise have been derived from the photographs which Mr. Cowper has exhibited.

Now, in speaking of what I hope we shall have an opportunity of looking at more closely after the meeting is over, I would ask you to consider, first of all, why you learn to draw?

There are a great many answers which might be given to this question. Drawing is a very fashionable accomplishment: it is a very pleasant thing to show one's drawing to one's friends; but I trust there are not many here who learn to draw merely for that purpose. Too much of the teaching, however, goes in that direction.

I think we have as yet in Cape Town hardly touched upon what I may call the practical uses of learning to draw as a profession. Of course we know that in other countries the study of drawing, painting, and art generally, is a profession which many men of the greatest genius take up. I may tell my young friends from the South African College here, that so numerous are artists in London that one of the smartest and handsomest and best appointed volunteer regiments in Middlesex, is that which is composed entirely of artists, and though one would be very sorry to see a shower of grape shot go among them, still one feels there could not be a better body of men to defend all that is worth defending in the old country.

\* His Excellency took the chair and delivered an address at the formal opening of the Sixth Exhibition of the Association on the 19th May.

But, besides the use of drawing as a part of the education of professional artists, let us look at its value to the engineer and to the soldier; and you will see that no man can be anything like a decent engineer, and very few men can be perfect soldiers, who have not learnt something of drawing. You know that there is nothing in the world which does so much to educate the perceptive faculties as learning to draw. When you attempt to draw a landscape, you must make up your mind what is the shape of the ground, what is the distance, what are the peculiar features of the ground, and these are the very things which a soldier when he goes into the field ought to remark at once. When he has got to put out his men or take up his own position in the country, the first thing he wants to know as quickly as possible is, what is the nature of the ground before him; and nothing teaches him this so well as learning to draw, because he must in sketching remark all these things, and see how he can put them on paper so as to remember them.

Then there is an immense body of artists in England, and in every European country, to whom the study of scientific drawing is a material part of their professional training. Now, we have not got much in that way in this city as yet, and there are very few workmen here in Cape Town, or in any part of South Africa, whose bread depends upon a good knowledge of drawing and design; but in England you will meet numbers of men who have been carefully taught as artists coming out of large pottery, paper-hanging, and glass manufactories. There it makes all the difference whether a man ranks as an artist, or ranks merely as a working artizan; and I have heard some of these men, who have been trained in schools of art at home, describe their career in a manner to show you the great money value of what they have learnt. One instance occurs to me of a man who is now making many hundreds a year as a designer for pottery, porcelain, and other things of that kind. He described how he came one night and looked in at an art school in Southwark when he was himself a little street arab. He was quite frightened by the blaze of the gas when he opened the door. It was an evening school, and he and his companion, who had made up their mind to come and see it, ran away frightened after peeping in at the door. At last they made bold to go in, and, approaching the teacher, said they wanted to learn to draw. The one who now tells this story was taken in and trained, and from a street arab has risen to be one of the most respected artists probably on the south side of the Thames. He is hard at work among the potteries and glass works in London, and his history may serve to illustrate the practical results of this kind of training we are talking about.

But besides this practical money value, the study of drawing, and especially drawing from nature, is valuable as an education of the eye and the hand, which is not to be surpassed by any other species of education of the same kind; above all, it is a help to the memory. Anyone who has been in the habit of sketching, will tell you that there is nothing so useful, and nothing so delightful in after years, as to look back at a collection of your old sketches. You will find that you observed and that you remember twice as much as those who do not draw. Your own companions, who were perhaps much quicker and readier observers than yourself, did not take the trouble to put what they observed down on paper, and the consequence is, they have forgotten what the draughtsman and the artist have put down and remembered, and made a life-long source of pleasure.

These, then, are all reasons why you should learn to draw; and I am quite certain that nobody who has begun and got beyond the first difficulties, ever complained of being set down to draw, unless it was to expend time, trouble, and eyesight upon mere unintelligent copying. That, I admit, is very dreary work, but directly you get to be able to think for yourself and say, "How shall I put this object I see before me down on

[G. 54—'81.]

B

paper?" then it becomes really a delightful occupation. Every step is a difficulty surmounted, and you feel at every advance that you are in a better position than before.

That brings us to another question, which is, when you are learning drawing, what do you learn?

At the present time I am afraid that a great many of us are habitually occupied in merely copying copies of figures, copying copies of flowers, or copying copies of landscapes. I think it would be found that such is the case with pupils generally.

Well, now, does this help you at all to draw from nature? You have only to ask the question of any learner, and you will find it almost always answered in the same way. I have seen beautiful heads, beautiful flowers, and beautiful landscapes, which must have cost an infinity of time and trouble, so extremely well done, that it would require an artist to tell whether they were done from nature or were mere copies, and when you ask the pupil who has done them, "Have you been sketching much from nature?" you very often get the answer, "Oh, dear no; I have never tried to do that, and I am sure I could not." But an artist will tell you at once, that anyone who can draw a good head, or a good landscape, or a good flower, as a copyist, would have much less real difficulty in drawing the same object from nature than in drawing from a copy before him; and this for a very simple reason, which you will see at once directly you consider the matter. When you are drawing from a copy, you feel there is nothing here that cannot be done by a good mechanical copyist precisely like the original. You have only to look at the copy and imitate it stroke for stroke as you see it on paper before you, and the thing is done. But you must not deviate a single stroke from the copy before you, or the imitation will be imperfect. It is quite different when you set to work to draw from nature. There you have to consider, how am I to give the idea of distance, the idea of colour, and the idea of form? The whole thing is a process of thought and invention, because you know you cannot put it upon paper in the same relief; you cannot put the distance actually upon paper; you must do something upon the paper which gives the impression to the eye of the observer which is given to you, by form, or colour, or distance, and the whole process, therefore, is one of active intelligence, and it becomes in the end much easier; because directly you make the slightest mistake in servile copying, you cannot alter it, whereas in producing upon paper the effect of a landscape or a flower before you, you at once see that there is room for doing it in half-a-dozen different ways. You try to do your best, and even if you are not very successful, still there is something which is your idea, which has the life of reality in it, and which represents in an intelligent fashion what was before you.

Having said so much to exhort you to draw from nature and not from copies, you might very reasonably ask me, "Then, why do you tell us to study these copies? a photograph is emphatically not only an exact copy but a mechanical copy, so why do you tell us to study these photographs when you have so much objection to our copying?"

The reason is a very simple one. A photograph is as far as your senses can tell you, a perfectly accurate copy of the object. It is for that reason a very valuable kind of copy. I do not tell you to go and copy such copies because they are good copies, but because these particular photographs represent exactly the flat drawings from which they were taken, and they will enable you to see how the great artists who drew them went to work in preparing to paint their greatest pictures. By studying them you may get an insight into the ideas of the great artists, whose works they are, and you can trace the process that they went through when they were framing their large pictures.

And this brings us to a question which is also worth considering, namely, how do you learn to draw? Let us each ask ourselves

that question, and you will very soon find that those who draw well, do not confine themselves to copying, but go to see how the artist works. Everybody who has learned under a good teacher knows quite well that there is nothing so improving, nothing that advances you so much, as watching other people at work; and it is just this, that these photographs of Mr. Cowper's enable you to do with regard to the work of artists long since dead. They are photographs, a few of finished pictures, and of those we will talk afterwards; but I wish to direct your particular attention in the first instance to those photographs which are photographs of sketches; and if you will read the descriptions which are given of them, you will be enabled to trace through them, much of the process by which the great artists, whose drawings are here copied, produced their great works. Let us take for instance, the great picture which by many is thought to be the greatest in the world, the Transfiguration by Raphael, perhaps the greatest treasure in all the collections of pictures at Rome. There is a very large photograph of the great picture, which Mr. De Smidt lately brought with him from Europe, and you will see in the photographs which are copies of Raphael's sketches, a great deal of the elementary ideas which were afterwards embodied in the large picture. For instance, there is a sketch of the group at the top of the picture, representing our Lord, with Moses and Elias on each side; the figures are not precisely as they were afterwards put upon the canvas, but as they first occurred to his mind, and you will trace there, if you carefully compare the photograph of the sketch with the photograph of the finished picture, how the idea which first occurred to the painter, was afterwards worked out and perfected before it was put upon the canvas, with all the accessories. This is exactly the sort of learning which you acquire from watching a great artist at work. There is not one of the photographs which is not worth your most attentive examination. You will see, first of all, what great care and what immense labour the great artists bestow upon their works, even the smallest and slightest. It is a very erroneous idea to suppose that a great artist is a man who dashes about pencil or paint, and produces a great effect with very little trouble, although he may work very quickly. I have heard a well authenticated anecdote regarding one of Turner's greatest pictures,—the burning of the Houses of Parliament in England. The gentleman who told the story was with Turner, running in and out of the crowd as the conflagration was going on, and he saw him sketching notes upon bits of paper as he went. The next morning he went to see Turner, when he said he was going to make a picture of the great fire. Turner showed him a large blank canvas and said, "This is what I am going to paint of the conflagration last night." Everything was ready for him to begin the work, and he said, "I cannot talk now; I am full of the subject; go away and come in the evening." He went, and returned in the evening, and found the picture which has since been sold for a thousand pounds. It was not quite finished but so nearly so that anyone might have taken it for finished; and this was done by twelve hours' incessant labour, without a moment's rest, yet there was not a single point in that picture which was not the result of perhaps years of study. All the details had been prepared in the mind of the greatest master of modern times, and also in his eye; and he had merely to work upon the canvas. He afterwards painted two other pictures of the same scene from different points, and they are all among the greatest treasures of Turner's art, being painted with great care. I have heard people talk of the great effect that Turner produced without any trouble; but the real fact is, that every moment of his time was employed, and his paintings were the result of years of incessant observation and hard work. You will see something of the same kind in the sketches of which we have photographs before us. There is not one line there which is out of place, or one line which is thrown away; and even if you take the smallest and simplest of the sketches and look at it attentively, you will be struck by

observing with how much fewer strokes of the pen or pencil the great artist worked compared with what we now find necessary. There are one or two charming little figures, one of the Virgin holding a child, and I do not think there are twenty strokes in the whole group. If, however, you tried to produce the same effect upon paper, from memory, you would find you could not do it under many times twenty strokes of your pen or pencil. You must recollect that it was not by inspiration merely that this result was achieved, but by incessant labour, the artist taking care never to throw away a single movement of the hand.

I hope we may be able afterwards to walk through the room in which the photographs are, and look at them a little more in detail; but there are some points which I should like you to note, before we move, and which will illustrate, I think, what may be of use to us; at least, to those gentlemen who have the direction of the Association, namely, the kind of pictures and drawings to which they might devote the funds of the Institution. There is a celebrated picture of which you have got photographs here, as well as a large copy in oils—the Aurora of Guido, at the further end of the other room. It is a picture painted on the alcoved roof of a room somewhat of the same shape as that we are now in, and you can only see it by looking up. There is a large mirror, however, placed on the table below, so that you can look down upon it, and I have heard artists say that seemingly it was a most easy picture to copy, but in reality it was exceedingly difficult. Our large oil copy gives you a very imperfect idea of the original; it is imperfect in almost everything except the mere outlines of the figures. If you look attentively at the photograph, you will get a much better idea of the original, though the photograph, of course, cannot represent the marvellous colouring. If you remember, the chariot of the sun has the hours round it: the early hours of the morning are light, and the latter hours are in darker and more sombre colours. You get acquainted with the effect of that from the photograph, because it is a faithful copy of all that can be given in black and white without colour; and this oil copy which we have got illustrates one point which I wish to mention—namely, how very little use it is to attempt to get copies, even if they are expensive copies, of great works, unless they are themselves done by a great master. You may occasionally see in collections at home, and you find sometimes sold, copies by great artists of celebrated pictures; and these are great treasures, because when you look at them you see exactly what the artist was about in trying to reproduce the picture before him; but a bad copy gives you nothing of this. Instead of the artist having the artist's idea of what was to be done, and doing it as an artist, he simply copies servilely; and nothing is worse, either for example or for exercise, than that kind of copying. There is another copy here of a picture by Gainsborough, of Mrs. Siddons. It is a small miniature copy, which is a thoroughly good and beautiful picture, giving you very much the effect of the original. There is a photograph of it, and if you compare the photograph with the copy, you will see what I mean in regard to the peculiar utility of photography in producing copies for the use of the student. And this may lead you to ask why photographs will not do for us all that we require? You will see the reason directly. If you look at any photograph of your intimate friends, it is very seldom indeed that it is entirely satisfactory. You say, "This is not my friend; this is only one of his phases, or one of his expressions." You wonder at this, knowing that it is absolutely an accurate copy of the person as he or she stood before the camera; but a moment's reflection will show you why this is the case. You want to get the person as he generally appears; and the great portrait painter's art is to see at once, not the person exactly as he stands, looking very grave or very solemn, it may be, but to catch the different expressions, the different play of features, and the different phases. A photograph only gives you one phase.

Before we leave this part of the subject, I should like to say a very few words about one series of photographs, namely, that of the Cathedral of Santiago, a most glorious building. It is a photograph of a kind of architecture which had immense influence upon architecture throughout the whole of Holland, both in regard to municipal and ecclesiastical buildings; and I would only in passing remark, that I do hope some of our young friends will remember that there is such a thing as a national style of architecture. You had it once here in Cape Town. In your own streets you will see what very picturesque, as well as very convenient, buildings your ancestors built in this city, and I am sorry to say they are disappearing in many parts, and there is a style of domestic architecture growing up, which is more like a plain deal box than anything else. I am quite sure when you go from your drawing studies and look at some of the old houses in some parts of the town with their picturesque spiral chimnies, gateways, and gables, you will agree with me that it is not desirable that we should have the deal box style of architecture as the national style in South Africa. There is great danger of its becoming so, however, unless some of the rising generation will take a little pains in the matter, and remember that their ancestors never thought it beneath their dignity to invest with as much beauty as they could, even the gables of the stables attached to the houses. This, however, is only by the way; but I trust that the matter will be borne in mind by my young friends, who will have in their hands, a great many of them, the means of materially influencing what shall be the domestic architecture of South Africa.

Before we go to look at the drawings in detail, I would just ask you to bear in mind a very few points, not particularly connected with what I have been saying, but which may be of use to you in your studies. One is, not to think you can make a jump at perfection in drawing, but to begin as you will find from their drawings of which photographs are before you, Raphael, and Holbein, and the great masters of former days began, with the very elements of drawing. They never thought of painting a great picture without previous careful thought and consideration. They took every pains to begin from the very smallest details. Then you should copy as much as possible from the thing itself, that is, from nature; and I would here once more say what I have said already, I think more than once, that you could not be in a better position than you are in this city and its neighbourhood, for obtaining the best models for almost every kind of picture that you wish to put upon paper. I only wish that some of the young ladies who have done so well with their chalk heads, would try and draw some of the little street figures, the ragged little boys, with their picturesque brown faces, and many coloured garments, and slouched hats. Just put them on paper instead of merely copying lithographs or drawings put before you; and the same remark applies to landscapes. There is no landscape which Claude or Turner ever painted, that can exceed the beauty of the landscapes you have around you, of almost infinite variety, according to the time of the day, and the change of the seasons; and though I do not think we always choose our residences here for the sake of a good view, I know very few that have not a perfect picture somewhere or another, without going much beyond the stoep in front of their house. The same with flowers. You have the most beautiful flowers here of probably any country in the world, and if you only take a flower itself, and try to produce on paper the same effect as your eye looks upon, you will find it is not only much easier than drawing an elaborate copy, but very much more satisfactory. Then, again, whenever you can correct your copy by a good picture or a good photograph do so. What I mean is this: say, among your friends in some farm-house in the country, you meet with a fine head, such as Rembrandt would have delighted in, and you try to sketch it, then compare what you have done with a photograph or picture of a similar kind by

one of the great masters of the middle ages. You will then very soon come to find how it is you do not at once catch the exact portrait of your friend, the old farmer. Then I would recommend you never to copy from anything but the best, the very best you can get. You should not only always choose the best examples, but you should avoid what is a temptation to a great many, especially young artists, anything like caricature. Nothing is easier than to exaggerate with the pencil or with the pen, as well as in other ways; and caricature is simply the exaggeration of some peculiarity, and it is an immense temptation to all young people, as well as a terrible stumbling-block in the way of keeping on good terms with your friends. It is, moreover, almost fatal to good drawing. You may remember how one of the best caricaturists who ever lived, said he wished he had never drawn a caricature in his life, for he never saw a face that he did not picture it in his own mind with some exaggeration of any peculiarity which was disagreeable; and this is just the opposite of the result which ought to be produced by a study of art. It should teach you to see and to remember, and to think of all that is best and most beautiful that comes within your view. Lastly, I would ask you never to tear up or let anyone else tear up, your old work, no matter how bad it is; just keep it and compare it with what you do in after years, and see if you are getting on. I do not say that you should keep all your old sketches, but never tear up old work, before you have done something better. I hope the time is not far distant when you will have professional teachers of the highest qualification to help you in your work. In the meantime there is a good deal to be done by studying from books as well as from drawings. You cannot make an artist by all the reading in the world; it is only by constant practice; but there is an immense deal to be learned from books. The works of Mr. Ruskin are rather too voluminous to be in the hands of everybody; but I think in all our great schools here or in the neighbourhood, there should be a copy of Ruskin at hand, and it might very appropriately be given as a prize: at any rate it should be somewhere where it can be readily consulted by those who like to read on the subject. There are, however, a great many smaller works of Ruskin, such as his lectures at Edinburgh and Oxford, which are extremely useful to learners, and though I do not think anyone can agree with all his rather exaggerated statements, yet you will find in his description of a picture, and his estimate of painters, their faults and perfections, more real artistic wisdom than in any other work that I know of, and told in the most perfect style of modern English. There are other works, such as Reynold's lectures, and the works which Harding, the landscape artist, published, which are very easily accessible, and are full of interest to anybody who has once begun to think what is the root of the matter in the training of an artist. Harding was one of the first to break down the old-fashioned system of teaching a particular touch for each kind of tree. It was supposed that when you had mastered all these different "touches," you were able to draw a landscape. Harding shewed what a mistake this was, and his Elementary Works are as good as anything I know to help a young learner to draw trees from nature. I trust that whenever our art teacher comes, that the Association will be able to help him to better rooms, with more space and better light. I am quite sure that there is one person, Dr. Dale, who will do his very best to secure to him for what he has done already; but I hope he will not give up the work till he has really got not only a good Art Gallery, but good schools and class-rooms for teachers and learners. I would, in conclusion, only add that what I have said does not profess to be anything like a lecture on art, which is beyond my capacity. They are only a few local observations, which I trust may be useful in making some of my young friends turn their talents to good advantage in drawing; and that they will reap the same pleasure from so doing that anybody who has been a draughtsman all his life must have experienced.

Appendix 5

A SHORT HISTORY  
of the  
SOUTH AFRICAN  
FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION

By  
F. H. KENDALL, M.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Published by the S.A. Fine Arts Association.  
Printed by The Bon Accord Press, Cape Town, 1941.

FOREWORD

The South African Fine Arts Association was the first body of its kind to be formed in South Africa, having been established more than ninety years ago, and can look back with some satisfaction on the part it has played in fostering the Fine Arts in our country. Our National Gallery in its fine new home in Government Avenue, Cape Town, owes its inception to the Association, which has the privilege of nominating two of the Board of Trustees triennially.

The object of the Association is the promotion of the Fine Arts, by holding occasional exhibitions of works of art, by rendering financial aid to art students in South Africa, by purchasing pictures for Art Unions and for presentation to the National Gallery. In his short history of the Association, Mr. F. K. Kendall, for many years its President, has told of its origin on 12th October, 1850, of its activities, and of its ups and downs since then until to-day.

It will be seen that this is not an association of artists but rather of art-lovers. Of artists' clubs and societies there are many scattered all over our country, but there is no other association whose aim is purely one of philanthropy towards art; and as it seems desirable that its existence should be known to a wider circle, this account of it is now published. It is interesting that in the "early days," until say the end of the nineteenth century, the Fine Arts Association was at its most flourishing period. The citizens of Cape Town, then a provincial town, took more interest in the Association than has been the case since its promotion to one of the capitals of the Union of South Africa, and grown much bigger and very much richer, so that material interests seem to have elbowed aesthetic ones to a place very far below the salt. The Colonial Parliament used to vote a grant of £100 a year, which in 1883 was increased to £200; but since Union, Parliamentary grants have ceased, and are now replaced by a grant from the Provincial Council of £90 a year.

As the Association depends upon a large membership for the wherewithal to perform its laudable functions, it is expected that publication of its history will stimulate an increase in the number of subscribers, and it is hoped will inspire citizens to make donations to it and thereby enhance its usefulness. Need they be reminded that their help may be of two-fold benefit, for in our democratic land, to parody an ancient proverb: "Government helps those who help themselves." The subscription, which is ten shillings a year, includes a ticket in the annual Art Union draw.

Geo. England, } for the Committee  
Bernard Lewis, } of the S.A.F.A.A.

SOUTH AFRICAN  
FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION.

THE earliest record I have been able to trace of an artistic movement at the Cape is mentioned in "The Commercial Advertiser" of 19th October, 1850.

1851  
1850  
1851  
1850  
formed in 1850.  
in 1850.

2000 pages  
10 2 1/2  
1 1/2  
1 1/2

1870  
The S.A. Nat. Gall.

...of Cape Town, then a provincial town, took more interest in the Association than has been the case since its promotion to one of the capitals of the Union of South Africa, and grown much bigger and very much richer, so that material interests seem to have elapsed aesthetic ones to a place very far below the sea. The Colonial Parliament used to vote a grant of £100 a year, which in 1884 was increased to £200, but since Union Parliamentary grants have ceased, and are now replaced by a grant from the Provincial Council of £50 a year.

As the Association depends upon a large membership for the wherewithal to perform its laudable functions, it is expected that publication of its history will stimulate an increase in the number of subscribers, and it is hoped will inspire citizens to make donations to it and thereby enhance its usefulness. "Let them be reminded that those help may be of use-felt tonight for in our democratic land, it hardly an ancient proverb: "Government helps those who help themselves." The subscription, which is ten shillings a year, includes a ticket to the annual

Bernard Lewis, J of the S.A.F.A.A.

## SOUTH AFRICAN FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION.

THE earliest record I have been able to trace of an artistic movement at the Cape is mentioned in "The Commercial Advertiser" of 19th October, 1850. This is a brief account of a meeting which took place in the Public Library, Cape Town, on 12th October, 1850, to consider the possibility of instituting Art Exhibitions. Then was sown the seed which has slowly germinated through the intervening years and culminated in the National Art Gallery opened by the Earl of Athlone three quarters of a century later.

The meeting—which seems to have had a good measure of public support—even went so far as to propose "to erect a permanent structure, classical in design" to be built in the Botanical or Government Gardens. It was to be planned for the display of pictures and sculpture, and conveniently arranged for the sale of pictures and delivery of lectures on Art. The estimated cost of this venture was £1,100—which was to be raised by the issue of 110 £10 shares, and an application for land was to be made to the Government or the Trustees of the Botanical Gardens.

While this delightful little project remained in the background, however, the Committee—which had been appointed at the meeting of 12th October, 1850—undertook the launching of the first exhibition of Fine Art, and this was advertised to be opened on the 3rd February, 1851, in the school rooms in Government Gardens—though the event was actually postponed until Monday the 10th. The Managing Committee consisted of Col. Clute (Chairman), Rev. Mr. Newman, Hon. W. Porter, Major Longmore, Rev. Mr. Rogers, Messrs A. Chiappini, C. Bell, G. Frere, Boyle Jerram and C. MacDougall (Hon. Secretary). It was open daily from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. and tickets (1s. day and 5s. season) were obtainable from Mr. Robertson and Mr. Vawser, and catalogues were 6d. each.

There were some 500 exhibits, mainly of loaned pictures, some original competitive works in various classes, and some statuary—which was duly admired—though a bust of Michael Angelo was said to bear a strong resemblance to Sir Andries Stockenström. Mr. Adams showed a model locomotive engine, a galvanic battery, and a lever watch—all made by himself; an Indian chafing dish was loaned by Mr. A. de Pass; there was also a model of the New House of Representatives for the Cape, crowned by a dome, the work of C. MacDougall. The pictures included (No. 3) "Arrival of Van Riebeeck, 1652," by C. Bell—which now hangs in the Public Library; (154) Portrait of Van Riebeeck—the property of the Municipality; (48) Portrait of Charles 1st, by Van Dyk; (205) "Departure of Lord Lowther from Table Bay," by T. W. Bowler; (116) "The Isle of the Holy Cross," by C. Bell (Diaz landing on the Island of St. Croix, Algoa Bay)—which is now in the Public Library; also works by Sir William Beechy, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and many lesser lights. (206) "Saint Sebastian," by Antonio Chiappini, came in for some criticism, as a letter in the Press described it as a copy from the original in Dulwich Gallery (England). The artist was the great grandfather of the now well-known brothers of the same name, the picture at present being in possession of Mr. Alec Chiappini. Although it had been arranged to close down on Saturday, 15th March, the Exhibition was extended until the 22nd, during which latter period tickets of admission were available at the door for 6d. It seems that during the six weeks it was open, the show was visited by 2,984 people, and realised £112.

The prizes were presented in the new Schoolroom on 2nd April, as follows:—

Gold Medal:—

Chas. Bell No. 3. Oil.  
T. W. Bowler No. 205. Water Colour.  
C. MacDougall No. 436. Model.

Silver Medal:—

Miss Kilgour No. 148. Landscape.  
Miss R—— No. 319. Port Natal Harbour.

A Work of Art:—

E. C. Turpin No. 125. Copy in Pencil of Sydney Cooper's Cattle.  
Mrs. Joseph No. 230. Chalk Drawing.  
Miss Billingsly No. 238. Water Colour (Flowers).

On Monday, 23rd November, 1852, the second exhibition was opened at the old Dessinian Library, Adderley Street. Season tickets (10s. 6d.) and Day tickets (1s.) were obtainable from A. S. Robertson's, Adderley Street, and Hewitt & Son's, St. George's Street. Catalogues were 1s. It was patronised by His Honour the Lieut. Governor, and the Committee consisted of the Very Revd. the Dean of Cape Town, Rev. A. Faure, the Hon. W. Porter, Col. Cloete, Maj. Longmore; Messrs. C. Bell, G. Frere, E. J. Jerram, N. Pilkington, A. de Smidt, T. W. Bowler, W. Greig and Wm. Tasker Smith (Hon. Secretary). It was decided to award prizes in the form of books on artistic subjects instead of medals, in order that a larger number might be afforded. There were 325 exhibits—otherwise, so far as one may judge, the general extent and lines upon which the show was run did not differ materially from those of the previous exhibition. It might be noted that Nos. 12, 24, 32 and 50 were all "from the clever hand of the Surveyor General, A. de Smidt, two being sketches of the late Governor and Colonial Secretary." To the Committee Capt. Wilson presented a figure of "Ariel," and Mr. Marquard of the Commissariat—the Alto Relievo—Spencer's "Fairy Queen."

After Monday, 27th December, the entrance fee was reduced—family tickets for six being 4s. 6d. or for ten 7s., while school children were admitted for 6d. per head. It is sad to learn that the course of the exhibition—like that of true love—did not run smoothly. Although it remained open until 16th February, 1853, 825 visitors patronised it, and the total takings only amounted to £31. "Fittings and temporary arrangements" had cost £45—and there was a deficit of about £60—so that no prizes could be awarded. Dr. A. N. E. Changuion came forward in aid of the funds with a Lecture on the Fine Arts in the Commercial Hall on 11th February, 1853, but with what success is not known.

The cause of the public apathy appears to have been mainly due to some hostile criticism of the pictures in the Press. A critic signing himself "Mastic Varnish" had several tilts at the show with damning effect and entirely chilled the public interest. The influence of the Press must have been great even in those days, but it certainly seems to have been misplaced in the present instance. (I have referred more fully to this question in another section.) Artistic enthusiasm thus suffered a severe check, which evidently stifled the movement for over five years.

In opening the Third Exhibition, the archives of the ~~Very Rev. Dean Douglas~~ of Cape Town, delivered a lecture on Art, which was published in an octavo booklet published as a record of the occasion. A formidable quarto sized catalogue tells us of various particulars of this "Third Exhibition of Fine Art at the Council Chamber Public Buildings, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope, for 1858," the venue being subsequently known as the Record Room in the Old Supreme Court.

His Excellency the Governor (Sir George Grey) was Patron—and the Committee consisted of the Very Rev. the Dean of Cape Town (Chairman), the Hon. W. Ranson, the Hon. W. Porter, Geo. Frere, John Fairbairn, Charles Bell, S. J. Jerram, E. L. Layard, Thos. W. Bowler, P. York, J. Stewart and A. de Smidt (Secretary).

Admission was by ticket (price 1s., season tickets 5s.), obtainable only from Mr. A. S. Robertson's, Adderley Street, Messrs. Juta's, Wale Street, and Mr. W. Brittain's, St. George's Street. Certain works were for sale, upon which 10 per cent. commission was charged.

Although it certainly had a large attendance, 825 visitors patronised it, and the total takings only amounted to £91. "Fittings and temporary arrangements" had cost £25—and there was a deficit of about £60—so that no prizes could be awarded. Dr. A. N. E. Changuion came forward in aid of the funds with a Lecture on the Fine Arts in the Commercial Hall on 11th February, 1853, but with what success is not known.

The cause of the public apathy appears to have been mainly due to some hostile criticism of the pictures in the Press. A critic signing himself "Mastic Varnish" had several tilts at the show with damning effect and entirely chilled the public interest. The influence of the Press must have been great even in those days, but it certainly seems to have been misplaced in the present instance. (I have referred more fully to this question in another section.) Artistic enthusiasm thus suffered a severe check, which evidently stifled the movement for over five years.

Regarding the Third Exhibition, the archives of the A formidable paper-bound catalogue with many plates particulars of this "Third Exhibition of Fine Art at the Council Chamber Public Buildings, Cape Town, Cape of Good Hope, for 1858," the venue being subsequently known as the Record Room in the Old Supreme Court.

His Excellency the Governor (Sir George Grey) was Patron—and the Committee consisted of the Very Rev. the Dean of Cape Town (Chairman), the Hon. W. Ranson, the Hon. W. Porter, Geo. Frere, John Fairbairn, Charles Bell, S. J. Jerram, E. L. Layard, Thos. W. Bowler, F. York, J. Stewart and A. de Smidt (Secretary).

Admission was by ticket (price 1s., season tickets 5s.), obtainable only from Mr. A. S. Robertson's, Adderley Street, Messrs. Juta's, Wale Street, and Mr. W. Brittain's, St. George's Street. Certain works were for sale, upon which 10 per cent. commission was charged.

A few rules are printed on the front page, followed by various particulars of the prizes competed for. Then comes an introduction of nearly three pages explaining that the purpose of the Exhibition was to stimulate the public taste, and the advantages of doing so. Then a closely printed article, "Thoughts on Painting, Pictures, etc." of some eight pages, the substance of which is culled from various well-known authors. Although some of this may strike the modern idea as curious there can be little doubt that it served a good purpose in the youthful days of Art Culture at the Cape, and was probably a valuable guide in helping the majority to understand and appreciate the Exhibition.

There were over 500 exhibits, mostly pictures, but including statuettes and photographs. Nearly all of these appear to have been loaned, but there was a section also for original work for which prizes were awarded.

Among the artists such names as Van Dyk, Turner, Landseer, Morland, Chantrey, Prout, Varley appear, and there were several pictures by Bowler.

The public appreciation may be gauged by the fact that no less than 2,500 people visited the show. After having been open for three months it was formally closed on 24th January, 1859. On this occasion an address was delivered by the Rev. F. Gilbert White, M.A. Oxon., Principal of the Diocesan Collegiate School. This was published by the Committee in extenso in a booklet printed by Saul Solomon & Co., Steam Printing Office, 1859.

Although the author laid no claim to be an artist himself, he had given a good deal of study and thought to the subject, and discoursed on various points relating to the Fine Arts. His outlook generally was orthodox and healthy, and more discriminating than one would find in any but a highly cultured man of that generation.

Apparently a hiatus then occurred, as the catalogue of the Fourth Exhibition of Fine Arts (held in connection with the Young Mens' Institute) shows that it did not take place until 31st October, 1866, in the Great Hall of the old Mutual Buildings, Cape Town.

Two hundred and eighty-six pictures were exhibited, of which only two are marked for sale, practically all the remainder being loaned. As the personnel of the Committee had changed somewhat considerably by then, I include their names as a matter of general interest:— Patron, Sir P. E. Wodehouse, K.C.B.; Chairman, Mr. Justice Cloete; Mr. Justice Watermeyer, W. Downes Griffiths, W. Porter, George Frere, Chas. Bell, Hugh Lynar, S. Solomon, Rev. F. Parminter, Rev. T. E. Fuller, Rev. W. Fitzharry Curtis, J. B. Barnard, C. R. Eaton, Mr. Justice Pringle, Prof. Noble, A. De Smidt, Rev. Prof. Cameron, W. R. Thomson, C. Fairbridge, Advocate Cole, Advocate Buchanan, T. W. Bowler, J. Welchman; T. E. Fuller and F. Parminter being Joint Secretaries.

intendent General of Education—wrote to the Secretary asking for accommodation for an Educational Museum. This was to be an introductory step to a Science and Art Department.

A copy of the book of rules is available, printed by Messrs. Saul Solomon & Co., dated 1878, which includes a list of the Committee for 1877-1880 as follows:—Messrs. L. Dale, LL.D.; H. E. Ebbes, M.D.; J. A. Fairbairn; T. E. Fuller; T. Uppington, M.L.A.; W. H. Ross, M.D.; The Very Rev. Dean Barnett Clarke; A. de Smidt; Sir David Tennant; The Rev. J. Cameron, LL.D.; G. E. Goodban; H. W. Piers; W. Farmer; Hon. A. Ebdon; C. A. Currey.

It will be realised that the Association was not necessarily a body of artists, but rather a dilettante society bent on the encouragement of Art.

It encouraged what was deemed suitable material for exhibition.

In December, 1879, we find a letter from J. E. Volschenk—whose work has since become so well known—asking the Secretary for information about the forthcoming exhibition, as he wished to submit some pictures. Also in April of the same year a certain contributor from the country writes an indignant letter asking for the money for the pictures he had sent in, as they were "for sale." Not many of our artists to-day count quite so readily upon an eager public jostling one another in its efforts to secure their work! "A Venetian Ferry," by Woods, was purchased in England by C. M. Cope for £100 for the Association, though the local Committee did not appear to be very well pleased with his choice, but it is to this day much admired by visitors to the National Gallery. For many years they appointed some well known English artist to act as agent for them, and pick up such pictures as he considered suitable for the Gallery. Naturally this duty was extremely difficult to discharge to everyone's satisfaction when one regards the natural differences of taste which must always occur, but especially so between comparative pioneers who thought £100 a long price to pay for a picture, and artists who lived in a much more advanced atmosphere. Early in 1885 Mr. A. de Smidt—a member of the Committee who was about to travel in Italy—undertook to lay out £100 of the Association's money in works of Art, with a more intimate knowledge of what the Committee really wanted. Photographs, or copies in oils of famous pictures, seem to have found most favour, though de Smidt is particularly warned against purchasing pictures of *nude* figures, as it had been found that these shocked local susceptibilities, and had already prevented several people from revisiting the Gallery!

It seems also that the public was encouraged to present pictures to the Association when considered of sufficient merit, for which they were recompensed by life membership.

Though doubtless justified in those early days, and resulting in the nucleus of the exhibition growing steadily, this custom has since built up a difficulty for the more recent Trustees. They are responsible for our really fine Gallery and with it the desire of setting a much higher standard of exhibits, but a new Act of Parliament has determined that works once accepted have to remain permanently as part of the collection.

There is no record to show when the exhibitions were discontinued, but presumably this coincided with the foundation of the permanent gallery.

Art Unions were then established and for many years they proved to be a popular institution. The last of these was held in 1928. Interest had been languishing for some time before then, and the Committee did not take steps to revive them until 1940.

Although applications for a Parliamentary Grant in aid of the Association had been made in July, 1877, and again in the following years, it was not until 1880-1 that a grant of £100 was obtained. This, however, was increased in 1883 to £200, and was paid under a Parliamentary vote until 1915, when it was reduced to £90, universal retrenchment having become necessary on account of the war.

Year by year out of these grants and from annual subscriptions by members and donations by lovers of Art, the Association purchased a number of works by local artists and others from outside South Africa. In addition a large number of paintings, engravings, and photographs, have been presented to the Association from time to time, and added to the collection.

In 1895 an Act of Parliament was passed (No. 20 of 1895), called the South African Art Gallery Act, by which the Government took over the National Collection from the South African Fine Arts Association in trust for the people of the Colony. They purchased the premises in Queen Victoria Street for £6,000, and undertook in exchange to add a like amount to this for the construction of a new and more suitable building to be a worthy Art Gallery, and to provide temporary housing for the pictures in the meantime.

The Act came into force on the 29th February, 1896. The care of the Gallery and the purchase of additional works of Art were vested in five Trustees, of which three were appointed by the Government and two elected by the South African Fine Arts Association. In addition to the annual grant to the Association from the Provincial Council—which amount was expended principally in the purchase of works of Art—Parliament since the year 1898 provided a further grant of £500 per annum. This was to be expended by the Trustees, partly in further similar purchases and partly on the upkeep of the collection. (In 1932 the grant was temporarily reduced to £450, but increased in 1933 to £1,200 and in 1934 to £2,000. In 1910 the City Council also subscribed £50 per annum to cover the cost of opening the Gallery on Sunday afternoons. This subscription was raised to £200 in 1932 and to £500 in 1933.)

The collection remained in New Church Street until May, 1900, when it was transferred to a temporary home in a side wing at the back of the South African Museum, which was opened to the public in October, 1900.

It might be mentioned that the whole of the work done by the South African Fine Arts Association has always been voluntary, the only remuneration paid being that to the custodian of the Gallery during the time that the collection was housed in the old South African Art Gallery, a wing of the South African Museum building, and a small honorarium to the Secretary.

In the meantime the Association continued to encourage Art in various directions. It arranged for the exhibition in Cape Town of collections from overseas on several occasions, amongst which were the famous "Grahamstown Pictures" in 1899, when they made such a brave show in the Drill Hall. Also The Royal British and Colonial Artists' Association pictures in 1914 and again in 1926, the Brangwyn Etchings shown in the Technical College in 1929, etc. These exhibitions were, ~~sometimes~~ <sup>at times</sup> thrown open to the public free and on other Societies—the South African Society of Artists in particular—were uncertain about being able to cover the expenses of an exhibition, the Association not infrequently donated a fair round sum to see them through. At all times pictures, either by South African artists or from overseas, were purchased for the permanent collection whenever reasonably practicable.

The Fine Arts Association and Trustees of the Gallery, however, were far from satisfied with their quarters in the Museum, which were much too restricted and unsuitable in other respects for a proper display of pictures. They, and various other interested bodies, strove strenuously for the realisation of a worthy Gallery such as the Government had undertaken in 1895 to provide for them.

Two rooms at the back of the Museum in the Gardens did duty for South Africa's National Gallery for about thirty years. Here, and up the staircase, were crowded together a portion of the collection—with pictures of all sorts indiscriminately mixed up with plaster casts.

building, and a small hono-  
rarium.

In the meantime the Association continued to encourage Art in various directions. It arranged for the exhibition in Cape Town of collections from overseas on several occasions, amongst which were the famous "Grahamstown Pictures" in 1899, when they made such a brave show in the Drill Hall. Also The Royal British and Colonial Artists' Association pictures in 1914 and again in 1926, the Brangwyn Etchings shown in the Technical College in 1929, etc. These exhibitions were open to the public free, and on through. At all times pictures, either by South African artists or from overseas, were purchased for the permanent collection whenever reasonably practicable.

The Fine Arts Association and Trustees of the Gallery, however, were far from satisfied with their quarters in the Museum, which were much too restricted and unsuitable in other respects for a proper display of pictures. They, and various other interested bodies, strove strenuously for the realisation of a worthy Gallery such as the Government had undertaken in 1895 to provide for them.

Two rooms at the back of the Museum in the Gardens did duty for South Africa's National Gallery for about thirty years. Here, and up the staircase, were crowded together a portion of the collection—with pictures of all sorts indiscriminately mixed up with plaster casts. Only a few of the exhibits could be seen properly, whilst many others had to be packed away behind the scenes in grim darkness. Surely no other city in the British Empire of the importance of Cape Town could have been so neglected in the matter of an Art Gallery!

The Trustees, consisting of Sir Thomas Muir, Sir Malcolm Searle, Messrs. W. Westhofen, John Fairbairn, and J. T. Apsey, cried in vain in the Parliamentary wilderness, and deputations waited on the various Ministers concerned in an endeavour to further the new Gallery movement, but drew no practical response for many years. In 1913, however, the Government melted to the extent of having a design prepared for the new Gallery by the Public Works Department. This was to occupy a piece of ground between the Government Avenue and St. John Street, which was kindly donated by the Corporation of Cape Town.

In 1914, at a cost of approximately £4,000, a contract was entered into for the foundations of this building, which portion of the work was duly undertaken in the same year. On the completion of the foundations, however, another hiatus occurred mainly due to the Great War of 1914-18. At least two more deputations approached the Government at subsequent times in the hope of getting the building proceeded with, and in August 1924, the Hon. Thos. Boydell—the then Minister of Public Works—gave a sympathetic ear to a representative deputation headed by the Mayor of Cape Town. The Minister then went fully into the merits of the whole case which convinced him of the urgency of the call. He gave a most encouraging undertaking to do all he could in the interests of the Gallery, which proved to be no empty promise, and the way in which Mr. Boydell followed it up is deserving of the most appreciative thanks that art lovers can bestow. On behalf of the Trustees, Sir Thos. Muir thanked the Minister for the trouble he had taken in the matter, as also did Mr. J. S. Dunn, on behalf of the Publicity Association at a subsequent meeting.

The sequel was that in February 1925, the Government undertook a contribution of £24,000, towards the construction of the building on condition that the City Council would be responsible for £6,000—to which they agreed.

The expenditure of this £30,000 made it possible to start with the superstructure, though the completion of the entire scheme was estimated at £75,000.

Mr. O. W. Staten, the Secretary of the Public Works Department, with Mr. J. S. Cleland, the Chief Government Architect, proved very helpful in the projection of the scheme. While the available funds were only sufficient to erect the three front galleries on the original estimate, it was agreed to simplify the elevations of the building in certain ways in order to reduce the cost. An additional vote of £10,000 by the Government then made it possible to include the two side galleries and small corner rooms as well, when another unexpected windfall occurred. The Liberman Bequest to the City of Cape Town had provided a sum of £10,000 to be expended on some public monument—a Triumphal Arch at the foot of Government Avenue having been the original suggestion. For various reasons this turned out to be impossible, and negotiations with the Liberman Trustees eventually resulted in this fund being diverted to the new Art Gallery. It was then agreed that this should be a separate portion to be known as the Liberman Gallery, which should be allocated to the work of South African artists. A further £6,000 was generously contributed by the City Council towards the building fund and it so transpired that four large galleries enclosing a court for sculpture, four small rooms and a medium sized room for water-colours, keepers' quarters, etc., have actually come into being.

More or less coincident with the Art Gallery scheme the gods willed it that another bolt from the blue should occur. The great war was over: the Delville Wood Memorial Committee had by careful management arranged a surplus from their funds which they decided to expend in two replicas of the main feature of Sir Herbert Baker's beautiful memorial in France. One of these was a presentation to Pretoria, and the other to Cape Town. Here, conjointly with the domed edifice surmounted by a group of statuary by Alfred Palmer, R.A., was a whole lay-out scheme connecting the new Art Gallery with Queen Victoria Street at a cost of some £15,000. Although Sir Herbert Baker's original design provided for the memorial to be placed on the central line of Government Avenue, the idea, unfortunately, was not acceptable to the ruling authorities at the time. An alternative arrangement, centralising the memorial with the Museum, effectively conceived—but decidedly a second best—was approved, and has been admirably carried out by the Public Works Department. This opening up of the approach to the Gallery and providing it with such a splendid setting enormously enhances the importance of the building, besides giving us a beauty spot, the value of which will grow with the years.

On Monday, 3rd November, 1930, H.R.H. the Earl of Athlone, Governor-General of the Union of South Africa, formally opened the National Gallery of Art in the presence of a large and distinguished gathering.

By this time various changes in the administration of the Gallery had naturally taken place. As mentioned elsewhere, Prof. John Wheatley had been appointed to the first chair of Fine Art in South Africa, in 1925, and was shortly afterwards elected Chairman of the Art Gallery Trustees. The coming of Wheatley happened at a peculiarly auspicious time. An artist from the Slade School in London, steeped in the atmosphere of well organised galleries and schools in England and elsewhere, he immediately settled down to push things along. It was not always easy for him to get his way, and the inevitable conflict between the new idea and antiquated customs clashed in several quarters. But in the main John Wheatley, ably assisted in a secretarial capacity by Mr. P. Thatcher, found sufficient support to administer the affairs of the Gallery with increasing success. Notwithstanding the few years of appalling depression from about 1931, when financial support

it has been possible to carry on, it is an impossible task. At the time of the opening of the Gallery the Board (Chairman), Sir Thomas Muir, Lord Phillips, Mr. F. K. Kendall, Advocate H. A. Fagan, Mr. P. Thatcher (Keeper and Secretary).

The Fine Arts Association at that date was represented by F. K. Kendall (President), Prof. John Wheatley, Revd. A. P. Bender, Mr. Lewis Mansergh and Mr. P. Thatcher (Secretary).

It is sad to think that death should have cut out

...the first chair of Fine Art in South Africa, in 1925, and was shortly afterwards elected Chairman of the Art Gallery Trustees. The coming of Wheatley happened at a peculiarly auspicious time. An artist from the Slade School in London, steeped in the atmosphere of well organised galleries and schools in England and elsewhere, he immediately settled down to push things along. It was not always easy for him to get his way, and the inevitable conflict between the new idea and antiquated customs clashed in several quarters. But in the main John Wheatley, ably assisted in a secretarial capacity by Mr. P. Thatcher, found sufficient support to administer the affairs of the Gallery with increasing success. Notwithstanding the few years of appalling depression from about 1931, when financial

(Keeper and Secretary).

The Fine Arts Association at that date was represented by F. K. Kendall (President), Prof. John Wheatley, Revd. A. P. Bender, Mr. Lewis Mansergh and Mr. P. Thatcher (Secretary).

It is sad to think that death should have cut off so many of those who had laboured for years in the interests of the Gallery before the fruitage had ripened: one has in mind especially such men as Sir Malcolm Searle, Messrs. W. Westhofen and John Fairbairn. Sir Thomas Muir, however, was the solitary exception. After something like forty years' service as a Trustee—during most of which he was Chairman of the Board—he has now passed on in his ninetieth year, after seeing the Gallery a well-established reality.

While some benefactors have set a good example to the community in making presentations to the collection, particular mention must be made of the tireless generosity of Mr. A. A. de Pass. A list of his donations would be too much like a catalogue for inclusion here, but no less than three rooms are occupied entirely by de Pass gifts, amongst which are "Brother and Sister" (bronze) by Rodin and "Isobel" (bronze) by Epstein. Two "Animal Groups" (bronze) by A. L. Barye; and a number of paintings including work by Lepine, Ribot, Sisley, Fantin Latour, Constable, Steer, Sickert, John; water colours by Corot, Brabazon, James; drawings by Forain, Guys, Conder, Orpen, John; engravings and etchings by Durer, Rembrandt, Whistler and Goya. Mr. de Pass has also presented many pictures by South African artists for the Liberman Room. Other valuable works have been presented by Mrs. Leverton Harris, Sir Max Michaelis, Lady Michaelis, Mr. and Mrs. Nettlefold, Major and Mrs. Pullar, P. Wilson Steer, The Hon. R. Stuttaford, Prof. Henry Tonks, and Sir Edmund and Lady Davis.

The pictures in possession of the Trustees now (October, 1941) number 528 Oils, 260 Water Colours and Pastels, 152 Etchings, 123 Drawings, 38 Engravings, etc. There are also 44 pieces of Sculpture and many Colour-Prints, Woodcuts, Aquatints, etc.; 94 of the Etchings represent the "Brangwyn Gift," received in 1931. The "Lady Michaelis Gift" of 59 Paintings and Drawings, was received in 1934.

In recent years the South African Fine Arts Association has presented Water-Colours by Sidney Taylor and Sidney Curle, an Oil-Painting by Victor Moorrees, a Tempera by B. W. Dumbleton, and four Drawings by Melvin Simmers.

The Association has established a scholarship of £30 for two years, tenable at the Michaelis School of Fine Art, University of Cape Town.

## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

### REPORT of the Committee of the South African Fine Arts Association for the Year 1883.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Excellency the Governor.  
1884.

#### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1883.

The Committee, in presenting the Report for the past year, is pleased to inform the members that the support hitherto enjoyed by the Association has steadily continued, notwithstanding the existing commercial depression.

The Committee has been able from the funds at its disposal to purchase Mr. Rolando's beautiful painting of the Stellenbosch Ostrich Farm, and sundry smaller works, and also to supplement the prizes given at the Art Competition. There will further be a balance available for similar purposes during the present year.

Repairs have been effected to the Custodian's Quarters and Entrance Hall, and the staircase has been repainted.

A most successful Art Competition was held during the month of May last, the results of which are fully detailed in the annexed Report of the Art Master, Mr. James Ford.

The School continues to do good work, and remarkable progress has been made by some of the pupils. This is undoubtedly owing to the skill and attention of the Master, who has thoroughly grounded his pupils in the first principles of draughtmanship.

A School in connexion with the Association has been opened at Port Elizabeth, under the superintendence of a highly qualified master, Mr. Harry C. Leslie, of the Slade School, who was engaged through the agency of Mr. Richard Thompson, of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington. This is the second school instituted in connexion with the Association, the Graham's Town school having already given evidence of its capability as an educating medium.

The thanks of the committee are due to the Hon. Lady Smyth, Mrs. Van der Byl, Mr. Farmer, Mrs. Spence, Mr. A. de Smidt, Mr. and Mrs. Rolando, and Dr. Ebdon, who have generously offered prizes for the encouragement of both students and amateurs.

The Special Exhibition of Students' Work for the current year, which displays a most marked advance upon former exhibitions, will be opened in the first week in June; the number of competitors has greatly increased.

The benefits of the Association have not been confined to Cape Town, but have been extended over the whole Colony, and the interest in the Committee's work is gradually increasing amongst country schools and local bodies.

The Committee professes to distribute certain works of art amongst the annual subscribers for the current year on the Art Union principle.

The Committee has reason to believe that through the influence of this Association, Drawing has now a recognized place in the course of instruction of the Public Schools; and candidates for employment as Elementary Teachers are, in future, expected to have reached a fair standard of excellence

[G. 65—'84.]

A

in Free-hand Drawing, at least. Many Candidates preparing for the Teachers' Examinations, as well as Teachers in charge of elementary schools, have availed themselves of the Art Classes throughout the year.

New Street, 26th May, 1884.

#### REPORT OF THE ART MASTER FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER, 1883.

The following is a Report of the state and progress of the school for the 12 months ending December, 1883. The aggregate number of students has been 83 which is 7 less than for the previous year.

In addition to the 83 pupils who have attended the School of Art, a number of Students of private classes have been under my instruction during the past year.

Appended is a list of the trades or occupations of the 83 individual students. No occupation, 5; Hotel-keepers, 1; School-boys, 1; In training as Male Teachers, 15; School-girls, 2; Governesses, 2; Public Works Department, 1; Photographers, 3; Lithographers, 2; Jewellers, 2; Engineers, 7; Government Teachers, 34; Clerks, 2; Surveyors, 1; Watchmakers, 1; Carpenters, 2; Drapers, 1; Printers, 1; Total 83.

The progress of the students has been generally in proportion to the time they have spent in the school; and great good would be done if the most promising of the Artisan Students could, by scholarships or otherwise, have the privilege of attending during the day-time, and so go through a more perfect course of Art Training than they can at present. Their works formed a large part of those executed during the year, and were all done after their day's work at the workshop or elsewhere; and great praise is due to them for their regular attendance and earnest attention to their studies. The fact of both Advanced and Elementary Students having all to assemble in the same room has always been a drawback to the school; this evil will, however, I hope, in due time be obviated.

In every past Annual Report I have advanced the claims of the Malay artisans of Cape Town to the thoughtful consideration of the Committee, for the purpose of establishing classes for their separate and special instruction. Considering they are the chief stucco decorators of the public and private buildings of the Town, their taste should be improved by a proper course of tuition in the elements and principles of art and design. I am not aware of any religious scruple to interfere with an acquisition of artistic knowledge.

The *Cape Times* of May 22nd, 1883, stated "that the Exhibition of Students' works this year is generally recognized to be superior to the previous Exhibition, and gave much gratification to those interested in the working of the Association." The exhibits increased from 300 in 1882, to 1,000 in 1883, and His Excellency Lieut.-General the Hon. Leicester Smyth C.B., stated, in distributing the prizes to the competitors in May last, "that there is a considerable improvement in the merit of all," and that "the Committee have abundant cause for congratulation."

The following tabulated list shows the relative number of successful competitors from the different schools in the Cape Colony at the Art Examination held in Cape Town in May, 1883:—

	Pass	Prize	Commended.
Bloemhof Seminary, Stellenbosch ... ..	3	1	1
Wesleyan High School for Girls, Graham's Town	3	2	0
Rhenish Institute, Paarl ... ..	8	0	0
Good Hope Seminary, Cape Town ... ..	6	1	0
St. Andrew's College, Graham's Town ... ..	3	0	0
Diocesan School for Girls, Graham's Town ...	5	0	0
Huguenot Seminary, Wellington ... ..	11	0	0

	Pass	Prize	Commended.
Ladies Seminary, Paarl ... ..	13	0	1
Marist Brothers, Institute, Cape Town ...	2	1	0
All Saints, Wynberg ... ..	3	0	0
Douallier's Institute, Cape Town ... ..	1	0	0
Competitors having no Masters ... ..	6	1	0
Pupils taught by Mr. Rolando, ... ..	14	5	3
Graham's Town School of Art, Master, Mr. Simpkins ... ..	7	0	0
Cape Town School of Art, Master, Mr. Ford	83	6	5
Total number of successes of all the Schools in Competition... ..	85	11	5
Total number of successes of the School of Art, New Street, Cape Town ... ..	83	6	5

It will thus be seen that the Cape Town School of Art counted 83 passes, 6 prizes, and 5 commendations, as against the whole of the Colony 85 passes, 11 prizes, and 5 commendations.

The Wynberg Railway Department deserves the thanks of the School for permitting Art Students to travel to and from Cape Town at half-fares.

JAMES FORD, Art Master.

New Street, Cape Town, 17 May, 1884.

## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

### REPORT of the South African Fine Arts Association, 1886.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Excellency the Governor,  
1887.

### REPORT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION, 1886.

The results of the Exhibitions held in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth during 1886 show a marked advance in Art Education during the last few years.

The expense to which the Association has been put in providing further facilities for Art Students, has left no balance available for the purchase of additions to the Art Gallery during the year, but the Committee trust that they will soon be in a position to carry on this important part of the work for which the Association was founded.

The Association was able to assist materially in the success which attended the Art Exhibition held in Port Elizabeth, by forwarding a large number of drawings and paintings executed by members of the Cape Town School of Art. This contribution was highly appreciated by the Port Elizabeth Committee, who have expressed their cordial thanks.

The views of Cape scenery forwarded to the Exhibition in London, where they attracted considerable attention, have been returned.

The results of the last competition of Art Students will be found in the Report of the Art Master, attached to this Report. It will be seen that the Art School in connection with this Association has taken an excellent position.

The pupils directly and indirectly connected with this Association now number 197. Fifty-nine of these are pupil-teachers, who are recommended by the Superintendent-General of Education, and are exempted from payment of all fees, receiving thus a free Art Education. Thirty-six pupils attended the evening classes for artisans. The very small charge of seven shillings and sixpence (7s. 6d.) for the session admits an artisan to these classes which are held four times a week.

It will thus be seen that, as far as the limited resources of the Association are concerned, the Committee are doing as much as lies in their power to further a sound and practical education in Art.

The Committee have to express their thanks to Mr. Greaves for his valuable assistance in judging the drawings sent in for the annual competition. They have also to express their satisfaction at the progress made by the pupils under the tuition of Mr. Ford.

The Committee regret that it has been found necessary to reduce the Government Grant in aid of the salaries to the Art Teachers throughout the Colony in each case by £50 per annum.

This Association, in common with others, has suffered from the effects of the universal commercial depression, but the Committee trust that a generous support may be given to an institution which is carrying on a most useful work.

The thanks of the Association are due to Dr. Cameron, who kindly delivered a lecture to the members on "Athens and its Acropolis." The Committee hope that in time arrangements may be made for the delivery of a series of lectures in connection with the Association.

[G. 44—87].

Λ

Lieutenant-General Torrens kindly lent some valuable and interesting paintings for exhibition.

It has been thought advisable to postpone the examination of Art Students and the exhibition of their works until September.

The Committee have, however, under consideration the question as to whether it will not be better to abolish these independent examinations, and to accept the offer of the Science and Art Department, South Kensington, whose proposal to conduct the examination of Colonial Art Schools is annexed.

Should this be found practicable, the Committee will assist, as far as they can, in making such arrangements as will enable Art Students throughout the whole Colony to compete for the South Kensington certificate.

The expenditure for the first five months of 1887, up to date, has amounted to £169 16s. 6d., and the receipts during the same period to £75 5s. 6d. The deficiency, however, will be covered, it is hoped, on the receipt of the amount due on the 30th June from the Educational Department, and by the fees from the Art classes, part of which have already been received.

By order,

J. A. FAIRBAIRN,  
Acting Hon. Secretary.

May, 1887.

The following is the notice from the Committee of the Council of Education, referred to in the Report :—

Science and Art Form, No. 1,295, March, 1887.

**Department of Science and Art of the Committee of Council on Education, London, S.W.**

(Telegraphic Address "Science and Art, London.")

*At South Kensington, the 18th day of February, 1887.*

BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF HER MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

**Schools of Science and Art in the Colonies and Dependencies.**

Several applications having been received from Schools of Science and Art in the Colonies and Dependencies of the United Kingdom to ally themselves with the Department of Science and Art and to have the advantage of its examinations, My Lords approve of the following general rules :—

1. Upon the application of the Colonial Government or Educational Department or other public authority of the Colony, the Department of Science and Art will arrange for the examination of their Schools, on the results of which examination Certificates and returns of awards will be issued.
2. The entire cost of the examination of the papers and works, and of their carriage, clearing in London, and conveyance to and from South Kensington, must be defrayed by the local authority concerned.
3. The examinations are of two kinds : (a) Personal Examinations and (b) Examination of Works.
4. (a) The Personal Examinations the subjects of which are stated in the Science and Art Directory, must be held in the Colonies and Dependencies upon the earliest date possible after the receipt of the examination papers.
5. These examinations must be conducted by qualified and responsible persons not immediately interested in the results of the examinations, who should on the conclusion of each examination furnish a certificate that the examination has been fairly conducted. This certificate and the worked papers of the candidates must be despatched by the next mail to the Secretary of the Department of Science and Art, London, S.W.
6. (b) The examination of Works is held at South Kensington. Works to be examined must be forwarded to reach South Kensington not later than the end of April in each year. All works must be labelled or marked in such a way as to be easily identified with the entries of them made in a form of certificate that they have been wholly executed in the School and by the students of the School named in the certificate. The Department will supply labels and forms of certificate upon application being made to it for them.

7. In making application to the Department, the responsible authorities must state (a) the number of papers required in each subject of personal examination, (b) what arrangements will be made for the custody of the Examination Questions and for the conduct of the Personal Examinations, (c) how many and what class of School works they propose to send for examination at South Kensington in April.

8. The probable cost of looking over the papers worked at the Personal Examinations will be as follows:—

PERSONAL EXAMINATIONS.				s.	d.
For each paper in	Elementary Stage, Science	..	..	1	0
"	"	Advanced Stage, Science	..	1	6
"	"	Second Grade Examinations in Art	..	0	4
"	"	Third Grade Examinations in Art	..	1	0
EXAMINATION OF WORKS SENT TO SOUTH KENSINGTON.					
For each work examined	..	..	..	0	0½

9. The Department will send upon application copies of Lists of Examples and Prizes; and will, as far as possible, advise the local authorities in reference to the conduct of Science and Art Schools or Classes.

The Department will also present specimen examination papers or works—when there are such in stock disposable—with the view of indicating the style of drawings and paintings done by Students and Candidates in the United Kingdom, and the standards of attainment of the various examinations.

By Order,

J. F. D. DONNELLY,  
Colonel, R.E., Secretary.

#### REPORT OF THE ART MASTER.

1. The aggregate number of Students attending the School of Art for the year ending December 31st, 1886, was 111, being 14 in excess of the previous year, and the largest attendance in one year since the school has been established. The number of pupils under my instruction in Ladies' Private Schools during the same period has been 86, being a total of 197 taught by me for the past 12 months. The following is a list of the trades or occupations of the 111 individual students of the Art School:—

Carpenters and joiners, 9; bricklayers, 1; ironmongers, 1; in training as artists, 2; bank clerks, 1; engineers and machinists, 10; pottery manufacturers, 1; signal men, 1; architects, 1; jewellers, 1; printers, 1; surveyors, 1; attorneys' clerks, 2; lithographers, 1; drapers, 2; landscape gardeners, 1; governesses and teachers, 14; no occupation, 11; school girls, 4; school boys, 1; public school teachers, 45; total, 111.

2. Appended is a list of the names of the Public School Pupil Teachers and Teachers, who attended the afternoon classes at the School of Art for the twelve months ending December 31st, 1886:—Miss Bobbins, Miss Bradshaw, Miss E. Clayton, Miss A. M. Clayton, Miss A. B. Clayton, Miss De Croes, Miss Dryden, Miss Forbes, Miss Hart, Miss Kamp, Miss De Kock, Miss Mason, Miss Musson, Miss De Roos, Miss E. Solomon, Miss G. Ross, Miss Whyte, Miss Flanagan, Miss Lynes, Miss Webb, Miss Ashley, Miss Clegg, Miss Sheppard, Miss Adams, Miss McKay, Miss G. Clayton, Miss Parker, Miss Guild, Miss Rudolf, Miss Gatt, Miss Farrand, Miss M. M. Whyte, Miss Walsh, Miss Nicholson, Miss Flannery, Miss Hodges, Miss Bentley, Miss Harrison, Miss Pos, Miss Booms, Miss Galvin, Miss Eaton, Miss Peacock, Miss Bell, Miss Long, Miss Dale, Miss C. M. Kolbe, Miss J. H. Kolbe, Miss Hockley, Miss De Wet, Miss Kirsten, Miss Fanner, Miss Wasserfall, Miss Wilters, Miss Staines, Miss Thieberts; total, 56.

3. The Annual Examination was held, as usual, in June, 1886, and the subjoined analysis of successes indicate the honorable position occupied by the Cape Town School of Art.

[G. 44—'87.]

# CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

(COLONIAL SECRETARY'S MINISTERIAL DIVISION.)

## REPORT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FINE ART ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1893.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Excellency the Governor.  
1894.

Your Committee have to report that during the year 1893 the average attendance at the Art Classes was as follows:—Morning Class, 7; Artisans' Class, 26; Teachers' Class, 48.

The Committee having considered that a change in the management of the Art Schools was necessary, secured the services of Mr. J. S. Morland for the morning and afternoon classes, and of Mr. P. Grant for the Artisans' Classes.

This change took effect from the term commencing the 9th October.

The fee charged for pupils attending the morning classes was at the same time raised to £2 12s. 6d. per term.

The fees for the other classes remain unchanged, viz. :—

Teachers' Class at two shillings and sixpence a term.

Artisans' Class at seven shillings and sixpence a term.

The attendance at the morning classes has increased considerably since this change.

The work of the Artisans' Class has been limited to Freehand and Architectural, Engineering and Mechanical Drawing.

The examination of Art Students throughout the Colony was conducted under the direction of the Committee. On this occasion the principle was adopted of requiring all candidates to pass a preliminary examination before being admitted to the test examination which entitled those who passed to the certificates granted by the association. These certificates are recorded in the office of the Superintendent-General of Education.

A very large number of drawings was sent in for examination. Certificates were granted to 102 candidates who passed the final or test examination.

A water-colour painting of Worcester by Mr. Percy Dixon, who was commissioned by the Committee to paint a picture of South African scenery, has been received, and is now in the Gallery. This work has been much admired. The total cost, including all charges for freight, duty, &c., &c., was £41 12s. 6d.

His Excellency Sir H. Loch has presented the association with two  
[G. 68—'94.]

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the Six Months ending 30th June, 1894.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Balance, 31st December, 1893 ...	207 5 0	Salary, Art Master and Assistant Teachers ...	187 16 10
Art Students, Fees and Entrance Fees ...	114 17 0	Do. Custodian ...	49 5 6
Rent and Educational Museum ...	30 0 0	Interest ...	36 0 0
Salary, Art Master ...	100 0 0	Rates, Taxes, Insurance, &c. ...	17 2 4
Do. Assistant Teacher ...	9 0 0	Repairs and Alterations ...	26 18 5
Sale of Chairs ...	0 14 9	Fuel, Cleaning, Lighting, &c., and Examination Expenses ...	32 15 1
		Printing, Advertising, &c. ...	17 2 6
		Pictures, &c. ...	23 18 11
		Balance ...	70 17 2
	<u>£461 16 9</u>		<u>461 16 9</u>

J. A. FAIRBAIRN,

Hon. Treasurer.

2

An application, made on behalf of the proposed South African International Exhibition to be held at Kimberley, for the loan of pictures belonging to the Association, has been acceded to and a selection made. The pictures have been lent on the conditions that they shall be insured against all loss or damage, and that all charges for carriage, &c., shall be paid.

An interesting collection of paintings and engravings belonging to the late C. D. Bell, Esq., has been on view in the Gallery since January last.

Through the kindness of Lady Loch, who has brought the work of the Association to the favourable notice of several of the leading Artists in England, the Art Gallery has been enriched by the addition of a most valuable series of Engravings, the gift of Mr. Alma Tadema, R.A.

The following is a list of the Works (thus presented), all of which are Artist's proofs duly signed:—

An Apodyterium (the disrobing room of a Roman Ladies' Bath). L. Alma Tadema, (painted in 1886. Engraved by Lowenstam).

Eloquent Silence. L. Alma Tadema, (painted in 1890. Etched by Arendzen).

A Frigidarium. L. Alma Tadema, (painted in 1889-90), Photogravure, Berlin Photographic Company.

In the Rose Garden. L. Alma Tadema. Engraved by Lowenstam.

Hide and Seek. Painted in 1876. Background taken from Villa Albani, Rome. L. Alma Tadema. Engraved by L. Lowenstam.

Never venture, never have. Mrs. Alma Tadema. Painted in 1889. Berlin Photographic Company.

Phidias showing the Elgin Marbles of the Parthenon to Pericles and other Great Citizens of Athens, before the scaffolding was taken down. Painted in 1867. L. Alma Tadema. Photogravure.

These pictures have been properly framed and are now exhibited in the Gallery.

The works in the Art Gallery and the models, copies, &c., belonging to the Association have been insured for £2,500, and the buildings for £1,500.

The Committee regret that a large sum has to be paid annually for rates and taxes to the Town Council and Divisional Council.

The property of the Association is held in trust for the public. The objects in view are entirely for the public benefit, the Subscribers deriving no direct advantage for themselves. Under these circumstances the Committee venture to hope that means may be devised by which they may be relieved from this payment and a considerable amount would thus be available for extending the usefulness of this Institution.

The Committee have been called upon by the Sanitary Department of the Town Council to have all drainage from the Art Gallery and Schools connected with the sewer in New Street. They have accordingly been compelled to incur very heavy additional expenditure for that purpose. The cost of this work, which was completed during the current month, will amount to upwards of £95; this will seriously affect the balance which might otherwise have been available for the purchase of additions to the Gallery.

The Committee cannot allow this opportunity to pass without placing on record its sense of the great service rendered to the cause of Art Education in the Colony by the late Superintendent-General of Education.

Sir Langham Dale has been a member of this Association and Chairman of the Committee since its establishment in 1871.

If the Association has been in any way instrumental in encouraging a love for Art or in the promotion of its study, such success must in a great measure be attributed to the constant interest shown in its working by its Chairman.

The exertions of Sir Langham Dale in this respect have been attended with most satisfactory results in all parts of the Colony, as shown in the success of the Art Schools in Port Elizabeth, Graham's Town, Kimberley, and elsewhere both in public and private institutions, and the constantly increasing number of Art classes established throughout the Colony.

In making this acknowledgment as to the services already rendered by the late Superintendent-General of Education, the Committee trust that he may be long able to give the Association the benefit of his advice and assistance as its Chairman.

The works selected for distribution among the Subscribers for 1891 on the Art Union principle are Nos. 7 and 14 on the Catalogue, viz:—"On the Thames" and "Off the Devonshire Coast," both water colours by W. H. Simpson of Graham's Town.

The report of Mr. Moreland on the work of Art Students sent in for Examination in 1891 is annexed.

(Signed) GEO. H. B. FISK,  
Chairman.

Art Gallery, Cape Town,  
31st May, 1892.

## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S MINISTERIAL DIVISION.

### Report of the South African Fine Art Association for the Year 1894.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Excellency the Governor.  
1895.

Your Committee have to report that the attendance at the Art Classes in connection with the Association during the year 1894 was as follows:—

*Morning Class.*—First term, 18; second term, 18; third term, 16; fourth term, 14.

*Teachers' Class.*—First term, 44; second term, 42; third term, 42; fourth term, 35.

*Artizans' Class.*—First term, 15; second term, 13; third term, 13; fourth term, 14.

The fees charged for the teachers' and artizans' classes were almost nominal, namely, 2s. 6d. per term for the teachers' class (the pupils in this class including any one nominated by the Superintendent-General of Education), and 7s. 6d. per term for the night class for artizans.

In accordance with the terms of the resolution passed at the last annual meeting arrangements have been made by which these classes have been taken over by the Education Department, and from the 1st January, 1895, they ceased to be under the management of the Committee.

The transfer of the Art Classes to the Education Department will at first sight appear to affect the financial position of the Association, as the grants in aid of the salaries paid to the Art Master and his assistants, together with the fees paid by the students, will, after the above date, cease to appear as part of the receipts, but as the whole of the grant for the Art Master and three-fourths of the fees received from the students were paid in salaries to the teachers, and the balance was spent in providing for the necessary accommodation and ordinary requirements of the classes, and a further considerable amount was required for conducting the Annual Art Examinations, the Association will not in reality be a loser by the change.

When the classes were being transferred to the Department of Public Education it was considered that the Annual Examinations of Art Students throughout the Colony, hitherto conducted by the Association, might advantageously be undertaken by that Department, as it was felt that the certificates so granted would have a much higher value than those received from a voluntary Association. With the cordial assistance of the Superintendent-General of Education this change has also been effected.

[G. 65—'95]

At the last annual meeting of members the Committee were authorised to negotiate with the Government with the view to the nationalisation of the Institution. The following letter was accordingly addressed to the Colonial Secretary in July last:—

Art Gallery, New-street, Cape Town,  
July 12, 1894.

SIR,—At the last annual meeting of the subscribers to the South African Fine Art Association, a resolution was adopted authorising the Committee to negotiate with the Government with the view to the nationalising of the Institution and the transfer of the Art Classes to the Department of Public Education.

The Committee, in accordance with this resolution, now beg to bring the matter to your notice in order that the views of the Government may be ascertained.

The Association at the present moment hold in trust for the public works of Art to the value of upwards of £2,000. The collection consists of oil paintings and water-colours, engravings, photographs, photogravures, casts, books, &c.

The Association also owns the block of buildings in New-street, Cape Town, known as the Art Gallery. The auction value of this property, according to a valuation by Mr. H. Jones, is £2,800, and according to Mr. Cauvin £2,750. There is a mortgage on the property for £1,200. Part of the building is at present fitted up as an Art Gallery, part is used for Art Classes conducted by the Association, and one wing is occupied by the Educational Museum.

It is now suggested that the Art Collection is of sufficient value to warrant a proposal being made to the Government to take it over on behalf of the public, when it may be considered as forming the nucleus of a National Gallery.

If this should be agreed to, it is proposed that the Fine Arts Association should transfer to the Government with the Art Collection the landed property in New-street (the building to be taken over with the mortgage thereon) on the understanding that the paintings, &c., especially those obtained under the will of the late Mr. T. B. Bayley, shall become inalienable public property, that suitable arrangements and proper accommodation should be made for their care and custody, and that the collection shall be open to the public.

This in general terms is the proposal submitted for consideration. Should the Government be inclined to agree to it the details can be arranged subsequently.

With reference to the transfer of the Art Classes to the Department of Public Education, mentioned in the latter part of the resolution adopted at the annual meeting, I have to state that the Superintendent-General of Education has been consulted on the matter, and has expressed his approval of this proposal as far as he is concerned.

I have, &c.,  
(Signed) J. A. FAIRBAIRN,  
Honorary Secretary Fine Art Association.

The resolution referred to in the above letter was adopted at the annual meeting held on the 20th June, 1894, and was as follows:—

Mr. St. Leger moved, seconded by Dr. Muir:—

“That the Committee be authorised to negotiate with the Government with the view to the nationalisation of the Institution and the transfer of the Art Classes to the Education Department.”

Carried unanimously.

The Colonial Secretary, in reply, expressed himself favourably disposed to the proposal made on the conditions set forth in the letter.

The Committee having obtained the consent of the trustees, and, after having had several interviews with Ministers, took counsel's opinion as to the competency of the trustees to divest themselves of the property entrusted to them by gift, bequest and purchase, and it was found that it would be necessary to have the sanction of an Act of Parliament before this could be done and the property invested in the Government.

The requisite information and instructions having been given, a Bill to transfer the property to the Government in accordance generally with the

terms of the letter already quoted has been drafted and is now before the Attorney-General.

The principle of the Bill is to convey to the Government the landed property belonging to the Association and all works of Art forming part of the Art Gallery, the Government to provide suitable accommodation, the management to be vested in a Board of Trustees, part of whom are to be nominated by the Governor and part by the Fine Arts Association.

When the details have been agreed upon the Bill will be introduced by the Government.

In thus transferring the Art Gallery to the Government the Committee consider that one of the objects which the Association had in view when it was formed in 1871 will now be achieved, namely, the formation of a permanent National Art Gallery, which will hereafter become an important Institution.

With the scant means at its disposal the Association has gradually formed a collection of paintings and other works of art, many of which are of considerable value, and these will serve as the nucleus of the proposed Colonial Gallery.

The Association has also done as much as was within its power to aid Art Students by establishing Art Classes and by Annual Examinations of Art Classes and Pupils, at which prizes and certificates were awarded and which attracted candidates from all parts of the Colony.

The Association will now be relieved of all matters connected with the maintenance of the classes, the conduct of the Annual Examinations, and the care and custody of the Gallery. It will therefore be able to extend its usefulness in other ways, while satisfied that the work commenced under its supervision will be more satisfactorily carried on under the new arrangements.

The receipts for the year ending 31st December, 1894, including a balance of £207 5s. brought forward from 1893, were £937 0s. 9d., and the total expenditure was £825 9s. 8d., leaving a balance of £111 11s. 1d.

The receipts in 1895 up to the date of this meeting amounted to £21 14s. 6d. and the expenditure up to the 28th May was £62 4s. 4d., the balance being £71 1s. 3d. The greater portion of this sum will be required to meet interest, rates, duty, &c., on pictures from England, and other charges for the half-year ending 30th June.

The Committee have forwarded to Mr. Armstrong, of the Science and Art Department of South Kensington, the sum of £100, to be spent in the purchase of paintings for the Art Gallery. Mr. Armstrong has kindly undertaken the selection of suitable works for the purpose.

The Committee have, among other works, purchased for the Gallery a large oil painting of South African Frontier Scenery, by Mr. Simpson.

During the year there were 44 Annual Subscribers to the Association, and of the total amount of subscriptions the sum of £15 17s. 6d. was appropriated for the purchase of pictures to be distributed among the subscribers on the Art Union principle (according to the conditions on which subscriptions are asked), leaving the balance received from subscribers available for the general purposes of the Association.

The works selected for this purpose are :—

1. A Cumberland Ghyll near Coniston, by S. G. W. Roscoe.
2. Afternoon, late Autumn, by S. G. W. Roscoe.
3. Water Colour Painting, by Percy Dixon.

The drawing takes place at the close of the annual meeting.

(Signed) C. E. PIERS,  
Chairman.

[G. 65—'95.]

c

## MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual Meeting of the Subscribers to the S. A. Fine Arts Association was held in the Art Gallery, New-street, on Wednesday, 29th May, 1895, Dr. Piers in the Chair.

Annual Report and Treasurer's Statement read by the Secretary.

Mr. Cowper moved, seconded by Mr. St. Leger, that the Report and Treasurer's Statement be adopted.

Motion put and agreed to unanimously.

The election of the Committee, by ballot, for the ensuing year then took place.

The Scrutineers reported that the following was the result, viz. :—  
Dr. Muir, Rev. Dr. Cameron, Dr. Piers, Dr. Ross, Rev. G. H. R. Fisk,  
Messrs. F. Y. St. Leger, S. Cowper, J. A. Fairbairn, C. A. Currey, H.  
Piers, and J. S. Morland.

(Sd.) C. E. PIERS,  
Chairman.

## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S MINISTERIAL DIVISION.

### Report of the Trustees of the Art Gallery for the year 1897-1898.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Excellency the Governor.  
1898.

#### REPORT OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE ART GALLERY FOR THE YEAR 1897-98.

The pictures and other works of art in the custody of the Trustees continue to remain in their temporary quarters in the building of the South African Library pending the provision of more suitable accommodation.

An interesting study by John Warley, senr., has been presented to the Trustees, upon certain conditions, by Mr. Anthony Bell, and is now exhibited in the Gallery.

Through the friendly intervention of Mr. Abraham de Smidt, assisted by Mr. Havelock Ellis, several important works were acquired by purchase, in London:—

“A Dream of Love,” by G. E. Hicks, in oils.

Group on Seashore, by H. Caffieri, Mem. Roy. Inst., in water-colours.

“A Glimpse of the Sea,” by Sir Francis Powell, Pres. Roy. Scott. Inst. of Water Colour Painters, in water-colours.

“A Spring Evening,” by Tom Lloyd, R.W.S.

“Her Majesty the Queen,” by Forester, a print.

A series of thirty autotype reproductions of paintings by well-known masters was also purchased.

All the above works are now on view in New-street.

In October, 1897, owing to failing health, Mr. J. A. Fairbairn, resigned his appointment as a Trustee, and in November the Government appointed Mr. Sydney Cowper to the vacancy thus caused, and at a meeting of the Trustees held on the 15th of the same month, Mr. Cowper was appointed Honorary Secretary and Treasurer in succession to Mr. Fairbairn.

[G. 83—'98.]

The acquisition of a site for the new Gallery occupied the attention of the Trustees for some months, and after certain unsuccessful negotiations with the governing body of the Public Library, the Trustees came to an understanding with the Board of the South African Museum, and plans have been prepared, and tenders called, for the erection of an additional gallery to the present Museum buildings which will give the Trustees the requisite accommodation until such time as a permanent site and building can be secured.

The insurance upon the Trustees' collections has been increased to £3,000.

The two years term of office of the Trustees having expired, the Government in accordance with the provisions of Act 20 of 1895 re-appointed the Hon. W. P. Schreiner, Q.C., C.M.G., Thomas Muir, Esq., LL.D., M.A., F.R.S.E., and Sydney Cowper, Esq., and the S. A. Fine Arts Association re-elected T. E. Fuller, Esq., M.L.A., and F. Y. St. Leger, Esq., M.L.A.

A Statement of the Revenue and Expenditure for the Year is appended.

SYDNEY COWPER.

Cape Town, September, 1898.

REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
By Balance, 1st July, 1897	£23 7 1	To Salary, Caretaker	£84 0 0
5th July—P.W.D.: Int. on Deposit	120 0 0	„ Rent S. A. Public Library	54 0 0
26th Jan., 1898—Government Grant	250 0 0	„ Remittance to Agent-General	350 0 0
23rd Feb., 1898—Do.	250 0 0	„ J. A. Fairbairn, Refund	7 10 6
		„ Guardian Assurance Co.	7 10 0
		„ Brooks, Framing Pictures	18 15 0
		„ Repairs: Riddell	£4 7 9
		„ Duffett	1 2 3
		„ Divine, Gates & Co., Shipping	1 13 8
		„ Sundries	7 0 1
		Balance in Bank	107 7 10
	£643 7 1		£643 7 1

SYDNEY COWPER.

## REPORT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION FOR THE YEAR 1897-98.

At the General Meeting of the Association held on the 23rd May, 1898, the following Committee was elected:—

Dr. Thos. Muir, Mr F. Y. St. Leger, Mr. Sydney Cowper, Mr. G. H. Walton, Mr. J. S. Morland, Rev. G. H. Fisk, Dr. W. H. Ross, Mr. H. M. Piers, Dr. H. Piers, Mr. Charles Currey, and Mr. W. Westhofen.

Mr. Cowper was appointed Honorary Secretary and Treasurer for the time being in succession to the late Mr. J. A. Fairbairn.

Mr. T. E. Fuller and Mr. F. Y. St. Leger were re-elected Trustees of the Art Gallery for a period of two years under Act 20 of 1895.



## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

COLONIAL SECRETARY'S MINISTERIAL DIVISION.

### Report of the Trustees of the Art Gallery and Report of the South African Fine Arts Association for the year ended 30th June, 1900.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Excellency the Governor, 1900.

The Trustees have to report the completion of the new Gallery, which forms an annexe to the South African Museum, provided by the Government in terms of the agreement entered into at the time of the passing of the Act in 1895.

The pictures and other works of art under the custody of the Trustees were transferred to the new quarters early in May, and are now in course of arrangement.

Owing to effluxion of time, the Trustees vacated their offices in June, and the Fine Arts Association re-elected Messrs. T. E. Fuller, M.L.A., and F. Y. St. Leger, M.L.A., and the Government re-appointed Dr. T. Muir, F.R.S., and Mr. Cowper, and appointed Mr. W. Westhofen, M.I.C.E., in place of the Hon. W. P. Schreiner, Q.C., C.M.G., M.L.A., who had resigned.

The new building has been suitably furnished, and electric light has been installed.

Owing to the kindness of Mr. A. G. Mullins, the Gallery has been enriched by the addition of a statuette styled "Life's a Jest," by Mr. E. Roscoe Mullins. The Gallery has also acquired a painting by Mr. Robert Goodman.

A statement of account is annexed.

#### TRUSTEES OF ART GALLERY.—BALANCE SHEET.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
July 5th, 1899—			To Freight and Insurance ..	17	8 6
By Balance .. ..	6	2 2	.. Rent Public Library ..	99	0 0
Aug., 1899—			.. Furniture and Installation of Electric Light	50	5 10
By Government Grant ..	250	0 0	.. Salary of Curator ..	98	0 0
Jan., 1900—			.. Petty Expenditure ..	11	11 6
By Government Grant ..	250	0 0	.. Balance in Bank on 30th June, 1900 .. ..	373	16 4
Nov., 1899—					
By Interest on Deposit in Public Works Department .. ..	144	0 0			
Total .. ..	£650	2 2	Total .. ..	£650	2 2

SYDNEY COWPER,  
Trustee and Hon. Secretary and Treasurer.

[G. 68—1900.]

A2869.

# CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

---

---

## Report of the Trustees of the Art Gallery and Report of the South African Fine Arts Association for the year ending 30th June, 1901.

---

---

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Excellency the Governor.  
1901.

---

---

### TRUSTEES OF THE ART GALLERY

(Appointed under Act No. 20 of 1895).

Thomas Muir, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S.  
Sydney Cowper.  
W. Westhofen, M.I.C.E.  
T. E. Fuller, M.L.A.  
The Hon. Justice Buchanan.

The Trustees have to report that the pictures and other works of Art under their custody have been arranged in the new Gallery, which forms an annex to the South African Museum.

The Gallery was thrown open to the public in October, 1900, and has been visited by 13,989 persons up to the 30th June, 1901.

Owing to the death of Mr. F. Y. St. Leger, M.L.A., one of the Trustees elected by the Fine Arts Association, a vacancy occurred on the Board. At the annual meeting of the Association held on the 29th May, the Honourable Mr. Justice Buchanan was elected to fill the vacancy. His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to approve of this appointment.

The following works of Art have been purchased during the year and added to the collection:—Oil paintings (four), by Adam Procter, A. Brown, Douglas Adams and W. Hughes. Water colour (one), by Nibbs.

An illustrated catalogue of the collection in the charge of the Trustees is now in course of preparation.

The South African Fine Arts Association placed the sum of £200 at the disposal of the Trustees for the purchase of pictures, and have in addition presented the Gallery with a water colour by R. Goodman, and an oil painting by G. Crossland Robinson.

THOS. MUIR, Chairman.  
JOHN FAIRBAIRN, Secretary.

[G. 38—1901.]



## SOUTH AFRICAN FINE ARTS ASSOCIATION.

*Founded 1871.*

## NAME.

1. The name of this Society shall be "The South African Fine Arts Association."

2. The object of the Association shall be the promotion of the Fine Arts in this Colony.

## OBJECTS.

(a) By holding occasional exhibitions of works of Art.

(b) By the establishment of Art Unions, and by facilitating the purchase or disposal of Works of Art in connection therewith.

(c) By rendering financial or other assistance to Art Education and Art Students in South Africa.

(d) By the purchase of Works of Art as far as the funds of the Association may permit, and by adding such purchases to the national collection now placed in the Art Gallery, Cape Town.

## MEMBERS.

3. The Association shall consist of ordinary members, paying a subscription of ten shillings per annum, and of life members, becoming such by a donation of not less than £10 to the funds of the Association.

## OFFICE BEARERS.

4. A President and Vice-President shall be elected by the members present at the annual general meeting.

5. The management of the Association shall be vested in a committee of seven members (including the President and Vice-President), of whom three shall form a quorum, and such committee shall be elected by ballot at the annual general meeting, and in the event of one or more members of committee ceasing to be such during the year, the committee shall elect one or more members of the Association to fill the vacancies so caused.

6. An Honorary Treasurer shall also be elected at the annual general meeting as well as two Auditors, who will examine and audit all items of expenditure during the year then past.

7. The Secretary shall be appointed and his remuneration fixed by the committee from year to year.

## SECRETARY'S DUTIES.

8. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to call all meetings at the times stated, to attend all meetings and keep full and correct minutes of the business transacted at such meetings, to conduct all correspondence, to keep all necessary books and submit the same for inspection by the committee at the meetings if desired to do so.

## MEETINGS.

9. The annual general meeting shall be held in May, as soon as possible after the second week, when the committee shall furnish a report of the transactions of the Association, and the Hon. Treasurer shall submit his statement of the financial position of the Association.

10. The committee shall meet for ordinary business on the third Tuesday in the months of January, April, July and October in each year, and at all such other times as the business of the Association may make it desirable.

11. Not less than three days' notice in writing shall be given in the case of committee meetings, and not less than fourteen days' notice in the case of general meetings.

## SPECIAL MEETINGS.

12. The committee may call a general meeting of the members for any special purpose, giving notice thereof at least fourteen days before the same is to be held, and the committee shall also call a general meeting on requisition in writing by not less than twelve members, setting forth the object or



## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Report of the Trustees of the Art Gallery and  
Report of the South African Fine Arts Association  
for the year ending 30th June, 1904.

---

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Excellency the Governor  
1904.

---

### TRUSTEES OF ART GALLERY.

*Appointed under Act No. 20 of 1895.*

Dr. Thomas Muir, C.M.G., F.R.S.  
W. Westhofen, Esq., M.I.C.E.  
Sydney Cowper, Esq., C.M.G.  
The Hon. Sir Lewis Loyd Michell, Kt.  
Mr. Adv. M. W. Searle, K.C.

The Trustees have to report that pending the erection of a permanent Gallery the pictures and other works of Art under their custody continue to be exhibited in the Gallery, which forms an annexe to the South African Museum. The Trustees would urge the carrying out of the agreement entered into with the S. A. Fine Arts Association on the 25th October, 1896, namely, the erection of a suitable building for a permanent Gallery and for Exhibition purposes. The present Gallery is far too restricted for the purpose of a suitable Gallery, and necessitates the crowding of pictures in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of their true beauty and worth being noted. The Water Colour Gallery is unsuitable in every way, the lighting being most defective; further, the Trustees of the Museum are much hampered for want of space, and consequently anxious to obtain the wing of the building at present occupied by the Art Collection.

The Right Honourable the Earl of Carlisle and Mr. Pepys Cockerell continue to act as the Agents of the Trustees in England, and Messrs. Morland and Sydney Cowper have been deputed to consult with them in connection with the requirements of the Gallery.

An Oil Painting by a Russian artist, Harlamoff, has been purchased during the year and added to the Collection.

Owing to the resignation of Dr. Ross, a vacancy has occurred on the Board. At the Annual Meeting of the Fine Arts Association held on the 24th June, Mr. Adv. M. W. Searle, K.C., was elected to fill his place. His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to approve of this Appointment.

The Corporation of the City of Cape Town approached the Trustees on the subject of opening the Art Gallery on Sunday afternoons, between the hours of 2 p.m. and 5 p.m., guaranteeing

[G. 86—1904.]

6-18-9

B 632.

any extra expense which would be entailed thereby. The Trustees taking into consideration a Resolution passed by the Legislature in March, viz., "That it is desirable that the Public Museum of Cape Town be opened on Sunday afternoons and Holidays," and finding that the Museum Authorities had determined to carry out the terms of the Resolution, decided to fall into line. The result has proved satisfactory beyond expectations, over four hundred persons visited the Art Gallery on the first Sunday afternoon.

The visitors to the Art Gallery from the 29th June, 1903, to the 25th June, 1904, inclusive, amounted to 22,837, viz. :—

June	1903	...	...	113
July	..	...	...	1480
August	..	...	...	1508
September	..	...	...	2038
October	..	...	...	2701
November	..	...	...	1996
December	..	...	...	2089
January	1904	...	...	2348
February	..	...	...	1633
March	..	...	...	1454
April	..	...	...	2131
May	..	...	...	2137
June	..	...	...	1209

The Total for the previous year amounting to 26,939.

THOS. MUIR, Chairman.

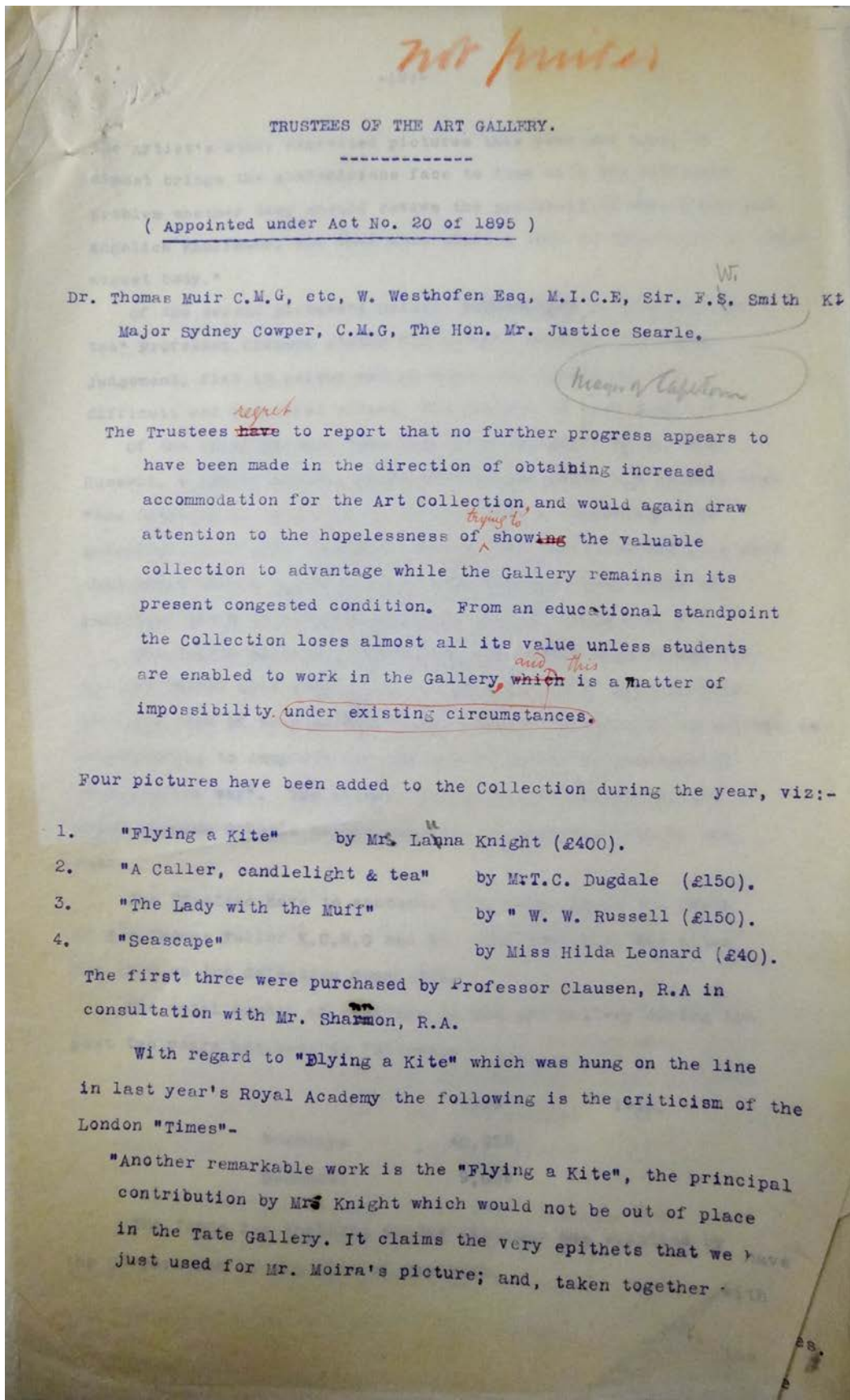
JOHN FAIRBAIRN, Secretary.

TRUSTEES ART GALLERY. BALANCE SHEET,  
JUNE, 1904.

RECEIPTS.			EXPENDITURE.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
1st July, 1903—			To Purchase of Picture...	105	0 0
By Balance ... ..	318	4 2	„ Catalogues ... ..	47	4 4
24th March, 1904—			„ Freight, Landing Fees,		
By S. A. Fine Arts			&c. ... ..	2	17 8
Association ... ..	100	0 0	„ Insurance ... ..	46	1 9
25th April, 1904—			„ Salaries, Wages, &c....	193	15 6
By Refund on Freight,			„ Petties ... ..	5	16 3
&c. ... ..	3	2 6	„ Ledger Fee & Charges	0	15 6
17th, June, 1904—			„ Balance ... ..	519	15 8
By Government Grant	500	0 0			
	<u>£921</u>	<u>6 8</u>		<u>£921</u>	<u>6 8</u>



Appendix 14



the Artist's other exhibited pictures this year and last, it almost brings the Academicians face to face with the difficult problem whether they should revive the precedent of Mary Moser and Angelica Kauffmann, and once more admit a lady to membership of their august body."

Of the second picture "A Caller, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ candlelight and tea" Professor Clausen states "It is well painted, and in my judgement, fine in colour and an excellent rendering of a difficult and beautiful effect. The subject is very simple."

Of the third picture "The Lady with the Muff" by Mr. W.W. Russell, a rising artist, Professor Clausen gives his opinion that "the interest of this work is in its being a remarkably fine painting: it is good in colour, drawing and execution and is a work that would have a great value in stimulating a good style of painting, there is a tender sentiment in the faces etc. "

The fourth picture a Seascape by Miss Hilda Leonard won for her the Turner Gold Medal, and the Trustees made this purchase with the idea of helping ~~the~~ <sup>this</sup> rising young South African artist who is endeavouring to complete her studies in Europe by practically "working her way". The picture itself was considered at the Royal Academy Schools as the best bit of students' work of the year.

The Trustees have to announce with deep regret the death of Sir Thomas Fuller K.C.M.G and Mr. John Swan R.A, who acted for them on the Selection Committee.

The total number of visitors to the Art Gallery during the past two years has been as follows:-

	1909	1910.
Weekdays	40,258	
Sundays.	9,089	

The funds for enabling Sunday openings ~~are~~ <sup>continue to be</sup> supplied by the Corporation of the City of Capetown.

ing all  
ous Societies  
The

## Appendix 15

3

### SOUTH AFRICAN FINE ART ASSOCIATION.

(Founded 1871.)

#### *Committee.*

DR. T. MUIR, C.M.G. (President).  
W. WESTHOFEN, Esq.  
J. R. WHITTON, Esq.  
T. MASKEW MILLER, Esq.  
SYDNEY COWPER Esq., C.M.G.  
The Hon. MR. JUSTICE SEARLE.  
C. S. MEACHAM, Esq.  
JOHN FAIRBAIRN, Secretary.

The Committee have to report that their Annual Exhibition was held in the New York Mutual Buildings during February and March and was thrown open to the public without charge. This Exhibition was a fairly representative one, though, owing doubtless to there being several other Exhibitions at the same time, it was not as satisfactory as usual.

Your Committee having been approached by the South African Society of Artists, decided that the Exhibition to be held in 1913 should be under the Society's auspices and that towards this the Association grant a certain subsidy.

The following report was received from the Trustees of the South African Art Gallery on the negotiations which have been in progress for the past ten years with a view to the provision of a new building for the Art Gallery:—

The trustees have to report that no definite arrangement has as yet been arrived at with the Government in regard to the proposed new Art Gallery, and in view of the long delay which has taken place, and of the interest your committee must have in the matter, the trustees desire to make known the exact state of affairs.

The Art Gallery, it is recalled, was founded in 1871 by an association of private persons called the South African Fine Arts Association. It had its headquarters and gallery in Queen Victoria Street (then New Street) until 1895. In that year, the premises, some rooms of which had been rented by the Education Department, were acquired by the Government for the purpose of erecting an Art School and a Training School for that department. As a return for the property thus obtained, the Government undertook to provide in future for the housing of the art collection. The South African Art Gallery Act was accordingly passed, making provision for the management, and in a letter from the Prime Minister, dated October 23rd, 1895, he undertook, on the part of the Government, to pay the association: "Interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum upon the balance of £6,000, the appraised value of the New Street premises . . . the payment to continue until the capital in the hands of the Government is expended in the construction of a permanent Gallery."

The collection, then a small one, was at first not unsatisfactorily housed in a temporary gallery in an annexe to the South African Museum. With the progress that followed, however, the accommodation soon became insufficient, and after seven years' work it became utterly unsuitable for the purpose. In 1903, therefore, the trustees commenced seriously to press for the carrying out of the agreement, and they were so far successful that an amount of £12,000 was placed upon the Estimates, the half of which was a £ for £ grant to equal the £6,000 of the Art Gallery Trustees. Unfortunately a wave of depression set in, and the amount was withdrawn before the presentation of the Estimates to Parliament.

From that date onwards the trustees made annual representation to the Government, but were as regularly put off on the score of want of funds. The only satisfaction they had lay in the fact that each succeeding Government made itself responsible for the promises of its predecessor. On the 20th February, 1908, for example, the trustees interviewed the then Colonial Secretary (Mr. De Waal), who expressed "his full sympathy with the aims and objects of the trustees and his assurance that the Government would, when the state of the finances permitted, take steps to provide funds for the erection of a permanent building at a cost of £12,000, in accordance with the promise which had been previously made, and that a note of

the fact would be made and attached to the papers for future reference, and that he would endeavour to afford some temporary relief." Following this up, the trustees on the 15th April in the same year interviewed the Prime Minister (Mr. Merriman), who plead the multiplicity of the demands on the public purse and held out little hope.

Two years elapsed, and shortly after Union the Administrator (Sir F. de Waal), Mr. Malan and others were approached with regard to the question. Sympathetic replies were then received, and the Administrator having communicated with the Minister of the Interior, received the following reply:—

"I should be glad indeed to give the matter favourable consideration, if it were feasible to do so, but I am afraid I cannot ask the Minister of Finance to provide any funds until the financial situation is a little clearer than it is at present. The question of a Government grant will, therefore, have to stand over a little longer, but you can rest assured that I will give the matter due consideration as soon as it is possible to do so."

On the 9th January, 1911, the trustees again raised the matter with the Minister of the Interior, requesting him to visit the Gallery in the hope that a personal inspection would impress the needs of the institution on him to a far greater degree than any verbal arguments which could be put forward. A reply was received (25th January, 1911) stating that General Smuts had visited the Gallery, and was considering whether it was not possible to find accommodation for the collection in some other premises.

On the 20th February the trustees followed this up by asking for an interview with General Smuts, at which the Cape Town members of the Union Parliament would be present. This interview could not be arranged for, General Smuts considering "further discussion unnecessary, as he has already repeatedly discussed the matter with the museum authorities, and is making inquiries with a view to providing improved accommodation."

On the 15th August, 1911, the Minister of the Interior was again approached, the 1912-13 Estimates being under preparation, and he was reminded of the statement made by him in the House of Assembly on the 6th April, namely, that "the Government was morally bound to spend £12,000 on a new Art Gallery for Cape Town." In reply it was stated (28th August) that the matter was under consideration, but that until the whole financial situation of the Union was known it was not possible that provision could be made on the next Estimates.

On the 13th February, 1912, the trustees were successful in arranging for a meeting with the Minister of the Interior, the following being the formal report of the interview:—

"Deputation from the Art Gallery Trustees, consisting of Mr. Justice Searle, Mr. Westhofen, Mr. Cowper, Mr. Fairbairn (Secretary), and Dr. Muir (Chairman), met General Smuts by appointment to raise again the question of the provision of a proper Art Gallery. General Smuts showed himself to be quite aware of the facts of the case, and in particular of the obligation of the Government in the matter. The deputation therefore brought no new arguments forward, simply urging in a word or two that since the Beit bequest the affairs of the Art Gallery had been practically at a standstill and the place—because of its crowded condition—quite useless to art students. General Smuts first mentioned his proposal to utilise the present Government House, and when it was pointed out that a considerable length of time would be necessary before this house could be utilised, he asserted that this need not be the case, as the new site had been bought, and the work could begin immediately after Parliament's sanction had been received; he did not anticipate therefore more than a year's delay. Another proposal, raised by one of the trustees, was the utilisation of the present Law Courts, but it was made clear that this also would entail a delay of two years. A third proposal by one of the trustees was to utilise the available sum in erecting a new building on the site of the present Government House kitchen garden. After some discussion of these various schemes it was agreed that the trustees should get into communication with the Public Works Department in reference to the utilisation of the present Government House, and, in the event of this plan not commending itself, should determine upon a suitable site for a new building, which General Smuts seemed willing to proceed with. It was further agreed that some means of temporary relief should be sought for if suitable rooms could be rented at a reasonable cost."

As a consequence of this the trustees met Mr. Murray, the Secretary for Public Works, who, after discussion of the various suggestions, promised to look carefully into the question and to communicate with the trustees. This he duly did on the 19th April, as follows:—

"When I met your committee to hear their views on the question of an Art Gallery for Cape Town, they informed me that the Minister of the Interior had suggested the possibility of utilising Government House for this purpose. I promised to look into the matter and let you know if Government House was, or could be made, suitable. I had a plan prepared showing certain suggestions, and this you have seen. I also showed and explained it to most of the members of the committee.

"I believe that following the lines of that plan, Government House could be successfully adapted for the purposes of an Art Gallery, and would lend itself to this purpose much better than the present High Court buildings, which was also mentioned by the committee.

"I have not gone into the question of the cost of the suggested alterations, but as it will be impossible to get possession of the building until a new Government House is provided, there will be plenty of time to consider the proposal in detail.

"I understand that what your committee desire now is this opinion that Government House could be made suitable for their requirements, so that they can go into the question further with Government at a later date."

On receipt of this letter the subject was fully discussed at a meeting of the trustees, and the following communication was sent on the 2nd May to the Minister of the Interior. On account of its importance the letter was signed individually by the trustees:—

"As a result of the interview which took place between the trustees of the Art Gallery and yourself on the 13th February last, we, the said trustees, have the honour to inform you that we have at your suggestion approached the Secretary for Public Works on the subject of a new Art Gallery for the National Collection of Works of Art.

"We pointed out to the secretary that you had indicated to us that if we could come to some definite decision amongst ourselves as to a site that would be suitable you would undertake to carry the matter forward as speedily as possible, and that you then made the offer of the present Government House as a suitable building which would be available for the purpose under discussion, should Parliament sanction the building of a new residence for the Governor-General.

"We, consulting with the Secretary for Public Works, have gone thoroughly into the question, and have unanimously decided to accept your offer of Government House as a future home for the National Collection.

"The Secretary for Public Works assures us that our decision is a wise one, that there are no structural difficulties in the way, and that by utilising this building as suggested very great improvements would result to the approaches and surroundings of Parliament House and the neighbourhood generally.

"Preliminary plans have been drawn up and inspected by us, and have met with our hearty approval. The building itself has great historic interest, and could be put to no better use.

"It is quite understood that the offer is made subject to confirmation by Parliament of the scheme for a new Government House, which is now about to be proposed this session.

"We thank you most heartily for the interest you have taken in this matter, and would be grateful for a confirmatory reply, in order that when Parliament has come to a decision on the question of the scheme, the necessary steps may be taken without delay to push the matter forward."

By way, apparently, of reply to this, Mr. Murray called upon the Secretary to the Art Gallery Trustees, and stated that, as he (Mr. Murray) was leaving for England, he would be unable to go personally into the matter for some time; and he therefore suggested that the matter had better stand over. The trustees, however, considered that in view of all the circumstances, they would be wanting in their

duty if they did not press the matter, and they accordingly despatched the following letter to the Minister of the Interior on the 2nd July:—

“I am directed by my trustees to inquire when they may expect an answer to their letter, dated May 2nd last, a copy of which I beg to enclose.

“I am further directed to state that my trustees are most anxious to come to some definite conclusion, as this matter is most urgent.”

The reply to this, dated July 20th, is as follows:—

“I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 2nd inst. on the subject of a new Art Gallery for the National Collection of Works of Art at Cape Town, and to state that the matter is receiving attention.”

This is where the matter now stands.

It will thus be seen that the project has been before successive Governments of the country for ten years, and that since the acquisition of the Beit bequest it has become a matter of the greatest urgency. Everything has been done that the trustees could do to obtain the attention which was their due, and every Government has done nothing save promise consideration at a future date. The trustees regret that they have no more hopeful course open to them than to continue their representations.

On receipt of the above the Committee convened a meeting of Art and Kindred Societies in the Old Town House (18th September, 1912). The following Societies sent delegates:—

South African Society of Artists.  
South African Drawing Club.  
Institute of Architects.  
National Society.  
Photographic Society.  
Mountain Club.

And it was unanimously resolved:—

“That this Meeting is of opinion that the pictures and other works of Art in Cape Town, at present held in trust by Government, are so inadequately housed as to be almost entirely useless for the purposes for which they have been purchased, and that it is in consequence highly desirable in the best interests of Art in the Union that there should be no delay in the provision of suitable accommodation for them.”

A Standing Committee of two representatives of each of the above Societies was also appointed and instructed to take such steps as might seem advisable to further the objects mentioned in the Motion.

Since then Mr. Michaelis' gift of Old Dutch Masters has been made and the necessity for at once proceeding with the scheme of securing a permanent home for the pictures and statues has become imperative. The Committee trust that a decisive settlement will be come to in the near future.

T. MUIR,  
President.

JOHN FAIRBAIRN,  
Secretary.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Reports of the Trustees of the South African Art Gallery and the South African Fine Arts Association for the Year ending the 31st December, 1912.

To be presented to both Houses of Parliament.

TRUSTEES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ART GALLERY,  
(Appointed under Act No. 20 of 1895.)

DR. THOMAS MUIR, C.M.G. (Superintendent-General of Education, Cape Province).  
W. WESTHOFEN, Esq., M.I.C.E.  
SIR FREDERICK SMITH, Kt. (Deputy Mayor of Capetown).  
SYDNEY COWPER, Esq., C.M.G. (Mayor of Wynberg).  
The HON. MR. JUSTICE SEARLE.  
JOHN FAIRBAIRN, Secretary.

The Trustees have to report the purchase of the following pictures during the year, viz.:—“*The Borrowdale Valley*” and “*The Walls of England*,” by R. Gwelo Goodman, exhibited in Cape Town; “*The Window*,” by George Clausen, R.A. The latter work was exhibited in the Royal Academy and held the place of honour in the Third Room. Mr. Augustus Spencer, the Principal of the Royal College of Art, South Kensington, on being requested by the High Commissioner to give his opinion on the picture replied as follows:—

“I know the picture “*The Window*,” which is one of the finest works in this year’s Exhibition and I can strongly recommend its purchase. I consider it suitable for a public gallery in South Africa or, indeed, any other gallery. I also consider the price (£400) reasonable. The picture in question is considered one of the best that Mr. Clausen has painted. I have frequently heard this remarked at the Arts Club by the other Academicians.”

Mr. R. Gwelo Goodman acted on behalf of the Trustees in this matter.

The fourth picture purchased was a study of a head in oils entitled “*El Bibliofilo*,” by C. Checa, exhibited at the Spanish Exhibition held in the City Hall during August, the price being £88.

The Trustees have been approached by the Government on the subject of taking charge of and temporarily housing the collection of Old Dutch Masters presented to South Africa by Mr. Michaelis, and have accepted the responsibility. It being impossible to house the Collection in the premises at present occupied, the City Council was approached and as a consequence certain rooms in the City Hall have been temporarily loaned to the Trustees for the purpose.

The Government further re-opened the question of a site for a permanent Gallery, and suggested the following buildings as suitable for the purpose:—The Castle, the Old Supreme Court Building, the house occupied by the late Mrs. Koopmans de Wet, the Old Town House on Greenmarket Square, and the Good Hope Hall.

The Trustees gave the subject the fullest consideration, and came to the conclusion that none of the buildings suggested would meet the requirements of a modern Art Gallery; and, further, that none of them could be altered so as to meet such requirements and at the same time retain the features which those interested in the preservation of such buildings wish to keep undisturbed.

The Trustees therefore suggested that a new building should be erected, and that the present Government House kitchen-garden would appear to be a good site. They are not, however, unalterably wedded to this, their sole object being to obtain on any suitable site a satisfactory permanent Gallery capable of extension.

It is unnecessary for the Trustees again to draw attention in any detail to the unsuitability of the present Gallery, or to the repeated promises of various Governments to meet their requirements. The presentation of this magnificent Collection of Dutch Masters necessitates *immediate action*, and the Trustees cannot but believe that the erection of a new building will be proceeded with at once.

The number of visitors to the Gallery during the year amounted to 67,604 on week days, and 13,963 on Sundays.

The Gallery now contains amongst other pictures:—"Forbidden Fruit," by J. J. Shannon, A.R.A.; "After Fifty Years," by Frank Bramley, A.R.A.; "Launching the Salmon Boat," by Sir E. A. Waterlow, R.A.; "The Silver of the Sea," by the late Colin Hunter, A.R.A.; "Hard Pressed," by Arthur Lemon; "In the Severn Valley," by the late M. R. Corbett, A.R.A.; "The Bridge," by E. A. Abbey, R.A.; "The Signal," by A. C. Gow, R.A.; "The Blue Gown," by George Henry, A.R.A.; "Grace," by Harold Knight; "A Venetian Ferry," by the late Henry Woods, R.A.; "An Idyll of France," by Sir Wyke Bayliss; "The Story of the Money Pig," by T. G. Gotch, R.A.; "A Glimpse of the Sea," by Sir Francis Powell; "The Tangled Well," by W. Lee Hankey; "Old Shoreham," by J. Aumonier; "Flying a Kite," by Laura Knight; "Lady with the Muff," by W. W. Russell; "A Caller—Candlelight and Tea," by T. C. Dugdale; also a valuable collection of plaster casts of antique statuary presented by the Right Hon. Sir Starr Jameson, Bart, C.B., and Sir Lewis Michell as trustees of the late Alfred Beit.

The Collection in all is valued at approximately £25,000.

T. MUIR,  
Chairman.

JOHN FAIRBAIRN,  
Secretary.

#### STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.

Year ending 31st December, 1912.

REVENUE.		EXPENDITURE.	
Balance, 1st January, 1912	£675 19 8	Purchase of Pictures...	£533 8 3
Annual Income, Govern- ment Grant	500 0 0	Upkeep of Gallery, Sala- ries, Rent, Repairs, etc., etc.	274 16 4
Annual Income, Corpora- tion Grant	50 0 0	Balance in hand	417 15 1
	£1,225 19 8		£1,225 19 8

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

REPORTS of the Trustees of the South African Art Gallery and the South African Fine Arts Association for the Year ending the 31st December, 1913.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament.

TRUSTEES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ART GALLERY.  
(Appointed under Act No. 20 of 1895).

DR. THOMAS MUTR, C.M.G., F.R.S., etc.  
W. WESTHOFEN, Esq., M.L.C.E.  
SIR FREDERICK SMITH, kt.  
SYDNEY COWPER, Esq., C.M.G. (Mayor of Wynberg).  
The Hon. Mr. Justice SEARLE.  
JOHN FAIRBAIRN, Secretary.

The Trustees have to report that the following additions by purchase or presentation have been made to the Gallery during the past year:—

- Oil Painting: "The Glorious First of June" (H. Wyllie); presented by E. R. Syfret, Esq.
- Pen and Ink Drawings: (Mrs. Ed. Lippert.) South African subjects; presented by A. G. Mullins, Esq.
- Oil Painting: "An Italian Scene" (Edward Roworth); presented by The South African Fine Arts Association.
- Volumes of Engravings: (1) Campo Santo at Pisa (C. Larinio, 1812); (2) Charro (A) Pictures of Fresco di Andrea Del Sarto (Firenze, 1834), etc., etc., presented by R. E. Blankenberg, Esq.
- Portrait of the late Alfred Beit, Esq. (G. W. Winkles); public subscription.
- Water Colour: "The Black Hat" (T. C. Gutch), purchase (£42.)

The total number of visitors for the year ending 31st December, 1913, amounted to:

Week-day Visitors	.. .. .	60,295
Sunday .. .. .	.. .. .	11,229
		71,524

Following on the publication of the 1912 report enquiry was made (on the 14th March, 1913) as to the position with regard to a New Art Gallery for the permanent collection, and the following reply was received from the Minister of the Interior:—

"With reference to your letter of the 18th instant, in which you make enquiry regarding the present position of affairs in connection with the proposed New Art Gallery, I have the honour to express the Minister's regret that he is unable to add very much to what he stated to the deputation which met him some little time ago on the same subject.

As your Trustees will be aware, the Government's proposals are that, as soon as money can be found, a new Government House is to be erected, and when the present building is vacated by the Governor-General and Staff, it is intended to re-arrange it and convert it into an Art Gallery.

There have been no further recent developments in regard to the proposal and Mr. Fischer very much regrets that he can make no more definite statement on the subject at present."

(sgd.) E. H. L. GOMES,  
Secretary for the Interior.

23rd April, 1913.

As shown in the said Report the Trustees were notified (letter from the Minister of the Interior, dated 9th December, 1912) officially of the donation to the Union of South Africa of the Michaelis Collection of Old Dutch Masters and that it had been decided the Collection should be housed in Cape Town. In the same letter the Trustees were asked whether they would take charge of the Collection and temporarily house the same until such time as permanent arrangements could be made. This charge the Trustees accepted and in consequence approached the City Corporation, with the result that certain rooms in the City Hall were offered as temporary accommodation, and this offer was accepted. In the same letter the Government re-opened the question of a site for a permanent Art Gallery, and suggested the following buildings as possibly suitable for the purpose: The Castle, the Old Supreme Court Building, the house occupied by the late Mrs. Koopmans de Wet, the Old Town House on Greenmarket Square, and the Good Hope Hall.

The Trustees gave the subject the fullest consideration and came to the conclusion that none of the buildings suggested would meet the requirements of a modern Art Gallery; and, further, that none of them could be altered so as to meet such requirements and at the same time retain the features which those interested in the preservation of such buildings wish to keep undisturbed.

The Trustees therefore suggested that a new building should be erected and that the present Government House kitchen-garden would appear to be a good site. Although unanimous on that point, they stated however that they were willing to consider any other site offered, their sole object being to obtain a satisfactory permanent Gallery capable of extension. In this connection it may be mentioned that on the 23rd January, 1913, at a meeting of the South African Fine Arts Association and kindred Art Societies held in the City Hall, a resolution was passed approving of the action of the Trustees as stated above.

With regard to the Michaelis Collection, the Trustees, being unacquainted with the terms of the Deed of Gift, and considering that the said terms might put a new aspect on the matter, wrote on the 22nd April to the Government for information. This, it will be observed, was the day immediately before the date of the Government's letter, above printed. The Secretary also had an interview (22nd April) with the Hon. Sir David Graaff, who intimated that on the completion of the building (new Government House) the Governor-General would immediately vacate the town residence, the erection of a new wing, etc., for the purpose of an Art Gallery would be commenced, and the said building and grounds handed over to the Trustees.

On the 5th May a letter was received from the Town Clerk stating that the Finance Committee of the Corporation had been considering representations which had been made to them by Lady Phillips, with regard to the question of the housing of the Michaelis Collection in the Old Town House, and that before making recommendations they desired to meet the Trustees and discuss the matter. This meeting resulted in the following letter being addressed to the Hon. Sir David Graaff after an interview with him:—

Cape Town,

9th May, 1913.

Dear Sir David Graaff,

We were glad to meet you yesterday informally and to have a talk with you about art affairs and particularly about the long-delayed provision of a new Art Gallery for Cape Town. In conversation you not only corroborated what the Art Gallery Trustees had learned officially from the office of the Minister of the Interior, but you raised in our minds the impression that the matter might now be viewed as definitely settled. We gathered from you that the Government had, without any reservation, come to the decision that a new Government House should be at once proceeded with; that the present Government House should be assigned to the Art Gallery Trustees; and that, as soon as the latter came to be vacated by the Governor-General, building operations would be begun upon it with a view not only to the transformation of the existing accommodation into rooms suitable for an Art Gallery, but to the erection of the requisite additional wing. Although this means serious further delay in the attainment of our desires, we feel sure that if you could see your way to give a positive confirmation of our impressions there would be considerable relief to the minds of all those interested in Art, not only in Cape Town, but in the Province generally.

We also gathered from you that as regards the housing for the present of the Michaelis Collection, the wish of the Government would be that before making their final recommendation, the Trustees should consult with Sir Lionel Phillips, who is cognizant of the views of the donor in regard to the proper housing of his gift, and on this point also we should wish to have a note from you, it being our desire to follow in every respect the course likely to be approved by the Government in the matter.

We are, dear Sir David Graaff,

Yours faithfully,

H. HANDS,  
Mayor of Cape Town.

THOS. MUIR,  
Chairman of Trustees,  
S.A. Art Gallery.

Hon. Sir David Graaff, Bart.,  
House of Assembly,  
Cape Town.

Before this was finally typed it was read to the Mayor, Sir David Graaff and Mr. Baxter, who as a Member of Parliament for Cape Town had interested himself in the matter. They all approved the wording.

By letter dated the 14th July the following resolution was received from the City Council :—

“That the Council consent to the Old Town House being vested in the Government for the purpose of the display of the Michaelis Collection, subject to the condition that should at any future time the Collection be removed from the building and the premises cease to be used for the purpose of an Art Gallery or Museum of Antiquities, the building shall revert to the Council.”

On the 12th June, the City Council having intimated that they were unable to house temporarily the Michaelis Collection in the City Hall, and having offered the Old Town House in Greenmarket Square as a substitute, the Government were informed of the fact that the Trustees had accepted the offer “after due consideration, pointing out at the same time that the building as it then stood was not at all adapted for the purpose.”

In reply the following letter was received from the Minister of the Interior, dated 24th June, 1913 :—

“With reference to your letter of the 12th instant and to the interview which Dr. Muir and yourself (Mr. Fairbairn) subsequently had with the Minister of the Interior on the subject of the housing of the Michaelis Collection of Pictures, I am directed by Mr. Fischer to confirm what then passed.

Mr. Fischer understood from Dr. Muir that the Old Town House in Greenmarket Square has only been offered by the Town Council of Cape Town as a temporary measure, and he then stated that the Government would consequently not feel justified in providing funds (which, it is believed, are likely to amount to a considerable sum) to alter and repair the building and make it suitable for the reception of the pictures while there was any uncertainty in regard to the terms on which the premises could be occupied.

Mr. Fischer repeated what he had already informed a previous Deputation, viz., that the Government is quite prepared to ask Parliament for funds for the purpose of adapting Government House, Cape Town, for use as a permanent Art Gallery and for the erection of a special wing for the Michaelis Collection, but added that any considerable expenditure on the Old Town House would naturally have the effect of reducing the amount which might otherwise be expected to become available for the adaptation of, and additions to, Government House.

Another point the Minister referred to was that, assuming the Old Town House to be found by the Trustees after careful inspection to be entirely suitable without a great expenditure of public money for purposes of the Michaelis Collection, and the Trustees being prepared to recommend that a

portion of the funds intended to be expended on Government House should be diverted to the Old Town House, no action could be taken by the Government unless the Town Council of Cape Town decided to transfer the Old Town House property to Government in trust for purposes of a Picture Gallery, in which case, of course, the new wing contemplated at Government House for the Michaelis Collection would not then be erected."

In consequence of this communication the Trustees, on the 7th July, met the Hon. Sir David Graaff, by appointment, in his office at the Post Office Building. The following memorandum shows what took place:—

#### MEMORANDUM.

Meeting of Trustees with Sir David Graaff at his office in the Post Office Buildings, 12 o'clock noon.

Dr. Muir read the letters received from the Government, dated 24th June, in reply to the Trustee's letter dated 12th June (also read), and requested Sir David's opinion and advice thereon.

Sir David Graaff stated that he considered that the Old Town House offer should be accepted, and in doing so the Trustees would at any rate be gaining a point, and that after that the question of Government House should be gone into. Should the Government be unable to carry out that scheme owing to pressure of local public opinion, then the Government, he considered, were bound to erect a new building or find some other suitable home for the Collection, but he advised the Trustees to push the matter of the Old Town House forward with as much despatch as possible. This offer, he stated, had cropped up after the other question (Government House Gallery) had been gone into, and Sir Lionel Phillips, who was representing the donor in the matter, had expressed his desire that the pictures should be housed in the Old Town House, which competent architects declared could be made suitable for the purpose.

A few days after the above-mentioned interview, the following letters were received by the Trustees from the Government, under cover of a letter dated 7th July:—

32, Victoria Street,  
Westminster, S.W.,

4th June, 1913.

Sir,—

I have the honour to enclose a letter which I received from Messrs. Reed and Reed, Solicitors to Mr. Max Michaelis, setting forth the conditions on which his gift of pictures is to be made to the Union of South Africa.

I do not think there is any condition to which you will object, and I trust that no time will be lost in having a proper deed of gift drawn up, conveying these pictures to the Union, which will be signed by the proper authority in the Union accepting these pictures, and can then be sent here for Mr. Michaelis to sign. I presume the proper course would be to vest these pictures in the Governor-General, as under the South Africa Act all assets of the Union are vested in him; however, this I must leave to your legal advisers.

You will see from the enclosed letter that the removal of the pictures to South Africa shall take place after Mr. Michaelis has signed the deed of gift and has approved of the arrangements made for housing them. I gather that they are to be housed in Government House, Cape Town, and I shall be glad therefore if you will let me know when the arrangements for their housing are completed.

I am, Sir,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) RICHARD SOLOMON.

The Prime Minister,  
Pretoria, Transvaal.

1, Guildhall Chambers,  
31, Basinghall Street, London, E.C.,  
27th May, 1913.

Dear Sir,—

In reference to our recent interview when Mr. Michaelis and we discussed with you and gave an outline of the conditions upon which his gift of pictures to South Africa is to be made, he has instructed us to set out these conditions shortly in a letter, so that, if approved, your Government may have them embodied in due form in a document to be signed and sealed by the proper representative body or person on behalf of the Union of South Africa.

This document would doubtless be best prepared in South Africa, and when drafted should be submitted to us for approval.

The conditions are :—

- (a) That the collection should be properly housed in Cape Town in a building to be approved by, and to be permanently appropriated for this purpose in such manner as shall be satisfactory to Mr. Michaelis or his representatives in South Africa, and that until this condition has been duly fulfilled, the gift is not to be deemed complete. Should this condition not be fulfilled within three years, or such extended time as Mr. Michaelis may give, the Collection is to be at his absolute disposal.
- (b) That the Collection should be always known and described as the "Max Michaelis Gift."
- (c) That it should always be kept in its entirety as a Collection for the benefit of the South African people and not be disposed of or otherwise dealt with.
- (d) That the Government should at all times see to its safety, preservation, insurance, and maintenance, and undertake general responsibility respecting it, and that any outlay that has been made in this connection since its acquisition by Mr. Michaelis should be defrayed by the Government.
- (e) That it should be open for the inspection of the public at least every ordinary week day gratis, save that certain days should be reserved for students on which occasion the public should pay a small entrance fee.
- (f) That the permanent home for the Collection should be in Cape Town, but with a proviso that if at any time after twenty-five years changes in South Africa occur which may warrant its removal to another town in South Africa, then if the Governor-in-Council, with the consent of the Legislative Assembly, should decide that such a removal would be of advantage to the South African people for whose benefit the gift is intended, the removal may take place.
- (g) That minor rules and regulations in relation to the inspection and preservation of the Collection and not inconsistent with the above, may be made from time to time by the Governor-in-Council.

We may add that if a document were prepared and executed here by Mr. Michaelis this would attract a stamp duty of something like £1,000.

With regard to the removal of the pictures to South Africa, Mr. Michaelis thinks that this should wait until the deed has been approved, and the arrangements for their housing there have been also approved by him.

Yours faithfully,

(Sgd.) REED & REED.

Sir Richard Solomon,  
High Commissioner,  
Union of South Africa,  
32, Victoria Street,  
Westminster, S.W.

It will be noticed that this was the earliest intimation conveyed to the Trustees of the existence of any conditions connected with the gift. Thereupon they addressed the following letter to Government :—

15th July, 1913.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 15/29683 of the 7th instant, forwarding copies of correspondence with reference to the Michaelis Collection, which has taken place between Messrs. Reed & Reed and Sir Richard Solomon.

I beg now to enclose, as bearing on the question, a copy of a letter received from the Corporation of the City of Cape Town relative to the Old Town House for the housing of the said Collection.

The conditions embodied in Messrs. Reed & Reed's letter of the 27th May to the High Commissioner, a copy of which is transmitted with your letter of the 7th instant, renders it imperative that the housing of the Michaelis Collection in Cape Town shall be of a permanent character and shall also be to the satisfaction of Mr. Michaelis' representative in South Africa prior to the completion of the Deed of Gift.

Under these circumstances your Trustees appear to have little to say in the matter of choosing a site, though they have been asked by Government to accept the custody of the Collection.

Mr. Michaelis' conditions, however, strengthen the contention of your Trustees that the erection of an up-to-date building should at once be proceeded with and they urgently re-affirm their opinion that the most suitable site was that of the Government House kitchen-garden in the Avenue. This site has the advantage of being removed from the bustle and noise of the city and is free of the dust so destructive both to paintings and statuary, and so far as Mr. Michaelis' own wish is concerned, is far more convenient for Art students and others desirous of gaining instruction from the works he has so generously presented to the Union.

The proposed new building would have a wing specially reserved for the Michaelis Collection. This would probably be separated from the modern wing by a Hall of Statuary, containing reproductions of the finest examples of Greek and Roman Art.

It is of vital importance that such a valuable gift should not be exposed to risk by fire—Museums and Art Galleries should always occupy detached buildings. It is also advisable that the Gallery should be a one-storied building, so that in case of necessity the pictures may be more easily removed.

The Old Town House, a suggested site, is situated at a corner of a block of business premises, amongst them a tavern, a printing office, and a seed store—all carrying on business of an inflammable nature. In the construction of an Art Gallery one does not consider so much the precautions that may be taken in case of fire, but the object is to build so that fire shall be impossible, hence the importance of a wholly detached building.

Your Trustees disapproval of the site is not in any way influenced by their position with regard to the new Art Gallery.

With reference to the proposal to grant Government House for the purpose of housing the present collection in the custody of your Trustees, it has come to their knowledge that a certain section of public opinion in Cape Town is greatly opposed to the alteration of the present buildings and that strong pressure is likely to be brought to bear upon Government to prevent that utilisation of the House for other than its present purposes, and they have had a strong hint that Government is likely to accede to those views. Therefore your Trustees, who are a voluntary Board appointed as Custodians of certain Government property, feeling acutely the position in which they have been placed by successive Governments, make this urgent appeal to the present Government to acknowledge its responsibility, which is of a national character, and strongly urge it to proceed at once with the Art Gallery, including a separate wing for the Michaelis Collection.

(Signed) JOHN FAIRBAURN,  
Secretary.

In reply to this, the following letter, dated 8th August, was received :—

Department of the Interior,  
Pretoria, 8th August, 1913.

Sir,—

With reference to previous correspondence on the subject of the housing of the Michaelis Collection of Pictures, I am directed to inform you that after full consideration of the various proposals which have been advanced for providing the requisite accommodation, the Government has decided to accept the offer of the Town Council of Cape Town, which was contained in the Town Clerk's letter to your Trustees, dated 14th July, 1913.

An inspection has been made of the premises by the Public Works Department, and it is found that with the expenditure of a certain sum of money they can be made entirely suitable to the objects in view, and it is proposed as soon as the necessary formalities are completed for vesting the property in the Union Government, to take the requisite further steps for altering and repairing the buildings.

It is the Government's intention, without interfering with any of the characteristic architectural features of the building, to make it entirely suitable for purposes of an Art Gallery, and it is thought that it would have been difficult, if not well-nigh impossible, to have found any other building of the same antiquity and with historical associations of the same interest as the Old Town House, which would so appropriately serve for the housing and display of a collection of the unique merit and character of that which has been so generously presented to South Africa by Mr. Michaelis.

(Signed) E. H. L. GORGES,  
Secretary for the Interior.

Here the correspondence on this important matter closes.

The foregoing full statement of negotiations in regard to the housing of the Michaelis Collection has been made, as the Trustees consider that the public has a full right to all the information that can be obtained.

It is believed that the matter of placing the Old Town House in a fit and proper state for the reception of the Michaelis Collection has been placed by the Government in the hands of Messrs. Baker and Kendall.

With regard to the providing of a new Art Gallery, the Trustees confidently place themselves in the hands of the Government, feeling assured that at the very earliest date possible their promise, so frequently reiterated, will be carried out, and that even should the present scheme fall through the Art Gallery will be provided on some other suitable site.

With further reference to the Max Michaelis Gift, a telegram was received by the Trustees from the Minister of the Interior forwarding a copy of the following cable from the High Commissioner and requesting their opinion on the subject :—

“With regard to the Michaelis Collection of pictures, some doubt has been thrown on the genuineness of the Rembrandt included in the Collection, and which was valued at £30,000. Sir Hugh Lane is prepared to take it back again and substitute about eighteen old Dutch Masters of that value in the aggregate which have been selected from his Collection by an eminent Art judge. Michaelis is advised by experts to make the exchange, and he thinks he ought to do so, and so do I from what he has told me.”—(Solomon.)

The Trustees replied that they were not in a position to offer advice, but suggested, that the highest expert opinion in Europe should be taken. The result being, it is understood, that the picture in question has been withdrawn with the consent of the donor, and a number of others substituted therefor.

It being now decided that the Collection shall be housed in the Old Town House, and it being understood that proper structural alterations are in progress for the protection and safety of the Collection, the Trustees will endeavour by every means in their power, to carry out, not only the terms of the Deed of Gift, but the spirit of the wishes of the donor.

THOS. MUIR,  
Chairman.

JOHN FAIRBAIRN,  
Secretary.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

REPORTS of the Trustees of the South African Art Gallery and the South African Fine Arts Association for the Year ending the 31st December, 1914.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament.

TRUSTEES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ART GALLERY,  
(Appointed under Act No. 20, of 1895.)

Dr. THOMAS MUIR, C.M.G., F.R.S., etc. (Chairman).  
W. WESTHOFEN, Esq., M.L.C.E.  
Sir FREDERICK SMITH, Kt.  
Major SYDNEY COWPER, C.M.G., M.P.C.  
The Hon. Mr. Justice SEARLE.  
JOHN FAIRBAIRN, Esq. (Secretary).

The Trustees have to report that during the Year no additions have been made to the Collection.

The total number of visitors for the year ending 31st December, 1914, amounted to:—

Week-day visitors	...	...	...	...	...	43,048
Sunday visitors	...	...	...	...	...	10,602
Total	...	...	...	...	...	53,650

as against 71,524 for the previous year.

Consequent on the correspondence and reports of interviews shown in the 1913 Report as to the position with regard to a New Art Gallery for the permanent collection, the following letter was received by the Trustees:—

Public Works Department,  
29th April, 1914.

Sir,

With reference to the question of the New Art Gallery, Cape Town, I have the honour to inform you that the Government proposes to erect this building on the site now occupied by Government House stables on Stal Plein.

The Minister would be glad to learn if the Trustees concur in this selection of site.

(Sgd.) CHARLES MURRAY,

Secretary for Public Works.

To this the following reply was sent:—

Trustees Art Gallery,  
29th April, 1914.

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of even date, informing my Trustees that the Government proposes to allocate the site of the Government House stables in Stal Plein to the New Art Gallery Building.

In reply I am instructed to inform you that my Trustees concur in this selection of site, and trust that the Government will see its way to commence the erection of the building in question at as early a date as possible.

I have, &c., &c.

JOHN FAIRBAIRN,

Secretary.

Cost of Printing .. £ s. d.  
.. 2 9 6

B.107016200.215.  
C.T. 150—B.1717.

On notification of the Government's decision being made public the following offer was received from Mr. R. Stuttaford, of Cape Town:—

“In view of the gratifying notification that the Government intend to proceed at once with the erection of an Art Gallery in Cape Town, and the necessity therefore of acquiring a collection of modern works of art worthy of the City, I am willing to authorise the Trustees of the Art Gallery to expend on my account any sum up to one thousand pounds on the purchase of a picture for addition to the present collection.”

The Trustees thankfully accepted this most generous offer of Mr. Stuttaford's. They also submitted to him a list of well-known English artists who might be disposed to assist him in choosing a suitable picture; and the following gentlemen were selected by Mr. Stuttaford:—Professor George Clausen, R.A., Mr. Charles Shannon, A.R.A., and Mr. T. C. Gotch, P.R.B.C.

The Trustees beg to draw special attention to Mr. Stuttaford's gift as being the outcome of Government's decision to proceed with the immediate erection of the Art Gallery; and they hope that when actual building operations have been begun, other public-spirited persons may follow the good example which has been set.

The Government's decision to utilise Stal Plein was also communicated by the Secretary of Public Works to the Mayor of Cape Town. The City Council protested against the decision and passed a resolution to the effect that if the said site were vested in the Council to be used as an open space, park or garden, the Corporation would find some more suitable site for the Gallery. After considerable correspondence in the public press, and numerous conferences of the various art and kindred societies and the City Council, at which the suitability of the many sites advocated was debated, it was decided that a site in the Good Hope Gardens should be acquired for the purpose; and the Trustees and the Government being willing to meet the City Council in the matter, the following resolution was carried on a division in the Council by 25 votes to 12:—

“That the Council concur in the resolutions adopted by the conference, and authorise the Committee to obtain an option upon the ground proposed to be utilised for the erection of the Art Gallery, and the necessary approach from Bouquet Street, at a price not exceeding £5,000, it being understood that the purchase of the property must be subject to the consent of the Administrator, under the Cape Municipal Ordinance, and to confirmation by the enrolled voters of the City, to whom it will be necessary to make application for authority to raise a loan to cover the expenditure of the Council. Should this proposal be acceptable to the Council, it will be necessary for the Committee to be authorised to conduct negotiations with the Government in accordance with section (b) of the conference resolution, and the Committee recommend accordingly, and, further, that they be empowered to take all necessary steps to carry the proposal into effect.”

In due course Parliament took the additional important step of voting £20,000 as a first instalment towards the erection of a new building. Unfortunately on the outbreak of war in August last much constructive work, both Municipal and Government, was suspended, including the proposed work on the new Art Gallery. It is understood also that the option of the Good Hope Gardens site has not yet been obtained, nor the consent of the ratepayers to the necessary loan.

The structural alterations to the Old Town House are being proceeded with in order to prepare for the reception of the Michaelis Collection.

THOS. MUIR,

Chairman.

JOHN FAIRBAIRN,

Secretary.

## Appendix 19

### THE SOUTH AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF ARTS

#### (Introductory Sheet)

Reference to the title page of the Association's Constitution, shows that (in broken periods) it stems from the South African Fine Arts Society, founded in Cape Town in 1871. To-day the South African Association of Arts, with headquarters still in Cape Town and with these deep and longstanding roots, is officially recognised as making a real contribution to the country's promotion of all the arts. That it is still, 90 years old, functioning and welcoming new branches, shows that its cause is surely a good one !

The Pretoria Branch (known as the Northern Transvaal Branch), dates from 1947 when it began under the inspiration and Chairmanship of Professor A.L.Meiring. He has had much to do with the organising of this Conference for the potential Transvaal Branches.

In this, the first Conference of its kind in South Africa, we have been hearing and seeing on the screen ideals for making more good taste applicable to our thinking and to our surroundings - towns, buildings, streets, open spaces, and our homes, inside and out.

So, perhaps, the delegates return to their own habitat with new thoughts, look around and decide there is work to do about some of these ideals. But as no one can walk alone in this field, you gather a like-minded group, decide to form a Branch of the Association, and then a practical working arrangement must be planned. The part of the ideal set-up not mentioned by any of the preceding speakers was the kitchen, or workshop, where planning can take place, and possible action can be cooked up and organised : for convenience it will be called the office.

This paper attempts to fulfil a charge by the Pretoria Branch Executive Committee, to set down tentative suggestions to assist new Branches which may need some help in getting their office established. The suggestions made are based only on the experience of this Branch and in no way do they reflect procedure evolved or prescribed by Headquarters.

#### REPRESENTATION AT CONFERENCE

Benoni	Sasolburg	Bloemfontein : Association Branch
Germiston	Springe	Cape Town : Headquarters
Lichtenburg	Vereniging	Johannesburg : Socy. of Arts and Assoc. of Arts.
Louis Trichardt	Warmbad	Pretoria : City Council (Dep. Mayor)
Marble Hall	Witbank.	Dept. Educ. Arts & S
Nylstroom		Arts Centre
Pietersburg		Bantu Education
Potchefstroom	Cultural Attachés,	Pretoria Univ.
Potgietersrust	Netherlands	Pretoria Tech. College
Rustenburg	U.S. of America.	Prov. Library Service
	Journals :	Pretoria Assoc. of P
	Lantern; Art News.	

THE SOUTH AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF ARTS

(Originally founded in Cape Town in 1871  
as the South African Fine Arts Association)

SUGGESTED OFFICE ORGANISATION  
FOR BRANCHES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

I. C O N T R O L.

The Chairman and Vice-Chairman (men or women) are usually formally elected at the first general gathering of intending members.

A Committee, i.e. a small selected body of members who are "committed" to act on behalf of the organisation for its orderly functioning, is elected next. Persons chosen for ability, interest, keenness and utility rather than only for social standing in the community, are more useful on such a committee; they need not necessarily all be practising artists; they must accept responsibility to carry out <sup>and see through, the</sup> duties <sup>and projects</sup> relegated to them; too large a committee can be a handicap.

II. S E C R E T A R Y.

It is often advantageous to have initially a combined Secretary/Treasurer (perhaps on a part-time basis), whose <sup>main</sup> qualifications are organising ability, initiative, friendly personality, reliability, method, efficiency, ability to write letters, reports and minutes of meetings, to handle money and simple bookkeeping, keep records meticulously, will implement the Committee's resolutions and decisions, and can type. Also, one who is persona grata with local authorities, publicity facilities, etc.

All this sounds a tall order but the incumbent is a sort of General Manager to the Branch, who must hold the whole organisation together. An inexperienced but intelligent person can soon grow into a capable Secretary for these requirements, provided there is always close support and co-operation from the Chairman and Committee.

III. O F F I C E.

The situation of an office or "workshop" of a Branch should be carefully chosen. It must be easily accessible to young and old, in proximity to the town's business area. Until an adequate income is assured to meet all expenses, it is advisable to aim at securing a pleasant rent-free office - perhaps in the local Municipal building? It should preferably be near to, or itself provide, a possible venue for meetings, exhibitions, lectures, film shows, etc. ; the equipment should

should include, at least, a typewriter, a <sup>steel</sup> lock-up/cabinet (which is preferable, for care of cash etc.), or a cupboard, with space for accumulating files, books, journals, stationery, index card system, and so forth. Good light and air are priority needs, especially wherever exhibits are to be displayed.

#### IV. FINANCES.

Pending the achievement of the major hurdle of the Branch's life-line, i.e. a steady income which will at least cover payment of rent, salary, stationery, postages, there may be a difficult period. The more obvious sources of income could be -

- a) Membership subscriptions (paid yearly)
  - Grants from Town Council, business firms, etc., preferably on an annual basis.
  - Percentage from sales of pictures etc. organised on behalf of exhibitions of artists and craftsmen.
  - Private donations.
  - Silver collections at lectures, film shows, concerts, etc., given by the Branch. (N.B. Entertainment Tax levies may be involved where an admission charge is made).
- b) A Banking Account for the Branch should be opened and used for all matters of income and expenditure. Numbered receipt forms (duplicates to be kept) must be used for all payments received.
- c) a Ledger reflecting all money transactions should be kept up to date. Also, a daily office or petty cash record book is necessary.
- d) Regular auditing is recommended :
- e) Capitation fee matters should be arranged with the Pretoria Branch office, recorded, and regularly settled.
- f) Insurance : For protection against loss or damage in the case of pictures or other objects temporarily in care of the Branch (as for exhibits), cover by insurance is recommended. Omission could prove costly.

#### V. CONSTITUTION.

There is a general Constitution for the Association of Arts as a whole, but no Branch can function without its own domestic rules and for these a Constitution is also necessary. As a guide, the rules of the established Branches would be helpful in the drafting, and they could be consulted.

##### Suggestions :

- a) For convenience, the Financial Year might co-incide with that of the Association's headquarters, i.e. calendar year.
- b) Committees and quorums have proved to be more workable if small in membership. Provision for stated number(s) and for enlargement by co-option, is a Constitution matter.
- c) Annual General Meeting fixture is also a Constitution arrangement.

RECORDS.

These may be destined to become archive material and it cannot be too strongly stressed that the Secretary should keep them meticulously - no one else can do it. An otherwise reliable Secretary who prefers to remember facts to recording them, can be a menace if changes of Chairman, Committee or office personnel occur.

Suggestions :

- a) A Minute Book must be kept for records of proceedings at meetings and must have fixed into it, in date order, Minutes approved and signed by the presiding Chairman at the next meeting. Copies of documents, reports, contracts etc., as approved at the relevant meeting, to be included.

Under no circumstances must Minutes be altered or removed once they are signed and placed in the Minute Book.

An index of the subjects dealt with (with dates!) kept at one end of the Minute Book. is an invaluable provision.

- b) An Attendance Register for members attending Committee and Annual General Meetings, is necessary.
- c) Duplicates of all letters and notices of meetings, should be filed in date order as issued.
- d) A General File for all correspondence is not recommended it is preferable for easy reference to have separate files for main subjects, such as -

- i. Secretary's diary & letters re planned events.
- ii. All Financial matters.
- iii. Correspondence with members (re membership etc.)
- iv. Correspondence with Head Office and Branches.
- v. Correspondence regarding Exhibitions (see VI(a))
- vi. Correspondence concerning general activities such as meetings open to the public, lectures, excursions etc.
- vii. General local interests - schools etc.
- viii. General file for matters which do not warrant separate filing - minor matters.
- ix. Cuttings (dated!) from Press and Journals, germane to Branch interests; these should be gathered with the help of Members and are useful for reference.
- x. It is advisable that the Chairman keep a confidential Chairman's File himself, for matters such as staff changes and appointments. Such a file to be passed on to succeeding Chairmen.
- xi. A Card Index Filing System - time saving and preferable to a book entry system which does not easily permit of rearrangement as growth brings new subjects.

Index everything alphabetically, separate card per subject, to reflect at a glance the scope of the Branch interests, contacts, members' names, activities, etc. Number and name of relevant file where papers are stored, to be included in the entries. This will save time in searching for information and references.

- xii. Spare copies of Minutes of Meetings to keep a small supply can be useful. All concerned with the meetings should have copies (one each), and also copies to be sent to Cape Town and Pretoria.

VI. ACTIVITIES.

New Association of Arts Branches have a stimulating prospect of development according to ~~local~~ their local needs and facilities, and a wide field of arts to work in.

First activity of all, is to advise all concerned of your Branch's existence, address, office bearers, aims and objects, and to seek their co-operation. Foremost in the list come local authorities (government, Provincial, civic), business concerns, schools, and of course the artists and craftsmen.

Who are the artists? Not only the local painters of pictures and sculptors, but also architects, musicians, actors, craftsmen in every field, teachers, engineers, those who know the historical background of your area and can talk about it, the women who do fine handicrafts - the field is wide.

Suggestions:

a) Exhibitions. The ideal for the Branch is to set the local standard for good taste to be appreciated and developed. This brings responsibility for "kieskeurigheid" in what is approved for exhibition under the aegis or patronage of the Association of Arts.

*Lx*  
~~This~~ means that rejects from offerings of <sup>sub-standards</sup> material must often be made ruthlessly. A practical method of making such difficult and often embarrassing decisions is by means of the advice of a small, special selection committee composed of members who are knowledgeable as to good standards in arts and crafts and will cope with selection as well as tasteful arrangements for display.

b) Schools. Students (and scholars) are eligible for membership at a reduced subscription fee, but they must also be catered for. The interest and co-operation of teachers and school-children will pay dividends to themselves and the Branch. Exhibitions of their own art and hobbies, film shows and lectures could be organised for these junior members. (Children's art is becoming increasingly important - some countries are using children's drawings for postage stamp designs!)

Bantu art of all kinds, some of which are disappearing, could also be given attention.

c) General: Included in the activities that could be undertaken are the following:

Visit homes of longstanding and borrow their good pictures, furniture, carvings, weaving, pottery, needlecraft - which few people know or see - and arrange exhibits.

Visit -

Visit neighbouring towns in Association groups - see their newest developments and ask the responsible architects to come as will and talk about their designs.

Ask for the loan of films on art and related subjects - the Pretoria office can supply addresses of helpful State Departments, Embassies etc.

At the Annual General Meeting a programme as detailed as possible of the activities planned for the succeeding twelvemonths, could be recorded. It should be a matter of honour to carry out such a programme once it is approved by the general meeting. This method keeps those members interested who voted for it, ensures their co-operation, and keeps the Committee on its toes.

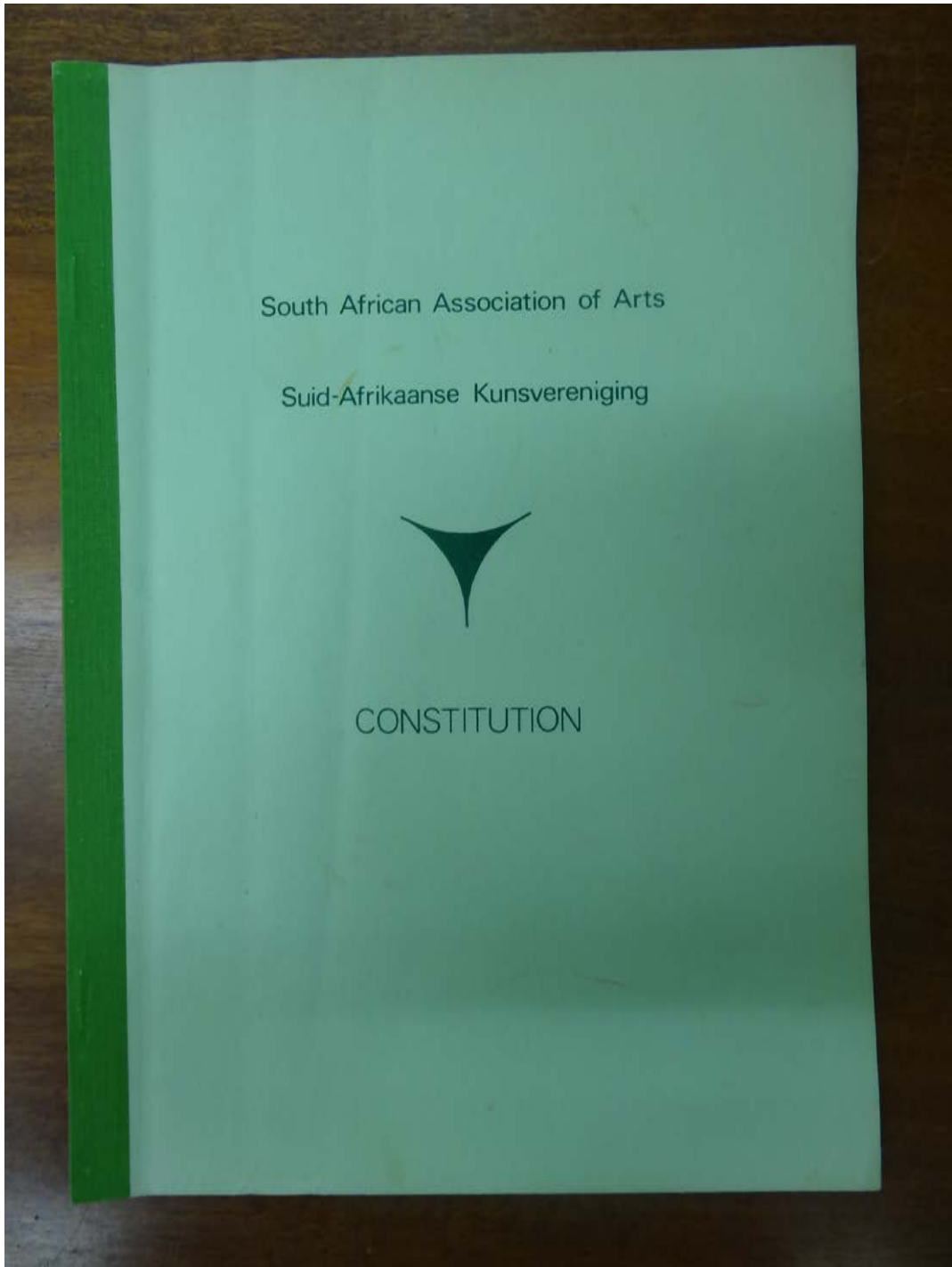
The Pretoria and Cape Town offices will always be glad to hear from the Branches and to help where possible. This somewhat presumptuous survey closes with an appeal to each Branch <sup>also</sup> to do what it can to help preserve evidence of what is beautiful, <sup>old,</sup> ~~old,~~ historical, and good. : it is a duty to <sup>^</sup>posterity.

PRETORIA.

B. J. Versfeld.

22 July 1961.

*Appendix 20*



S A ASSOCIATION OF ARTS

CONSTITUTION

as revised and adopted in July, 1952 and amended at the Annual General Meeting held in Pretoria in June 1954, and as further amended at the Annual General Meeting held in Bloemfontein in 1956, Cape Town in 1957 and 1958, Pretoria in 1963, and the Special Meeting held in Stellenbosch in 1964 (following the Annual General Meeting in Cape Town on August 4 1964, and amendments arising from Counsel's opinion sought after lastnamed meeting, and finally adopted after further amendments at a Special General Meeting held in Bloemfontein on 18 August 1965, and as further amended at the Council of the Association on 16 August 1974 in Windhoek and the Executive Committee on 7 October 1974 in Pretoria,

of the

SOUTH AFRICAN ASSOCIATION OF ARTS

NAME

1. The name of this Association (hereinafter referred to as 'the Association') shall be 'The South African Association of Arts', by which name the Association shall be known as the perpetual successor of 'The South African Fine Arts Association', and of any other Organisation in Southern Africa which may have adhered to the Association by incorporation therein.

PURPOSE

2. The purpose of the Association shall be the furtherance of all matters pertaining to the Arts both of the past and of the present, and both independently and in their inter-relation with industrial, commercial and scientific activities.
3. In the pursuance of this purpose the Association may adopt such methods and perform such acts as it shall think fit, inclusive particularly of all or any of the following:
  - (a) Holding, sponsoring, or otherwise assisting within or without Southern Africa exhibitions or demonstrations or performances of the Arts and Crafts or any other activities amenable to artistic design or treatment.
  - (b) Providing lectures or papers on any subjects relevant to the purpose and work of the Association.
  - (c) Promoting an Arts Journal.
  - (d) Assisting State, Provincial or Municipal Galleries, where desired in the acquisition of works of art and obtaining grants for this purpose, as well as in the administration of bequests.
  - (e) Rendering assistance to art education or students of the arts and artists.

- (f) Causing the Association to be incorporated and registered as an Association not for gain or profit in terms of Section 21 of the Companies Act No. 46 of 1962, as amended.
- (g) The Association shall hold itself aloof from any political activities or activities having a political tinge.

#### LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

4. For administrative purposes the membership of the Association shall be divided into local groups known as Regions and Branches and, subject as hereinafter provided, the members falling within such Regions and Branches may appoint Regional and Branch Committees respectively.
  - (a) The consent of the Council shall be necessary for the establishment of Regional Committees, provided that nine Regional Committees may be established by the Council, namely Western and Eastern Cape, Northern, Southern and West Transvaal, Orange Free State, Border, Natal and South West Africa, and such other Regions as the Council may from time to time decide.
  - (b) Branch Committees may within any Region be formed initially by the relevant Regional Committee and such Branch Committees shall be governed by the rules, bye-laws and/or regulations of the parent Regional Committee, provided that the rules, bye-laws or regulations relating to and provided for the election and appointment of office bearers and Committee members shall be approved by the Council and provided that a local Branch shall not be formed in a centre where in the opinion of the Committee of the Region concerned the purposes of the Association can adequately be achieved by the affiliation of some other body in terms of Section 6.
  - (c) Every Regional Committee shall have autonomy in administering its affairs within the Constitution and bye-laws of the Association, provided that the rules, bye-laws and regulations regulating and providing for the election and/or the appointment of office bearers and Committee Members shall be approved by the Council.
  - (d) The Regional Committee may be disestablished by consent of such Committee or by resolution of the Council.
  - (e) Beyond payment of an annual Capitation fee, the amount of which in each case shall be fixed and might be altered by the Council after consultations with the Regional Committee concerned, no Region or Branch shall have any further financial liability to the headquarters of the Association.
  - (f) In a Region where there is no Regional Committee of the Association the functions of such a Committee may be taken over with the approval of the Council by a suitable affiliated organisation, provided that that organisation undertakes to be bound by this Constitution and fulfil the duties and enjoy the privileges of a Regional Committee. Similar provisions shall apply to Branches.

#### AFFILIATION

5. The Council may admit to affiliation with the Association Municipalities and other administrative bodies and any cultural organisation sponsored by them on such terms and with such rights and privileges as may be mutually agreed upon, as well as nationally constituted Societies, Groups or other bodies if their purposes and functions are in the opinion of the Council consonant with those of the Association, and may, in the exercise of its discretion, terminate such affiliation.
  - (a) The Committee of a Region of the Association may similarly admit to affiliation with itself such Societies, Groups or other bodies within its region as are not nationally constituted, and may, in the exercise of its discretion, terminate such affiliation.
  - (b) Nothing herein contained shall be deemed to affect the affiliation to the Association of any Society, Group or other body which was affiliated prior to the 1948 Annual General Meeting, provided, however, that the Council, in the exercise of its discretion, may terminate such affiliation.

#### MEMBERSHIP

6. Members of the Association shall be members of the Association as a whole and shall be attached for administrative purposes to the group in whose area they reside. The membership of the Association shall consist of:

Members of the Association shall be members of the Association as a whole and shall be attached for administrative purposes to the Region in whose area they reside. Being autonomous bodies, the Regions will have full control over their own affairs including the types of membership to be created and the subscriptions to be paid. An annual capitation fee shall, however, be payable to Head Office by each Region, the amount of which to be determined by Council from time to time.
7. Application for membership shall be made to any Regional Committee. Persons desiring membership when resident outside a Regional territory shall apply to Headquarters of the Association. Discretion to accept or reject any such application is vested respectively in the Council or in the Regional Committee concerned, and the Council or the Regional Committee concerned may cancel such membership subject to a right of appeal to a General Meeting of the Association whose decision shall be final.

#### THE PATRONS, PRESIDENT AND VICE - PRESIDENT

8.
  - (a) The Association in General meetings may invite any person or persons recommended in that behalf by the Council to accept the office of Patron of the Association.
  - (b) There shall be a President and Vice-President of the Association. They shall be elected by ballot, the voting paper of which shall reach all members by being attached to the Notice of the Annual General Meeting. Regional Committees may each nominate one candidate for each post and in the absence of any nomination by regional committees, such nominations may be made by the Council or the Executive Committee. Nominations shall be in writing and shall

be accompanied by the written acceptance of the candidate. Accompanying the ballot paper which shall bear the names of the candidates shall be an envelope addressed to the auditors of the Association, who shall hand such envelopes to scrutineers, who shall be appointed from time to time to act as such by the Council. The method adopted must be such as to ensure the secrecy and validity of the individual vote. Such voting papers must be in the hands of the scrutineers seven clear days before the date of the Annual General Meeting. The names of successful candidates for the positions of President and Vice-President shall not be disclosed at the Annual General Meeting until after the President presiding has made his report.

- (c) The Council may recommend for confirmation by members of the Association on at an Annual General Meeting the appointment for life of a member or members to the office of Honorary Vice-President for the purpose of recognising outstanding services rendered to the Association.
9. The President or, in his absence, the Vice-President, shall preside at all meetings of the Association and of the Council. If neither of them is present at a meeting the members present at such meetings shall elect one of their number to preside. The occupant of the chair shall have a casting as well as a deliberative vote.

#### AUTHORITY AND CONTROL

10. The full authority of the Association shall (save where otherwise provided in this Constitution) vest in its Council.
- (a) The Council shall consist of the President, the Vice-President, the Hon. Treasurer, the Hon. Legal Adviser, the immediate ex-President, and the Chairman of the Executive Committee, plus members nominated in terms of Clause (b) of this paragraph. No member shall be entitled to exercise by virtue of his office more than one vote, save as is provided in Clause (b) of this paragraph.
  - (b) Each Regional Committee shall nominate a member of the Council to whom the Secretary shall refer by post or otherwise any matter before the Council which the President, or in his absence the Vice-President, deems to be of national concern, for the ascertainment of the views and wishes of such Region. Such member shall be entitled to exercise one vote for each complete 50 paid-up members registered with such Regional Branch and its local Branches, provided that a Branch having less than 50 members shall nevertheless be entitled to one vote (the number of paid-up members shall be the number of current capitation fees received by Headquarters one week prior to the date of voting).
  - (c) The practical day-to-day business of the Association shall be dealt with on behalf of the Council by the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee is to be composed of the President, the Vice-President, the HON. Treasurer, and one representative from each Region, which must also nominate a deputy for its representative should he be unable to attend Executive Committee meetings. A second deputy, resident at the place of the Executive Committee meeting, must also be nominated by each Region in case the representative or his first deputy cannot attend meetings. The Regions will be responsible for the travelling and subsistence allowances of their representatives or their deputies when they attend Executive Committee meetings. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once in every two months.

under which such property, gifts, bequests, collections and other funds may have been acquired or made.

15. The Accounts of the Association shall be audited annually by an auditor appointed by the Council.

#### MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL

16. The Council shall meet at least once a year at such times as the President, or, in his absence, the Vice-President may decide. The annual assembled meeting of the Council shall take place immediately before and if necessary after an Annual General Meeting.

#### ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

17. The Annual General Meeting shall be held before July 1st, or at such later date as the Council may decide, of each year. In the space of six years three annual general meetings shall be held in cities other than Headquarters. Such meetings in a region other than that of the Branch/of the Cape Province shall be arranged by/the Branch/concerned in consultation with the Council. The Council shall present to the annual general meeting a full report of the transactions of the Association, and the Hon. Treasurer (or Treasurer) shall present the financial report of the Association. The Secretary shall forward to each member a notice of such meeting, setting forth the business to be transacted thereat together with a draft of the Report and Financial Statement at or before the Annual General Meeting. Such reports and Statements may be sent to Regions and Branches for distribution to the individual members.

#### SPECIAL MEETINGS

18. The President, or in his absence, the Vice-President, may call a General Meeting of the members of the Association for any special purpose. Notice thereof, in writing, setting forth the business to be transacted, shall be given to every member by the Secretary at least three weeks before the meeting is held. The President, or in his absence, the Vice-President, shall within two months of receipt of the requisition call a general meeting on requisition in writing by two Branches. The Secretary shall give similar notice of such meeting and shall set forth therein the terms of the requisition. At any special general meeting no business other than that set forth in the notice summoning it shall be transacted.

#### TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY

19. The Council shall appoint two members of the Association with alternates as the Association's representatives of the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery every three years or for every other term as the Government may require. In the event of the resignation, incapacitation or death of a member of the Board so appointed, the Council may appoint a successor to him for the remainder of the term for which he was appointed and shall report its action to the next General Meeting of the Association. Representatives shall, at least once a year, preferably at the Annual General Meeting, report to the Association on their activities so far as the Constitution and the policy of the Board may permit.

#### ALTERATIONS IN CONSTITUTION

- 20 (a) Amendments to the Constitution may be proposed by the Council, the Executive Committee, a Regional Committee, the National President or the National Vice-President.
- (b) Such a proposed amendment is adopted or defeated by a majority vote of members in good standing (having paid their subscriptions) of all the Regions in a general meeting of each Region convened for this purpose.
- (c) The result is determined by the Executive Committee on reports certified by the Chairman of the Regions on the number of votes cast for and against such proposed amendments to the Constitution.

#### LEGAL STATUS

21. (a) The Association is a body corporate and may sue or be sued in any Court of law in its name. It shall be represented in any legal proceedings by any person or persons nominated for that purpose by the Executive Committee.
- (b) Any legal proceedings brought in any Court of law by or against any Region shall be instituted or defended by such Region and shall be represented by any person or persons nominated for such purpose by the relevant Regional Committee.

#### DISSOLUTION

22. (a) Should Council by a three-fourths affirmative vote of the members voting deem it necessary at any future time to dissolve the Association, then and in that case a special General Meeting of the Association shall be called in that behalf by the President, or in his absence, the Vice-President, upon thirty days' notice being given by the Secretary in writing to all members, and if a Resolution to dissolve is carried by three-fourths of the number of members present at such meeting, and if thereafter upon the winding-up and dissolution of the Association there remains, after the satisfaction of all its debts and liabilities, any property whatsoever, it or the value thereof shall not be paid to or distributed among the officers or members of the Association but shall be given or transferred to such other body or bodies having purposes similar to those of the Association, as may have been determined by the aforesaid General Meeting or in default of such determination, by such Judge of the Supreme Court of South Africa as may have or acquire jurisdiction in the matter; and any property which may have been acquired or received by a Regional Branch or local Branch in terms of Section 18 (c) shall be dealt with in the like manner.
- (b) Nothing in this Constitution shall give Council any jurisdiction or right over property of any Regional Committee or of any Branch while these bodies continue in existence.

**LIABILITY OF MEMBERS**

23. The liabilities of members of the Association shall be limited to the payment of any amount owing by them to the Association under these rules.
24. This Constitution shall come into effect at the conclusion of the meeting at which it is adopted.

*Appendix 21*

3rd October, 1972.

Miss. M. Semann,  
K. & P. Lohmiller,  
P.O. Box 1802,  
JOHANNESBURG.

Dear Miss Semann,

I have just returned from leave and can now answer your letter of the 21st September. Unfortunately I did not receive your letter of the 30th August, so it is just as well that you sent me a copy of it. As requested I have forwarded on your letter to Gladys Mgudlandlu, but was unable to send Andrew Murray's as he has left South Africa for an address unknown, so I am returning it herewith.

Certain artists who paint in a primitive style have from time to time exhibited in our galleries, but no catalogues were printed, only roneed pricelists for the public.

I have, however, pleasure in enclosing a catalogue of a South African exhibition of art sent to the Sao Paulo Biennial in 1971, when, after it closed there, was sent to several of the principal towns in the Argentine. Among the participating artists was the work of John Muafangejo, a native born in Ovamboland where he is at present teaching. I was so impressed with his work that I bought 4 in this exhibition and the fifth one was purchased by our South African Embassy in Buenos Aires.

I regret I am unable to help you any further.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs). K. Gunther.  
Organising Secretary.

*Appendix 22*



**EASTERN PROVINCE SOCIETY OF FINE ARTS**

BRANCH OF THE S.A. ARTS ASSOCIATION

*Region*

ARTS HALL ST. GEORGE'S PARK PORT ELIZABETH

July 31st. 1970.

Mrs. K. Gunther,  
Organising Secretary,  
S.A. Association of Arts,  
CAPE TOWN.

Dear Mrs. Gunther,

I have been asked by the Committee of this Society to enquire from Headquarters if it is in order for non-Europeans to exhibit on exhibitions held under the auspices of the S.A.A.A. and if so is it acceptable for such an exhibitor to be invited to an official opening?

We shall be very grateful if you can clarify for us the stand taken by the Association in these circumstances.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs) Agatha Gardham,  
Secretary.

Appendix 25

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

REPORT of the Committee of the South African  
Fine Arts Association, 1885.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Excellency the Governor.  
1886.

Fine Art Association,  
Cape Town, 17th May, 1886.

The Under Colonial Secretary.

SIR.—I have the honour to forward the Annual Report of the S. A. Fine Art Association, with the Treasurer's Statement, and the Report of the Art Master.

I have, &c.,  
J. A. FAIRBAIRN,  
Acting Hon. Sec. S. A. Fine Art Association.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FINE  
ARTS ASSOCIATION, 1885.

The Committee have to report that several valuable oil paintings and water-colour drawings purchased by the Association have been added to the Gallery.

They have also to acknowledge the receipt of a drawing by Miss Watkin Wynne, which was presented to the Association through the kind offices of Miss C. Frere.

They have further to thank Mrs. Robinson for the gift of a proof engraving (with artist's signature) of Millais' well-known portrait of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

2. At the request of the promoters of the South African Exhibition held at Port Elizabeth, the Committee forwarded for exhibition in the Art Section the following paintings and drawings:—

Oil Painting	...	...	...	R. E. Forbes.
Do.	...	...	...	do.
Knysna Forest	...	...	...	Herman.
Sunset, Sea Point	...	...	...	do.
Ostrich Farm	...	...	...	Rolando.
Ostriches	...	...	...	do.
Table Mountain	...	...	...	do.
Bullock Waggon	...	...	...	McCallum.
Table Mountain	...	...	...	Rolando.
Fruit	...	...	...	J. Ford.
Do.	...	...	...	do.
Painting	...	...	...	Mrs. Crossman.
Fruit	...	...	...	...
Painting	...	...	...	J. Ford.
Do.	...	...	...	Volschenk.

[G. 48—'86.]

Painting	...	...	...	...	Koller.
Do.	...	...	...	...	J. Ford.
Do.	...	...	...	...	do.
7 Water Color Paintings	...	...	...	...	Bowler.
Knysna Heads	...	...	...	...	A. de Smidt.

3. The Committee were also requested to assist the efforts of the Cape Central Committee for the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, to be held in London, in making as perfect a collection as possible of views of Cape scenery.

It was resolved to forward the majority of the pictures exhibited at Port Elizabeth upon proper guarantees being given for their safe custody and return.

4. The attendance of pupils at the Art Classes has been very satisfactory, and there is every prospect of the number being increased during the year.

5. The accommodation for the Art School having proved to be insufficient, the Committee have been compelled to effect certain alterations, by which an additional class-room has been secured and additional conveniences for students provided. The total expenditure under this head amounted to about £130.

6. The Art School has been most successfully carried on under the supervision of Mr. James Ford, whose report is attached, and the association has reason to congratulate the students on the marked progress made during the past year.

7. The Committee would draw especial attention to the class for teachers and assistant teachers in connection with the association.

The students attending these classes are not only thoroughly grounded in drawing and painting but receive as well a thorough training fitting them to become Art teachers. They are admitted to the classes upon the recommendation of the Superintendent-General of Education, and are not required to pay any fees.

The Fine Arts Association is thus enabled to co-operate directly, and in an important manner, in the educational work of the country. It will be seen from the Art Master's report that thirty-five teachers and assistant teachers are thus receiving an Art Education under the superintendence of the Art Master of the Association.

8. The Committee desire to record their appreciation of the valuable services rendered during the Annual Art Examination by Messrs. W. M. Grier, H. S. Greaves and E. B. J. Knox.

9. Arrangements have been made for an exhibition of students' work in May.

10. The Committee trust that the Association will continue to receive such support as will enable it to carry on the useful work in which it has been engaged.

J. A. FAIRBAIRN,  
Acting Hon. Sec.

REPORT OF ART MASTER.

1. The aggregate number of pupils attending the Art School for the year ended 31st December, 1885, was 97, as compared with 98 in the previous year. A number of students of private classes have also been under my instruction. The following is a list of the trades or occupation of the students of the Art School:—10 joiners and carpenters, 1 engraver, 1 sign-painter, 1 printer, 2 jewellers, 2 architects, 5 engineers and machinists, 2 lithographers, 1 telegraphist, 1 tombstone carver, 1 draper, 1 photographer,

-4 APR 1975

WORLD Jg. .... Nr. .... p. 16 ... Dat. ....

## Black artists impress

THE WORKS of Black artists from South Africa are now adorning homes in Canada, West Germany and — unlikelyst of all — Iran — as a result of the exhibition of their works at Gallery 21 in London. So successful has the show been, in fact, that it is being extended for a week.

What attracted Iranians, West Germans and Canadians, among others, to the works of Maqhubela, Matsoso, Nkosi, Sibiya and Sithole?

Some, apparently, were intrigued to learn that there was something like South African indigenous art, according to the gallery owner, Mr. Fernand Haenggi.

"It is West and East African art that is best known in Europe," he explained. "But for most, the origin was immaterial. They bought the pieces — paintings and sculpture — because they liked the work they saw."

### Imagination

Curiously, South Africans were not among the buyers. Two possible reasons are advanced for this: they do not realise some of the best pieces of the artists are here — and at the same price they would pay in South Africa — or they have the artists' work in their collections already, and in London venture into new fields.

Sithole's use of wood captured the imagination of many of the foreign

viewers, as did Maqhubela's use of colour. Some recalled his work at the London Art Gallery last year and noticed a change in technique — a lighter use of paint.

Similarly, South Africans who visited the exhibition saw development in Dumile's work: a descent from the emotional and dramatic to something more stylised and simplified.

Sithole was the most successful artist from the

sales point of view, but Kumalo and Maqhubela sold well too.

"There has been so much interest and so many people have commented on the show, that I have decided to carry it on," said Mr Haenggi.

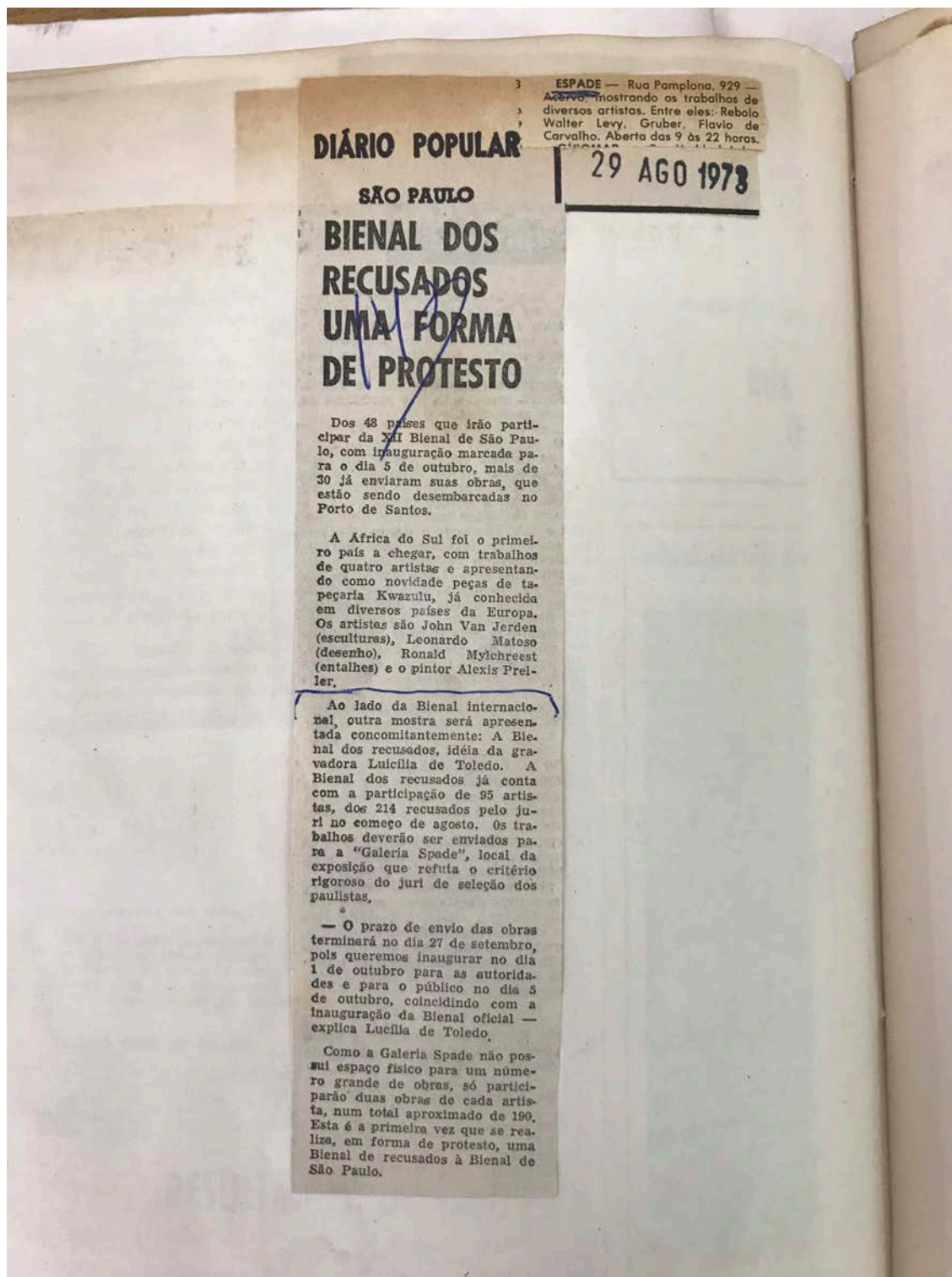
### Important

He is critical of his own timing. "I should have held the exhibition in the European summer months, when the foreign tourists are here in strength — there are few sales in London. It would have been justified then, too, to spread it over two months."

The next South Africans to be shown here are Zolton Borberaki, the sculptor, and Tadeusz Jarosynski, the painter. Their work will form part of an important international exhibition featuring illustrious names like Miro, Clave and Tapies.

Dumile may have a one-man show later this year, but in Gallery 21's Johannesburg counterpart. Mr Haenggi is hoping to stage a joint show by Sithole and Sibiya in Harlem at some future date.

Maqhubela  
Matsoso  
Nkosi  
Sibiya  
Sithole  
Dumile  
Kumalo



ESPADE — Rua Pamplona, 929 —  
Acervo mostrando os trabalhos de  
diversos artistas. Entre eles: Rebolo,  
Walter Levy, Gruber, Flavio de  
Carvalho. Aberta das 9 às 22 horas.

## DIÁRIO POPULAR

SÃO PAULO

29 AGO 1973

# BIENAL DOS RECUSADOS UMA FORMA DE PROTESTO

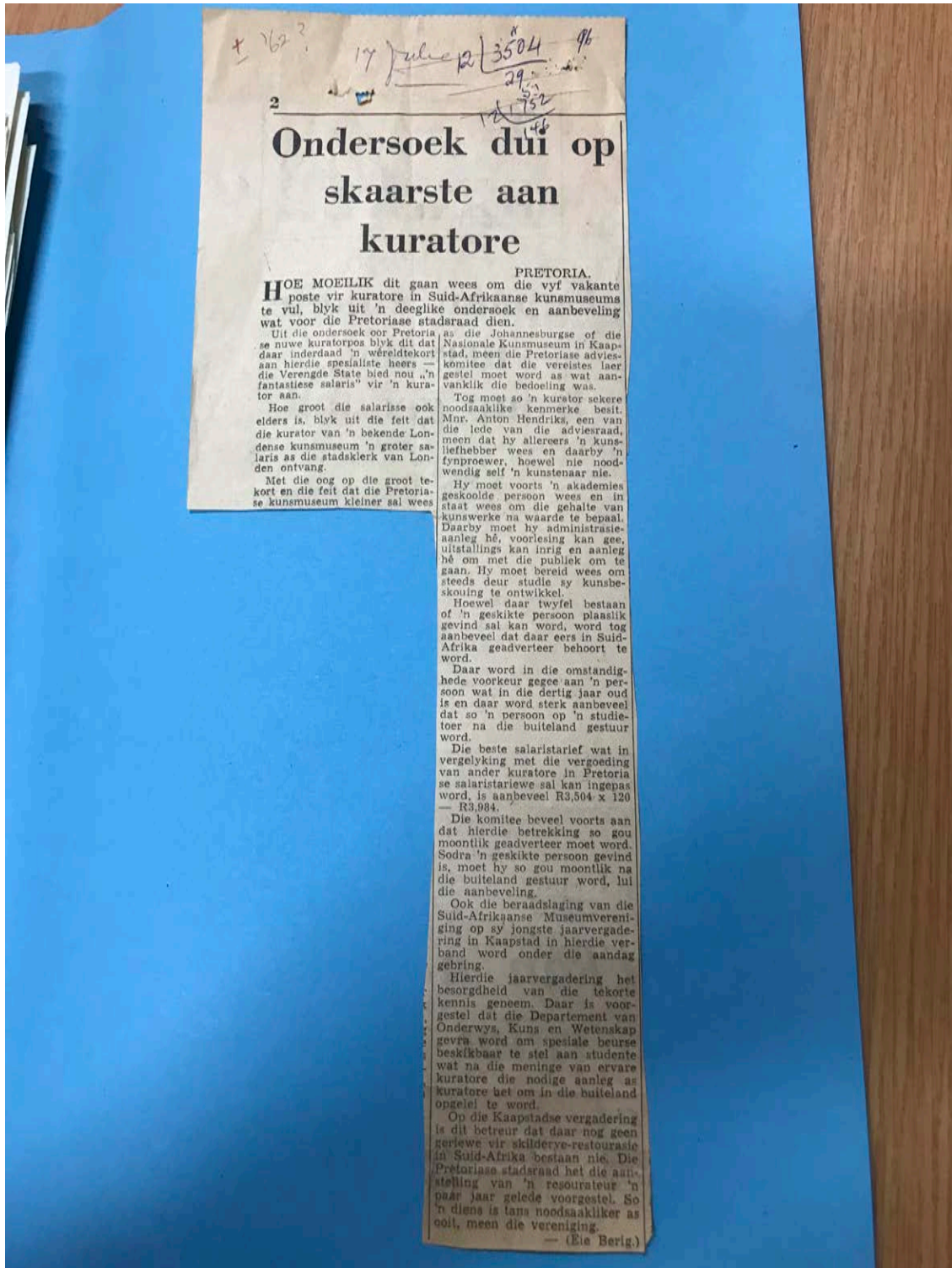
Dos 48 países que irão participar da XII Bienal de São Paulo, com inauguração marcada para o dia 5 de outubro, mais de 30 já enviaram suas obras, que estão sendo desembarcadas no Porto de Santos.

A África do Sul foi o primeiro país a chegar, com trabalhos de quatro artistas e apresentando como novidade peças de tapeçaria Kwazulu, já conhecida em diversos países da Europa. Os artistas são John Van Jerden (esculturas), Leonardo Matoso (desenho), Ronald Mylchreest (entalhes) e o pintor Alexis Preller.

Ao lado da Bienal Internacional, outra mostra será apresentada concomitantemente: A Bienal dos recusados, idéia da gravadora Lucília de Toledo. A Bienal dos recusados já conta com a participação de 95 artistas, dos 214 recusados pelo júri no começo de agosto. Os trabalhos deverão ser enviados para a "Galeria Spade", local da exposição que refuta o critério rigoroso do júri de seleção dos paulistas.

— O prazo de envio das obras terminará no dia 27 de setembro, pois queremos inaugurar no dia 1 de outubro para as autoridades e para o público no dia 5 de outubro, coincidindo com a inauguração da Bienal oficial — explica Lucília de Toledo.

Como a Galeria Spade não possui espaço físico para um número grande de obras, só participarão duas obras de cada artista, num total aproximado de 190. Esta é a primeira vez que se realiza, em forma de protesto, uma Bienal de recusados à Bienal de São Paulo.



2

17 Julie 1952 3504 96

29

12-1752

## Onderzoek dui op skaarste aan kuratore

PRETORIA.

**H**OE MOEILIK dit gaan wees om die vyf vakante poste vir kuratore in Suid-Afrikaanse kunsmuseums te vul, blyk uit 'n deeglike ondersoek en aanbeveling wat voor die Pretoriase stadsraad dien.

Uit die ondersoek oor Pretoria as die Johannesburgse of die se nuwe kuratorpos blyk dit dat Nasionale Kunsmuseum in Kaapstad, meen die Pretoriase adviesdaar inderdaad 'n wêreldtekoort komitee dat die vereistes laer aan hierdie spesialiste heers — gestel moet word as wat aanvanklik die bedoeling was.

die Verenigde State bied nou „'n fantasieese salaris" vir 'n kurator aan. Teg moet so 'n kurator sekere Hoe groot die salarisse ook elders is, blyk uit die feit dat Mnr. Anton Hendriks, een van die lede van die adviesraad, meen dat hy allereers 'n kuns-liefhebber wees en daarby 'n fynproewer, hoewel nie noodwendig self 'n kunstenaar nie.

Hy moet voorts 'n akademies geskoolde persoon wees en in staat wees om die gehalte van kunswerke na waarde te bepaal. Daarby moet hy administrasie-aanleg hê, voorlesing kan gee, uitstallings kan inrig en aanleg hê om met die publiek om te gaan. Hy moet bereid wees om steeds deur studie sy kunsbeskouing te ontwikkel.

Hoewel daar twyfel bestaan of 'n geskikte persoon plaaslik gevind sal kan word, word tog aanbeveel dat daar eers in Suid-Afrika geadverteer behoort te word.

Daar word in die omstandighede voorkeur gegee aan 'n persoon wat in die dertig jaar oud is en daar word sterk aanbeveel dat so 'n persoon op 'n studietoer na die buiteland gestuur word.

Die beste salaristarief wat in vergelyking met die vergoeding van ander kuratore in Pretoria se salaristariewe sal kan ingepas word, is aanbeveel R3,504 x 120 = R3,984.

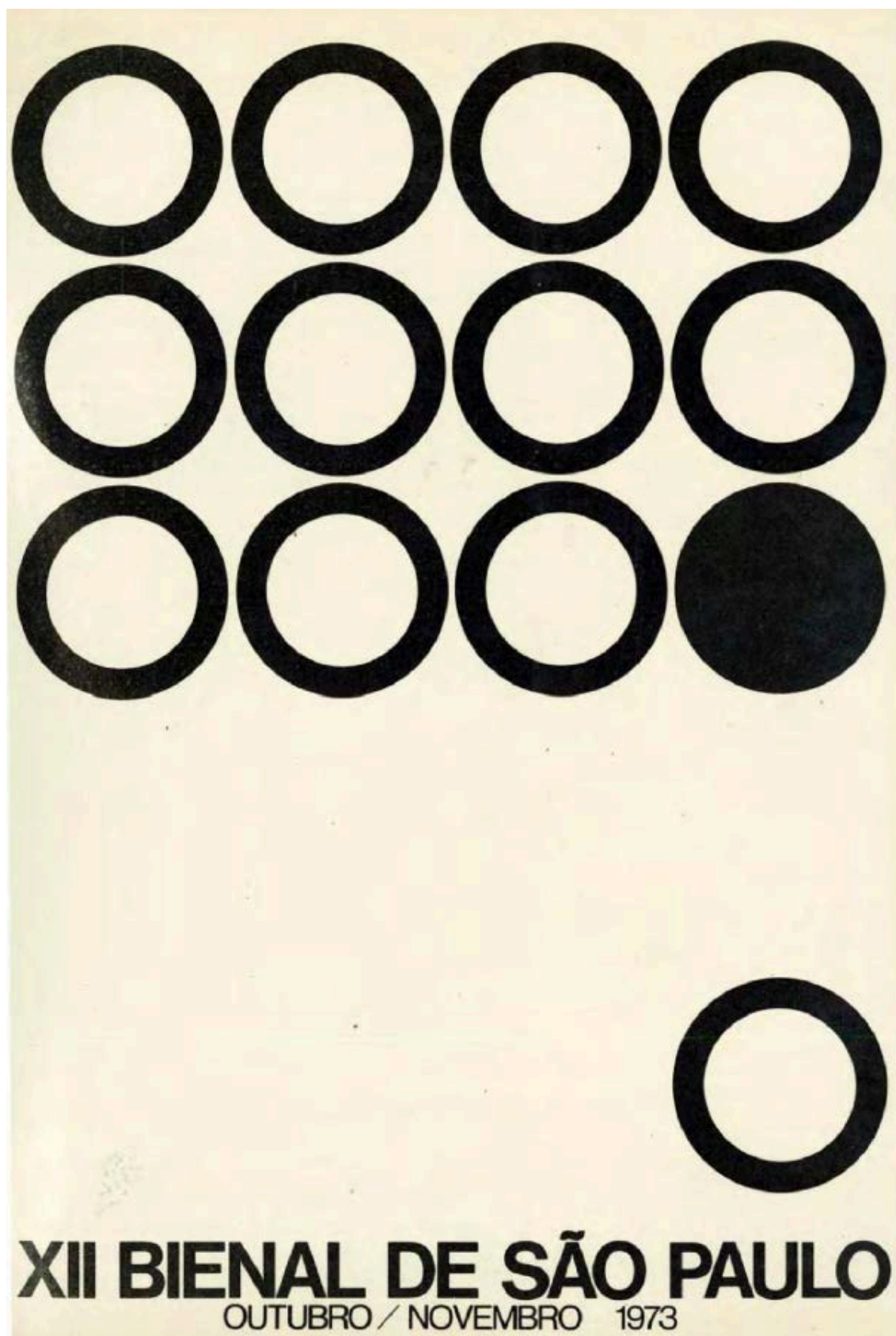
Die komitee beveel voorts aan dat hierdie betrekking so gou moontlik geadverteer moet word. Sodra 'n geskikte persoon gevind is, moet hy so gou moontlik na die buiteland gestuur word, lul die aanbeveling.

Ook die beraadslaging van die Suid-Afrikaanse Museumvereniging op sy jongste jaarvergadering in Kaapstad in hierdie verband word onder die aandag gebring.

Hierdie jaarvergadering het besorgdheid van die tekorte kennis geneem. Daar is voorgestel dat die Departement van Onderwys, Kuns en Wetenskap gevra word om spesiale beurse beskikbaar te stel aan studente wat na die mening van ervare kuratore die nodige aanleg as kuratore het om in die buiteland opgelei te word.

Op die Kaapstadse vergadering is dit betreur dat daar nog geen geriewe vir skilderye-restourasie in Suid-Afrika bestaan nie. Die Pretoriase stadsraad het die aanstelling van 'n resourateur 'n paar jaar gelede voorgestel. So 'n diens is tans noodsaakliker as ooit, meen die vereniging.

— (Ele Berig.)



# África do Sul

Comissário: A. J. WERTH

Exposição organizada pela The South Africa Association of Arts, JOHANNESBURG.

Partindo da hipótese de que os países, representados na passada Bienal de São Paulo, voltariam em 1973 a apresentar obras de arte características do seu país refletindo o seu passado cultural, a contribuição da África do Sul é pois tradicional. Embora os temas sugeridos para a Décima Segunda Bienal dêem ênfase à arte como uma forma de comunicação de massas nos vários aspectos da vida social, a contribuição da África do Sul apresenta reações de vários sul-africanos, de raças diferentes, ao desafio do continente africano de hoje. Cremos contudo, em que a contribuição da África do Sul à Décima Terceira Bienal esteja bem mais de acordo com os novos temas sugeridos recentemente pelos organizadores da Bienal. *Alexis Preller* é a figura central à volta da qual se edificou a delegação sul-africana. Nos primórdios da sua carreira artística já estabelecera uma forte mitografia africana. Subseqüentemente enveredou pelo caminho de uma arte em que os mitos de toda a humanidade se encontram entrelaçados. Começando com motivos tirados da via tribal africana, seus rituais, crenças no animismo e veneração dos antepassados, evoluiu gradualmente para uma forma de arte altamente complexa, englobando culturas tão variadas como as da antiga Grécia (comparem-se as suas figuras "Kouros"), do Egípto, da África Central e do homem urbano moderno. Neste aspecto a sua arte está ligada à dos outros artistas sul-africanos que tomam parte na exposição. As tapeçarias de *Rorke's Drift* expressam a arte africana tradicional ao serviço de uma religião nova: o passo gigante dado pelos africanos que, até pouco tempo estavam embrenhados nas tradições e cultos da vida tribal adotando depois os ensinamentos da Igreja Luterana Evangélica e se reconciliando assim com a cultura dos seus mestres. Disto resultou uma arte altamente remanescente da arte dos primitivos cristãos da Europa Medieval mas adicionada de uma força e virilidade e ao mesmo tempo de uma libertação ingênua verdadeiramente africanas. Estes indígenas têm um poder narrativo de traduzir o folclore, lendas da Bíblia e cenas da vida quotidiana em tapeçarias altamente decorativas. A ausência de perspectiva, típica da arte "primitiva", harmoniza-se admiravelmente à tapeçaria como arte bi-dimensional. *Leonard Matsoso* é acima de tudo um desenhista, embora a sua interpretação de formas tri-dimensionais pesadas sugira que ele trabalha tendo presente a forma escultural. Os seus desenhos arrojados, no entanto delicados, refletem o espírito africano imbuído de lendas, mitos e folclore, e ao mesmo tempo confrontado pela problemática da vida urbana moderna e em conflito para com ela se reconciliar. Ele é, além de tudo uma espécie de expressionista em luta com a realidade áspera da vida dos bairros indígenas e com os aspectos cruéis e freqüentemente brutais do mundo de hoje. De um estilo baseado fundamentalmente em formas orgânicas, um estilo áspero, abrasivo e mesmo duro, *Johan van Heerden* desenvolveu nos últimos anos uma nova faceta da sua obra escultural. Os seus últimos trabalhos evidenciam uma reação contra o seu estilo anterior. Têm normalmente uma base altamente geométrica uma certa impessoalidade industrial, possuindo ao mesmo tempo uma beleza sóbria, muito atraente. Assim, embora remanescentes das primeiras estruturas de artistas como *Ad Reinhardt* e *Barnett Newman*, estes trabalhos não são tão impessoais. *Ronald Mylchreest* começou a sua carreira como pintor, tendo mudado para outro meio, o da madeira, no fim dos anos "sessenta". As suas criações são formadas por plaquetas de madeira, adicionando à sua cor e textura naturais um ou outro produto tal como óleo de linhaça ou mesmo tinta. Os primeiros

exemplos deste tipo de obra executados por Mylchreest possuíam uma forte orientação vertical-horizontal e profunda mobilidade plástica. Posteriormente as formas tornaram-se menos densas e maior ênfase foi dada à textura e cor, a que deu à sua obra uma nota mais pessoal. As formas que usa incluem plantas indígenas de África e os seus trabalhos enquadram-se naturalmente na paisagem sul-africana. Ele interessa-nos contudo, primordialmente devido à sua técnica hábil e ao uso extremamente delicado da textura e forma nas suas criações graciosamente orquestradas. O artista europeu Preller e os artistas de cor Matsoso e os que trabalham na missão Rorke's Drift têm pois um laço comum na sua arte: África e os seus mitos, folclore e mistério, com as suas asperezas mas também com os seus momentos de alegria espontânea, com os seus ritmos contraditórios, contrastes fortes de luz e sombra e explosões brilhantes de cor. Mas este laço entre os nossos artistas pode ser também verificado confrontando-se na África o homem vivendo num estado semiprimitivo e o homem científica e tecnicologicamente especializado vivendo em cidades altamente civilizadas e modernas. Deste último tipo de artista Van Heerden e Mylchreest são verdadeiros expoentes. Mas todavia eles estão ligados a África (apesar da qualidade internacional das suas obras) pela interpretação delicada da flora e cor locais, ritmos e papel desempenhado pela luz no nosso ambiente natural.

A África do Sul tem sido frequentemente chamada de terra de contrastes e a verdade desta asserção reflete-se certamente nas suas artes plásticas. Mas para aqueles indivíduos com sensibilidade e visão suficientes para ver além destes contrastes flagrantes, há ainda uma unidade mais profunda: a fraternidade com a África, esse continente misterioso e ainda não completamente explorado, vibrando com um poder adormecido.

Working on the assumption that countries exhibiting at the São Paulo Biennial would again in 1973 show works of art peculiarly their own, reflecting their own cultural background, the South African contribution is, once more, traditional. Whereas the themes suggested for the Twelfth Biennial stress art as a form of mass communication in various aspects of the larger social environment, this South African contribution presents the reactions of various South Africans of different races to the challenge of the African continent today. It is foreseen that the South African contribution to the Thirteenth Biennial will be much more in keeping with the new themes suggested recently by the Biennial authorities.

The central figure around which this South African contribution has been built up is *Alexis Preller*. Earlier in this artistic career he already established a very potent African mythography, moving later towards an art in which the myths of all mankind were involved; beginning with motifs taken from African tribal life, its rituals, its belief in animism, its ancestor worship, he gradually evolved a highly complex form of art encompassing such varied cultures as that of ancient Greece (compare his "kouros" figures), of Egypt, of central Africa and of modern urbanised man. In this his art is linked to the other artists in the South African exhibition.

The *Rorke's Drift* tapestries reflect the expression of the traditional African art in service of a new religion: the giant step taken by Africans who, up till recently, had been absorbed in the traditions and cults of tribal life and had then taken on the teachings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and come to terms with the culture of their teachers. The result of this has been an art strongly reminiscent of the art of the early Christians in mediaeval Europe, but with a strength and virility, also a certain naive freedom, which is truly African. These Africans have a narrative gift of translating folklore, Bible legends and scenes from everyday life into richly decorative tapestries. The lack of perspective typical of "primitive" art is admirably suited to the tapestry as a two-dimensional form of art.

*Leonard Matsoso* is primarily a draughtsman, although his vivid rendering of heavy, third dimensional shapes suggests that he works with sculptural form in mind. His bold yet sensitive drawings reflect the African mind steeped in legend, myth and folklore, but at the same time a mind confronted by the sophistication of modern urban life and battling to come to terms with it.

He is, furthermore, a kind of expressionist grappling with the harsh realism of township life, the cruel and often brutal aspects of the everyday world. From a style which was based primarily on organic forms, a style harsh, abrasive, powerful and even tough, *Johan van Heerden* has over the last few years evolved a new approach in his sculptural work. His latest works show a reaction against the personal expression of his former style. It usually has a strong geometric base, a certain industrial impersonality but still possessing a stark beauty which remains appealing. Thus whilst being allied to the primary structures of artists like Ad Reinhardt and Barnett Newman, these works are not so impersonal.

*Ronald Mylchreest* who started his career as a painter changed to a new medium, that of wood, in the late sixties. His designs are assembled from planes of wood, to the natural colour and texture of which he usually adds some kind of material such as stain or even paint. Early examples of this type of work by Mylchreest possessed a strong vertical-horizontal order and plastic movement in depth. Later the forms loosened up, and a greater play of texture and colour gave the work a more personal note. In his use of forms he takes note of the indigenous plants of Africa and his works fit naturally into the South African landscape. He interests us primarily, however, because of his skillful technique and his extremely sensitive use of texture and form in his beautifully orchestrated designs.

The White artist, Preller, and the Black artists Matsoso and those working for the Rorke's Drift mission station have, therefore, a common bond in their art: Africa and its myths, folklore and mystery; with its harshness but also with its spontaneous moments of joy; with its clashing rhythms, strong contrasts of light and shade and vivid splashes of colour. But this bond between our artists can also be seen in the confrontation in Africa between man living in a semi-primitive state and man, highly skilled in science and technology, living in highly civilized modern cities. Of the latter type of man the artists Van Heerden and Mylchreest are the true exponents. But they, again, are linked to Africa (despite the international quality of their work) by means of their sensitive interpretation of local plant forms, local colour, rhythms and the play of light on our natural surroundings.

South Africa has so often been called a land of contrasts, and the truth of this is certainly reflected in its visual arts. But for those sensitive enough to see beyond these obvious contrasts there is also a deeper unity: the bond with Africa, the mysterious continent, still not fully discovered, vibrating with slumbering power.

#### **HEERDEN, Johan van (1930 — Bethal)**

##### *Aço inoxidável*

1. Sem título. 126 x 116 cm.
2. Sem título. 116 x 116 cm.
3. Sem título. 122 x 118 cm.
4. Sem título. 118 x 118 cm.

Aço inoxidável fornecido por THE SOUTHERN CROSS STEEL COMPANY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

#### **MATOSO, Leonard (1950 — Johannesburg)**

##### *Óleo sobre Papel*

5. "Dança Tribal Africana". 41x183
6. "Agonia e a Besta". 41x178
7. "O Mateiro" (ou: "O Colono"). 41x166 cm.

#### **MYLCHREEST, Ronald (1920 — Johannesburg)**

##### *Óleo sobre Madeira*

8. "Citação". 183 x 300 cm.
9. "Eeenie Meenie Minie Mo". 163 x 122 cm.
10. "Johannesburg". 91,5 x 104,5 cm.

## PRELLER, Alexis (1911 — Pretoria)

### *Óleo*

11. Agaménon — 106,5 x 122 cm.
12. Adão — 102 x 102 cm.
13. Icarus I — 123 x 153 cm.
14. Icarus II — 183 x 183 cm.
15. Nunca Saberás — 137,5 x 137,5 cm.

### *Técnica mista*

16. Kouros Perdido — 122 x 92 cm.
17. Maratona — 122 x 137 cm.
18. Dois Anjos — 92 x 122 cm.
19. Rei de Ouro/Anjo — 92 x 107 cm.
20. Apollo Kouros I — 127 x 92 cm.
21. Apollo Kouros II — 122 x 152,5 cm.

Em 1963 foi criado um Umpumulo, Natal, o centro de artesanato ELC, sob o patrocínio da Igreja Evangélica Luterana da África do Sul, Região Sudeste. A primeira oficina existente foi uma oficina de tecelagem, incluindo cardagem, fiação e tingição da lã. Em 1965 este centro deslocou-se para Rorke's Drift no Natal. 1963-1967: exposições do artesanato deste centro em escolas de arte da Suécia e nos Museus de Arte moderna e Artesanato contemporâneo na Suécia e Dinamarca. 1967-1970: exposições na Galeria Nacional da Cidade do Cabo, na Galeria de Arte de Durban, na Galeria de Arte de Pietermaritzburg e no Canadá e Suécia. Exemplos de tapeçarias e outros artigos de artesanato de Rorke's Drift têm sido adquiridos por numerosas coleções públicas e particulares na África do Sul e no estrangeiro. As tapeçarias são criadas e executadas inteiramente por membros deste centro de artesanato. Todos pertencem ao povo kwazulu.

## KWAZULU TAPESTRIES

In 1963 the ELC Artland Craft Centre was started at Umpumulo, Natal under sponsorship of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of South Africa, South Eastern Region. The first workshop was a weaving workshop including carding, spinning and dyeing of the wool. In 1965 the Centre moved to Rorke's Drift, Natal. 1963-1967: exhibitions of arts and crafts of the Centre in art schools in Sweden and at the Museums of Modern Art and of Contemporary Crafts in Sweden and Denmark. 1967-1970: exhibitions at National Gallery, Cape Town, at Durban Art Gallery, at Pietermaritzburg Art Gallery and in Canada and Sweden. Examples of Rorke's Drift tapestries and other crafts have been sold to numerous public and private collections inside South Africa and abroad. The tapestries are designed and executed entirely by members of the Art and Craft centre. These members all belong to the kwaZulu people.

1. **O Casamento Zulu** — 182,8 x 624,3 cm.  
Desenho: Ephraim Siqubu; Tecelagem: Esther Nxumalo e Philda Majosi.
2. **Crueldade de Shaka** — 188 x 246,3 cm.  
Desenho e tecelagem: Esther Nxumalo e Philda Majosi.
3. **O leão cruel** — 134,6 x 190,5 cm.  
Desenho: Jessi Dlamini; Tecelagem: Jessi Dlamini e Regina Buthelezi.
4. **O curral Zulu** — 137,2 x 209,5 cm.  
Desenho: Jessi Dlamini; Tecelagem: Jessi Dlamini e Regina Buthelezi.  
Propriedade de R. Olowin.

## *Appendix 28*

### **Interview<sup>280</sup>**

**Kagiso Patrick Mautloa**  
**The Bag Factory**  
**July 7, 2016**

ND: I am going to ask you a few questions, but I'm not necessarily following a script.

PM: Is there an order?

ND: Yes, some order, but not a strict order. I found a book in our library – Hiddingh Hall Library at the University of Cape Town – which is where I work. The *Polly Street* book. I've been reading it and used it as a reference when thinking of my questions for you. The first question, the most obvious is, do you recall when you first met Leonard Matsoso?

PM: I met Leonard...

ND: Would it have been at the Jubilee Art Centre?

PM: Yes, at the Jubilee Centre, because Polly Street Art Section had moved to Jubilee Centre. That's when I met him. But he was my senior. I was just starting and that was in 1969. I was still a student at Morris Isaacson.

ND: In the book, it says you started in 1969 and that he would have started to attend regularly between 1962 and 1970. So, these were his last years there?

PM: Possibly. The fact of the matter is, for instance, if one had worked at the Bag Factory, you would obviously go back, touch base and visit. He used to go there because Sydney Khumalo (sic) was teaching, as was Ezrom Legae.

ND: Did he not teach? You said he was senior, so was he teaching?

PM: No, not that I was aware. He was starting to practice. He was driven by the excitement of getting into the market and starting to be a professional artist. He was preparing to exhibit, I think at the Goodman Gallery.

ND: So, it says in 1970 he was attending. Would they have been sessions? Could you call them sessions or were they lessons? Or was he independent?

PM: I think he was independent. But because of lack of spaces in the township, he would go there to work, using Jubilee as a space, like I used to post my tenure at Mofolo Art Centre. I would also use Mofolo to work.

---

<sup>280</sup> This interview has been slightly edited by the interviewer and interviewee for clarity. Colloquialisms have been preserved in an effort to stay true to voice and accent.

ND: Would you leave work behind? How was the space inhabited?

PM: One could as there was storage space.

ND: So, you were working, and Leonard too?

PM: No, no. I was still in high school. Leonard had already completed his schooling. He was ahead of me. When I started I was still a rookie. I was still in standard 8. He had already completed his matric. As juniors, we revered the seniors because they were starting to exhibit in galleries. I think he was starting to work with the Goodman Gallery. I think it was through the Goodman that he went to São Paulo... There is a famous old picture of him making a drawing on the floor. That may have been a mural for São Paulo.

ND: Really? I've not come across it. Where would that drawing be?

PM: I'm not sure. It could have been in São Paulo.

ND: This is new to me. I've not come across this image. Will you let me know if you find something?

PM: Yeah. Anyway, he was ahead of me at high school. When I started (at Jubilee) he had already been practising for some time.

ND: Legae was his teacher?

PM: Yes.

ND: So Legae would have been very influential.

PM: Yes, I would say. Most of the people worked in groups. There were those that painted, like classical, you know. Then there was this group doing drawing, more stylized drawing. Ezrom was a very good draughtsman. Nat Mokgosi was also a very good draughtsperson. From there came quite a number of sculptors, like Sydney Khumalo (sic) and Ezrom Legae who were older. Then there is Cyril Kumalo who is still alive. Those that came from Jubilee Centre were known for their drawing.

ND: David Koloane?

PM: They were ahead of David. They started in the 1960s. He came in late. David started working seriously later. The likes of Ezrom Legae, Sydney Khumalo (sic), Leonard Matsoso and Nat Mokgosi were some of the people at the forefront at the Jubilee.

ND: Are there any pictures of the Jubilee Art Centre? In the book, there aren't any images of the actual space. It is hard to visualize it. Miles talks about the constant presence of music.

PM: I remember when I started, I think I was in Standard 8.

ND: How old were you?

PM: I was about sixteen or so.

ND: Did you have to pay to attend? Were there fees?

PM: No, there were no fees. The only thing I had to pay for was material. Going to Jubilee Art Centre came about because one of my school friends and neighbours was at Morris Isaacson High School. He was a music student at Jubilee. Part of the group which later became known as the Soweto String Quartet started with us at the Jubilee Art Centre. Michael Masote was the music teacher. And there was this friend of mine, Michael Masethla. He was the one who actually recruited me because he saw me drawing at school. And that is when I met most of these people. And also, Ben Arnold. He was also a sculptor who later taught at the YMCA in Dube Village, Soweto. I think he is one of the people that could give you more information because he was also older.

ND: What do you remember about Leonard? How did he come across? Was he approachable?

PM: He was approachable, very sociable, very knowledgeable.

ND: On that note, and maybe I am reading the book a bit too closely, Miles mentions something about an influential book which he loaned from the library. So, Jubilee must have had a library?

PM: There was a library. Actually, at the time, most of the townships had libraries and I think even in the area where he stayed, because we stayed in Soweto together. There was a library.

ND: But did the Jubilee have a library?

PM: Yes, there was a library.

ND: The book is called *The Outlaws of Art*.

PM: I haven't read it.

ND: I was going to ask if you recall him mentioning this book to you. I raise this because the information on Leonard in Miles's book is quite sparse and this really stood out to me. I thought this could be a lead I should follow.

PM: I don't know the book.

ND: It's by a French author, Pierre Cabanne. I have ordered it and I am going to read it once it arrives.

PM: As I knew Leonard, he was artistically talented, and he was also he was very good at maths. To a point that his home, his house, was close to Morris Isaacson High School. That's where he completed high school. What he used to do was assemble

little kids and either teach them maths or drawing. His house was on a corner so no matter the direction, you would always go past. Little kids would always go there and say "Ntate, we want to draw!" And he would say, "Come in." But my more intimate knowledge of Leonard was when I, I think it was in 1981...

ND: When you started working together at the SABC?

PM: That's when our friendship, when we bonded.

ND: Was he already there?

PM: He found me there. You see I attended Rorke's Drift later. That was in 1978/79.

ND: I was a two-year-old then.

PM: Don't make me feel old!

(collective laugh)

PM: Whilst I was at Jubilee Art Centre, I won a scholarship. I took it up later in 1978. Black students were not allowed into Wits and the only place where I could study was Rorke's Drift. Incidentally, it happened to be that Leonard's former wife, Memory, had also been to Rorke's Drift.

ND: Was she there at that time?

PM: No, no. She had already left. I came later. But on completion, I won another prize.

ND: How long were you at Rorke's Drift?

PM: Two years. I wanted to study art and there were no facilities to study, except in white universities. The black universities didn't offer art so you had to go abroad. I was mentored by Dan Rakgoathe. We tried to apply for a space in Makerere, in Uganda, which was very remote then, but the reply never came, so I started working as a banker for Standard Bank for the next seven years.

ND: When was this?

PM: I started working at the Standard Bank in 1972.

ND: So, this was before the SABC?

PM: Yes, it was before the SABC. And before the SABC I worked for OK Bazaars, that was after Rorke's Drift. I worked for OK Bazaars. I think that was the shortest term of employment I've had in my entire life, which was 18 months. It was quite good because I was just fresh from Rorke's Drift, and fresh from school.

ND: What were you doing for them?

PM: I was an illustrator for catalogues and was photographing products. I did photography at Rorke's Drift. I was also manning the darkroom. It became my post-school, sort of on-the-job training. For me it was very good. Come to think of it, the scholarship that I had won was sponsored by OK Bazaars.

ND: Was that the one you got to attend Rorke's Drift?

PM: Yes, that's the one. For me it was quite befitting. Whilst I was there, one of my previous colleagues at Rorke's Drift was approached by SABC's graphic department manager. He seemed to have been collecting articles from *The Rand Daily Mail*, *The World*, *The Star* and all that. He asked this friend if he knew me and that's how I was poached.

ND: Was Leonard already there?

PM: He wasn't there yet.

ND: So, you received him? You welcomed him?

PM: Yes, we received him, we welcomed him. At the time we were still on Commissioner Street.

ND: How many of you were in the graphic design department?

PM: It was still a mixed section in the sense that the graphic design section had to be sort of broken up. There was animation, there was set design, which Sam Nhlengethwa happened to be in, and then we were in graphics doing logos and all that, designing things for the backdrops.

ND: You and Leonard?

PM: Yes, Leonard and I. It was me, Alpheus Mosenye, Leonard Matsoso, Charles Nkosi...

ND: If we had to go back in time, if we had to go to the archives, could you identify your work?

PM: Yes, I could.

ND: I think we spoke about this when I first met you. If you got to keep your work?

PM: I have some bits. What would happen is you would produce something, it would get photographed, and then it would go to the bin.

ND: Are there any leads, if I had to go into the archives?

PM: TV2 and 3, their logo.

ND: Did you work together on those logos? Were they collaborations or was it each doing his own work?

PM: We were doing our own work.

ND: Would you brainstorm together?

PM: Yes. Ron Hussey would distribute jobs. It was like, here is the assignment, the project and proposal. He knew Leonard had already done bigger commissions, for instance the South African State Theatre, and was renowned for his work. He would give Leonard life size work or design work, or work that involved quite a lot of drawing. Scale too. Also because of his very afro-stylized imagery and way of doing. He was quite inventive. I mean, he would take you and draw in a certain way, but you would still see the lines of your face. He was good at that. But with me, I could invent a letter out of nothing. Maybe take your hand and make it a letter.

ND: Can I ask you something? I was just going back in my mind to the conversation I had with David (Koloane). He was telling me, and I don't want to phrase this incorrectly, but it was about Leonard's relationship with the Goodman Gallery. David said that he had his own rhythm. That he had a very different rhythm to the gallery. That the gallery started to press him. He had his own time. I understood that to be a slow time. Working at the SABC...

PM: I think provided a salary.

ND: I would think that the SABC would be very fast paced.

PM: The thing at times with the gallery, if we were to be very crass, is it is a demand and supply kind of situation, whereas the creative process is not necessarily about that. I mean at times you do about 100 paintings and you feel they are not you. They don't have your soul and you destroy them. Leonard was very discerning. At times, they tried to force him to churn. He wasn't that type of artist.

ND: Would he be forced to churn at the SABC? Then again, when you're exhibiting at a gallery, you're signing work, your signature is there. But on television, your signature isn't necessarily there.

PM: You only get credits and that's it.

ND: You don't feel as implicated, maybe or...

PM: There is less of your aesthetic there. It is providing something for a purpose. At the end of the day, it was the issue of earning a living. And working at the SABC guaranteed a monthly salary.

ND: How many years were you at the SABC?

PM: Almost fourteen.

ND: And Leonard?

PM: Leonard quit earlier.

ND: He quit. Did you quit as well?

PM: I quit later. Actually, I was pushed to jump.

ND: Was he as well?

PM: Yes, he was part of one of the first groups, when they started downscaling and introducing computer graphics.

ND: Do you recall when that would have happened?

PM: It could have been when we went on strike. I can't remember the year of that strike, but he had already left. I think he resigned in a way. He said he wanted to pursue his work full time.

ND: Did he ever regret that decision? Did he manage afterwards?

PM: He struck me as a... Leonard had two brains, I would say, because he would be this formal, caring person, very organised. Leonard could sort out a budget of what he was going to spend. By the end of the month, he would be left with so much. Actually, I would say he had three minds, if that's at all possible. This side it was girls. I think that was the third mind. There was work and then there were the girls. He was a "ladies man". He was tall and fairly handsome. He had been an athlete at school. He was a very, very nice chap. For me to have lasted so long at the SABC, when I got there, my salary tripled. Because they said, put your price. I had a nice salary. That was the biggest salary I could ever have earned at the time. It was enough to pay lobola and get married. My wife came from Natal and we had lobola negotiations and all that.

ND: Is she Zulu?

PM: Yes.

ND: And you are?

PM: Tswana. I was thinking, how do I take the delegation there? What I used to do was ask him to drive me. I would hire a car from Avis and then he would drive me there and back. He was a drinker, but there is one thing he never did, he would never drink and drive. At that time, we were drinking those big bottles of Lion quarts and he would put them in the boot. We would go there, come back and drink at home. To a point that my parents always trusted him. They loved him.

ND: Was he like a guardian?

PM: He was a very caring person. Even at home, he was always in tune with what was happening with his mum, brothers and sisters.

ND: Does he have kids? I asked David and he wasn't sure.

PM: He has kids. Quite a number.

ND: Do you know them?

PM: I don't know them. I know a woman who had his twins not far from where he lived. There were others, but I don't know them. They were very little when I was still at the SABC. He actually loved kids. He was like... there are things you idealize, but they turn out to be very hard to realize.

ND: What are we talking about?

PM: An ideal life or an ideal family.

ND: Was he a non-conformist? He was reading a book about outlaws of art, hence my question.

PM: He was battling. I think he had a mind of his own.

ND: Three, you said...

PM: He kept to his rules. He had his own set of rules which he believed and obeyed. I don't know if he was able to practise all that he wished.

ND: As an artist, what would those rules have been?

PM: One thing about Leonard was if he said I am going to draw, then he would draw right through the night.

ND: You must be like him because you say you are constantly working.

PM: No, no, I stop when I'm tired. With me its spurts, but with him, when it came to the commitment of doing and finishing work, he would lock the door. For instance, when we were still at the SABC, he would work on paintings for the Goodman Gallery. He would say, "I'm going home, I'm going to draw."

ND: He would work at home?

PM: Yes, because he ended up staying alone. I don't know if women were not right or if he was unlucky with them, because they came and went. Or he hired and fired (laughs) or they came and went. I don't know. He had a volatility.

ND: Was he lonely?

PM: You see... not... he was a person that could go out and charm, if he wanted to. There were times when he said, "I want to work," and then he would focus on that. He had these extremes. For me, that made him interesting. At that time, he became much revered. He became an achiever. At that time, when we were growing up, when you were an artist and had a car, that was a bloody achievement.

ND: David mentioned he was one of the first artists from the crew to own a car.

PM: Yes, he owned a Beetle SP, a yellow one.

ND: Would he have bought the car in 1973 with the money he garnered from the São Paulo award, which was around 2000 dollars?

PM: Possibly. You must remember that at that time the rand was very strong.

ND: So, in 1972 you must have been in your early twenties?

PM: Yes, that's when I started working for Standard Bank which I pushed up to 1977. In 1978, I was at Rorke's Drift. In 1979/80, I started at OK Bazaars and then in 1980/81 the SABC for the next fourteen years.

ND: That was a long time.

PM: Yup. I have always been a stayer. I was at my first job for seven years. I have been here (the Bag Factory) for twenty-five years. I am a sticker. I stick.

ND: I wanted to ask you another thing about the theme of resistance in his work. In Miles's book, she speaks of a biblical interpretation that Matsoso produced of David and Goliath. She states that he transforms the defiant David into a metaphor of resistance. I wanted to ask if that was a trait of his, as a person, but also as an artist. Was he defiant?

PM: Defiant, but in a very subtle way.

ND: Would he channel that defiance into his work?

PM: Yes. When I was at school I used to do drawings, and when I was still at Morris Isaacson, we started SASM. SASM was the South African Students Movement, which was a smaller league from the university students, like SASO (South African Students Organisation) and NEUSA (National Education Union of South Africa). I used to design for SASM. I also used to design for the Medical Workers Union when it started. One could participate in burnings, but they could read that and go and look for you and get you. They would just snuff the life out of you. Most of us were doing those things, but you would have to be very intelligent to be able to, because we knew that most of the people that were police were *dom* young. They didn't know anything. So even in our work, we would play the role but underplay the imagery. You would have to read deeply to see the things in there. So, with him also, that's what he used to do. But what he used to revere, what he used to love, was the idea of accessing Africa. He used to like the theme of Himba, the Himba. But he would not talk about the Himba men, he would talk about the Himba women (laughs).

ND: Did he ever go to visit?

PM: No, I don't think he ever went. It was difficult then to get a travel document. And once you had it, they would suspect that you wanted to skip.

ND: Did he travel to São Paulo?

PM: I think he did quite a bit of travel. He must have gone to São Paulo.

ND: Because I can't find any mention of it. Not in their (SAAA) documentation. Possibly when I go to São Paulo I will find something in their archives.

PM: What are your terms with Linda (Givon)?

ND: I haven't approached her yet.

PM: Because your mission is to accumulate a body of information, but without her you can't. Some of the people have died. She was the innkeeper, you see.

ND: So, my proposal, I am looking at the biennials of São Paulo and Venice between 1961 and 2011. Because we are living in this, let's call it post-colonial period, or I am approaching this archive from a postcolonial stance. To this effect, I am drawn to the lacunae, to the silences in the archive. And one of the things, and perhaps I should have started here, was why was I drawn to Leonard Matsoso. In 1979, if you look at the catalogue, the São Paulo catalogue, and you page through it, Leonard Matsoso was the artist that was going to represent South Africa. His name is there. But if you look at all of the other artists, there is a reproduction of a work, a biography and a text. In Leonard's case, only his name appears. I found this bizarre. I was drawn to this anomaly, to this omission. In a way, I am trying to understand this absence, to understand...

PM: The reason for this absence.

ND: The reason for that absence. To not necessarily fill in that gap. This all just to give you an understanding of why, why Leonard Matsoso.

PM: No, I understand the point of departure.

ND: It is also to understand the change from practices of commissioning to practices of curating. For instance, one of the things I am hoping to maybe argue, and in order to make that argument I need to have substance, I need to base that argument on something, is that these things would happen precisely because it was commissioning, it wasn't curating. The commissioners were an arm of the government.

PM: They were a conduit.

ND: Precisely, they were conduits. And curators are not necessarily, or they shouldn't be.

PM: Because curators are opinionated people.

ND: Exactly. I think that if you look historically, there emerges a kind of definition of these roles, and of the expectations and responsibilities.

PM: You know, I was looking at a funny situation of a country, like South Africa, and our de facto neighbour, Uruguay. We are divided by the sea but we are at the same latitude. The other neighbour after Uruguay is Argentina. If you look at *Boere* relations, they were very strong with Argentina and Uruguay. The cultural exchanges were sanitized to fit the whims of the two. To a point that when I was in Uruguay, they still had *Boere* ambassadors. I remember, when I lost my passport, I had to meet the ambassador and he was impressed that I could speak Afrikaans. The situation was resolved quite quickly because I could speak the language. When you look at Uruguay, some parts are like Cape Town, some parts are like Pretoria. At times, you move around and try to look for Blacks, Blacks... (laughs). It is very much like that. Incidentally, whilst I was there, they had just discovered that there was this guy, Mengele, who was responsible for gas chambers in Germany. He was living there. There is a place that looks like Switzerland and he had been living there. There is also a place that looks totally like Crossroads, another like Alexandra, and yet another like Soweto. And they also have "coloured" looking areas. The Nazis were all over hiding. That place was one of the most organised spaces. All around it was just shambles.

ND: Going back to Brazil, Leonard would have exhibited there twice, in 1973 and 1979. The 1979 edition would have been a retrospective exhibition of all of the awards. So, having been awarded a prize in 1973, he would have been included in that exhibition. But 1979 was also a biennial of contestation. Many people, many students, were questioning the authority of the biennial. That is possibly also one of the reasons why things also went awry between South Africa and Brazil. In all of the documentation, in the minutes of meetings, it is always summed into one evasive sentence, something like political relations between South Africa and Brazil are not...

PM: conducive to whatever...

ND: Not at their best, stop. Nothing more. When I go to Brazil, I am hoping to...

PM: unearth more...

ND: To find more about that.

PM: I remember I showed at the Havana Biennale.

ND: When was this?

PM: Long before I knew I had shown. And I only found out when I went there.

ND: Really? They took your work without you knowing?

PM: It was part of Rorke's Drift. There was just a short note, not even an essay.

ND: This takes me to the archive. I found a box full of invitations. In the case of group exhibitions, there seems to be a pattern. The invitation says you are invited to attend the opening of such and such an exhibition, referring to the title, with an opening speech by Marilyn Martin, say. Generally, there is no mention of the artists participating in the exhibition. It's shocking.

PM: If you look at the likes of her, or of people in similar positions in these institutions, they were never without a job. She can decide whether she wants to be at Standard Bank or at a gallery. They seem to function in clusters and give freebees to each other.

ND: It's a lobby.

PM: It's a lobby group. These are little cantons. But they respect each other's space. They won't step on each other's toes.

ND: They know their domain.

PM: I think they know what they are guarding.

ND: Going back to Cuba. You said you only found out that your work had been exhibited after the fact. How did this happen?

PM: I think I was looking at a catalogue. I don't know if I have it.

ND: Who was the commissioner or curator?

PM: I don't know, but there was this thing like, if you want to talk about Venice, you must talk to so and so. Each one had his...

ND: Stronghold.

PM: His stronghold. And strong friends in different spaces, and there were those that were friendly with most of the ambassadors so they could worm their way into all these things. It has become a habit in South Africa.

ND: I am still trying to understand. Your work was taken to Cuba without your knowing?

PM: But with us then it was like, "Oh it's so nice, I'm in the catalogue."

ND: And were you ever given the opportunity to see your work in Cuba?

PM: Look, I only learnt about the fact when I went to Cuba.

ND: You must tell me what year that was.

PM: I will check.

ND: Was this common practice?

PM: I think fairly common. You see people would come and collect work. They would buy it and then you would hear "South African artists exhibiting in New York or Harlem" and then you see the list and realize you had been included. The other issue was that people were sure that you would never be able to travel to these destinations. You would never know. You couldn't get an international passport. You

would have to apply with them, you would have to get permission, you know, that was one of the things.

ND: On the topic of contention, I'd like to go back to the book and something Cecil Skotnes says: "We do not encourage professionalism here, it is purely a spare time activity." Could you comment?

PM: He was a professional, he was exhibiting all over. And partly siphoning the styles of some of the people there.

ND: I find this so hurtful. When you read the book, you realize people would go there after a hard day's work. That was deep commitment.

PM: You were pursuing something.

ND: With an ambition.

PM: With an ambition. You would go there after school. After Morris Isaacson you would get onto a train and then you would go to Faraday Station.

ND: How long was the trip?

PM: 35 to 40 minutes.

ND: You had to leave at a certain hour because of the pass laws?

PM: At 8 o'clock we had to knock-off. And then you would go home and you would come back the following Wednesday.

ND: Was it always Wednesday?

PM: Yes, for us and the musicians. When they closed the Jubilee Art Centre, they opened up Mofolo Art Centre in Soweto, which was fortunately near to my home.

ND: And was it all hours from then on?

PM: One of the first guys to have received a Master's in Fine Art was Dan Rakgoathe. He was partly my mentor. He stayed near the Salvation Army, close to my home and he encouraged me. It was like a walk from here [Bag Factory] to Bree Street taxi rank. I would walk there from school or from home.

ND: Much more convenient.

PM: Yes. Even on Saturdays, I would go there and from there, that's when I won the competition, because I was there most days. I also wanted to play soccer. At that age, you have so much energy to splash around (laughs). Dan would always admonish me about putting too much time into soccer. Soccer isn't a life, he would say. With football, when you're thirty you're done. With art, at thirty you're more mature. He would always talk to my parents. He knew my uncles were teachers, so he was close to my parents and influenced me in the way of discipline too.

ND: Were your parents supportive of you becoming an artist?

PM: Yes, quite. They were interested in seeing what I was doing, even whilst still at school. To the point that they would even buy me pastels and crayons. They would even tell their bosses, "Oh, my kid draws!"

ND: I come from a family that thinks, "Oh God, you want to be an artist! You are going to be poor!"

PM: I am from a family of teachers. There is a composer in the family. We also have priests. My brother was a teacher, my parents were artisans.

ND: You are a teacher.

PM: Well I try to avoid it (laughs). In all our families, there is a qualified teacher. Even on my wife's side, I think four of them are teachers.

ND: Is your wife a teacher?

ND: No, she's an administrator and an artist. She was part of the First Johannesburg Biennale with Christopher Till, then she became an assistant to Okwui (Enwezor) at the Second Biennale. She took more time to do admin because she grew up with it. Her father was a dean so on holidays she would help with the office. I think that got into her and got the better part of her.

ND: You mentioned Memory. Is she still around?

PM: Yes. You know we were burying...

ND: Did you go to the funeral?

PM: Yes, and I had to speak briefly. I got to know about it at the last hour.

ND: Was it very sudden?

PM: Ja, and sad, because for me he had grown to become such a family friend. When I would get home from work, my mother would ask, "So how is Leonard?" He was part of the family. I would sometimes find him at the barber shop chatting to my parents. He was this very likeable person.

ND: Did you exchange work with him?

PM: Unfortunately, not. At times, you take people for granted. You think they will be there forever.

ND: Do you have a collection?

PM: I do. I even have a Gerald Sekoto. Ezrom Legae, who was here, I don't have his work...

ND: This wasn't a practise amongst your generation, to exchange work?

PM: No. Some younger artists have given me work. Peter Clarke gave me his work. I still owe him a work. You know how gentle he was. He would say, "Don't worry, you'll bring it." Billy Mandindi gave me work this year. Actually, I wasn't here and found it.

ND: Do you know if Leonard worked until the very end?

PM: (Pauses to think). His sister was a nurse. There was a time when nurses were going to Dubai. They were getting better salaries in dollars. He ended up staying at his sister's place in Diepkloof. That's where he died. I don't think it was a prolonged illness.

ND: Would he have had a studio there?

PM: I don't know, but I think he worked in the garage. I'm not sure where he worked from in his last years. But there is a guy in White City who used to be his neighbour in the previous house. Unfortunately, he didn't attend the funeral.

ND: What would have happened to his estate? What would have happened to his remaining work?

PM: I don't know. One of my friends was his neighbour in White City. He should know.

ND: What was the place called?

PM: White City. There was nothing white to it. The other name was Mzimhlope. Mzimhlope is White City in Zulu. The houses are like bread (draws). The roof is made of concrete.

ND: When were they built?

PM: Possibly in the 1950s.

ND: Would they have been built because of forced removals?

PM: These were built after people were relocated, before the advent of shacks. The division of houses was determined by the municipality. So, you would find them like that. They were supposed to be temps but people lived there for a long time. You establish a camaraderie.

ND: Leonard was living in one of these houses?

PM: Yes, before he moved to his sister's place.

ND: How long did he live there?

PM: For quite a long time.

ND: When he was at the SABC, would he have been living there?

PM: Yes. He didn't apply for a bond whilst I did. When he left, he left his former wife with that house. At times, I lost track of where he was.

ND: Is there a name for these houses?

PM: They used to be called The Elephants.

ND: Are they still standing?

PM: I think we will die and leave them behind. They are the strongest structures you can think of. They are as hard as the high-rise buildings around here. You know, the Carlton Centre. In my case, with the money I earned from the SABC, I decided to get married and build a house.

ND: Were these houses electrified? Would he have worked at night?

PM: Under gas light.

ND: Did he prefer a specific light to work?

PM: He would sketch at night and then knock-off early and go and paint during the day. He would paint during the day. The way Leonard was organised was he would sit and mix colours.

ND: So, he would mix his own colours?

PM: Yes. He would buy pigments but he would mix his own colours. He did quite a lot of pen drawings which were labour intensive. He would actually say, "When I want this kind of green, I use this brown and red to get this kind of green." He was very meticulous and very neat.

ND: David (Koloane) mentioned he was secretive, that he believed someone had copied him.

PM: There was a battle of the emergence of styles. He always said he came first. Also, he was quite innovative in his work. His work became quite influential to his peers. That's why he felt slightly paranoid about being copied. He was extremely neat.

ND: Did you say very neat?

PM: Yes, very neat. If you were to share a packet of chips with him, you would first have to go and wash your hands. He would have had one of the neatest studios. He was a nice chap.

ND: Would he have applied to work here (Bag Factory)?

PM: You see there was the secrecy thing.

ND: And you all seem to work with your doors open...

PM: Not everyone. Ezrom used to keep his door closed. When we started in 1985, the idea was to work in a "pack", to paint together and move around and look at each other's work. And then we would do crits. Leonard had not grown into this, into an era of more openness and sharing of ideas.

ND: Going back to Jubilee, how different is that to what you have here?

PM: Vast. Jubilee was very much of a school. It was hierarchical and there was this big open hall where we used to work. Most of us had spaces to work. Some of us would come during the day and work during the day. Others would come in the evening to avoid interruption. They would paint, put their work away and then come and finish it. We were there to learn and enjoy.

ND: You were telling me about the difference between the two paradigms, so to speak.

PM: It was two totally different schools. Here it is more free-flowing. We have an open-door policy. Artists don't retreat into their spaces. The notion of working in an open space, working openly, has always been important. This space is about sharing, sharing ideas, sharing resources, because the space itself is a resource.

ND: I have a last question. Do you know where Leonard is buried?

PM: In Avalon. I will try to track one of his sisters or one of his younger brothers to find out exactly where. His parents were in Klipspruit, Soweto. His mother died about two years ago.

(Exchange telephone numbers). Recording ends.

RAND DAILY MAIL APRIL 5 1973.

# Vivid styles — but different outlooks on art

**T**HE one is 38, established, hard-working, level-headed, well-balanced, restful to talk to. He also has the will to leave his mark in the world of art. The other is 23, impatient, frustrated, restive, groping to find himself and, in spite of impending international recognition, anxious to fly before he can walk.

Both are Black, both live in

Soweto and are not only friends, but mentor and pupil respectively. These two men who are different in so many ways are sculptor Sidney Khumalo and painter Leonard Matsoto.

Sidney is shortish, slightly heavy with a quiet expression on his face and shrewd, intelligent eyes. Leonard is tall, lean, almost thin, with a worried look and a restless countenance until he smiles.

Khumalo had a happy childhood. His father, who recognised his talent, encouraged him, at an early age, to draw. "Every night after school I was made to sketch, then from 1952 until 1957 I had lessons from Cecil Skotnes and in 1958 I went to study under Eduardo Villa. Two exhibitions followed and I was commissioned to do some work for a couple of churches.

"The real break came in 1964 when my work was sent to Florence, Venice, Milan and Stuttgart and eventually in 1966 I exhibited at the Grosvenor in London under Henry Moore."

Not only did this give him immediate recognition here, but made him known internationally. Instead of resting on his laurels, he was prompted into working harder and harder. He is not afraid to experiment and says: "I love trying new ideas, first in plasticine, then in plaster or paris before casting in bronze. However, I have so much to learn. Perhaps in 20 or 30 years I will become



• Sculptor Sidney Khumalo with some of his modernistic creations.

really good." At the moment Sidney is trying his hand at painting. This determination to do things well prompted him to have more lessons, this time with Bill Aindie who showed him certain techniques with paper and oils. His subjects are inspired by legend and mythology and his clean lines and muted colours are reminiscent of his sculptures. This new medium gives him tremendous satisfaction and

His collection of art shows impeccable taste. An early Villa nests in an alcove, canvases by Soole, Ngizane, Maqebela, Cattaneo hang on the white walls and old South West African heads and his own sculptures can be seen both in the house and in the courtyards. Now for the other side of the coin. His young protege, Leonard Matsoto, comes from a poor, unhappy home. He has battled against odds in

Mona Lisa, some Picassos and it all came as a shock to me. I had seen them in priests and in books, but when I came face to face with the originals it was as though I was seeing them for the very first time."

Back from his travels, Matsoto threw himself into his work — painting powerful yet depressing subjects, mainly figures, deformed, tortured, desperate. These so impressed the organisers of the Biennale in Sao Paulo that, in September this year, he will represent South Africa in Brazil accompanied by two White artists. A tremendous achievement for one so young.

"I am so excited about this honour. Maybe it will give me international recognition," he says, "although I am already known here and overseas where my paintings are selling much better than in South Africa."

Unlike Khumalo, Leonard is not at present working flat out. His difficulties and frustrations tend to curb him. He is trying to find new ideas and lately has been experimenting in gouache helped by Maqebela. Sidney Khumalo is also directing his efforts at more disciplined compositions.



• Leonard Matsoto's paintings are on powerful but depressing subjects.

This is the third article in a seven-part series by Jeannette Keill. Photographs by Ralph Ndawo.

pleasure but he cannot devote to it the time he would like as he is preparing for an important exhibition and spends some time each day at the foundry in Pretoria.

With fame came material comfort. Three years ago he built a charming villa in Soweto, the classic, restful lines of which have an affinity with his work. Courtyards and patios are grassed and planted with exotic plants. His studio is an enormous airy room with a huge fireplace and benches with colourful cushions. An easel displays his latest painting.

order to paint and says: "We live in a tiny house, cluttered with old furniture. The tin roof makes it so hot that I can never paint during the day without dreadful discomfort."

Like Khumalo, Matsoto started drawing as a youngster, had a few lessons and in 1970 his first one-man exhibition had a moderate success. Last year, he won the pavement artists competition and a trip to Europe. "Unfortunately I had no introductions to well-known artists, but I visited the National Museum in London, the Louvre in Paris, I saw the

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

It gives me great pleasure ~~as~~ as one of the disadvantaged Black Artists to write about the great project to be undertaken and launched by Ma Africa gallery in the interest of Black Artists, the Black Town community and the tourist industry.

Most of us Black Artists encounter financial problems due to exploitation by the Galleries and both Black and White art collectors. This exploitation and deflation of prices of art works result in the Artist living below the Bread line and not having enough money to buy art material and consequently resorting to cheap material thus producing work of mediocre standard and be categorised not as an international Artist but a mere Township Artist.

The presence of Ma Africa gallery at Regina Mundi Church ~~and~~ its proximity to Artists from all parts of Soweto ~~could~~ be great asset to both the Artists and the Community (and also enroute<sup>ness</sup> of tourist into Soweto) with regard to sales of art work and Hand crafts.)

It gives me pleasure

the people of the Transvaal could be in the advantaged people of the Southern Africa  
advantage

*Appendix 31*

The Goodman Gallery Proprietary Limited  
3B, Hyde Square, Hyde Park, Sandton 2196. P.O. Box 411137, Craighall 2024. Telephone (011) 788-1113/4, Fax (011) 788-9887, South Africa  
Registration No. 66/07115/07  
Directors: L.A. Givon, G.B. Kannberg

23 JUNE 1995

Dear Leonard

It is with deep regret that I have to inform you that the Goodman Gallery will be closing down as from the 31st August 1995.

This decision has not been made lightly, but owing to the fact that people are not supporting the arts even as spectators, and due to a load of pressure of other work we cannot afford to keep our space running.

We would like to take this opportunity to thank you for supporting us by giving us your work and exhibiting with us. Your contribution has made the Goodman Gallery an international name in the art world. We have a reputation for being the premier gallery in Africa. It has been my privilege to have represented you and to have formed precious long lasting relationships and friendships with you.

Due to the fact that we will have no more storage space we ask that you collect your works on consignment to us as soon as possible. If you live in another town please make arrangements with us to have your works dispatched as soon as possible.

We will continue to function on a different level and will keep you updated as we go along on our activities.

Yours very sincerely

LINDA



## *Chronology*

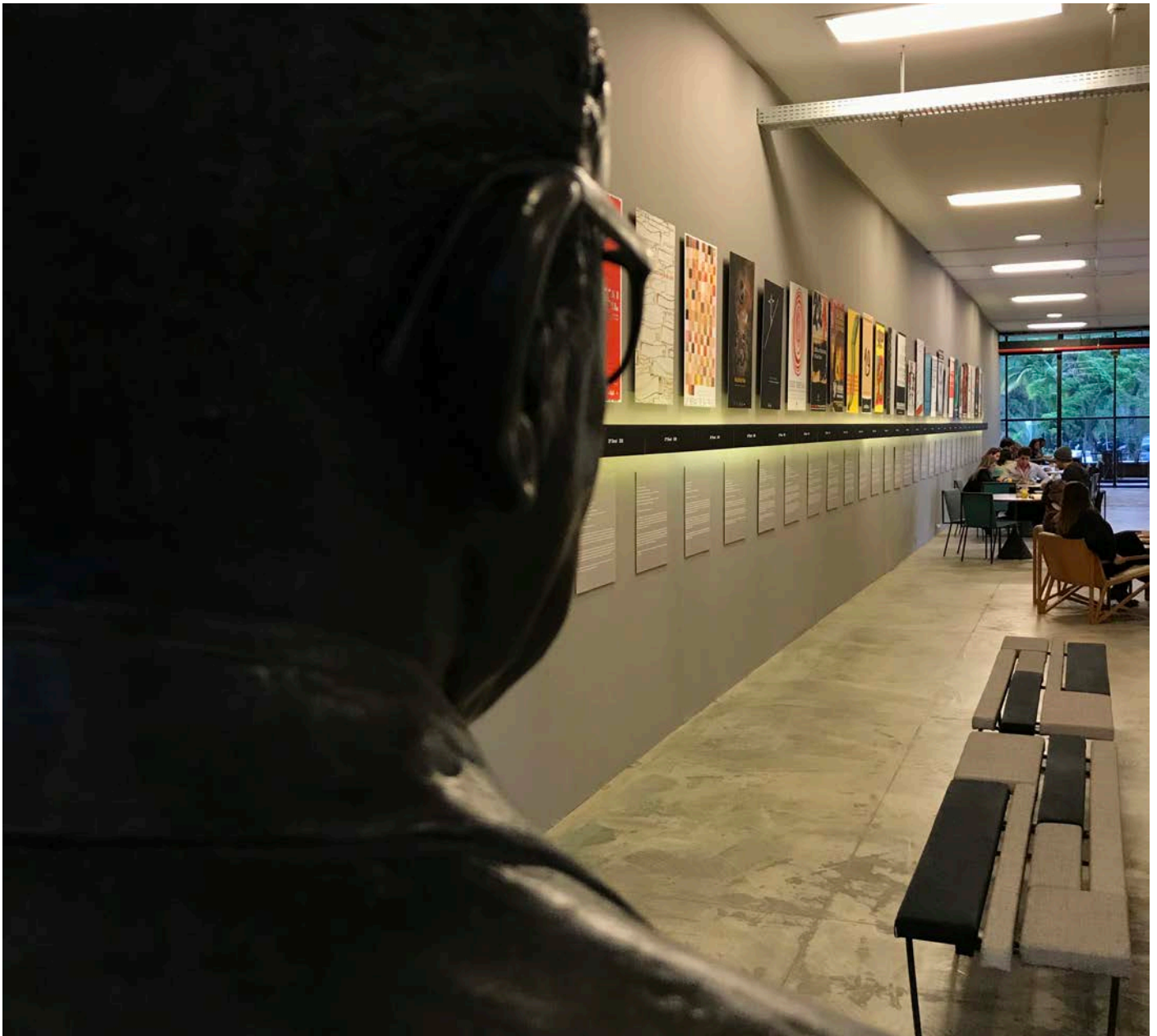



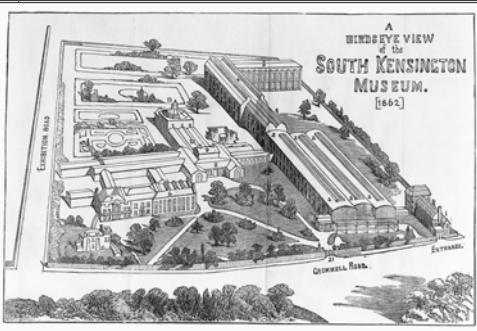
Fig. 1

This chronology aims to provide readers with a panoramic view of exhibition histories. It establishes a timeline, a *durée* that not only provides “facts” and “data” but interweaves, entangles and layers unorthodox colonial and post-colonial, trade and biennial, South African and Brazilian, institutional and individual (art) histories which would remain otherwise dispersed and disconnected. In this, it establishes nodes of connection, geographical and social parallels, and a sense of continuity that the official record otherwise suppresses by way of the idea of the singular event and the primacy of the novel. This space of encounters between the moment and its sedimentations has been conditioned, confined, frustrated and limited by the printed page of this thesis, which foregrounds flatness and opacity as opposed to the intended pregnancy and latency of (art) history. Unlike the image above where Sobrinho’s paternalistic gaze orients and controls *Bienal* history, where he is positioned as the founding father and source of time to a succession of autonomous but continuous line of events, a teleology where viewers are external to history and the passage of time, I encourage my reader to try




to envision this timeline as a web-like formation, expanding and pulsating on the walls of a spiraling room where viewers become an embodied eye, implicated in an orienting and disorienting passage through time.

Elaborated and provided to impart readers with a sense of key events and their succession, but also their coevalness – as layered points in history – this timeline aims not only to render an idea of succession and flow, but also of meeting, simultaneity, sedimentation and more importantly, germination, alluding to the temporal thickness mentioned at the beginning of this body of research. The challenge here has been to create a spatialised and temporalised structure that evokes the vortex of history. It is my hope that this body of work, this thesis at large, achieves this, evoking a spatial thickening of time.


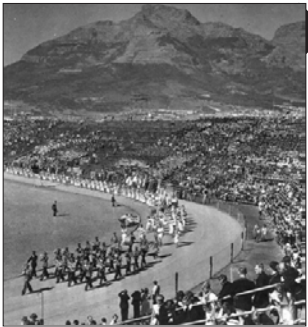
This chronology can be read on its own or in relation to the thesis. It serves to evoke the penetrating and hallucinatory vision of the febrile archivist.




YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/MISCELLANEOUS	MATSOSO
1851		 <p style="text-align: right;">Fig. 2</p> <p>The first exhibition of fine art opens on February 3 in the School Rooms in Government Gardens, Cape Town. According to Kendall (1941), some 500 exhibits are presented.</p>	<p>The <i>Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry and All Nations</i> is held at the Crystal Palace. Its most impressive feature is its scale. The single building covers almost nineteen acres and encloses thirty-three million cubic feet and is located in Central London's Hyde Park. It fetishises the machine (Greenhalgh 1988). A profit of £186 000 is reaped and it is decided that the event should be transformed into an enduring celebration of human industry (Arieff 1995).</p>	
1852			<p>The Department of Practical Art (later renamed the Department of Art and Science) is established in the United Kingdom to administer art education nationally.</p>	
1857		 <p style="text-align: right;">Fig. 3</p>	<p>The South Kensington Museum – now Victoria and Albert Museum – is established “as an omnibus museum of art and industry” (Robertson 2004).</p>	
1862			<p>The <i>London Exhibition</i> takes place with a substantial emphasis on Empire. There are 7 000 Indian exhibits, which take up 277 pages of catalogue. Thirty colonies take part.</p>	
1867			<p>The <i>Paris Universal Exhibition</i> takes place. It marks the shift from huge buildings into multiple pavilions (MacKenzie 1984, p. 100). The practice of bringing peoples from overseas begins. Henry Cole is appointed the Executive Commissioner for the “United Kingdom, its Colonies and Dependencies throughout the world.” In his report, Cole (1868) notes how this exhibition differed from all others before it, being at least four times larger than any former one. He reports, “[i]t embraced many new features in respect of the objects to be exhibited: besides the representation of modern works it comprised an exhibition of ancient works of art, even from the pre-historic period. It aimed at representing not merely the process of manufacture, but the manners and customs of nations, and dancing, singing, various theatrical representations, sports and shows were admitted within its scope. Shops were erected for sales, which were not merely permitted but encouraged throughout the Exhibition to the fullest extent.”</p>	
1871		<p>The South African Fine Arts Association, the first body of its kind, is conceived in Cape Town. The seed for the association was posited in 1850. According to Kendall (1941), the idea emerged at a meeting that took place in the Public Library, where the possibility of initiating art exhibitions was originally discussed.</p>		
1873			<p>Sir Henry Cole retires.</p>	
1877		<p>The <i>Dominion Exhibition</i> takes place in Cape Town. These exhibitions are seen by the British as a “necessary rite of passage for pubescent responsible governments” (MacKenzie 1984, p. 99).</p>		


YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/MISCELLANEOUS	MATSOSO
1881		Classes are officially opened at the Central School on February 19. This is the first art school known to exist in Cape Town.		
1884			The Berlin Conference takes place, establishing the rules for the conquest and partition of Africa.	
1886		The <i>Colonial and Indian Exhibition</i> runs for six months during the summer of 1886. The opening ceremony is held in front of a crowd of 14 000 on May 4. Queen Victoria witnesses the events from an Indian throne of hammered gold, imperial war booty taken from the Maharajah Ranjit Singh during the capture of Lahore (Mathur 2000).		
1895			Imre Kiralfy and others found the company London Exhibitions Ltd. Kiralfy is responsible for a number of spectacles including <i>Savage South Africa</i> (1899) and <i>Pageant of Women</i> , replete with an Amazon village.	
1910		The Union of South Africa is formed out of the four British Colonies on May 31, 1910. It is governed by a White minority, the only group with the right to vote and stand for election.		
1913		Max Michaelis gifts a collection of Dutch and Flemish Old Masters to the Colonial Gallery. According to Jan Smuts, the collection serves to remind the Dutch population of the Union of the “glories of their past civilization in the days when they first colonized South Africa, and, by the representation of the art in which the Dutch and English first met in spirit symbolic of a new union” (Bodkin cited in Barben 2015, p. 19).  The Natives Land Act comes into effect on June 19. Black South Africans lose the right to acquire land outside of the reserves they are assigned to. As a consequence, the vast majority of Black South Africans are forced onto 7% of the country’s arable land.		
1914		A delegation from the South African Native National Congress, made up of S. Plaatje, J.L. Dube and W. Rubusana, among others, travel to Great Britain to protest against the Natives Land Act.		
1927		Albert Johannes Werth is born.  Immorality Act No. 5 is passed. It forbids extra-marital carnal intercourse between “Whites and Africans.”		
1930		May 19: White women get the vote. In this, the weight of the Black vote decreases from 3.1% to 1.4%.  The Colonial Gallery, referred to in the <i>Cape Times</i> of Tuesday, November 4 as the South African Art Gallery, is officially opened in a ceremony performed by the Earl of Athlone. The exhibition includes a collection of Old Masters compiled by Sir Joseph Robinson, and other gifts and loans presented by Alfred de Pass, in addition to engravings and etchings, “old and new” lent by Howard Pim. John Wheatley is appointed as the first honorary director. Educated as an artist at the Slade School of London, Wheatley was steeped in the atmosphere of galleries and schools in England (Kendall in Barben 2015).		
1932		The name “South African National Gallery” is officially gazetted.		

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1936	 <p data-bbox="252 174 667 264"><b>SOUTH AFRICA'S WEMBLEY</b></p> <p data-bbox="240 277 678 322"><b>Empire Exhibition Johannesburg</b></p> <p data-bbox="459 331 667 360">Sept. 1936 to Jan. 1937</p> <p data-bbox="507 365 667 432">INCLUSIVE TOURS at SPECIAL FARES</p> <p data-bbox="256 860 655 898">A 200 feet illuminated tower in the Exhibition Grounds which will be visible over a distance of 70 miles</p>	<p data-bbox="727 185 1201 443">The 1936 <i>Empire Exhibition</i> is held between September 1936 and January 1937 in Milner Park, which today forms a part of the University of the Witwatersrand's West Campus. The show was staged in celebration of the city's jubilee year, that is, fifty years since gold was first discovered on the Highveld, and was billed as the first Empire Exhibition outside of Britain (Robinson 2003, p. 765).</p> <p data-bbox="727 472 1201 730">Designed to bring together both participants and observers from all over the British Empire, the space was "shot through with power relations" (Robinson 2003, p. 761). Government wanted the exhibit to promote White, specifically Afrikaner interests. As such, a point was made to include a genuine Voortrekker wagon from Potchefstroom University College, as well as a model for the proposed Voortrekker Monument.</p> <p data-bbox="727 759 1201 1133">Like its predecessors, such as the <i>Colonial and Indian Exhibition</i> of 1886, exhibits were racialised, power-laden and designed with the intention of primitivising African achievements. Such was the case for a group of Venda iron-smiths who were used to throw Iscor's achievements into relief. This was done by contrasting their skills with steel factories nearby. In addition to this group of craftsmen, a group of Khoisan people was transported to the fairground with the purported intention of promoting their interests and their alleged protection.</p>		
1938		<p data-bbox="727 1144 1007 1173">The Great Trek is reenacted.</p> <p data-bbox="727 1202 1201 1258">Ernest Mancoba leaves South Africa to study art in Paris.</p>		
1940		<p data-bbox="727 1296 1201 1812">British-born Edward Roworth becomes honorary director of the South African National Gallery. An artist and academic, he is also the President of the South African Fine Arts Association, the Head of the Michaelis School of Fine Art, and <i>ex officio</i> the director of the Gallery (Barben 2015). Between 1944 and 1947, Roworth purges the permanent collection of works he considers to be "unworthy." 140 modernist works are sold, approximately 40 are by South African artists. According to Marc Barben (2015), works by Gregoire Boonzaier, Robert Gwelo Goodman, Jan Juta, Frans Oerder and Jan Volschenk among others are disposed of. Interestingly, one of the sales was actually to Roworth himself (Carman in Barben 2015). The purpose of Roworth's "house-cleaning" was to make space for the incoming Bailey bequest.</p> <p data-bbox="727 1841 1201 1957">The Johannesburg Art Gallery is the first public art museum to acquire work by a Black South African artist, Gerard Sekoto's <i>Yellow Houses: A Street in Sophiatown</i> (1939).</p>		
1943	<p data-bbox="240 1968 695 2107">Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho participates in the Venice Biennale as a commissioner for the Brazilian delegation. He returns to Brazil with the intention of implementing a biennale on Brazilian soil.</p>	<p data-bbox="727 1968 1182 2047">Women are formally admitted as full members of the ANC. The ANC's Women's League is formally established.</p>		

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1945		The South African Fine Arts Association is reconstituted as the South African Association of Arts (SAAA).		
1947		Sir Abe Bailey, a protégé of Cecil John Rhodes, bequeaths his collection of sporting scenes to the South African National Gallery. The Abe Bailey Collection comprises nearly 400 paintings, drawings and prints.  Gerard Sekoto goes into exile, leaving South Africa for Paris.		
1948	Abstraction “invades” Brazil by way of two exhibitions: Alexander Calder in Rio (in an exhibition held at the Ministry of Education and Culture) and Max Bill at MASP in São Paulo. Abstraction was seen and equated by many local intellectuals as an invasion of North-American culture and imperialism. The dispute “abstraction vs. figurativism”, marks the opening of MAM, but also the <i>Bienal</i> ’s awards in 1951.	The <i>Exhibition of South African Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture</i> takes place at the South African National Gallery (having travelled to the National Gallery in Washington, the Tate Gallery in London, and venues in Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam and Ottawa (footnote 33 in Barben 2015, p. 32). According to Marc Barben (2015), this is one of the clearest instances of direct government involvement in the arts. Administered by the South African Association of the Arts (former South African Fine Arts Association), it was prepared immediately after Malan’s government took power. Writing for the catalogue, the Chairman of the SAAA between 1941 and 1947, Charles te Water, speaks of the “enduring struggle of the white races against the harshness of the environment and the philistinism of the indigenous peoples” (te Water in Barben 2015). This exhibition, as Barben notes, prompted a national settler identity through South African visual arts, repositioning the SANG “into the context of a redefined, nationalist South Africa” (Barben 2015, p. 33). This period in history augurs the creation of an Afrikaner identity where one had not existed.  The conservative National Party wins the elections in South Africa, making apartheid official government policy.		
1949		The Polly Street Art Centre is founded by the Johannesburg Local Committee for Adult Education, chaired by Gideon Uys, the commercial attaché to the American Embassy.  On July 8, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No. 55 is passed. It prohibits marriages between Whites and all other race groups.		Leonard Matsoso is born on June 21 in Pimville, Soweto. His birth certificate identifies him as “Msutu/Morolong”.
1950		The Group Areas Act is passed in South Africa, assigning different ethnic groups their own residential and commercial areas.  On May 12, the Immorality Amendment Act No. 21 is passed, prohibiting “adultery, attempted adultery or related immoral acts.” The government also publishes the Unlawful Organisations Bill, subsequently known as the Suppression of Communism Act.		

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1951	<p>Getúlio Vargas takes the helm of the Brazilian Republic by popular vote. The nation is faced with tremendous economic challenges.</p> <p>The first <i>Bienal</i> takes place, opening on October 20. The opening event is held in a specially erected “French pavilion” (a nationalist and patriotist typology adopted from the aforementioned Venice Biennale). Nineteen countries participate. 1 800 works of art are exhibited. 5 000 square metres are given over to the event. 50 000 attend, a quarter of the number of visitors to the Venice Biennale in 1948 (Oliveira 2001). International highlights include Pablo Picasso, Fernand Léger, Jackson Pollock and Giorgio Morandi. Brazilian artists featured in this first edition include Di Cavalcanti, Candido Portinari, Lasar Segall, Tarsila do Amaral and Victor Brecheret.</p> <p>The venue selected for the event is the belvedere in the Trianon Park on Paulista Avenue in São Paulo. The pavilion is designed by architects Luis Saia and Eduardo Kneese de Melo. Jacob Ruchti is responsible for planning and supervising interiors (Sala 2001-2, p. 126).</p> <p>Max Bill’s <i>Unidade Tripartida</i> (Tripartite Unity) is given the spotlight. It currently forms part of the University of São Paulo’s Museum of Contemporary Art. Le Corbusier’s exhibition is awarded the grand prize of 100 “<i>contos</i>”.</p> <p>Left-wing voices rise to denounce the <i>Bienal</i> as an imperialist manoeuv by oil magnate Nelson Rockefeller.</p> <p>The catalogue does not include logos, brands or publicity, nor does it mention names of sponsors.</p>	 <p>Fig. 6</p>	The <i>I Bienal Hispano-Americana</i> takes place in Madrid.	
1952	 <p>Fig. 7</p>	<p>The <i>Jan Van Riebeeck Tercentenary Festival</i> takes place in Cape Town.</p> <p>South Africa participates for the first time at the 17<sup>th</sup> Venice Biennale.</p> <p>The Defiance Campaign begins.</p> <p>Cecil Skotnes is employed as the Cultural Recreation Officer at Polly Street Art Centre.</p> <p>In December, Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo open the first Black legal partnership in South Africa in Chancellor House, opposite the Johannesburg Magistrate’s Court.</p>		

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1953	<p>The second <i>Bienal</i> is held, coinciding with the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the city's establishment, thus opening on December 16. The <i>Parque Iberapuera</i>, the <i>Monumento às Bandeiras</i> and the Niemeyer spiral (the event's logo) are created to celebrate "paulistanidade" and a progressive and modern city.</p> <p>The <i>Bienal</i> is directed by Sérgio Millet. This edition includes work by Paul Klee and Marcel Duchamp, but is remembered as the "<i>Bienal da Guernica</i>" (to many, it reads as significant that Guernica arrives in São Paulo through New York). Millet tries to make up for "lost time" with this <i>Bienal</i>, holding a range of retrospective and survey exhibitions (among them, Cubism, Futurism, Expressionism, Henry Moore and Alexander Calder).</p> <p>Audience numbers swell to 200 000. It is estimated that 3 800 visitors are foreign.</p>	<p>The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No. 49 is passed on October 9. This act imposes segregation on all public facilities. These include post offices, beaches, stadiums, parks, toilets, cemeteries and public transport.</p>		
1954	<p>The <i>Parque Iberapuera</i>, where the <i>Bienal</i> is held to this day, is officially inaugurated on August 21.</p> <p>The <i>Arquivos Históricos de Arte Contemporânea</i> begin their work.</p> <div style="text-align: right;">Fig. 8</div> 	<p>The Bantu Education Act comes into effect on January 1.</p>	<p>The <i>II Bienal Hispano-Americana</i> takes place in Cuba.</p>	<div style="text-align: right;">Fig. 10</div> 
1955	<p>The third <i>Bienal</i> launches, shadowed by the success of the second <i>Bienal</i>. Sérgio Millet is again granted directorship of this edition, which he dedicates once again to survey exhibitions. The event is housed in the <i>Palácio das Nações</i> and <i>Palácio dos Estados</i> within the bounds of the Iberapuera Park.</p>  <div style="text-align: right;">Fig. 9</div>	<p>The first residents of the Johannesburg district of Sophiatown (founded in 1899) are forcibly removed.</p> <p>The opposition Congress Alliance of which the African National Congress (ANC) is a member adopts the Freedom Charter, which calls for an end of discrimination and equal rights for all.</p> <p>On December 5, Nelson Mandela is arrested. The trial, known as the Treason Trial, drags on until 1961. Mandela's defence team is comprised of Sydney Kentridge, the father of artist William Kentridge, and Bram Fischer (1905-1975).</p>	<p>The <i>III Bienal Hispano-Americana</i> takes place in Barcelona.</p> <p>The Bandung Conference takes place in Indonesia. African and Asian countries that are not aligned with the US-led capitalist First World and the Soviet-backed communist Second World meet to find an alternative, a transversal community of so-called "non-aligned nations". This marks the birth of the Third World, "not as a racialized category of poverty or under-development, as it would become in the First World's hierarchical imagination, but as a critical geopolitical entity, one based less on explicit ties of solidarity than on shared experiences of decolonization and an insistence on independence from the Russian-American binary of the Cold War" (Gardner and Green 2013, p. 446).</p>	

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1957	<p>The fourth edition of the <i>Bienal</i> marks a definitive move from the <i>Bienal</i> to its current location in the Iberapuera Park and is MAM's last as official organiser. There is a drastic reduction in the number of artworks presented for inclusion. There were two show-stoppers at this event: Jackson Pollock and Vincent Van Gogh. Headed by Sobrinho and Sérgio Buarque da Holanda as executive directors, with Juscelino Kubitschek, Jânio Quadros (the Governor) and Ademar de Barros (the Municipal Head) dividing the Honorary Presidency with other ministers, bureaucracy begins to weigh down and peg the event.</p> <p>This edition takes on the form of a festival and is comprised of visual arts and architecture exhibitions, with a competition amongst schools of architecture and theatre.</p>	<p>South Africa participates for the first time in the <i>Bienal</i>, but is not considered or catalogued as an African representation. Invitations to submit work are sent out to artists who had participated locally at quadrennials organised by the SAAA since 1956. Up to one hundred invitations are sent to artists. Works are sent to the National Gallery in Cape Town for assessment by a board (A.L. Meiring, G. Decker, C. Buchner and F.P. Scott). The board is presided by Prof. Matthys Bockhorst, the then president of the National Gallery. A total of thirty paintings and six sculptures are selected. Not a single Black artist is included.</p> <p>Henrik F. Verwoerd becomes prime minister of South Africa. He introduces fundamental apartheid laws.</p>	<p>March 6: Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) becomes the first sub-Saharan country to gain independence from European colonisation.</p> 	<p>Fig. 11</p>
1959		<p>The South African catalogue is titled <i>Non-Figurative Art</i>. It concentrates on this "new art form" which has "begun to gain ground." The catalogue includes artist statements (although not all artists are represented with personal statements). These speak exclusively of the medium with which they work. The unsigned foreword states that the twelve artists do not necessarily form a group. Africa is cast as an environment, an atmosphere that "is not immediately apparent, though it is subtly there." Featured are: Lionel Abrams, Bettie Cilliers-Bernard, Joan Clare, Paul du Toit, May Hillhouse, Eugene Labuschagne, Erik Laubscher, Albert Newall, Cecil Skotnes, Johan van Heerden and Edoardo Villa.</p> <p>The University Education Act is extended, establishing a separation of all students on the basis of skin tone at all colleges and universities throughout South Africa.</p>		

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1960		<p>March 18: Robert Sobukwe holds a press conference in Johannesburg announcing Monday, March 21 as D-Day. On this day, all male Africans above the age of 16 should leave their pass books at home, assemble at a pre-determined place, march to the nearest police station and there, give themselves up for arrest for defying the Pass Laws. The campaign was to be peaceful and non-violent. If arrests were carried out, a 'No Bail, No Defence, No Fine' campaign would be launched. If arrests were not effected, campaigners should return home and not go to work.</p> <p>The Sharpeville Massacre happens on March 21. Seventy unarmed demonstrators are shot and killed by the police who injure one hundred and eighty more.</p> <p>The West Bank Bantu Administration Board takes over the affairs of Black people from the Johannesburg City Council. Polly Street closes to become the Jubilee Art Centre.</p>	<p>This is the year of independence for Africa (Cameroon on January 1, Togo on April 27, Madagascar on June 26, the Democratic Republic of Congo on June 30, Somalia on July 1, Benin on August 1, Niger on August 3, Burkina Faso on August 5, Ivory Coast on August 7, Chad on August 11, the Central African Republic on August 13, the Republic of the Congo on August 15, Gabon on August 17, Senegal on August 20, Mali on September 22, Nigeria on October 1 and Mauritania on November 28).</p>	
1961	<p>Jânio Quadros renounces his presidency of Brazil.</p> <p>The tenth anniversary of the <i>Bienal</i> is celebrated with art critic Mário Pedrosa as director. The sixth edition is made up of biennials dedicated to architecture, visual arts, theatre, books and graphic design.</p> <p>The <i>Bienal do Livro</i> (Bienal of the Book) takes place at the National Institute of the Book, the Brazilian Chamber of Books and the National Book Editors' Union. It happens as an independent event and is unrelated to the traditional <i>Bienal</i>.</p> <p>Africa is tentatively featured for the first time at the <i>Bienal</i> (despite South Africa's presence since 1957). Nigeria and the Ivory Coast are included in the <i>Sala de Escultura Negra</i> (Negro Sculpture Room). The continent's production is disparagingly described as a "cultura menos polida" (less polished culture). Despite, or perhaps as a riposte to this bias, and propelled by the anti-colonial tide, the Ivory Coast loans a collection of masks sourced from the ethnographic museum in Abidjan, showcasing its magnificence. According to Brazilian broadsheets, the museum is reported to have over 20 000 masks in its collection. This display is the outcome of a collaboration between Mr B. Halas, a conservator at the museum, and Vladimir do Amaral Murtinho.</p> <p>MAM announces the first International Congress of African Art, to be held in May in then Salisbury. Frank McEwan and Sobrinho exchange information.</p>	<p>In South Africa, the SAAA requests a grant of R4 000 for exhibitions in Venice and São Paulo. Only R3 400 is granted by the then Department of Education, Arts and Science. The <i>Estado de São Paulo</i> newspaper of December 20 highlights the work of Nerine Desmond, Cecil Skotnes, Eleanor Esmonde-White and an engraving by Gunther Van der Reis, underscoring nonetheless the paucity of work on display. The anonymous reporter is surprised by Desmond's contrived emulation of rock painting.</p> <p>Albert Luthuli, the ANC president, is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.</p> <p>The Union of South Africa is dissolved and the Republic of South Africa founded. The country withdraws from the Commonwealth of Nations.</p>	<p>17 January: Patrice Lumumba, the first prime minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is assassinated. The crime is a culmination of two inter-related assassination plots by American and Belgium governments.</p> <p>Franz Fanon publishes <i>The Wretched of the Earth</i>. In October, he is admitted to hospital in Washington DC to receive leukemia treatment. He passes away two months later.</p>	

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1962	<p>Sobrinho announces the divorce between MAM and the <i>Bienal</i>. On May 8, the <i>Bienal</i> is transformed into a foundation.</p> <p>On November 28, Wanda Svevo dies in an airplane crash on her way to Lima, Peru. The archives are renamed in her honour.</p>	<p>In blatant disregard and possible defiance of the SAAA and Brazilian Consul in Pretoria, Cecil Skotnes, the then president of the South African Council of Artists, writing from his home on 114 Mons Road in Observatory, Johannesburg, addresses the President of MAM requesting that information be sent to his council, stating that “all the contemporary artists of standing in this country are members of this Council.”</p> <p>On October 15, Maria Dias Costa informs Sobrinho that South Africa has accepted his invitation to participate in the seventh <i>Bienal</i>. She asks for all correspondence from then on to be channelled to the Brazilian Delegation in Pretoria, at 215 Standard Bank Chambers, Church Square.</p> <p>Nelson Mandela is sentenced to five years imprisonment on November 7 for inciting public violence and travelling abroad without a passport.</p>		
1963	<p>In an assembly held on January 23, MAM is shut down and its collection of 1 236 works donated to the University of São Paulo (USP). These works trigger the creation of the Museum of Contemporary Art. The <i>Bienal</i> no longer shares ties with MAM and becomes solely reliant on local government for funding. During the scission, documents are dispersed amongst the <i>Bienal</i>, MAM, Museum of Contemporary Art and <i>Centro Cultural Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho</i>. This is a moment of archival dispersion or “archival diaspora” (Punzalan 2014).</p> <p>The seventh <i>Bienal</i> contains 5 000 works presented by fifty nations. The tendency to present abstract expressionism prevails.</p>	<p>A.J. Werth assumes office at the Pretoria Art Museum on April 1.</p> <p>100 invitations calling artists to submit work to the <i>Bienal</i> are sent out by the Selection Committee. A pre-selection of shortlisted works is held in Cape Town. Thirty paintings and six sculptures are selected.</p> <p>The United Nations excludes South Africa from General Assembly sessions.</p> <p>Operation Mayibuye is uncovered at Liliesleaf Farm in Rivonia, South Africa, leading to the Rivonia Trial.</p>		

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1964	 <p data-bbox="571 555 624 577">Fig. 12</p> <p data-bbox="204 618 632 701">April 2: General Costa e Silva declares himself commander-in-chief of the National Military.</p> <p data-bbox="204 734 632 929">April 9: The Military Junta takes power, issuing a set of rules known as Institutional Act (or AI-1). This Act strengthens the executive branch of the government and gives the president the power to suspend political rights, eliminate mandates and fire public officials.</p> <p data-bbox="204 963 632 1070">The <i>Serviço Nacional de Investigações</i> (National Investigation Service) is created shortly after. <i>Lei Suplicy</i> (Suplicy Law) prohibiting student activism is sanctioned.</p>	<p data-bbox="660 215 1086 297">May 20: Pretoria's R350 000 art museum opens its doors to the public. H.F. Verwoerd lays one of the cornerstones.</p> <p data-bbox="660 331 1075 472">June 12: The Rivonia Trial takes place. Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Denis Goldberg, Walter Sisulu and Raymond Mhlaba are sentence to life imprisonment.</p> <p data-bbox="660 506 1086 902">In a letter dated November 19, the South African Museums Association argues that at least one international exhibition (São Paulo or Venice) ought to be taken over by a museum with the space and facilities to do so. The SAAA is still considered an amateur body. The response from the acting president, J.C. Dandy is harsh. He writes: "[I]t seems strange to me in view of the fact that the bulk of membership of your Association has nothing to do officially with the plastic arts including, as it does, authorities on national history, science, ethnology and librarianship."</p> <p data-bbox="660 936 1098 1131">Diná Coelho confirms that 100 m<sup>2</sup> have been allocated to South Africa at the eighth <i>Bienal</i>. She urges the South African authorities to supply correct text for the catalogue and a more considered installation. One infers that the previous edition was not up to standard.</p>		
1965	<p data-bbox="204 1144 624 1541">Sobrinho refers to the eighth <i>Bienal</i> as an assembly dedicated to harmony, faith and hope between nations whilst the military regime makes its appearance. The <i>Bienal</i> is officially held under the sponsorship of the governor of the State of São Paulo and the auspices of the mayor and secretary of education and culture. The programme itself includes a plastic arts exhibition, a theatre exhibition, an international architecture exhibition, a competition amongst architecture schools, a book and a graphic arts exhibition, as well as a display of jewels.</p> <p data-bbox="204 1574 624 1742">Artists accepted to previous editions are asked to select five art critics and artists for the selection committee. Voting is anonymous. There are two rule books for participants, one for Brazil, the other for foreign representations.</p> <p data-bbox="204 1776 624 1883">Institutional Act No. 2 extinguishes all existing political parties. The Military Justice system judges civilians accused of contravening national security.</p>	<p data-bbox="660 1144 1086 1227">South Africa receives double its space (97m<sup>2</sup>). On July 1, three crates leave Cape Town for Santos.</p> <p data-bbox="660 1261 1086 1686">The commissioner, Matthis Bokhorst, inscribes the selected artists into European movements. There is no connection with the real or social in his text. Works by Battis, van Esche and Lipshitz are showcased, together with work by a group of emerging artists (Stanley Pinker, Nel Erasmus, Eben van der Merwe, Lionel Abrams, Giuseppe Cataneo, George Buys, Gunther van der Reis, Rhone Stern, Bill Davis and Richard Wake). All of the works presented are available for purchase, with prices ranging between 25 and 200 USD. A 15% commission is withheld by the <i>Bienal</i> on sales.</p> <p data-bbox="660 1720 1086 1803">Katinka Kempff applies for the post of educational officer at the Pretoria Art Museum.</p>		<p data-bbox="1286 1144 1485 1429">Matsoso is awarded the Second Prize at the 80<sup>th</sup> Johannesburg Festival. He completes his Standard Six with a First Class score at the Donaldson Community School, Soweto.</p>

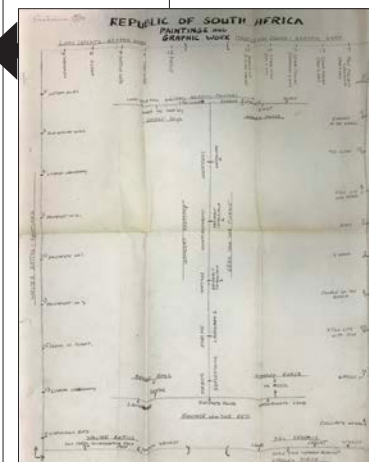




Fig. 13

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1966	 <p data-bbox="568 600 624 622">Fig. 14</p>	<p data-bbox="659 185 1091 383">On June 6, Robert Kennedy makes his <i>Ripple of Hope</i> speech at the University of Cape Town. He meets Chief Albert Luthuli who is living under a banning order near Stanger (KwaZulu/Natal) and is overwhelmed by the public support during a drive-through in Soweto.</p> <p data-bbox="659 416 1078 524">Dimitri Tsafendas assassinates Prime Minister Hendrick Verwoerd on September 6, stabbing him in the neck and chest four times.</p> <p data-bbox="659 557 1091 640">The Goodman Gallery opens in Hyde Park, Johannesburg on November 25 with a stable of thirty artists.</p>	<p data-bbox="1117 185 1334 584">The <i>First World Festival of Negro Arts</i> takes place in Dakar, Senegal. Gerard Sekoto returns to Africa for the first time since leaving and is welcomed by Brazilian friend, Wilson Tiberio. Sekoto and Tiberio exhibit together in Dakar at the Palace of Justice.</p>	
1967	<p data-bbox="201 685 633 853">The regulations of the <i>Bienal</i> allow for all art. Previously submissions were limited to engraving, sculpture, drawing and painting. The Brazilian section contains 366 artists. For 253 artists it is their first time participating.</p> <p data-bbox="201 887 639 1140">Deemed anti-nationalist, work by Cibèle Varela is removed days before the opening of the 9th <i>Bienal</i> (her family decides to destroy the work. <i>O Presente</i> is eventually reconstructed by the artist and exhibited fifty years later at the Instituto Tomie Ohtake as part of the exhibition "AI-5 50 anos: Ainda não terminou de acabar" (AI-5 50 Years: The end is still not over).</p> <p data-bbox="201 1173 633 1227">Twenty accredited journalists are inhibited from visiting the exhibition (Oliveira 2001).</p> <p data-bbox="201 1261 624 1341">A special Pop Art exhibition is held with works by Edward Hopper, Andy Warhol, Robert Rauschenberg and Roy Lichtenstein.</p> <p data-bbox="201 1375 636 1429">Sudan, Ethiopia and Morocco participate for the first time.</p>	<p data-bbox="659 685 1091 999">This is South Africa's fifth participation in the <i>Bienal</i> and includes drawings by Dumile Feni and sculptures by Sydney Kumalo, among others. Only White painters are included (Cecily Sash, Laurence [more commonly known as Larry] Scully, Cecil Skotnes, Peter Weber). Painting is conservatively poised as a Western medium and sculpture a quintessentially African medium. South Africa is allocated an area of 140 m<sup>2</sup> with 5 m high walls.</p> <p data-bbox="659 1032 1086 1227">Security forces in South Africa tighten their monitoring of Dumile Feni. They question his career as an artist, profess him an enemy of the state and proponent of the Black Consciousness Movement and deny him a pass to remain in Johannesburg, despite his contract with Gallery 101.</p> <p data-bbox="659 1261 1086 1456">A grant delivered to the SAAA includes clause (9d), which states: "no performances by mixed groups of artists shall be allowed without the prior approval of the Minister of Education, Arts and Science." South Africans, like their Brazilian counterparts, are subject to state vetting.</p> <p data-bbox="659 1489 1070 1597">The SAAA implores that the exhibition be shown at home and that the commissioner travel with the works. It also asks to distribute its own catalogue at the <i>Bienal</i>.</p> <p data-bbox="659 1630 1086 1738">South Africa starts preparing for the 1969 edition well in advance. By October 1967, the SAAA is requesting information on wall sizes and images of the venue.</p>		

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1968	<p>After the publication of the AI-5 decree in December of 1968, the military government closes a range of exhibitions.</p> <p>AI-5 grants the president the right to suspend citizens' rights for a period of up to ten years. It also bans any type of political manifestation against the government. Most importantly, it suspends the right to habeas corpus.</p>	<p>Dumile Feni goes into exile.</p>	<p>In Argentina, the first exhibit of Tucumán Arde is opened in Rosario, at the provincial headquarters of the CGTA. The streets are lined with posters announcing Tucumán as the “First Biennial of Vanguard Art.”</p>	<p>Matsoso receives a First Class Junior Certificate. The document is issued by the Secretary for Bantu Education. Subjects include Southern Sotho, English, Afrikaans, Physical Science, Mathematics, Arithmetic and Social Studies.</p>
1969	<p>The Brazilian wing of AICA, headed by Mário Pedrosa, releases a manifesto repudiating the limitations imposed on artists and recommends that members refrain from providing services to state juries and awards.</p> <p>The Museum of Modern Art in France circulates a manifesto with 300 signatures against the <i>Bienal</i>.</p> <p>Chile, Venezuela, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia withdraw their participation. Two Japanese artists withdraw from the exhibition as their work is hung.</p> <p>The exhibition <i>Art and Technology</i>, programmed by Pierre Restany, fails to happen, thickening the plot.</p> <p>The ambassador of Senegal, Henri Senghor, attends the opening. The 10th <i>Bienal</i> opens on September 27 at 11h30 with a retrospective exhibition of Piet Mondrian presented by the Dutch, together with a selection of work by the COBRA group.</p>	<p>The South African commissioner to this edition is Prof. Mattys Bokhorst. Only White artists are included (Kevin Atkinson, Kenneth Bakker, Janet Fraser, Patrick O’Connor, Helmut Starcke, Edoardo Villa). In his text, Neville Dubow disavows Africa, stating that the “artists here are no less susceptible to international influences than their colleagues elsewhere.” Africa only exists as a shadow, a “spirit” and a “sense of place.”</p> <p>Works are sold at the <i>Bienal</i> with a 15% commission deducted in favour of the <i>Bienal</i> from the selling price. The SAAA applies for an annual grant of R7 500 to cover national, international and local art exhibitions and running expenses.</p> <p>The catalogue in three languages arrives on November 29 despite having being expedited via London on August 18.</p> <p>Steve Biko founds SASO, the South African Student’s Organisation out of which the Black Consciousness Movement develops.</p> <p>The African National Congress opens its membership to include White people.</p>		
1970				<p>Matsoso successfully completes his examination for the school-leaving certificate.</p>

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1971	<p>The <i>Bienal</i> emphasises dialogues, particularly between art and science.</p> <p>Concerned by the dwindling attendance, Sobrinho organises a round-table discussion with thirty-seven art critics and exhibition directors from twelve countries. A swiss art critic (Kohler) proposes that the <i>Bienal</i> become a giant laboratory. All agree. It is decided that the <i>Bienal</i> will maintain its original features but will at the same time try to engage audiences, abandoning passivity altogether. Visitors should get to meet the artists and hear about their work.</p> <p>Besides South Africa, Senegal is represented by artists Ibou Diop (who was present in 1969), Ousmane Paye, Madou Niang, Amadou Seck and Bocar Diong. Egypt is also present after its absence in 1969.</p>	<p>Contrary to the previous edition, Nel Erasmus begins her essay for the <i>Bienal</i> asserting the connection between the selected artists and Africa, writing: "The South African entry to this eleventh São Paulo Biennale manifests involvement with Africa and with life on South African soil." The featured artists are Judith Mason, John Muafangejo, Stanley Pinker, Cecil Skotnes and Herman van Nazareth. The selection committee is without precedent mostly comprised of artists, identified in the catalogue as W. Battiss, L. Lipschitz, G. van der Reis, B. Cilliers-Barnard, E. Laubscher, A.L. Meiring, M. Bokhorst and C. Skotnes.</p> <p>A black and white catalogue in three languages is produced. Cecil Skotnes, who sits on the selection committee, has his work included in the representation. Nowhere is mention of conflict of interest found.</p> <p>Works are available for purchase via the General Secretary, per instructions provided on the last page of the exhibition catalogue.</p> <p>Ezrom Legae, Matsoso's mentor, receives an honourable mention for his work <i>Freedom is Dead – Series I</i> at the fifth Valparaiso Biennale. South Africa's participation is organised by the SAAA.</p>		<p>Leonard Matsoso, Winston Saoli and Cyprian Shilakoe exhibit their work in the United Kingdom, first in Preston at the Vernon Gallery (Vernon Street, Moor Lane), then in London. The exhibition is put together by the Building Design Partnership in Britain on arrangement with the Goodman Gallery, Johannesburg. The stretch in Preston runs from July 6 to 30.</p> <p>Matsoso holds his first solo exhibition at the Goodman Gallery. The exhibition runs from August 21 to September 4. In what seems to be an advertisement, <i>Artlook</i> (August, 1971) states: "His works are sensitive and depict African legends related to the sophistication of urban life in the townships, i.e., he uses the Tokoloshe extensively and symbolically. This is not the only aspect of his work, for he is totally involved in the reality in which he finds himself."</p>
1972				<p>Matsoso participates in the UTA Pavement Painting Competition on March 11. He wins a return ticket to Paris.</p> <p>Matsoso participates in <i>Festival July 72</i>, a group exhibition at the Goodman Gallery, with a portfolio of silkscreen prints. Other artists include Philipus, Thomas Masakela, John Brett Cohen, Struan Robertson and Benedikt.</p>

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
<p><b>1973</b></p>	<p>On April 24, Sobrinho reaches out to Frank McEwan, asking him whether Rhodesia (today Zimbabwe) will be participating.</p> <p>Arnaldo Pedrosa d’Horta speaks of the disintegration of art, others of the negation of art in this edition of the <i>Bienal</i>. D’Horta exhorts artists as seers who participate and anticipate the future. The disintegration of art that viewers witness at this <i>Bienal</i> may not appeal to audiences, notes d’Horta, but their job is not to console, but rather one of aesthetic harakiri (<i>O Globo</i>, October 1 1973).</p> <p>The <i>Bienal</i> opens at 11h00 on October 5 after rejecting 90% of work submitted by Brazilian artists for inclusion in the event. In attendance are the Governor, the Commander of the Second Army, General Humberto Melo, as well as numerous cultural attachés and diplomats. The opening is officiated by Almirante Augusto Rademaker in lieu of President Médici.</p> <p>Ten thousand catalogues are printed with a special homage to the <i>Bienal</i> founder, Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho. Entrance fees are set at 5 Cruzeiros for adults and 3 for students. Student groups are granted free entry.</p> <p>Helena Kohn Cordeiro, the widow of the recently deceased computer art pioneer Waldemar Cordeiro exhibits <i>Computer Graphic</i>. Cordeiro is one of the artists celebrated by this edition.</p>	<p>The United Nations General Assembly suspends South Africa due to international opposition to the South African government’s policy of apartheid.</p>	<p>Fig. 15</p> 	<p>Matsoso is awarded a special prize for drawing at the <i>Bienal de São Paulo</i>. The <i>Volksblad</i> of November 13 estimates the value of the prize at R1 850. This amount was delivered to Matsoso in June of 1974. More than one thousand entries by fifty countries were viewed.</p> <p>Other awards go to:  Sponsor: Metal Leve – Germany – Klaus Rinke – mixed media  Sponsor: Banco Comércio e Indústria – Australia – John Armstrong – sculpture  Sponsor: Volkswagen Brazil – USA – H.C. Westerman – mixed media  Sponsor: Banco Boston – Spain – Dario Villalba – mixed media  Sponsor: Ed. Abril – France – Hughes Patrice – mixed media  Sponsor: Cia. Antartica – Italy – Amalia del Ponte – mixed media  Sponsor: Ind. Vilares – Japan – Chihiro Shimotani – silkscreen  Sponsor: Lar Brasileiro – Poland – Franciszek Starowiesky – silkscreen  Sponsor: Metalurgica Matarazzo S.A. – Czechoslovakia – Bodhan Mrozek – Tapestry</p> <p>This clipping, located in the family archive, provides evidence of how the descriptor and derogatory term ‘Bantu’ was loathed, either by Matsoso or a close relative. Not only is it scratched through, but there is additional evidence of Tipp-Ex. For more, see: <a href="https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/defining-term-bantu">https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/defining-term-bantu</a>.</p> <p>The identity of the young onlooker included in this portrait remains a mystery (and is not, according to Sophia Ainslie, her brother).</p>
<p><b>1974</b></p>				<p>Matsoso, Kumalo and Maqhubela exhibit at the Goodman Gallery in Hyde Square, Johannesburg. Louis Maqhubela presents "11 new bills on paper" and is hailed as "now living in Spain"; Leonard Matsoso is featured with 8 new paintings and is billed as the winner of drawing prize at the São Paulo Biennale (sic) 1973, and exhibiting at Athens Museum of Modern Art; Sydney Kumalo, in turn, is touted as showing at the Vienna Museum of Nations, and thereafter in Germany, France, Belgium and the Athens Museum of Modern Art.</p>

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	W/M	MATSOSO
1975	<p>The <i>Bienal</i> produces a silver, slick catalogue, embodying the ideals of this edition.</p> <p>The Latin-American Association for Free Trade is created. This spills into the <i>Bienal</i> through the message of Latin-American integration.</p> <p>Work by indigenous groups are procured by FUNAI for an Indigenous Artisans Fair in November. The Xerente, Waiká, Karajá, Atoari-Maimiri, Borêro, Heckaryana, Guajararam Uruburum Pakaa-Nova, Nambivara, Kaipús Kadiweu, Baniwa, Wawanawatere, Tikuna and Kanela are represented at the fair on Rua Conde de Idu in Santo Amaro.</p> <p>Oscar Landmann takes the helm of the foundation after Sobrinho's resignation. He is elected on November 18 for a two-year term.</p> <p>The president concedes to exempting works of art that are destined for display at the <i>Bienal</i> of import tax. In addition to this measure, the ministry limits this exemption to a total of 150 000 USD in sales.</p>	<p>No Black artists are included in the selection for the <i>Bienal</i> made by P.M. Erasmus, A.J. Werth, C.J. du Ry and Prof. A.L. Meiring. The chosen artists are Carel Anton Gassner (representing the Cape Province), Claude van Lingen (Transvaal), Patrick O'Connor (Natal) and Hardy Botha (Free State). The commissioner, Charles du Ry, returns to South Africa on October 23 after visiting São Paulo. Unsold works are shipped to Durban and then exhibited in Potchefstroom and Bloemfontein a year later.</p> <p>Breyten Breytenbach is given a nine year prison term for "anti-South African activities."</p>		<p>February 19: An exhibition of paintings and sculptures by six leading Black South African artists opens at Gallery 21 in London's West End. The show includes work by Dumile Feni, Louis Maqhubela, Leonard Matsoso, Lucky Sibiya, Lucas Sithole and Stanley Nkosi.</p> <p>Fourteen artists exhibit their work at the Diepkloof Hotel. The list includes Leonard Matsoso, Sydney Kumalo, Louis Maqhubela, Dumile Feni, Eric Mbatha, Madibo Motsiri and others, and is organised by Lucky Sibiya. In a press conference, Sibiya clarifies the intention of this exhibition: to make the work of artists known in the townships where they live (<i>Rand Daily Mail</i>, March 6). This is a joyous moment for Matsoso, who seems cheerful and relaxed in the group portrait, taken to mark the occasion (Fig.16).</p>



Fig. 16

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/ MISCELLANEOUS	MATSOSO
1976	<p>The <i>Bienal</i> itself begins to move away from national representations, showing an interest in extending invitations to artists as opposed to nations. This is another sign of the decline of the “wallahs”.</p>	<p>A board of selectors consisting of Nel Erasmus as convener, Esmé Berman and Raymund van Niekerk is appointed in the first half of 1976. They invite thirty-year-old Geoffrey Armstrong, in an unprecedented move, to submit a concept. One of the two concepts he presents is unanimously approved.</p> <p>Armstrong’s concept is considered to be in line with the category “The Wall as a Support for Artworks.” It is believed that he will have ten months to prepare for an exhibit occupying approximately 80m<sup>2</sup>.</p> <p>Unarmed Black students protest the introduction of Afrikaans as the teaching language at schools. Police use violence against the protesters, firing indiscriminately into the crowd. Over the next twelve months, more than 550 people (mostly Black youth) are killed during demonstrations.</p> <p>Thami Mnyele, Fikile Magadlela and Ben Arnold hold the DUBE exhibition, located physically within the heart of the June uprising.</p> <p>Lefifi Tladi joins a group to destroy symbols of apartheid and repression and is arrested. His lawyer informs him that his charge has been upgraded from public violence to sabotage. He is given the choice of 18 years of imprisonment on Robben Island or exile. Tladi and his co-accused choose exile.</p> <p>Louis Maqhubela, one of Matsoso’s peers from the Polly Street era, also chooses the path of voluntary exile, moving to London.</p>		<p>Matsoso participates in an exhibition of Black South African Art at the Brooklyn Museum and Public Library in New York.</p>

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/ MISCELLANEOUS	MATSOSO
1977	<p>Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho passes away. The <i>Bienal</i> becomes enscenced in the image of its presidents. They become personally responsible for the event, both legally and financially.</p> <p>Under the presidency of Oscar Landmann, the <i>Bienal</i> is renamed <i>Bienal Internacional de São Paulo</i>. The landmark event at this edition is Argentina's nomination as the Grand Prize winner. Brazil has never received this award.</p> <p>Included works continue to be determined by embassies and their convoys, although works are framed within the theme determined for the edition by the so-called <i>operadores culturais</i> or cultural operators.</p>	<p>It is February and South Africa has still not received an unequivocal invitation to participate. The green light is finally given on March 23. Geoffrey Armstrong departs for England on June 24 as his work is on its way to Brazil. The shipment does not include the sculptures he had originally envisaged as part of his total concept.</p> <p>The <i>Bienal</i>, operating under new rules, is no longer committed to national representations, setting its favour towards individual contributions. As such, there is a shift in tone. It is no longer the case of the South Africa government endorsing Geoffrey Armstrong, but Geoffrey Armstrong exhibits at the <i>Bienal</i>.</p> <p>Armstrong is the first artist to accompany his work to Brazil (previous editions were supported only by the presence of an envoy, the commissioner selected by the SAAA). The commissioner in 1977 is Prof. E.P. Engel of the Rand Afrikaans University.</p> <p>Armstrong presents an environmental painting which forms a hexagon. The work is available for purchase at 20 000 USD and is included in the competition for the Itamaraty Award and the <i>Bienal Internacional de São Paulo</i> award.</p> <p>Katlehong Art Centre in Katlehong is founded as is the Community Arts Project (CAP) in Cape Town.</p>		

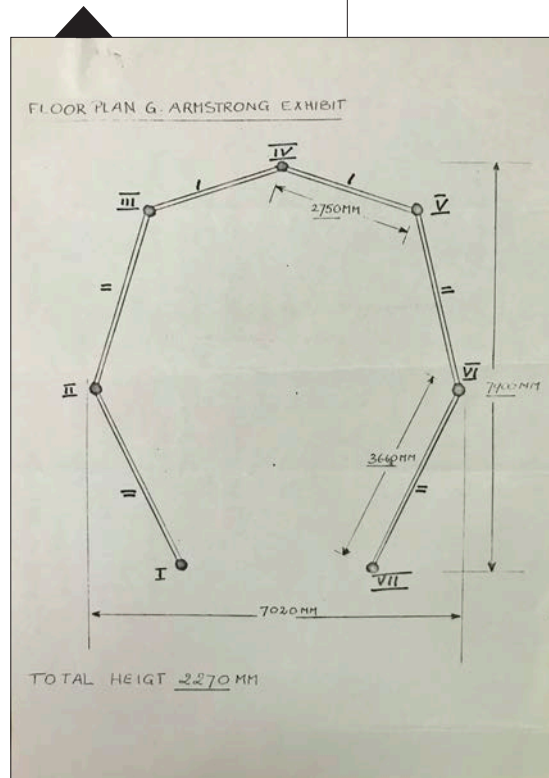



Fig. 17

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/MISCELLANEOUS	MATSOSO
1978		FUBA Academy is founded in Johannesburg.	The 1 <sup>st</sup> Latin-American Biennial, with the theme <i>Mitos y Magias</i> (Myth and Magic) takes place in São Paulo (although it should be noted that its Latin Americanist perspective was not entirely novel, having already been explored in the Hispano-American biennials of 1951, 1954 and 1956 [Barragan 2019]). According to Spanish curator Paco Barragan (2019), the symposium organised by the Peruvian art critic Juan Acha is what really demarcates this biennial. Participants included Jorge Glosberg, Mário Pedrosa, Néstor Garcia Canclini, Mirko Lauer, Marta Traba, Darcy Ribeiro, Donald Goodall and Jaqueline Barnitz. Acha was determined that an independent theory be arrived at, one that would allow artists to conceptualise their artistic realities, abandoning the typical parameters set by Europe and North America. Over the course of three days, discussions were had, but it was the emphasis of the São Paulo <i>Bienal</i> , and whether it should be international or Latin-American that divided groups. For Brazilian curator Aracy do Amaral, the vote in favour of an international biennial was a reflection of how the system remained attached to the grand metropolises. Peruvian theorist and art critic Juan Acha in turn attributed the failure to Latin-America's colonialist mindset and cultural dependence. For Barragan, the decision was yet another sign of Brazil's disconnect from the continent.	Matsoso participates in the <i>Man, Beast and Ancestors</i> exhibition at the Waterkant Gallery. The <i>Burger</i> newspaper notes: "Matsoso se werk het nie soseer verander nie, al sien 'n mens by hom, soos by Kumalo, meer aandag aan komposisionele vormgewing en ruimtelikheid as voorheen. Benewens sy intekeninge is daar 'n effektiewe gebruik van pastel en houtskool in sy Kalahari-reeks."  Leonard's father is granted a permit to live in house 1519C in Jabavu, Soweto.  Matsoso's work travels to West Germany during 1978 and 1979. 115 graphic works are included in the show which opens at the "Residenz", one of the last royal residences in Hamburg. The selection travels to Dortmund, where it is displayed at the <i>Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen</i> , the Bayreuth Festival, the City Hall of Erlangen, followed by Swinfurt.
1979	The award system at the <i>Bienal</i> is abolished by Luiz Fernando Rodrigues Alves following a similar decision by Venice and Paris.  President João Figueiredo signs the amnesty law on August 28, amnestying all those convicted of political and so-called related crimes between 1961 and 1978.	Nyanga Arts Centre is founded in Nyanga, Cape Town.  <i>The State of the Art in South Africa Conference</i> is held at the University of Cape Town. Two important resolutions come out of this conference: a call for increased education opportunities for all artists and the boycott of all state-sponsored exhibitions. The resolutions are submitted in the names of Cecil Skotnes, Bill Ainslie and Andrew Verster.  Thami Mneyle is forced into exile in Botswana where he becomes a leading figure within the Medu Art Ensemble and a committed cadre of the African National Congress.		Leonard's father passes away on May 26 at age seventy-five. As the artist is mourning the death of his father, news arrives of the cancellation of his participation at the <i>Bienal de São Paulo</i> .  Matsoso's work is included in an exhibition of graphic works by South African artists at Galerie Taugwalder in Zermatt, Switzerland from July 14 to September 13, and a display of art selected for the Valaparaíso and São Paulo biennials at the Goodman Gallery. Included are Berenice Michelow, Judith Mason and Marguerite Weavind, Neels Coetzee and Ezrom Legae.

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1980	<p>Luis Villares takes the helm of the <i>Bienal</i>. He announces that the <i>Bienal</i> is to become an “<i>espaço atuante</i>” (an active space), a living space connected to community. To this effect, he develops several projects to revamp buildings so as to enable permanent activities, a play space, a project that would revitalise and reorganise the archive, a recycling project and a grand project that would transform the Iberapuera Park into a cultural centre.</p> <p>Contacts with countries continue nevertheless to be made via embassies and the strictures of their convoys.</p>		Zimbabwe gains its independence on April 18.	Judith Mason’s <i>The Garden of Eden</i> and Leonard Matsoso’s <i>Nonquase</i> (sic) (Fig. 18) are exhibited at the Houston Festival and Spoleto Festival in South Carolina, USA. The works had originally been selected to represent South Africa at the 1979 <i>Bienal de São Paulo</i> when South Africa’s participation was abruptly cancelled.
1981	<p>This is the dawn of a new phase for the <i>Bienal</i>. Catalogues for instance no longer open onto lengthy honorary lists. Curated by Walter Zagnini, national divisions are abandoned. Zagnini introduced analogies by technique. This edition of the <i>Bienal</i> achieves the return of artists who had refused to participate in previous years.</p>			
				 <p style="text-align: right;">Fig. 18</p>
1982	<p>India submits a curt telegram to the president of the foundation enquiring whether South Africa has been invited to participate in the upcoming <i>Bienal</i>. The foundation responds, indicating that South Africa has not participated in the last two editions. It nevertheless mentions that it is uninclined to discriminate on the basis of ideology, and that all nations are welcome. To this effect, Mr F.G. Conrad receives a letter from the foundation’s president, Luiz Diederichsen Villares, indicating that South Africa has been invited to participate in the seventeenth <i>Bienal</i> from October 14 to December 18 1983.</p>	Ruth First is killed in Maputo by a parcel bomb sent to her by the South African security police.		<p>Matsoso enters the employ of the SABC as a junior graphic artist. In October 1983, he is promoted to graphic artist.</p> <p>He takes part in the <i>Living Art Biennale</i> and a group exhibition of painting, drawings and etchings at the Gowlett Gallery in Cape Town. Matsoso and Legae are the only Black artists represented.</p>
1983	<p>Zagnini’s curation distances itself from traditionalist geopolitical distinctions. Notions of the global and globalisation begin to take hold in the world of business. 60% of the <i>Bienal</i>’s budget is covered by local businesses. The <i>Bienal</i> has over 200 000 visitors.</p> <p>South Africa is excluded.</p>	<p>The UDF (United Democratic Front) is founded. It is the most important non-parliamentary opposition alliance to emerge in South Africa since the banning of the ANC.</p> <p>The Community Arts Workshop is founded in Durban.</p>		Esmé Berman publishes an updated edition of <i>Art and Artists of South Africa</i> . This revised edition includes a considerable entry on Leonard Matsoso.

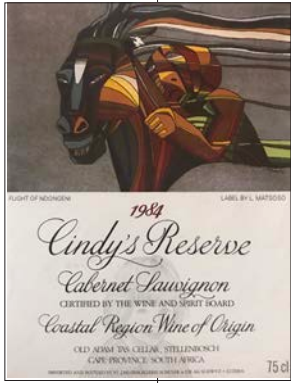
YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1984	<p>If the previous <i>Bienal</i> sought to highlight the non-formalist and sculptural aspects of art, mediating between the emergence of abstraction and figurativism, the upcoming edition looks more deeply at the decade at hand and the post-modern, particularly the transavantgarde, mural painting and performance art. Sheila Leirner, the curator, is interested in developing an ontology of art of the 1980s, staging its interdisciplinarity, the elimination of aesthetic borders and the mingling of categories and mediums.</p>	<p>South Africa, through its consul, enquires as to whether it will be invited to participate in the eighteenth <i>Bienal</i>. Itamaraty does not view South Africa “<i>com bons olhos</i>” (favourably) and vetoes its participation. Leirner informs the South African embassy that it will not be invited on September 10.</p> <p>Desmond Tutu is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.</p>		<p>Matsoso donates <i>Portrait of a Rickshaw Driver</i> to the fundraising committee of the African Children's Feeding Scheme. The work sells for R1 100. The fundraiser is held on November 13.</p> <p>Matsoso designs a wine label for a vintage bottle of Cindy's Collection 1984 (<i>Flight of Ndongeni</i>). In 1978, the label was designed by Hargreaves Ntukwana, in 1979 by Simon Jones, in 1980 by Ben Macala, in 1981 by Cora Coetzee, in 1982 by Peter Clarke and in 1983 by Godfrey Ndaba.</p>
1985	<p>This <i>Bienal</i>, unlike others before it, relies almost solely on private sponsors. Under the curatorial eye of Sheila Leirner, a Brazilian <i>Bienal</i>, reserved for mostly Brazilian art, takes place.</p>	<p>P.W. Botha declares a state of emergency. In the wake of the Internal Security Act, some 2 400 people are arrested. The media are prohibited from documenting the unrest.</p>		<p>Thenjiwe Memory Matsoso (born Ncala) divorces Matsoso. The final order is issued on August 28.</p> <p>Matsoso participates in <i>Tributaries: A View of Contemporary South African Art</i> at the Africana Museum (now Museum Africa) with the work <i>From the River</i>, pastel on paper, 135 x 85 cm.</p> <p>He also participates in the group exhibition <i>African Art</i> at the Grahamstown Festival. Works on display are drawn from the universities of Fort Hare, Unisa and Wits, “to highlight the omission of the art of Africa in the collections of major art institutions in (the) country” (Korber 1985).</p>
1986		<p>Alexandra Arts Centre is founded in Alexandra, Johannesburg.</p> <p>Prime Minister Botha partially lifts the state of emergency. Over the preceding year more than 8 000 people are arrested and more than 700 murdered.</p> <p>A second state of emergency is declared. Over the next year, 35 000 people are arrested.</p>		
1987	<p>The nineteenth <i>Bienal</i> registers 200 000 visitors, equaling documenta in Kassel. Cuba however has had more visitors to its two editions of 1984 and 1986 respectively (600 000 in total).</p> <p>The perception of prestige returns to the <i>Bienal</i> with the participation of artists such as Anselm Kiefer.</p>			

Fig. 19

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1988		<p>Dulcie September is shot dead outside ANC offices in Paris, France.</p> <p>Nelson Mandela receives a United Nations Award in the field of Human Rights.</p> <p>The Pretoria Art Museum holds the first retrospective dedicated to a Black artist, John Muafangejo.</p>		<p>Matsoso is also included in an exhibition of <i>Madge Moss Gluckman's Collection of Black African Art of the 1970s</i> at 42 Mandeville Road, Johannesburg. The exhibition is opened by John Kani on Sunday, April 17, with music by Barney Rachabane.</p>
1989	<p>This <i>Bienal</i> is plagued with internal unrest. The team lacks cohesion. The vice president and director of the foundation resign.</p>	<p>F.W. de Klerk replaces Botha as National Party leader to become the president of South Africa. He meets Nelson Mandela to negotiate South Africa's political future.</p> <p>Albie Sachs presents his seminar paper, "Preparing Ourselves for Freedom: Culture and ANC Constitution Guidelines", during a conference in Lusaka (whilst in exile). Sachs effectively advocates the position of 'art for art's sake,' proposing that the ANC, the then government in waiting, "allow autonomy in the arts and encourage artistic platforms and practices devoid of political interference" (Barben 2015, p. 38).</p>	<p><i>Dak'Art</i> is created by the government of Senegal to promote art in Africa.</p>	<p>The Johannesburg Art Gallery hosts <i>The Neglected Tradition: Towards a New History of South African Art (1930-1988)</i>. Arranged in alphabetical order, three works by Leonard Matsoso (considerately identified as Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso) appear in the catalogue: <i>Bull Fight</i> (1971), <i>Himba Women</i> (1981) and <i>Dedicated to Kippie Moeketsie</i> (1972). The exhibition runs from November 23 to January 8, 1989.</p> <p>Matsoso exhibits with Ezrom Legae, Percy Konqobe and Thomas Mostwai at the Goodman Gallery. <i>The Sowetan</i> journalist Elliot Makhaya (1989) describes Matsoso's compositions as pronounced in their plasticity with powerful interlocking forms.</p>
1990	<p>Impresario Jorge Stockler is named director-president of the foundation. This edition is once again plagued with internal disputes. Curator Jacob Klintowitz and director Maria Bonomi are dismissed for not respecting internal hierarchies.</p>	<p>February 11: Nelson Mandela is freed from prison.</p> <p>The Pretoria Art Museum hosts a discussion around the "Role of South African Art in a New South Africa". Amongst sixty-four Whites, only six Blacks are to be found in attendance (<i>The Star</i>, October 5).</p>		<p>Matsoso participates in <i>Contemporary Trends Part One</i>, an exhibition by twenty-five Black artists at Gallery 709 on 25 Adderley Street, Cape Town. The show includes <i>Love Child</i>, identified as a mixed media drawing. Featured are Matsoso, Ben Balay, Patrick Holom, Percy Konqobe and Tommy Nkosi.</p> <p>His work is chosen for <i>The Quivering Spear</i>, published by QS Partners in Publishing. The chosen artwork is <i>Tribal Dance in Vertical Movement</i>, 1988, pastel, chalk and oil wash on paper.</p>
1991	<p>The <i>Bienal</i> promises 150 000 USD to the first three award-winning artists. In the end, there is no money in the coffers to pay the awards. Two of the winners are German. Germany threatens to withdraw its participation from the next <i>Bienal</i>. The awards are never paid.</p> <p>Another diplomatic blunder taints this edition with the exclusion of two Dutch artists. The Netherlands had already paid for insurance, shipping and travel and had already fronted a catalogue when news of their non-inclusion was received.</p>	<p>Nadine Gordimer (1923-2014) receives the Nobel Prize for Literature.</p> <p>July: Nelson Mandela is elected president of the ANC.</p>		<p>Matsoso's work is used on the cover of John Kane-Berman's <i>South Africa's Silent Revolution</i> (2<sup>nd</sup> edition).</p>

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1992	The president of the foundation, Maria Rodrigues Alves, is deposed for corruption. It is found that she has been using the services of in-house staff to renovate her home.	After 29 years of service, in November, Albert Werth steps down as director of the Pretoria Art Museum.		
1993	Condephaat recognises the <i>Bienal</i> archives.	February: A resolution is passed on the holding of free elections in South Africa.  After an absence of 23 years, South Africa is readmitted to the Venice Biennale.		
1994	This <i>Bienal</i> , an exception, happens after three years rather than two years. With this change, it now coincides with even years. The idea of the <i>Bienal</i> as a travelling museum takes hold as the exhibition travels the course of Brazil. This edition registers 8 000 visitors per week.  Nelson Aguiar is appointed the chief curator. He visits Basquiat's father, but is unable to procure work for the <i>Bienal</i> . Aguiar also has to stomach Jean Clair's belittling of Brazil. When invited to attend the <i>Bienal</i> , the Frenchman responds: "Sorry, but I don't even travel to San Francisco."  A pair of trousers and a shirt disappear from Barend de Wet's installation.	South Africa is readmitted to São Paulo. The curators are Kendell Geers, Andrew Putter and Andrew Verster. Thomas Mulcaire provides technical assistance. Artists are Belinda Blignaut, Joaquim Schönfeldt and Barend de Wet.  Two television producers cover the <i>Bienal</i> : Gustav Geldenhuys (SABC director) and Guy de Lancey (cameraman).  Christopher Till starts preparing for the First Johannesburg Biennale. In this spirit, he asks that Mulcaire shadow the <i>Bienal</i> . The intention is to expose him to operations and procedures involved in preparing a biennale.  Lorna Ferguson arrives in São Paulo on October 7, Christopher Till on October 10, in time for the official opening on October 12. They have invited Ivo Mesquita, then at the service of MAM Monterrey, to act as the curator for Brazil in South Africa. Feathers are ruffled with regards to Mesquita's direct appointment as Brazilian authorities have not been consulted.  South Africans go to the polls to elect a national government and nine provincial governments of their choice for the first time. The ANC wins the first democratic elections held in South Africa. April 27 henceforth becomes Freedom Day, a national holiday.  May 9: Nelson Mandela is elected president of South Africa.  Seventeen local visual artists participate in the Havana Biennale for the first time.  In September, <i>Art Ventilator</i> , a visual arts magazine, is launched by the SAAA with Ivor Powell as editor. It is the first and last edition.  In November, South Africa becomes a member of UNESCO.		

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/M	MATSOSO
1995	<p>Brazilian artists Dudi Maia Rosa, Marcos Coelho Benjamin and Adriana Varejão participate in the First Johannesburg Biennale backed by the <i>Fundação Beinal de São Paulo</i>.</p>	<p>Malangatana Ngwenya works with local artists at Museum Africa on a mural and memorial to Joe Slovo.</p> <p>The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) for examining human rights violations under apartheid is established. Mandela appoints Desmond Tutu as chairman of the commission.</p> <p>The First Johannesburg Biennale opens with Lorna Ferguson as the project coordinator and Christopher Till as the project's executive director and Director of Culture for Johannesburg. The biennial is aligned with the redevelopment of the Newtown Cultural Precinct under Till. Artists from more than sixty countries participate in the biennale with the twin themes "Volatile Alliances" and "Decolonising our Minds". The curatorial process devised is one where each participating country appoints a curator who is expected to mentor a young South African "trainee-curator." The process is envisaged by Till and Ferguson to unfold before the trainees, motivating the potential to develop a "vibrant and aware group of young curators." Contact between mentors and trainees is ingeniously envisaged as reciprocal.</p> <p>In November, Cabinet imposes a moratorium on the destruction of any public record until the passing of the National Archives of South Africa.</p>		<p>On June 23, Linda Givon announces the closure of her gallery. She asks Matsoso to collect his consigned work as storage is no longer available.</p>

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	W/M	M
1996	<p>The President of the <i>Fundação Bienal de São Paulo</i> is Edemar Cid Ferreira. This edition has a budget of 12 million USD and an exhibition area of 30 000 m<sup>2</sup>. 135 artists from 45 countries participate. Fifty talks are scheduled as well as an extensive museum attendant programme, coordinated by Lilian Amaral. 300 candidates are pre-selected for training as senior monitors and 150 are selected as junior monitors. Between May and October, senior monitors undertake 240 hours of training. 700 t-shirts are printed for exhibition attendants and 50 000 drawing pads are distributed to preschoolers. The MAPAS URBANOS project also takes place with an overall participation of 2 180 persons (70% public schools + 30% university and arts students). This is a workshop of outdoor painting aimed at revealing the audience's take on the <i>Bienal</i>. The <i>Bienal</i> also creates a website in collaboration with FAPESP, which is expected to reach 40 million people the world over. A press room is provided to journalists and reporters. It is equipped with computers, a fax machine, a photocopier and telephone. In total, the <i>Bienal</i> is visited by 146 026 people.</p> <p>The chief curator of this edition is Dr Nelson Aguilar. The third floor of the pavilion is taken up by guest and distinguished artists (18), both historical and contemporary. This floor includes an exhibition by Edvard Munch, organised by the Munch Museum in Oslo, as well as showings of Andy Warhol, Cy Twombly, Louise Bourgeois, Arnulf Rainer, Gego, Mestre Didi, Paul Klee, Pedro Figari, Qiu Shi-Hua, Rubem Valentim, Tomie Ohtake, Wilfredo Lam, Wiig Hansen, Francisco Goya and Anish Kapoor. The second floor is given over to national and international representations and the first to <i>Universalis</i>, a themed exhibition organised by seven curators. As a part of <i>Universalis</i>, Jean Hubert Martin invites South African artist Francina Ndimande to execute an Ndebele mural. She is joined by her daughter Joyce and artist Abrie Fourie. Joyce acts as her mother's interpreter, with Fourie as an assistant, highlighting the contours of her forms. Local newspapers such as the <i>Diário Popular</i> of October 5 revel in exoticising Ndimande. She is cast as the princess who paints barefoot. The article, in true nineteenth-century colonial form, alludes to Ndimande as a curiosity.</p> <p>At the end of the <i>Bienal</i>, all teams contribute towards an extensive report which includes detailed, invaluable feedback from the help desk team, curatorial team, art handlers and educational department. The assistant curator's comprehensive report deserves attention. It stands as a guidebook for planning a <i>Bienal</i> of this magnitude. The <i>Bienal</i> is criticised for not catering to differently abled bodies. This is mentioned in a letter of complaint which is received, acknowledged and filed away. All of these invaluable documents are housed in the Wanda Svevo Archive.</p> <p>The <i>Bienal</i> archives are reinstalled in new customised facilities.</p> <p>The municipality cedes the building located in <i>Parque Iberoapuera</i> for a period of ninety years to the <i>Fundação Bienal de São Paulo</i>. Until then, the concession had been entirely precarious.</p> <p>Correspondence starts to circulate by email, although faxes are still exchanged between Brazil and South Africa.</p> <p>Almost four thousand catalogues are sold. The <i>Bienal</i> closes with a profit of R\$ 1 million.</p>	<p>South Africa agrees to participate in the twenty-third <i>Bienal</i> on February 5. Participation is coordinated via Richard de Jong, the then Consul-General. Local organisation falls to Africus. Clive Kellner is appointed the project manager and arrives in São Paulo to install the exhibition on September 27. Willem Boshoff (represented artist), Bongi Dhlomo-Mautloa (curator), Clive Kellner (curatorial assistant) and Manuella da Silva (braille reading guest) attend the opening with the Consul General, Richard de Jong and the Consul, Johan Nel. The exhibition runs from October 5 to December 8.</p> <p>This is the second time South Africa participates with a "one-man" representation (Geoffery Armstrong's overlooked installation of 1977 was in fact the first). It is conveyed as a direct response to the <i>Bienal's</i> theme of dematerialisation. In this instance, "dematerialization is seen as a process whereby the traditional notions of the support, or the primacy of the object in relation to the viewer, have come to be questioned as valid criteria for appreciating artworks." This short statement is co-signed by David Koloane, Marilyn Martin, Bongi Dhlomo-Mautloa and Christopher Till. The chosen work is Boshoff's <i>Blind Alphabet C (Cocculiferous to Cymbiform)</i>, 1995, mixed media, collection of the South African National Gallery. The work is dependent upon the availability of a braille reader in São Paulo. Instructions are given by the artist that if no blind attendants are present, the installation is to remain closed.</p> <p>No one is sent from South Africa to repackage the work at the end of the run. The absence of specialised couriers at this stage is neglected by the South African organisation.</p> <p>The Africus Institute for Contemporary Art (AICA) is launched with Bongi Dhlomo-Mautloa appointed as its first director.</p> <p>Okwui Enwezor, a Nigerian curator based in New York, is appointed director of the Second Johannesburg Biennale.</p> <p>The first national exhibition of gay and lesbian art, <i>Gay Rights, Rites, Rewrites</i> opens at Oliewenhuis Art Museum in Bloemfontein.</p> <p>The ANC launches its policy document <i>White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage</i>, which codifies the new government's position on arts and culture and repositions public and cultural institutions within the nation-building process of the 1990s.</p>		



Fig. 20

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	W/M	MATSOSO
1997		<p>The National Archives Act No. 43 comes into effect.</p> <p>The Second Johannesburg Biennale opens on October 11. Enwezor appoints a team of curators: Gerardo Mosquera, Octavio Zaya, Kellie Jones, Yu Yeon Kim, Hou Hanru and Colin Richards. The <i>Fundação Bienal de São Paulo</i> supports the participation of four Brazilian artists, transferring 40 000 USD to the Johannesburg Biennale's account.</p>		<p>The Goodman Gallery reopens in a new building in Rosebank. It is unclear whether Matsoso is still part of the stable.</p>
1998	<p>The twenty-fourth <i>Bienal</i> is structured by curator Paulo Herkenhoff into three segments: the historical segment on the third floor, <i>Roteiros, Roteiros, Roteiros, Roteiros, Roteiros, Roteiros, Roteiros</i> (where South Africa and Canada are the largest contingents) on the second floor and the national representations on the first floor.</p> <p>It is no longer South Africa who decides who its representative will be, although the South African Embassy is called upon for support. Herkenhoff sends newsletters to countries in an attempt to create an open forum amongst all involved in making this a joint curatorial process. In terms of national representations, he appeals to curators and artists to not think of their space in isolation. The aim is to avoid a territorialisation of artists within the exhibition space. For Herkenhoff, the challenge lies in making an exhibition that is conceptually complex but spatially light. Unlike the previous edition, Herkenhoff wishes to break with the assumption "one nation = one artist = one room." Borders and formalist distinctions are abolished.</p> <p>Architect Paulo Mendes da Rocha works on the exhibition design and Adriano Pedrosa joins as adjunct curator.</p> <p>The <i>Bienal</i> has a theme for the first time that has not been determined by the "first world." It uses the concept of anthropophagy to discuss the genesis of a specific cultural and visual identity in Brazil. The temporal arch extends from the sixteenth century to the present.</p> <p>The <i>Bienal</i> closes for four days in October after a heavy hail storm. The damage is mostly financial. Repairs cost around R\$12 000 with the replacement of tiles and the painting and refurbishing of walls.</p> <p>Pedrosa and Herkenhoff produce a book as opposed to a catalogue in the strict sense of the term. They also build on the educational gains of previous editions, determining three educational fronts: junior facilitators, senior facilitators and gallery talks. Junior facilitation is devised as in loco facilitation for the general public. Senior facilitation is designed for teachers and educators. Gallery talks deliver focused discussions. The education department fosters employment amongst São Paulo's graduate community. Capacity building and visual education is one of the main under-narrated gains of the <i>Bienal</i>. For instance, from Tuesday to Friday, at least fifty senior facilitators attend to groups of up to 25 people each, twice daily. The education project is run by Iveta Maria Borges, Maria Grazia Vena and Maria Silvia Mastrocolla de Almeida.</p> <p>UNIBAN creates four bursaries for interns working at the <i>Bienal</i>. Forty students are enrolled as intern-facilitators. These interns provide assistance during the storm. Facilitators are identified by way of their "TIRA DÚVIDAS" (ask me) t-shirts. These prove to be so popular that the Gulbenkian Foundation places a formal request for a sample t-shirt.</p>	<p>William Kentridge's <i>The Return of Ulysses</i> (1998) and Moshekwa Langa's <i>True Confessions, My Life as a Disco Queen</i> (1998) form part of the <i>Roteiros, Roteiros, Roteiros, Roteiros, Roteiros, Roteiros</i> exhibition.</p>		<p>On April 22, Matsoso is featured in a group exhibition at the Afrodesia Gallery in New Jersey, USA. In addition to Matsoso, Eric Mbatha and Duke Ketye are invited to be present.</p>

YEAR	BRAZIL	SOUTH AFRICA	WORLD/MISCELLANEOUS	MATSOSO
<b>1999</b>				Matsoso's <i>Ecstasy, Passion and Pain</i> is reproduced on the back cover of the popular <i>Reader's Digest</i> (May 1999). He receives R500 in payment.
<b>2001</b>				Matsoso has his forename changed from Leonard to Leonard Tshehla Mohapi. The alteration is published in Government Gazette no. 22068 on 23 February 2001 under Government Notice no. 172.
<b>2008</b>		Liza Essers becomes the new owner and director of the Goodman Gallery.		
<b>2010</b>				Matsoso dies on October 4 and is buried on October 8 at Lenasia Cemetery.

## LIST OF FIGURES (Chronology)

- FIGURE 1 A monumentalised Francisco Matarazzo Sobrinho contemplates his legacy. Photography by the author, 2017.
- FIGURE 2 The Great Palace, built in London for the Great Exhibition of 1851. Available from: <https://www.coventrytelegraph.net/news/could-iconic-crystal-palace-recreated-12997942>
- FIGURE 3 A bird's-eye view of South Kensington Museum, showing buildings, gardens and surrounding roads, from Clarke's Handbook, 1862. Copyright Victoria & Albert Museum. Available from: <http://scalar.usc.edu/works/jeptha-homer-wade-travel-journals-germany-july-18-to-october-16-1914/map-of-the-south-kensington-museum>
- FIGURE 4 Advertisement promoting the 1936 *Empire Exhibition*, Johannesburg. Available from: <https://twitter.com/railwaymuseum/status/738288553071804416>
- FIGURE 5 Commemorative envelope designed by H. Coetzer showing Voortrekkers and wagon climbing the side of a koppie. Available from: <http://www.coollectors.com/item/142558>
- FIGURE 6 Façade of the pavilion of the *I Bienal*. Photography by Hans Günter Flieg, 1951. Archives of the Instituto Moreira Salles, São Paulo. Available from: <https://www.vitruvius.com.br/revistas/read/arquitextos/17.195/6177>
- FIGURE 7 Photograph of the main arena of the Van Riebeeck Centenary Festival. Available from: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/8270787@N07/2201902214>
- FIGURE 8 Aerial view of the *Parque Ibirapuera*, 1954. Available from: <http://m.acervo.estadao.com.br/noticias/acervo,como-era-sao-paulo-sem-o-parque-do-ibirapuera,9193,0.htm>
- FIGURE 9 *We Won't Move, Sophiatown Removals*, 1955. Photography by Jürgen Schadeberg. Available from: <https://www.icp.org/browse/archive/objects/we-wont-move-sophiatown-removals>
- FIGURE 10 The view from Husein Sastranegara Airport, Bandung, that was decorated with flags of participant countries of the Asian-African Conference on April 5 1955. National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia. Positive Nr: 550415 FP2-1. Available from: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/resources/multimedia/photo-galleries/preservation-of-documentary-heritage/photos-memory-of-the-world-register/2015/indonesia-asian-african-conference-archives/>
- FIGURE 11 Kwame Nkrumah declares Ghana's Independence. Available from: <https://kuulpeeps.com/2016/03/road-to-independence-5-major-events-that-preceded-ghanas-independence/>
- FIGURE 12 On April 17 1964, Albert Werth, the newly appointed director of the Pretoria Art Museum asks himself "Where will they hang?" The original clipping states: "The curator of Pretoria Municipality's new R350 000 Art Museum. Mr Albert Werth, ponders where the many pictures to be hung in the three halls should go. The museum, which will be officially opened on May 20, is one of the most modern in the world." Source unknown. Pretoria Art Museum Archive, Pretoria.
- FIGURE 13 Installation plan, Republic of South Africa (paintings and graphic work). Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo, São Paulo.
- FIGURE 14 Dimitri Tsafendas, the man who assassinated the South African Prime Minister, H.F. Verwoerd. Available from: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2019-04-30-all-we-are-saying-is-give-tapeworms-a-chance/>
- FIGURE 15 Bantu (sic) artist wins prize at São Paulo Biennale. Matsoso Family Archive, Soweto.
- FIGURE 16 Lucky Sibiyi, Leonard Matsoso and Madibo Motsiri in 1975. Leonard Matsoso Folder. Pretoria Art Museum Archive, Pretoria.
- FIGURE 17 Installation plan, Armstrong exhibit. Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo, São Paulo.
- FIGURE 18 Leonard Tshehla Mohapi Matsoso, *Nonquase (sic) I, II, III*, 1979. Oil pastel on paper, 166 x 85 cm (each). Photography by Carlos Marzia.
- FIGURE 19 *Flight of Ndongeni* commissioned for *Cindy's Reserve* (wine label). Matsoso Family Archive, Soweto.
- FIGURE 20 Francina Ndamandi photographed working in the background on her mural for the *Bienal*. Photography by Sílvia Ribeiro/AE. Arquivo Histórico Wanda Svevo, São Paulo.