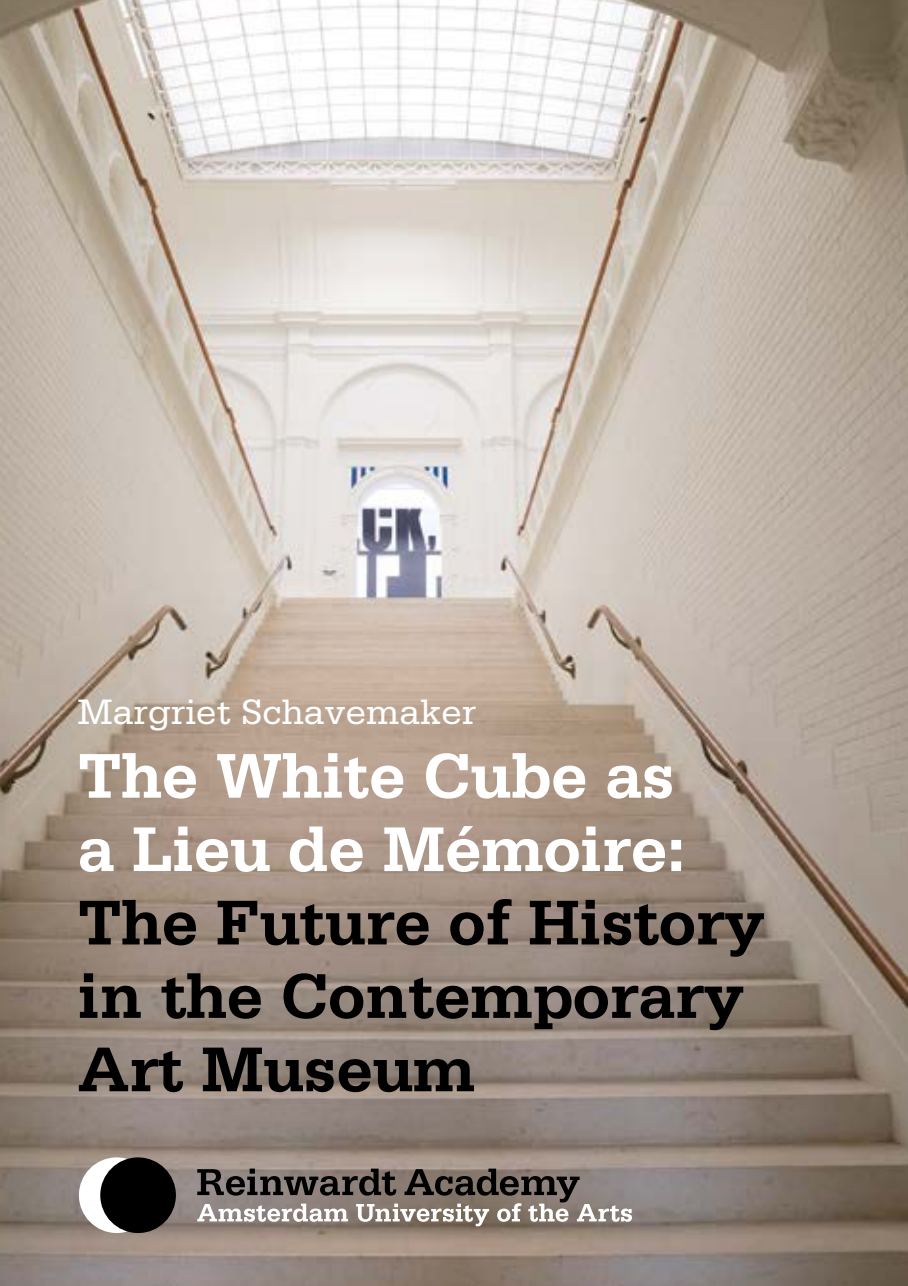

Margriet Schavemaker

The White Cube as a Lieu de Mémoire: The Future of History in the Contemporary Art Museum

Reinwardt Academy
Amsterdam University of the Arts

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Margriet Schavemaker
Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam

Text of the Reinwardt Memorial Lecture 17 March, 2016

About the Memorial Lectures

In 2008, the Reinwardt Academy, the faculty for Cultural heritage of the Amsterdam University of the Arts, decided to honour its namesake by organising a yearly lecture, to be held on or around his birthday on June 3. Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773-1854) was a respected naturalist, professor at three universities (Harderwijk, Amsterdam, Leiden), director of four botanical gardens (Harderwijk, Amsterdam, Bogor, Leiden), and director of one natural history museum (Amsterdam). During his stay in the former Dutch East Indies (1816-1822), he assembled large collections that eventually found their way to several major Dutch museums of natural history and anthropology. Reinwardt maintained a large international network, including such famous naturalists as Alexander von Humboldt. The Reinwardt Academy is proud to bear his name.

As a person, Caspar Reinwardt stands for values that the Academy considers of key importance: international orientation, collaboration in networks, sensitivity to the needs of society, and a helpful attitude towards students. Reinwardt was no prolific writer; he was first and foremost a teacher. Through his lively correspondence, his extensive library and his participation in a wide variety of scientific committees, he was well aware of contemporary developments in the field of science, and he considered it to be his primary responsibility to share this knowledge with his students. It is in this spirit, with reference to the values mentioned above, that the Academy invites a distinguished speaker for its Reinwardt Memorial Lecture every year.

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Foreword

For almost 30 years now, I lived a few dozen meters from the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam, and have been following all its shows and events, ups and downs, openings and (temporary) closings with keen interest, though not necessarily with the maximum of sympathy. I love much of modern and contemporary art, but I am, as a member of the general public, not always capable of appreciating all the art world details that come with it. Especially so at times when the museum was relying for its significance on references to famous exhibitions from the 60s and 70s – which I had missed, or greater-than-life directors from the same period – whom I did not happen to know so well. "We should go back to the top" – it was often heard. But what top, and why? And can one just "go back"?

I was therefore pleasantly surprised when, during the period of temporary closure somewhere between 2004 and 2012, at a Public Program event in a packed Lutherse Kerk at the Spui, Margriet Schavemaker, the then Stedelijk's head of research and publications, announced a policy line that was totally new – at least to me. A museum, Schavemaker said, should not confine its collection – perhaps she said holding, or assets – to physical objects alone. What it did, how it behaved, how it interacted with its stakeholders, its audiences, artists groups: in short, its lived reputation and the appreciation

bestowed upon it by others, is part of the collection. Provided it has been documented and (re)presented well, this history is part and parcel of your being, and staff should make it to bear on the exhibitions, public programming and publishing. Hence the successful exhibitions *Zero* and *Stedelijk and the Second World War* that were staged following the re-opening in 2012. Not as revivals of once great shows but as tools to understanding the institute's, its public's and wider society's history and workings during significant time shifts.

To me, this is exactly what makes museums of modern art and galleries, or platforms, of contemporary art susceptible to museological understanding and criticism. By expressing an awareness of their own development and by contextualising their significance in time, they show to be nothing more, but surely neither nothing less, than true museums. They do not, I assume, exist in Castells' *atemporal* bubble where only the 'laws' of art and artists prevail. They are part and parcel of today's colourful fabric of culture with its clashes and debates, and with its occasional enlightened visionaries, be it artists or curators, that have something to say about the present, many possible others, and the human condition in all of them.

That is the first reason why we decided to invite Schavemaker as a distinguished lecturer for the annual address at our namesake's Caspar Reinwardt's memorial.

The second reason we were set on having Schavemaker enunciate the 2016 Reinwardt lecture is a bit more mundane. Every year there are several Reinwardt students, both bachelors and masters, who crave for building bridges between heritage and the contemporary, ostensibly the then and the now. How to capture, preserve, conservate, restore contemporary (let alone conceptual) art, given its character that is by definition unfinished, depending as it does on audience interaction and never too readily disclosed contextual information, or, indeed, assumptions? Some of these students have in fact been interns at the Stedelijk and came up with sometimes brilliant answers, like Miriam La Rosa's outstanding Master thesis on the assumed impossibility of the very collecting of contemporary art (2013). We were curious to learn how a contemporary art's temple such as the Stedelijk would posit itself in this dilemma. And how our own hypothesis of heritage as a quintessential contemporary affect would hold out. Schavemaker's surprising treatment of the White Cube as a *lieu de mémoire* was an answer above and beyond our expectations.

With great pleasure we inaugurated the aula in our Academy's new premises at Hortusplantsoen for use as a public lecture hall on March 17, 2016, with Schavemaker's speech. Which we in fact appreciated so much that since then, we brought groups of Master students several times to the Stedelijk, as part of their Ethics and Strategies module, to hear and discuss Schavemaker's vision *in situ*.

Amsterdam, December 2016
Riemer Knoop, Professor of Cultural Heritage, Reinwardt Academy

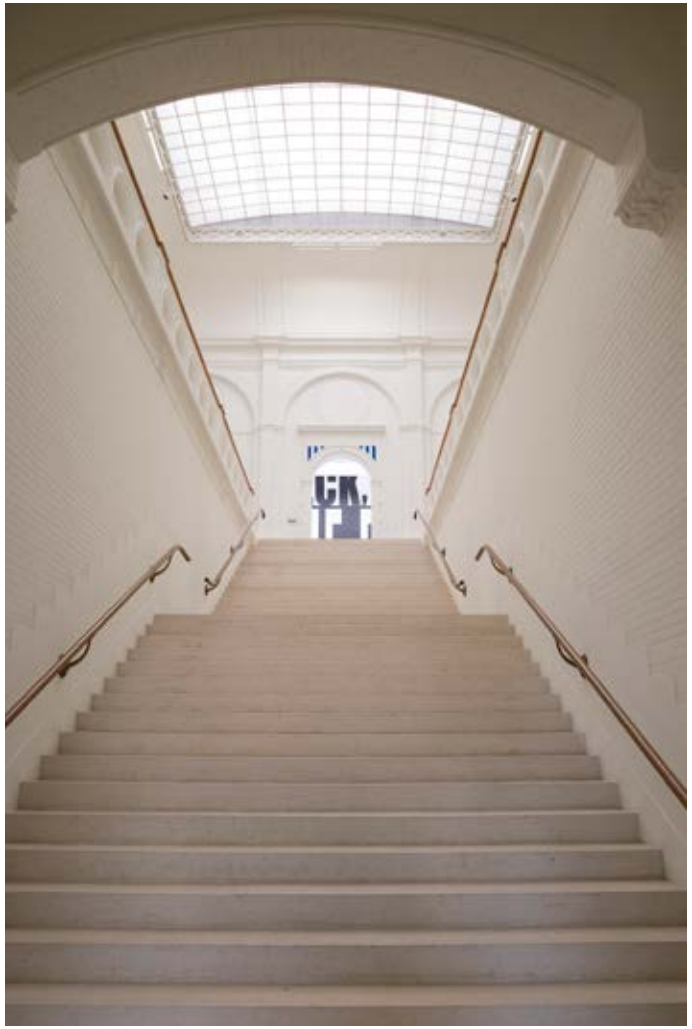

Figure 1: Staircase during *Works in place*, 2012, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

I
Introduction

Tears on the historical staircase of the Stedelijk Museum. This was not an uncommon occurrence during the time the museum temporarily opened its doors in 2010–2011. The Stedelijk had been leading a nomadic existence for six years by then, awaiting its grand reopening on Museumplein in Amsterdam. Its then-director, Ann Goldstein, decided that the public should not wait any longer for the new wing, designed by Benthem Crouwel Architects, to be completed (which eventually happened in September 2012), and created a temporary program in the old building by architect A. Weismann, dating from 1895, which had already been renovated. Visitors showed up in large numbers. The renowned collection could not be displayed during this first edition of the *Temporary Stedelijk* (August 28 2010-January 9 2011) because the climate conditioning system was not yet ready. The public came to see the temporary, site-specific installations by artists like Barbara Kruger and Roman Ondak as well as the building itself. But why tears, and why at this staircase in particular (Figure 1)?

The staircase is considered the most characteristic place in the architecture of the old museum; a non-space

between the entrance area and the galleries with artworks, a transition zone between inside and outside that offers a place for experimentation and spectacle: festive openings, remarkable performances—for example, by Gilbert and George (Figure 2) and Ben Vautier —interventions on the steps by Ger van Elk (Figure 3), Alicia Framis (Figure 4), and others, and an upstairs vestibule in which leading artists such as Daniel Buren, Dan Flavin, and Keith Haring have displayed site-specific works. Yet in 2010 the staircase did not seem to be filled with memories of artistic productions alone. Its walls, freshly painted white (which coincided with the removal of the cabinets halfway up the stairs, a later addition to the original design), and the steps and banisters, restored to their original state, represented much more. Visitors were clearly overwhelmed by memories of *everything* they had experienced in the museum. It could be said that the staircase functioned as the frequently cited *madeleine* cake that carried Charles Swann back to his childhood in Marcel Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu* (In Search of Lost Time). Or we could invoke historian Pierre Nora and describe the staircase as a *lieu de mémoire*: a place that unlocks personal and collective experiences from the past. For the Stedelijk, prolonged inaccessibility proved to only add to this effect.[1]

For me, the tears meant something else as well. After having worked at the museum for just one year, they inspired me to explore the various ways in which the modern and contemporary art museum engages with its past in terms of content, context, and ideology. At that point there was already much discussion about artists

Figure 2: Gilbert and George, *Posing on Stairs*, 1969, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

who involved histories in their work by making use of archival materials.[2] Attention to the institutional histories of museums was also increasing, particularly with regard to exhibitions. Consider, for instance, the "Living Archive" projects of the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven and Afterall's "Exhibition Histories" publication series, the first edition of which had just appeared, covering the much-discussed conceptual art exhibitions *When Attitudes Become Form* (Kunsthalle Bern, 1969) and *Op Losse Schroeven* (Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, 1969).[3] Furthermore, there was Bruce Altshuler's first survey of key exhibitions, *Salon to Biennial – Exhibitions that Made Art History*, published two years prior.[4] I became increasingly convinced that these kinds of histories are crucial components of museum collections deserving of a life beyond the archive. Better yet, to understand the meaning of the institutional histories of museums, we should experiment with ways to exhibit these histories precisely in the places were they were originally produced.

For the second part of *Temporary Stedelijk* (May 3-July 10, 2011), as well as in the years following the museum's reopening, I created several displays that focused on revisiting various exhibitions from the Stedelijk's past and on historical narratives about the history of this institution and its collection.[5] These presentations typically featured a mix of objects from the collection and ample amounts of archival and documentation materials. While public and critics alike largely responded favorably to these exhibitions, not everyone was immediately convinced.

Figure 3: *Op Losse Schroeven: situaties en cryptostructuren*, 1969, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Former director Rudi Fuchs, for instance, privately confided in me that although *The Stedelijk Museum & The Second World War* was an interesting exhibition, it did not belong in the Stedelijk. According to Fuchs, these historical anecdotes and archival pieces would have been more appropriately displayed in the Amsterdam Museum, whose primary focus is the history of the city.[6] Later that year, Fuchs responded differently to the exhibition *ZERO: Together Let Us Explore the Stars*, which consisted partly of archival materials and historical reconstructions. Weak-kneed, he grabbed ahold of me, with teary eyes, murmuring, "Gorgeous, this is my youth and what it was like when I first visited the Stedelijk!" In short, not everyone is equally prepared to allow a historical gaze onto and into the "white cube," but as soon as personal memories enter the equation, the situation changes.

This forms a suitable starting point for an essay about the significance and future of institutional history in modern and contemporary art museums, with the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam as a case study.

Figure 4: *Peiling 5: jonge Nederlandse kunst*, 1996, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

II
History and /of the White Cube

Modern and contemporary art is currently primarily presented in white spaces, which has led to the notion of the "white cube." We must note that this term is not entirely accurate, as the floors are often of a differently colored material. Besides that, there is the continuing discussion about the number of windows that let in daylight and the outside world. Video and film require a darker architecture that has brought us the so-called "black box." Nevertheless, the international architectural model for displaying modern and contemporary art is a neutral space, primarily white, which for brevity's sake we will call the White cube.

The artworks presented in this white cube often arrive straight from the artists' studios. Then there is usually the collection, comprising works from the late nineteenth century to the recent past. A selection of the collected works is often presented in order to illustrate historical developments in the arts. The objects themselves do this, independently and in the present (Figure 5). After all, the consensus is that modern art manifests itself,

Figure 5: Barnett Newman, *Cathedra*, 1951, Collection Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 6: Stedelijk Museum view of the original building (A.W. Weissman, 1895) and new building designed by Benthem Crouwel Architects, image John Lewis Marshall.

speaks powerfully from its present-day manifestation, and requires little to no explanation. To put it more compellingly: there is a general distrust of additional contextual documents on display, which add a historical or other layer of significance to the work (except when these documents are part of the work). It is the still dominant model of "presentism" (as Claire Bishop so elegantly coined it) through which the white cube and its collection distinguish themselves from other heritage institutions.[7]

One of the stories most often told about the Stedelijk Museum's history is that of the introduction of the white cube model and the related removal of history. While the new wing by Benthem Crouwel (Figure 6) suggests a hypermodern white cube in which, like everywhere, modern and contemporary artworks are left to speak for themselves on pristine white walls, the institution has a rather diffuse history—and the architecture to match. To begin with the latter, the historical building by Weismann (Figure 7) resembles that of the nearby Rijksmuseum, with its decorated Neo-Gothic walls filled with symbolic murals and mosaic floors. The Stedelijk Museum's collection contains a historical painting by Sal Meijer that clearly shows the original color scheme: featuring a great deal of yellow, red, and green, with a golden glow coming through the ceiling, which at the time consisted of yellow glass (Figure 8).

Because the Stedelijk Museum's founders were several local families and organizations, its programming had long consisted of various collections, including a number of period rooms (Figure 9) from demolished canal-side residences and a frivolous mix of smaller museums,

Figure 7: Upstairs vestibule original building (A.W. Weissman, 1895), image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 9: Mahogany Room, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 8: Sal Meijer, *Opgang Stedelijk Museum*, 1912, oil on canvas, 100 x 74.5 cm. Collection Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

such as a those of pharmaceutical materials, clocks, and Asian art. *The Vereeniging tot het Vormen van een Openbare Verzameling van Hedendaagsche Kunst te Amsterdam* (Organization for the Founding of a Public Collection of Contemporary Art in Amsterdam, abbreviated as VvHK), founded in 1874, moved from the Rijksmuseum to the Stedelijk Museum when it opened in 1895. Despite this hybridity, there was also a desire to supply the city with a collection of modern and contemporary art. Cornelis Baard, director of the Stedelijk in this first period (1905–1936), had expressed his ambition early on to make the Stedelijk into a museum for modern and contemporary art and to discard the other collections and museums as early as the 1910s, but this was achieved only decades later. A milestone was the 1938 exhibition *Abstracte Kunst* (Abstract Art), which for the first time displayed the avant-garde art of masters such as Picasso, Kandinsky, and Klee in a grand overview on white walls designed by Mart Stam (Figure 10). During preparations, freshly hired curator Willem Sandberg singlehandedly painted over the brightly colored staircase white within a single weekend. Director David Roëll had already wanted to do so, but allegedly did not dare proceed without permission from the municipal government. Sandberg accomplished the task in secret during Roëll's holiday, so that the latter would not need to justify this action to the municipality and could simply blame his curator.[9]

It is a charming anecdote: Sandberg as the rebellious curator attempting to shake off history and transform the historical building into a house for the present and future by means of white paint. An interesting detail is that the inspiration for this came from the Museum of Modern Art in New York, which had already painted its walls white by 1928 (Figure 11). In this period Sandberg kept in contact with MoMA's director, Alfred Barr, about an issue regarding modern architecture that adds a further avant-gardist touch to the story. For the Dutch contribution to the 1938 World Exhibition in New York, a rather conventional design by Dirk Frederik Slothouwer had been selected at the expense of the Nieuw Bouwen (New Building) pavilion design by Sandberg's friend and architect, Mart Stam. Sandberg called for a boycott, for which he gained Barr's support.[10] In short, modern architecture was still struggling for recognition and in need of endorsement.

When Sandberg became director of the Stedelijk after World War II he managed to almost entirely dedicate the museum to modern and contemporary art and design. The historical collections were relocated to the Amsterdams Historisch Museum and other institutions. Furthermore, the artists' collectives of the time—which tended to produce a more conservative kind of art—were kept at bay, a response to their problematic position during wartime politics. From then on, emphasis went to presenting the grand masters of modern art, such as Van Gogh and Mondrian, and contemporary, experimental art and design. The photographs that remain from these first exhibitions show solid white walls in most galleries: an environment that "does not speak on its own," as Sandberg stated, but has a neutral character in order to "let the artworks speak" (Figure 12).[11] Or, as Fuchs would later put it, "space devoid of local cultural interference, a space in which each work of art, no matter where it came from, could find a respectable democratic space."[12]

Figure 10: *Abstracte Kunst*, 1938, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 11: View of MoMa´s first exhibition, Cézanne, Gauguin, Seurat, Van Gogh, 1929. The Museum of Modern Art Archives, New York.

The story of the whitened staircase in 1938 would often be told from that point on, by Sandberg himself but also by others, even recently during the reopening of the nearby Rijksmuseum in 2013. In the publication that accompanied the opening, director Wim Pijbes refers to "the famous white with which Sandberg once white-washed the colourful brick walls."[13] However, the Rijksmuseum itself—just like many other museums in the United States and Europe—had already hidden its brightly colored walls behind solid light hues in the 1920s. By then, several modern museums had been built in the Netherlands using the principles of modern architecture (the Kröller-Müller Museum, for instance, designed by Henry van de Velde in 1938). Why then was it commonly understood that it had been Sandberg and the Stedelijk who had introduced the modern white cube by repainting the colored staircase?

New archival research unearthed an interesting finding in this context. In an otherwise undated letter to Sandberg from 1938, Roëll—who was probably traveling through Europe at the time in preparation of the afore-mentioned exhibition, *Abstracte Kunst* (Abstract Art)—seems worried about the Stedelijk's old-fashioned character. He writes "The Musée d'Art Moderne in Brussels, which was even more out-of-date than Paulus Potterstraat 13 [the Stedelijk Museum's address], is now also completely whitened, or rather, beiged. We are even running behind, then."[15] In other words, there was certainly an awareness of the fact that many more museums in Europe had covered their conventional gallery walls with a solid light color (white or beige).

What fascinates me about this story is that it contains a number of interesting ambiguities. Especially after World War II, in combination with Sandberg's reputation as a resistance hero, this anecdote becomes a historic moment of rebellion and originality, though it appears to be an act of imitation and a new convention as well, having already been implemented by MoMA and many other museums. Furthermore, the lie concerning the role of director Roëll seems anything but unequivocal and it is obviously more than paradoxical that the story told most often about the Stedelijk's history is a story about the erasure of history.

From the very start, then the white cube was not as white as it attempted to be, and this is a good thing. There is something behind it, something is being pushed away, painted over but continuing to shimmer through. One might invoke Jacques Derrida and argue that what is being erased ("under erasure" in his terminology) will never leave the scene and will continue to resonate. This means that history, the historical gaze, may have never been absent. Or that there is a permanent oscillation between multiple models, times, and ideologies. As Mark Wigley stated about the modern white spaces of the twentieth century, "The delicate layer of paint holds together a vulnerable conceptual structure that starts to be exposed when the layer cracks or flakes."[16]

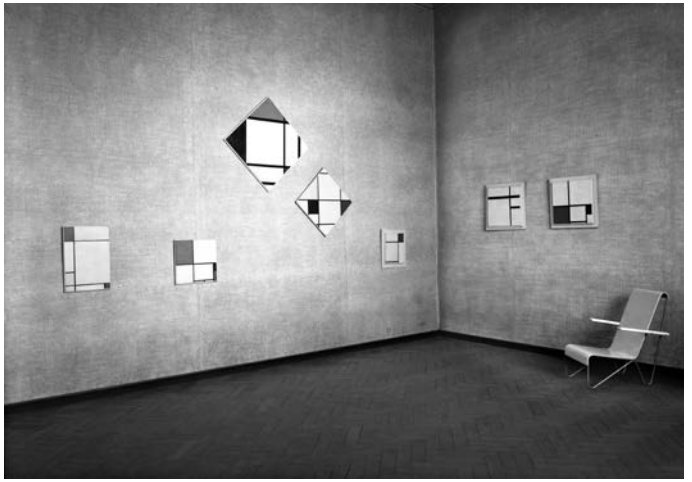

Figure 12: *Piet Mondriaan herdenkingstentoonstelling*, 1946, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

III Exhibition History

This fluctuation seems a more than relevant starting point for explorations into the significance of history in the modern art museum of the twenty-first century. On the one hand, the number of white cubes is still growing. Yet on the other, this sterile model is being powerfully challenged by both artists and curators. Or more specifically, apart from conventional collection presentations in the white cube format in which the art is presented in the traditional manner and selected for its importance to the development of canonical modern art, we are also seeing public programs of temporary, performative, and participatory art, lectures, and debates that counter the conventional mode of "pure viewing." This is also known as the "discursive turn," which makes room for institutional criticism and calls for radical innovation with regard to inclusivity and engagement. In short, we are witnessing a tension between applications of fresh layers of white paint and forces that cause these layers to crack and flake in order for the underlying codes to be rewritten.

During the Stedelijk's temporary reopening phase, the museum remained in a twilight zone between past, present, and future, pondering which kind of museum it would become once the new additions to the building were completed. Goldstein played with this aspect by leaving the freshly painted white spaces partially empty. This was both a celebration of the new white cube, ready for future programming, and an embrace of the museum as a *lieu de mémoire*: a place that explicitly leaves room for the memories of the public. In a remarkable *contradictio in terminis*, many people commented that they missed the Stedelijk's old white cube, with its characteristic herring-bone parquet and ample daylight. When the collection could once again be shown, during the second installment of *Temporary Stedelijk* (which had been impossible before, with the lack of climate conditioning), I chose to organize a double exhibition, entitled *Recollections*, about three canonical exhibitions from the Stedelijk's illustrious past that had emphasized alternative models for—and criticism of—the conventional white cube model: *Bewogen Beweging* (literally translated as Moved Movement) (1961), *Dylaby* (1962), and *Op Losse Schroeven* (1969) (loosely translated as Square Pegs in Round Holes). What happens when one returns to these histories of resistance and criticism by means of the traces they have left inside the museum? What is gained by exploring the significance of these exhibitions in the freshly white-painted spaces of the museum in which they once took place, guided by their leftovers in the museum's archive and collection?

The first edition of *Recollections* (March 3-July 10, 2011) was dedicated to *Bewogen Beweging* and *Dylaby*, two interactive exhibitions in which artist Jean Tinguely had played a key role. *Bewogen Beweging* was a large survey of over seventy kinetic artists, co-curated by the Swiss machine-artist and his colleague, Daniel Spoerri. The west wing of the museum was filled with over two hundred moving installations, many of which could be activated by visitors, that produced a massive amount of noise. Sandberg was so astonished by Tinguely that he invited him to return the following year for another exhibition, which became *Dylaby*. This "dynamic labyrinth" (the title is an abbreviation of this term) was constructed by Tinguely and a group of artists selected by him—Niki de Saint Phalle, Per Olof Ultvedt, Robert Rauschenberg, Daniel Spoerri, and Martial Raysse—across eight galleries in the building's west wing. It became a lively, interactive installation: the public could shoot at paint-filled balloons, dance the twist next to an inflatable pool, move along "touch objects" in the dark (guided by tactility alone), walk across a tilted museum gallery in which works were displayed on the floor, and make their way through a hall filled with balloons.

As previously stated, professionals considered these exhibitions to be hugely meaningful in the light of twentieth-century museum practices for several reasons. Artists were given the freedom to do whatever they wanted in the museum, while Sandberg, in the final years of his Stedelijk mandate, was moving further and further away from the traditional notion of art. The exhibitions are considered public favorites as well. This was the first introduction to the Stedelijk for many Amsterdam residents who continue to visit the museum today.

Neither exhibition produced many leftovers in terms of art objects at the Stedelijk. Three works by Tinguely from *Bewogen Beweging* were acquired, and apart from a radio by Tinguely, virtually nothing remained after *Dylaby*. This was hardly surprising, since the significance of these exhibitions was not located in static objects but in public participation and, in *Dylaby's* case, in its very temporary nature (the exhibition was deliberately followed by its destruction, in order to prevent the museum from gathering materials and constructing a museological afterlife). The documentation of both exhibitions, however, was magnificent. Amsterdam photographers captured them in both pictures and film: enticing images of cheerful visitors, including many children, tremendously enjoying the presented works (Figure 13-14).

In 2011 all found documents, archival materials, and art objects were cohesively presented in the seven galleries that were available for this edition of *Recollections*. Apart from offering insights into the concept and execution of both exhibitions, the gallery texts also addressed the complex and shifting significance of these leftovers and their place in the museum. For example, questions concerning the intricate ethics of restoring modern and contemporary artworks were raised through the presentation of works by Tinguely, not restored at the time, which could mainly be displayed as inoperable, at safe distance, and sometimes even in protective vitrines (Figure 15). It was also explained how a wide selection from Van der Elsken's photographic material was acquired for the museum's art collection in 1990, followed by two films in 2004. Once purchased as press materials, they were now being collected again, this time as works of art.

Figure 13: *Recollections I: Bewogen Beweging (1961) and Dylaby (1962)*, 2011, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 14: *Recollections I: Bewogen Beweging (1961) and Dylaby (1962)*, 2011, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 15: *Recollections I: Bewogen Beweging (1961) and Dylaby (1962)*, 2011, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Inspired by the original poster for the *Bewogen Beweging* exhibition, which contained cut-out holes, artist Bart de Baets designed a poster with a prominent hole for this first edition of *Recollections* (Figure 16). These were randomly placed across a wallpaper of enlarged photographs by Van de Elsken and newspaper clippings, in order to communicate that the visitor was looking at a construction of the past from the present moment, and that much remained invisible. It was not a complete story, but one with gaps, offering critical insights into the ways the museum was dealing with its past. This story was enhanced by the contributions of former Stedelijk conservator Ad Peterse, who had facilitated and supervised both projects. Peterse offered archival pieces that he had kept privately and would have otherwise ended up as trash. These included, for instance, the telegraph messages from the long-distance chess game that Marcel Duchamp played from New York against Dutch chessmasters like Hans Ree and Tim Krabbe during *Bewogen Beweging* as well as one of the rifles and a cast plaster head from De Saint Phalle's *Dylaby* installation.[17]

In short, members of the public could enjoy the cheerful images and were pleased to find that their own memories were worthy of being shown on the walls in enlarged format. This was not simply a nostalgic gesture for those who had experienced the original events. It also spoke to younger generations accustomed to participation and to capturing and sharing their experiences. Moreover, the exhibition functioned as a hopeful preview of things to come: when all the new walls are placed, freshly whitened,

new experiments such as these will be welcomed once again. Yet, at the same time, it contained a self-critical layer that drew visitors into the museum's paradoxical identity: an institution that can appreciate its dynamic and beloved history in such a way that it elevates the remaining documentation to the level of art, while transforming the performative and participatory artworks from its history into static and nostalgic relics.

Figure 16: *Recollections I: Bewogen Beweging (1961) and Dylaby (1962)*, 2011, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

IV Institutional Critique

The second edition of *Recollections* (August 2-October 9, 2011) was dedicated to *Op Losse Schroeven* (1969), the survey exhibition of conceptual art in which the sterile, white museum walls and the accompanying ideology–acquisitions of fixed and completed objects, to be forever kept and exhibited–were critically tested and challenged, for example, by embracing natural processes and executing site-specific interventions within the museum. Jan Dibbets dug out the corners of the museum, elevating it to the status of an artwork; Marinus Boezem hung white sheets from the museum's windows in order to freshen things up; Ger van Elk stretched a white sheet along the historical staircase to separate the upward and downward streams of visitors; Richard Serra poured lead into the corner between the museum's front facade and the sidewalk, which he then carried into the museum and exhibited.

In the first edition of the Afterall Exhibition Histories series in 2010, Christian Rattemeyer scrutinized *Op Losse Schroeven* in conjunction with *When Attitudes Become Form* by Harald Szeemann, which opened several weeks

later in 1969. His precise historical analysis of these first, closely related museum surveys of conceptual art mainly from the United States and Europe was a perfect anchoring point for this return to *Op Losse Schroeven*. Rattemeyer had described all the works in each gallery in exact detail and explained how this art, according to curator Wim Beeren, who would become the museum's director in the 1980s, represented "an awareness of the interaction between art and its environment, a newfound site-specificity that not only involved formal concerns for the white cube and the institution, but aimed at a relationship of a higher order, clearly phenomenological and essentially spiritual."[18]

The investigations into the leftovers at the museum turned out entirely different than expected. Initially, the emphasis seemed to be on art that questioned the collectable material object, exchanging it for ideas and concepts. However, it surfaced that an ample amount of works from *Op Losse Schroeven* had, in fact, been acquired afterwards by the Stedelijk, and the majority of the featured artists had later been extensively collected as well. In fact, there is no exhibition in the history of the museum that is known to have had a larger impact on its collection. From the time of the exhibition until the present, a total of 306 works by 24 of the participating artists have been acquired (12 of which directly derive from *Op Losse Schroeven*).

As in the previous edition of *Recollections*, a jumble of relationships between document, archive, art object and, in this case, the building itself, emerged. For example, the artists themselves created a layer of documentation and archive that was part of the artworks; works that were never executed, but merely submitted as written instructions, were documented in a catalogue, thus existing as autonomous artworks. There were also documentations of projects that were executed outside the museum, photographs of the production processes of the site-specific works in the exhibition, and photographed installation views of the galleries, largely devoid of visitors.

Instead of the previous mix of documents, archival pieces, and art objects, a separation of these categories was decided upon for this edition of *Recollections*. No layers-across-layers, no blow-up documentation combined with artworks, but instead white spaces with vitrines in which the documentation and archive materials narrated the story of the production, promotion, and reception of this exhibition (including correspondence, reviews, catalog, and poster) (Figure 17). This was followed by a gallery dedicated to the conceptual artworks in the catalog that had not been executed, and only existed as ideas and documents. In order to emphasize the particular status of this material, the documentation was re-photographed and transferred onto slides (Figure 18). Following that were six spacious halls with works that were purchased directly from, or as a result of, the exhibition (Figures 19-20). The combinations were mostly new, with the exception of one space that was dedicated to Bruce Nauman, which was acquired in its entirety. The accompanying gallery texts stated when a work had become part of the collection, how many other works by the artist were featured in the collection, which works had been displayed in *Op Losse Schroeven*, and exactly how the relations between object, idea, concept, and documentation had been manifested.

Figure 17: *Recollections II: Op Losse Schroeven (1969)*, 2011, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 18: *Recollections II: Op Losse Schroeven (1969),* 2011, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 19: *Recollections II: Op Losse Schroeven (1969)*, 2011, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 20: *Recollections II: Op Losse Schroeven (1969)*, 2011, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

The photographic documentation of *Op Losse Schroeven* turned out to be the opposite of that of *Bewogen Beweging* and *Dylaby*: bleak, detached images without any visitors. This time we decided to present the materials on a mobile website that included a floor map and audio information, so that visitors could take a virtual tour of the place where the works had once been presented: the opposite wing to that of the current *Recollections* exhibition. The tour included stops outside the building and on the staircase where the site-specific installations had been produced. Adhering to this reconstruction tour required considerable concentration on the part of the public, as other programming was on display at the same time that visually competed with the information on the small screen.

In conclusion, we may state that the second edition of *Recollections* also involved curatorial research on the relationships between document, archive, and object, and how to deal with these, both in the museum's white cube and in twenty-first-century cyberspace. This led to critical insights into what we had thought to be an attack on the white cube, but was actually a tribute. As Dieter Roelstraete phrased it, "Even Institutional Critique is a 'genre' or 'ism' in its own right, which… ultimately only speaks of love for the museum—of the desire to *belong* to the museum."[19]

V Performing the Archive

Large retrospective exhibitions of major artists at the Stedelijk also tend to dedicate an increasing amount of space to key historical exhibitions, like gallery 0.10 of the Malevich exhibition in 2013–2014 (Figure 21). While these spaces often treat an artist's experimental practice, this trend also demonstrates a growing awareness that modern art only acquires meaning when it is actively shown in the public sphere. It is in this kind of relational presentation that it receives responses and that memories are created. It is no wonder, then, that these historical constellations are being revisited.

This growing interest sometimes results in complete reconstructions of exhibitions. In 2009 the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven reconstructed an entire collection presentation by its former director, Rudi Fuchs, in order to see what would happen. Could this strategy give a voice to the collection? Another example of an exact reconstruction was offered by Germano Celant with *When Attitudes Become Form* (1969). This "twin exhibition" of *Op Losse Schroeven* was curated by Harald Szeeman at Kunsthalle Bern and

Figure 21: *Kazimir Malevich en de Russische Avant-Garde*, 2013-2014, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

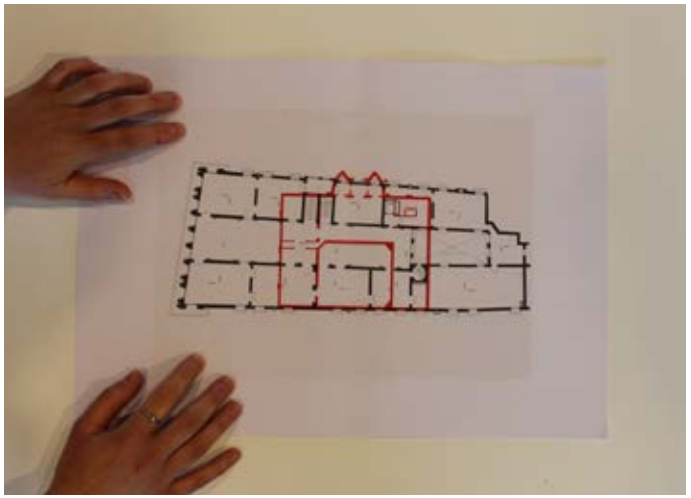

Figure 22: Superimposing OMA's 1:1 floor plans for Kunsthalle (red) and Ca' Corner della Regina (black). Courtesy OMA.

consisted of work by almost the same group of artists. Instead of opting for an archive exhibition, Celant chose to present the original objects in their initial combinations. The fact that this was a contemporary reconstruction became apparent mainly through the change of place and space: it did not take place at its original location, but was staged at the 2013 Venice Biennale in the Prada Foundation, which is not a standard white cube but rather the partially stripped eighteenth-century Palazzo Ca'Corner della Regina. With extreme incisions in the space, exhibition designer Rem Koolhaas created a floor plan which matched that of the original architecture. Even details such as the tiles and wooden floors were recreated, and the authentic radiators brought over from Bern.(Figure 22).

To this day, the latter is the most frequently discussed example in critical discourse about the significance of exhibition history in the museum. Though this often concerns a return to radical practices from the past, there is a risk of merely amounting to a nostalgic trip down memory lane and a further confirmation of the canon. In such a vicious circle, a critical past is presented to an audience that was already well within reach. Where is the innovation in this? How can museums answer their key task of becoming more inclusive and use the past, not just nostalgically, but to discover new paths for the challenges of the twenty-first century?

Reesa Greenberg, an exhibition history expert, argues that archive-based "remembering exhibitions," not reconstructions, are better equipped to bring the present and past to a meaningful amalgam. By the visual display of the remaining sources "the archival

remembering exhibition remembers more than the remembered exhibition as a landmark display of artworks as complex constructions with before, during, and after-lives and does so by spatializing documents for viewing as a way of insisting that they be seen."[20] This focus on the archive is hardly surprising, considering the current amount of (online) access to the most spectacular archival materials. For the public, this constitutes a true presence of the past in the current moment, which can be activated at any given time. In short, the archive is perhaps much closer to a global audience than the objects that we carefully preserve in our museum depots.

Furthermore, the focus on archive is part of our increasing fascination with the genealogy of ephemeral art practices, such as discursive programs, performances, and media events. As the newly added wing at Tate Modern (2016) indicates, embracing live arts not only means a permanent stage for performances, but also a podium for new perspectives on the past where the remnants of historical events, often collected by museums, are presented in combination with archival materials and documentation. In 2014, the Stedelijk set an example of such archive-based performance genealogies with the exhibition *De Show van Gijs en Emmy* (The Show of Gijs and Emmy, February 22-August 3, 2014), curated by Marjan Boot. Its starting point was a famous piece of jewelry from the museum's collection by Gijs Bakker, the *Stovepipe Necklace*. Historical research traced its path to a spectacular fashion show and media campaign that the designer had produced together with his muse, Emmy Andriesse, and a dense network of designers and photographers. It took place at the Stedelijk and in London in 1969. Designer Bart Hess created an environment that combined a sense of an immersive show with the archival research, and an oral history project with the network that had either taken part in or contributed to the show (Figures 23-24).

The ZERO exhibition at the Stedelijk (*ZERO: Let Us Explore the Stars*, 2015) also focused on a search for the multimedial and performative roots of this international network. New archival research produced an image of a movement that took the first steps toward land art and performance art through witty performances in public space.[21] In addition, a clever interaction with the ever-expanding mass media emerged. Live events and performances triggered the media to cover other ZERO output, such as the third and final *ZERO* magazine and the very first ZERO exhibition at a museum, the Stedelijk's *NUL* (1962). The return of these performative practices in the twenty-first century, by means of leftovers in vitrines, blow-ups, and projections, caused a reinterpretation of an artistic practice that had been reduced to that which had been kept in museum depots and private collections over the years: the predominantly monochrome paintings and reliefs (Figures 25-27).

In addition to the archive materials, reconstructions of large installations were also displayed. Some of these had been previously copied by the artists and sold to museum collections (Figure 28), while others were constructed specifically for this occasion (Figure 29). These reenactments at the Stedelijk were equivocal. On the one hand, they were meant to celebrate the fact that the museum had been the first to offer a stage to these experimental artists. The artists

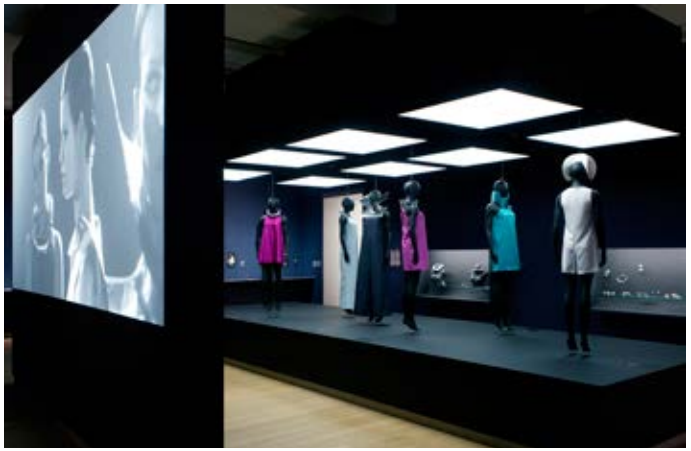

Figure 23: *De Show van Gijs + Emmy: mode- en sieraadontwerpen van Gijs Bakker en Emmy van Leersum*, 2014, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 24: *De Show van Gijs + Emmy: mode- en sieraadontwerpen van Gijs Bakker en Emmy van Leersum*, 2014, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 25: *Zero: let us explore the stars*, 2015, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 26: *Zero: let us explore the stars*, 2015, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

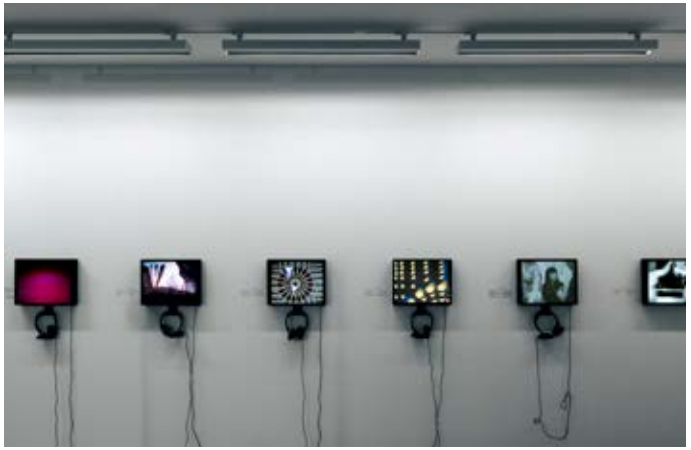

Figure 27: *Zero: let us explore the stars*, 2015, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 28: *Zero: let us explore the stars*, 2015, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

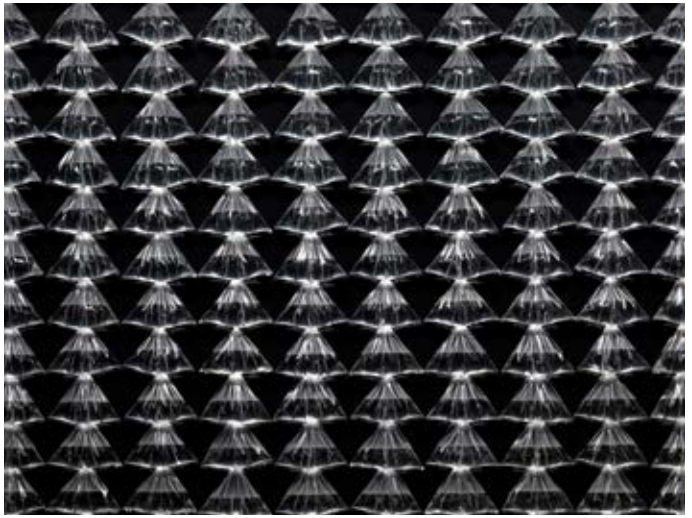

Figure 29: *Zero: let us explore the stars*, 2015, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 30: *Zero: let us explore the stars*, 2015, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

had expedited the opportunity to work in larger volumes than they had been able to before, which could possibly be interpreted as the beginning of installation art in Europe. In a parallel space, on the other hand, visitors found a self-critical archival presentation in which it became apparent that the Stedelijk had not paid a single cent to the artists for these large-scale constructions and had left all the materials for trash afterwards, to the dismay of the artists. A similarly ambiguous perspective was communicated about one of the most canonical works in the Stedelijk's current collection: Yayoi Kusama's *Aggregation: One Thousand Boats Show* (Figure 30). One of her first spatial installations, it was created on site for the second large ZERO exhibition at the Stedelijk, *Nul 1965* (Zero 1965). As neither the artist nor the museum had the funds to ship the work to New York, where Kusama lived at the time, it became clear that the artist had donated the work to the museum out of sheer necessity.

In other words, performative history goes hand in hand with uncovering a layered institutional past in which there is room for both pride and self-criticism. More than anything, however, it is possible to diversify the conventional, object-oriented gaze of the museum by means of a mixture of archive, reconstructions, and collected artworks. Because, as Douglas Crimp mournfully reflected in his famous *On the Museum's Ruins*, "The history of museology is a history of the various attempts to deny the heterogeneity of the museum, to reduce it to a homogeneous system or series."[22] Performing the archive can be a way of reinstalling that heterogeneity.

VI Unfinished Past

This ties in with my final example, in which provenance research formed the starting point for the aforementioned historical exhibition, *The Stedelijk Museum & The Second World War*. After signing the Washington Principels in 1997, museums worldwide carried out research on the provenance of their collections with regard to the Nazi period (1933–1945), due to the possibility that artworks had been sold under pressure, stolen, or had an otherwise problematic past, meaning that they did not legitimately belong in the museum collection. In the Netherlands, this provenance investigation was conducted in two stages. At the Stedelijk, sixteen artworks with possibly problematic origins surfaced. Wherever possible, heirs were contacted so that a joint application could be filed at the National Committee for Restitution, which would then conduct additional research and produce a binding verdict concerning the future ownership of the artwork.

Though the results were shared online through the Museums Association (Nederlandse Museumvereniging)

website, a plan arose to organize an exhibition that would provide context for the compelling histories of the mostly Jewish collectors and artists who had been separated from their art collections against their will.[23] The survey had given additional insights into the broader history of the Stedelijk Museum before, during, and after World War II. Stories were unraveled of, for example, the construction of a large vault under the dunes near Castricum and the storage of the Stedelijk's collection in this bunker (along with artworks from nearly five hundred other collections, including those of the Royal Family, the heirs of Van Gogh, and a number of Jewish collectors). In addition, the research led to the identification of works in the collection that had been classified as *entartete Kunst* (degenerate art) by the German occupiers, plus the inspiration artists had gained from visiting the vault. Moreover, information of the museum's programming during the occupation came to light, along with the identification of postwar donations by mostly German-Jewish collectors or artists who had fled to the Netherlands and had wanted to thank the Stedelijk, and information about the museum's role during the postwar recuperation of artworks.[24]

Five themes were highlighted in the exhibition: the relationship between the Stedelijk and refugee artists and collectors in the late 1930s; the hidden bunker; the museum's wartime programming; the period directly following liberation; and, of course, the results of the provenance survey. The introductory gallery contained an image of the German Wehrmacht marching past the Stedelijk Museum, enlarged to a wall-sized format. A painting by Charley Toorop of a mourning woman with a background view of the scorched city of Rotterdam was displayed on top of this (*Working-Class Woman*, 1943, Figure 31), producing a layering that instantly made clear to visitors that this was a historical exhibition in which objects from the collection were mixed with archival materials and documentation.

The exhibition's nucleus was a gallery in which the objects of possibly problematic provenances were displayed alongside one another, accompanied by texts that narrated the often tragic lives of their collectors. A reading table in the center held dossiers for each artwork, with copies of the recuperated documents through which the provenance history had been reconstructed (Figure 32). Gaps in the survey were also mentioned. The impossibility of determining exactly what had taken place emphasized the fact that this was a work in progress—an unfinished history.

While the (inter)national press focused on the radical openness with which the Stedelijk shared these provenance histories with the public, commiting itself to restitution of works that did not legitimately belong to the museum, there was yet another layer of significance at play.[25] Canonical modernist "masterpieces," such as *Bild mit Hausern* by Wassily Kandinsky (1909) and *Odalisque* by Henri Matisse (1920), which are nearly permanently on view at the museum and usually presented as moments during which the rise of abstract art manifested itself, were now presented in conjunction with a dark, nineteenth-century piece by Gerard Jan Bos, *The Old Veteran* (1899), with *Pears in a Glass Preserving Jar* by Sal Meijer (date unknown), or with a series of drawings by Jan Toorop,

Figure 31: *Het Stedelijk in de oorlog*, 2015, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 32: *Het Stedelijk in de oorlog*, 2015, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Figure 33: *Het Stedelijk in de oorlog*, 2015, image Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Working in the Candle Factory (1905). Since the works from Meijer and Toorop were revealed as coming from the estate of Jacques Goudstikker, they were accompanied, thanks to the Stadsarchief Amsterdam, by a vitrine containing the pocket book of this Jewish art dealer in which he had precisely documented his collection (Figure 33).[26] In other words, the exhibition disavowed the white cube model by dismissing artistic or aesthetic significance in favor of the invisible stories and hidden biographies behind the works, narrated in a non-hierarchical presentation with additional documents and texts.

Another key research question that fueled the exhibition was the role of Sandberg. He had helped refugee artists through commissions (for instance, the velum that was made by Johannes von Itten for the space above the staircase, where the light was too bright after the yellow glass had been removed in 1938), built a bunker to safe-guard the art from bombings, and had been a member of the resistance. It is therefore understandable that his story

had long dominated the historiography of the museum during World War II. The exhibition was not intended to remove Sandberg from his pedestal, but it did attempt to add nuance. This was done, for example, by focusing on the important diplomatic role of then-director Roëll, but also by critically examining the way Sandberg utilized the recent past in order to create space for modern art when he became director after the liberation of the Netherlands. The final gallery of the exhibition, as well as the essay by Claartje Wesselink in the catalog, showed how keen Sandberg had been to turn the Stedelijk into a true museum for modern contemporary art and design. For this reason, he felt hindered by the many artists' collectives, often driven by convention, that had been involved in the museum's programming from the beginning. A large majority of these associations had agreed to an "Aryan Attestation" and become members of the *Kultuurkamer* (Culture Chamber, a monitoring institution installed by the German occupiers) in order to be able to continue their professions. Sandberg managed to deny them access to the Stedelijk on these grounds shortly after the liberation. However, he deliberately disregarded the fact that Karel Appel, a key figure in the newly developing CoBrA movement that Sandberg embraced with much pomp and circumstance in 1949, had a similar wartime record.

Eventually, the *The Stedelijk & The Second World War* exhibition led to a paradoxal awareness that while World War II had been a crucial moment in the Stedelijk Museum's realization of the white cube model and the casting aside of history, seventy years later it had the opposite effect: a cracking of the white paint and a return to history.

VII Future of the Past

Reflection on the tension between creating a white cube and the historical context that is disregarded as a consequence is becoming an ever more frequent occurrence. A fitting example is the installation by Lara Almarcequi at Casino, a Luxembourgian contemporary art institution founded in 1995. Though its name refers to the building's previous function, the architecture was transformed into an a historical white cube by means of a variety of white walls. Almarcequi pulverized all of them, reducing the walls into a massive heap of plaster, which was then placed at the center of the large, open space in order to reveal its former structure.[27]

The multilayered project *1:1 Period Rooms*, organized by Het Nieuwe Instituut (The New Institute) in Rotterdam, is also quite relevant in the context of this essay. Designer Andreas Angelidakis dissected the rise of the white cube model at the Stedelijk Museum by displaying one of the historical period rooms that had been on show for a long time at the museum, but had eventually been transferred to the Amsterdams Historisch Museum (the current

Amsterdam Museum), because they no longer suited the collection of a modern and contemporary art museum. For *1:1 Period Rooms*, Angelidakis installed one of these rooms in a construction that included the crates in which the objects are stored at the depot (Figure 34). This act incorporated the objects' actual status (storage in crates that bear the Stedelijk logo) into the installation. It was contrasted with archive materials of the first white cube exhibition at the Stedelijk (*Abstracte Kunst*, 1938) and, unsurprisingly, the story of Sandberg whitening the staircase.

As with Angelidakis's installation, this essay communicates how the implementation of the white cube at the Stedelijk is an embrace of the present that obscures a past: a *tabula rasa* that simultaneously functions as a complex historical site that is often revisited. The careful dissection of this complex historical moment has everything to do, of course, with the complex times in which we live. While new white cubes—including their underlying ideology and economy—continue to appear throughout the world, museums must make every effort to reinvent themselves in order to fit a changing society in which continuing with old approaches is not an option. This holds especially true for museums that rely on government funding, either in part or whole. The programming of such institutions must become more diverse, open, and inclusive, and they must simultaneously make their audiences aware of the immense public collections compiled over the years—in other words, quite a challenge.

As I have shown here, curatorial practices that emphasize historical perspectives also offer possibilities. Though they may be misunderstood as uncritical repetitions, or as "easy hits" due to their nostalgic appeal to the existing public, it has become clear that such curatorial practices offer alternative options for presenting modern art to the conventional model of "presentism."[28] The partially archive-based exhibitions discussed here, did not only offer inspiration and pay homage to individual and public memories of the Stedelijk, they also functioned as critical practices that disproved art-historical assumptions, scrutinized museum practices, added depth to current situations, and created a future for unfinished stories and underappreciated collection items.

Figure 34: *1 : 1 Period Rooms by Andreas Angelidakis*, 2015, Het Nieuwe Instituut, image Johannes Schwartz.

In his essay, "The Archival Impulse," Hal Foster comments on the way artists such as Thomas Hirschhorn return to the past: "In a sense all these archival objects… serve as found arks of lost moments in which the here-and-now of the work functions as a possible portal between an unfinished past and a reopened future."[29] This mix of temporalities is crucial and may, of course, be created by visitors themselves in open collection buildings, such as that which the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam is currently constructing, or through online exhibition archives, such as that recently published by MoMA.[30] It is highly desirable that visitors are given the possibility to navigate collections and exhibition histories by themselves, and to construct alternative readings of museum employees' practices. Yet it is also necessary that museums themselves offer critical and curated perspectives on their own histories. This helps them face the challenges of the present moment and give shape to their future. As Claire Bishop has stated, collection museums are "the most fruitful testing ground for a non-presentist, multitemporal contemporaneity"—something that requires both research and a self-critical stance.[31]

In 2020 the Stedelijk Museum will celebrate its 125th anniversary. Apart from intelligent collection presentations, hopefully with ample space for works in the depot that have never before been displayed, as well as for forgotten exhibition histories that are particularly relevant in light of present-day challenges, its future will be celebrated by a younger generation of artists. Moreover, I also propose that the staircase be restored to its original state, with its colorful decorations and yellow glass—not by scraping away the white, but as an extra layer—a symbol of the awareness that the whiteness is a historical construct, a state of being "under erasure" that not only opened a new future, but also blotted out a past. Precisely rendering visible the totality of this fluctuation is one of the necessary strategies for all modern and contemporary art museums in the twenty-first century. Following the Stedelijk's anniversary year, everything could be painted white once again in an interactive performance: an "erasure performance" like those organized by artist Nalini Malani. However, this should be done with the express purpose of becoming a site that does not uncritically reinstall the white cube, but rather creates a common ground that ambitiously builds a future of the modern and contemporary art museum where the past does not merely shimmer through, under erasure, but is actively made to speak out while being critically deconstructed in a multitemporal dialogue. A place welcoming the tears of visitors who are returning, but one that also aspires to become a *lieu de mémoire* for a new audience.

Endnotes

[1] See, for example, Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations*, no. 26 (special issue: *Memory and Counter-Memory*, (Spring 1989): 7–24.

[2] See, for example, Hal Foster, "The Archival Impulse," *October* 110 (Autumn 2004): 3–22.

[3] Christian Rattemeyer, et al., *Exhibiting the New Art: 'Op Losse Schroeven' and 'When Attitudes Become Form,' 1969,* (London: Afterall Exhibition Histories, 2010).

[4] Bruce Altshuler, *Salon to Biennial – Exhibitions that Made Art History, Volume 1: 1863–1959* (London: Phaidon Press, 2008).

[5] *Recollections I: Bewogen Beweging (1961) and Dylaby (1962)* (March 3-July 10, 2011); *Recollections II: Op Losse Schroeven* (1969) (August 2-October 9, 2011); *The Stedelijk Museum & The Second World War* (February 27 – May 28, 2015); *Zero: Let Us Explore the Stars* (July 4 – November 8, 2015); *Jean Tinguely: Machine Spectacle* (October 1 2016- March 5, 2017).

[6] The Amsterdam Museum was established in 1926 as part of the Stedelijk Museum in another location (De Waag). Many of the historical collections of the Stedelijk Museum were later transferred to this museum.

[7] Claire Bishop, *Radical Museology: or, What's 'Contemporary' in Museums of Contemporary Art?* (London: Koenig Books, 2013): 24.

[8] The project is often considered an important critical counterpart to the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition that toured Nazi Germany in the same year.

[9] See, among others, Ank Leeuw Marcar, *Willem Sandberg: Portret van een kunstenaar*, rev. ed. (Amsterdam: Valiz, 2004): 72.

[10] See Caroline Roodenburg Schadd, *Expressie en ordening: Het verzamelbeleid van Willem Sandberg voor het Stedelijk Museum 1945–1962* (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum / Rotterdam: NAi Uitgevers, 2004): 66, where she states that this matter led to a first meeting between the two in Paris, during which Barr would have talked about his ideas.

[11] Ank Leeuw Marcar, above, note 9: 74-75.

[12] Rudi Fuchs, "The museum from inside", *L'Exposition imaginaire: The art of exhibiting in the eighties*, eds. Evelyn Beer, Riet de Leeuw, G. Bennington, (Den Haag: Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst/SDU, 1989): 310.

[13] Wim Pijbes, "Restored to future glory", in *Rijksmuseum: The Building, the Collection and the Outdoor Gallery*, eds. Cees W. de Jong, Patrick Spijkerman, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2015): 9.

[14] The period saw a general surge of new, wholly or partially modern art museums in the Netherlands: the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam and the Haags Gemeentemuseum in The Hague in 1935, the Van Abbemuseum in Eindhoven in 1936, and the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterloo in 1938.

[15] David Roëll in an undated and unpublished letter to Willem Sandberg, Stadsarchief Amsterdam. Quote translated by Margriet Schavemaker.

[16] Mark Wigley, *White Walls, Designer Dresses: The Fashioning of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001): XVIII.

[17] See also the account of the exhibition by Reesa Greenberg, "Archival Remembering Exhibitions," in *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 1, no. 2 (June 2012): 159–177, here 173–174.

[18] Rattemeyer, et al., above, note 3: 62.

[19] Dieter Roelstraete, "After the Historiographic Turn: Current Findings," *e-flux* 6 (May 2009): 3.

[20] Reesa Greenberg, "Remembering Exhibitions: From Point to Line to Web," *Tate Papers* 12 (2009).

[21] See Margriet Schavemaker, "Performing ZERO," in *ZERO*, eds. D. Pörschmann, M. Schavemaker (Düsseldorf: Walther König Verlag / Amsterdam: ZERO Foundation, Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, 2015): 211–224.

[22] Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins*, (London: The MIT Press, 1993): 54.

[23] See http://www.museale verwervingen.nl/nl/188/musea/s/ stedelijk-museum-amsterdam/ accessed December 16, 2016.

[24] For a more detailed description of this exhibition, see Margriet Schavemaker, "Introduction: The Second World War in the Art Museum of the Twenty-First Century," in *The Stedelijk Museum and the Second World War*, eds. Margriet Schavemaker, Gregor Langfeld and Margreeth Soeting (Amsterdam: Bas Lubberhuizen en Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam, 2015).

[25] As argued by, among others, Mary M. Lane, "The Dutch Stedelijk Museum Questions Origins of Some of Its Art," in *The Wall Street Journal*, February 26, 2015; or Dirk Limburg, "Stedelijk Museum toont zijn grijze oorlogsverleden," in *NRC Handelsblad*, February 26, 2015; or Fabio Cypriano, "A Celebration of Willem Sandberg, Creator of the White Cube," in *ARTE! Brasileiros*, May 2015.

[26] This became a crucial source in the provenance survey of Goudstikker's estate, which had been confiscated and sold off after his untimely death during his flight to England in 1940.

[27] The research project *Ceci n'est pas un Casino* took place in 2010, producing a publication to celebrate this institution's fifteenth anniversary by connecting its own youthful history as a contemporary art institution to the building's history as a casino. See Didier Damiani, ed., *Ceci n'est pas un Casino* (Dijon: Les presses du réel, 2010).

[28] See, for example, a discussion by Fieke Konijn, Richard Venlet and Bart Verschaffel, http://www.dewitteraaf.be/artikel/detail/nl/4077, accessed December 20, 2016; or a review by Eva Fotiadi "Recollections, Part I: *Bewogen Beweging* (1961) and *Dylaby* (1962)," *Journal of Curatorial Studies* 1, no. 2 (2012).

[29] Hal Foster, above, note 2: 15.

[30] See https://www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/history, accessed December 23, 2016.

[31] Claire Bishop, above, note 7: 23. For online acces, see https://www.academia.edu/4874576/Radical_Museology_or_Whats_Contemporary_in_Museums_of_Contemporary_Art accessed December 16, 2016.

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About the Author

Margriet Schavemaker studied Art History and Philosophy at the University of Amsterdam and defended her PhD thesis 'Lonely Images: Language in the Visual Arts of the 1960s' at this university in 2007. After an academic career in Art History and Media Studies, she is currently working as Manager Education, Interpretation and Publications at the Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Schavemaker writes about contemporary art and theory; organizes discursive events such as the acclaimed lecture series 'Right about Now: Art and Theory since the 1990s' (2006-2007), 'Now is the Time: Art and Theory in the 21st Century' (2008-2009) and 'Facing Forward. Art and Theory from a Future Perspective' (2011-2102), curates exhibitions, and is invested in exploring the significance of media technology for the cultural field.

Schavemaker works as advisor for the Creative Industries Fund and is member of the jury for the Witteveen+ Bos Award for Art and Technology. In 2013 she was research fellow at the Netherlandish Institute for Advanced Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences (NIAS) in Wassenaar.

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Reinwardt Academy

The Reinwardt Academy (1976) is a faculty of the Amsterdam School of the Arts. The faculty's aim is to prepare students to become all-round professionals in the field of cultural heritage. It offers a Bachelor's and a Master's degree programme. The Bachelor's programme, followed by some 500 students in four years, is a Dutch-taught, skills-based programme with a practical orientation.
The 18-month International Master's Degree programme, in which some 20 students enrol annually, is fully taught in English and offers graduates a multi-faceted training, aimed at providing an academic and professional attitude towards museology and the rapidly changing museum and heritage fields.

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The Reinwardt Academy annually commemorates the birthday of its namesake with a public memorial lecture, held by distinguished scholars in the field of the academy's disciplines: *Ad de Jong* (2008), *Lynne Teather* (2009), *Rob van der Laarse* (2010), *Laurajane Smith* (2011), *Michael Shanks* (2012), *Birgit Donker* (2013), *Kavita Singh* (2014), *Marcos Buser* (2015).

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