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The Aesthetic Rift

An Eco-Marxist Approach to the Capitalist Spatiality of Art

Alejandro Pedregal and Jaime Vindel

Since the dawn of the contemporary world, the development of capitalism has led to a reconfiguration of the social function of culture. Indeed, in the way it has come down to us, the very concept of culture as a specific sphere of social life is a product of this historical epoch – of the complexity this epoch has introduced into property relations and the division of labour. Contemporary culture has been defined by both its contents and the role it occupies in social experience. In relation to the art and aesthetics of Western modernity, this role is strongly linked to the appearance of an exhibition space characterised by the abstraction of artistic objects from their social context. Whether it is the *Venus de Milo* or the ready-mades of Duchamp, they are isolated from their conditions of production, from the meanings attributed by their communities of origin and from their everyday uses. In this way they are endowed with a unique aura, at the same time becoming objects of value associated with the distinction of certain social groups.¹

The commodification of culture and the fetishisation of art are events that emerge absolutely inseparably from the development of the capitalist world-system. This historical process became consolidated insofar as it produced a series of material and imaginary rifts between spheres that came to be defined by their mutual and relative autonomy. In this article we analyse the way in which these rifts operated in relation to three areas: aesthetics, economics and ecology.² During the long transition from feudalism to

1 Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement*, Les Editions de Minuit, Paris, 1979

2 These arguments could be extended to other spheres such as the capitalist link between economics and politics. Ellen Meiksins Wood has stressed that capitalism is the first mode of production to separate economics from politics. Ellen Meiksins Wood, 'The Separation of the "Economic" and the "Political" in Capitalism', in *Democracy against Capitalism: Renewing Historical Materialism* [1995], Verso, London, 2016, pp 19–48.

capitalism, a progressive split occurred between these spheres, with a significant turning point in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, accelerating as of the nineteenth century. This split was based on a threefold paradox.

The first of these paradoxes refers to the pairing of aesthetics and economics. It consists in the fact that the appearance of a new aesthetic regime, involving the 'disinterested' contemplation of artistic objects, coincides with the point in time when the classical political economy, whose commodifying force also affected artistic objects, is in a period of gestation. Here the new autonomy of artworks, away from the flow of social life, becomes compatible with their co-optation by the market.

The second paradox refers to the link between the economy and ecology. The founding of the political economy in Britain flew in the face of physiocrats' cautionary remarks as to the limits natural resources placed on the development of modern economies. The physiocratic fantasy of the spontaneous reproduction of resources was duly succeeded by theoretical approaches that presupposed a radical autonomy of the economy, as distinct from nature, which was to provide infinitely substitutable goods and services. These approaches did not consider the effects of entropy on the availability and profitability of these resources.³ What stands out here is the fact that the categorisation of the new epistemic framework of classical economics took place at a time when modern economies were becoming more dependent on nature, particularly on the energy derived from fossil fuels and minerals extracted from the Earth's crust.⁴

Lastly, the third paradox goes back to the link between ecology and aesthetics. The abstraction of the political economy from the biophysical limits of nature led to the metabolic rift between society and nature, city and country, core and periphery, that has accompanied the global implantation of capitalist modernity.⁵ This rift had an aesthetic correspondence in the creation of an idealised contemplative view of nature, especially reflected in the picturesque sensibility, its diffusion coinciding with the growing material dependence of industrial cities on the countryside, which became a supplier of food and a dump for waste. The dissociation of sensibility opened up a chasm between a farmer's practical relationship with the land and the pleasing panoramas of bourgeois perception.⁶

In order to analyse this threefold rift between aesthetics and economics, economics and ecology, and ecology and aesthetics, we will address the constitution of the exhibition space and the aesthetic experience associated with it during capitalist modernity, from its industrial origins up to the present day. To do so, we begin by identifying an ideological matrix in the appearance of this aesthetic space, marked by Eurocentric affirmations of the capitalist worldview. The concentration of artistic and cultural objects in contexts intended for their 'disinterested' contemplation effectively served as a starting point that activated the exclusivity of art in the sphere of capitalist valorisation. But also, and much more broadly, it mobilised a cultural legitimisation of the imperial, colonial and supremacist domination associated with worldwide exhibition phenomena such as the world's fairs, which followed the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in London in 1851. From the first industrial societies to the contemporary apotheosis of tourist consumption, the development of the artistic-cultural sphere has been based on an implantation worldwide of the syntax of economic development and ecological crisis, playing a fundamental role in the territorial configuration of capitalist modernity.

3 Nicholas Georgescu-Roegen, *The Entropy Law and the Economic Process*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971; José Manuel Naredo, *La economía en evolución: Historia y perspectivas de las categorías básicas del pensamiento económico*, Siglo XXI, Madrid, 2015, pp 115–196

4 This operation consolidated the hegemony of a particular imaginary of the economy, which, while cutting loose economic processes from their anchorage in nature and communal life, subjected these domains to the autotelic and expansive logic of mercantile relations. As Karl Polanyi suggests, by *disengaging* the economy from social relations – in previous times, economic exchange had been mediated by extra-economic logics such as community customs, religious rituals or normative reciprocity – capitalism acquired an unknown capacity to impose economic rationality on the whole of nature, bodies and minds. Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* [1944], Beacon Press, Boston, 2001.

5 John Bellamy Foster, 'Marx's Theory of Metabolic Rift: Classical Foundations for Environmental Sociology', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol 105, no 2, September 1999; John Bellamy Foster, *Marx's Ecology: Materialism and Nature*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 2000

6 Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1973



Thomas Rowlandson, *Doctor Syntax, Sketching the Lake*, in William Combe, *The Three Tours of Doctor Syntax*, 5th edition with new plates, 1813, source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org>

⁷ The debate over the end of the Holocene and the start of the Anthropocene as a new geological epoch in which human activity became an essential agent of geological change surpasses the scope of this article. Our chronological proposal is therefore based on the most widespread current consensus among the geological sciences community, which indicates the start of the Anthropocene in around the mid twentieth century, 'when a rapidly rising human population accelerated the pace of industrial production, the use of agricultural chemicals and other human activities', while, at the same time, 'the first atomic-bomb blasts littered the globe with radioactive debris that became embedded in sediments and glacial ice, becoming part of the geologic record'. Meera Subramanian, 'Anthropocene Now: Influential Panel Votes to Recognize Earth's New

The text relates the historical unfolding of this cultural drift to essay an eco-Marxist critique of the configuration of the exhibition space and the aesthetic experience of contemporary art. Our analysis first presents the production of the exhibition space and the cultural imaginaries associated with it at the dawn of Western industrial modernity, highlighting the colonial matrix of this project, which in geological terms is situated at the end of the Holocene. We then extend chronologically, to highlight the link between contemporary art and the Great Acceleration of the ecosocial crisis, giving way to the Anthropocene in the context of the infrastructural development of cultural industries from the mid twentieth century to the present day.⁷ This period has seen an exponential intensification of the interaction between the spatial configurations that created the exhibition infrastructures of contemporary art (by means of the proliferation of biennials or franchise museums) and the social imaginaries developed with cultural tourism. The spatiality of contemporary art thereby emerges as a further manifestation of the dynamics that structure the political, economic and cultural global system, interacting with the accumulation of ecosocial crises in which we find ourselves immersed.

The Genesis of Aesthetic Experience in Capitalist Modernity

The spatiality of the 'aesthetic regime of art',⁸ intended to decontextualise works in the field of museums, emerged in response to a specific historical

Epoch', *Nature*, 21 May 2019, <https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-019-01641-5>, accessed 25 October 2021. Recognition of the Anthropocene as a new geological epoch has not yet been approved by the International Commission of Stratigraphy, and remains under debate by its Anthropocene Working Group. Robin McKie, "There's been a Fundamental Change in Our Planet": Hunt on for Spot to Mark the Start of the Anthropocene Epoch', *Guardian*, 1 January 2023.

8 Jacques Rancière, *Aisthesis: Scenes from the Aesthetic Regime of Art*, Zakir Paul, trans, Verso, London, 2013

9 Svetlana Alpers has highlighted Rembrandt's role as *pictor economicus* in the economic transformation of the art scene during the seventeenth century. Alpers situates Rembrandt's 'entrepreneurial' profile in the socioeconomic context in the Netherlands, when it led sectors that ranged from optics and cartography to finance and international trade. Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1988, pp 8 and 88–122.

10 Bourdieu, *La Distinction*, op cit, pp 565–577

11 Alberto Santamaría, *Políticas de lo sensible: Líneas románticas y crítica cultural*, Siglo XXI, Madrid, 2020, pp 117–118

12 Tony Bennett, 'The Exhibitionary Complex', *New Formations* 4, Spring 1988; Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, Routledge, London and New York, 1995

13 Tristan Garcia and Vincent Normand, 'Introduction', in Tristan Garcia et al, eds, *Theater, Garden, Bestiary: A Materialist History of Exhibitions*, Sternberg Press and ECAL, Berlin and Lausanne, 2019, p 20

configuration with a long development. The transition from feudalism to capitalism in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, with the emergence of Renaissance culture, led to a slow decline of the artisan guilds and paved the way for the individualisation of the figure of the artist. Patronage gradually shifted from the aristocracy to the bourgeoisie, with growing commercial activity that, as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was to spark a specific economy around art, stimulating exchange, collecting and speculation.⁹ Like a reflex reaction to this gradual submission to the logic of exchange value, artistic productions came to be placed in an institutional space intended for disinterested perception. The exhibition of artworks inside the museum, which potentially defined a universal sphere of pleasure and contemplation, accessible to the eyes of *anyone*, simultaneously acted as a cultural subterfuge for a particular social class. According to Pierre Bourdieu, in his analysis of Kant's concept of disinterestedness, the universality of pure aesthetic experience was contrasted with *aisthēsis*, seen as the unrefined sensoriality of the subaltern classes.¹⁰ The disinterested pleasure of bourgeois aesthetic ideology scorned the sensuality of enjoyment and the materiality of needs associated with common people.

The spatial and symbolic rift between art and society was to be underpinned by the appearance of modern museums and the production of their own vocabulary, disciplinary framework and institutional setting. However, the discourse of fine arts (Charles Batteux), history of art (Johann Winckelmann), art criticism (Denis Diderot) and aesthetic reflection (Alexander Baumgarten), which defined the autonomy of the artistic sphere, only appeared incompatible with the capitalist world-economy. Far from representing an insurmountable contradiction, interest and disinterest emerged as synchronous, complementary movements of artistic modernity.¹¹ Contemporary art lubricated its own political economy by means of a valorisation instigated by categories such as 'genius', 'creativity', 'uniqueness' and 'aura', strongly related to the aforementioned discourses and institutions.

The emergence of a new aesthetic experience around the isolation of artworks replicated an exhibition model that had previously been essayed by the natural sciences, which taxonomised and publicly exhibited subjects and objects seized in other parts of the globe. By dissolving the boundary between the private and the public, the spatialisation and objectification of knowledge driven by the 'exhibitionary complex'¹² was consolidated as a kind of 'mediating interface of modernity, polarised between the history of science and art history'.¹³ The aesthetic experience within cultural institutions such as museums cannot be dissociated from the expansion of European empires, or from the cultural elements accompanying colonial conquest. As we will see, in this sense the enterprise of the techno-scientific domain of nature and racial supremacism found a common aesthetic space. Although the exhibitionary device had been developed previously, it was to receive a decisive boost from the rise of industrial modernity, strongly dependent as it was on the systematic use of fossil fuels.

In this way, the accumulation of objects in museums cannot be separated from the primitive accumulation process that affected various peripheral and rural areas of the world-system. The enclosure of the commons in the British Isles, or the intensification of the country's extractivist policies overseas, were the reverse side of the new bourgeois sensibility. Furthermore, the growing urbanisation of industrial societies

14 Following Foucault, Bennett has pointed out that, in contrast to the consensual role of museums – intent on hegemonising a given narrative of national history – but coinciding with their historical emergence in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the spatial model of the carceral archipelago was developed to complement social control by means of coercion. A milestone in this process was the opening of the Mettray Penal Colony in 1840. Bennett, ‘The Exhibitionary Complex’, op cit, p 74.

15 Ibid, p 99

16 The division between urban and rural, cultured and crude, also extended to the way in which nineteenth-century museums contributed to defining national identities by means of their collections and discourses, creating a distinction between the linearity of the course of Western art (its evolution tending to orbit around the narratives of history painting and fine arts museums), and the mixed bag that grouped the identities of others, exotic peoples, whose object-memory was confined in ethnographic museums. The Louvre and the Museum of Man in the Place du Trocadéro in Paris provided the setting for this exclusive, complementary relation.

17 Jeremy Lecomte, ‘Blank Space: About the White Cube and the Generic Condition of Contemporary Art’, in Garcia et al, eds, *Theater, Garden, Bestiary*, op cit, p 229

18 The universal exhibition that followed London, held in Paris in 1855 and competing in terms of magnitude as a reflection of the dispute between European imperial centres, reintroduced the fine arts to ‘show’ that social progress

tended to enclose within the museum sphere the aesthetic experience of objects and productions from those geographical areas. The freedom of the gaze projected onto works of art was in contrast to the contemporary confinement of the new system, imprisoning dissident bodies, some of which wandered aimlessly around cities after being expropriated of their means of subsistence in rural areas.¹⁴

The creation of museums in city centres was by no means accidental. As Tony Bennett points out, ‘they stood there as embodiments, both material and symbolic, of a power to “show and tell” which, in being deployed in a newly constituted open and public space, sought rhetorically to incorporate the people within the processes of the state’, the guarantor of capitalist modernity.¹⁵ Museums thereby formed part of complex consensual processes of knowledge and power that resolved the tension between education and control by means of a pedagogy supervised ‘from above’ by bourgeois elites. While helping to consolidate the association and opposition between ‘urban and cultured’ and ‘rural and crude’, they abstracted aesthetic experience from the dire social and ecological consequences of the processes of colonial expropriation and the gradual urbanisation of the planet. The sociocultural imaginaries of industrial progress responded in this way to a complex configuration that resignified the long duration of the constitutive processes of a new aesthetic subjectivity, and the museum was set up as the universal phenomenology of civilising consensus in the face of an advancing global commodification of the world.¹⁶

Furthermore, the syntax between, on the one hand, the aesthetic experience of objects abstracted from their original conditions of production and ritual meaning, and, on the other, the fetishistic character of capitalist commodities, can be identified in concrete landmarks of contemporary cultural history. Jeremy Lecomte places the capitalist resignification of the modern aesthetic experience at the Great Exhibition held at the Crystal Palace in London in 1851. The exhibition, in this ‘great empty space’, of objects from the colonies of the British Empire implied an alienation of their sensitive qualities. In the Crystal Palace there were

at once machines and raw materials, fabrics and works of art, clothes and weapons, medical instruments and flowers, medicinal herbs and furniture, trinkets and measuring instruments; a whole litany of entities that, placed on a plane of equivalence, were available to an eye already trained and disciplined in aesthetics.¹⁷

What Parisian salons had essayed with artworks, celebrating their biennials between 1748 and 1890, now extended to the appreciation of all human things and productions.¹⁸ The exhibition updated the modern definition of aesthetic taste, previously the subject of proto-industrial institutions such as the Royal Academy of Arts in London, founded in 1769. This industrialisation of the gaze brought together, under glass and metal, a bourgeois ideology that unified colonial imperialism, cultural superiority and techno-scientific progress.

What is now called the ‘aesthetic experience’ of contemporary art therefore accounts for a broad, long-lasting historical process that undoes the autonomous conception of this sensory regime. As we



The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, Crystal Palace, London, 1851, interior view of the western nave, source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org>

could not be described by means of technology alone, but had also to contain a cultural dimension. John Rewald, *The History of Impressionism* [1946], Secker & Warburg, London, 1980; Julia Morillo Morales, 'Las exposiciones universales en la literatura de viajes del siglo XIX', doctoral thesis, Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2015, p 96.

pointed out at the beginning, the genesis, described here, of the exhibition space radically questions the paradox surrounding the appearance of ecology, economics and aesthetics as seemingly autonomous spheres at a time when their structural interdependence was greatest. Indeed, this ability to split the understanding of intimately related phenomena is probably one of the most successful hegemonic operations in the cultural history of capitalism. The problem is that overlooking the rift and the secret link between economics and aesthetics, economics and ecology, and ecology and aesthetics has critical ecosocial and socioeconomic consequences for our present. Rather than turning its back on this reality, a materialist theory of culture must embrace the interaction between these three spheres if it is to play an emancipatory role in the context of the crisis of civilisation that we face.

The Fetishism of Cultural Commodities and the Colonial Secret Thereof

It is well known that Karl Marx's visit to the Crystal Palace exhibition was crucial to him writing some of the best-known passages of *Capital*,

namely the section ‘The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof’.¹⁹ For Marx, capitalist commodities as cultural objects synthesise sensible with supra-sensible elements, their use value with their submission to exchange value, and their concrete and abstract attributes. Commodities acquire personified qualities, seem to be endowed with life, turn somersaults in the air, while people become reified, reduced to the weight of things. It is common to relate the perceptual effects of exchange value to the way in which the circulation of commodities, subject to cycles of valorisation and accumulation of capital, robs us of our sensible capacity for perceiving the way in which they were produced, as well as the living labor involved in the working process. The formation of the aesthetic regime around the device that is the modern exhibition adds another variable, related to the complex conformation of a spectacular visual spatiality which, from a universal exhibition to any shopping centre, from the art museum to the windows of fashion stores, combines the multiplicity of environments for the profusion of the gaze with the homogenisation of the subjective relationship that we have with the commodities. Be they artworks or any other object, this alienation removes from our perception the sensible qualities of their context of production.

The sensible suspension of the new aesthetic experience was linked, at the origin of industrial modernity, with the use of certain architectural typologies. The experience of the ‘great empty space’ of the Crystal Palace, in which Lecomte sees a phenomenological precedent for the ‘ideology of the white cube’,²⁰ was produced in keeping with a redefinition of the scale of the glasshouse, set up as a symbol of capitalist progress. Developed from the 1830s and 1840s onwards, this typology sought to create an open-plan space to house botanical species acquired from colonial campaigns. In fact, Joseph Paxton, who designed the Crystal Palace, established the prototype for the glasshouse in examples such as the Great Conservatory at Chatsworth, built 1836–1841, which went on to materialise a whole civilisational paradox of the period. Its main purpose was to generate a kind of homo-thermic ‘reserve’, which would create an environment conducive to plants,²¹ while the use of coal and the development of the steam engine, aimed at increasing industrial productivity, started the process of cumulative emissions that was to result in global warming.²² The pristine purity of sunlight flooding the open spaces of the glasshouse architecture was in stark contrast to the grim filth caused by industrial boilers and rail transport. The ‘climatic utopia’ contained in the benign air of the glasshouse, associated with the idle delight of the bourgeoisie, sat alongside a consolidation of the fossil exploitation model of work and nature. The ‘greenhouse effect’ of Victorian England combined the atmospheric goodness of those exhibition spaces with the genesis of global warming in the transition from the Holocene to the Anthropocene.²³

The glasshouse was a botanical antecedent of the imperial conservationism that was to emerge shortly afterwards, with the exposure, in the world’s fairs, of animals and ethnic groups from the colonies. The representation of imperialist rule affected both the ‘natural’ species and the ‘wild exoticism’ of their native peoples. The ‘invention of the savage’, identified by some authors in connection with the world’s fairs,²⁴ was associated with a geographical and mythological space that intermingled

19 Karl Marx, *Capital: Volume I* [1867], Ben Fowkes, trans, Penguin Classics, London, 1990

20 Brian O’Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space*, Santa Monica and San Francisco, Lapis Press, Santa Monica and San Francisco, 1986

21 Eduardo Prieto, *Historia medioambiental de la arquitectura*, Cátedra, Madrid, 2019, pp 104–117

22 Andreas Malm, *Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming*, Verso, London, 2016

23 Jaime Vindel, *Estética fósil: Imaginarios de la energía y crisis ecosocial*, Arcadia, Barcelona, 2020, pp 59–69

24 Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Bøetsch and Nanette Snoep, *Exhibitions: L’invention du sauvage*, Actes Sud, Arles, 2011



Poster for 'Hottentots', Jardin d'Acclimatation, Paris, c 1870, source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org>

- 25 Pascal Blanchard et al, 'Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Shows in the West', in Pascal Blanchard, ed, *Human Zoos: Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2009, p 5
- 26 To contextualise this legitimising shift from religion to science in relation to racial supremacism, Stephen Jay Gould has highlighted the watershed of the American Civil War and the publication, in 1859, of *On the Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin: 'Subsequent arguments for slavery, colonialism, racial differences, class structures, and sex roles would go forth primarily under the banner of science.' Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* [1981], W W Norton, New York, 1996, p 104.
- 27 Baartman's remains were exhibited in the Museum of Man in Paris until 2002, when they were repatriated to South Africa following a request made in 1994 by Nelson Mandela to president of the French Republic, François Mitterrand. Closer to the authors, the Banyoles Bushman, a male of the San ethnic group, was on display in the Darder Museum, located in the province of Girona, in Catalonia, Spain, until 2000, when he was returned to Botswana.
- 28 Stephen Jay Gould, 'Hottentot Venus', in *The Flamingo's Smile: Reflections in Natural History*, W W Norton, New York, 1985, pp 291–305; Zoë S Strother, 'Display of the Body Hottentot', in Bernth Lindfors, ed, *Africans on Stage*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1999, pp 1–61
- 29 This aesthetic device was reproduced in successive world's fairs in Paris,

the fascination with scientific voyages, colonial history and ecological conservationism.

Also forming part of this logic were events such as the 'human zoos' put on by the United States, England, France and other European imperial powers throughout the nineteenth century. The display of the conquered 'barbarian' had accompanied imperial expansion from the times of Egypt and Rome up to the conquest of the American continent starting in the sixteenth century, and subsequent colonial incursions into Africa and Asia. However, it was the development of the natural sciences during the nineteenth century, and their relationship with anthropology and ethnography, that prompted the desire to establish and study 'human hierarchies' as a way to legitimise domination over other peoples.²⁵ This required the collection and access to 'specimens' as objects of study and to exhibit the 'evidence' found. Science was instrumentalised to gradually replace religion, naturalising ethnic and racial submission.²⁶ In this way, following the exhibition of Khoikhoi woman Sara Baartman, known as the Hottentot Venus, between 1810 and 1815 in London and Paris in circus shows,²⁷ before she became the object of scientific study,²⁸ 'exotic' exhibitions of various ethnicities were organised throughout Europe and the United States. The normalisation of civilising hierarchisation and ethnic and racial distinction reached a peak with the supposed replica, precisely for the 1851 Great Exhibition in London, of a Cairo street full of merchants, dancers, shops, cafés and even a mosque.²⁹

It was, however, in the second half of the nineteenth century that this type of exhibitionary spectacle began to proliferate and become professional, coinciding with the colonial expansion that accompanied capitalist industrialisation and its spoliation of all kinds of natural resources. The exhibition of the 'savage', separated and distanced from both their original context and that of the social position of the viewer, became a cultural gesture that consecrated the greatness of Western modernity. Some 25,000 indigenous people – often kidnapped and confined – were to be exhibited between 1880 and 1930 in reconstructions of their traditional homes at fairs around the world.³⁰ One of the most infamous moments of these 'human zoos' can be traced to the exhibition, in 1906, of the Congolese man Ota Benga, in the primate enclosure at the Bronx Zoo. This was an initiative of William Temple Hornaday, a personal friend of President Theodore Roosevelt and a central figure in the conservation movement. Together with universal exhibitions intent on extolling technology and progress, these 'human zoos' acted as forms of cultural reproduction – they combined the supremacy of capitalism and the white race, naturalising imperialism, colonialism and racism.

Hornaday represented a link between conservation consciousness and racial supremacism that was by no means accidental. In the same way aesthetic experience – as a sensible regime apparently freed of capitalist relations of interest – cannot be considered apart from the history of industrial imperialism, as we have shown, so something similar occurs with the emergence of the conservationist branch of environmentalism, which was in no way incompatible with colonial reasoning – as it remains so today.³¹ The conservation of ecosystems, like that of artworks, also had a dark side. Ecological conservationism emerged as a

Chicago, San Francisco, Berlin and Milan, attracting hundreds of thousands of visitors. Blanchard et al, 'Human Zoos', op cit, p 6.

- 30 Hannah Holleman, *Dust Bowls of Empire: Imperialism, Environmental Politics, and the Injustice of 'Green' Capitalism*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 2018, pp 65–66. The practice only ceased in 1958.
- 31 Alejandro Pedregal, *Tres incendios: Apuntes para una crítica ecosocial del capitalismo inflamable* (working title), Verso Libros, Barcelona, forthcoming 2024. For the continuity of this reasoning within the conservationist movement in the African case, see Guillaume Blanc, *The Invention of Green Colonialism*, Helen Morrison, trans, Polity, Cambridge and Medford, 2022.
- 32 Holleman, *Dust Bowls of Empire*, op cit, pp 65–73
- 33 Ibid, pp 84–88; Dorceta E Taylor, *The Rise of American Conservation Movement: Power, Privilege, and Environmental Protection*, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 2016; Karl Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2001
- 34 Peder Anker, *Imperial Ecology: Environmental Order in the British Empire, 1895–1945*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2001; Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*, Verso, London, 2000
- 35 Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous Peoples' History of the United States*, Beacon Press, Boston, 2014, pp 153–154; Robert Nichols, *Theft Is*

key ideological tool for legitimising the expropriation and exploitation of Indigenous lands and the domination of their peoples. The same subjects who were affected by capitalist expropriation soon became the object of disinterested appreciation in exhibition galleries.³² On the other hand, the preservation of national parks was in contrast to justifying the plundering of material and energy resources in other parts of the globe,³³ placing the United States on the historical-cultural path previously walked by Victorian Britain.³⁴

As part of the process of domestication of the 'savage', with which colonial expansionism culturally nurtured the increasingly monopolistic development of industrial capitalism, it is worth highlighting the way in which some expressions of resistance to this dynamic were neutralised through their exhibition, as an exaltation of white domination. This is the case, for example, with the Sioux's Ghost Dance, a representation of Sioux resistance to the settlers. The performance of the Ghost Dance 'promised to restore the indigenous world as it was before colonialism, making the invaders disappear and the buffalo return' – a world virtually eradicated a few years before by the United States Army to subdue the indigenous economy – while 'reservation officials reported it as disturbing and unstoppable'.³⁵ Political concern within the US government and federal Bureau of Indian Affairs grew to such an extent that Hunkpapa Teton Sioux leader Tatanka Yotanka (Sitting Bull) was arrested and killed as the instigator of the movement, just two weeks before the massacre and occupation of Wounded Knee, in December 1890. Following the Sioux's defeat at Wounded Knee, the next year the Ghost Dance was showcased at the European tour of William Cody aka Buffalo Bill's Wild West show,³⁶ and shortly afterwards documented by Thomas Edison in a kinoscope film of 1894.³⁷ Stripped of historical context, subsumed by spectacle, in the eyes of the Western public (whose subjectivity was more 'formed' by the commodifying logic) the Ghost Dance appeared as a cultural fetish³⁸ – an instrument to legitimise the expropriation and exploitation of indigenous land and bodies.³⁹

It was a reaffirmation of cultural superiority that, in an ecological sense, prolonged the way in which liberalism and capitalism combined had previously served to intellectually legitimise the first colonial settlements in North America, the institution of slavery and the subsequent conquest of the West.⁴⁰ As Hannah Holleman has described, the new imperialism, sparked during the 1870s, led in both African and Asian colonies and inside the United States to the civilising melanoma that devastated traditional ways of life and land uses, triggering tragic processes of erosion of agricultural land.⁴¹ The metabolic rift caused by colonialism was camouflaged by the aestheticisation of its principal victims. Ecological devastation of their natural habitats was a first step towards being exhibited in the new phenomenology of the exhibition space, where they appeared as human ready-mades. The commodification of their lands as a result of the implantation of the property regime of capitalist modernity gave way to the presentation of their bodies as war trophies and exoticised sensible forms. They reflected the aesthetic identification of document of culture and document of barbarism, which, in line with Walter Benjamin's dictum, we reinterpret here in eco-Marxist terms.

Property!: Dispossession and Critical Theory, Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina, 2020

36 Norman K Denzin, *Indians on Display: Global Commodification of Native America in Performance, Art, and Museums*, Routledge, London, 2013

37 Charles Musser, *Edison Motion Pictures, 1890–1900: An Annotated Filmography*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC, 1996; Michelle H Raheja, *Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations of Native Americans in Film*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska, 2010

38 The Sioux's Ghost Dance inspired one of the landmark works of the new American anthropology, James Mooney's essay 'The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890', *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1892–1893*, no 2, 1897. The very creation of the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1879 cannot be understood in isolation from the process of colonisation and acculturation of indigenous nations, which became increasingly intense after the American Civil War. As members of a state institution, these ethnologists fulfilled the mission of bearing witness to the cultural traits of indigenous peoples at the very moment of their disappearance. Nick Estes has denounced the way in which these ethnographic works confined to the past practices which, as in the case of the Ghost Dance, actually expressed the desire of an alternative future. Nick Estes, *Our History is the Future*, Verso, New York and London, 2019, p 16.

39 Miguel Errazu and Alejandro Pedregal, 'For Forest, or When You Can't See the Trees for the

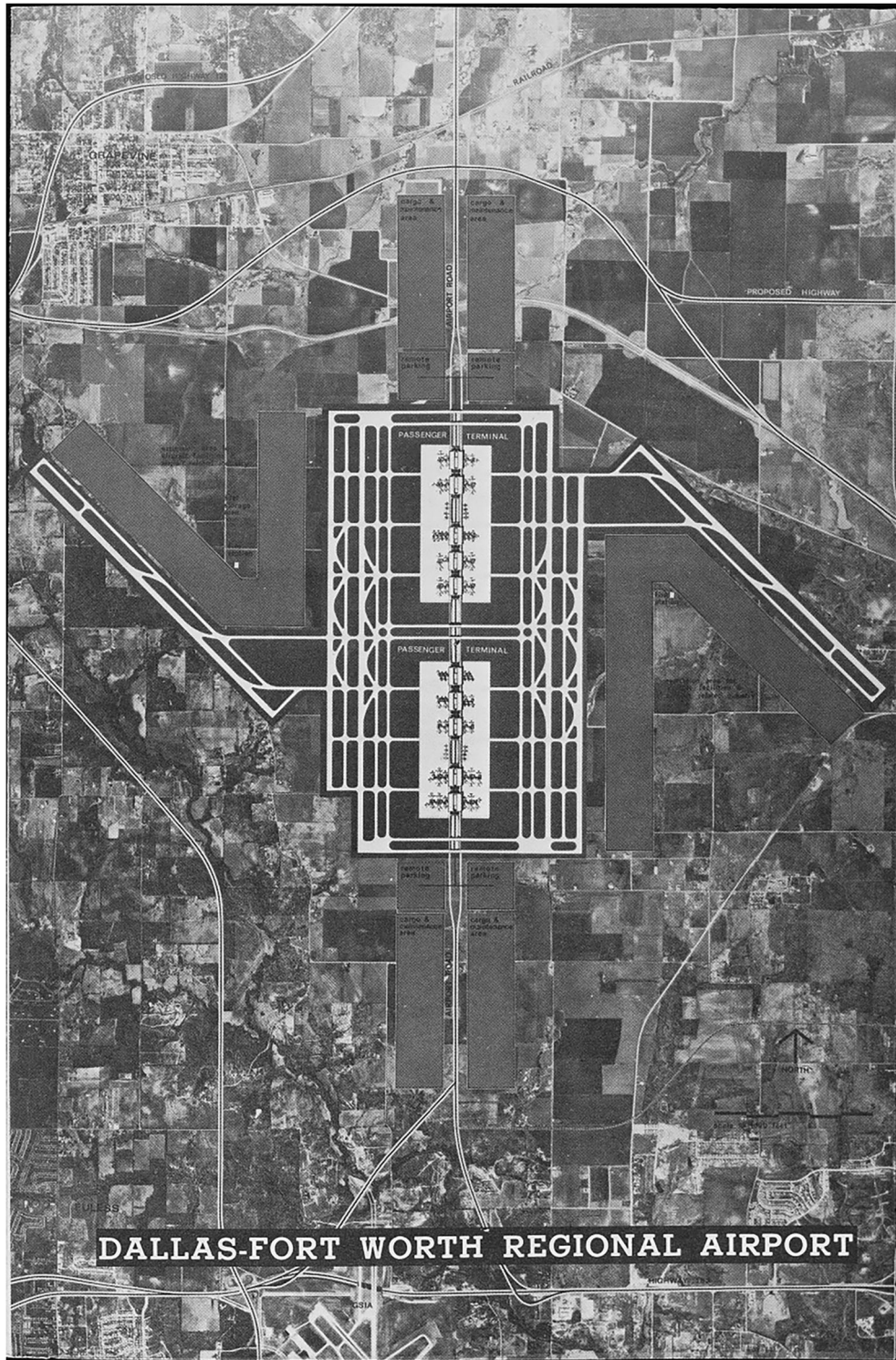
Contemporary Art and the Anthropocene: Spatial Fixes for an Intensification of the Metabolic Rift

As we have shown, the formation throughout industrial modernity of a colonial and racial, as well as urban, gaze is inseparable from the generation of new exhibitionary devices. White supremacy sublimated violence by means of the fetishistic display of its victims. The universalist abstraction of culture concealed its Eurocentric concretion. Museums *conserved* the objects – if not bodies – of colonial expropriation while ecologist discourses, with their 'green' imperialism, called on people to *conserve* ecosystems in the face of the effects of industrialisation. This new geo-aesthetic reconfiguration of the relationship between art and ecology accompanied the spread of fossil modernity. The linearity of this development, based on non-renewable energy resources, showed its incompatibility with natural cycles, affecting soil fertility and causing water and air pollution, as early as the second half of the nineteenth century.

Far from being questioned, this historical dynamic was to be reproduced, extended and accelerated following World War II. This was when industrialisation reached the truly global dimension coveted by nineteenth-century colonial powers. Capital accumulation then activated the binomial of the combustion engine and oil, replacing the steam engine and coal. The spread of privately owned vehicles, the expansion of civil aviation and the exponential growth of infrastructures redefined both mass culture and the global structural configuration of the art system. Phenomena of the latter half of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first centuries, such as the megalomaniac proliferation of art biennials, fairs and museums, redefining the historical meaning of the exhibition complex in relation to state, culture and market,⁴² cannot be regarded in isolation from the emergence of this new historical phase.⁴³

The art system, as part of Anthropocene geology, has been consistent in its response to the cultural logic marked by that Great Acceleration of the ecological crisis triggered by the end of 'European civil war' – to use Enzo Traverso's notion⁴⁴ – and by successive Keynesian and neoliberal phases of capitalism. In Euro-Atlantic terms, we might say that the thirty years' war (1914–1945) was succeeded by the thirty glorious years (1945–1973) and narratives about the 'end of history', covering the silent extension of the single empire worldwide.⁴⁵ In this context cultural globalisation has brought together an increasing number of economic and material resources, and raised hopes of modernisation that extend far beyond the geographical limits of the West.

The association, in countries of the so-called First World, of unlimited growth, liberal democracy and material abundance was founded on the fiction of sustainable energy supplies from fossil fuels. Hydrocarbon injections had a powerful impact on the artistic poetics of the period, and the aesthetic redefinition of the art experience did not go untouched by shades of an uncritical exaltation of petro-culture. To give just a couple of examples, one night the American minimalist sculptor Tony Smith got on a highway under construction, to later reflect on how that epiphanic experience had foretold the abandonment of traditional genres of art, particularly painting and sculpture.⁴⁶ The artificial paradises of paved runways erased the immediate historical-cultural past,



Dallas-Fort Worth Joint Regional Airport Board, Dallas-Fort Worth Regional Airport, c 1967, Robert Smithson and Nancy Holt papers, 1905–1987, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

Wood', *Re-visiones* 10, 2020. At the same time, it is important to note that this historical-cultural inertia was reproduced even in contexts which, like the Spanish, had assumed a peripheral position at the time of the new imperialism, missing the train of industrial modernity. Manifesting a desire for cultural incorporation prior to the loss of its last overseas colonies, in 1887 the Exhibition of the Philippines was held in Madrid's Retiro Park. The Crystal Palace that Ricardo Velázquez Bosco designed for the occasion – a reduced-scale replica of London's – displayed botanical species from the colony, while the Menagerie – a zoo inside the park – brought together exotic animals and representatives of various Filipino ethnic groups ('Igorot, Tingguian, Caroline and Negrito [sic]', according to the photographs of the time). Vindel, *Estética fósil*, op cit, pp 59–69.

40 Ellen Meiksins Wood, *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*, Verso, London, 2001; Domenico Losurdo, *Liberalism: A Counter-History*, Verso, London, 2011; Dunbar-Ortiz, *Indigenous Peoples' History*, op cit

41 Such as the Dust Bowls that affected the south-west of the United States in the 1930s. Holleman, *Dust Bowls of Empire*, op cit.

42 Martha Rosler, *Culture Class*, Sternberg Press, Berlin, 2013

43 Jaime Vindel, *Cultura fósil. Arte, cultura y política entre la Revolución industrial y el calentamiento global*, Akal, Madrid, 2023

44 Enzo Traverso, *Fire and Blood: The European Civil War, 1914–1945*, Verso, London, 2016

45 Francisco Fernández Buey and Jorge Riechmann, *Ni*

placing artistic production in an expanded field that was later to be explored by movements such as Minimalism and land art. For his part, American artist Robert Rauschenberg identified the poetics of the latter movement as a synecdoche of the 'perforative' passion for fossil extractivism and the construction of new infrastructures in the context of postwar capitalist developmentalism.⁴⁷

However, it is equally true that the expansion of the artistic field posited by the poetics of Minimalism and land art stirred up the foundations of the ideology of the white cube,⁴⁸ embodied by the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) and exported during the Cold War as a result of policies of the US cultural hegemony. The new phenomenology of the exhibition space was promoted by minimalist structures and by the inorganic nature of land art. The former dispensed with the artwork as an autonomous entity and focused instead on the architectural environment, while land artists, using photographs or texts, referred to unfinished processes or fragmentary experiences located on the fringes of the artworld. These two strategies eroded both the spatial foundations of the art museum's aesthetic regime and formalist discourses that MoMA had previously promoted with its heroic and teleological account of artistic modernity.⁴⁹

It was also at this point in time that institutional critique emerged. It is perhaps in the work of Hans Haacke that we find the most thorough position of a possible articulation of the systems ecology – the artist was familiar with Ludwig von Bertalanffy's systems theory – the critique of the artworld's institutions and the demise of bourgeois aesthetic ideology. Haacke has, on several occasions, stressed the way in which works like *Condensation Cube* (1963–1968) or *Recording of Climate in Art Exhibition* (1970) established a metaphorical relationship with the 'climate' of art institutions. The first was a cube containing water droplets that required the museum's temperature to be regulated for correct conservation, shifting the previous focus from the work of art to the environment. The second consisted of a thermograph, a barograph and a hydrograph, sensitive to environmental variations in the exhibition. The notion of *climate* had a twofold meaning here, alluding both to the strictly atmospheric and to the economic and political power relations – from real estate speculation associated with the patronage of certain museums to the fascist heritage of some collections⁵⁰ – that move the forces of the world of culture.⁵¹ As with the nineteenth-century glasshouses, the climatic autonomy of the contemporary art museum was ensured by an artificial construction (altered only by the presence of spectators' bodies) that separated it from the dramatic disturbances that the other climate – that of the planet – was beginning to experience.

The later evolution of the art system normalised the critique of the centrality of the artwork, common to minimalists, land artists and conceptualists, without renouncing the aura that characterises the processes of capitalisation of the cultural sphere. As Rosalind Krauss described at the start of the 1990s, at the height of neoliberalism, artistic reification shifted from works contained in museums to the container of these cultural objects: the museum itself as a symbol of the cultural avant-garde.⁵² The nineteenth-century constellation of coal, the Enlightenment museum, the aesthetic regime built around contemplation of the artwork, the steam engine, the universal exhibition, cultural tourism as a sign of distinction



April 2019 protest by Decolonize This Place at the Whitney Museum, New York, over board vice chair Warren Kanders's ownership of Safariland, a manufacturer of tear gas and other weapons, photo: Perimeander, source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org>

tribunos: Ideas y materiales para un programa ecosocialista, Siglo XXI, Madrid, 1996; Manuel López-Linares, Pax Americana: How and Why Us Elites Turned Global Primacy into a Silent Empire, iUniverse, Bloomington, Indiana, 2016

- 46 Samuel Wagstaff Jr, 'Talking with Tony Smith', *Artforum*, vol 5, no 4, December 1966, pp 15–19
- 47 Robert Smithson, 'Towards the Development of an Air Terminal Site', *Artforum*, vol 5, no 10, summer 1967, pp 36–40
- 48 Rosalind Krauss, 'Sculpture in the Expanded Field', *October* 8, spring 1979, pp 30–44

and the commodification of the gaze; all was gradually to give way to a configuration organised around oil, high tech applied to the generation of the Beaubourg or Guggenheim effect,⁵³ the mass consumption of tourist destinations, the jet engine, the internationalisation of art, creative industries and relational dynamics with post-avant-garde pretensions.⁵⁴

Obviously, such a schematic synthesis overlooks the fact that this new petro-dependent configuration of the international art system continues to be the subject of discursive disputes. They include, for example, the phenomenon of biennials, which have received forceful responses from the field of local activism, as well as a South-based resignification with the introduction of anti-, post- or decolonial viewpoints.⁵⁵ This has made it possible to establish networks of artists and cultural agents at a global level to build discourses and forms of resistance that counter the motivations of cultural capitalism, including questioning of the very segregating constitution of museum spaces (eg Decolonize This Place or Ariella Azoulay's works) or their link to the fossil industry (eg Liberate Tate and the Art Not Oil coalition). Nonetheless, we have to consider whether these initiatives directly attack the structural (economic), infrastructural (logistic) and metabolic (ecological) web that underpins this system.

- 49 Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War* [1983], University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 2007
- 50 Brian Wallis, ed, *Hans Haacke: Unfinished Business*, New York and Cambridge, New Museum of Contemporary Art and MIT Press, New York and Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1986; Alexander Alberro, ed, *Working Conditions: The Writings of Hans Haacke*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2016
- 51 Alberro, *Working Conditions*, op cit, p 50; Cecilia Alemani, 'Weather or Not: Hans Haacke in Conversation with Cecilia Alemani', in Cecilia Alemani, ed, *The X Initiative Yearbook*, Mousse, Milan, 2010, p 131
- 52 Rosalind Krauss, 'The Cultural Logic of the Late Capitalist Museum', *October* 54, Autumn 1990, pp 3–17
- 53 Jean Baudrillard, 'The Beaubourg-Effect: Implosion and Deterrence'; Rosalind Krauss and Annette Michelson, trans, *October* 20, spring 1982, pp 3–13; Iñaki Esteban, *El efecto Guggenheim: Del espacio basura al ornamento*, Anagrama, Barcelona, 2007
- 54 Nicolas Bourriaud, *Esthétique relationnelle*, Presses du Réel, Dijon, 1998
- 55 We are thinking here for example of the Havana Biennial curated by Gerardo Mosquera in 1989 or the São Paulo Biennial curated by Ivo Mesquita and Ana Paula Cohen in 2008. In the former case, Rachel Weiss stressed the way in which, unlike *Magiciens de la Terre* (also 1989), the Caribbean biennial refrained from presenting objects from non-Western traditions as if they were works of art,

The crisis of both the aesthetic regime of art – concentrated in the museum – and expressions such as 'institutional critique', 'artistic activism'⁵⁶ or 'collaborative practices',⁵⁷ despite contributing significantly to revealing the contradictions of the fetishistic objectualisation of art, has been partially neutralised – especially in the hegemonic cultural sphere – by a new neoliberal cultural policy, with franchise museums, spectacular biennials and global art mega-events as great shuttles of the cultural counter-revolution. In this way, rather than dissolving art in life (or in politics), the museum experience has consolidated itself as a sign of cultural distinction and activated a planet-wide mobilisation around it,⁵⁸ with well-known ecological consequences associated with the phenomenon.⁵⁹

We might see the growing proliferation of this cultural logic in recent decades as being associated with two guiding elements of industrial modernity. First, from a historical perspective, is the 'global domination' of capitalist universalism, strongly linked to fossil colonialism. And second is the specificity with which the civilising melanoma we mentioned above has been redefined in its neoliberal phase. Cultural modernity has become dependent on what David Harvey has called 'spatial fix' – that is, 'capitalism's insatiable drive to resolve its inner crisis tendencies by geographical expansion and geographical restructuring', 'fixing investment spatially' and serving to reconfigure the entire landscape in order to promote the accumulation of capital.⁶⁰

Not surprisingly, as Tim Griffin points out, it was the process of capitalist globalisation, which sped up after the collapse of the Soviet bloc in 1989, that enabled a growth in events like biennials, which, today, generate the contradiction of some seeming to 'engage globalization yet seem also just symptomatic of it'.⁶¹ While in the mid twentieth century the Venice Biennale was the only prestigious cyclical international exhibition in Europe, today there are some 200 comparable major events around the world, 'each with its own identity and geopolitical specificity'.⁶² At the same time the explosion of the museum phenomenon has caused more museums to be opened internationally in the first fifteen years of the twenty-first century than in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries combined.⁶³ Regardless of whether, with their programmatic content or public activities, these institutions host or promote a series of counter-hegemonic cultural policies, the quantitative aspects are also qualitative. In short, they express an expansive growth of cultural capitalism that allows or promotes dissent as long as it does not affect the structural dimension of the art system: its link with neoliberal globalisation and the ecological crisis, but also with the precarisation and exploitation of labour within these institutions.

Although there are many artistic practices that combat this inertia, the cultural imaginaries conveyed by this redefinition of the art system are set within a larger expropriating, exploitative and extractive social logic that specifically shapes the global urban space. The gentrifying processes carried out by the so-called creative classes are essential for these spatial phenomena, in which museums, biennials and art mega-events offer an escape route for capital's need to expand.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the expression of neoliberal acceleration in terms of generating a new exhibitionary spatiality deepens and widens the rift between country and city,

opting instead for a curatorial discourse that would set both these forms and the productions of contemporary artists from the Third World within a paradigm of multiple modernities. Rachel Weiss, *Making Art Global (Part 1): The Third Havana Biennial 1989*, Afterall Books, London, 2011. Oliver Marchart, meanwhile, has highlighted the way in which the Cuban biennial questioned the exhibition device itself as a Eurocentric brand, and has emphasised the mark left by this strategy on those biennials that have subsequently challenged the conventional model, 'incorporating urban spaces, experimenting with different event formats, and opening up possibilities for participation'. Oliver Marchart, *Conflicting Aesthetics: Artistic Activism and the Public Sphere*, Sternberg Press, Berlin, 2019, p 167.

56 Gregory Sholette, *Dark Matter: Art and Politics in the Age of Enterprise Culture*, Pluto Press, London, 2010

57 Claire Bishop, *Artificial Hells: Participatory Art and the Politics of Spectatorship*, Verso, London, 2012

58 Nizan Shaked, *Museums and Wealth: The Politics of Contemporary Art Collections*, London and New York, Bloomsbury Academic, 2022

59 See, for example, the demonstrations of local and international environmental organisations on the occasion of the 2019 Venice Biennale. Hettie Judah, 'There's a Flood of Climate Change-Related Art at the Venice Biennale: Can It Make a Difference – Or Is It Adding to the Problem?', *Artnet News*, 6 May 2019, <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/climate-change-venice-biennale-1532290>, accessed 25 October 2021.

both materially and symbolically. In material terms, because it mobilises an entire economic-political phenomenon based on infrastructural development, which conditions the social life of cities, deeply dependent on energy supplies from rural areas and the global periphery. At a symbolic level, because it ratifies the hegemonic imaginaries that link culture and the social to the urban, the natural to the rural, based on a whole series of mystifications that mutually alienate the economic and ecological spheres.

Conclusion

This article presents a rereading at odds with the way in which the division of the sensible established by the aesthetic regime of the modern museum has been thematised. It aims to show that this division is inseparable from the metabolic rift analysed by eco-Marxist critique regarding the deployment of industrial capitalist modernity, and the mutations that occurred at the same time in cultural imaginaries. It is a rift between society and nature, specific to capitalist alienation and its expansive dynamic, that serves to perpetuate ways of life far removed from eco-systemic sustainability, and supports the forms of social, racial and gender stratification running through the whole world-system. Thus, this text aims to show the relationship between bourgeois aesthetic ideology and the historical constitution of the capitalist rift. This ideological matrix has not only redefined the very field of the sensible but has also spatially structured the globe as a whole by means of its cultural logic and institutional development. In their heterogeneity, the discourses of fine arts academies and the franchise museum phenomenon have played a substantial role in modulating the threefold paradox by which the mutual dissociation between aesthetics, economics and ecology hides the capitalist link that drives it.

It is up to any future ecosocialist project not so much to deny the specificity and complexity of these spheres in the context of late capitalist societies as to presume their autonomy. This is what fuels a worldview that disregards the biophysical limits of the planet. It is as illusory to imagine a harmonic reconciliation that spontaneously returns us to the organic times before the emergence of capitalism – often idealised by anti-industrialist critique – as it is to think that present-day socioecological dynamics are sustainable in the short and medium term. At the same time, while the museum's aesthetic regime has concealed spurious links in the art-capital relationship, it does also contain potentially emancipatory elements. For example, artists' relative independence from its socioeconomic aspect has enabled the exercise of political critique – including, as we have seen, critique of the political economy of art. What is urgent is to set the art and culture system on a track in line with proposals of various kinds that are now questioning infinite economic growth as a fallacious imperative. Basically, we are committed to an eco-Marxist conception of artistic and cultural practices that mobilise and articulate eco-social struggles in aesthetic terms. Rather than determining the forms and contents of art and culture, it is about dis-

- 60 David Harvey, 'Globalization and the "Spatial Fix"', *Geographische Revue* 2, 2001, pp 24–28
- 61 Tim Griffin, 'Worlds Apart: Contemporary Art, Globalization, and the Rise of Biennials', in Alexander Dumbadze and Suzanne Hudson, eds, *Contemporary Art: 1989 to the Present*, Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken, New Jersey, 2013, p 14
- 62 Dorothea von Hantelmann, 'Art Institutions as Ritual Spaces: A Brief Genealogy of Gatherings', in Garcia et al, eds, *Theater, Garden, Bestiary*, op cit, p 256
- 63 Nizan Shaked, 'A Review of *Art and Value: Art's Economic Exceptionalism in Classical, Neoclassical and Marxist Economics* by Dave Beech', *Historical Materialism*, vol 25, no 4, 2017, pp 183–200
- 64 Rosler, *Culture Class*, op cit

mantling all the structural and infrastructural elements of their socio-environmental metabolism that are *not* compatible with curbing the effects of contemporary ecosocial crises.

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