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*The Image*  
*of the*  
**Art**  
**Market**

Just What Is It that Makes the Art Trade Look  
so Different, so Alarming?

**The 2022 TIAMSA Conference**

**12-13 September 2022**

**Technische Universität / Liebermann Villa, Berlin**

Titian: Portrait of Jacopo Strada, 1567/68. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. KHM-Museumsverband©

10:00

SARAH BAKKALI | Château de Versailles, FR

## "Art dealers" in Search of Legitimacy: The Shady Image of Art Market Players in Paris at the End of the Eighteenth Century

Art dealers have been the target of frequent and recurrent attacks and have had a bad press for almost forever, or at least since the 17th century. They are generally considered as having no legitimacy to discuss and judge the artistic production. Most of the attacks usually associate them with depravity of morals and art. They are also attacked on their knowledge or rather on their absence of knowledge. Indeed, art dealers are often presented as ignorant, as for example in *La confession publique du brocanteur*, an anonymous pamphlet published in 1776, where the art dealer can neither read nor write, has never studied history and can only quote, in the field of art, "the figures of Bamboche, the beggars of Callot, the drunks of Ostade, the smokers of Téniers": "Most of us Brocanteurs, we only know the names of the Painters, because we do not have enough lights to make distinctions of their different works".

The very name given to this brocanteur says a lot about the image conveyed by his profession: Ferre-la-mule, in other words, the one who accepts bribes. Depravity of morals, ignorance, corruptible! It is not surprising that many players in the art market defend themselves from exercising a profession that is so decried. Thus, the well-known dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun, in a complaint dated November 15, 1793, will argue that "Various amateurs of arts fear to be deceived if they had to deal with what / one calls rightly a dealer, then they ask me to guide them to bid / for them and to acquire". It is true that he is motivated by the fact of not paying a patent, but this declaration is to be resituated in the context of the French Revolution. The denunciations were then legion and the climate of suspicion towards the dealers was growing.

After a presentation of the different sources of the image of art market players at the end of the Ancien Régime and during the revolutionary period, I would like to examine at a deeper level their strategies for rehabilitation. The attacks and other pamphlets are not the only ones to illustrate the negative image of these actors of the art market. Indeed, the various forms of the commercial discourse that we examined put forward the construction of a double legitimacy, a moral legitimacy and a legitimacy to judge the artistic productions. They are generally opposed to artists in these two fields and this dispute about the supremacy in judgement crystalized around the new Museum in preparation (the future Louvre museum). We will conclude by asking who was the most legitimate to manage such an institution, to gather and curate the national collections? Artists or dealer? Did the art dealers succeed in their quest for legitimacy?

**Sarah Bakkali** is an independent scholar, currently completing a PhD in the History of Art at the University of Paris X Nanterre, entitled 'The art market players in Paris around 1800: picture dealers, experts, collectors. Her research interests include French painting 1770-1830, the history of collections and art market, history and geography of taste, history of artistic institutions, provenance and circulation of paintings, the creation of a database of art market players (dictionary) and analysis of art sale catalogues 1789-1830. She has participated in numerous conferences and been published in several edited volumes including *London & the Emergence of a European Art Market (c.1780-1820)*, Christian Huemer et Susannah Avery-Quash (éds.), 2019 and *Researching Art Markets: Past, Present and Tools for the Future*, Elisabetta Lazzaro, Nathalie Moureau et Adriana Turpin (éds.), 2021.

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10:30

JOY CADOR | ENS (Ecole Normale Supérieure), FR

## Making Value from Ancient Cities to Victorian London: Lawrence Alma-Tadema's Painting as an Image of the Victorian Art Market

Not only was Lawrence Alma-Tadema one of the most successful and acclaimed painters of the Victorian era, but he was also a peerless entrepreneur, obsessed with making money. As noted by Vern G. Swanson in his biography and catalogue raisonné of the artist, when Alma-Tadema learned that William Walters - one of the richest American art collectors of that time - was interested in his work, he immediately wrote to his friend Deschamps: "Walters, Amerika [sic], painting picture, money, work, friendship, existence...hang it all, it is too delightful!!!"

Practicing painting in a period marked by the booming development of a culture of commodity and a "culture of the copy," the artist, who was a collector of replicas of ancient and modern artefacts, showcased a high interest in preserving the "aura" of "uniqueness," according to Walter Benjamin's terminology, as well as the copyright attached to his works as part of his artistic business. Notably, he was the chairman of the Artistic Copyright Committee, a club created in 1896 by a group of artists and thinkers that sought to reaffirm the role of the artist and define the modalities of the transfer of ownership.

However, in my presentation, I would like to start from the artworks themselves before referring to biographical elements. My central point will be to show how Alma-Tadema's paintings offer a reflexive and challenging image of the Victorian art market, understood as a "complex composite of human actions based on certain subjective decisions." While Alma-Tadema has often been described as the artist who painted "Victorians in togas," following Elizabeth Prettejohn's 2002 article that shed light on the modernity of Alma-Tadema's Ancient cities, I argue that his paintings offer, on the contrary, an image of the Victorian art market in which the value of the artworks was successively defined, negotiated, and renegotiated by different actors.

First, I will focus on Alma-Tadema's signature as a symptom of the artist's obsession with asserting authorship on his works in a period characterized by the intensification of mechanical reproduction and as a way for the painter to declare his own self-worth. While the signature - considered an autographic trace of the artist within the painting - was of great importance for Alma-Tadema and his dealers, the effective buyers, namely members of the Victorian middle-class, seemed to pay it less attention, as we will see within a revealing example. This analysis will then lead me to suggest that, according to Alma-Tadema, the value of his artworks - whether economic or aesthetic - was not inherent to the object, but instead was constantly negotiated and redefined through the act of exchange. This is precisely what some of his paintings highlight. The sculpture gallery and the house of art lovers are recurring themes in Alma-Tadema's work in which characters are depicted discussing, commenting on, and exchanging opinions about artworks. This reveals that valuing an artwork was less of an individual, singular, and passive act than a dynamic process constantly re-actualized in exhibition spaces. My last part will revolve around the last paintings of Alma-Tadema, in which the artist paradoxically reflected the decline of his aura in the artistic world of the late Victorian period. As such, these paintings testify to the trends and tastes that dominated and shaped the British art market at the beginning of the 20th century.

**Joy Cador** is a former ENS Teaching Fellow at Columbia University in the City of New York. She graduated from Paris I Pantheon-Sorbonne University and from the Ecole normale supérieure (ENS Paris) with a MA in Art History, as well as from Sciences Po Paris where she studied politics, economics, and sociology within a MA in Public Affairs. She is an independent researcher: her research explores the imaginary and shifting values of marble, as both a material and as a *pictorial* motif, from the Great Exhibition at the Crystal Palace to the beginning of the 20th century. It questions center on classical reception studies, material culture studies, intermediality, and the ekphrastic writing. Joy has worked as an assistant curator and as a research assistant, both in France and in the USA. Her Master's thesis, dealing with the Dionysian imagery of Lawrence Alma-Tadema, is going to be published.

11:30

TEMENUGA TRIFONOVA | York University, Toronto, CA

## The Art Market in Cinema

My paper will explore the cinematic imaginary of art, specifically the ways in which cinema uses art to stage debates around truth, authenticity, and aura. Whenever cinema takes an interest in art, it is almost always in connection with the possibility of deception. Like art documentaries, from those seeking to capture the dynamic explosiveness and ineffability of artistic creation (e.g. Kevin Macdonald's 2016 *Sky Ladder: The Art of Cai Guo-Qiang* and Andrey Paounov's 2018 *Walking on Water*) to those bent on exposing the artworld's collusion with market capitalism and neoliberalism (e.g. Ben Lewis's 2009 *The Great Contemporary Art Bubble* and Nathaniel Kahn's 2018 *The Price of Everything*), most fiction films set in the artworld promote either the idea of art as truth (where the notion of "truth" is itself internally divided between its association with the ineffable, the transitory and the contingent on one hand, and with the essential, the immortal, and the indestructible on the other hand), or the opposite yet complementary idea of art as deception, which can be traced back to Plato's critique of art. The mutual imbrication of art, truth, and deception provides the matrix for films as different as Hitchcock's *Vertigo* (1958), in which clues in a painting lead to a tragic story about lost love, obsession, and voyeurism, and Ron Howard's *The Da Vinci Code* (2006), in which the truth about the foundations of Christianity turns out to depend on the "correct" interpretation of clues in Da Vinci paintings.

As we shall see by looking at a number of films set in the artworld – *The Thomas Crown Affair* (John McTiernan, 1999), *Headhunters* (Morten Tyldum, 2011), *The Best Offer* (Giuseppe Tornatore, 2013), *Trance* (Danny Boyle, 2013), *Nocturnal Animals* (Tom Ford, 2016), *The Square* (Ruben Östlund, 2017), *The Burnt Orange Heresy* (Giuseppe Capotondi, 2019), and *Velvet Buzzsaw* (Dan Gilroy, 2019) – when art appears in cinema, whether it is in the form of particular artists, artworks, art practices, or in the form of the spaces of art (galleries, museums, and artist studios), it never does so as a neutral subject; rather, it seems to automatically introduce into the narrative, and often into the film's style as well, questions about truth, authenticity, "cult value," and "exhibition value" (Walter Benjamin) with which philosophy of art has traditionally concerned itself.

**Temenuga Trifonova** is Associate Professor of Cinema and Media Studies at York University in Toronto. She is the author of the monographs *The Figure of the Migrant in Contemporary European Cinema* (Bloomsbury, 2020), *Warped Minds: Cinema and Psychopathology* (Amsterdam University Press, 2014), and *The Image in French Philosophy* (Rodopi, 2007), editor/contributor of the volumes *Screening the Art World* (Amsterdam University Press, 2022), *Contemporary Visual Culture and the Sublime* (Routledge, 2017), and *European Film Theory* (Routledge, 2008), and author of the novels *Tourist* (2018) and *Rewrite* (2014). Her articles have appeared in various peer-reviewed publications, including *Oxford Bibliographies*, *Cinema: Journal of Philosophy and the Moving Image*, *SubStance*, *Film and Philosophy*, *Space and Culture*, *The European Journal of American Culture*, *Studies in European Cinema*, *Rivista di Estetica*, *CTheory: Theory beyond the Codes*, *Cineaste*, *Studies in Eastern European Cinema*, *CineAction*, *Studies in Comics*, *The Wallace Stevens Journal*, *Postmodern Culture*, *Scope*, *Kinema*, *Senses of Cinema*, *Interdisciplinary Literary Studies*, and in several edited collections. She has been a research fellow at CY Advanced Studies - Cergy Paris Université, Le Studium Centre for Advanced Studies, the Waseda Institute for Advanced Studies, the University of Bologna Center for Advanced Studies, the NYU Center for European and Mediterranean Studies, the American Academy in Rome, and the Dora Maar House. She is a member of the College of Expert Reviewers, European Science Foundation.

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12:00

ASTRID MANIA | Hochschule für Bildende Künste, Hamburg, DE

## Self-Fulfilling Prophecies: Contemporary Artworks Performing the Art Market

Self-fulfilling prophecies: contemporary artworks performing the art market Santiago Sierra's one-minute-video *Person Saying a Phrase* (2002) is to me one of the most acute, if not brutal portraits of art's mysterious creation of value and the exclusionary mechanisms that come with it. The camera focuses on the face of a, probably homeless, man repeating a sentence that is dictated to him from the off: "My participation in this piece could generate seventy-two thousand Dollars profit, I am paid five Pounds." It is a disturbing video, and that, I believe, mainly for two reasons: modern and contemporary artists depicting individuals or groups who are socially and/or economically less privileged usually take sides with their protagonists; and artists usually don't mention their price tags, let alone make them part of their works.

As the introduction to this conference observes, artists, art historians, and theorists have long preferred to ignore or deny the economic aspects of the visual arts. This oblivion is, as Pierre Bourdieu asserts, the art market's condition: you can only do what you by pretending you're not doing what you're doing. It is no wonder then that there isn't exactly an abundance of artists working on topics such as the economic foundations and structures of their practice. Even the representatives of Institutional Critique in the 1960s and 70s that I would like to briefly touch upon have, with very few exceptions, considered themselves outside of or immune to the market. They did seal the spaces of their dealer galleries or expose their dealers' offices to any visitor, but their reflections on art's commercial spaces have rarely included their own entanglement in the transactions effected by and inside the white cube. It was Andrea Fraser in her essay 'From the Critique of Institutions to an Institution of Critique' (2004/05) who insisted on the notion that artists are part of the very, economic, system they scrutinize and criticize. Against this background, Fraser's video documenting the sexual encounter between herself and an anonymous collector ('Untitled,' 2003) can be regarded as the literal embodiment of the artist's involvement in the art world's economy (of desire).

Works like Fraser's and Sierra's videos depict and perform their own transubstantiation into art as well as the magic generation of symbolic and monetary capital via a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy. They belong to a relatively small group of artworks that I have been researching over the last few years. These works, I would like to show, do not just portray, or disclose particular art market's mechanisms, but make the art market their material, take as their subject their own participation in the art market. I would like to demonstrate that the economic transaction is an essential part of these and comparable works that wouldn't be complete were they swapped or donated. To discuss and fully appreciate these works, it is therefore necessary to look at and analyze the art market's principal mechanisms, and particularly the puzzling question of how prices are being made, and at what cost.

**Astrid Mania** is a professor for art criticism and modern art history at HFBK Hamburg. Working as an independent journalist, she, now less frequently, used to regularly contribute to *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, especially the newspaper's former art market section, *Artforum International* and other international art publications. Between 2008 and 2010, she was editor of the (also former) German online *artnet* magazin, based in Berlin. In 2013, she received the ADKV – Art Cologne award for art criticism, and in 2020, the Lehrpreis (teaching award) der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg. She publishes essays and books on modern and contemporary art, the art market, and the history of art criticism. Recent and upcoming publications include: *Self-fulfilling prophecies* (working title, to be published 2023), a book on art works that take as their subject their own participation in the art market; *Look who's talking: personae and pseudonyms in art criticism*, co-edited with Oona Lochner and to be published in 2023; and *Auf Rembrandt Bügeln – Wie aus Kunst Nicht-Kunst wird* (working title), to be published with Material Verlag der HFBK Hamburg end of 2022.

14:30

**BABETTE CLAASSEN** | Independent Dealer and Consultant, NL

## Between Connoisseurship and Commerce: The Image of the Dutch Art Dealer in Contemporary Art between 1850 and 1917

The discussion about the role of the art dealer as a gatekeeper of the international art market is not new and was already a matter of debate during the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout this period, the interest in contemporary paintings increased to an unprecedented extent. This development contributed to the important position of specialized art dealers as a leading distribution channel for contemporary paintings. This happened not only in significant cultural centers such as London and Paris, but also in Dutch cities as Amsterdam and The Hague, where a very favorable business and artistic climate for art dealers arose. These developments were to some extent comparable to the flourishing mass market for contemporary paintings between 1580 and 1660 in the Netherlands. However, the Dutch art dealers of the nineteenth century used various marketing strategies, which are still applicable today, to offer talented artist a stage in the global art world. From their specialized galleries, located in luxury shopping areas, and with an international clientele, the leading art dealers functioned as gatekeepers of the market. As a result, the professional functioning of these merchants became more and more the subject of discussion, with their image becoming increasingly important.

Although the nineteenth-century art market in the Netherlands has come to take center stage in the literature of recent decades, there is a major gap in research into the image of the Dutch art dealer. This leads to the question what image the Dutch dealer in contemporary art had in the nineteenth century. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to define the role of the art dealer and his position within the art world of his time. For this purpose, a reception and archival research based on various case studies is used, within the context of the nineteenth-century art world in general. Research done using contemporary sources, such as exhibition catalogues, advertisements, reviews, articles, and archival records, including correspondence, will reveal the image of the most significant art dealers within the Dutch modern art market. The focus of this research is mainly on the second half of the nineteenth century as the art dealer occupied an increasingly prominent position within the flourishing free market from 1850 until 1917 with the closing of the Hague branch of the international art dealership Goupil. This research will specifically focus on the cities of Amsterdam and The Hague, since during this period they have grown into the most important art centers in the Netherlands with a strong economic position and an extensive cultural infrastructure.

By setting up illustrative case studies, the image of the Dutch art dealer in the nineteenth century can be concluded. The general image of the entire profession will profoundly depend on personal reputations of specific art dealers, such as Elbert Jan van Wisselingh (1848-1912) and Abraham Preyer (1862-1927). In addition to the art dealers themselves, there were various actors within the art market that influenced the reputation of an art dealer in question. An important role in this is reserved for critics and artists. They distinguish between an ideological and entrepreneurial dealer and the art dealer as a necessary evil.

The lack of an in-depth study of the image of the nineteenth-century Dutch art dealer in contemporary art could make this research a relevant addition to the existing literature on the art market of this time. Mainly in relation to recent studies and publications on the image of the artist within the nineteenth-century art world, given that the cooperation between artists and art dealers had a major influence on the construction of their mutual image and reputation. Besides the fact that there was an exceptionally favorable climate for collectors of contemporary paintings in the Netherlands, the Hague School was particularly in demand in Anglo-Saxon countries. Leading Dutch art dealers therefore played a major role in the international art market as well. Existing literature about the international and European nineteenth-century art market do somewhat address the image of the art dealer. For example, Robert Jensen, who describes in his *Marketing modernism in fin-de-siècle Europe* (1994) different image types of art dealers. This research tries to interpret the image of the Dutch art dealer in a similar way on the basis of several case studies and is therefore in line with the increasingly popular social art history. Given that the foundations for today's contemporary art market were laid in the mid-nineteenth century, this image study

can contribute to a better understanding of the establishment of the image of contemporary gallery owners who are currently active within both the Dutch and international art market.

**Babette Claassen** (MA) has been active as an art dealer and art consultant since 2019, specializing in nineteenth and early twentieth century Dutch paintings, prints and drawings. She presents the collection of artworks in her gallery in Warmond in the Netherlands. As an art historian, Babette regularly gives lectures and presentations on nineteenth-century art and the art market of this period, such as her talk on behalf of the Vereniging van Nederlandse Kunsthistorici (Association of Dutch Art Historians) during the 2021 edition of the art fair PAN Amsterdam. Babette studied art history in Leiden and at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, where she graduated in 2019 from the master Art, Market and Connoisseurship. She wrote her thesis on the image of the Dutch art dealer in the nineteenth century. With this background, Babette has curated the exhibition 'Suppliers of Beauty' at the Dutch art dealership Pygmalion in 2020. This exhibition told the story of the role of the Dutch nineteenth-century art dealer within the international art market. She has also written an article on this subject 'Le Pays des Collections' for *Pygmalion Art Magazine* (2021) and 'Suppliers of Beauty' for the *Leiden arts in society* blog (2020), an initiative of Leiden University.

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Session 2 – Portrait and Image

Chair: Christian Huemer (Belvedere Research Center, Vienna, AT)

15:00

**MARIE TAVINOR** | Royal Academy, London, UK

## The Maecenas who Sold the Trove: Duveen's Image in the Press, 1920s and 1930s

Who better than Sir Joseph Duveen (1869-1939) personifies some of the extravagant trends observed in the art market? Eye-watering prices, glamorous networking, clamouring lawsuits... Duveen's indefatigable dealing activities received generous but not always favourable covering in the international press as his profile became more prominent.

The proposed paper would like to analyse Duveen's image in the press and to observe how some of his philanthropic activities were utilised to woo public opinion, especially in the years running up to his obtaining a baronetcy in England in 1933. Although some of his philanthropic activities are well-known such as his generous funding of entire museum wings, this paper will use lesser-known examples such as gifts to provincial museums and most of all his support of British living artists at a time when the primary art market was impacted by the Great Depression in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Beyond shedding light on a little-known side of Duveen's activities, this paper will examine his underlying strategies alternating taking and giving, generous altruism and self-aggrandisement, lobbying and self-serving philanthropy. A convenient tool to impact public opinion, the press became a platform to launder Duveen's reputation, and to advance his ambition.

**Marie Tavinor**, PhD, is currently Programme Director in the Executive Master in Cultural Leadership at the Royal Academy. She specialises in the history of collecting and the history of the art market. Her research has focused on the development of collections in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and she wrote her PhD on the early years of the Venice Biennale (1895-1914), obtained from the Royal Holloway, University of London in 2017. She has since published regularly on the subject. Marie is a founding member of the international Society for the History of Collecting, of which she currently is the Co-Chair.

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Session 2 – Portrait and Image

Chair: Christian Huemer (Belvedere Research Center, Vienna, AT)

16:00

GITTA HO | Ministry of Culture, Paris, FR

## "I posed a number of times." The Portraits of the Parisian Art Dealer Ambroise Vollard

Cézanne, Bonnard, Picasso, Renoir, Vallotton, Dufy, and Brassai are part of a long list of artists that portrayed the renowned Parisian art dealer, publisher, and collector Ambroise Vollard (1865-1939). Today, more than fifty portraits are known, that have been created in a wide variety of techniques including oil painting, lithography, drawing, and photography. Interestingly, it was Vollard himself, who insisted with many artists on being portrayed and he further emphasised the importance of these works of art in his memoirs.

Whether it was the vanity attested to Vollard from various sides or the calculation of an experienced art dealer, who recognised early on the utility of his own portrait in promoting business that led to the large number of portraits is still a matter of debate. What is certain today is that the quantity of portraits allows us to divide the works into different groups according to how the art dealer is depicted:

- As a "classical" portrait model, in which the painter focuses on the sitter's physiognomy
- As an art dealer at work, who is shown expertising paintings and sculptures
- In his gallery spaces, whose depiction takes up large parts of the artwork and becomes a pictorial theme in itself.

Here the following questions will be addressed: What are the characteristics of each group of art works and how are they artistically transformed? What marks the professional activity of the art dealer and which "attributes" are repeated? What explains the fascination that Vollard's gallery had for many artists and how is that echoed in their works of art? Based on, but not limited to these points, a comprehensive view on the numerous portraits of Ambroise Vollard will be provided and discussed in the broader context of representations of art dealers and their galleries in general.

**Dr. Gitta Ho** is a provenance researcher for the Ministry of Culture, Paris, France, and the Kunstmuseum Bern, Switzerland. Between 2002 and 2017 she specialised in German-French artistic relations in the 19th and 20th century working for German and French institutions like the Unterlinden Museum, Colmar, the University of Tours, the Technical University Berlin, and the German Center of Art History, Paris / Berlin. From 2017 to 2020 she was a provenance researcher specialising in National Socialist plunder for the National Institute of Art History in Paris (France), the Museum of Art and History in Neuchâtel (Switzerland) and others. She is the author of *George Grosz und Frankreich*, Reimer: Berlin, 2016, and a lecturer ('Chargée de travaux dirigés devant les oeuvres') at the École du Louvre, Paris.

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16:30

NATASHA DEGEN | FIT – State University, New York, USA

## Untitled – Self-fashioned Pop Art Collectors post 1960s

With the advent of Pop art in the 1960s, a new breed of American art collector came to prominence. Rather than belonging to the highborn elite, the new collectors were often self-made and socially ambitious. Sometimes, like the art they collected, they were brash and attention-seeking, even aspiring to celebrity status. By 1966, as *The New Yorker* wrote at the time, they had “succeeded in supplanting the museums, the dealers, the critics, and possibly even the artists as the prime movers, promoters, and arbiters of taste.”

My paper will focus on representations of these collectors, including artist and media depictions, and especially those of Robert and Ethel Scull. Examples include Robert Rauschenberg’s *Portrait of Ethel Scull* (1962), James Rosenquist, *Portrait of the Scull Family* (1962), Andy Warhol’s *Ethel Scull 36 Times* (1963), George Segal’s *Portrait of Robert and Ethel Scull, 1965* and *Portrait of Robert C. Scull* (1965-1970), Walter De Maria’s *Silver Portrait for Dorian Gray* (1965), and David Hockney’s *American Collectors (Fred and Marcia Weisman)* (1968), as well as accounts in the popular press (i.e. in magazines like *Time* and *Ladies’ Home Journal*).

The paper will consider these new collectors not as mere acquirers purchasing art at a remove, but as active agents within the market. They self-fashioned as visionaries, seeking out the very newest in art and aiming to “get there before the dealer.” Robert Scull even cut out the dealer altogether by bankrolling the cutting-edge Green Gallery, albeit in secret. Through an analysis of collectors’ representations in text and image, his paper will consider how the role of the collector evolved vis-à-vis the market, at a moment when the speculative potential of new art was becoming increasingly apparent.

**Dr. Natasha Degen** is Professor and Chair of Art Market Studies at the Fashion Institute of Technology, part of the State University of New York. She has contributed to publications including *The New Yorker*, *The Financial Times*, *The New York Times*, *Artforum*, and *frieze*, and serves as a member of the Editorial Board for the *Journal for Art Market Studies*. Among other prizes, Degen received a \$30,000 art criticism award from the Andy Warhol Foundation and a Luce Scholarship which sent her to Beijing for a year. She compiled and edited *The Market* (MIT Press, 2013), an interdisciplinary anthology tracing the art market’s interaction with contemporary practice. Her book *Every Object Is a Canvas: Art and Fashion After Warhol* is forthcoming from Reaktion Books in 2023.

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Session 3 – Tools and Devices

Chair: Marie Tavinor (Royal Academy, London, UK)

09:30

DIANA DAVIS | Independent, UK

## A Glimpse of Immortality: Dealers and the Cult of the Catalogue, 1880-1920

Mrs William Randolph Hearst once noted of her husband and his fellow-collectors, 'They were going after anything that had a book to it...At the end they'd get a book all done up.' Increasingly from the 1880s dealers and curators compiled catalogues for collectors or to accompany a selling exhibition, lavishly bound and illustrated, sometimes with a scholarly text. This paper shifts the spotlight to the dealer, investigating how he used catalogues not simply to cultivate his clients but to promote himself.

Emblematic of aspiration and arrival, catalogues confirmed the collector's wealth and taste. They circulated among the elite, precisely the clientele that dealers sought to attract. The catalogues' high production values implied, by association, a dealer of standing and the quality of his inventory. In 1878 the dealer Murray Marks commissioned Whistler to illustrate his catalogue of Sir Henry Thompson's oriental ceramics collection. In 1902 Henry Walters had his copy re-covered in calfskin with an inset porcelain plaque, an art object itself.

With the advent of the museum and concomitant rise in value of the provenanced antique, increasing importance was placed on authenticity. Curators and dealers competed as connoisseur. R L Hobson of the British Museum aroused the fury of the dealer Edgar Gorer by criticizing Gorer's 1911 publication *Old Chinese Porcelain and Hard Stones*. Frederick Rathbone's account of Wedgwood pottery in his 1905 catalogue of the Tweedmouth collection enshrined him as an expert in the field. In 1916 French & Co commissioned George Leland Hunter to research the text for a monograph on tapestries to accompany an exhibition, tempting new purchasers by placing tapestries in a canon of taste, erudition and investment.

Printed in low numbers, catalogues quickly became rare, a prized source of reference for dealers, auction houses and collectors. By providing a record of distinguished ownership, catalogues legitimized objects and their histories, raising the value of those objects in the marketplace. The 1925 Carnarvon auction saw the dispersal of much of Alfred de Rothschild's collection. It referred extensively to Charles Davis's catalogue of 1884, the text illustrated with full-page photographs, one that is still consulted today.

Used judiciously alongside advertising, participation in exhibitions and collaboration with museums, catalogues became an important element in the dealer's self-fashioning, confirming him as connoisseur, a purveyor of the finest art available. More than this, in the legacy they left, such catalogues offered the dealer his own glimpse of immortality.

**Dr Diana Davis** specialises in the 19th and early 20<sup>th</sup> century art market in Britain and the role of the dealer. Her book, *The Tastemakers: British Dealers and the Anglo-Gallic Interior, 1785-1865* was published by the Getty Research Institute in July 2020. She is the current Getty Rothschild fellow, currently studying the later dealers in decorative art from the 1870s until 1930, the 'Modern Antiquaire'. She is on the Council of the French Porcelain Society and has co-edited three volumes of their peer-reviewed journal. She has lectured widely for the National Trust, Masterpiece, Christie's Education, the Furniture History Society, London Art Week, the French Porcelain Society, TIAMSA and GRHAM. Other publications include: 'The Bankruptcy of John Penning, Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer', *Furniture History LVI* (November 2020); 'A rite of social passage: Gunnersbury Park, 1835-1925, a Rothschild family villa', *Modern Jewish Studies* 18, no. 4 (2019); 'From Private to Public: A Dihl and Guérhard "Sabines" Vase', *The French Porcelain Society Journal* 7 (2018); 'A Triumph of Anglo-Gallic Taste: Two Porcelain-Mounted China Cabinets Made by Edward Holmes Baldock', *Furniture History Society Newsletter* 205 (February 2017); and 'Le Goût des Anglais pour le Mobilier Français: Collectors, Dealers and the Market', in *Collecting: Actors, Places and Values* (Association GRHAM, forthcoming).

10:00

**BIANCALUCIA MAGLIONE** | University of Florence, IT

## “Even the intellect has its rights”. The «Bollettino della Galleria del Milione» as tool for Ghiringhelli’s self-representation and market declarations, between controversialism and innovation (1932-1941)

Founded in Milan in 1930, the Galleria Il Milione immediately appeared as one of the most important focal points for the dissemination in Italy of contemporary art, both local and international (with exhibitions, in the first decade, such as that of Kandinsky, his very first show in Italy, in 1934, Vordemberge-Gildewart and Léger). Besides the gallery activity, the Ghiringhelli brothers – dealers and leaders of the Gallery during the first years – aimed to create a real cultural center: not only gallery but also bookshop, publishing house, and meeting point where artists, writers and intellectuals could come to learn and discuss. In this context, it was very significant the publication of the «Bollettino della Galleria del Milione», a periodical publication that, starting from 1932, was published on the occasion of most exhibitions held at the gallery, but that was not just a catalogue exhibition. The Bollettini, in fact, were a various and mixed product: on their pages were hosted, as expected, the list of works presented in the gallery’s rooms, but also artist’s statements, news about recent cultural events, such as shows or lectures, and introductions and texts on the artists’ activity. These overviews were often written by art critics or intellectuals near to the gallery’s cultural atmosphere (R. Giolli, P.M. Bardi etc.), but in most cases – especially for the column significantly titled “Temperature” – they were not signed, or they were signed just with the general indication “La Direzione” – the Management). Important thing to point out, in both these cases the authors of these texts were the Ghiringhelli themselves (Gino and Peppino, while the third brother, Livio, had always been more interested in the business sector than in the artistic one) and they constitute a privileged observatory to understand in depth the intentions and the orientations of the Gallery. Often, in fact, more than – or in addition to – talking about the artist and the exhibition in question each time, these texts constituted a device for self-representation by the merchants, who take advantage of the pages of the bulletin to justify their own mercantile choices, to clarify their relationship with the public, to respond to the controversies raised by the presentation of works badly accepted by the most traditionalist and delayed critics (U. Ojetti was one of the principal “target”), to forcefully declare their position within the variegated panorama of Milanese modern art galleries and to express condemnation for the auction system. At the same time, in these contributions the Ghiringhelli testified a great insight and a significant awareness of the contemporary art scene, expertises demonstrated also in publications realized outside the Milione Editions (think for example of the preface by Gino Ghiringhelli to the volume *Modern Italian painting of 1949*, published for the types by Orengo Turati, Turin).

My contribution, based on the systematic analysis of the bulletins as well as on the other publications signed by the Ghiringhelli and the extensive correspondence between the art dealers and Carlo Belli – art critic and reference point for the Gallery in the 1930s – preserved at the MART in Rovereto, aims to reconstruct this context and to consider the Bollettini under a whole new light, as an instrument of mercantile self-representation.

**Biancalucia Maglione** is a PhD candidate in Art History at the University of Florence, Pisa and Siena. Her PhD research focuses on the Italian collector Carlo Frua De Angeli (1885-1969) within the context of the international art market between 1920s and 1960s. She did research on this subject at the Provenance Research Workshop at the Castello di Rivoli (Torino), and she is currently writing some entries for the Art Market Dictionary (Galleria Galatea, Galleria del Secolo, Galleria La Salita, Mostre di Novecento, Galleria Multipla). In 2021 she was Research Fellow at the Centre for Italian Modern Art – CIMA, NYC, where she investigated the importance of photography in Mario Schifano’s early career. Furthermore, since 2017 she has been Teaching Assistant in Contemporary Art at the University of Pisa, where she also had two research scholarships aimed at studying the Civic Collections of Contemporary Art of the city of Leghorn, Italy (2018), and the practice of contemporary artists based in Tuscany (project: “Documenti d’artista”, University of Pisa, 2019).

11:00

ALYCEN MITCHELL | Queen Mary University of London, UK

## Sotheby's 'PB84': A Blueprint for Capitalising on the New Market for Collectibles 1968-1982

The prevailing image of a Sotheby's auction is that of a tournament where a coterie of 'deep-pocketed' dealers and business leaders compete for paintings by the likes of Picasso or Warhol. This paper will take its audience back to 1968, a time when Sotheby's was interested in broadening its appeal and cultivating a very different customer-base – the rising number of consumers interested in participating in the growing market for 'collectibles', such as Tiffany lamps and early photographs.

In the Spring of 1968, Sotheby's transformed a former automobile showroom on East 84th Street, New York into 'PB84', their first salesroom dedicated to inexpensive artworks and 'collectibles'. Four years earlier, Sotheby's had become the first high-profile auction house to acquire an overseas base when, in 1964, they purchased America's premier auction house, Parke-Bernet on Madison Avenue, New York. In the intervening period, the strong relationship Sotheby's built with American art and antiques consumers at Parke-Bernet gave the auctioneers the experience and confidence to attempt further ventures. By launching 'PB84', Sotheby's demonstrated awareness of the decade's growing middle-class prosperity and new 'collectibles', which excited this potential market.

Mainly using contemporary newspaper and magazine sources, this paper pieces together how Sotheby's created an image which connected with these new art and antiques consumers. It considers why New York rather than London was the logical location to pilot a new salesroom catering to a perceived demand from this rising market. This paper contends that 'PB84' acted as a 'blueprint' for the principal auction houses, two trend setting salesrooms: Sotheby's Belgravia and Christie's South Kensington.

I argue that 'PB84' heralded the image of the auction market emphasised in the press in the 1970s and 1980s.

**Alycen Mitchell** lectures in the School of History at Queen Mary, University of London where she studied for her PhD. Her thesis considered Sotheby's and Christie's rise to international market pre-eminence following World War II. She originally worked in the antiques business and has a long track record of writing about art and design. Her research on the relationship between George Romney's critical reputation and the art market led to an article (co-authored with Barbara Pezzini) published in *The Burlington Magazine* (July 2015). She spoke at the 'Creating Market, Collecting Art' conference (July 2016) organized by Christie's Education in London. She presented papers at the 'Researching Art Market Practices from Past to Present and Tools for the Future' Workshop (November 2019) at Accademia Nazionale di San Luca in Rome; and the 'Collecting and Display' seminar (February 2020) at the Institute of Historical Research, London. In June 2021 she delivered an online lecture on 'The Goldschmidt auction & the Development of the Modern Auction Market 1954-1965' for the University of Edinburgh Collecting and Art Market Research Cluster.

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11:30

ANITA ARCHER | University of Melbourne, AU

## Nationalism, tears and pedagogy: how Sotheby's and Christie's leverage image to dominate the global fine art market

The image of international auction house brands Sotheby's and Christie's adjusted significantly in the 1980s, after luxury shopping mall magnate Alfred Taubman acquired a struggling Sotheby's in 1983. Taubman understood that the auction house, whose business model catered predominantly to the needs of the art trade, could achieve greater profitability through bypassing dealers and targeting collectors directly as buyers. Simultaneously, Taubman understood the need to pitch to a broader, monied demographic to break the "threshold resistance" generated by the intimidating image of the auction process. This shift to luxury brand status of the two multinationals was cemented in 1998 when the publicly owned Christie's was purchased by Francois Pinault as part of his overall business realignment into the luxury goods market. In 2021, these two companies, whose similarity in operations, style and image is highlighted by their blended vernacular nomenclature of 'Christoby's', accounted for 'close to 80% of total sales' by value of fine art globally, alongside UK-based house Phillips. This market dominance has been propelled by the glamorous image generated by these multinationals in order to appeal to the wealthiest demographics across the world. Whether it is the cliché of "Christie's being gentlemen doing business, or Sotheby's being businessmen pretending to be gentlemen", both propositions locate the auction house staff as embedded in the upper echelons of social and financial milieus. Over the past two decades, the auction houses have systemically and strategically engineered their image in order to maintain, and increase, their lucrative market dominance pitched at the top end of the market: from museum-like exhibitions and coffee-table quality catalogues to limited-ticket VIP seating; through generative press releases quoted verbatim by branded media outlets then repackaged in glossy corporate brochures; to pedagogical programming and state-of-the-art advertising.

This paper will illuminate the multifarious ways in which Sotheby's and Christie's use their image to develop and maintain their market dominance. Furthermore, by focusing on three market case studies of a Renaissance masterpiece, Chinese art and NFTs, this paper will argue that the auction houses use these methodologies as value generation mechanisms. In this 'Age of Enrichment', these multinational auction houses are able to transform the symbolic value of both their corporate image and the image of objects being presented for sale, into increased economic value, thereby cementing their position as the market leaders in their field.

**Dr Anita Archer** is Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the Enlightenment, Romanticism and Contemporary Culture (ERCC) Research Unit at the University of Melbourne, Australia. An art historian, Anita's research focus is global art markets with particular interest in the dynamics of emerging markets, the strategic mechanisms of international art auctions, concepts of value in the art market, and the networked activities of art world intermediaries. Her research interest stems from her extensive professional experience in the global art field as an international auctioneer, and independent art consultant specialising in Asian contemporary art. She is currently chief investigator on two research projects within the ERCC Research Unit at the University of Melbourne: The Varieties of Imagination, Creativity and Wellbeing in Australia (in collaboration with the Indigenous Knowledge Institute and the Creativity and Wellbeing Hallmark Research Initiative); and The Pasts and Futures of Virtual Reality. Her postdoctoral research project is The Digital Art Economy. Anita's recent publications include the monograph *Chinese Contemporary Art in the Global Auction Market* (Brill, 2022), and journal articles include 'The Lucky Country': How the Covid-19 pandemic revitalised Australia's lethargic art market, (*Arts*, 2022); Materialising Markets: the agency of auctions in emergent art genres in the Global South (*Arts*, 2020); and Genesis of an auction sale category: Sotheby's inaugural auction of 'Contemporary Chinese Art' (*Journal of Art Market Studies*, 2018). She is co-editor of the *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Art*, Vol 21, Issue 2, 2021 Open Issue.

Session 4 – Pulling the Strings

Chair: Kim Oosterlinck (Université libre de Bruxelles)

14:00

**JOSHUA EVERSFIELD JENKINS** | University of Edinburgh, UK

## Nineteenth Century Complaints about Speculative Investment in Contemporary Art in Comparison to Today

Criticisms of contemporary art being used for investment purposes have been commonplace for centuries, perpetuated by academic publications, magazines, newspapers, documentaries, and even by dealers. What often comes with these objections is the claim that this is a relatively new development and detrimental to the art world. There is usually either an implied or explicit statement that money poses an existential threat and may lead to a general corruption of art itself. I challenge these notions in my paper.

Examining 19<sup>th</sup> century British publications such as autobiographies, news articles and books about contemporary private galleries, my paper proves that collectors using contemporary art for speculative purposes is anything but new. More importantly, I show that not only have collectors been using contemporary art for speculative investments for centuries, but that similar complaints made today were levelled against those who were participating in such operations during the nineteenth century. In order to frame my paper, I include the work of experts who have discussed pertinent concepts, such as the late sociologist, Raymonde Moulin; the Lloyd Cotsen '50 Professor of Sociology at Princeton University, Viviana A Zelizer; Professor of Sociology at the University of Amsterdam, Olav Velthuis and the late anthropologist, Igor Kopytoff. My aim for this paper is to expand the current perception of the art market so that the debate surrounding the issue of speculation may become more nuanced. Finally, my paper argues that speculative art investment is not new, is not inherently detrimental to art, and should be expected and accepted.

**Joshua Eversfield Jenkins** is nearing the completion of his PhD in the History of Art at The University of Edinburgh. His doctoral research, titled, *Joseph Gillott and the Rise of The Collector-Dealer*, examines middle class collectors in Britain during the nineteenth century who also used art for investment purposes. He has presented papers related to this subject at the Association for Art History's Annual Conference; The University of Edinburgh History of Art conference; the Edinburgh College of Art Postgraduate Seminar Series and has recently been awarded a Research Support Grant from the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art and a Scholarly Research Grant from the Association for Art History. In addition to the history of the art market, investment and collecting, Joshua's research interests include eighteenth and nineteenth century British art, especially land and seascape paintings; prints; the rise of the middle-class; the history of wealth; as well as philosophy and poetry. Originally from Virginia, before moving to Edinburgh, Joshua earned an MA in History and a BA in English from George Mason University. He has previously worked at George Mason's Gunston Hall, a house museum and the Smithsonian Institution's Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden in Washington, D.C.

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14:30

PATRIZIA CAPPELLINI | Independent, IT

## The Image of the Art Dealer Between Private and Public: the Case of Elia Volpi, Merchant, Patron-Entrepreneur and sui generis Connoisseur

On the Florentine scene, beyond the best-known and popular dealer Stefano Bardini, many other merchants managed to set up relationships with international museums, private galleries, collectors and curators. Luigi Bellini, member of an important long generation of dealers, presents the main characters of them in the book *Nel mondo degli antiquari*, published in 1947. The volume is a collection of biographies where the profile of each figure is mythicized as people of extraordinary insight; on the background lies the allure of a city and of an era gone forever.

Before the archive-based studies carried first by Roberta Ferrazza since 1985, and then by Patrizia Cappellini since 2010, the book written by Bellini had been the main source to know something about Elia Volpi, the most important among Florentine dealers after Bardini. Volpi had worked for about eight years as Bardini's head restorer, then he began to undertake business on his own and in 1904 he purchased the fourteenth-century Palazzo Davanzati, which he reconstructed and began to transform into a base for his business and his commercial strategies. In 1910 he inaugurated this new private museum with the first auction and, from then on, through three auctions he organized in New York (1916, 1917, 1927), he managed to create the brand and the style of the ancient Florentine House interiors and furniture. The image of Florentine art market scene of that time (1910-1926) was also that of Palazzo Davanzati, caught in the photographs by Alinari and Brogi, published on magazines as "Emporium", "Les Arts", "La Gazette des Beaux Arts", reproduced on postcards, and books as Frida Schottmüller's *Wohnungskultur und Möbel der Italienischen Renaissance*. According to the review "L'Antiquario" (the voice of the Florentine dealers), Palazzo Davanzati was supposed to become the real "museo industriale della città" ("applied art museum of Florence"), unlike the Museum of Bargello that became a sort of Temple of Renaissance sculpture.

While Bardini looks as a merchant which used to welcome and receive his élite customers in his exclusive museum (whose interiors were discovered by the large public only after Bardini's death), Volpi made of Palazzo Davanzati the fulcrum of his business and, moreover, as a modern patronentrepreneur, understood the potentiality of photographs and media to spread throughout Italy and abroad his private, but open to the public, museum. He set up a lasting collaboration with a sort of "advertising agency": the firm of Giacomo Brogi, an important Florentine photographer who produced the photos of the Davanzati interiors, of objects Volpi presented to the New York auctions and of sculptures he needs to promote in a "special way". Beside the images of Palazzo Davanzati as reflection of the taste and entrepreneurship of Elia Volpi there are photo-objects he collected not to be published but as tools for his work and that today help to convey a more complex portrait of him.

As a tried to prove in my forthcoming monography on Elia Volpi and Wilhelm von Bode, Volpi was not a common seller, a "negoziante", he was mostly a dealer-connoisseur: he collected photos in order to promote the valuable commodities he transacted throughout his life, but also to study and compare them with those kept in the public museums. He used to exchange photos with Bode and other scholars in order to discuss features as style, quality and authorship of the works he was about to sell or buy. These photos (ca. 4700) are today kept in the Photo Library of Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz and in the Library of Museo di Palazzo Davanzati. As a private citizen, he committed to Brogi beautiful photo-objects composed by gelatin silver prints mounted on a card; they are less known than others and convey an intimate image of the father with his four daughters, of the householder, the head of the family, even if on the background lies the allure of the upper-middle-class self-made man.

The fascinating image and legacy of the dealer Elia Volpi and his Palazzo Davanzati lies in this (recomposed) dichotomy between private and public; the main goal of my paper is showing them making images and photos speaking in a holistic perspective that will also involve the Florentine scene of that time.

**Patrizia Cappellini** graduated in Art History at the Università degli Studi di Firenze with a thesis on Harold Rosenberg's criticism. Since 2010 she has been studying the photo archive of the art dealer Elia Volpi which was the topic of her post graduate thesis. This research was the starting point for an exhibition in the Museo di Palazzo Davanzati (Le stanze dei tesori. Meraviglie dei collezionisti nei musei di Firenze, 3 October 2011-15 April 2012) and for a cataloguing and digitalizing project committed by the Ex- Soprintendenza speciale di Firenze, concerning historical photographs held in Museo di Palazzo Davanzati. In 2013 she collaborated with the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz for the realization of the online exhibition Fotografie di un antiquario. In 2015 she benefited from a research fellowship at the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz. In 2016 attended the Winter School for Provenance Research organized by the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich with a travel grant funded by the same institute. In 2019 she defended, cum laude, at the University of Udine, the PhD thesis on the business relationships between Elia Volpi and Wilhelm von Bode, with a focus on photography as a tool for the art market. She took part at many conferences organized by the CAA Annual conference, held in New York, February 2015, the Museo del Novecento in Florence, the Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, the University of Bern, the University of Florence, the Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon, Villa Vigoni, University of Udine, University of Zagreb etc. In 2019-2020 collaborated with the Soprintendenza Archeologia, Belle Arti e Paesaggio per la città metropolitana di Firenze e le province di Pistoia e Prato to the cataloguing project concerning the places and the memory of the First World War (Narrando I territori della Grande Guerra attraverso i monumenti, le lapidi, i parchi e i viali della Rimembranza). In 2020-2021, together with Paolo Coen, Cristiano Giometti, Donata Levi and Marco Mozzo, she organized the first International webinar on the links and connections between photography and art market: Photography and Its Uses in the Art Market (1880-1939). Protagonists, Narratives, Collections (14-16 October 2021). Her recent publications include: Elia Volpi restauratore e il suo fondo fotografico (2022, currently being printed); «Al mio amore per il suo album di guerra». La catalogazione degli album fotografici dell'ufficiale medico Edoardo Carvaglio nel progetto ICCD Narrare i territori della Grande Guerra: Parchi e viali della Rimembranza (con Anna Floridia, 2020); Rodolfo Pallucchini e l'attività espositiva della galleria Antiquaria di Alessandro Morandotti, 1940-1943 (2019); Trading Old Masters in Florence 1890-1914. Heritage protection and the Florentine art trade in Post-Unification Italy (2018); Attorno all'acquisizione delle antichità prenestine Barberini: nuovi margini di narrazione a partire dalla fotografia (2018); The Art Dealer and the Devil: Remarks on the Relationship of Elia Volpi and Wilhelm von Bode (2017); Il fregio della galleria di testa e altre decorazioni fotografiche nella stazione fiorentina di Santa Maria Novella (2017); Antonio Puccinelli e la genialità (2016). Forthcoming is the publication of her PhD thesis, with the title Elia Volpi e Wilhelm von Bode. Fotografia e commercio d'arte tra Firenze e Berlino, 1892-1927, Firenze, Angelo Pontecorboli Editore.

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Session 4 – Pulling the Strings

Chair: Kim Oosterlinck (Université libre de Bruxelles)

15:30

**GABRIELE ZÖLLNER AND DOROTHEE WIMMER** | Technische Universität, Berlin, DE

## “Rembrandt Glamour” in Germany: Provenances, Markets, and Museums around 1900

The Cultural Property Protection Act, which was amended in Germany in 2016, obliges the art trade, but not museums to conduct provenance research. With this highly interesting distinction between the art market and museums in mind, our presentation goes back to the period of the scientific professionalization of German art museums at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century and interrogates the image and correlated actions of the art market at the time of the economic, political, and cultural "Rembrandt Glamour" in Germany.

Our contention is that the art market in general and art dealers as a professional group are by no means viewed as negatively by these new, professionalizing museum experts as it often appears from today's perspective. Quite the opposite: the art market and the German museum experts around 1900 were closely intertwined – both in the empowerment and “manipulations” as well as in the legitimations of Rembrandt provenances. In times of an increasing market dominance of a new type of collector – the American industrial multimillionaire that (often) builds up art collections with methods from the business world –, two different interests were combined with the simultaneously emerging art historical connoisseurship and expertise, for which Wilhelm von Bode stands symbolically and power-politically as one of the central figures: On the one hand the aim was to sell masterpieces attributed to Rembrandt for rapidly rising prices on the international art market and on the other hand to purchase them at the same time at low prices for German museums like the Königliche Museen zu Berlin (Royal Museums of Berlin).

After a brief outline of the Rembrandt fever around 1900, our presentation will therefore first show how differentiated the contemporary evaluation of the image of the art market, the art dealers, and the art business were at the beginning of the 20th century, using contemporary publications and correspondences of museum experts and Rembrandt connoisseurs such as Wilhelm von Bode, Abraham Bredius, Hans Posse, and Max J. Friedländer. Then, two case studies – one in the auction business and one at the Royal Museums in Berlin – will illuminate how these complex and intertwined interests, including their lines of conflict and networks, affected and were affected by actors on both sides.

This historical network between the art market and museum experts would have almost been forgotten today, were it not for efforts like the digitisation of the “German Sales” auction catalogues between 1901 and 1945 as well as contemporary press documents and art dealers’ archive stocks, which open new possibilities for qualitative and quantitative research and shed an intriguing new light on the political distinction between the art market and museums in the government's new version of the Cultural Property Protection Act in 2016.

**Dorothee Wimmer** is director of the Forum Kunst und Markt / Centre for Art Market Studies (fokum.org), which she founded in 2012 together with Bénédicte Savoy and Johannes Nathan at Technische Universität Berlin. She studied art history, Romance studies, history, and German studies in Freiburg i. Br., Paris, and Berlin, and received her PhD from the Freie Universität Berlin on the image of man in French art, literature, and philosophy around 1960. From 2011 to 2017 she was chair of the Richard-Schöne-Gesellschaft für Museumsgeschichte e.V., in 2015 she received a Library Research Grant at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles, and in 2017 she was part of the DAAD's Franco-German University Teacher Exchange Program in cooperation with the Maison des Sciences de l'Homme. She researches and publishes on the interrelations and dynamics between art, politics, law, and economics.

**Gabriele Zöllner** has been a student assistant at the Forum Kunst und Markt / Centre for Art Market Studies at Technische Universität Berlin, where she has been studying culture and technology sciences as well as art history. She is currently working on her master's thesis, in which she is conducting a quantitative data analysis on

Rembrandt in the German-speaking auction market using digitized auction catalogues between 1901 and 1918. Her study interests include the dynamics and relations of the European art market from its beginnings to the present, as well as digitization processes in art history studies, especially data visualization.

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Session 4 – Pulling the Strings

Chair: Kim Oosterlinck (Université libre de Bruxelles)

15:30

**CATHERINE B. SCALLEN** | Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, USA

## Loan Exhibitions at the Detroit Institute of Arts: Joseph Duveen behind the Scenes

From 1925 to the mid 1930s, the Detroit Institute of Arts held a series of loan exhibitions of “Old Master” works of art. These exhibitions were launched two years after the hiring of W.R. Valentiner from Berlin to be the new director of the re-organized and newly ambitious midwestern museum. The exhibitions were organized around a particular school (French 18th century, British 18th century) or artist (Titian, Anthony van Dyck, Rembrandt). They were also meant to celebrate and further promote the collecting of older European art by Detroit collectors; over time more and more of these collectors were featured as lenders to the exhibition. The exhibitions were certainly the most undertaken in the USA during this period by an art museum outside of New York City; in their early years up to three shows a year were held, a coup for Valentiner.

Yet behind the scenes of Valentiner’s exhibitions success was Joseph Duveen as organizer, lender, shipper, and financial backer. The fact that many, in some exhibitions most of the paintings and some sculptures on view were lent by Duveen Brothers in New York, or dealers linked with them, or had recently been purchased from Duveen’s by private collectors in Detroit, and other American cities was never advertised. In the second exhibition’s catalogue of British paintings, the Duveen provenance was mentioned for many works; as this was perhaps too obvious a connection, only selective provenance information was included in the catalogues after this one. The catalogue essays by Valentiner or Detroit curators never mentioned the name Duveen. Works of art still owned by Duveen Brothers were listed as the property of Sir Joseph Duveen, not the gallery, until the mid 1930s.

In an important respect, Valentiner was Duveen’s “creation” in Detroit; it was Duveen who had suggested to the museum’s board chair that Valentiner be hired as the director in 1923. Valentiner had worked closely with Joseph Duveen and Duveen Brothers for years before this appointment and continued to do so afterward in ways that would now be considered clear conflicts of interest. It was perhaps more Valentiner’s sensibilities than any desire by Joseph Duveen that suppressed the dealer’s singular role as the entrepreneur behind these exhibitions. Valentiner would rather appear to his adoptive city as the networked art professional who could call on famed collectors and art galleries to lend to Detroit. Yet in the end, as the catalogues themselves reveal, Duveen and Duveen Brothers profited from their investment in these loan exhibitions, as more and more works of art were sold by them to Detroit collectors. This paper will offer a glimpse of this untold, fascinating collaboration.

**Catherine B. Scallen**, PhD, is the Andrew W. Mellon Professor in the Humanities and Associate Professor of Art History at Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, OH, where she has taught since 1995. Her published scholarship has focused on the history of the connoisseurship of Rembrandt van Rijn’s paintings, Rembrandt print connoisseurship, the late nineteenth- and early twentieth- century art market, and the cultural significance of Rembrandt’s etchings. Her book, *Rembrandt, Reputation, and the Practice of Connoisseurship* (Amsterdam University Press) appeared in 2004. Her current research is on the art dealer Joseph Duveen’s relationships with the Berlin Museum professionals Wilhelm von Bode, Max J. Friedländer, and Wilhelm R. Valentiner. Scallen is a founding member of TIAMSA (2016).

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## **CONFERENCE VENUES**

12 September  
Technische Universität Berlin, Hauptgebäude, Straße des 17. Juni 135, 10623 Berlin

13 September  
Liebermann Villa am Wannsee, Colomierstr. 3, 14109 Berlin

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## **ABOUT TIAMSA**

Launched in July 2016, TIAMSA – The International Art Market Studies Association is a rapidly growing association with more than 400 members globally. Our membership base is made up of individual members (collectors, art world professionals, scholars and students from a wide range of disciplines), as well as corporate members, institutional members, association members and donors.

TIAMSA encourages the study of art markets of all regions and periods and provides an infrastructure which supports both research and networking among art market professionals and scholars.

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