

**Art History after
Modernism**

HANS BELTING

Translated by Caroline Saltzwedel and Mitch Cohen
with additional translation by Kenneth Northcott

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS/CHICAGO & LONDON

Contents

Preface to the English Edition *vii*

I Modernism in the Mirror of Contemporary Culture

1. Epilogues for Art or for Art History? 3
2. The Meaning of Art History in Today's Culture 7
3. Art Criticism versus Art History 17
4. The Unwelcome Heritage of Modernism: Style and History 26
5. The Late Cult of Modernism: Documenta and Western Art 37
6. Western Art: The Intervention of the United States in Postwar Modernism 44
7. Europe: East and West at the Watershed of Art History 54
8. Global Art and Minorities: A New Geography of Art History 62
9. The Mirror of Mass Culture: Art's Revolt against Art History 74
10. The Temporality of Video Art 85
11. The Narrative of Art in the New Museum: The Search for a Profile 96
- II The End of Art History?
12. Art and the Crisis of Modernism 115
13. Art Historiography as Tradition 126
14. Methods and Games of an Academic Discipline 137
15. Work of Art or History of Art? 148
16. Art History versus Media Studies 161

HANS BELTING is professor of art history at Northwestern University. He has written numerous books, including *The End of the History of Art? Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, and *The Invisible Masterpiece*, published by the University of Chicago Press.

Originally published as *Das Ende der Kunstgeschichte. Eine Revision nach zehn Jahren* © C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung (Oscar Beck), Munich 1995.

An earlier draft of chapter 20 appeared as "Marco Polo und die anderen Kulturen" in *Neue Bildende Kunst* 4-5 (Sept. 1995).

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 60637
The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London

© 2003 by The University of Chicago

All rights reserved. Published 2003

Printed in the United States of America

12 11 10 09 08 07 06 05 04 03 1 2 3 4 5

ISBN: 0-226-04184-0 (cloth)

ISBN: 0-226-04185-9 (paper)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Belting, Hans.

[*Ende der Kunstgeschichte? English!*]

Art history after modernism / Hans Belting ; translated by Caroline

Saltzweil and Mirich Cohen with additional translation by Kenneth

Northcott.

p. cm.

Rev. ed. of: *The end of the history of art?* 1987.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN: 0-226-04184-0 (alk. paper) —

ISBN: 0-226-04185-9 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Art—Historiography. 2. Art criticism—Historiography. 3. Art,

Modern—20th century. I. Belting, Hans End of the history of art? II. Title.

N380 .B4413 2003

709'.04'5—dc21

2001006547

© The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992.

When the sixties discussed the crisis or the end of modernism, soon thereafter another topic, the notion of history as a suddenly obsolete category for the narrative of art, became the target of the debate. Even modernism was not an easy matter of definition, as its meaning differed in European circles from those discussing the arts in the United States. The time span identified with modernism was much shorter in the United States, and the break with an accepted norm of culture or art, which had been canonized by writers such as Clement Greenberg, was felt as a dramatic event in the United States, where attempts of reaching consent about such matters then were still recent. Modernism may be called a project of becoming modern and creating symbols of modernity. But the age of modernity reaches further back and thus cannot be called synonymous with modernism but represents a space of history that, in the meanwhile, has become past history precluding the hope of saving the modern age from the fate of receding into history.

In the following pages, I want to connect the topic of *history* with the topic of *art* in the sense that art has been defined by and lived in a history of its own, which means that a safe notion of history was needed for establishing consent on the notion of art. Before 1960, every work that claimed to be art was to deliver the proof by marking a new stage in art's history. Thus, art was inevitably linked to art history, considered as its ever recurring law and temporal pattern. This former view soon conflicted with another position, which only accepted art as a successful fiction, backed by art institutions rather than by virtue of a particular history or individual success. For the same reason, it was soon impossible to speak of the end of art, since any end only can happen within an established framework of history. What therefore was believed to have ended was that very concept of history which allowed an end to happen. Where such a concept was missing, also any discourse of ends, maturity, or beginnings collapsed. Whereas Hegel envisaged a possible end in art while simultaneously establishing the discourse of art history on a new level, today we rather contemplate the end of a linear history of art, since art has meanwhile taken leave of the bounds of a history of its own. In the sixties, artists like Donald Judd challenged traditional art

genres by speaking of "specific objects," that is, objects, not sculptures: specific to these objects was their context in which they were presented as art. At the opposite end, but at the same time, the conceptual artists devised art by ideas rather than in palpable works, thus taking leave from the work as a safe entity in art's embodiment. Instead of producing works that always leave traces of a given moment in history, artists now were inclined to perform with their own body, which only permitted an ephemeral presence in an exhibition. Such activities not only dematerialized works in their traditional profile but dissolved the concept of history, at least in its born materials and testimonies. Events, or happenings, did not allow for the same objectivated kind of memory or trace of history, as did works of art in the old sense.

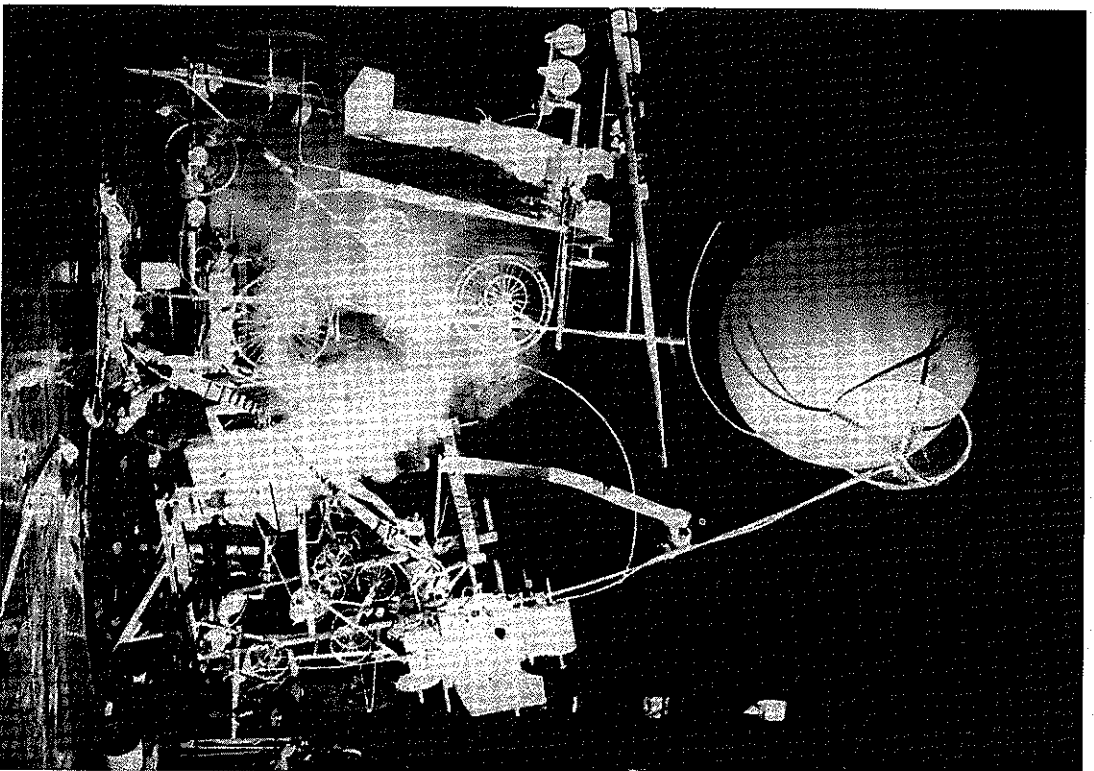
Allan Kaprow, who had earned his living by teaching art history in a college, forced all attention to the art environment which in a way took over (or replaced) the experience of art properly speaking: an environment that turned the former visitors of an exhibition into active participants. At the same time, he admonished artists to create the *context of art* rather than art in the old sense. Installations inaugurated a space where viewers became active themselves. Installations are ephemeral by definition and thus only survive in books that record past events instead of describing art history in the old sense, in the sense of a logic evident from surviving material evidence.

In his book *The Anxious Object*, Harold Rosenberg in 1964 describes the "aesthetics of impermanence" and discusses art's temporality while taking shape in transient materials. "The short-lived work of art, as dramatized by Tinguely in his self-destroying *Sculpture*, stages art as an event." And again, "The aesthetics of impermanence turned the work of art into an interval in the artist's life and in that of the viewer as well." Rosenberg then was still under the spell of the spectacle that Jean Tinguely performed on March 17, 1960, in the sculpture garden of the Museum of Modern Art in New York (fig. 44). A fantastic machine parody, composed of pieces of scrap metal, painted white, and titled *Homage to New York*, took half an hour to set itself on fire with an ear-splitting din and to disintegrate into meta-scrap, while two painting machines, called "Meta-Matics," went on producing paintings that were immediately consumed by the flames. The choicest remains were given to the museum, but the action itself, with its half-ironic, half-poetic, kinetic extravagance, survived only in photographs or in the personal memories of the participants. The happening denigrated the essence of the work of art and counteracted the working process by an inversed

symmetry. "L'art éphémère," as the battle cry went, invaded the venerable temple of modernist art as in a sudden attack.

Rosenberg may have wavered between fascination and doubt. But when he finally decided to criticize such phenomena, his clear-sighted observations did not receive the attention they deserved; for he noticed that visual art and metaphorical, quasi-verbal performance were approaching each other by an increasing interaction. This also demolished, as he said, the safe borderline between an art that plunges into actions and an art criticism that comments on these actions. "By circulating an event in art history, painting sheds its material body: it takes on an asexual body ubiquitous in art books, in catalogues, TV, and films, as well as in the text of art writers . . . and which exists in accordance with the frequency of its public mention, that is, in dependence on time." This view allows me to proceed further in the discussion of what art history as a written genre can be after modernism when art no longer lives from works that have an independent existence (even if in dark storerooms) but rather casts an impermeable net of record and description over fleeting facts and data that only survive in texts. Temporality and textuality approach each other, after we no longer have access to works that remain present as reified symbols of their momentum in history.

In his essay "The Open Opus" (*Opera aperta*), Umberto Eco already in 1962 described the new situation of the work of art as moving into unpredictable directions that no longer offer us a firm viewing point. The work, whose existence he still took for granted, acquires "the ability to kaleidoscopically transform itself in the eye of the beholder," thus involving the viewer personally in creating aesthetic experience. With equal justification, we could meanwhile speak of an "open discourse" in which texts about art transmute into an art of texts. In this sense, Paola Fonticoli introduced Achille Bonito Oliva as the protagonist of a new art of criticism, "La critica d'arte come arte della critica," as her title says. The critic seems to adopt a role similar to the performer of music, in the sense that he or she now is the one making the music; yet, unlike the musician, the critic does not use a score but instead writes the score of how artists are to be presented and how they are to be understood. The critic also selects such works or artists that will illustrate his favored type of criticism. This is what Olivo did, when he hunted for artists of his own choice. First, he coined the term "neo-avant-garde," and later, in 1980, the concept of the Italian "trans-avant-garde," in a book with the respective title. On the cover of his next book, entitled *The Dream of Art: Between Avant-garde and Trans-avant-garde*, he smiles out of his portrait by Sandro Chia as if staging not merely as the author but also as



44. Jean Tinguely, *Homage to New York*, March 17, 1960. Museum of Modern Art, New York. © 2002 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris.

the hero of the book (fig. 6 above). The earlier book states that art has "finally" found its truest themes and "returned" to its true destiny, the labyrinth of imagination and myth, which also meant that social and moral issues no longer mattered. Oliva maintained that the "creative practice" had carried off the victory over all censorship and over a discourse dominated by the American media critics or guardians of art, thus permitting an intuitive painting of a new kind. It is with the confidence of a self-fulfilling prophecy that he describes and defines what matters in art.

For the same purpose he grandly dismisses the *Arte povera* of the Sixties as "repressive and masochistic," thus contradicting the position of Germano Celant, his opponent. Celant, in his famous catalog of *Arte Povera (sic)*, makes the confession of "not trying to be objective," since such intentions would be tantamount to "false consciousness." His concept for *Arte povera*, he declared, was just a "work among other works," as they were made by artists. As the chosen term was arbitrary and possibly marginal, he noted, he might exchange it any time for terms such as "concept art" or "anti-form," in which case he would, as early as tomorrow, write a new and different book about the same subject. The aphorisms that introduce the book in their poetic language not only are considered as being art in the first place but also claim to be free from the baggage of history, which means that the course of contemporary art could be rewritten at leisure and at any moment in any possible ways (fig. 5 above).

The coexistence of concepts of art that, in principle, are mutually exclusive, no longer is seen as an exception or even as a problem. In one current, works disappear behind ideas or else within "objects," while in another current works return with almost mythic ambitions. While a technological art tends to recede into what Paul Virilio calls the "aesthetics of vanishing," in another current the cult of the art material continues to be practiced with almost archaic confidence. Documenta exhibitions repeatedly aim to establish a main current of contemporary art but contradict themselves by their continuing free choice against all expectation to the contrary. It is not enough to describe the situation as pluralism, since even pluralism lived from the opposite experience of a preexisting and expected unity of art. What happens in the art world only makes sense after it is written about with the professional urge to provide a personal vision rather than information.

Western culture after modernism offers a sight similar to the experi-

ence of ethnic cultures that Claude Lévi-Strauss, in his *Tristes tropiques*, describes as the experience of being left alone with nothing but one's own view of something very alien. In the early seventies, the small, mainly French movement called *Spurensicherung* (securing traces) was characterized by Günther Merken in his synonymous book as the artists' search for "anthropology and self-discovery" (fig. 45). In their hands, the heritage of art history, which once had presented a canon for collective memory, changed into an occasion for a personal archaeology. Thus emerged "a multitude of personal museums, which taken together make up a new *Musée de l'Homme*—but a museum without history." Historical forms thus were transformed into fictions including the fiction that it was possible to appropriate everything by personal memory.

Where art history was exhausted as a continuing task or mission of living artists, it resurfaced as an ubiquitous hallucination providing an inexhaustible reservoir for reappropriation in a very personal way. The so called "Art after art"—movement in the Seventies was the main stage for *playing* or pretending art history without any longer being in art history. Old Picasso, who even ended up deconstructing his own former oeuvre, in a way anticipated this movement, which however only went public in 1971 with a Lugano exhibition titled *D'Après*. At the occasion of this show, Giancarlo Vigorelli asked the question whether we have to admit that "we have become ourselves a mere choice of copies, reprints, and imitates." The *D'Après* attitude did not mean producing copies after old art, but implied the intention to make art by the mere act of quoting art and by borrowing art's claim from acknowledged models where such a claim was guaranteed.

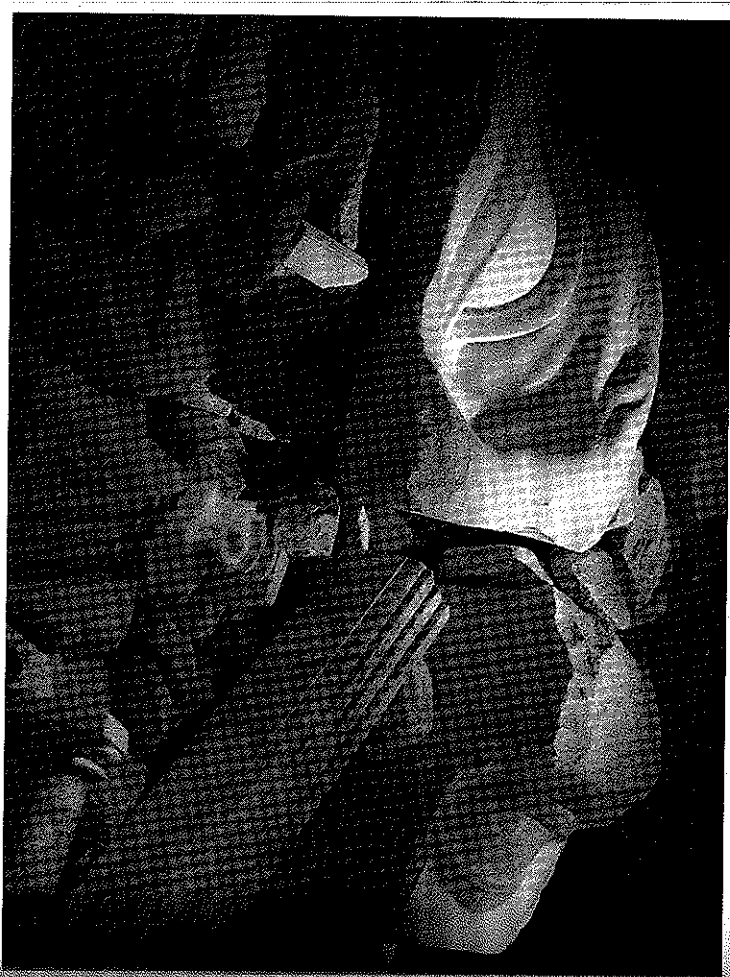
The 1978 Whitney exhibition *Art about Art* was hastily put in line in the catalog by Leo Steinberg. The author, as was to be expected, deliberately turns the tables and insists that artists at all times had copied, outdone, and corrected each other. He could even make use of the materials collected by K. E. Mason in his book, titled *Themes and Variations*, a rich choice of old paintings together with their old copies. This was temptation enough for a virtuoso like Steinberg to trace what has to be called an *epiphenomenon* back to an old *phenomenon* and thus to celebrate a totally coherent history of art in which even the old masters seem to have taken a postmodern position. But an objection may be raised. The quotation exercises in art after modernism operate from a position beyond art history and reveal the experience of a loss. Such art as they are quoting, appears as a "belle captive" that hides somewhere in the depth of history and only allows the nostalgic view of what

has been and is no longer. Art history comes here into play as a topic of memory and no longer as a task to be taken further. In such a mood, Arwed D. Gorella called a picture *The Geometry of Memory*.

The *D'Après* that appears in the title of the Lugano exhibition also makes a confession. Not only artists seem to live in a time after, which means in a time after art history in which art embarks on a posthistory of finite possibilities and reacts with infinite and sometimes arbitrary applications. It is not that I consider the so-called *quotation art* as the most important movement of its time, but it offers symptoms that relate to my argument. A few years earlier, such a movement would have appeared unacceptable because not understandable, while later the same movement did not appear any longer original, since its aims became commonplace. My argument also relates to the discussion of the continuity of painting; as painting most visibly represents a site either of memories or of changes. Even the Whitney exhibition mentioned above was intended to promote a "new image-painting," in which Philip Guston set the tone. Three years later, the Royal Academy in London housed the exhibition *New Spirit of Painting*. The suggestive title revealed the desire to discover a new power of painting and to promote neo-expressionism as the spirit of the age. But such attempts proved short-lived and also fell victim to the uncertainty of any concepts of history as concepts of time.

Some years later, Harald Szeemann mounted an exhibition not of painting but of monumental sculpture at the German site of the same exhibition that had migrated from London to Berlin. This time, the title was *Zeitlos* (Timeless), as if a block of stone in a quasi-sacred space could prove that all great art is timeless. The material favored an all-too-easy idea of art's autonomy in a poetic zone, and this against the evidence of video and video installations which at the same time had introduced a most ephemeral experience of art, an art representing the dynamism of a hypermodernity, as Marc Augé called the late twentieth century. But even such objections miss the point when they serve the hope that art will ever recover a position in which it defies change and doubt. Where there no longer appears anything never seen and radically new, there also nothing can really grow old and thus need to be replaced once and forever. The slogans surrounding the concept of time in the Eighties and Nineties appear like gestures of protest against the feeling of loss that took hold of the discourse of art history.

What books about art did not elucidate was instead entrusted to spectacular exhibitions, which, however, served other needs. The Amsterdam exhibition of 1984, borrowing its title *La grande parade* from



45. Anne and Patrick Poirer, *The Death of the Giant Enkklades*, assemblage, 1983. Venice Biennale, 1984. © 2002 Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGR, Paris.

a picture by Fernand Léger, presented "Highlights in Painting after 1940" in a panoramic view that did not intend to describe "an art-historical evolution." The aim, rather, was to deliver "a contrasting picture of sometimes irreconcilable attitudes of mind" and thus to "represent painterly imagination" regardless of the painters' position in history but with reference to the personal taste of Edy de Wilde, who as director of the Stedelijk Museum then went into retirement. In a similar spirit, Pontus Hulten mounted the 1992 exhibition in Bonn, whose title *Territorium Artis* indicated a kind of personal playground for the curator where he had assembled his favored "masterpieces" from modernism without any longer respecting the "calls for order" valid in modernism.

Such projects appear in open contradiction to the growing expectation of the general audience to receive information about the state of art in retrospective exhibitions rather than in books: in exhibitions that lived from unexpected discoveries but were expected to represent a truth more reliable than the personal view of an art historian as book author. In addition, works as they were shown in such exhibitions were not merely records of past events, leftovers that allowed memories of past modernism but were themselves "historical bodies" created by modernism. At any time they might cause us to change our view of what had happened and how it was to be seen. They seemed to embody a secret and not yet completely deciphered message or index of modernism, which defeated any rigid concept of art's "evolution" and therefore could be studied and restudied with a curiosity no longer dedicated to written texts with their inevitably past interpretation. This accounts for the ambivalence that lives in exhibitions of this kind, an ambivalence in repudiating and equally in confirming the pattern of history even in modernist art.

But the skepticism looms large in any retrospective view on modernism as soon as the latter appeared as something that ended forever. In this sense, art suffered the same crisis as history, understood as a binding authority and continuing model. The connection with the discourse of "posthistory" may help us to elucidate the peculiar situation that characterizes art history after modernism. This connection was made for the first time by Arnold Gehlen, who had introduced the discourse of "posthistory" in Germany. In his book titled *Zeitbilder* (Images of time), he predicted: "From now on there can be no longer any development in art that is art's own development. Any somehow meaningful art history is over and done with. What is to come, already has happened: the synthesis of a mess of all sorts of styles and possibilities—Posthistoire." In 1960, this was a daring statement, however prophetic it may seem in

retrospect. For the left, who only felt disillusioned with history much later and who promptly discovered their own posthistoire, Gehlen's view came from a conservative and therefore unacceptable side. Wolf Leppies however already in 1969 made use of an argument by Claude Lévi-Strauss who in his book *Le Pensée sauvage* from 1962 described tinkering (*bricolage*) as a model for posthistory. For the tinkers, "the world of their means is limited, and the rules of their games tell them to manage with what is on hand."

Arnold Gehlen voiced similar views in favor of "cultural crystallization" in 1963. "I am venturing the prediction that the history of ideas is over." He therefore reminded his readers of Gottfried Benn's dictum that one should "count on the inventory." This is why Gehlen speaks of a world that no longer offers any surprise: "The alternatives are known, as they are in religion, and they are in any sense final." It may be, however, argued that "such an end to history is as an artifact of thought" when measured against real history, as Lutz Niehammer put it. It is a genuinely Western preoccupation to take refuge in a new idea that serves to compensate for the loss of an old idea such as progress. Even the loss generated a new law when it provided an occasion for contemplating history in a situation after history. "Posthistory" in turn depends on a basically modern concept of "history" which equally is or was an artifact of thought or a device for constructing identity.

One may even go so far as regarding "history" as a concept for compensating the loss of history in the old sense which the nineteenth century felt had irretrievably occurred with the French revolution. Much the same may be said about the contemplation of "art history" as a new type of discourse that goes back to the early days of the "museum age." It seems that, also in this respect, we have reached a situation of no return and thus must reconsider the rules of the game we call "art history" without necessarily rejecting the canon that is inscribed in the collected knowledge inherited from the practice of the respective discipline. And, finally, we must acknowledge the rights of other national or cultural traditions to change the unilateral view on one type, or chronology, of art in one frame of art history that too long deserves the privilege of a master discourse.

An experience of living after the end of history liberates the artists and fetters the historians, as the former respond to such an experience with new creative energy, while the latter can do nothing but memorize a lost game that they only may comment upon. The artists continue to make art, even if their work often may look as a ritual of

memory, and thus perpetuate the old game, as they may feel free to expand their own concept of art beyond the one-time obsession with progress that moved the avant-garde. In retrospect, the assumption that traditional art always resulted in inventions and innovations looks like an undeserved myth. This is what caused the fear of being left with nothing but imitation, as if any link with tradition necessarily would end in epigonism. Progress, in turn, often was nothing but the dutiful repetition of the creative act which was a peculiar obedience to history. It thus ultimately contradicted the resistance against history which only served the impulse not to copy history. History, in the view of the avant-garde, seemed to take a linear course of continuous change and upheaval but not to allow any attempt to recreate or to redefine progress. Such a misconception also was responsible for reinventing the reason for art at any time, as if no art or only wrong art had existed before.

In this respect, the difference that today dominates thinking after modernism is obvious. The need for proclaiming yesterday's new to be today's old and exchanging it for anything yet newer has weakened. And there emerges the insight that art cannot be constantly reinvented the way any single work of art can be newly invented. On the contrary, it needs the concept of art for creating new works in the first place. Art has no independent truth unless we are talking of general aesthetics or metaphysical concerns which however reach beyond the bounds of art. Duchamp in his own days could afford to be at variance with a ruling idea in art that has however since dissolved. Today we are no longer left with the urge and with the possibility of breaking the mirror we call art history, as we no longer are in a position to replace this mirror easily.

Innovation, nevertheless, remains an ideal that however is too hastily pursued by merely escaping into other media. A video installation, to give just one example, may even quote painting without being accused of imitation. Today, the new already seems to happen by changing the medium instead of choosing innovation in substance. Video artists, to give again an example, may address topical issues of their society, which would be inaccessible for gallery art of the traditional kind.

But there is still another side to this. Art in posthistory often seems to happen by turning technology into art, in which case art allows for an imagination that one could call meta-technological. It does not seem that a post-technological age is in reach, even if technology looks meanwhile back to a history of its own which makes possible a kind of archeology. When Nam June Paik started to use TV items for his earliest installations, he already worked with still earlier TV sets that had gone out of

use, thus turning around the claim of technology to look intentionally new and to invite for immediate usage. Instead he shifted the attention to a kind of history in technology where the latter had become available for memory. It may be that even technological tools allow the artist to apply personal expression much as he had done with paintbrush and palette. At least, it may be hoped that technology does not remain the last word in posthistory.

André Malraux, *Le Musée imaginaire de la sculpture mondiale* (written during the Second World War), 3 vols. (Paris, 1947); first part of the trilogy, *Les Voix du silence*. Georges Duthuit, *Le Musée imaginaire*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1956).

The seminal writings of Charles de Tolnay still have not found wide recognition and have therefore not yet appeared in a collected edition; cf., for example, "Remarques sur la Joconde," *Revue des Arts* 2 (1952): 18 ff., or "Le Jugement dernier de Michel Ange," *Art Quarterly* (1940): 125 ff. Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* (Paris, 1966), chapter 1, "Les suaves," 19 ff. Unfortunately, Foucault's linguistic style is practically untranslatable, which has resulted in misunderstanding and mistaken criticism of the work he has done in art scholarship.

Peter Weiss, *Die Ästhetik des Widerstands: Roman*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1975), 3 vols. in 1 (Frankfurt am Main, 1988), 332 ff. On Weiss, see Gunilla Palmsterna-Weiss and Jürgen Schütte, *Peter Weiss, Leben und Werk* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991). Julian Barnes, *A History of the World in 10 1/2 Chapters* (New York and London, 1989), passim.

On Jean Luc Godard's film *Passion* (1982), see his writings in *J. L. Godard par J. L. G.*, ed. A. Bergala, in *Cahiers du Cinéma* (1985), 484 ff.; Jean Louis Leprat, *Des traces qui nous ressemblent* (Paris, 1990); Joachim Paech, *Passion, oder, Die Einbildung des Jean-Luc Godard*. Cinematograph, vol. 6 (Frankfurt am Main, 1989).

Jean Rivette's film *La Belle Noiseuse* (1991) is based on Honoré de Balzac's 1831 novella *Le Chef-d'oeuvre inconnu*. On Yves Klein, see Krahmer (chapter 6) and also the catalog to the 1983 retrospective exhibition in the Center Pompidou, with texts on 189 ff., and "Quelques extraits de mon journal en 1957," in the catalog *Art et Création* [Paris] no. 1 (1968).

16. ART HISTORY VERSUS MEDIA STUDIES

For literature on the social history of art and references to Jaus, also for references to Susan Sonntag, see chapter 13.

On the discussion of images, there is a wealth of recent titles from various disciplines, which cannot be gathered under a common denominator here. The following may be helpful to begin with: the anthology *The Language of Images*, ed. W. I. T. Mitchell (Chicago, 1974); Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis, 1968); various publications by V. Flusser on technological images; and Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Regarder—écouter—lire* (Paris 1993).

It is difficult to give references that can already be representative on the subject of media theory and media history. Cf. in particular the anthology *Aisthesis: Wahrnehmung heute oder Perspektiven einer anderen Ästhetik*, ed. Karlheinz Barck et al. (Leipzig, 1991), and Norbert W. Bolz, *Theorie der neuen Medien* (Munich, 1990).

The history of the image is still in its early stages; cf. also Hans Belting and Christiane Kruse, *Die Erfindung des Gemäldes: Das erste Jahrhundert niederländischer Malerei* (Munich, 1994); Werner Busch, ed., *Funkkolleg Kunst: Eine Geschichte der Kunst im Wandel ihrer Funktionen*, vols. 1–2, with a supplement dealing with the history of artistic function (Munich, 1987), and idem, *Das semi-mentalsche Bild: Die Krise der Kunst im 18. Jahrhundert und die Geburt der*

Moderne (Munich, 1993); or Joseph Leo Koerner, *The Moment of Self-Portraiture in German Renaissance Art* (Chicago, 1993). For a French perspective, cf. the interdisciplinary anthology *Destins de l'image*, in the series Nouvelle Revue de Psychanalyse, no. 44 (n.p., 1991). On D. Tenzers's "Theatrum Pictoricum" (Anwerp, 1660), see Stoichita (as in chapter 13), chapter 6. On the curiosity cabinet, cf. also Bredekamp, *Antikenschnuscht und Maschinenlauben* (chapter 11).

17. THE MYTH OF MODERNISM IN THE MIRROR OF ART HISTORY

On early histories of modern art, including H. Thode and Julius Meier-Graefe, see my introduction to Meier-Graefe's *Entwicklungsgeschichte* (as in chapter 4); on Sedlmayr, see chapter 1. Gottfried Boehm, "Die Krise der Repräsentation," in Lorenz Dittmann, ed., *Kategorien und Methoden der deutschen Kunstgeschichte, 1900–1930* (Wiesbaden, 1985), 113 ff. Finally, see the essays in Monika Wagner, ed., *Moderne Kunst: Das Funkkolleg zum Verständnis der Gegenwartskunst*, 2 vols. (Reinbek, 1992).

The partisans of modernism were, above all, Wilhelm Hausenstein (*Die bildende Kunst der Gegenwart. Malerei, Plastik, Zeichnung* [Stuttgart, 1914]); C. Einstein (for example, *Die bildende Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1927]); and Herbert E. Read (*The Anatomy of Art. An Introduction to the Problems of Art and Aesthetics* [London, 1932], *Art and Society*, 3d ed. [London, 1956], *The Philosophy of Modern Art* [London, 1964], *Icon and Idea* [London, 1955]). After the Second World War, the principal theorists are Werner Hatmann (*Skizzenbuch: Zur Kultur der Gegenwart* [Munich, 1960], *Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert* [Munich, 1954]), followed by Giulio C. Argan (*L'arte moderna, 1770–1970* [Florence, 1970]), and Werner Hofmann (*Zeichen und Gestalt: Die Malerei des 20. Jahrhunderts* [Vienna, 1956], *Die Grundlagen der modernen Kunst* [Stuttgart, 1966], and *Von der Nachahmung zur Erfindung der Wirklichkeit* [Hamburg, 1970]).

On the art history of the avant-garde, see chapter 13; on Harold Rosenberg, chapter 6. On the realism debate during the 1930s, see *Paris-Paris*, exhibition catalog (Paris, 1981). On Fernand Léger, see chapter 13. On the "farewell to the painting," see Nikolai M. Tarabukin, *Ot Moltberta do mushine* (From the Easel to the Machine) (Moscow, 1923); cf. also Hofmann, *Von der Nachahmung zur Erfindung der Wirklichkeit*; M. Pleynet, "Disparation du tableau," in *Art International* (1968); Wolfgang Drechsler and Peter Weibel, eds., *Bildlich: Malerei zwischen Material und Immaterialität*, exhibition catalog (Vienna, 1991).

18. POSTMODERNISM OR POSTHISTORY

On the modernism debate, see, for example, Michael Fried, "Art and Objecthood," in *Artforum* (1967), and V. Burgin, in *Studio International* (October 1969); here the issue was the definitions of the work of art and of attitudes to art as a whole. What D. Judd called the "disinterest in doing it again" was associated with the concept of the end of art history: D. Judd, "Specific Objects," in *Arts Yearbook* 8 (1965). On performance art, see chapter 10.

For a comment on "art and life," see Allan Kaprow, *Assemblage, Environment and Happening* (New York, 1965); Wolf Vostell, *Happening und Leben* (Cologne, 1970); and Jürgen Schilling, *Aktionskunst. Identität von Kunst und Leben? Eine Dokumentation* (Luzerne, 1978). Rosenberg, *The Anxious Object*. On Jean

Tinguely; see also B. Klüver, "The Garden Party," in Karl Gunnar Pontus Hultén, *A Magic Stronger than Death* (Milan, 1987), 74ff., with numerous illustrations. On Achille Bonito Oliva and G. Celant, see chapter 3 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques* (Paris, 1955). Günter Meken, *Spurensicherung: Kunst als Anthropologie und Selbsterforschung* (Cologne, 1977).

On quotation and paraphrase, see the exhibition catalog *D'Après: Omaggi e dissacrazioni nell'arte contemporanea*, (Lugano, 1971); "E. Weiss, Kunst in Kunst—Das Zitat in der Pop Art," in *Aachener Kunstblätter* 40 (1971); the exhibitions *Kunst und Künstler als Thema der Kunst: Dialoge-Kopie* (Dresden, 1970); *Bilder nach Bildern: Druckgraphik und die Vermittlung von Kunst* (Münster, 1976); *Original und Fälschung* (Bonn, 1974); *Art about Art* (New York, 1978), with a catalog by Jean Lipman and Richard Marshall that includes an essay by Leo Steinberg; *Nachbilder—Von Nutzen und Nachteil des Zitierens für die Kunst* (Kunstverein Hannover, 1979); and *Mona Lisa im 20. Jahrhundert* (Duisburg, 1978). See also Hans Belting, "Larry Rivers und die Historie in der modernen Kunst," in *Art International* 25 (1982), 72ff.; and Charles N. Mason's book *Themes and Variations* (1976). The painting by Corella was published in *Nachbilder*, 192.

On "political correctness" and on the exhibitions *A New Spirit in Painting and Zeitgeist*, see chapter 6. The exhibition *Zeilos* was shown in Berlin in 1989. On R. Atkins's *Art Speak* (p. 55 on "Body Art"), see chapter 3. On the exhibition *Widerstand* (Resistance) see chapter 7. Cf. Ziva Amishai-Maisels, *Depiction and Interpretation: The Influence of the Holocaust on the Visual Arts* (Oxford and New York, 1993), and the symposium "Kunst und Natur—Natur und Ökologie" in the Sprengel Museum, Hannover, 1993. On "mixed exhibitions," see J. Clair's profiles in Paris (L'âme au corps, 1993) and at the Venice Biennale: on this topic, cf. chapter 11.

On postmodern architecture, see Heinrich Klotz: *Moderne und Postmoderne: Architektur der Gegenwart, 1960–1980* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984). On *posthistoire*, cf. Cehlan, *Zeitbilder*, 1986, idem, "Ende der Geschichte?" in idem, *Einsblicke* (Frankfurt am Main, 1975), 115ff.; Wolf Lepenies, *Melancholie und Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main, 1969); H. Lefèvre, *La fin de l'histoire Epilogoèmes* (Paris, 1970); Lutz Niehammer, *Posthistoire: Ist die Geschichte zu Ende?* (Reinbek, 1989); Wolf Lepenies, *Aufstieg und Fall der Intellektuellen in Europa* (Frankfurt am Main, 1992), 73ff. One should also remember the viewpoints of artists such as D. Judd (see above) and H. Fischer (see chapter 12).

19. "PROSPERO'S BOOKS"

Peter Greenaway's catalogs and exhibition guidebooks are described in chapter 11. The screenplay *Prospero's Books: A Film of Shakespeare's The Tempest* (London, 1991), includes an introduction (9ff.), a commentary on paintbox software (28ff.), and the illustration replicated in this book. On the image and the frame, similar problems of staging a work of art are described in the valuable anthology by Catherine Lawless et al., *L'oeuvre et son accrochage*, in the series Cahiers du Musée nationale d'art moderne, nos. 17–18 (Paris, 1983). On Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, cf. *The Oxford Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1987), with textual commentary.

20. MARCO POLO AND OTHER CULTURES

Chapter 20 is translated from my essay, "Eine globale Kunstergeme? Marco Polo und die endiven Kulturen," in *Neue bildende Kunst* 4/5, 1995, p. 13ff. Cf. also W. Rubin, "Primitivism" in *20th Century Art* (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1984); J. H. Martin, *Magiciens de la Terre* (Centre Pompidou, Paris 1989); H. Belting, *Die Ausstellung von Kulturen*, in *Jahrbuch Wissenschaftskolleg* (Berlin, 1995), pp. 214 ff. and H. Belting, "Hybride Kunst? Ein Block hinter die globale Fassade," in M. Scheps, ed., *Global Art-Rheinland 2000* (Cologne, 1999), pp. 324 ff.; S. Errington, *The Death of Authentic Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress* (Univ. of Calif., 1998).