On the Museum's Ruins

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The German word museal (museumlike) has unpleasant overtones. It describes objects to which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying. They owe their preservation more to historical respect than to the needs of the present. Museum and mausoleum are connected by more than phonetic association. Museums are the family sepultures of works of art.

—Theodor W. Adorno, "Valery Proust Museum"

In his review of the new installation of 19th-century art in the Andre Meyer Galleries of the Metropolitan Museum, Hilton Kramer attacked the inclusion of salon painting. Characterizing that art as silly, sentimental and impotent, Kramer went on to assert that, had the reinstallation been done a generation earlier, such pictures would have remained in the museum's storerooms to which they had so justly been consigned:

It is the destiny of corpses, after all, to remain buried, and salon painting was found to be very dead indeed.

But nowadays there is no art so dead that an art historian cannot be found to detect some simulacrum of life in its moldering remains. In the last decade, there has, in fact, arisen in the-scholarly world a powerful sub-profession that specializes in these lugubrious disinterments.¹

Kramer's metaphor of death and decay in the museum recalls Adorno's essay, in which the opposite but complementary experiences of Valery and Proust at the Louvre are analyzed, except that Adorno insists upon this museal mortality as a necessary effect of an institution caught in the contradictions of its culture and therefore extending to every object contained there.² Kramer, on the other hand, retaining his faith in the eternal life of masterpieces, ascribes the conditions of life and death not to the museum or

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the particular history of which it is an instrument but to artworks themselves, their autonomous quality threatened only by the distortions that a particular misguided installation might impose. He therefore wishes to explain "this curious turnabout that places a meretricious little picture like Gerome's _Pygmalion and Galatea_ under the same roof with masterpieces on the order of Goya's _Pepito_ and Manet's _Woman with a Parrot_. What kind of taste is it—or what standard of values—that can so easily accommodate such glaring opposites?"

The answer [Kramer thinks] is to be found in that much-discussed phenomenon—the death of modernism. So long as the modernist movement was understood to be thriving, there could be no question about the revival of painters like Gerome or Bouguereau. Modernism exerted a moral as well as an esthetic authority that precluded such a development. But the demise of modernism has left us with few, if any, defenses against the incursions of debased taste. Under the new post-modernist dispensation, anything goes------

It is an expression of this post-modernist ethos... that the new installation of 19th-century art at the Met needs... to be understood. What we are given in the beautiful Andre Meyer Galleries is the first comprehensive account of the 19th century from a post-modernist point of view in one of our major museums.3

We have here yet another example of Kramer's moralizing cultural conservatism disguised as progressive modernism. But we also have an interesting estimation of the discursive practice of the museum in the period of modernism and of its present transformation. Kramer's analysis fails, however, to take into account the extent to which the museum's claims to represent art coherently have already been opened to question by the practices of contemporary—postmodernist—art.

One of the first applications of the term _postmodernism_ to the visual arts occurs in Leo Steinberg's "Other Criteria" in the course of a discussion of Robert Rauschenberg's transformation of the picture surface into what Steinberg calls a "flatbed," referring, significantly, to a printing press.4 This flatbed picture plane is an altogether new kind of picture surface, one that effects, according to Steinberg, "the most radical shift in the subject matter of art, the shift from nature to culture."5 That is to say, the flatbed is a surface which can receive a vast and heterogeneous array of cultural images and artifacts that had not been compatible with the pictorial field of either premodernist or modernist painting. (A modernist painting, in Steinberg's view, retains a "natural" orientation to the spectator's vision, which the postmodernist picture abandons.) Although Steinberg, writing in 1968, could not have had a very precise notion of the far-reaching implications of his term _postmodernism_, his reading of the revolution implicit in Rauschenberg's art can be both focused and extended by taking this designation seriously.

Presumably unintentionally, Steinberg's essay suggests important parallels with the "archeological" enterprise of Michel Foucault. Not only does the very term _postmodernism_ imply the foreclosure of what Foucault would call the _episteme_, or archive, of modernism, but even more specifically, by insisting upon the radically different kinds of picture surfaces upon which different kinds of data can be accumulated and organized, Steinberg selects the very figure that Foucault employs to represent the incompatibility of historical periods: the tables upon which their knowledge is tabulated. Foucault's project involves the replacement of those unities of humanist historical thought such as tradition, influence, development, evolution, source and origin with concepts like discontinuity, rupture, threshold, limit and transformation. Thus, in Foucault's terms, if the surface of a Rauschenberg painting truly involves the kind of transformation Steinberg claims it does, then it cannot be said to evolve from, or in any way be continuous with a modernist picture surface.6 And if Rauschenberg's flatbed pictures are experienced as effecting such a rupture or discontinuity with the modernist past, as I believe they do and as I think do the works of many other artists of the present, then perhaps we are indeed experiencing one of those transformations in the epistemological field that Foucault describes. But it is not, of course, only the organization of knowledge that is unrecognizably transformed at certain moments in history. New institutions of power as well as new discourses arise; indeed, the two are interdependent. Foucault has analyzed the modern institutions of confinement—the asylum, the clinic and the prison—and their respective discursive formations—madness, illness and criminality. There is another such institution of confinement ripe for analysis in Foucault's terms—the museum—and another discipline—art history. They are the preconditions for the discourse that we know as modern art. And Foucault himself has suggested the way to begin thinking about this analysis.

The beginning of modernism in painting is usually located in Manet's work of the early 1860s, in which painting's relationship to its art-historical precedents was made shamelessly obvious. Titian's _Venus of Urbino_ is meant to be as recognizable a vehicle for the picture of a modern courtesan in Manet's _Olympia_ as is the unmodeled pink paint that composes her body. Just one hundred years after Manet thus rendered painting's relationship to its sources self-consciously problematic,7 Rauschenberg made a series of pictures using images of Velazquez's _Rokeby Venus_ and Ruben's _Venus at Her Toilet_. But Rauschenberg's references to these old-master paintings are effected entirely differently from Manet's; while Manet duplicates the pose, composition and certain details of the original in a painted transformation, Rauschenberg simply silkscreens a photographic reproduction of the
original onto a surface that might also contain such images as trucks and helicopters. And if trucks and helicopters cannot have found their way onto the surface of *Olympia*, it is obviously not only because such products of the modern age had not yet been invented; it is because of the structural coherence that made an image-bearing surface legible as a picture at the threshold of modernism, as opposed to the radically different pictorial logic that obtains at the beginning of postmodernism. Just what it is that constitutes the particular logic of a Manet painting is discussed by Foucault in an essay about *Flaubert's Temptation of St. Anthony*:

*Dejeuner sur l'Herbe* and *Olympia* were perhaps the first "museum" paintings, the first paintings in European art that were less a response to the achievement of Giorgione, Raphael, and Velazquez than an acknowledge-ment (supported by this singular and obvious connection, using this legible reference to cloak its operation) of the new and substantial relationship of painting to itself, as a manifestation of the existence of museums and the particular reality and interdependence that paintings acquire in museums. In the same period, *The Temptation* was the first literary work to comprehend the greenish institutions where books are accumulated and where the slow and incontrovertible vegetation of learning quietly proliferates. Flaubert is to the library what Manet is to the museum. They both produced works in a self-conscious relationship to earlier paintings or texts—or rather to the aspect in painting or writing that remains indefinitely open. They erect their art within the archive. They were not meant to foster the lamentations—the lost youth, the absence of vigor, and the decline of inventiveness—through which we reproach our Alexandrian age, but to unearth an essential aspect of our culture: every painting now belongs within the squared and massive surface of painting and all literary works are confined to the indefinite murmur of writing.

At a later point in this essay, Foucault says that "Saint Anthony seems to summon *Bouvard and Pecuchet*, at least to the extent that the latter stands as its grotesque shadow." If *The Temptation* points to the library as the generator of modern literature, then *Bouvard and Pecuchet* fingers it as the dumping grounds of an irredeemable classical culture. *Bouvard and Pecuchet* is a novel that systematically parodies the inconsistencies, irrelevancies, the massive foolishness of received ideas in the mid-19th century. Indeed, a "Dictionary of Received Ideas" was to comprise part of a second volume of Flaubert's last, unfinished novel.

*Bouvard and Pecuchet* is the narrative of two loony Parisian bachelors who, at a chance meeting, discover between themselves a profound sympathy, and also that they are both copy clerks. They share a distaste for city life and particularly for their fate of sitting behind desks all day. When Bouvard inherits a small fortune the two buy a farm in Normandy, to which they retire, expecting there to meet head-on the reality that was denied them.
in the half-life of their Parisian offices. They begin with the notion that they
will farm their farm, at which they fail miserably. From agriculture they
move to a more specialized field: arboriculture. Failing that they decide
upon garden architecture. To prepare themselves for each of their new
professions, they consult various manuals and treatises, in which they are
extremely perplexed to find contradictions and misinformation of all kinds.
The advice they find in them is either confusing or utterly inapplicable;
theory and practice never coincide. But undaunted by their successive
failures, they move inexorably to the next activity, only to find that it too
is incommensurate with the texts which purport to represent it. They try
chemistry, physiology, anatomy, geology, archeology... the list goes on.
When they finally succumb to the fact that the knowledge they’ve relied
upon is a mass of contradictions, utterly haphazard and quite disjunct from
the reality they’d sought to confront, they revert to their initial task of
copying. Here is one of Flaubert’s scenarios for the end of the novel:

They copy papers haphazardly, everything they find, tobacco pouches, old
newspapers, posters, torn books, etc. (real items and their imitations. Typical
of each category).

Then, they feel the need for a taxonomy. They make tables, antithetical
oppositions such as “crimes of the kings and crimes of the people”—bless-
ings of religion, crimes of religion. Beauties of history, etc.; sometimes,
however, they have real problems putting each thing in its proper place and
suffer great anxieties about it.

—Onward! Enough speculation! Keep on copying! The page must be
filled. Everything is equal, the good and the evil. The farcical and the
sublime—the beautiful and the ugly—the insignificant and the typical, they
all become an exaltation of the statistical. There are nothing but facts—and
phenomena.

Final bliss.⁹

In an essay about the novel, Eugenio Donato argues persuasively that the
emblem for the series of heterogeneous activities of Bouvard and Pecuchet is
not, as Foucault and others have claimed, the library-encyclopedia, but
rather the museum. This is not only because the museum is a privileged term
in the novel itself, but also because of the absolute heterogeneity it gathers
together. The museum contains everything the library contains and it
contains the library as well:

If Bouvard and Pecuchet never assemble what can amount to a library, they
nevertheless manage to constitute for themselves a private museum. The
museum, in fact, occupies a central position in the novel; it is connected to the
characters’ interest in archeology, geology, and history and it is thus through
the Museum that questions of origin, causality, representation, and symbol-
ization are most clearly stated. The Museum, as well as the questions it tries to
answer, depends upon an archaeological epistemology. Its representational
and

historical pretensions are based upon a number of metaphysical assumptions
about origins—archeology intends, after all, to be a science of the arches.
Archaeological origins are important in two ways: each archaeological
artefact has to be an original artefact, and these original artefacts must in turn
explain the “meaning” of a subsequent larger history. Thus, in Flaubert’s
caricatural example, the baptismal font that Bouvard and Pecuchet discover
has to be a Celtic sacrificial stone, and Celtic culture has in turn to act as an
original master pattern for cultural history.¹⁰

Not only do Bouvard and Pecuchet derive all of Western culture from the
few stones that remain from the Celtic past, but the "meaning" of that
culture as well. Those menhirs lead them to construct the phallic wing of their
museum:

In former times, towers, pyramids, candles, milestones and even trees had a
phallic significance, and for Bouvard and Pecuchet everything became
phallic. They collected swing-poles of carriages, chair-legs, cellular bolts,
pharmacists’ pestles. When people came to see them they would ask: “What
do you think that looks like?” then confided the mystery, and if there were
objections, they shrugged their shoulders pityingly.¹¹

Even in this subcategory of phallic objects, Flaubert maintains the
heterogeneity of the museum’s artifacts, a heterogeneity which defies the
systematization and homogenization that knowledge demanded.

The set of objects the Museum displays is sustained only by the fiction that
they somehow constitute a coherent representational universe. The fiction
is that a repeated metonymic displacement of fragment for totality, object
to label, series of objects to series of labels, can still produce a representation
which is somehow adequate to a nonlinguistic universe. Such a fiction is the
result of an uncritical belief in the notion that ordering and classifying, That is
to say, the spatial juxtaposition of fragments, can produce a representational
understanding of the world. Should the fiction disappear, there is nothing
left of the Museum but "bric-a-brac," a heap of meaningless and valueless
fragments of objects which are incapable of substituting themselves either
metonymically for the original objects or metaphorically for their
representations.¹²

This view of the museum is what Flaubert figures through the comedy of
Bouvard and Pecuchet. Founded on the disciplines of archeology and
natural history, both inherited from the classical age, the museum was a
discredited institution from its very inception. And the history of museology
is a history of all the various attempts to deny the heterogeneity of the
museum, to reduce it to a homogeneous system or series. The faith in the
possibility of ordering the museum’s "bric-a-brac," echoing that of
Bouvard and Pecuchet themselves, persists until today. Reinstallations like
that of the Metropolitan’s 19th-century collection of the Andre Meyer
Galleries, particularly numerous throughout the past decade, are testimonies to that faith. What so alarmed Hilton Kramer in this particular instance is that the criterion for determining the order of aesthetic objects in the museum throughout the era of modernism—the "self-evident" quality of masterpieces—has been broken, and as a result "anything goes." Nothing could testify more eloquently to the fragility of the museum's claims to represent anything coherent at all.

In the period following World War II, perhaps the greatest monument to the museum's discourse is André Malraux's Museum Without Walls. If Bouvard and Pécuchet is a parody of received ideas of the mid-19th century, the Museum Without Walls is the hyperbole of such ideas in the mid-20th. Specifically, what Malraux unconsciously parodies is "art history as a humanistic discipline." For Malraux finds in the notion of style the ultimate homogenizing principle, indeed the essence of art, hypostatized, interestingly enough, through the medium of photography. Any work of art that can be photographed can take its place in Malraux's super-museum. But photography not only secures the admittance of objects, fragments of objects, details, etc., to the museum; it is also the organizing device: it reduces the now even vaster heterogeneity to a single perfect similitude. Through photographic reproduction a cameo takes up residence on the page next to a painted tondo and a sculpted relief; a detail of a Rubens in Antwerp is compared to that of a Michelangelo in Rome. The art historian's slide lecture, the art history student's slide comparison exam inhabit the museum without walls. In a recent example provided by one of our most eminent art historians, the oil sketch for a small detail of a cobblestone street in Paris—A Rainy Day; painted in the 1870s by Gustave Caillebotte, occupies the left-hand screen while a painting by Robert Ryman from the Winsor series of 1966 occupies the right, and presto! they are revealed to be one and the same. But precisely what kind of knowledge is it that this artistic essence, style, can provide? Here is Malraux:

Reproduction has disclosed the whole world's sculpture. It has multiplied accepted masterpieces, promoted other works to their due rank and launched some minor styles—in some cases, one might say, invented them. It is introducing the language of color into art history; in our Museum Without Walls, picture, fresco, miniature and stained-glass window seem of one and the same family. For all alike—miniatures, frescoes, stained glass, tapestries, Scythian plaques, pictures, Greek vase paintings, "details" and even statuary—have become "color-plates." In the process they have lost their properties as objects; but, by the same token, they have gained something: the utmost significance as to style that they can possibly acquire. It is hard for us clearly to realize the gulf between the performance of an Aeschylean tragedy, with the instant Persian threat and Salamis looming across the Bay, and the effect we get from reading it; yet, dimly albeit, we feel the difference. All that remains of Aeschylus is his genius. It is the same with figures that in reproduction lose both their original significance as objects and their function (religious or other); we see them only as works of art and they speak for the same endeavor; it is as though an unseen presence, the spirit of art, were urging all on the same quest. Thus it is that, thanks to the rather specious unity imposed by photographic reproduction on a multiplicity of objects, ranging from the statue to the bas-relief, from bas-reliefs to seal-impressions, and from these to the plaques of the nomads, a "Babylonian style" seems to emerge as a real entity, not a mere classification—as something resembling, rather, the life-story of a great creator. Nothing conveys more vividly and compellingly the notion of a destiny shaping human ends than do the great styles, whose evolutions and transformations seem like long scars that Fate has left, in passing, on the face of the earth.

All of the works that we call art, or at least all of them that can be submitted to the process of photographic reproduction, can take their place in the great super-œuvre, Art as ontological essence, created not by men in their historical contingencies, but by Man in his very being. This is the comforting "knowledge" to which the Museum Without Walls gives testimony. And concomitantly, it is the deception to which art history, a discipline now thoroughly professionalized, is most deeply, if often unconsciously, committed.

But Malraux makes a fatal error near the end of his Museum: he admits within its pages the very thing that had constituted its homogeneity; that thing is, of course, photography. So long as photography was merely a vehicle by which art objects entered the imaginary museum, a certain coherence obtained. But once photography itself enters, an object among others, heterogeneity is reestablished at the heart of the museum; its pre-
ten sions of knowledge are doomed. Even photography cannot hypostatize style from a photograph.

In Flaubert's "Dictionary of Received Ideas" the entry under "Photography" reads, "Will make painting obsolete. (See Daguerreotype.)" And the entry for "Daguerreotype" reads, in turn, "Will take the place of painting. (See Photography.)" No one took seriously the possibility that photography might usurp painting. Less than half a century after photography's invention such a notion was one of those received ideas to be parodied. In our century until recently only Walter Benjamin gave credence to the notion, claiming that inevitably photography would have a truly profound effect upon art, even to the extent that the art of painting might disappear, having lost its all-important aura through mechanical reproduc-
A denial of this power of photography to transform art continued to energize modernist painting through the immediate postwar period in America. But then in the work of Rauschenberg photography began to conspire with painting in its own destruction.\(^{17}\)

While it was only with slight discomfort that Rauschenberg was called a painter throughout the first decade of his career, when he systematically embraced photographic images in the early '60s it became less and less possible to think of his work as painting. It was instead a hybrid form of \textit{printing}. Rauschenberg had moved definitively from techniques of \textit{production} (combines, assemblages) to techniques of \textit{reproduction} (silkscreens, transfer drawings). And it is this move that requires us to think of Rauschenberg's art as postmodernist. Through reproductive technology postmodernist art dispenses with the aura. The fiction of the creating subject gives way to the frank confiscation, quotation, excerptation, accumulation and repetition of already existing images.\(^{18}\) Notions of originality, authenticity and presence, essential to the ordered discourse of the museum, are undermined. Rauschenberg steals the \textit{Rokeby Venus} and screens her onto the surface of \textit{Crocus}, which also contains pictures of mosquitoes and a truck, as well as a reduplicated Cupid with a mirror. She appears again, twice, in \textit{Transom}, now in the company of a helicopter and repeated images of water towers on Manhattan rooftops. In \textit{Bicycle} she appears with the truck of \textit{Crocus} and the helicopter of \textit{Transom} but now also a sailboat, a cloud, an eagle. She reclines just above three Cunningham dancers in \textit{Overcast III} and atop a statue of George Washington and a car key in \textit{Breakthrough}. The absolute heterogeneity that is the purview of photography, and through photography, the museum, is spread across the surface of every Rauschenberg work. More importantly, it spreads from work to work.

Malraux was enraptured by the endless possibilities of his Museum, by the proliferation of discourses it could set in motion, establishing ever new series of iconography and style simply by reshuffling the photographs. That proliferation is enacted by Rauschenberg: Malraux's dream has become Rauschenberg's joke. But, of course, not everyone gets the joke, least of all Rauschenberg himself, judging from the proclamation he composed for the Metropolitan Museum's Centennial Certificate in 1970:

\textit{Treasury of the conscience of man. Masterworks collected, protected and celebrated commonly. Timeless in concept the museum amasses to concertise a moment of pride serving to defend the dreams}
and ideals apolitically of mankind aware and responsive to the changes, needs and complexities of current life while keeping history and love alive.

This certificate, containing photographic reproductions of works of art without the intrusion of anything else, was signed by the museum officials.

References

5. Ibid., p. 84.
7. Not all art historians would agree that Manet made the relationship of painting to its sources problematic. This is, however, the initial assumption of Michael Fried's "Manet's Sources: Aspects of his Art, 1859-1865" (Artforum, VII, 7 [March 1969], pp. 28-82), whose first sentence reads: "If a single question is guiding our understanding of Manet's art during the first half of the 1860s, it is this: What are we to make of the numerous references in his paintings of those years to the work of the great painters of the past?" (p. 28). In part, Fried's presupposition that Manet's references to earlier art were different, in their "literalness and obviousness," from the ways in which Western painting had previously used sources led Theodore Reff to attack Fried's essay, saying, for example, "When Reynolds portrays his sitters in attitudes borrowed from famous pictures by Holbein, Michelangelo, and Annibale Carracci, wittily playing on their relevance to his own subjects; when Ingres deliberately refers in his religious compositions to those of Raphael, and in his portraits to familiar examples of Greek sculpture or Roman painting, do they not reveal the same historical consciousness that informs Manet's early work?" (Theodore Reff, "Manet's Sources: A Critical Evaluation," Artforum, VIII, 1 [September 1969], p. 40). As a result of this denial of difference, Reff is able to continue applying to modernism art-historical methodologies devised to explain past art, for example that which explains the very particular relationship of Italian Renaissance art to the art of classical antiquity.

It was the parodic example of such blind application of art-historical methodology to the art of Rauschenberg that occasioned the present essay. In this instance, presented in a lecture by Robert Pincus-Witten, the source for Rauschenberg's Monogram (an assemblage which employs a stuffed angora goat) was said to be William Holman Hunt's Scapegoat!
10. Ibid., p. 220. The apparent continuity between Foucault's and Donato's essays here is misleading, inasmuch as Donato is explicitly engaged in an attack upon Foucault's archeological methodology, claiming that it implicates Foucault in a return to a metaphysics of origins. Foucault himself moved beyond his "archeology" as soon as he codified it in The Archeology of Knowledge (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969).
13. This comparison was first presented by Robert Rosenblum in a symposium entitled "Modern Art and the Modern City: From Caillebotte and the Impressionists to the Present Day," held in conjunction with the Gustave Caillebotte exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum in March 1977. Rosenblum published a version of his lecture, although only works by Caillebotte were illustrated. The following excerpt will suffice to give an with an A-A-A-A beat along the ruing of a bridge. Checkerboards of square pavement stones map out the repetitive grid systems we see in Warhol or early Stella, Rymnan and Andre. Clean stripes, as in Daniel Buren[1], suddenly impose a cheerful, primary esthetic order upon urban flux and scatter." ("Gustave Caillebotte: The 1970s and the 1870s," Artforum, XV, 7 [March 1977], p. 52.) When Rosenblum again presented the Ryman-
museums. On the other hand, both museums and marketplace have also begun to "naturalize" the techniques of postmodernism, turning them into mere categories according to which a whole new range of heterogeneous objects can be organized. See my essay "Appropriating Appropriation" in *Image Scavengers: Photographs* (Philadelphia: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1982), pp. 27-34.