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The End of Art and the Origin of the Museum

By Douglas Crimp

It is perhaps not generally known within the discipline of art history that Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, whose *Italienische Forschungen* (1827–31) is the founding work of modern art-historical research,¹ was also, three years before Brillat-Savarin, the author of a book on the art of cooking. Learning that the title of that book is *Geist der Kochkunst*,² and having tasted German cuisine, we might be tempted to think of this as another example, though rather more trivial, of the disproportion between philosophical speculation and material reality in early-nineteenth-century Germany. The Germans, we might say with Marx, have only *thought* what the French have *done*.³

But this would be to take at face value Von Rumohr's application of the word *Geist* to wurst and sauerkraut, and also to miss the point of comparison between the title of his cookbook and that of the essay on aesthetics with which Von Rumohr begins the *Italienische Forschungen*. The latter is called "Haushalt der Kunst,"⁴ and its hominess is polemically intended. Its target is Hegel. Just as Von Rumohr pointedly chooses the big word *Geist* for his cookbook, so here he derides Hegel for what he calls "the little word 'idea,' of which the meaning, tottering between the sensuous and the mental, provides opportunity for all kinds of wild assertion, in which all manner of indeterminacy and vagueness is accommodated."⁵ In the course of his immensely popular lectures on the aesthetic, Hegel would summarily dispense with Von Rumohr's crude criticism,⁶ and did so by awarding to Von Rumohr's method of art-historical scholarship its own prosaic place as the provider of concrete detail to be subsumed within philosophical speculation.⁷ In this respect he treated Von Rumohr and Von Rumohr's archenemy, the dilettante scholar Alois Hirt, with

absolute parity.

Although it was Hirt who had first proposed to the king of Prussia, as early as 1797, that he build a museum in Berlin to house his art collections (*Fig. 1*),⁸ and although Hirt would continue to be a central figure in the debates about the character of the institution until its opening in 1830, Von Rumohr is generally attributed greater influence over the museum's final form.⁹ Never a member of the museum commission in the Prussian capital, Von Rumohr's only direct museological task was performed in Italy, where he was sent to acquire paintings to fill in gaps in a collection that was intended to represent a complete history of art.¹⁰ But as teacher, adviser, and confidant of many of the artists, scholars, and bureaucrats responsible

for the museum, Von Rumohr is said to have acted as *éminence grise*. I want, however, to claim that role instead for the man who gave a new significance to the color gray, the man whose most often quoted lines are the following: "When philosophy paints its gray in gray, a form of life has grown old, and this gray in gray cannot rejuvenate it, only understand it. The owl of Minerva takes flight when dusk is falling."¹¹ That man is, of course, Hegel.

In 1817, Karl von Altenstein was appointed Prussia's first minister of culture, and as such became the highest authority responsible to the king for the new museum. During his very first week in office, he summoned Hegel to Berlin to take up the chair in philosophy

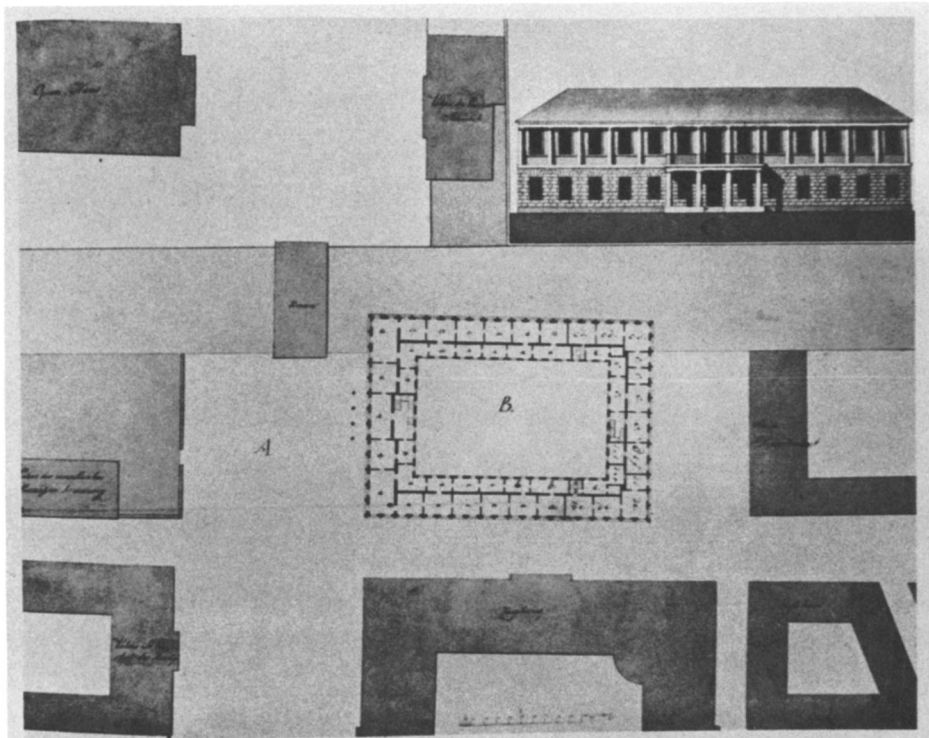


Fig. 1 Alois Hirt, Plan for a Museum in Berlin, 1798.

vacated by the death of Fichte. Hegel would not disappoint the so-called philosopher-bureaucrat's expectations:¹² within two years he would publish his *Philosophy of Right*, the apologia for the status quo of the Prussian state and the text in which the lines about philosophy's gray in gray appeared. Hegel's circle of friends in Berlin came to include Alois Hirt, who taught the history of architecture at the university, and Karl Friedrich Schinkel, chief architect to the crown and builder of the museum. During 1823–29, the very period of the museum's construction, Hegel delivered his lectures on aesthetics. But earlier portions of the lectures had been developed in Heidelberg, where one of Hegel's students was the young Gustav Friedrich Waagen. During their time there both men traveled to Stuttgart to see the Boisserée brothers' famous art collection, at that time the most important holdings of northern painting. It was partially this encounter that led to the subject of Waagen's first book, a monograph on Jan and Hubert van Eyck published in 1822.¹³ On the strength of his scholarship in this completely new field of art history, Waagen was invited to Berlin to participate in the planning of the painting gallery and eventually to become its first director.¹⁴

No sooner had the museum opened than Waagen had to turn his attention to an unpleasant task, the defense of himself and his mentor Von Rumohr from an attack by Hirt in a review of the third volume of Von Rumohr's *Italienische Forschungen*.¹⁵ Using as his forum the prestigious *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik*, on whose editorial board Hegel presided until his death that year, Hirt took the opportunity of the review to vent his rage against the establishment of an institution that ran counter to his own conception of a museum. Although much of the polemic in Hirt's essay and Waagen's book-length reply is on the petty level of who knows his Raphael best, this constitutes only the final episode in a long series of disputes between Hirt and the museum commission regarding what kind of institution the museum would be.¹⁶ In all of these, Hirt got his way only once, and then only by default. Hirt provided the inscription for the museum's frieze, and before anyone had the time to object, the scaffolding that would have expedited a change had been pulled down.¹⁷ And so, even today, standing in what has been renamed Marx-Engels-Platz (Fig. 2), we read, in Latin, "Friedrich Wilhelm III founded this museum for the study of antique objects of all kinds and the fine arts."¹⁸



Fig. 2 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Altes Museum, Berlin, 1823–30 (postwar reconstruction).

It is a measure of how seriously the Berlin Museum was deliberated in its every detail that there are no less than six memoranda about the inscription, after it was a *fait accompli*, and that the king ordered the philological class of the Academy of Sciences to render an opinion on the matter.¹⁹ In a confidential memo to Cabinet Adviser von Albrecht, a member of the museum commission, Alexander von Humboldt wrote that the philology professor August Böckh had informed Hirt that every word of Hirt's proposed inscription would have to be changed, and he was therefore horrified, upon his return from a summer spent in Göttingen, to see emblazoned across the museum that very same inscription, considered, he said, ridiculous by all of Germany.²⁰ A portion of that ridicule involves the inscription's ungrammatical Latin,²¹ but the substantial objections are to the names Hirt employed—the name *museum*, the names of the objects it would house, and the naming of the institution's purpose.

Two alternative inscriptions were proposed, one by the romantic poet Ludwig Tieck and one by the philological class, signed by Friedrich Schleiermacher. Tieck's proposal, composed in German with echoes of Latin phraseology, would rename the institution a "monument of peace for works of fine art."²² Schleiermacher would call it a "treasury for sculptures and painting distinguished by their age and their art."²³ Both dispense with naming the institution's purpose, and this elision returns us to their rejection of the term *museum*. It is difficult now to comprehend the opposition to Hirt's choice of *museum*, both because during the thirty years of its planning it was always referred to as such and because the Berlin Museum came to be considered the most perfect embodiment of the museum concept in the nineteenth century. Why, we wonder, would anyone object to the name *museum* for the paradigmatic early art museum? Why would "monument" (*Denkmal*) or

"treasury" (*Thesaurus*) have been preferable?

The answer lies in the word *studio*, which Hirt chose to designate the museum's purpose. For when Hirt used the word *museum* and the others balked, they all had in mind the same thing, the so-called original museum of Ptolemy of Alexandria, which was indeed a place of study.²⁴ A residence for scholars, containing a library and collections of artifacts, the museum of antiquity was, as one of the memoranda about the inscription stated, "a kind of academy."²⁵ It was this identification of museum with academy that those concerned with the new institution wanted to foreclose, except, of course, Hirt.

When Tieck proposed "monument of peace" instead of *museum*, the peace he meant was that established at the Congress of Vienna, and it would therefore be adequately signified by the display of Prussian artworks returned from Paris to Berlin after the defeat of Napoleon. At that moment, in 1815, the idea of a museum took on the force of necessity for the first time in Berlin. During the wars against Napoleon the looted Prussian collections came to symbolize the national heritage rather than merely the lost property of the king, and thus Friedrich Wilhelm III bowed to the demand to make his art accessible to the public.²⁶ This "triumph of art for the public," as one recent book title has it,²⁷ is a historical development rarely interrogated by art historians, who generally think of themselves as its direct beneficiaries. Art and the public have come to be accepted as stable, rather than historically constructed, ideological categories. But when the public is understood as universal, as unfractured by class divisions, it is Hegel's idealist conception of the state and civil society, rather than Marx's critique of that conception, that is perpetuated.²⁸ And when art is thought to be naturally lodged in the museum, an institution of the state, it is an idealist rather than a materialist aes-

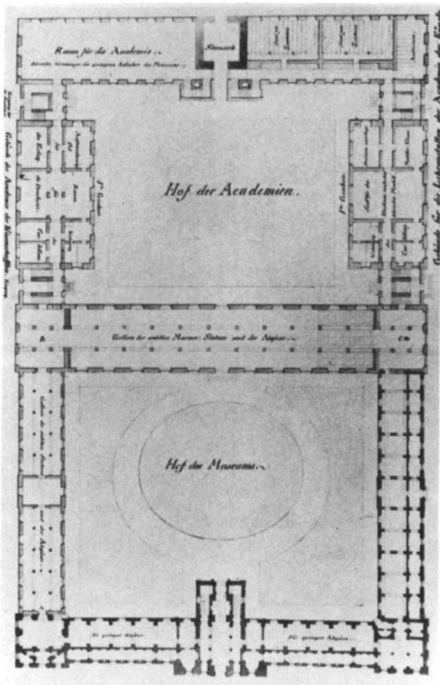


Fig. 3 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Renovation Plan for a Museum in the Berlin Academy, 1822.

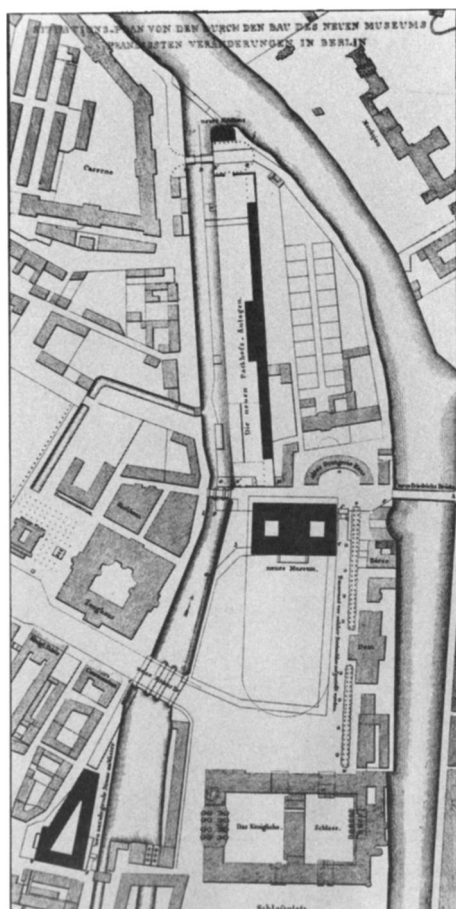


Fig. 4 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Site Plan for the Berlin Museum, 1823 (from Schinkel's *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*, 1841–43).

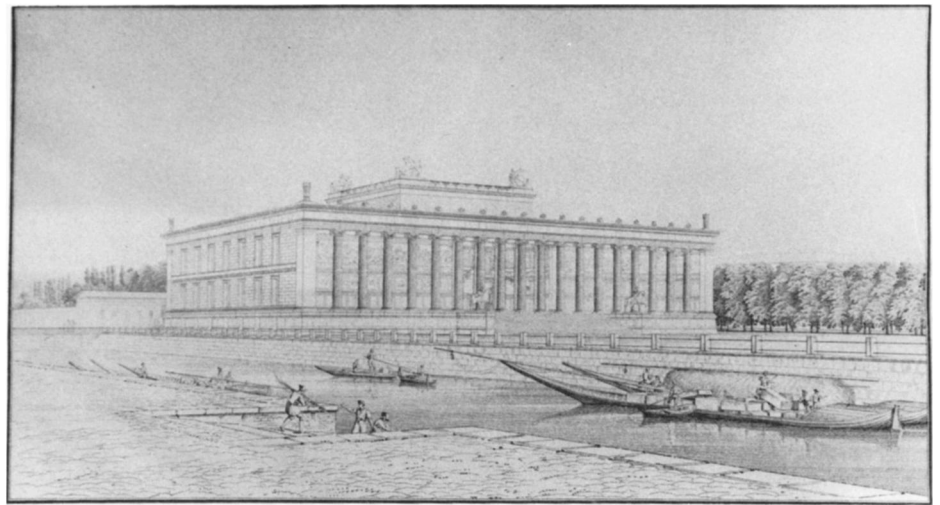


Fig. 5 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Perspective Rendering of the Berlin Museum, 1823 (from Schinkel's *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*, 1841–43).

thetic that is served. Who is given access? what kind of access? and access precisely to what? are questions in need of asking. At the founding moment of the museum these were far from decided matters. The problem of naming the institution and specifying its purpose as a studio, a place of praxis, is only a detail that may serve to indicate the overall complexity of the issues at stake.

The initial plans for the Berlin Museum called for building a new wing on the Academy of Sciences that would house a study collection for artists and scholars (Fig. 3).²⁹ In this form the museum would have put artworks to a practical purpose, placing heterogeneous collections of objects—antique sculpture, fragments, coins, gems, plaster casts, modern paintings—at the disposal of drawing classes, scholarly investigators, and so-called *Kunstfreunde*. Such a museum would indeed have been a studio. But Schinkel, who had been commissioned to plan the extension of the academy, had a radically different idea for a museum, as was already apparent from his youthful fantasy on the subject sketched probably under the tutelage of Friedrich Gilly in 1800.³⁰ In the winter of 1822 Wilhelm von Humboldt accompanied the Prussian king to Italy, where he hoped to impress upon him the symbolic significance of a great art museum for Berlin at a time when it aspired to the status of Athens on the Spree.³¹ Upon the king's return, Schinkel presented him, unexpectedly, with elaborately drawn plans and detailed cost analyses for an entirely new museum, separate from the academy, to be built directly across from the schloss on the Lustgarten (Fig. 4). The project involved much more than a new museum. Schinkel proposed a complete renewal of the very heart of Berlin,

diverting the river Spree, improving shipping facilities, and rebuilding the loading docks and warehouse at the north end of what would later become the Museumsinsel.³² The centerpiece of the plan was the starkly imposing Neoclassical art museum (Figs. 5, 6 and 7).

The museum commission was immediately won over by Schinkel's new conception,³³ Alois Hirt's being the only dissenting voice. In his minority report attached to the commission's approval,³⁴ Hirt confessed that he preferred the museum in the Academy. Should the museum stand alone in the Lustgarten, however, then a great many alterations would be required. Enumerating these changes, Hirt proceeded to oppose, one by one, every major feature of Schinkel's museum—the two-story colonnade of the south façade, raising the building on a high foundation with a grand entrance staircase, the two-story rotunda at the museum's center, the free-standing columns of the main floor, where the sculpture was to be installed. Hirt suggested alternatives to each of these architectural elements and insisted that the museum's reduction to two simple divisions, a floor for sculpture and one for painting, would have to be reorganized to accommodate at least five departments. These would contain, in addition to painting and sculpture, plaster casts and the collections of objects formerly found in the Antikenkabinett and Kunstkammer. In Schinkel's scheme the latter had either been banished altogether, as in the case of the casts, or relegated to small rooms in the basement, as in the case of coins, fragments, inscriptions, and so forth.³⁵

Schinkel refuted Hirt's criticisms point for point and at length, but the central argument is contained in a single sentence. "Such a plan," he wrote, "is a totality whose parts work so precisely

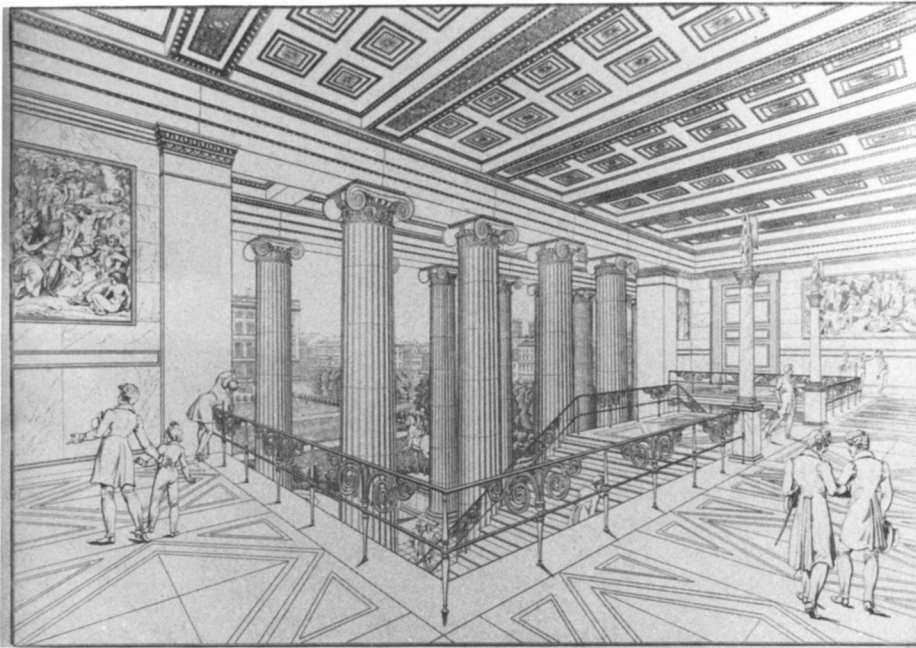


Fig. 6 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Perspective View of the Gallery of the Berlin Museum's Main Staircase (from Schinkel's *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*, 1841–43).

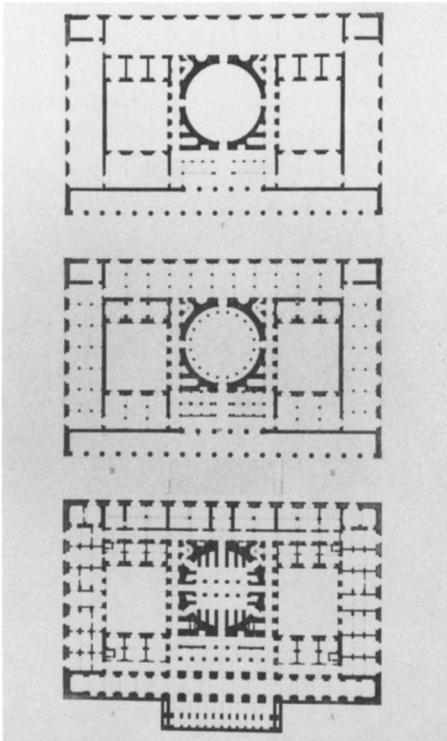


Fig. 7 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Floor Plans of the Berlin Museum, 1823 (from Schinkel's *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*, 1841–43).

together that nothing essential can be altered without throwing the ensemble into disarray." This final phrase, not precisely translatable, reads in German, "ohne aus der Gestalt eine Missgestalt zu machen."³⁶ Schinkel used this notion of his museum as an inviolable gestalt to argue against any objection Hirt might raise, even as it pertained to selections of paintings or the configurations of paint-

ings on a particular wall. No change, it seems, was so minor as not to threaten the ensemble. Faced with such intractability, Hirt made one final appeal to the king, pleading that, after all, "the art objects are not there for the museum; rather the museum is built for the objects."³⁷ Schinkel, he argued, had subordinated the art to the architecture rather than putting the architecture at the service of art. This flew in the face of the first principle of Hirt's architectural teaching, the principle of *Zweckmässigkeit*, or what we might call "functionalism."³⁸ Scorning what he characterized as Hirt's "trivial" notion of function or purpose, Schinkel regarded Hirt's argument as bogged down in that primitive rationalism in which contradictions are understood to be irresolvable.³⁹ The question for Schinkel was not what he labeled the "pure" purpose of the museum—the housing of works of art—not whether art or architecture was to be privileged, but how the antithesis could be transcended in a higher unity. Approaching the problem of the relation of art and architecture dialectically, Schinkel's museum was itself to constitute the Hegelian *Aufhebung*, or sublation, in which, as Schinkel wrote, "the destiny of art is that representation of its objects which makes apparent as many relationships as possible."⁴⁰

A concrete example of Schinkel's attention to Hegel's aesthetics is that part of the museum which Hirt most detested, the rotunda at the museum's center (Fig. 8). Recall that in Schleiermacher's proposed inscription

he designated the contents of the museum as "sculpture and painting distinguished by their age and their art." He went on to explain that this determined a twofold purpose for the museum, "on the one hand to exhibit works that are outstanding in and of themselves, and on the other hand to exhibit works that are important for a history of art."⁴¹ Schleiermacher here alludes to the central question for idealist aesthetics, the conflict between normative beauty and the forward march of history. Hirt's attachment to the classical norm in art was inseparable from his hopes for the present. His insistence on the museum as a studio was determined by his desire for the museum to foster the rejuvenation of art through the study of classical antiquity. Yet for the philosophy of history such a desire could only be false nostalgia, a denial of the present's realization of historical progress.⁴² It is true of antique sculpture, said Hegel, that "nothing can be or become more beautiful."⁴³ Classical art represents the perfect adequation of sensuous appearance and the Idea. But history has a higher goal than beautiful appearance, and so romantic art—which is to say modern, Christian art—necessarily supersedes classical art. "When romantic art takes the Christian unity of the divine and human for its content," Hegel wrote in the *Aesthetics*,

it abandons altogether the ideal of reciprocal adequacy of content and form attained by classical art. And in its efforts to free itself from the immediately sensuous as such, in order to express a content that is *not* inseparable from sensuous representation, romantic art becomes indeed the self-transcendence of art itself.⁴⁴

Schinkel would preserve the world of classical perfection in his rotunda, designed to be the visitor's first encounter with the museum. "The sight of this beautiful and exalted space," he wrote, "must create the mood for and make one susceptible to the pleasure and judgment that the building holds in store throughout."⁴⁵ Or, as he and Waagen stated it even more succinctly in a later memorandum, "First delight, then instruct."⁴⁶ This "sanctuary," as Schinkel called it, would contain the prize works of monumental classical sculpture, chosen irrespective of historical sequence, mounted on high pedestals between huge columns, bathed in a dim light from high above. His mood thus prepared, the spectator was ready for his march through the history of man's striving for Absolute Spirit. Far from finding on his way any indications of the

material conditions of art that Von Rumohr hoped to restore through his work in the archives of Italy,⁴⁷ the museumgoer would find only Schinkel's gestalt, in which all relationships among objects were carefully fixed.

Perhaps we can now see why all of Germany thought Hirt's inscription ridiculous, for Schinkel's museum was no studio. It represented not the possibility of art's rejuvenation but the irrevocability of art's end. "The spirit of our world today," says Hegel in the introduction to the *Aesthetics*,

appears as beyond the stage at which art is the supreme mode of our knowledge of the Absolute. The peculiar nature of artistic production and of works of art no longer fulfills our highest need. We have got beyond venerating works of art as divine and worshipping them. The impression they make on us needs a higher touchstone and a different test. Thought and reflection have spread their wings above fine art.⁴⁸

It is again the owl of Minerva of which Hegel speaks, and Schinkel's rotunda, bathing the greatest works of classical antiquity in its twilight, prepares the spectator for his contemplation of art, which, as Hegel continues, "has lost for us genuine truth and life, and has rather been transferred into our *ideas* instead of maintaining its earlier necessity in reality. . . . Art invites us to intellectual consideration, and that not for the purpose of creating art again, but for knowing philosophically what art is."⁴⁹ It is upon this wresting of art from its necessity in reality that idealist aesthetics and the ideal museum are founded; and it is against the power of their legacy that we must still struggle for a materialist aesthetics and a materialist art.

Notes

- 1 Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen*, Berlin and Stettin, 3 vols., 1827–31. See also the later edition, edited and with an introduction, "Carl Friedrich von Rumohr als Begründer der neueren Kunstforschung," by Julius Schlosser, Frankfurt/Main, 1920.
- 2 Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, *Geist der Kochkunst*, Leipzig, 1822; reprinted Frankfurt/Main, 1978.
- 3 Karl Marx, "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right. Introduction" [1843–44], in *Karl Marx: Early Writings*, trans. Rodney Livingstone and Gregor Benton, New York, 1975, p. 250: "Only Germany could develop the speculative philosophy of law, this abstract and high-flown thought of the modern state, the reality of which remains part of another world (even if this other world is only the other side of the Rhine). Conversely, the German conception of

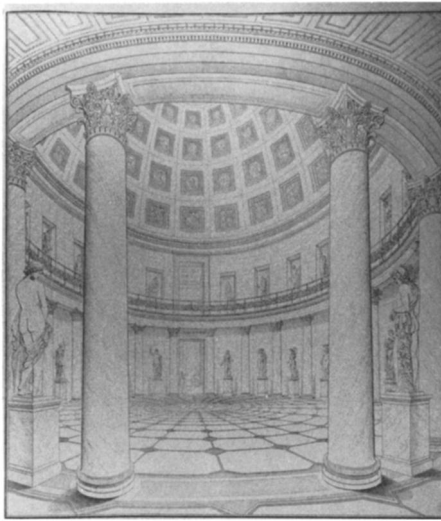


Fig. 8 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, Perspective View of the Berlin Museum's Rotunda (from Schinkel's *Sammlung architektonischer Entwürfe*, 1841–43).

the modern state, which abstracts from *real man*, was only possible because and in so far as the modern state itself abstracts from *real man* or satisfies the whole in a purely imaginary way. The Germans have *thought* in politics what other nations have *done*" (italics in original).

- 4 More than half the first volume of the *Italienische Forschungen* (cited n. 1) is devoted to two essays on aesthetic theory: "Haushalt der Kunst," pp. 1–133, and "Verhältnis der Kunst zur Schönheit," pp. 134–54.
- 5 Rumohr (cited n. 1), p. 13; cited and translated in Michael Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art*, New Haven and London, 1982, p. 28.
- 6 G.W.F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, trans. T. M. Knox, Oxford, 1975, vol. I, p. 107: "However often use is made of the word 'Idea' in theories of art, still vice versa extremely excellent connoisseurs of art have shown themselves particularly hostile to this expression. The latest and most interesting example of this is the polemic of von Rumohr in his *Italienische Forschungen*. It starts from the practical interest in art and never touches at all on what we call the Idea. For von Rumohr, unacquainted with what recent philosophy calls 'Idea', confuses the Idea with an indeterminate idea and the abstract characterless ideal of familiar theories and schools of art—an ideal the very opposite of natural forms, completely delineated and determinate in their truth; and he contrasts these forms, to their advantage, with the Idea and the abstract ideal which the artist is supposed to construct for himself out of his own resources. To produce works of art according to these abstractions is of course wrong—and just as unsatisfactory as when a thinker thinks in vague ideas and in his thinking does not get beyond a purely vague subject-matter. But from such a reproof what we mean by the word 'Idea' is in every respect free, for the Idea is completely concrete in itself, a totality of characteristics, and beautiful only as

immediately one with the objectivity adequate to itself."

- 7 Hegel differentiates two modes of knowledge of art, empirical scholarship and abstract theory, the latter having become outmoded: "Only the scholarship of the history of art has retained its abiding value. . . . Its task and vocation consists in the aesthetic appreciation of individual works of art and in a knowledge of the historical circumstances which condition of work of art externally. . . . This mode of treating the subject does not aim at theorizing in the strict sense, although it may indeed often concern itself with abstract principles and categories, and may fall into them unintentionally, but if anyone does not let this hinder him but keeps before his eyes only those concrete presentations, it does provide a philosophy of art with tangible examples and authentications, into the historical particular details of which philosophy cannot enter" (ibid., p. 21). It is because for Hegel the Idea is present in the concrete particular that he both rejects the concept of the abstract universal ideal and places such importance on empirical scholarship, such as Rumohr's researches. His discussion of Italian painting depends heavily upon Rumohr. See esp.: ibid., vol. II, pp. 875ff.
- 8 See: Paul Seidel, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Berliner Museen; der erste Plan von 1797," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 49 (1928), supplement I, pp. 55–64.
- 9 See, e.g.: the introduction by Friedrich Stock to "Rumohr's Briefe an Bunsen. Über Erwerbungen für das Berliner Museum," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 46 (1925), supplement, pp. 1–76. Before choosing Wilhelm von Humboldt to head the museum commission in 1829, Friedrich Wilhelm III had considered Rumohr for the position; see: R. Schöne, "Die Gründung und Organisation der Königlichen Museen," in *Zur Geschichte der Königlichen Museen in Berlin: Festschrift zur Feier ihres fünfzigjährigen Bestehens am 3. August 1880*, Berlin, 1880, pp. 31–58.
- 10 For Rumohr's own account of his role, see his *Drey Reisen nach Italien*, Leipzig, 1832, pp. 258–302.
- 11 G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, trans. T. M. Knox, London, Oxford, and New York, 1967, p. 13.
- 12 It was Sulpiz Boisserée who dubbed Altenstein "der philosophierende Minister." Altenstein's post was, precisely, Minister für Geistliche-, Unterrichts-, und Medizinangelegenheiten.
- 13 Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Über Hubert und Johann van Eyck*, Breslau, 1822.
- 14 See: Alfred Woltmann, "Gustav Friedrich Waagen, eine biographische Skizze," in Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Kleine Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1875, pp. 1–52.
- 15 Alois Hirt, "Italienische Forschungen von C. F. von Rumohr. Dritter Theil," *Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik* (Berlin), nos. 112–14 (December 1831), pp. 891–911.
- 16 Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Der Herr Hofrath Hirt als Forscher über die neuere Malerei in*

- Erwiderung seiner Recension des dritten Theils der italiensichen Forschungen des Herrn C. F. von Rumohr*, Berlin and Stettin, 1832. Hirt answered Waagen's book with his own: Alois Hirt, *Herr Dr. Waagen and Herr von Rumohr als Kunstkenner*, Berlin, 1832. Hirt had been an original member of the museum commission, but after a series of conflicts, especially those surrounding the Schinkel plan of 1823, he was ultimately removed from the commission in April of 1826; his replacement was Waagen.
- 17 See: Paul Ortwin Rave, *Karl Friedrich Schinkel. Berlin, erster Teil: Bauten für die Kunst, Kirchen, Denkmalpflege* (Lebenswerk), Berlin, 1941, p. 55. See also: Beat Wyss, "Klassizismus und Geschichtsphilosophie im Konflikt. Aloys Hirt und Hegel," in Otto Pöggeler and Annermarie Gethmann-Siefert, eds., *Kunsterfahrung und Kulturpolitik im Berlin Hegels, Hegel Studien*, supplement 22, Bonn, 1983, p. 117. The present essay owes a special debt to Wyss's article, as well as to aspects of this volume as a whole. This special issue of *Hegel Studien* collects the papers presented at a symposium held in Berlin in 1981 in conjunction with the exhibition *Hegel in Berlin*, organized by the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in conjunction with the Hegel-Archiv der Ruhr Universität Bochum and the Goethe-Museum Düsseldorf on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Hegel's death.
- 18 "FRIDERICVS GVILEMVS III STVDIO ANTIQVITATIS OMNIGENAE ET ARTIVM LIBERALIVM MVSEVM CONSTITVIT MDCCCXXXIII." My English version is a translation of Hirt's own German rendering of what he intended by the Latin: "Friedrich Wilhelm III. stiftete das Museum für das Studium alterthümlicher Gegenstände jeder Gattung und der freien Künste" ("Bericht des Hofraths Hirt vom 21. December 1827 an Seine Majestät den König, über die Inschrift auf dem Königlichen Museum in Berlin," in Alfred von Wolzogen, ed., *Aus Schinkels Nachlass. Reisetagebücher, Briefe und Aphorismen*, Berlin, 1863, vol. III, p. 277).
- 19 The documents pertaining to the inscription appear in *ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 271–83.
- 20 *Ibid.*, pp. 275–76.
- 21 "Gutachten des Staatsraths Süvern über die Inschrift am Museum vom 15. October 1827," *ibid.*, p. 273: "As one now reads it, one naturally connects the genitives *antiquitatis omne-genae et liberalium artium* with *studio*, and one is very surprised later to encounter *museum*. One is unsure whether the former genitives belong to it or to *studio* or should be divided between the two, or if, as appears to be intended, *studio* should be dependent upon *museum*. . . . Moreover, if *antiquitatis* is here supposed to mean the antique alone, then *omni-genae* cannot follow it. If one is to understand by this term, instead, antique objects, then one must employ the plural *antiquitates*, the singular *antiquitas* being incorrect."
- 22 "Gutachten Ludwig Tiecks über die Inschrift," in *ibid.*, p. 274: "Friedrich Wilhelm III., denen Werken Bildender Kuenste, ein Denkmal des Friedens, erbauet im Jahre 1829."
- 23 "Gutachten der historische-philologischen Klasse der Academie vom 21. December 1827 wegen der Inschrift am Museum," *ibid.*, p. 282: "Fridericus Guilelmus III. Rex signis. tabulisque arte. vetustate. eximiis. collocandis thesaurum exstruxit. A. MDCCCXXXVIII."
- 24 "Bericht des Hofrath Hirt," *ibid.*, p. 277.
- 25 "Gutachten des Staatsraths Süvern," *ibid.*, p. 272.
- 26 See: Wyss (cited n. 17), p. 116.
- 27 Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, ed., *The Triumph of Art for the Public*, Garden City, N.Y., 1979.
- 28 See: Marx (cited n. 3), pp. 243–57; and "On the Jewish Question," in Marx (cited n. 3), pp. 211–41.
- 29 See: Rave (cited n. 17), p. 14.
- 30 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
- 31 See: Paul Ortwin Rave, "Schinkels Museum in Berlin oder die klassische Idee des Museums," *Museumskunde* (Berlin), vol. 29, no. 1 (1960), p. 8.
- 32 For a detailed description of the plans and costs, see: "Schinkels Bericht an Seine Majestät den König vom 8. Januar 1823" and "Erläuterungen zu dem beifolgenden Projekte in fünf Blatt Zeichnungen für den Bau eines neuen Museums am Lustgarten," in Wolzogen (cited n. 18), vol. III, pp. 217–32.
- 33 See: "Konferenz-Protokoll der Museums-Bau-Commission, vom 4. Februar 1823," *ibid.*, pp. 235–40.
- 34 "Gutachten des Hofraths Hirt, vom 4. Februar 1823, über den neuen Entwurf des Königlichen Museums in dem Lustgarten; als Beilage zu dem Protokoll der heutigen Verhandlung der Commission," *ibid.*, pp. 241–43.
- 35 For a discussion of the debate over the inclusion of plaster casts in the museum, see: G. Platz-Horster, "Zur Geschichte der Berliner Gips-sammlung," in *Berlin und die Antike*, exh. cat., Berlin, 1979. The fact that the Antikenkabinet and Kunstkammer played no central role in the formation of the collections of the Berlin Museum belies the often stated notion that the art museum as we know it evolved out of earlier types of collections, such as *cabinets des curiosités* and *Wunderkammern*. That the museum is an institution of modernity, representing a wholly new organization of knowledge, will be argued in the first portion of my doctoral dissertation on the birth of the art museum, of which the present essay is a fragment. For the standard discussion of earlier institutions of collecting understood as prototypes of modern museums, see: Julius Schlosser, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sammelwesens*, Leipzig, 1908. For a description of the formation and contents of the Berlin *Kunstkammer*, see: Christian Theuerkauff, "The Brandenburg *Kunstkammer* in Berlin," in Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 110–14.
- 36 See: "Schinkels Votum vom 5. Februar 1823 zu dem Gutachten des Hofraths Hirt," Wolzogen (cited n. 18), vol. III, pp. 244–49.
- 37 "Hirts Bericht an den König vom 15. Mai 1824," *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 253.
- 38 For Hirt's architectural theories, see: Alois Hirt, *Die Baukunst nach den Grundsätzen der Alten*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1809.
- 39 For a discussion of the Schinkel-Hirt debate over functionalism, see: Hans Kauffmann, "Zweckbau und Monument: Zu Friedrich Schinkels Museum am Berliner Lustgarten," in Gerhard Hess, ed., *Eine Freundesgabe der Wissenschaft für Ernst Hellmut Vits*, Frankfurt/Main, 1963, pp. 135–66.
- 40 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, "Aphorismen," Wolzogen (cited n. 18), vol. II, p. 207; Kauffmann, (cited n. 39), p. 138.
- 41 "Gutachten der historische-philologischen Klasse," in Wolzogen (cited n. 18), vol. III, p. 283.
- 42 See: Wyss (cited n. 17), pp. 126–27.
- 43 Hegel (cited n. 6), vol. I, p. 517; Wyss (cited n. 17), p. 126.
- 44 *Hegel on the Arts* (an abridgement of the *Aesthetics*), trans. Henry Paolucci, New York, 1979, pp. 37–38.
- 45 "Schinkels Votum vom 5. Februar 1823," Wolzogen (cited n. 18), vol. III, p. 244.
- 46 "Schinkel und Waagen über die Aufgaben der Berliner Galerie" (1828), in Friedrich Stock, "Urkunden zur Vorgeschichte des Berliner Museums," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 51 (1930), p. 206.
- 47 In fact, though both Waagen and Rumohr worked to restore the work of art to its historical specificity, their theories of art, steeped as they were in German idealism, contradicted their aims. See: Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution: Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin*, Frankfurt/Main, 1979.
- 48 Hegel (cited n. 6), vol. I, p. 10.
- 49 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

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