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NaMu, Making National Museums Program, Setting the Frames, 26–28 February, Norrköping, Sweden

Editors

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Making National Museums: Comparing Institutional Arrangements, Narrative Scope and Cultural Integration

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The purpose of NaMu is to develop the tools, concepts and organisational resources necessary for investigating and comparing the major public structure of National Museums, as created historically and responding to contemporary challenges of globalisation, European integration, and new media. What are the forces and values of traditional national display in dealing with challenges to national, cultural and political discourse? This will be achieved by a series of conferences providing a venue for younger scholars and eminent researcher to gather and develop the multi-disciplinary competence necessary to understand and compare the dynamics of national museums in a framework of a broadly understood historical culture and identity politics.

The opening address present the aim and intellectual challenges of the entire program and outline the question of definitions and performance made by national museums and the possibilities of the comparative and multi-disciplinary scope.

Setting the Frames

The opening conference Setting the frames invites a discussion that will be relevant for the whole series. Its scope is not in-depth inquiry as much as to map the terrain, to explore the most productive way to develop the path to follow and generate research questions. This means to put into work knowledge from several disciplines and countries, instead of leaving them to their respective internal dynamics. In the background of this approach a thorough reflection on the structure of knowledge (contemporary and optimal) corresponds to the idea of investigating how the structure and anatomy of the National museums are working. Under scrutiny is not only an ensemble of museums of various kinds looked upon as part of a more or less concerted negotiation, but on the academic side a likewise concerted variety of disciplines. To know to what extent different knowledge structures are compared or if the differences are due to institutional and historical variation is of course vital – and difficult since these two systems do interact.

For the first conference was 60 researchers from 17 countries and 22 disciplines with 43 papers attending. The diversity is challenging, and proved to be rewarding. Some dominance for art history and museology presents two well-developed clusters of disciplinary background but also within them a variety of perspectives are presented in the papers.

There is no paper that explicitly deals with the structure of knowledge, but of course several starts out with an image of earlier research and propose not only addition of new facts but also changing perspectives. Some of the papers do explicitly deal with a critical approach to the overwhelming structural and cognitive approach developed in the study of national museums and propose changing focus and more diverse approaches from within, from the active visitor, or from the periphery. These suggestions are important to keep a productive instability and an open reflexive mode for the program and future conferences and create a platform for assessing the potential for various approaches, but it is also a question in need for some future attendance and confrontation: are art museums best studied by art historians, archaeological by archaeologists? My own multi-disciplinary department constantly assess both benefits, losses and damages by developing these manoeuvres. What happens if we would swap positions, not only as we have examples from post-colonial re-interpretation but also as a generalised disciplinary strategy?

Further more the interaction between individual actors, internal processes of professionalisation and the wider historical culture that is the setting needs to be not only explored but the theories and methodology to go about such a vast territory needs to be broken down into sequences, perspectives and particularities – in order to be able to bring them together again in the end, to be arguments for how to understand the broadest issues and not in the end be lost in details and explanations close to either an unreflecting catalogue of events or apologetic defence for the institution or community under scrutiny. To fulfil the plan above it is both an individual learning process for the participants in the NaMu program, which this collection of papers will make accessible for more readers, but also the promising possibility of establishing a more longstanding research collaboration for developing some of the ideas that becomes visible thorough the workshops into more elaborated comparative approaches.

Many of the papers are addressing several of the questions addressed in NaMu. This made for manifold possibilities of combining them into sessions. There was not one session for one question but rather they became settings for discussing all the general questions at every session, giving them a new angle at each turn.

The discussions were fed by circulated papers through the site www.namu.se, very short oral presentation, and a commentator for each session. For each half day an appropriate keynote speaker introduced a central theme for the program: professor Stefan Berger, Manchester

University who also is leading an ESF project: *Representations of the Past: The Writing of National Histories in Europe* gave important insights from that wide-ranging comparative research program on historiography in the 19th and 20th Century (www.uni-leipzig.de/zhsesf/).

Professor Tony Bennett, Open University and also director of ESRC Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change, CRESC (www.cresc.ac.uk) gave a lecture on *Museums of Conflicted Histories in Postcolonial Contexts*, also visualized through a television program on the construction of the new Australian National museum in Canberra.

Esther Shalev-Gerz, Paris, is a visiting professor at Linköping University and an artist working with themes on memory and the past in public spaces: *Reflecting spaces / deflecting spaces* gave new aspects on spatial, esthetical and political aspects of art in dealing with historical traumas in Europe.

In the concluding discussion professor Svante Beckman, Linköpings University, summarized the discussions and dealt especially with the aspect of defining the National museum.

Defining National Museum

There are several ways to meet the question of defining the national museum. The *methodology* chosen in NaMu is to view the creation of the concept and the institutions as a historical process to be studied: concepts and institutions in the making in close interaction with knowledge regimes and politics. The concept is in itself part of the cultural process, defined and contested by historical actors. Suggestions for building national museums were common as a response to challenges of the Napoleonic wars, and of the museum acquisitions and exhibition ideals developed in France simultaneously. Two processes can be localised at the heart of the matter: nation-making and the performance of national master-narratives is the prime mover brought together with museum traditions and moulded to form part of an evolving public sphere. Ideas of what constituted an up to date national museum was formulated as norms to strive for: openness, accessibility, professional leadership and state stewardship were among these (Debora Meijers).

Another road of investigation is taken by Rhiannon Mason in setting up a minimal definition of state responsibility and naming and study the logic of that structure. Small nations struggling for state acknowledgment seems to bring together their actions to a centralised National museum with more emphasis then older states, with a wider range of collection and imperial realities or dreams to house. Nations with states and without states, within or post-colonial relations develop different strategies trying to utilise the idea of national museum for political purposes.

A third way is to identify theoretically an essential feature to be monitored for qualifying as national museum, and that might be to the extent the museum participate in the making of national narrative through their program, exhibition and existence argued by Tony Benett. Most museums would then be part of that process but some actors might be more central then others. A scale could then be developed to grade the impact since the definition is relational to the effect and not only the ambition of the museum.

As an effect of different definitions a national museum may be a single building hosting something labelled National Museum or perhaps more often a cluster of National Museums of history, culture, art and natural histories or museums that have central functions for the making of national identity – even if it is a private foundation and not called national museum at all. In this phase of developing the research the most fruitful approach is to stick to the methodological approach and use the three different ways of defining national museum as analytical tools for making observation of how *research* and historical actors have been working with the question of definition and allow for the full range of attempts.

Negotiating Community in Institutions

Definition are always to be instrumental for a purpose. The reason for choosing the broad historical perspective is that the history of the institution itself is not the main target for the program, but the question of *what forces and intentions are materialised in the institutional creation and division of labour between national museums?* The different ways of organising the form, content and aspiration of national public display is in itself the first of the comparative questions raised. The respective viability of different approaches, perspectives and methodologies are of course related to what more precise research questions that are applied – and we do not share all of them, even if we acknowledged a common terrain to tread in these workshops.

Narrating

The second question is related to the performance and content of the narratives presented by the national museums (by, in and about)**.** This theme is explicitly targeted at the second workshop in Leicester in 2007, focusing on how to put the narrative methodologies at hand to work at London museum in a more laboratory workshop in order to answer questions like: Who are presented as actors (bad and good) in the formation of the nation? What "we" in terms of territory, class, gender and ethnicity forms the proper national community? What is the destiny of the people? Where does the narrative point towards in terms of an ethical and utopian dimension? What political order and what values are legitimised?

On what levels and with what analytical tools is it possible and fruitful to read the messages and the negotiations that national museums are parts of? Most of the papers have something to suggest and add here explicitly or by example: the vehicle of narration is expanded from the exhibition to all arrangements and modalities of the museums physicality, its presentation through texts and visibility in the wider culture. But important questions are also asked about the strength of different actors and the coherence of possible narrations. Is the decisive power a formidable museum director's ability to address major historical changes and make them accessible for personal experience? Or is it, at the other end of the spectrum, the individual visitor that rather uses the museum as raw material for a personal and unique self-transformation of her individual identity? Or are both in the hands of hegemonical discourses? Are the late-modern narratives fundamentally different from the national – or just a renegotiating the integrative function creating proper legitimacy for the present order and state?

Combining

Obviously a researcher is in the position to choose between these approaches. When brought together it is also possible to ask if any of these are more fruitful and effective then the other? Or what would happen if one used all of them on one National museum – or one of the perspectives on several Museums? Would that challenge the truth produced by the perspective and theory chosen?

Many of the papers are engaged in an argument of the good museum and the beneficial relation to research, openly or implicitly. This can be regarded as a meta-narrative produced by the activity of the program itself as it evolves. This is one intriguing facet of cultural research – we are not only professionals but also citizens involved in the production of the culture we study.

To read the message of the museum, it is necessary to know how the narrated landscape is situated in the wider historical culture: what is being emphasised by the invocation of the museum, and what alternative voices are openly or implicitly being downplayed.

Working in a Historical Culture

The third question has to do with this interaction or if you like, the results: What is the place of the national museum in the culture at large. The question can be answered in a variety of ways: in terms of visitor figures, by analysing the place of the museum in the public sphere and by assessing how exhibitions work at a reception level. To what extent is the narrative working its way successfully in the public sphere and to what extent is the production of meaning an autonomous prerogative of the visitor? Do anyone care about the national museums? Except for us and the professionals?

What is the production of meaning in museums worth compared to American film, television, the force of family and friends in civil society and commercial culture? This is of course one of the hardest question to answer and to find methods to develop. The need for theory is obvious. Museums do express hope and an urge to act upon people and society, but does it work?

If they do matter in some sense, how do they relate to historical change at different moments in time: Do they resonate in old dominant traditions stabilising and legitimising the present (or even yesterdays) order? Do they present new programs trying to invoke a specific agenda and a yet not established viewpoint of the past in order to create a new future? How are they acting or counteracting societal change?

There seems to be little doubt about the fact that national museums do express nation-building ambitions dealing with integration and handling of historical change: if it is going from industrial society to something else as newly opened museum of Work and industry in Sweden might indicate, or pays homage to a stable peasants society as displayed by the Nordic Museum a traditional cultural history museum in Stockholm. New Occupation museums in the Baltics negotiate political oppression and private nostalgia. Other deal with tensions of long duration, institutions with regional – national balancing as in Switzerland or the new national museum of American Indian constructing a continental as well as tribalised narrative in a Washington national setting.

The marks of National museums in popular culture are not overwhelming, suggesting they are not all that important in the overall historical culture after all. When they are brought in it is in one out of two ways: as the imprint of dust, boredom and immobility or as the guardian of dangerous and valuable secrets in the Indiana Jones way. Bringing the collection alive is the comedy horror theme of the movie since early Frankenstein. For museum professionals the opposite is the horror theme of absent visitors, which creates the interminable drive for new techniques, progression, new approaches. Death and oblivion is always threatening and needs counteraction.

The night at the museum (2006) is in fact a very revealing story of popular stereotypes of the museum guarding its treasures, which could be destroyed if put outside of the walls exposed to daylight (or the market), but are in need of regenerative energy to draw new audiences. American Natural history museum hosts not only dinosaurs but also ancient Indians, Romans, Attila the Hun and the Wild West. A past history which unlocked are violent and childish, in desperate need of the heroic actions of the not to clever (k)night watch to keep the peace in the world and guard against the evil which threatens the order of the museum and the world. All this of course to show his son that he is worthy of his respect as a responsible hero and father.

Instead it seems like civil society itself produces museums as never before: en explosion of museums, perhaps more true to 19th Century mix of civic /commercial initiation and influences, even more in line with a romantic view of an active nation, then initiated by state actions. This leads scholars and museum professionals to gate-keeping reactions – and the public to another type of scepticism – not for the pompous but for the trivial. One of the few songs on museums puts them in a rather sarcastic context of ridiculous and vane strivings in

"It's a hit" from 2004: "Any asshole can open up a museum, put all the things he love on display so everyone could see them… " (Rilo Kiley)

Comparing

Through the program is the idea of gains coming from a comparative outline, methodology and scope: by bringing scholars from a multitude of disciplines and states together it will be possible to ask new questions and give vitalising answers to research on national museum scattered over the world. These is challenging task in need for its own attention in order to be brought forward.

Why Compare?

Systematic comparison might be done for different reasons:
a) In order to *generalise*: by comparing several processes of creation and function of museums we might be able to see similarities between institutions and nations that would be hidden when confined within a more monographic context. The context of nationalism is one of these communal forces, but perhaps also other negotiation topics might be worth exploring comparatively: gender, regional, class, trauma, rapid change.
b) To *explore variation* and nuance generalisation and stereotypical images of national museums. This can of course be done by singular counter-examples in a critical mode, but is more productive and refined if several are used not only to doubt the general truths but to qualify them.
c) To individualise and contrast. Even if the main concern for the researcher is not comparative there is in fact always an implicit comparison made out, usually emphasising the uniqueness or the typicality. A more carefully performed contextualisation of a case is in effect utilizing a comparative approach. I think this is often at hand in case study and a more careful contextualisation, bordering to a comparative approach, would in many case strengthen the case and make clear what explanatory power different dimensions brought forward and naturalised within a national paradigm might have when confronted with other nations.

What to Compare?

There is or ought to be a problem under investigation. In the case of NaMu there is a formulation focusing on National Museums and the kind of performances they stand for in a societal context. We have an idea of focusing formative moments connected with the creation of a nationally legitimate state and compared this with the structure around year 2000 when public discourse of global challenge was becoming dominant in the academy and outside. This does however not happen at the same time for all countries or institutions. State-making is in fact as viable as a process today in many parts of the world, but in a different global setting then in the 19th Century.

Different countries, similar types of museums, similar negotiations, differing experiences and actors – all of these are possibilities to be considered also according to the capacity of the comparative approach chosen.

Comparative Strategies

Basically there are two quite different ways to go about the selection.
A. *Most different selection.* If we have a very good idea and theory of what to investigate this might be optimal: post-colonial settings and nation-making theory predict certain similarities that can be explored in quite different cultural or epochal settings.
B. *Most similar selection.* If we are at a more exploratory stage or with very complex cases it might be better to choose this strategy, exploring for example two new states in a similar

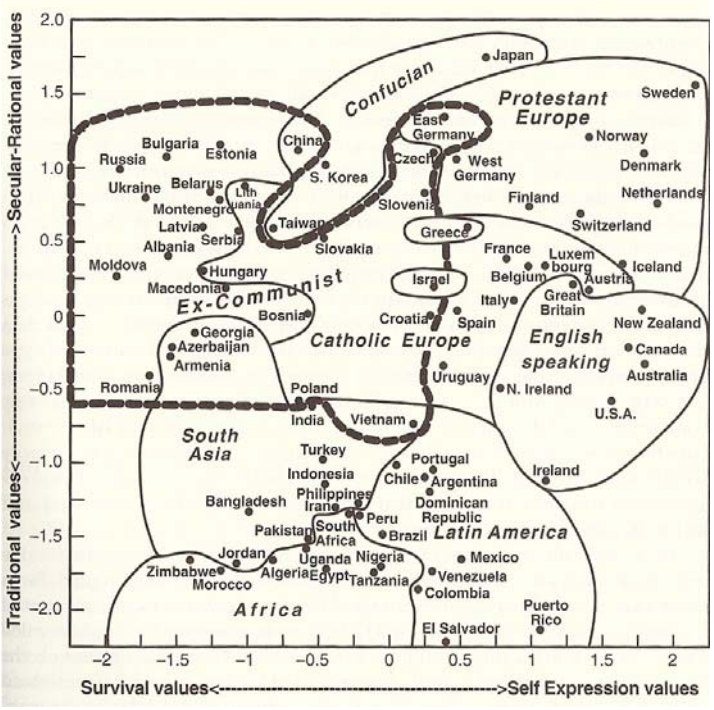
cultural, political and economical environment, like Wales and Scotland, or Finland and Norway, England and France.

If we were to make a grand selection for a project on world scale, how should the selection be made? Current knowledge of paths to nationhood would of course be central, but also the timing of that path. It is a different context if the state and National museum is set up in mid 19th or early 21st Century. It is also reasonable to count the process and structure of both democratic culture, disciplinary structure and historical narratives into the more nuanced block.

There are some interesting world wide surveys to draw upon. One example are the broad studies done by political scientists on political culture: Barrington Moore, Sidney & Verba, Stein Rokkan. But also more recent social scientists like Immanuel Wallerstein, Michael Mann and Charles Tilly et al would be possible to draw on especially for large scale but "thin" comparative approaches of certain aspects.

Ronald Inglehart has led one of the largest comparative projects called world value studies that might help to place observations onto a map of contemporary differences in value preferences. Combining this with varying trajectories in nation-making is one way to see how determined national museums are by these societal processes – compared to other dynamics of important individuals who are often prominent in museums history, or to power struggles of academic and institutional divisions. Or it might, just as I mentioned be a tool for contextualizing the individual case more in depth.

Sweden is an extremist countriy, in case you have not noticed: the most individualized in terms of values, and the highest degree of generalized trust, also towards state-responsibility. Here it is a scheme comparing traditional /secular values with survival/self-expression values. A lot of us and our examples can be placed here and raise questions such as: India and USA are on par on the traditional/secular scale: Germany, Spain and Greece on the survival secular – does this generate possible hypotheses on the working of national museums?



Source: Inglehart, Ronald & Christian Welzel. *Modernization, cultural change, and democracy: the human development sequence*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 63.

However this drive to order and sort must not hamper the creativity and ability to unmask irregularities where the legitimizing stories might have produces to much order. The messy landscapes of collectors, commerce, politics and science, transfer and conflicts between tourism, art, kitsch, ideology and knowledge is perhaps what excites even more – and creates the type of institutional uncertainty and creativity in the institutions themselves which opens for reorientation and reflexivity.

The comparative drive must not overshadow similarities and transfers that are at play since creating national museum is a communicative endeavour where the consciousness of what neighbours and "the other" are doing are not new to the late-modern experience economy.

Nordic National Museums

In a Nordic setting we are setting up a project to compare the use of Nordic images in the National museums in the Nordic countries to negotiate both a broader cultural community changing national boarders and also perhaps remnants of a Germanic ideology.

Within this region we find an old community of struggling empires (Sweden and Denmark), States forming in the 19th century lika Finland and Norway. The Baltics taking form through 20th Century wars, dissolution of Soviet Empire just recently and Iceland dissociated from Denmark during the second WW.

Denmark and Finland with a proper National museum telling the long story while Norway is more pluralistic in spite of a very definite nationalist approach on other arenas? Sweden is an old empire with a constant loss of territory but no close encounter with war for two hundred years.

The possibility to expand this comparison with one of "second grade" is one of the challenges of the program: how are the Antiquity, the Celts or Slavs used in other regions to negotiate conflicts and possibilities of changing borders and integration?

The NaMu program rests on the hypotheses that national museums are not trivial, that there are secrets to be unravelled. It is however not the treasures guarded by the museums itself that are to be unlocked, but the synergetic power of connecting knowledge about the museum institutions to often locked up within specific disciplines and national paradigms that will be untangled.

What Do National Museums DO? Three Papers, One Commentary

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I see my task as a commentator as two-fold. I shall comment upon the three papers presented, and I shall try to draw some lines and connections between them. Let me, then, start with the three papers.

Barbara Wenk has presented her analysis of how a group of scholarly educated employees – also called museum professionals - at some science and technology museums in contemporary Europe reflect on the changed roles of this kind of museums. Her main approach has been to interview museum leaders. The fieldwork has consisted of asking them a lot of simple and substantial but not uncontroversial questions about what a science and technology museum should be in today's European society. Taking the analysis of the answers as a point of departure Barbara Wenk reflects further on the answers from the museum leaders, and uses her reflections to ask similar questions to national museums in today's Europe: What should a national museum in today's Europe be? Her specific perspectives are on the scope of museum exhibitions, the transmission of knowledge through or by museums and museum exhibitions, relevant skills ad expertise for museum professionals, and museums as public places or interactive arenas in societies that are subject to rapid changes.

I find both her material and her perspectives interesting and intriguing, but perhaps a bit monotonous. Most of her informers seem to be in favour of changes and challenges. This is less surprising than the opposite – that they should consider change as irrelevant. What I would have expected, however, was a presentation of the results of Wenk's *comparative* study, i.e. if there were any significant differences between different European science and technology museums regarding the questions asked. It would also have been interesting to hear more about the chronology: Barbara Wenk suggests – as do her informers – that rapid changes have occurred in the field of science and technology museums during the recent years. But *when* did these changes eventually take place? Are these alleged changes essential and fundamental, or do they more belong to the realm of generation shifts, where one generation of museum professionals wants to establish a proper distance to the former. My impression is – to put it in other words – that the change prophecy might be slightly over-emphasized both by Barbara Wenk and by her informers.

I find this question relevant simply because I also would have expected earlier generations of academically trained employees at science and technology museums to have had quite distinct ideas about the relevance of their exhibitions to educate future generations, to make them interested in the progress and challenges of modern science, or to establish a dialogue with the visitors – simply because they were not keepers of the past, but prophets of the future.

Another question that Barbara Wenk does not raise in her paper, is if not many European science and technology museums at least in earlier periods of European history actually have had status as national museums. And perhaps some of these museums even still function as performances of national progress and development? If this is the case, the relevance of questions like what kind of public institutions these museums are or what kind of public arenas they should develop in the 21th century would be even higher. Do the answers Barbara Wenk received from her contemporary informers imply that these museums try to leave or negate their role as keepers of *national* memories and prophecies within the field of technical and scientific progress, or do the answers indicate that this keeper's role only is being adjusted to new technology?

Barbara Wenk does not answer these questions directly, but her paper is a very relevant step towards investigating these important questions.

When we turn to **Ellen Chapman'**s paper we find a seemingly different perspective than Barbara Wenk's. Chapman investigates more directly the basic problem of what makes a museum a national museum. And then she continues by reflecting on the constitutive elements of a national museum. Can e.g. a museum outside the physical borders of a nation be a national museum or at least have functions similar to a national museum?

Her point of departure is the hypothesis that what she calls *community museums* can elaborate ideas of nation and national identity. According to my opinion Chapman is right on a more general level. Within the borders of an established national state not only formally accepted national museums, but also regional and local museums in some way or another might be expected to modulate or to vary – or even dispute – the concept of a national history. But in some way or another these museums also confirm the imagined community of a nation, to put it in the historian Benedict Anderson's words.

Ellen Chapman, however, moves in another direction. In her paper, she focuses on three Welsh-American community museums that in different ways – but at a substantial distance from Europe - express opinions about characteristics of Wales and Welsh people. But if one asks what the three Welsh-American local museums scrutinized by Chapman have in common I am not fully convinced that "national museum" is the best way of labeling the museums studied here or to use the concept of "national museum" as basis for a further investigation of what these museums do.

As an alternative I would suggest to focus on two aspects of the material that Ellen Chapman has analyzed. The first aspect is that it probably can be discussed if Wales is a nation in a classical 19th century sense of the word. If the Welsh-American population could be regarded as some kind of a diaspora – i.e. a group more or less permanently forced to stay outside their national borders – it might of course have been meaningful to analyze their local museums outside of Wales as institutions articulating a national identity so to say *ad interim* and with close relations to lost or destroyed symbols or institutions. But this is not the case here, as far as I can see. It is obvious that the three museums articulate notions about Welsh identity, but do they utilize ideas about a specific Welsh *nation*?

The other aspect I would like to focus on is that this Welsh-American case seems to be quite similar to other cases in which immigrants develop strategies to remember and preserve the cultural experiences of their origin. These strategies in many cases might be quite ambivalent, since many emigrants felt forced to leave their country and thus were eager to

interact with their new environments. Not until a generation or two later, the question about roots and origins are fully addressed, but then many ties to the nation, country or area that was left have disappeared.

I would have considered Ellen Chapman's suggestion to analyze the three museums as modulations of national museums if they in some way or another had been interacting with museums in Wales, thus contributing on both sides of the Atlantic Sea to uphold and sustain a master narrative about the Welsh Nation. But as far as I can see, this is not the case.

The real interaction between these immigrant groups and e.g. the national narratives of their former country thus can not take place, and the immigrants start to construct their own narratives of identity and origin.

If I am not wrong here, it might be asked if this specific kind of museums are really good examples of museums contributing to "the construction and representation of national identities" – simply because the master narrative is not there. I find it more relevant to study these museums as ethnical or historical manifestations of group identity in communities of immigrants. That probably is what these museums do or perform, and that does not make them less interesting.

In the third paper of this session, **Cecilia Axelsson** presents a very interesting study of one specific exhibition - the exhibition *Afrikafararna* in Kalmar. The theme of this exhibition was Swedish emigration to South Africa. Cecilia Axelsson explicitly addresses the complex question of what museums do – or to be more precise: Of how museums mediate their messages. She rightly states that this mediation process is a very complex one, it is not static, but in continuous development, and it is dependant of personal actors.

Mediation of messages is of course a question of specific acting persons, their motives and aims. And in a modern museum there are many acting persons, many kinds of experts and generalists who stamp the results – be it an exhibition, the production of written material or oral narration facing a living audience.

My evaluation is that Axelsson in her study has many relevant and valuable perspectives worth noticing. I would simply like to add one more element to this complexity of mediation processes in museums, and that is the media themselves, or – to stick to a concept very much in use during this conference – *the genres*. The question of narrative genres in museums is not only a question of different ways of telling stories or performing narratives. It is also a question of which kinds of media that are used for narrating in museums – film, music, interactive presentations, booklets or simple use of living museum guides. These media contribute heavily to the sustainability of the message, they make it more or less trustworthy, more or less like school education or public entertainment, making it different or similar to messages that can be found elsewhere in society and in the personal world of each and every visitor. My suggestion, then, is that if Cecilia Axelsson had brought the question of genres and media into her analysis, she would have deepened her results, but not contested them.

On the contrary, I find her results from the analysis of the Swedish museum exhibition both interesting and convincing, but perhaps even not too surprising. As seen from the perspective of the producers of the exhibition, factors like economy and lack of time were as important for the results as academic or museological convictions or aims. At the same time, there were indications that the exhibition's impact on visiting students was not too overwhelming. To return to the ultimate critical question: Who cares about national museums? In this case one could perhaps even go one step further, and ask: Who cares about museums at all?

Well, obviously people care about museums, but in what way? The question is why, and how – what do museums do to their visitors, and what do museum professionals want to do to these visitors? That – I think - is a common element of the three papers presented in this session of the conference. These contributions have brought us a bit closer to find at least

some answers to this question. None of the museums mentioned here have been national museums in the way that they are entrusted with any official memory of a nation by representatives of any national state authority. The science and technology museums are not of this kind; neither are the three Welsh-American museums nor Kalmar läns museum. Still, it is obvious that they in some way or another articulate concepts of values, artifacts or processes that are relevant to collective memory.

In this way, they might be said to contribute to a master narrative about a community of people, a master narrative including past, present and future. That such master narratives about a community of people exist is a *sine qua non* also for national master narratives, but not necessarily in the way that the national master narratives are the only of its kind.

National Museums and National Identity Seen from an International and Comparative Perspective, c. 1760–1918

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Objectives

The central question is how various countries in the nineteenth century designed and disseminated the image of a 'national culture' through their museums. This research project will cover the explicit documents spreading the museum's image (the museums' aims, promotional materials, and reports; the architecture of their buildings) and the implicit assumptions that lie behind the formation and categorization of a collection, as well as the way the collection was exhibited.[1]

In this project local variations on the theme of 'national identity' will be studied from an international, comparative perspective.[2] By using this approach, museum-historical research will be advanced a step further, as in the past it has usually been restricted to case studies on individual museums, and few – if any – connections have been made between similar

1 By 'national' is understood: founded, financed and run by national government. By 'nationalism' and 'nationalistic ideology' the definition provided by Niek van Sas has been taken as a starting point: a more or less coherent system of standards and values, which to justify its own position links a certain, often critical appreciation of the past to a set programme of action for the future. Van Sas as cited in Grijzenhout/Van Veen 1992, 79. For a lucid survey of recent literature on (and definitions of) patriotism and nationalism: Van Sas 1996. For a general survey on the shaping of states and nations in Europe: Schulze 1999. See also Thiesse 1999.

2 Starts have been made for instance by: Scheller 1995 and 1996; Wright 1996; Lorente 1998; Pommier 2006 and Bergvelt 2006.

institutions in various countries.[3] The research will depart from the basic assumption that the development of national, nationalistic museums in various countries was transnational in character, and that it also extended to colonial territories.

Another basic principle is that the national museum between 1760 and 1918 was a fundamentally different institution than the one to be found in the 20th and 21st centuries: the proposition that the 'modern museum' was created around 1760 will be contested.[4]

From a substantial number of studies it has already become clear that thinking about the fatherland and the nation took on a symbolic form, which was then spread farther a field thanks to the different types of material culture[5] – the fine arts and architecture were the pre-eminent image-bearers. Particularly institutions of this sort that have been set up in the last two to three centuries (like societies, academies, universities and museums) appear to have played an important role in the development of ideas and the shaping of national identity.[6] This field is very wide-ranging, and the research project proposed here will concentrate on national museums. It was these museums in particular which were selected to grow into gigantic complexes, situated at central locations in the respective capital cities (for instance the Museumsinsel in Berlin, the Museumsforum in Vienna and the imposing extension of the Hermitage in St Petersburg). Sometimes these museums are combined with other cultural institutions, some of which are not national (like the complex of museums at the Museum-plein in Amsterdam comprising national and municipal museums (Stedelijk), and a private concert-hall (Concertgebouw).

In the various European states it is possible to detect differences in timing, intensity and specialization.

Working point by point, it will be possible to study developments, similarities and differences at various levels:

In Terms of Time

The starting point that has been chosen is ca. 1760 because the nineteenth-century national and nationalistic museums are thrown into greater historical perspective if they are not viewed separately from patriotic ideas, which were to be observed among their predecessors, the princely collections of the eighteenth century. If one states that a new type of museum stemmed from the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era, one must still not overlook the fact that a number of essential conditions had already been met in the form of the picture galleries and collections built up by enlightened rulers, like emperor Joseph II, grand duke Pietro Leopoldo of Tuscany and landgrave Wilhelm VIII of Hessen-Kassel.[7] It is important to study the patriotically tinted proto-museums of the *ancien régime* in relation to the nineteenth-century national museums, because in this way continuations and shifts become more clearly visible, and a contribution can be made to gaining a historical insight into the period of transition from about 1789 to 1815.

3 For instance: Böttger 1972; Van Thiel 1983; Gaehtgens 1984; Poulot 1986, Bergvelt 1998; Van Wezel 1999 and Conlin 2006. See for a survey on collecting and presenting since the Renaissance: Bergvelt / Meijers / Rijnders 1993 and 2005.

4 Cf. McClellan 1994, Savoy 2006.

5 For instance: Leith 1972; Nora 1984-1993; Craske 1997 and Beck / Bol / Bückling 1999.

6 For instance: Grijzenhout 1985; Gaehtgens 1992; Mehos 2006; Bergvelt 1998 and Reynaerts 2001.

7 See for a survey of what was achieved in the, usually princely, museums in German-speaking countries between 1701 and 1815: Savoy 2006. See also: Meijers 1991/1995; 1993/2005 a and b; 2004 and 2007.

During this period of transition a process of creating states and nations was underway in the different countries of Europe, which was brought to a temporary halt at the end of World War I.

By finishing in 1918, the discussion on the reallocation of the object-categories within the museums – the most common division being the separation of history and art – can be dealt with as a prelude to the developments in the twentieth century. In the Netherlands, but also in other parts of Europe, there were signs of a tendency to extract works of art from their historical 'environment' and to look at them exclusively in terms of their formal and stylistic distinguishing characteristics and similarities, irrespective of their period and place of origin. What the discussions make clear, in any case, is that traditional views on art and history were shifting.

The formation and expansion of museums did not take place at the same time all over Europe nor under the same circumstances. It is true that nationalistic ideology formed the basis for founding museums, but the actual building activities called for a period of economic growth: that is why, for instance, the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (founded in 1798) could only move into a new building of its own in 1885.

The question is, where did specific developments have their origins, how were they disseminated and through what channels.

In Terms of Specialization/Discipline

This project does not only cover national museums of art (which in general are dedicated to painting and sculpture, and sometimes also include arts & crafts or artefacts from classical antiquity). The research project will also extend to museums of national and natural history, sometimes in combination with archaeology and ethnography. A comparison between these distinct types, which correspond to the fields of science in which collections were already being built up in preceding centuries is a good way of highlighting a number of general, even international characteristics typical of the national museum. At the same time this approach can show where specific, national ideals sometimes conflicted with more general international standards.

Developments in the various sciences and the role of the relevant museums as national vehicles of culture may lead to the discovery of difficult, if not strained relationships. The research questions here are: how do the various national historical museums compare to one another in their presentation of national history; what was the relationship in the different countries' archaeological museums between 'classical archaeology' and treasures from their own soil; how were the demarcation lines drawn up between museums on the one hand national (often contemporary) art, and on the other international art; how did ethnographic museums present their own colonies; what was the relationship in natural history museums between their own native flora en fauna and international scientific taxonomy? For arts & crafts museums an added factor comes into play: the function of promoting national arts & crafts[8]- something which by the way was also an 18th-century princely tradition.

In Terms of the Administrative System

The early nineteenth century shows a specific process in the countries which had developed into a centralized constitutional state like the Netherlands, Italy and Germany. During the process of creating states and nations, relations between municipal, regional and national collections also shifted. In the Netherlands, municipal collection sometimes served as a basis for national museums (as in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam); in Germany and Italy,

8 Tibbe 2005a and 2006.

collections which during the *ancien régime* had been princely, and as such belonged to the central authorities, lost their exceptional status and became (parts of) regional or national museums. These shifts had an effect on what was seen as municipal, what was seen as regional and what was seen as national identity.

A special place was reserved for the national museums in the colonies.[9] In 2005 an exhibition took place in the Netherlands and in Indonesia to mark the two countries' 'shared cultural heritage', in which they looked closely at how the collections in the reciprocal national museums had developed in the 19de century.[10] It would be interesting to make a comparison between them and the national museums in other European colonies.

By employing a comparative approach, continuity and shifts in the development of national museums can better be distinguished from one another, and the general characteristics of the development can be more clearly set against specifically national characteristics.

Planning

Following on from a pilot workshop in 2001[11] and a symposium in 2003[12], two international conferences have been programmed:

- 31 January – 2 February 2008, Amsterdam:
  The Napoleonic collection and museum policy as a catalyst: the development of the national museums in Europe, c. 1794–1830

Below you will find a description of the contents and aims of the first conference.

- Mid-2009, Berlin:
  Scientific Specialisation and the National Museum, c. 1830–1918
  The central issue here will be what role developments in various scientific fields played in the shaping process of museum institutions. The various types of museums – scientific, ethnological, archaeological, technical and art historical – will be examined from this perspective. A prominent position is reserved for the museum situation in Berlin: this conference will mark the reopening of the Neue Museum (1841–1855/'59), which will be analysed as a prototype and model of the specialised, science-based museum.

The papers of both conferences will be published by the Institute für Museumsforschung.

9 General works: Anderson 1991 and Tibbe 2005b; on Indonesia: Bloembergen 2002.

10 Ter Keurs / Hardiati 2005.

11 University of Amsterdam, 16 February 2001, symposium *National museums and national identity (Europe, c. 1760-1918).* With reference to the concept produced by Ellinoor Bergvelt and Debora Meijers (January 2001): *Proposal for an interdisciplinary and internationally comparative research project: National museums and national identity (Europe, c. 1760-1918)* . This was a closed workshop; there were 16 participants.

12 University of Amsterdam, 17 January 2003, symposium *Het Museale vaderland, The nineteenth-century national museum viewed internationally.* There were about 50 participants. The five lectures given at this symposium have been published in the special issue of the journal *De negentiende eeuw (The nineteenth century).* 27 (2003), no. 4: *The museological fatherland* : Bergvelt / Tibbe 2003; Van Wezel 2003; Hoijtink 2003; Bergvelt 2003; Tibbe 2003 and De Jong 2003.

Napoleon's Legacy collection and museum policy as a catalytic agent. The development of national museums in Europe, c. 1794–1830.

Conference to be held as part of the research project National Museums and National Identity seen from an International Comparative Perspective, c. 1760–1918. Huizinga Institute, Amsterdam, and Institut für Museumsforschung, Berlin. Amsterdam, 31 January- 2 February 2008.

The Napoleonic Wars had a huge impact on European museums.[13] In the year 1794, the starting point of this project, Napoleon's first campaign took place, and with it the first of a series of transportations of works of art from the conquered areas to Paris. A preliminary climax in these tempestuous museological developments was the founding of the museum in the Louvre around 1800, in which the French armies' 'spoils of war' were exhibited – later more commonly known under the name Musée Napoléon. This outstanding example of a national museum made a great impression on Europe as a focal point for the finest and most comprehensive international art collection ever brought together in one place. At the same time in the states that had been robbed of their art and scientific treasures it strengthened the need to create their own museums.

After Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig (1813) and again at Waterloo (1815) the Allied Powers reclaimed both their artistic and scientific collections – with varying levels of success. On its return, the regained war booty was accommodated in national museums (e.g. The Hague: Mauritshuis; Berlin: Altes Museum), each of which only show afraction of what had been gathered in the Louvre. For a long while Napoleon's ideal art museum determined the way people thought about these institutions in Europe. The same holds for the other revolutionary museums, like the Musée des monumens français, that was dedicated to the saving of their 'own' items of cultural value, but which also helped to spread the idea of 'conserving national monuments and historic buildings' at an international level; and the Musée d'histoire naturelle that placed French science in an international perspective, in the same way as the Musée Napoléon had done for art. This 'ideal' situation was also to be short-lived in terms of scientific artifacts: just like the works of art, the looted scientific objects had to be returned to their places of origin. This was how the returned Dutch collection came to be accommodated in the renamed, but already existing, Koninklijk Kabinet van Natuurlijke Historie in Leiden.

Although national museums were founded during the whole of the nineteenth century in the various European countries, for this conference the year 1830 was kept as a provisional boundary line. By this time a temporary milestone has been reached in founding and extending museums in several capital cities (e.g. Berlin, Munich, Paris).

This period deserves to be studied from an international, comparative perspective. By studying Napoleon's accumulation of looted collections of art and scientific objects in Paris, as well as their later retrieval by the robbed European states, and by studying the reactions and effects these processes elicited, we can form a better picture of this enormous shift in the European 'museum landscape'. The aim is to come to a better understanding of the way in which this period in modern museum history stimulated thinking in terms of national identity all over Europe and the way it was shown by the various national museums. By employing a comparative approach it will be possible to examine the national variations against the background of international patterns. In this way nationalistic tendencies in historiography will also be highlighted and moreover avoided.

13 Recent publications and exhibitions on the subject: Jourdan 1998; Denon 1999; Grijzenhout 1999.

The issues will be addressed on three levels:

1. The Looting Process

a. *Criteria for selection*. It is well known that the French armies were accompanied by art experts and scientists, of whom the most famous has become Dominique-Vivant Denon.[14] But how exactly did they choose what to take in the different countries? Which objects were selected for the museums in Paris and based on which artistic canons and scientific paradigms was this selection made? Officially speaking, the objects were supposed to contribute to the 'the general good', the '*instruction publique'* and the promotion of art and sciences – criteria which, by the way, since the last quarter of the eighteenth century had been common among many of the despots so hated by the French revolutionaries.[15] However, the question is to what extent did these confiscations take place according to these criteria.[16]

b. *Protest or acceptation*? It seems that the first campaigns of looting, those in the Southern Netherlands in 1794, met with hardly any protest from press and public. This was attributed to the enthusiasm with which the French 'liberators' were welcomed in the area under Austrian rule.[17] But weren't the collections in themselves not considered as 'Patrimonial estate' or 'national' heritage? Did these concepts exist at all? A few years later, by contrast, the French confiscation of art from Italy and Germany did arouse a great deal of protest among others from leading scholars and men of letters like Aloys Hirt and Friedrich Schlegel. The arguments they used were that works of art should not be taken out of their 'natural context'.[18] Moreover, various national and municipal authorities tried to actively prevent or curtail the theft of art.[19] Was the French urge for annexation the reason that national cultural consciousness was brought into being? Or are there other, nationally determined factors responsible for the differences in reaction?

2. The Paris Museums

a. *Conservation, restoration and modes of display*. It mattered very much to the French that the initial foreign accusations of mismanagement could be refuted, and they could do this by implementing an active conservation and restoration policy. Since their argument for seizing the cultural items was that in doing so they would be 'rescued' from the hands of despots who only kept them for their own personal use and had not taken good care of them. This was why the French placed such a great emphasis on the public presentation of the booty. However, from 1775 onwards the looted galleries and museums, particularly in Germany and Italy, had already begun experimenting with progressive techniques and methods in all these areas themselves. As far as principles of organization were concerned, the galleries in Vienna and Florence – with their arrangement of exhibits according to schools and periods – had been looking a lot more modern since the 1780s than the museum in the Louvre did in the first ten years of its existence.[20] In this respect it is important to look at the Parisian museums in an international perspective in order to be able to rate the pretensions of the

14 Denon 1999, Gallo 2001.
15 Meijers 1991/1995, 1993 / 2005 a and b.
16 Savoy 2003.
17 Wescher 1978; Gould 1965.
18 Savoy 2003 and 2004.
19 Wescher 1978.
20 McClellan 1994; Meijers 1991/1995, 2004 and 2007; Pommier 2006.

Napoleonic policy at their true value. When doing this it is interesting in particular to find out how the treasures of the conquered countries were displayed in Paris, and in what ways their significance changed in their new surroundings.[21]

b. Here too the criticism of the phenomenon of the 'museum' current in the period should be discussed, as it emphasized that is was wrong to take objects from their 'natural' surroundings and move them to a different geographic setting, and to house them in the rooms of a museum for which they were not made.[22]

c. *International reception*. What kind of reaction did the new Parisian museums provoke on an international scale?[23] How much impact did they have on the public, either French or foreign? At first, seeing national art treasures in a foreign collection led to feelings of regret and uneasiness, but soon the visiting public are said to have admired the way products of all manner of arts and sciences were on show, as it was on a scale hitherto unknown. For instance, Friedrich Schlegel, notwithstanding his former protests (mentioned under 1.b), wrote a lengthy and complimentary report on the new Louvre.[24] The Dutch minister of Home Affairs, Roëll, was delighted to see the highlights of Classical sculpture from Italy on exhibit; on the other hand, he described the presence of Dutch paintings, and even worse that of objects and animals from the collection of the late Stathouder, in the Paris museum as an evil sign of the oppression of his country.[25] Paris, as capital of the Empire, was visited by many foreigners; a lot of travel diaries still survive (and have been reprinted), and several guidebooks remain too.[26] Do the authors of those diaries, mostly experienced travellers or art connoisseurs, compare the looted objects from different countries? Do they show any signs of regretting the loss of objects that aroused national pride or were linked to their national identity? And, on the other hand, what do the travel guides tell the public about Parisian museums? Are there any reports on the emergence of a new, more 'democratic' type of museum public, or did they just attract more tourists and become more of a consumer commodity? In this section the reactions of the countries that weren't invaded by the French might also be analyzed.[27]

3. Restitution and After

a. *The process of restitution.* Negotiations which got underway in 1813, after the Battle of Leipzig, deserve a special mention, as for the first time in history they dealt with the restitution of plundered art and items of cultural value. Which particular arguments and methods did the allied forces use and how successful were they? Up to the present day this process has only been described in detail for a few countries and we have only a global idea about what happened in Paris, [28]

21 Baensch 1994. See also Poulot 1997 and Bordes 2004.

22 Quatremère de Quincy 1796.

23 See for instance Poulot 1997.

24 Schlegel 1984.

25 Roëll 1978.

26 Kok-Escalle 1977.

27 For developments in Great Britain: Jenkins 1992; Prior 2002; Whitehead 2005 and Conlin 2006.

28 Blumer 1936 (Italy); Ideology 2002 (Italy); Brenninkmeijer-de Rooij 1976-1977 (stadholder's collection); Vlieghe 1971 (Antwerp); Savoy 2003 and 2004 (both Germany). What happened in Paris is described in general terms in Gould 1965,116-130, Wescher 1978, 131-145 and Pommier 1999. The latter states that (p. 257) that he couldn't give more than an outline of the events in Paris in 1815 and that in a number of countries research should be carried out.

however, comparative studies have still to be carried out. It is striking that Italy only got back about a half of its art treasures (of the 506 paintings, 249 were returned) and the Netherlands were given back two-thirds of what they had lost (126 of the 200 paintings).[29] There is evidence that this difference was related to a desire to spare the new French king from the house of Bourbon.[30] It was indeed very complicated to trace all the objects which had been scattered over different buildings inside and outside Paris. Furthermore, the Parisians were unwilling to return the allied forces' 'property'.[31] To what extent did they also enter into deliberate deception, that is to say: to what extent did the French deliberately make a fool of the national delegates when exchanging objects? Or did they select what was to remain in France on the basis of specific scientific and artistic principles?

b. *The effects of restitution.* In most countries there had been a form of public museum before the French Occupation , usually allied to the princely court. What was the effect of the return (in most cases partial) of the collections to the countries of origin? Were the museums released from their former royal /princely ties and were they given a separate place in the town's landscape or not?[32]

How was the transition from royal or princely collections to national museums implemented in each country? This relates both to representation (the change from the prince/monarch to the nation / state) and to the type of public. How consciously did they try to attract a different sort of public for the national museum when compared to the royal / princely museum?

- In what sense were the Parisian museums exemplary?
- In terms of their categorization of art and sciences and In terms of presentation?

If we limit the field here to the presentation of paintings, especially the many paintings by Raphael originating from different countries brought together in the Musée Napoléon, these left a lasting impression because one could see how this master painter's work had developed. However, it should be remembered that in the past some collections had a larger number of works by one artist (for instance in Vienna a room full of Titians, in Düsseldorf a wealth of Gerard Dou's work and in Munich numerous paintings by Rubens). The way the Raphaels were shown in Paris served as a source of inspiration for the Orangerie in Sanssouci near Potsdam which was, it's true, not a national museum but a royal summer palace: there, in a large room, an overview of his work was shown in the form of copies[33].

At the other hand, it is known that the director of the Rijksmuseum, when reorganizing the national museum in 1817, was opposed to the way in which Dutch paintings had been presented in the Louvre, as there paintings by

29 Gould 1965, 128 (based on Blumer 1936) and Brenninkmeijer-De Rooij 1976-1977.
30 Gould 1965, 131.
31 Cornelis Apostool, director of the Amsterdamse Rijksmuseum, was sent to Paris to bring back the former art collection belonging to the stadholder; he wrote a detailed report of this. The text of the lecture he gave in 1821 has been partially preserved: Bergvelt 1998, 89-90.
32 See for Berlin Vogtherr 1997 and Van Wezel 1993 / 2005 and 2001.
33 See Bartoschek/Hüneke/Paepke 1993.

Rembrandt and Van der Werff had been hung next to one another. He wanted to avoid such an 'irritating variety'.[34]

Was it just a case of imitation in the various countries where the recovered objects were returned (not just works of fine art but also antiquities and natural-history objects) or was it a case of moving away from what was to be seen in the Parisian museums?

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34 In a letter on the arrangement of the Rijksmuseum from Cornelis Apostool to the permanent undersecretary for Education, Art and Science, 19.5.1817, as cited in Bergvelt 1998, 101-102.

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Are National Museums of Protestant Nations Different? The Process of Modernizing 19th-Century National Art Museums in the Netherlands and in Great Britain 1800–1855*

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I Although 19th-century national museums are supposed to be part of identity politics of the European nation-states, this was not the case in the Netherlands and Great Britain, at least not in the early part of the 19th century. Surprisingly, William I, the first king of the House of Orange-Nassau (1815-1840), never used art museums as part of his politics to unify his nation (consisting of the Northern and Southern Netherlands, nowadays the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxemburg): there existed municipal art museums in Antwerp and Brussels, and two (!), national art museums in the Northern part of the country, i.e. 's Rijks Museum (= National Museum, Amsterdam) and the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen (= Royal Cabinet of Paintings, The Hague), also known as the Mauritshuis. No "master narrative" was told, nor had one location been chosen to do so. Also in Great Britain the possibilities of a national art gallery were not fully used. It was only after the reorganization of the National Gallery in 1855 that a clear policy was formulated. Protestantism might be one of the explanations for the "backwardness" of the British and Dutch art museums, compared to those in other countries.

Introduction

In the 18th century, museums of art and science arose as an important manifestation of culture found in virtually every corner of Europe. In the 19th century, these early composite museums were divided into two separate entities – museums of art and museums of science. Far from presenting a picture of uniformity, the evolution of the European national museum of art is rich and varied. By the middle of the 19th century, it is clear that there are museums that may be considered "progressive" and other museums that must be viewed as still firmly rooted – at least in part – in the traditions established in the 18th century. Where the Alte Pinakothek in Roman-Catholic Munich and the Gemäldegalerie in Protestant Berlin were to emerge as Europe's leading museums in the first half of the 19th century, the national art museums in Great Britain and the Netherlands were in many ways still very traditional. The National Gallery in London housed the collection of paintings officially in the possession of the British nation.[1] The Netherlands, by contrast, boasted two national museums, reflecting the two historical centres of power of the Dutch Republic before 1795: the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the Mauritshuis in The Hague.[2] Certainly there are differences to be cited in the factors affecting the British national museum of art as opposed to those in the Netherlands. By the middle of the 19th century, however, in comparison with developments found elsewhere in Europe, both the Dutch and British museums existed in a sleep-like, almost comatose, state. This distinction between the museums of Great Britain and the Netherlands and those found in other countries can be linked to the process of modernization occurring throughout Europe in the early 19th century, which may essentially be described as an evolution of museological nature. It is due to such changes that the museum of the 18th century gradually transformed into an institution that could be considered modern in the 19th-century sense.

By focusing on the origins and course of development of the European museum of art in the 19th century in Great Britain and the Netherlands, it is my aim to examine the underlying factors that ultimately led to this museological transformation. In so doing, one may perhaps also gain insight into the reasons why these two museums were slow to adopt the process of modernization that was well underway in other countries. One could formulate a hypothesis based on the role of Protestantism as the predominate religion in both countries, versus the largely Catholic orientation of those countries in which these museological advances occurred more rapidly.[3] Serving as the basis for my analysis are the published findings of an official enquiry into the National Gallery, conducted by a Select Committee of the British House of

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* This article presents one subject related to my ongoing research into several aspects of the National Gallery (London) in the 19th century. I would like to thank Gary Thorn (Archives British Museum, London); Isobel Siddons, Jessica Collins, Alan Crookham (all Archives National Gallery, London). This is an adaptation of my article: E. Bergvelt, 'The process of modernization of 19th-century art museums. The national museums in the Netherlands and in Great Britain 1800-1855', in: B. Graf and H. Möbius (eds.), *Zur Geschichte der Museen im 19. Jahrhundert 1789-1918*, (Berliner Schriften zur Museumskunde, vol. 22), (Berlin, 2006), p. 41-55

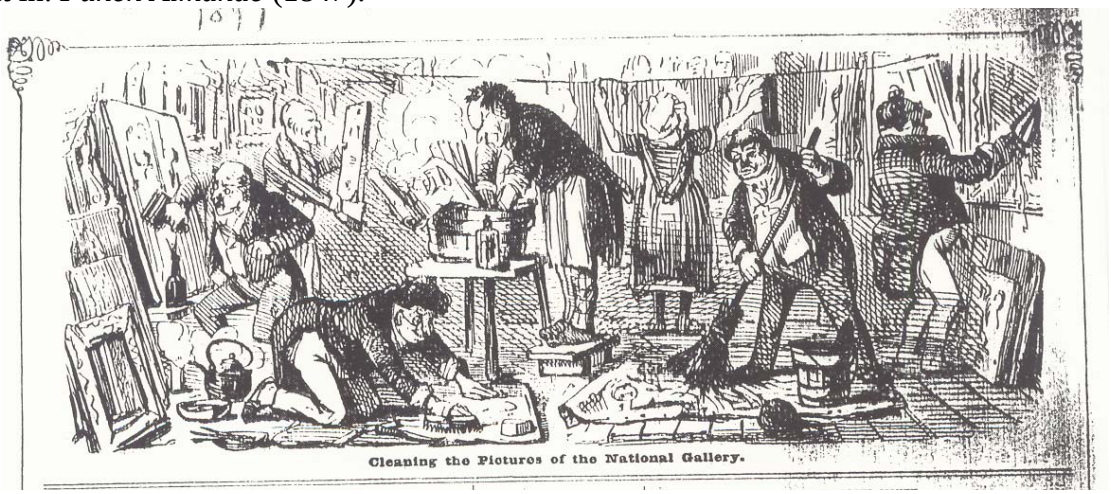
1 For the early history of the National Gallery Jonathan Conlin, *The Nation's Mantelpiece. A History of the National Gallery* (London, 2006); also: Charles Holmes and Charles Henry Collins Baker, *The Making of the National Gallery, 1824-1924* (London, 1924).

2 See for an explanation of the two centres of power below, in the section about 'Organizational Structure'. For the situation in the middle of the century in the Dutch national art museums, see: Ellinoor Bergvelt, *Pantheon der Gouden Eeuw. Van Nationale Konst-Gallerij tot Rijksmuseum van Schilderijen (1798-1896)* (Zwolle 1998), p. 138-176; and in the National Gallery: Ellinoor Bergvelt, 'De Britse Parlementaire Enquête uit 1853. De "modernisering" van de National Gallery in Londen', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora J. Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds.), *Kabinetten, galerijen en musea. Het verzamelen en presenteren van naturalia en kunst van 1500 tot heden* (Heerlen / Zwolle 2005) [ch.12], p. 319-342.

3 However Protestant Prussia is an interesting exception. See note 45.

Commons in 1853.[4] The enquiry was initially sparked by the increasingly heated debate sounded in both the British press and parliament, remarking on the careless and haphazard restoration of the museum's collection of paintings.[5] In a rather benign caricature appearing in a London journal in the year 1847, people are depicted literally cleaning and scrubbing the paintings (fig. 1). The enquiry incorporated interviews not only with those directly affiliated with the museum, such as the past and present museum "keepers" (the 19th-century equivalent of today's museum curator), the trustees and the secretary. Also involved were those critics who had so strongly voiced their opinions in the press and an influential London auctioneer, George Henry Christie. Artists and collectors were also questioned, as was *the* architect of the European museums at the time, Leo von Klenze, who had recently designed museums considered exemplary both in Munich and St. Petersburgh.[6]

Figure 1. John Leech (1817-1864), *Cleaning the pictures of the National Gallery*, caricature print in: *Punch Almanac* (1847).



The enquiry of 1853 resulted in a bulky report in which more than 10,000 questions and answers were published, accompanied by no less than 22 separate appendices. As a result of the recommendations made in the report, the National Gallery was reorganized in 1855. The report not only presents an analysis of many aspects of the National Gallery and what was wrong with its organization, but also provides an overview of the situation in other European national museums of art and antiquities. In addition to the main body of the enquiry, a folding appendix cited the results of a 35-question survey submitted to the heads of national museums in nine different countries across Europe: Belgium (Brussels), Prussia (Berlin), Tuscany (Florence), France (Paris), Bavaria (Munich), the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Naples), the Papal States (Rome), Russia (St. Petersburgh and Moscow), and the Netherlands (Amsterdam, The Hague, Haarlem and Leyden). Also included in the report was a 36-folio appendix listing the names of artists whose works were deemed important or

4 *Report from the Select Committee on the National Gallery; together with the proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index* ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 4 August 1853 (London, 1853).

5 This harsh criticism is not always shared by experts today; see for conservation: Hero Boothroyd-Brooks, 'Practical Developments in English Easel-Painting Conservation, c. 1824-1968, From Written Sources' (London, 1999; unpublished Ph.D. Courtauld Institute of Art).

6 See Adrian von Buttlar, *Leo von Klenze. Leben – Werk – Vision* (München, 1999) and Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *Leo von Klenze: Architekt zwischen Kunst und Hof 1784-1864* (München, 2000).

relevant to the collection of the National Gallery.[7] Names were organized by country and presented in chronological order. In what may be considered perhaps one of the most tangible results of the 1853 enquiry, this list of artists was to serve as a guideline for the museum's acquisition policy – a "shopping list" of masterpieces – that was to commence with the museum's reorganization of 1855.

For the historian of art and museology, the value of the Select Committee's report is not only the wealth of information it provides regarding the situation in Great Britain, but also the insight that can be gained with regards to the state of museums elsewhere in Europe. Through close examination of this report, it is possible to devise a definition of the quintessential, or ideal, national art museum in the 19th century:

> The national art museum is housed in its own building, displaying solely art. The museum and its director fall under the direct administration of the nation-state and its bureaucratic system in the form of a governmental department or ministry without interference of a monarch. The position of museum director is a full-time, fully paid function, held by a formally educated historian of art. The art museum's collection is internationally oriented, comprising solely works of European painting and sculpture dating from the early Renaissance through the 18th centuries. There exists an annual budget provided by the government. These funds are spent according to guidelines established in response to a "shopping list" of works deemed important or relevant to the collection, as conceived by the museum's director or curator. The holdings of the museum are geographically arranged by schools of painters. Within these divisions, all works are presented chronologically. There is a catalogue of the holdings, which is academically up to date. The museum's public is the general public. The museum is open every weekday and its entry is free-of-charge (fig. 2).[8]

At the time the report was compiled, no museum in Europe met the standards of this ideal in its totality. In reality, the national museums of Europe developed at different rates and evolved in various manners. The report clearly reveals that, while a museum might be viewed as highly progressive in one aspect, it could as yet be found rather traditional in others. The utility of the report lays therefore in the definition one may derive from its findings and the standard it provides for gauging any one national museum from a 19th-century perspective. To be addressed in this paper are questions concerning the situation in the Netherlands and Great Britain at this time: How did the national museums of these two countries stand in relation to this 19th-century ideal of cultural modernization?[9] In what areas and based on

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7 Prince Albert had this list commissioned to be compiled, see the letter, which was written on his behalf to the chairman of the Select Committee, preceding Appendix XVII ("Plan for a Collection of Paintings, illustrative of the History of the Art", 793-828), copy of a letter from Colonel Grey to the Chairman [of the Select Committee], Buckingham Palace, 25 April 1853, in: *Report* 1853 (see note 4), p. 791-792.

8 This definition is not exhaustive as, for instance, I have not included everything pertaining to conservation. It is based on my findings in the Report of 1853 (see note 4). What I consider to be "modern" (i.e. 19th-century), in contrast to "traditional" (18th-century), is not so much founded on the knowledge of the course museological developments would take in the 20th century, but rather on the difference with the situation in the 18th –century museums. See for a comparable definition: Christoph Martin Vogtherr, 'Das Königliche Museum zu Berlin. Planungen und Konzeption des ersten Berliner Kunstmuseums', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 39 Beiheft (1997), p. 8. Vogtherr sees in the 19th century the start of the modern art museum of today. I, however, would like to emphasize the many differences between the 19th-century museum and that of today, such as the absence of temporary exhibitions, which points to a completely different concept of art and history at the time (a static versus a dynamic concept of art and history).

9 The comparable term "modernity" is also used, but in a much more general way by Nick Prior, *Museums & modernity. Art galleries and the making of modern culture* (Oxford 2002).

Figure 2.

The "ideal" or "typical" national (art) museum

18th Century	19th Century
1. **General collections (arts and sciences combined)**	1. **Specialized collection of old paintings (international)**
2. Specialized public: artists, scientists, tourists (connoisseurs)	**2. General public; free access, all days of the week (artists and scientists disappear)**
3. International paintings: emphasis on 16th and 17th century (sometimes including contemporary art)	**3. Paintings: emphasis on 14th-18th century (contemporary art and historical objects removed).**
4. "Gentlemanly hang"	**4. Geographical-chronological arrangement**
5. Founded by monarchs (part of court life)	**5. Subject to a Ministry; links with the monarch severed**
6. The director is an amateur (artist or scholar), courtier	**6. The director is a professional, paid, full-time art historian, a civil servant with a yearly budget**

what conditions was this modernization to be realized? In responding to these two questions, it will quickly become apparent that the factors behind the 'coming of age' of the 19th-century museum are diverse and complex, based on political, social and religious circumstances that were unique to each country. Within the limits of this preliminary research, I will examine these specific factors from the perspective of five key topics of museological analysis: **organizational structure, specialization, collecting, presentation** and **public**. In each case I will analyze the importance of the protestant religion.

Organizational Structure

In contrast to the general opinion about the 19th century, and the relation between the state and the arts, in the Netherlands – which knew many changes of government and in the size of the territory between 1795 and 1830 – the ideas about the art museum(s) did not change.[10] The museum was a relatively autonomous element in the infrastructure of the nation-state. The artistic part of the museum was primarily meant to be a school for artists, and only secondary, it could be used to improve the taste of a more general public. In the art museum(s) an overview was given of the work of Dutch and Flemish masters as examples for contemporary artists. However, everybody involved knew that these paintings represented only a small, provincial part of a larger international European canon of art. This restriction to Dutch and Flemish art was not caused by nationalist ideas, but by the very bad economic situation in the Netherlands. If there had been enough money, it would have been spent on paintings by Raphael, Domenichino and Guido Reni, just like in other European capitals.

10 The only change was between the museum of the Batavian Republic (1800-1806) and the Royal Museum of Louis Napoleon (1806-1810), who ended the historical acquisitions. Since that time the history 'department', which previously had been as important as the artistic part of the museum, disappeared to the background. That lasted until 1885, when the collection of the Nederlandsch Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst (the Dutch Museum for History and Art, that had existed in The Hague since 1877) was included in the new Rijksmuseum building.

From 1815, William I of the House of Orange, the first Dutch King of the Netherlands (1814-1840), was until the Belgian Revolt of 1830, king of the Catholic Southern Netherlands (nowadays Belgium and Luxembourg) as well. The southern part possessed museums in Antwerp and Brussels, originally comprising municipal collections. Since the year 1816, the Northern Netherlands had two national art museums, the so-called 's Rijks museum' [= national museum] in Amsterdam, the smaller predecessor of today's Rijksmuseum, and one in The Hague: the Royal Cabinet of Pictures, where the nationalized paintings of the late Stadtholder were located after their return from Paris. They had been abducted in 1795 by the French troops and were (partly) recuperated in 1815. This Royal Cabinet was, and still is, also called the Mauritshuis, after the building in which the collection was housed since 1821.

King William I, who, in general, sought unity in his kingdom, never considered using the museums as a unifying force, and for instance, never thought to combine the collections of the Southern and Northern Netherlands, or even combine the collections of both northern museums. However, the museums in the north received far greater subsidies than those in the south.[11]

The existence of two national art museums in the north is in actuality a reflection of the two centres of power the Dutch Republic prior to the Batavian Revolution in 1795, the year in which French troops invaded the country. This invasion and subsequent revolution signalled the end of the Dutch Republic of the Seven United Provinces. Before 1795, Amsterdam was the most powerful city of the Republic. The Hague was the residence of the Prince of Orange and the seat of the States-General, the rather weak central body of government. Tensions had existed between the two sides as early as the 17th century, ending in 1795 with the victory of the so-called "patriots" over the "Orangists", when the last stadtholder, William V of Orange, fled with his family to Great Britain.

King William I had been very much involved with all national museums in the Netherlands, as had been his French predecessor, Louis Napoleon (1806-1810). William assured that not only ministerial funds were devoted to building the nation's collections, and he even went so far as to utilize a portion of his official governmental salary in doing so, whenever that was necessary. In spite of the different names (Rijksmuseum and Royal Cabinet) the two museums had the same organizational position: Both were subsidized by government, and, if necessary, both were supported financially by the king (fig. 3). This situation lasted until the Belgian Revolt in 1830, after which Belgium became independent.[12]

William's son, King William II (1840-1849), reveals an entirely different approach to the Dutch nation's art and culture. Upon becoming king, William II specifically forbade all acquisitions in the field of art or otherwise for the country's national museums. He was in fact downright hostile towards them. Instead, he devoted all his private funds to his own art museum, including the neo-gothic hall of his royal palace in The Hague, an extension built for viewing art in the 1840s. He even tried, in vain, to re-privatize the nationalized paintings of his grandfather, Stadtholder William V, which were the core of the Mauritshuis collection. William II's private, royal museum was closed after the sudden death of the king in 1849, and the collection was put up for auction.[13] All ties between the museums and the Dutch king

11 See about William I: Ellinoor Bergvelt, 'Koning Willem I als verzamelaar, opdrachtgever en weldoener van de Noordnederlandse musea', in: Coenraad Arnold Tamse and Els Witte (eds.), *Staats- en natievorming in Willem I's koninkrijk* (Brussels / Baarn, 1992), p. 261-285.

12 However: the Royal Cabinet in the Mauritshuis received more money that the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

13 See about the collection of King William II, Erik Hinterding and Femy Horsch: '"A small but choice collection:" the art gallery of King Willem II of the Netherlands (1792-1849)', *Simiolus* 19 (1989), p. 5-54; for an overview of the current whereabouts of the paintings, see: *ibidem*, p. 55-122 (Reconstruction of the collection of old master paintings of King Willem II). See also: Ellinoor Bergvelt, 'Een vorstelijk museum?

Figure 3. Expenses for Dutch and British art museums (1800–1853).

Purchases

Netherlands (2 museums)	Great Britain (1 museum)	
National Art Gallery, The Hague (1800-1806)		
129 old paintings (incl. 6 mod), fl. 50.000		
Royal Museum, Amsterdam (1806-1810)		
200 old paintings: fl. 200.000		
50 contemporary paintings: fl. 25.000		
's Rijks Museum, Amsterdam(1814-1844):	**National Gallery, London**	
66 old paintings: fl. 65.000		
(of which the King paid ca. fl. 26.000)	**1824:** purchase collection Angerstein	
150 contemporary paintings fl. 13.815	(38 old paintings):	
		£60.000
(of which the King paid ca. fl. 4.000)		
(1844-1853): 1 old painting: fl. 646,75	**1824-1853**	
Royal Cabinet of Paintings, The Hague (1816-1853)	37 old paintings:	£67.718 - 8 sh.
220 old paintings: fl. 250.000		
(of which the King paid ca. fl. 47.000)		
80 contemporary paintings fl. 45.000		
(of which the King paid ca. fl. 18.000)		
Total **old** paintings Amsterdam/The Hague (1800-1853):		
616 paintings = fl. 565.646,75	75 old paintings =	£127.718 – 8 sh
[average = fl. 918,84]	[average = £1.702 = fl. 17.020]	
	1 £ (pound) was about 10 fl. (guilders)	

NB Dutch guards had a yearly salary of fl.600 and the Amsterdam director (1808-1844) of fl.1.500 (later fl. 3000)

were severed following the alteration of the Dutch Constitution in 1848, after a night in which, allegedly, William II changed his political views from conservative to liberal**.**

In London, the National Gallery had been founded in 1824 as the department of paintings of the British Museum, which itself was established in the middle of the 18th century. In 1753 British Parliament purchased several collections of Sir Hans Sloane, comprising objects of natural history, drawings, ethnographical objects, and various other collections, such as books. However, European paintings were absent. In the year 1824 the British Parliament acquired 37 European paintings (16th-18th century) from the London banker, John Julius Angerstein.[14] Initially, this collection was to be hung in the new building of the British Museum, but for reasons that remain unapparent, these works stayed in Angerstein's home, and so a separate national gallery, solely for paintings, was started.

In Great Britain, there had never been any regular connection between the museums and galleries and the monarchs. As is the case to this very day, the kings and queens of Great Britain possessed their own private art collections. Apart from a few paintings bestowed to the National Gallery, the British royal family was in no way directly involved with the gallery**.**[15] Hardly would they have ever considered their private collections as possessions of

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De rol van de kunstverzameling aan het Haagse hof van koning Willem II (1840-1850)', in: Johann-Christian Klamt and Kees Veelenturf (eds.), *Representatie: kunsthistorische bijdragen over vorst, staatsmacht en beeldende kunst, opgedragen aan Robert W. Scheller* (Nijmegen, 2004), p. 27-66.

14 See for the early history of the National Gallery also: Gregory Martin, 'The Founding of the National Gallery in London', 9 parts, *The Connoisseur* (1974), no. 185 (April), p. 280-287 (part 1), no 186 (May), p. 24-31 (part 2), no. 187 (June), p. 124-128 (part 3), no. 188 (July), p. 200- 207 (part 4), no. 189 (August), p. 272-279 (part 5), vol. 190 (September), p. 48-53 (part 6), vol. 191 (October), p. 108-113 (part 7), vol. 192. (November), p. 202-205 (part 8), vol. 192 (December), p. 278-283 (part 9).

15 British monarchs presented gifts to the national museums only by exception, as did King George IV, who in 1823 donated the library of his father, King George III, to the nation. As the King's Library, these books are

the state. This can be explained by the fact that the 17th-century king, Charles I, was beheaded in 1649, from which time England was to remain a republic for 11 years. His superb art collections were auctioned.[16] The English royal family, however, was not entirely void of personal interest in the national museums and galleries. One exception was the occasional interference of Queen Victoria's spouse, Prince Albert, who showed a relish for affairs of art and culture in general. Albert's affinity with art sometimes led to his meddling in the affairs of the National Gallery.[17]

In the museum culture of 19th century Europe, the "courtier" or "amateur" museum director of the 18th century was eventually replaced with a new concept of the museum (or gallery) director: a formally educated art historian, who receives a salary for his full-time job and who operates under the direction of a governmental ministry: e.g. Interior, Finance or Culture. In both Great Britain and the Netherlands, the museums' structural organization was in effect subject to a governmental department of the bureaucratic nation-state. In London it was the Treasury (the Ministry of Finance), and in the Netherlands the Ministry of the Interior. Even at a time when most of the museums on the continent were headed by a single individual, who was subject to a ministry, the Select Committee of 1853 saw no reason to change the general management structure of the National Gallery, i.e. a Board of Trustees consisting of respected art collectors and members of Parliament. All were subject to the Treasury. The keeper was, in his turn, subordinate to the Board of Trustees.[18] When comparing the manner in which the trustees of the National Gallery functioned with that of their counterparts in the British Museum, one observes a profound difference. The trustees of the British Museum were much more involved in the running of their museum, with its collections of antique sculptures (for instance the Elgin marbles since 1816), objects of natural history, books, manuscripts and drawings. The trustees of the National Gallery, by contrast, were somewhat complacent in their attitude towards the gallery, as its holdings were limited to paintings. In terms of organizational structure, the British Museum was far superior to the gallery.[19] This was true at least up unto the National Gallery's reorganization of 1855, which marked the installation and transfer of power to a triumvirate of three highly knowledgeable art-historians working within the museum's organizational structure. Although the Board of Trustees remained, from this time forward the museum director superseded the keeper as the most important expert on artistic matters. Henceforth, the keeper came to play a subordinate role. Finally, the positions of keeper and director were to be

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still, separately, arranged in the national British Library. King George IV also presented one painting to the National Gallery, and King William IV, six paintings. None of these may be judged to be of any significant artistic importance. More interesting were the early paintings (Italian, Flemish and German), which were presented in 1863 after the death of Prince Albert by Queen Victoria, according to his wish.

16 Arthur MacGregor (ed.), *The Late King's Goods. Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories* (London / Oxford, 1989) and Jerry Brotton, *The sale of the late King's goods. Charles I and his art collection* (Basingstoke, 2006). Subsequent kings started to collect anew, and their collections stayed private. See also: Ellinoor Bergvelt, 'Nationale onverschilligheid? Schilderkunst als erfgoed in Nederland en Groot-Brittannië in de negentiende eeuw', in: Rob van der Laarse (ed.), *Bezeten van vroeger. Erfgoed, identiteit en musealisering* (Amsterdam 2005), p. 102-123.

17 See note 7.

18 The archive of the National Gallery (1824-1855) is indeed the archive of the Board of Trustees. As this Board met only three times a year in some periods, this is a rather limited archive. There are almost no letters written by the keeper, in contrast to the Dutch museums, where the directors or curators established and built the archives. Only after 1855 had the director of the National Gallery begun building an archive, and from that year, the archive becomes much more interesting, artistically speaking.

19 This is apparent from my research in the archives of both museums. For instance, the trustees of the British Museum met far more regularly than those of the gallery. Moreover, there were several committees (with their own meetings) formed by the trustees of the British Museum. By contrast, committees were absent in the National Gallery.

complemented with a third function. The 'travelling agent' was an art historian hired to travel throughout Europe, and to Italy in particular, in search of artworks on the director's behalf. This position was only filled for a period of three years.[20] In 1858, the British Parliament judged the touring of Europe on behalf of Great Britain too extravagant an expenditure to finance and accordingly decided to abolish his function.[21]

Having received its own building premises in 1838 and with Great Britain boasting more art historians, it is true that the National Gallery's situation was somewhat more favorable than that of the Netherlands. Yet at least for the years leading up to 1855, we see in London the same reluctance to spend government money on museum acquisitions and to appoint qualified experts as curators, i.e. a willingness to finance their salaries.[22] In both Great Britain and the Netherlands, governments were to do nothing more than preserve and maintain the national art museums. In the two countries, culture, and especially art, was a matter for private citizens. In Great Britain this was more or less understood. In the Netherlands, it was official government policy. In both countries, enriching and enlarging a museum's collection was viewed neither as an obligation nor even a prerogative of government. It was considered a luxury. Such pursuits were therefore chiefly a matter to be addressed by private individuals. In the Netherlands, this was due to a general economic stagnation of the time, but it was also an era of so-called "doctrinaire" liberalism that preceded the days of the welfare state emerging in the early 20th century. Most domains of social life were as yet left to private initiative. This period in Dutch history may therefore be characterized by the high level of governmental restraint advocated by the people in power at the middle of the nineteenth century. This period of so-called "national indifference" lasted until about 1870.[23] The government was not prepared to allocate any funds to art, but neither legacies nor donations were left to the national art museums on behalf of private citizens. Was that because the centralized nation-state was not yet fully accepted by the Dutch? Only after 1870 citizens started to leave legacies and donate gifts to the national art museums. Before that time they were much more interested in municipal, or private, museums.

In Great Britain, by contrast, there had always been a tradition of private legacies and donations made to the museum of art. In essence, the reorganization of the National Gallery in 1855 would signal an end to the British government's parsimonious attitude. An important recommendation of the report of 1853 that was never to be followed through, however, was the call for the construction of a new National Gallery elsewhere in the city**.** For consecutive governments of the 19th century, such an undertaking was going too far. It was fine to spend money on art, but only in moderation.

Whereas the organizational structure of the National Gallery was improving, certainly after 1855, the situation in the Dutch museums during the middle of the 19th century only

20 The first director after the reorganization was Sir Charles Eastlake (1855-1865), who had previously been keeper of the National Gallery (1844-1847). See: David Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World* (Princeton, 1978). Ralph Wornum became keeper and from 1855-1858 also a 'travelling agent' was working for the National Gallery, Otto Mündler. See about him: Carol Togneri Dowd (ed.), *The Travel Diaries of Otto Mündler: 1855-1858* (London, 1985; Walpole Society [publications] 51).

21 See about the dismissal of the 'travelling agent': Holmes / Baker (see note 1), p. 34.

22 New buildings were erected both for the National Gallery and the British Museum, but the gallery was built more cheaply than the museum. For example, sculpture that had been designed for Marble Arch, a monument that was meant to commemorate the recent victories over the French, had been added to the National Gallery's exterior. These sculptures required some adaptation, and for instance, a sculpture of Britannia was converted into a more suitable Minerva. See: Martin 1974 (see note 14), no. 189 (August), p. 272-279 (part 5; about the building), vol. 190 (September), p. 48-53 (part 6 about the decorations), p. 50-51 (about Flaxman's Britannia / Minerva).

23 This term is used by Amsterdam alderman Emanuel Boekman in his Ph.D.: *Overheid en kunst in Nederland* (Amsterdam 1939), p. 15-35.

deteriorated. Contrary to the important role of art historians in running the National Gallery, the directors of the national museums in the Netherlands knew everything there was to know about Dutch and Flemish paintings**,** but shared very outdated views on art. They were amateur scholars, art historians and connoisseurs, but not yet theory-driven in the modern sense**.** It was first necessary that art history be studied and taken seriously in a country, before its government would understand the importance of such considerations as the appointment of an art historian to the position of museum director, expanding the scope of the collection, and the geographical-chronological presentation. A pre-requisite was that museums had freed themselves of all ties with art education, i.e. the art academies. The official development of art history may be considered as occurring either with the establishment of art history as a university discipline, such as in the German-speaking countries in the 19th century, or with the emergence of a greater general interest in art history by "amateurs", as was the case in Great Britain.[24] An interest in art and art museums was virtually non-existent in the Netherlands up until the 1870s, and the number of experts on Dutch art (to say nothing of foreign art) at this time was negligible.[25] There were still very few people in the Netherlands with any knowledge of art, apart from the museums' two directors, some auctioneers in Amsterdam and The Hague, some rather outdated writers on Dutch art and the private collectors. It was this lack of knowledge that may in part explain the absence of any clear vision**.** With the death of the director of the Rijksmuseum in 1844, who had been relatively well remunerated for his two jobs as director of the Rijksmuseum and the National Print Room, the function of museum director was turned into a position without salary, backed by an unpaid Supervisory Committee. In 1847, a Board of Governors, also without salary, was appointed to succeed this director. The situation would remain unchanged until 1875. The Mauritshuis was not to have a paid director until 1874.[26]

It is tempting to think that both the preference of the British trustees for all other kind of collections above art, and the reluctance to spend money for art in general in Great Britain and the Netherlands was caused by Protestantism. However, it is more plausible that this had more to do with the not self-evident link in those countries between the nation-state and the care for arts, because private art collections flourished, in both countries. As long as the welding of a national identity was not the aim of the national museums, spending money for the national art museums was in both countries considered to be a luxury.

Specialization

In the early 19th century, there arose a general trend that affected national museums throughout Europe. Firstly, the18th-century institutions that had previously united the arts and sciences were broken up, hereby giving rise to museums and academies of art, that were independent of science. A subsequent division between the museum and the academy of art would occur in the 19th century. Secondly, a division was made between the later art and the

24 See Heinrich Dilly, *Kunstgeschichte als Institution. Studien zur Geschichte einer Disziplin* (Frankfurt am Main, 1979). In Great Britain the interest for art and museums was wide-spread, as can be seen in the press, the two Houses of Parliament and the many publications about art and museums, e.g. those written by the self-made art historians, Mrs. Anna Jameson, Sir Charles Eastlake and John Smith.

25 In the year 1844, the famous Dutch author E.J. Potgieter had published an article about the Rijksmuseum, with sharp criticism on the catalogue, the overcrowded rooms and the bad lighting. Instead of a display of works of art (see figs. 4 and 5), he preferred a museum about the history of the Netherlands. No reaction is to be discerned anywhere: neither in the museums, the press, nor parliament. Only in the 1870s were the Dutch museums reorganized. See about Potgieter and his criticism: Bergvelt 1998 (see note 2), p. 154-158.

26 In addition to their, for the most part, unpaid functions as directors of the museums in Amsterdam and The Hague, the management of both museums was likewise responsible for supervising the Museum of Contemporary Art in Haarlem, which existed from 1838 until 1885. For this they were also not paid.

sculptures from Antiquity. Thirdly, the contemporary paintings and sculptures were removed, just like all objects (including paintings) pertaining to the history of the country. This meant that a collection of older paintings (and occasionally sculpture) remained. In terms of specialization, the 19th-century national art museum may therefore be defined as follows: A museum located in its own, independent, building and dedicated solely to paintings and other works of art dating up to the 18th century.

In this aspect, the British National Gallery and the Dutch museums in Amsterdam and The Hague clearly conformed to the general European trend. The National Gallery remained in Angerstein's home until the year 1838, when a new building for the collection was opened on Trafalgar Square. From its inception, the National Gallery has always housed a collection comprising exclusively paintings. But it would not be until 1868 that the museum of art in its 19th-century manifestation was finally to emerge in its purest sense. Prior to this time, the National Gallery housed not only the original 37 paintings, later acquisitions, legacies and gifts received from private citizens, but also served as the location for the studios and offices of the Royal Academy. Contemporary paintings of the 19th century were hung in the National Gallery until 1850. This department of the national collection was then transferred to Marlborough House, afterwards to the South Kensington Museum (nowadays the Victoria & Albert Museum) and, in 1897, later relocated to a museum built specifically for this purpose: the Tate Gallery (today, Tate Britain). Finally, the National Gallery also housed all paintings (mainly portraits) pertaining to the country's national history. Only in 1856 were these paintings removed from the National Gallery's spaces, signalling the foundation of the National Portrait Gallery. In 1896 a new building would be erected for this museum, built immediately adjacent to the National Gallery.

A similar process of museum specialization can be observed in the evolution of the Dutch national museums, though in this case, the origins are very specific to the history of the Dutch Republic. On the one hand there was the museum in The Hague, the collection comprising circa 130 nationalized paintings of the former stadtholder. These paintings were returned in 1815, having been moved to Paris some two decades previous. In 1795, the French occupying troops confiscated the collections of the stadtholder (both the scientific objects, the animals, and circa 200 paintings that had been on show in a special built gallery in the Buitenhof, The Hague) and displayed these works in the national museums for the arts and sciences at various locations in Paris.[27] On the other hand there was (and still is) the Amsterdam museum, founded during the revolutionary Batavian Republic (in 1798) and expanded by the French king, Louis Napoleon (1806-1810). In this case, the most important paintings, like Rembrandt's *Night-watch* and his *Syndics*, were loans from the city of Amsterdam – as they still are today. In the fields of antiquity and art, there were two other national museums: the Museum of Antiquities in Leyden (since 1818), and also a Museum for contemporary art in Pavillion Welgelegen near Haarlem (1838-1885). All three-dimensional objects were eventually removed from the Dutch national art museums in 1825, as were all objects pertaining to the country's history. These historical objects were transferred to the Royal Cabinet of Rarities in The Hague (1816-1885). All kinds of rarities could be admired there, e.g. artefacts from China and Japan, but also objects pertaining to Dutch history. Accordingly,

27 C. Willemijn Fock, 'De schilderijengalerij van prins Willem V op het Buitenhof te Den Haag (1)', *Antiek* 11 (1976/1977), 113-137; Beatrijs Brenninkmeijer-de Rooy, 'De schilderijengalerij van prins Willem V op het Buitenhof te Den Haag (2)', *Antiek* 11 (1976 / 1977), 38-176; Florence Pieters, 'Het schatrijke naturaliënkabinet van Stadhouder Willem V onder directoraat van topverzamelaar Arnout Vosmaer', in: Bert C. Sliggers & Marijke H. Besselink (eds.), *Het verdwenen museum. Natuurhistorische verzamelingen 1750-1850* (Blaricum / Haarlem, 2002), p. 20-44.

with the exception of this Cabinet of Rarities, the Dutch museums in the middle of the 19th century were specialized in orientation.

The realization of a specialized museum was essentially dependent upon a modern, 19th-century bureaucracy – as opposed to close ties to court life and the direct involvement of monarchs of the 18th-century – that had arisen as part of the expansion of a nation-state.[28] In the 19th century, the monarchical ties that had been so important for the emergence of a national museum in the 18th century were severed throughout most of Europe. In Great Britain and the Netherlands, however, there was nothing to impede the development of specialized museums within a modern 19th-century bureaucracy.

That around 1850 the specialization in both British and Dutch museums was well under way had not such much to do with Protestantism, but with the fact that in both countries relatively new collections had to be started in the beginning of the 19th century. It was not the royal collection that had to be rearranged, as in other European countries. In the Netherlands that was caused by political, and not religious, circumstances at the time. In Britain however the consequences were still felt of the 17th-century rebellion against King Charles I, which was at least partly caused by religious motives.

Collecting

Ideally, the collection of a 19th-century art museum consisted of an international collection of European art dating from the 14th through the 18th century. The director or curator would have comprised a "shopping list" – that is, a list of painters whose works should be represented in the museum's collection – as was the case with the National Gallery. There was also an annual budget to expand and enlarge the collection. In Great Britain, the most important difference with the period before 1855 was the annual budget of £10.000, which enabled a steady stream of acquisitions. Until the reorganization in 1855, the emphasis in the London collection had been on European paintings of the 16th until the 18th century. Represented on the walls of Angerstein's house are, from the 16th century, a Sebastiano del Piombo, a Correggio, and a Titian, from the 17th century an Albert Cuyp, and a painting by Claude Lorrain and from the 18th century a Sir Joshua Reynolds. For this selection of artists, which had in the meantime become outdated, the term "Orléans canon" has been coined.[29] A shift in emphasis to the collecting of early Italian Renaissance paintings, and occasionally early Flemish art, was not to occur until after the 1855 reorganization.

An interest in earlier periods of art history did not arise in the Dutch national museums until the end of the 19th century. On the contrary, during the reign of King William I, most of the money that was spent on the enlargement of the collection of the Mauritshuis between 1816 and 1830 was expended on foreign paintings, made by artists like the Spaniard Murillo and the Italian Guido Reni, popular artists from the same "Orléans canon" as in London.[30] Such an observation is contrary to general opinion, as it is commonly assumed that the Dutch in the 19th century were only interested in the Dutch Golden Age. As for the National Print-room of the Rijksmuseum, which since 1816 was connected to the museum, it was not only

28 With regards to the unification of the Netherlands in the 19th and 20th century, see: Hans Knippenberg & Ben de Pater, *De eenwording van Nederland. Schaalvergroting en integratie sinds 1800* (Nijmegen, 19923; 19881); and about an earlier period in Great Britain: Linda Colley, *Britons. Forging the nation 1707-1837* (London, 1996; 19921).

29 After the 18th-century French Duke and collector, Louis-Philippe-Joseph, Duke d'Orléans, whose collection had been on show in London in 1798 and 1799, and whose taste in this way had become very influential. See: Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in art. Some aspects of taste, fashion and collecting in England and France* (London 19802; 19761), p. 25-27.

30 For the acquisitions for the Mauritshuis during the reign of William I, see: Bergvelt 1992 (see note 11) and Bergvelt 1998 (see note 2), p. 92-96.

prints by Rembrandt, Rubens, and other Dutch and Flemish masters that were purchased, but also many reproduction prints.[31] These prints were an inexpensive substitute for the real thing: Italian paintings (for instance by Leonardo of Raphael), which the Amsterdam director would have preferred to supervise, just like his Hague colleague. The function of reproduction prints was to provide examples for artists, who however at the time primarily stayed being influenced by the landscape, interior and still life painters of the Dutch 17th century. The museum directors however, and the people in power, all preferred to see paintings by Raphael in the museum rooms above those by Jan van Eyck.

In contrast to the museum in The Hague, acquisitions for the Rijksmuseum were almost solely restricted to Dutch and Flemish paintings. However, nearly all expenditures for the Dutch national museums were abandoned after the Belgian Revolt in 1830. Two drawings by the print curator Gerrit Lamberts exist, which show the way the two front rooms on the third floor of the Rijksmuseum in the Trippenhuis looked like from the middle of the 1820s until the 1850s (figs. 4-5). On these drawings some of the older holdings of the national museum are visible, but also several recent, or at least 19th-century, acquisitions, like Rubens's *Cimon and Pero* (acquired in 1825; on the left of the doorway on fig. 4) and an *Adoration* and a *Descent from the Cross* by the Flemish artist Caspar de Crayer (acquired in 1818; left and right of the doorway on fig. 5). These acquisitions do not suggest that Protestant, or religious concerns in general, had played any part in the museum's acquisition policy. Archival material, e.g. the letters with which directors of both museums requested funds for additional purchases, reveals no mention of religion. Their acquisition policy is based on artistic and economic points of view. Both museums were expected to provide an overview of Dutch and Flemish art, preferably of each artist a good example of his style, for which "shopping lists" had been made in both museums. Foreign art was also to be acquired for the collection of the Mauritshuis and the National Print Room. This overview was meant to offer examples to contemporary artists, designed to improve the artistic level of painting production in the Netherlands – a potential impulse for the Dutch economy.

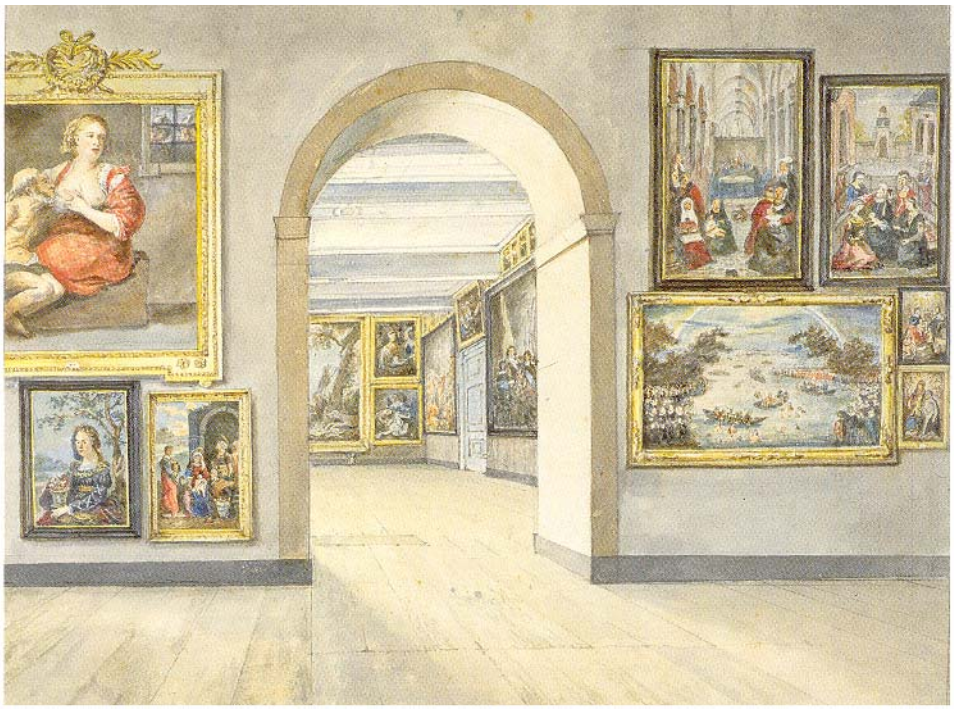
It was only after 1853, when the Roman-Catholic Episcopal hierarchy was reintroduced into the country, that people started thinking about cultural matters in religious terms. After 1875, when a Roman-Catholic lawyer, Victor de Stuers, became the most important civil servant supervising the Dutch national museums, both he and his critics were very conscious, whether paintings by Protestant or Roman-Catholic artists were acquired, or a Protestant or Roman-Catholic architect was given the commission to build the new Rijksmuseum: the Roman-Catholic architect P.J.H. Cuypers was appointed.

In Britain things were different, as most of the acquisitions had a decided Roman-Catholic content, certainly the earlier Italian paintings. During the 1853 Enquiry the early Italian Madonna's were preferred above the "indecent" Old-Testament scenes in the National Gallery, like Lot and his Daughters and Susannah and the Elders (both by the 17th-century Italian painter, Guido Reni). Although Evangelical Christians were trying make the National Gallery as edifying as possible, this only happened outside the museum, as the Christian content of the paintings was never mentioned in the administration of the National Gallery.[32]

31 The "backwardness" of the Rijksmuseum management is also apparent from the fact that only prints had been collected for the National Print-room. The collecting of drawings only started in 1877, when this department received its own director and its own acquisition policy. See: Bergvelt 1998 (see note 2), p. 18 and p. 216-217 and Everhard Korthals Altes, 'Johan Philip van der Kellen (1831-1906), de eerste directeur van het Rijksprentenkabinet', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 45 (1997), p. 206-263.

32 Bergvelt 2005 (see note 2), p. 334. See also the section about 'Presentation'.

Figure 4. Gerrit Lamberts (1776-1850), *Interior of the Rijksmuseum in the Trippenhuis, Amsterdam*, circa 1838, watercolour on paper, 25,5 x 32 cm, Municipal Archive, Amsterdam.



These are the front rooms on the third floor of the building, in which the history paintings were presented, seen from the small to the large room. In the small room, older Dutch paintings could be seen, such as *The Holy Kinship* by Geertgen tot Sint Jans, on the right of the doorway and a *Mary Magdalen* by Jan van Scorel (on the left), but also Italian paintings (Garofalo's *Adoration*, on the left) and Flemish ones (Rubens' *Cimon and Pero*, also on the left). On the right of the doorway, a scene of Dutch history is visible, the *Allegory* of the struggle between the Catholics and the Protestants at the beginning of the 17th century, painted by Adriaan van der Venne.

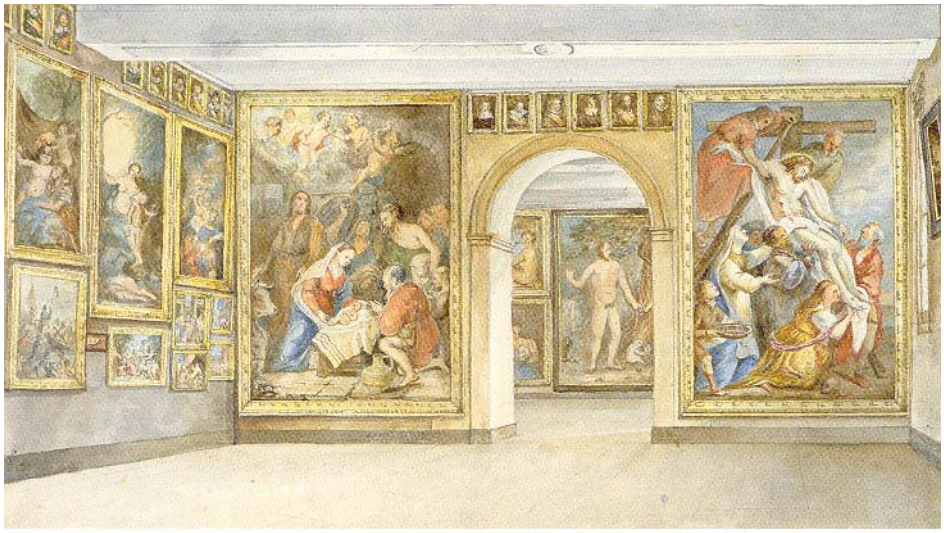
Presentation

As with the collections of the national museums of art, the decorative presentation (or "gentlemanly hang") of the 18th century, in which the paintings of all countries and periods were shown together, was also replaced by a new concept in the 19th century. Ideally, the collection had come to be geographically arranged by schools of painters – or at least a division was introduced between the schools of the South (Italy, Spain and France) and the North (Germany and the Netherlands). Moreover, the paintings of the separate schools were presented chronologically.[33] In the 19th-century museum of art, no temporary exhibitions were organized; what was presented belonged to the holdings of the museum itself. Selections of paintings to be displayed were only made in very large collections. Usually, these museums had no depots, and if so, then only of a very limited size.

33 The term "gentlemanly hang" is used, for instance for the way the paintings and sculptures in the Tribuna of the Uffizi in Florence are arranged in the 1770s. See: http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/arth200/museum/Zoffany_Tribuna.html (January 7, 2005). Of course, the first steps on the road to the geographical-chronological presentation had been set in the 1780s, both in the Belvedere, Vienna (Christian von Mechel) and the Uffizi, Florence (Luigi Lanzi), see: Debora J. Meijers, 'Naar een systematische presentatie', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora J. Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds.), *Kabinetten, galerijen en musea. Het verzamelen en presenteren van naturalia en kunst van 1500 tot heden* (Heerlen / Zwolle, 2005), p. 263-288. However, only in the 19th century this kind of presentation became the most common one.

From the archival material one may conclude that no division in schools had been made in the presentation in the Rijksmuseum. It was an arrangement by genre. There were rooms, in which the portraits were hung together, as were the seascapes, the Dutch landscapes, the Italianate landscapes, the still lifes and the genre or interior paintings. In the two drawings of the museum rooms, which have survived, we see the history paintings depicted. In the first one (fig. 4) hang scenes of Roman history (Rubens' *Cimon and Pero*), religious scenes, like the *Holy Kinship* by Geertgen tot Sint Jans, an *Adoration* by the Italian painter Garofalo and a *Mary Magdalen* by Jan van Scorel and on the right of the doorway a scene of Dutch history, an *Allegory* on the struggle between the Catholics and the Protestants in the beginning of the 17th century by Adriaan van der Venne. Though there also was a room filled with portraits, nowhere was there a space in the Rijksmuseum, nor in any other Dutch museum at the time, where a systematic overview of Dutch history (or "master narrative") was given. In the middle of the 19th century, the Rijksmuseum was an art museum, as was the Mauritshuis. In the second drawing of the Rijksmuseum (fig. 5), art also dominates by the paintings by Gerard de Lairesse with scenes of the *Life of Odysseus*, and two religious scenes by the Flemish artist Caspar de Crayer (an Adoration and a Descent from the cross), and by Cornelis van Haarlem's *Fall of Man*, which is partly visible in the small room. No drawings have survived of the other rooms.

Figure 5. Gerrit Lamberts (1776-1850), *Interior of the Rijksmuseum in the Trippenhuis*, circa 1838, watercolour on paper, 23,5 x 41 cm, Municipal Archive, Amsterdam.



These are the front rooms on the third floor of the building, in which the history paintings were presented, seen from the large to the small room. In the large room, several paintings by Gerard de Lairesse with scenes of the *Life of Odysseus* could be seen, and an *Adoration* and a *Descent from the Cross* by the Flemish artist Caspar de Crayer (left and right of the doorway), and in the small room Cornelis van Haarlem's *Fall of Man* is partly visible.

The painting by Adriaan van de Venne could have been presented as a sign of the Dutch, Protestant identity, but it was counterbalanced by the two very Roman-Catholic paintings by Caspar de Crayer on the back of the same wall. Although the paintings were arranged by genre, the content of the works was not the focus of this presentation. They were purchased *and* presented as examples of the style of the painters. If there were a "master narrative", it would be this story, about the styles of the Dutch and Flemish painters.

This arrangement of paintings by genres was very practical and useful for the artists, who were the main target group of the Dutch art museums at that time. However, just before the

British Enquiry in 1853, a new presentation had been made in Amsterdam that was certainly a step back in museological terms. Here an aesthetic arrangement had been made, like that of the Mauritshuis and the one in the National Gallery.[34]

Since the 1830s, nothing much had changed in the presentation in London, even after the gallery had moved into the new building in 1838. Not until much later, after the purchase of Sir Robert Peel's important collection of Dutch and Flemish paintings in 1871, it was possible to introduce a geographical-chronological arrangement. Only at that time a separate room could be filled with paintings of the Northern schools. However, in the year of the Select Committee's enquiry, pictures in London were still arranged in the manner previously found at Angerstein's House, i.e. the rather outdated presentation of 16th, 17th and 18th-century paintings of all countries combined together in one space.

In 1846 certain pictures that were hanging in the National Gallery were criticized by "Clergymen of the Church of England" in a letter to the Trustees, because "the Eternal Father" was depicted, for instance on a painting by the Spaniard Murillo. The Trustees however refused to discuss the matter with these clergymen, as this and other paintings were "purchased by the Nation from their merit as works of Art", and moreover: the Treasury was responsible in these matters, "subject to the authority of Parliament".[35] Anyhow, it is clear that not the content, but the style of the paintings were in the centre of attention of the museum people. Just as was the case in the previous section (Collecting), one can say that also the presentation in the British and Dutch museums was a relatively autonomous territory, where art was the most important topic and not politics or religion.

Public

For the typical 19th-century museum, the ideal public was the general public. Artists and other connoisseurs, scholars and scientists, who made up the main public in the 18th century, gradually disappeared, or rather, became part of the new mass audience. This general public was provided access to the museum at least every weekday, and ideally, was welcomed free-of-charge. And indeed, the general public did visit the free museums. All over Europe we hear complaints about shabby people in the museum rooms of Berlin, Paris, London, and Amsterdam.[36] In the Rijksmuseum each year in September, when everybody was free during the yearly fair, the police had to be called in to help the regular attendants with the many visitors, who all wanted to see the museum at the same time.

The London National Gallery was open two days in the week for artists, who came to make copies, and four days for the general public. In Amsterdam and The Hague it was the other way around: on four days of the week the artists had access, and only on two days, was the general public allowed to enter. Hence, the Dutch museums were rather traditional when compared to, for instance, the Berlin museums and those in Naples and Florence, which were open on all days of the week, but not as "backward" as the Louvre in Paris, where only on one day in the week the general public could visit the art treasures (fig. 6).[37] When compared to other European museums at the time, one may conclude that the Dutch museums were more "traditional" and the London National Gallery more "modern".

34 Bergvelt 1998 (see note 2), p. 168.

35 *The Heavenly and Earthly Trinities*, or the "Pedroso Murillo", purchased in 1837, is no. NG13. See the Minutes of the Trustees, Archive National Gallery, London (NG1/1/pp. 309-312, 24.8.1846), p. 311-312.

36 Bergvelt 2005 (see note 2), p. 332.

37 See Answers to Question no. 26 ("On how many days of the week, and during how many hours of each day, are the galleries open to the public?"), in: Appendix, No. VII. 'Answers to Queries on the Galleries and Museums of Fine Arts in different Counties', in: *Report* 1853 (see note 4), p. 756.

Figure 6.

National art museums
1853: number of days open for the general public

Paris (Louvre)	Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) The Hague (Mauritshuis)	London (National Gallery)	Berlin (the national museums) Florence (Uffizi) Naples (R. Museo Borbonico)
1 day	2 days	4 days	All days of the week

The formation of a nation-state in the 19th century includes the notion of providing the public-at-large with a general education. The idea that a government has the responsibility of educating its own people is a necessary condition to initiating a policy of art education for the general public. For this to occur, the idea that art is common property, something to be shared by everyone, must prevail. The results of the Enquiry of 1853 do not show a distinction between Roman-Catholic or Protestant countries in their respective policies regarding the publics of museums. However, a study of the policies pertaining to general education and art education in the different countries of Europe from the viewpoint of their religions may very well be of interest.

Where religious motives may have indeed been influential resides in the fact that both in Great Britain and in the Netherlands, the public's attitude toward and treatment of the nation's art collections differed greatly in its relation with other kinds of cultural institutions. In the Netherlands, private associations were established to further the study of history, but not the study of art. As mentioned above, neither the general press nor members of parliament were interested in art. This would remain so for quite some time. Was art itself considered to be a Roman-Catholic issue? Perhaps in general, but not when Dutch 17th-century art was concerned, at least in the Protestant version of Thoré-Bürger's.[38] Art history would not be introduced as a discipline at the Dutch universities until the 20th century.[39] As mentioned

38 See for Thoré-Bürger's ideas about Dutch art: Frances Suzman Jowell, 'From Thoré to Bürger: the image of Dutch art before and after the Musées de la Hollande', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 49 (2001), p. 44-60; Ellinoor Bergvelt, 'De canon van de Gouden Eeuw. De collectie Van der Hoop en de opvattingen van Thoré-Bürger', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Jan Piet Filedt Kok and Norbert Middelkoop (eds.), *De Hollandse meesters van een Amsterdamse bankier. De verzameling van Adriaan van der Hoop (1778-1854)* (Zwolle / Amsterdam, 2004), p. 25-47, 196-204, 208-214.

39 The professional art historians, who headed the Dutch museums at the end of the 19th century, were still educated on the job (such as Abraham Bredius and Frederik Obreen). Only Cornelis Hofstede de Groot had studied in Germany (Leipzig).

above, the situation was quite the opposite in Great Britain. Heated discussions on art and the museums occurred both in the coverage of the press and both houses of parliament and would, in part, ultimately lead to the initiation of the 1853 enquiry. While it must be added that the people who conducted these discussions were often experts in the field, their active participation in overseeing the National Gallery's collection was nonetheless minimal. The important art collectors and members of parliament who made up the museum's board of trustees were reluctant to do anything more than oversee the museum's existing collection. The reason for this still has to be explained.

A similar disparity regarding the interest in the art museum versus other fields of cultural interest can be discerned in the Netherlands. The private association, Artis, founded in 1838, which still exists as the Amsterdam Zoo (albeit in a different form), applied itself to the organizing of musical performances and the furthering of science through the formation of collections based on animals (living or dead) and ethnographical objects. Compared to the Dutch national art museums, this association was highly prosperous. With its private money, Artis could afford to build new museums. Many gifts and legacies poured in, this, in glaring contrast with the national art museums.[40] This point is still not clear; research should be done into the question why, both in the Netherlands and in Great Britain, it took some time before art collections and art museums received the same treatment from the public as museums with other collections. Protestantism could be one of the explanations.[41]

At what point did the British and Dutch museums become modern?

The museums in Great Britain and the Netherlands may have been slow to develop in various areas. The question then arises: At what point did they ultimately meet all these conditions in order to be called modern, 19th-century museums? The National Gallery had already met most of these conditions in 1855, the year of its reorganization. However, the Royal Academy was not to depart until 1868. Only then was there ample space available to permit a geographic-chronological presentation of the museum's paintings. This did not actually occur until 1871, with the acquisition of Sir Robert Peel's collection cited above. With this important step, the National Gallery had come to fulfill the ideal of the 19th-century museum as defined above in every aspect.

The Dutch national museums of art would not meet such criteria until many years later. Through the initiatives of the French king, Louis Napoleon, this process of modernization had received an early impulse: a knowledgeable director was appointed and received a reasonable salary. Such efforts were able to continue under William I, until abruptly ended by the Belgian Revolt of 1830. Only circa 1870 were such efforts renewed, at which time the positions of directors and curators at both museums were slowly starting to be filled by "real" art historians. The Mauritshuis and Rijksmuseum were actually museums specialized in sixteenth to nineteenth-century art from the moment they were founded. Contemporary nineteenth-century painting, however, had not as yet been separated from the rest. This occurred in 1838, when these works were removed from both museums in Amsterdam and The Hague and collectively hung in the Pavillion Welgelegen in Haarlem. All three-dimensional objects were removed from both museums of art somewhat earlier, in 1825.

The Dutch museums' bureaucratic structures were well organized from the start, but new regulations were not devised until after 1875. From that time forward, professional museum

40 See about Artis: D.Chr. Mehos, *Science and Culture for Members only. The Amsterdam Zoo Artis in the Nineteenth Century* (Amsterdam, 2006).

41 The interest in Dutch art museums only emerged in the 1870s, when the new, "Protestant" canon of Dutch art, which was formulated by Thoré-Bürger in the 1850s and 1860s, had begun to gain adherents in the Netherlands. This may be seen as a further substantiation of this point. See also note 38.

directors who were expected to provide new forms of practical information, such as an annual financial report. With the disbandment of the Royal Cabinet of Rarities, the Royal Cabinet of Paintings was able to take complete possession of the Mauritshuis premises. In terms of public, the shift from one of artists to the general public would occur much later in the Netherlands than in Great Britain. Although in Amsterdam and The Hague there had been a peak in visitors' numbers in September (because of the yearly fair), until the 1860s the general public could visit the museums on two days only. Even when, at that time, the museums had been made fully accessible to the general public (open every weekday), there would not be a steady stream of the Dutch public until the opening of P.J.H. Cuypers' design for the new Rijksmuseum building in 1885. The modernization of the Rijksmuseum's presentation would require even more time. There would not be a truly chronological presentation in the museum until the 1920's.[42] Since the installation of the new building in 1885, spaces devoted to individual donors and benefactors had stood in the way of introducing any other approach. As the international orientation initiated at the beginning of the nineteenth century had begun to make way for an acquisition policy oriented towards an exclusively Netherlandish works of art, introducing a chronological order was the only "modern" aspect of the museum's presentation. The introduction of a presentation based on national schools of artists was, in part, impeded by the lack of funds necessary to acquire foreign art. In this area, the Mauritshuis met the definition of the 19th-century museum in a manner the Rijksmuseum never did. Foreign paintings were purchased for the Mauritshuis up until 1830. This was (almost) never the case for the Amsterdam Museum. Contrary to common thought, this was not the product of any cultural nationalism. Instead, the cause for this reticence was economic (the financial circumstances in the Netherlands were extremely poor until circa 1870), political, i.e. the unwillingness of consecutive liberal governments and King William II to spend anything on the national art museums and also the lack of ideology in museum matters: the target group of the museum were the artists and not the general public. It was only after 1875 that Victor de Stuers and ministers used ideological terms: one of the aims of the national museums was the welding of a national identity. At that time the general public had become the main target group, instead of the artists.

In the first half of the 19th century, there were two moments in which the Netherlands was presented with an opportunity to acquire important international works of art. In the early 19th century, Louis Napoleon is known to have considered the purchase of two important international collections.[43] Due to what he viewed as the prohibitive cost, the king would fail to act upon these undertakings. A similar inaction would befall the Dutch parliament, which in 1850 clearly felt no urgency in acquiring even a single work from the formidable art collection of King William II that was sold at auction in that year. It has since been mistakenly argued that the Dutch government's "disinterest" was in fact due to the collection's decidedly "Catholic" character.[44] While the role of Protestantism is to be ruled out in this specific case, it is an

42 Regarding the changes in presentation during the 1920s, see: Ger Luijten, '"De veelheid en de eelheid": een Rijksmuseum Schmidt-Degener', in: *Het Rijksmuseum. Opstellen over de geschiedenis van een nationale instelling* (Weesp, 1985; = *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 35 (1984)), p. 351-429.

43 Regarding Louis Napoleon's failed purchases of the collections of Lucien Bonaparte and the Galleria Giustiniani, see: Ellinoor Bergvelt, 'Tussen geschiedenis en kunst. Nederlandse nationale kunstmusea in de negentiende eeuw', in: E. Bergvelt / D.J. Meijers / M. Rijnders (eds.), *Kabinetten, galerijen en musea. Het verzamelen en presenteren van naturalia en kunst van 1500 tot heden* (Heerlen / Zwolle, 2005) [ch. 13], p. 332.

44 See the authors mentioned in: Hinterding / Horsch 1989 (see note 13), 26-28. This religious interpretation of the art of the past only occurred in the Netherlands after 1853, when the Roman-Catholic Episcopal hierarchy was reintroduced into the country. See also: Bergvelt 2004 (see note 13), p. 44-46.

important point to be further considered when examining the relative backwardness that characterized the museums in Great Britain and the Netherlands.[45]

As the arguments in this paper clearly suggest, the necessary conditions for the development of a modern, 19th-century museum are varied, ranging from attitudes towards art history and education in general to the most mundane of bureaucratic and political circumstances. However, the slow process of modernization that affected the art museums in London, Amsterdam and The Hague cannot be explained by Protestantism alone.

45 A hypothesis in which Protestantism figures as a central influence may also be rejected by the fact that the situation in Prussia, a predominately Protestant country, clearly demonstrates that the art museums in Berlin were relatively progressive (except for their relation with the King). Whether Protestantism should be considered an explanation for the backwardness of the British and Dutch museums is a point that should be further investigated.

Museum Landscapes: Zoning in on A Complex Cultural Field

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This article takes up Lars Nittve's assertion that museums are akin to 'zones' and operate as 'hub[s] in a complex cultural field'. The paper begins with Tate Modern, the museum Nittve led before moving to his current post as director of Moderna Museet. This, Sweden's national collection of contemporary art, is discussed in the light of current cultural politics in Sweden and Norway. The main focus of the paper is an analysis of the exhibition 'Robert Rauschenberg: Combines', which toured New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art; Los Angeles' Museum of Contemporary Art; and the Centre Pompidou, Paris before concluding at Moderna Museet in May 2007. One of its key works was Rauschenberg's seminal composition, *Monogram* (1955-9). This particular 'Combine' is used as a means of constructing an 'institutional critique' of Moderna Museet. In addition to the role of Lars Nittve, particular attention is paid to his predecessor, Pontus Hultén (1924-2006). Hultén was responsible for acquiring Rauschenberg's *Monogram* for Moderna Museet in 1964. That this most 'American' of artworks has, it is argued, become a Swedish icon says much about the societal function of museums as well as the mutability of national identity and cultural heritage.

All views expressed in this article are the author's alone and are not endorsed by any of the people or institutions mentioned. Any errors of fact are solely the responsibility of the author. Finally, it is instructive to point out that this text was completed without prior knowledge of a special double issue of *Konsthistorisk tidskrift* (*Journal of Art History*) published in early 2007 (vol. 76, nos. 1–2). Entitled 'Rauschenberg and Sweden' it contains a wealth of information of direct relevance to the present work. The interested reader is therefore strongly recommended to consult this important publication.

Introduction

> During the recent past many artists have moved from the production of objects and images to exploring what perhaps can be called a *zone* or *field*, within which a variety of activities… produce and reveal meanings, power systems and values. This process does not mean that the museum now has a less important role, only that its role has shifted and expanded into that of being a central operator or, perhaps, *hub in a complex cultural field* (Nittve in Morris 2001, p. 7) (my italics).

Lars Nittve made this statement during his tenure as director of Tate Modern in London (1998-2001). It formed part of his preface to a catalogue entitled *Capital: A Project by Neil Cummings and Marysia Lewandowska* (2001). This, the first 'exhibition' in the museum's Contemporary Interventions series, explored the surprisingly extensive network of relationships that exist between Tate Modern and the Bank of England. Such a project is indicative of Cummings' and Lewandowska's practice. Since 1995 they have collaborated on a number of initiatives which might be categorised as 'institutional critiques'.

This term – institutional critique – has been used to describe a genre of art that gained particular currency in the late 1980s and continues to have relevance today. It encompasses an eclectic array of practitioners who, operating in the spirit of the Situationists, work to appraise 'the structures through which art is produced, promoted, distributed and "consumed"' (Cummings & Lewandowska 2005, p. 25). Such artists often take the museum itself as their muse (cf. McShine 1999). Any lingering notion, therefore, that museums are impartial, isolated or impervious to outside influence has been dispelled by what is now a well-established canon of institutional critiques.

This sustained interest in, and critical focus on, the museum helps explains why Nittve should refer to such institutions as 'zones' or 'cultural fields'. In the following article this conceptualisation is used in a slightly different way than Nittve perhaps intended. It does not attempt an analysis of the work of such artists as Cummings and Lewandowska, nor does it analyse a given museum through the lens of their practice. Instead it attempts a sort of 'institutional critique' of its own. It starts by picking up on Nittve's 'hub in a complex cultural field' hypothesis and takes it to its natural conclusion: namely by treating the museum as a 'landscape'. The article then goes on to explore what might be construed as a challenge to the notion of the museum as some sort of 'expanded field' by seeking out 'barriers' – of both the physical and conceptual kind. It aims to ask how, and with what consequences, museological landscapes become defined and disrupted.

My device for addressing these issues is a single artwork displayed in a specific exhibition at a particular institution. The choice was motivated by three factors. First and foremost was the exhibition's topicality. The second consideration was because it linked back to Lars Nittve, thus allowing me to apply his 'museum as zone' concept to another institution for which he has responsibility. The third reason is because the topic quickly emerged as a suitable candidate for an 'exploratory case study' which will, I hope, serve as a 'vehicle for examining other cases' (Yin 2003, pp. 22 & 38). Many of the specific facts and features are necessarily unique to the matter in hand. However, in the process of researching them I found myself reflecting on a number of longstanding questions and issues about museums in general. It is this wider relevance that has encouraged me to pursue the following, very particular line of enquiry – and to present my thoughts and findings in the form of this paper.

And so, before addressing broader notions of museal landscapes, here is some essential information about the case study. The institution is Sweden's museum of contemporary art – Moderna Museet – which has been led by Lars Nittve since his departure from Tate Modern in 2001. The exhibition in question is 'Robert Rauschenberg: Combines', an international

touring show which ended its run in Stockholm in May 2007 (the same month that this article was completed). And the specific artwork is Rauschenberg's *Monogram*, made in the years 1955-9 and bought by Moderna Museet in 1964.

Landscape

Recent European scholarship into the study and understanding of the term 'landscape' reveals a discernable shift away 'from a definition of landscape as scenery to a notion of landscape as polity and place' (Olwig 2005, p. 293). Rather than discrete, static and purely material entities, landscapes are increasingly seen as 'open works', 'multiple systems' and 'complex constructions' in which 'every reading and assessment constitutes a *process*' (Scazzosi 2004, pp. 338, 341-2, 344). Landscapes are thus analogous to 'documents' and, as such, constitute

> a huge *archive* (a living one as it changes continuously), full of material and immaterial traces… They are a *palimpsest* (not a mere stratification of historical evidences), that is a single text where the remaining traces of all eras have been following each other and have intertwined with the ones gradually left by the present and that continually modify it (ibid, p. 339).

A palimpsest can be understood as 'a multi-layered record', or something which, 'having been reused or altered', still retains 'traces of its earlier form' (OED). Museums can, then, be perceived as 'living archives' or 'living palimpsests' in which 'past permanencies are to be seen in the present features of the architecture of places under different forms' (Scazzosi 2004, pp. 320 & 342). For our purposes this can be understood as the reconfiguration of museum collections. Take, for instance, a text inscribed on to the gallery walls of Tate Modern's current (2007) Surrealism display:

> Tate and UBS share a vision to open up art. Together we have created UBS Openings… The programme features the complete rehang of Tate Modern's permanent (sic) Collection including a selection of works from The UBS Art Collection… By working together, we believe that our unique partnership will enable us to reach out to wider audiences than ever before.

The interaction between this national art museum, its sponsor, their collections and the (expanded) audience represents a noteworthy modification to the 'past permanencies' of this museological landscape. What differences are wrought by this additional layer of the museum-palimpsest? Does it really succeed in 'open[ing] up art' and, if so, how? How and why does this differ from previous arrangements? What has triggered the change? If Tate is, as this example suggests, a multiple, mutating plane, how does it mould, mirror and modify notions of national identity and canons of art?

By drawing on the museum/landscape synergy it becomes possible to identify these issues, before embarking on a historically informed 'institutional critique' of an environment that is characterised as much by dynamism as it is by change. This runs counter to those still lingering doubts about the 'mausoleum' effect of the museum (cf. Adorno 1967, p. 175). Instead, one recent publication rightly highlights an increasing tendency for national museums to become 'centralised superstructures' in which their 'influence', 'autonomy' and 'working conditions' are 'constantly in flux' (Möntmann 2006, p. 13). This is set against 'the building, the physical space of an institution, [which] seems to be the constant factor in institutional work' (ibid). However – as the Tate Modern example testifies – a close reading of the museum-as-palimpsest also reveals physical change: sometimes overt, often subtle, but always worthy of scrutiny and speculation.

A particularly clear evocation of this has of late been evident in Norway, which has witnessed the creation of a new National Museum 'in its making' (Nordgren in Bringager 2005, p. 3). In July 2003 the Norwegian government instituted a major reform when a series of previously autonomous arts institutions amalgamated in the hope of forming 'a leading art arena in northern Europe' – a 'powerhouse' – to mediate Norwegian culture (Nergaard 2004, pp. 10-13). Its first director was the Swedish curator and entrepreneur, Sune Nordgren. We have here a clear instance of radical change in structure, influence, autonomy and operation. This, it might be argued, is set against the 'constant' backdrop of the unchanged museum architecture. But this would be a mistaken conclusion for there have been just as many meaningful alterations to the displays, the wall colourings, the juxtaposition of works, the labelling, the lighting and all manner of other facets of the 'physical space'.

As such, any analysis of the conceptual framework of national museums needs to take into consideration 'the microstructure of the gallery space' (Tzortzi 2003). For it is this which enables one to draw conclusions about such matters as the aesthetic or pedagogical environment of the museum as well as the shifting nature of national canons – a factor that was especially redolent in the public response to the rehanging of one constituent part of Norway's National Museum in 2005 (Burch 2006b). This concerned the highly controversial rearrangement of Nasjonalgalleriet (Norway's National Gallery). The new layout juxtaposed 'old masters' with works of contemporary art; partially substituted the conventional chronological hang with one based on theme; interspersed 'foreign' works amongst compositions by Norwegian artists; and dismantled the monographical Edvard Munch room at the heart of the museum. These changes were as controversial as they were short-lived. So too was the directorship of Sune Nordgren. He had, for many, become synonymous with a failing institution and therefore came under a sustained and unremitting media bombardment (Burch 2007). By the time he resigned his post in late 2006 the Munch room had been reinstated and, by early 2007, the hang he had overseen had been abandoned.

These events provide a persuasive justification for treating national museums as landscapes: complex, historically-loaded documents where the tangible meets the intangible; the collection interacts with both its audience and its management; and where *what* is displayed, *where* and *how* are as important as what is *not* shown and *why*. This was foregrounded by Lars Nittve in his foreword to Tate Modern's first guidebook:

> *Tate Modern: The Handbook*, like Tate Modern, the gallery, emphasises that nothing surrounding a work of art is neutral; that everything has an impact on the way we interpret what we see – from the way a collection is displayed, its narrative structure and physical rhythm, the character and even the location of the building, the place where we, the visitors, find ourselves. Every museum is unique (Nittve in Blazwick & Wilson 2000, p. 10).

It is for these reasons that museums – especially national museums – epitomise Pierre Nora's oft-cited concept of 'realms of memory' (*lieux de mémoire*). This he has defined as 'any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element in the memorial heritage of any community' (Nora 1996, p. xvii). Combining this well-established paradigm with the range of techniques, theories and tests in current landscape research (see e.g. Scazzosi 2004, pp. 342ff) seems to be peculiarly apposite to a study of national museums, not least when it is averred that 'landscape is a means to contemplate our own history and to build our future, being fully aware of the past' (ibid). This also explains why social identity formation and consolidation plays such a pivotal role in the European Landscape Convention (2000). Finally, the notion that 'landscape literacy' can contribute to 'the constitution of a just democratic society' (Olwig 2005, p. 296) is appealing when it comes to the study of national museums given their overtly communal role.

Barrier

Just what that communal role is and how it might best be realised has of late come to the fore across the museological landscape of Sweden. In January 2007 the incoming centre-right majority government withdrew free entrance to the permanent collections of nineteen state museums. This policy had been implemented in 2005 by the previous administration (a parliamentary alliance led by the Social Democrats). A report published the following year revealed a large increase in visitor numbers, especially among first-time attendees and those with comparatively low levels of education (Kulturrådet 2006; cf. Torgny 2007).

The decision therefore to revoke what, to many, appeared to be an entirely positive undertaking provoked considerable criticism. This was not entirely unwelcome for it served to mark a clear ideological shift away from a Social Democratic model of Sweden. This is evident from the following statement by the new minister of culture, Lena Adelsohn Liljeroth: 'We [the centre-right majority government] have made reducing taxes a priority so that people can themselves decide how best to use their own money' (Liljeroth in Cato 2007). It is not the intention of this paper to address this wider perspective, nor will it embark on a discussion setting out the arguments for and against free entrance to museums, or the impact of charging in Sweden and elsewhere. That said, it does seem appropriate to raise two points of interest in the context of this paper. Firstly, from my research into the recent debates in Norway surrounding Nasjonalgalleriet, it seems fair to conclude that the level of public engagement would have been markedly reduced if the museum had not been free (Burch 2007). Secondly, the argument over entrance fees would suggest that, in addition to being 'hub[s] in a complex *cultural* field', museums can constitute focal points in a contested *political* field as well.

This was confirmed by the alacrity with which the Swedish media responded to the charging debate. A number of newspapers conducted their own polls into the early repercussions of restored entrance fees. This showed a marked reduction in visitor numbers. On average the audience attending the state museums in early 2007 had declined by one third compared with the same period for 2006 (Cato 2007; Treijs 2007). The worst affected institution was the museum of architecture, which experienced a drop of 85%. This museum – Arkitekturmuseet – shares its building with Moderna Museet. This too felt the impact of charging, with numbers down from 45,613 in January 2006 to 29,603 in January 2007 (Cato 2007).

The most vociferous critics of the government's actions were motivated by a strong belief in the societal role of state museums. The notion that people should have to pay to access this shared heritage was therefore an anathema:

> The government and, especially, its minister of culture are to be congratulated for succeeding in keeping us from our property. For the publicly-owned museums are ours, and hold in trust our cultural heritage. This is a utility that should not be ransomed (Hedvall 2007).

This impassioned vindication as to why the people of Sweden should have unfettered recourse to 'their' shared heritage accords with the idea of 'landscape literacy' mentioned above. Seen in this context the 'landscape' of the museum is closely implicated in 'the constitution of a just democratic society' (see Olwig 2005 above).

Readers of *Dagens Nyheter* newspaper were invited to respond to this debate by posting messages to an online forum (DN 2007). Some disliked the idea of paying, even if their reasons were somewhat more prosaic:

> We really used to like going to all the museums when they were free and then have a coffee. But the idea of paying 60 crowns x 2 to visit a little museum where you've seen nearly everything… no way! (Lee 2007).

A more nuanced picture soon emerges from such public reactions than that gleaned from the leader writers and opinion formers. One person voiced the belief that this was a matter principally affecting foreign tourists or people living in the capital given that most of the state museums are situated in Stockholm. Others felt that visitor numbers were not the only means of gauging the success of a museum, and that an entrance fee would ensure that only those with a genuine interest would attend. These people felt that, rather than a 'playground', a museum ought to be a place for quiet (adult) contemplation, adding that it was far better that one intellectually engaged person visit than fifty others intent merely on 'rushing around' (or drinking coffee perhaps). Only one respondent shared the columnist's point of view and lamented the fact that Swedish museums were now confronted by a 'culturally hostile' government. Another commentator, in contrast, pointed out that it was far too early to ascertain the actual effect of charging.

What became most notable about this forum was the mismatch between the rhetoric of the journalists and the reaction of the public. For a start only eight people took part. This leads one to question the degree to which the Swedish people shared the disquiet of the media. Another factor, as suggested by the comments of one of the participants, was the extent to which this was a national concern or one that impacted primarily on the metropolitan bourgeoisie. With this in mind, it is surely legitimate to treat with a fair degree of scepticism Lars Nittve's inflated assertion that museums function as 'hubs' in society. That said, it is hardly surprising for a director of an important national museum to make such a statement. And it is undoubtedly true that these institutions have a significant social role – as recent events in Norway have forcefully indicated (Burch 2006b; Burch 2007). Yet one must be very careful not to overstate this function. In addition, even if the substance of Nittve's theory about hubs and fields can be dismissed as mere speechifying, it nevertheless has both ideological motive and pragmatic purpose. For it is surely necessary to make such universalising assertions in order to bolster the museum's claims for intellectual legitimacy and a shared mandate on the one hand, whilst ensuring financial subsidy and non-partisan governmental support on the other.

What was indubitable about this dispute was the manner in which it drew attention to the role of the museum as a framing device, a container. The 'frame' of the museum is in the main invisible unless attention is drawn to it during moments of controversy, change or malfunction (cf. Rowland & Rojas 2006). The media debate over the reintroduction of entrance charges in Sweden during 2007 provides an interesting slant on Goffman's seminal book *Frame analysis*, especially the section on 'frame disputes' (Goffman 1975, pp. 321ff). The contested role of the museum and its status in society emerged in this particular 'frame dispute'. This was most emphatically expressed in the title of a lead editorial in the populist newspaper *Expressen* (Nilsson 2007). It read: 'Open the gates!' – a clear allusion to the previously overlooked or (apparently) innocuous boundary between the landscape of the museum and the landscape of the nation.

Museums are particularly concerned with 'barriers' of all sorts. This was evident through a number of other events that impacted on the landscape of Swedish museums at this time. In February 2007, for example, it was announced that the government had instituted a 'museum coordinator' (*museikoordinator*) to increase collaboration between museums, in the hope that this would improve efficiency, increasing money for core activities in the process (Ullberg 2007). The same month saw the launch of a web-based project at Sweden's history museum (Historiska museet). Its aim was to set out parts of the collection on-line in order to realise, in the words of its director Lars Amréus, 'a 24-hour museum for the whole country' (Ingelman-Sundberg 2007). The emphasis on being accessible nationwide represents an important retort to accusations that the state museums are too Stockholm-focused (a charge that was made by at least one discussant in the debate over entrance charges).

This web-based project was part of *Access*, a state-funded initiative to improve the preservation and presentation of museum collections. Until the end of 2007 there were twenty-seven project staff employed at Historiska museet involved in schemes aimed at rendering its collections accessible to 'outsiders' ('*att göra museets samlingar tillgängliga för utomstående*') (ibid). This is a good example of a museum striving to remove all barriers – be they physical or conceptual – between objects, collections and the public. *Access* is tasked with taking care of, preserving and making available collections, objects and documents ('*Access… går ut på att stärka arbetet med att vårda, bevara och tillgängliggöra samlingar, föremål och arkivalier*') (ibid). These objectives are, to a degree, mutually exclusive: the process of physically placing an artwork or artefact on display opens it up to all sorts of conservation threats, be it light pollution, the risk of theft or the pawing hands of visitors. A digitalisation project is therefore an excellent way of realising the goals of *Access*. Historiska museet's initiative is also significant in that it demonstrates how museums are making increasing use of technology to transcend the physical constraints of their building. The virtual collection is therefore a practical example of how the 'role [of museums] has shifted and expanded' (Nittve in Morris 2001, p. 7).

Access

'Access' was one of the two words (in English) that Lars Nittve used when he addressed the assembled media at the reopening of Moderna Museet in February 2004. The other was 'excellence' (Poellinger 2004). This combination – 'excellence and access' – was very deliberate. It can be understood as encapsulating what Nittve sees as two museal traditions: one is prevalent in English-speaking countries and can be characterised as 'public service' (i.e. 'access'); the German-speaking museological world meanwhile apparently prefers to 'champion… the artist' (i.e. excellence) (Nittve n.d.). Nittve was therefore seeking to situate Moderna Museet in the space in between.

Moderna Museet's director has been preoccupied with barriers ever since he took up his post in 2001, as can be appreciated from his many statements on the subject:

> All unnecessary obstacles, anything that makes the visitor feel excluded, must be removed (Nittve n.d.).

> It is a question of reducing the distance between art and visitor (Nittve in RACA 2005).

> Everything that prevents visitors from feeling free and open in their encounter with the work of art must be removed. The museum should be the optimal site for an encounter between art and people (Nittve in RACA 2005).

> With 600 – 700 thousand visitors per year, and "low thresholds", its status of being a national museum for modern art, and its central location in Stockholm, Moderna Museet has the optimum conditions for contributing to a closer contact and more encounters between artists and the public (Nittve in Malm & Nilsson 2006, p. 7).

Tangible evidence of this strive for accessibility became clear when, as has just been mentioned, Moderna Museet was reinaugurated in 2004. The Rafael Moneo-designed building, constructed from 1989 to 1998 on the island of Skeppsholmen in central Stockholm, was soon bedevilled by damp. Reconditioning work led to an enforced absence during 2002 and 2003, which in turn gave the newly appointed Nittve the perfect opportunity to implement change. He sought 'to improve some of the spaces, partly to make it easier for visitors to

move through the museum, and partly to utilise the upper entrance space more adequately' (Moderna Museet: history n.d.). As well as simplifying the interior layout and bringing what one journalist described as 'a new openness' (Poellinger 2004), Nittve altered the way people accessed the building. He introduced large arrows to the landscape outside pointing to the way in. He was clearly aware that the 'frame' of the building, like so much contemporary museum architecture, can all too often be both confusing and intimidating. Another strategy for improving access was the introduction of 'museum hosts' rather than security guards. This was a concept that Nittve brought with him from his time at Tate Modern. Rather than mere sentinels, these hosts are described as 'people who have a variety of skills, from life-saving to being able to tell visitors about the works of art in both the permanent and temporary exhibitions' (Moderna Museet: history n.d.). Their role is to generate a dialogue with the public, who are in turn solicited for their 'comments or suggestions' about the museum ('Museivärdar' in Moderna Museet 2006).

This is very much in keeping with the ideology espoused by the aforementioned *Access* scheme. But there was another reason for introducing hosts. They were brought in 'to cater for the large increase in visitor numbers since the admission fee was abolished' (ibid). This was a reference to the fact that Moderna Museet had rescinded entrance charges to their permanent collection before their wholesale removal in 2005. This pilot project ushered in a record number of visitors: 681,639 in 2004 compared to just 318,809 the previous year (Moderna Museet: visitor). Numbers have exceeded 600,000 in both 2005 and 2006. Any drop is likely to see a concomitant reduction in the number of 'hosts'. Indeed, in order to meet its financial commitments Moderna Museet needs to boost its audience by some 80,000 more than was the average annual amount before the introduction of free entry (Cato 2007). Today (2007) a cordon has been introduced to gently ensure that people head for the cash desk – and pay. It remains to be seen if this most subtle of barriers jeopardises Nittve's goal of removing all 'unnecessary obstacles' and 'reducing the distance between art and visitor'.

In addition to the fabric of the building and the status of the front-of-house team, Nittve has shown himself to be equally interested in barriers relating to the museum's collection. Following its reinauguration he oversaw an interesting reversion of the hang: the room nearest the entrance became entitled 'Now'. Visitors were therefore exposed to the most recent art before moving back in time to the start of the twentieth-century. This had the effect of not only historicising the present, but also underscoring the inscriptive power of the museum: it exists to define not only the past, but the present (and future) as well, shaping the canon of today and (perhaps) defining the canon of tomorrow in the process.

This draws attention to the crucial issue of collecting practice and the availability of funds to grow the collection. All institutions primarily dependent on state funding find it difficult if not impossible to compete in the market for contemporary art. As a result, any collection, no matter how 'comprehensive', is inevitably constricted. Moreover, museum collections are palimpsests. Decisions made by previous curators and collectors – with their limited budgets, aesthetic preferences and cultural prejudices – shape and define the collection of today. Nittve was explicit about this when, in April 2006, he launched a bold call for SEK 50 million to fund the purchase of a 'canon' of work by female artists, pointing out in the process that there are roughly nine times as many works by men as by women in the 250,000 strong collection. Nittve urged that his appeal would represent the perfect way to mark Moderna Museet's fiftieth anniversary in 2008 (Nittve 2006b).

Alongside barriers of class, education and gender, Lars Nittve's Moderna Museet similarly strives to negate any 'geographical barriers' to its collecting and curating activities. In its efforts to act globally it has established a series of international 'networks and partners' (Nittve n.d.).

Yet Moderna Museet is a *national* institution and, as a result, has a self-confessed duty to articulate Swedish art. The clearest example of this is the four-yearly 'Moderna Exhibition'. Initiated by Nittve in 2006 it is 'aimed at surveying and interpreting the contemporary Swedish art scene and presenting it to a wider public' (Moderna Museet 2006). The first manifestation of this endeavour filled most of the museum and featured forty-nine artists. The exhibition, together with the 300-page catalogue (which was included with the special entrance price), were meant as 'a definitive documentation of art in Sweden – one of the creative hubs of contemporary art' (Nittve in Malm & Nilsson 2006, p. 7). But Nittve sought to go beyond its artistic remit by using it to draw wider conclusions about 'life in Sweden today'. This national dimension led him to stress that the exhibition – like Moderna Museet as a whole – was for the whole country, 'not just for Stockholmers' (ibid). This underscores the patent national dimension to the museum and its activities, something that Nittve is clearly aware of:

> Moderna Museet is located in Sweden, and it is, in the final analysis, for a Swedish audience that we host our exhibitions. Each selection of exhibitors must have a local relevance (Nittve, n.d.).

In Moderna Museet's permanent hang this 'local relevance' is achieved not by hiving off the 'Swedish' from the 'foreign' but by opting for a strategy in which 'Swedish art is largely integrated with the international works, and Swedish artists such as Vera Nilsson and Siri Derkert are featured alongside Kokoschka and Braque' (Moderna Museet 2007a, #01). Even so, Frans Josef Petersson is surely correct when he says that 'national branding is still the undeniable heritage of institutions like Moderna Museet' (Petersson 2006). In this, Petersson was referring to the overtly Sweden-focused 'Moderna Exhibition' of 2006. But there are other implications inherent in 'national branding' when it comes to state museums. It is this that is the subject of the following section, which picks up on some of the already mentioned issues relating to Moderna Museet and should be read in the context of the debates over charging to see the permanent collections of state museums in Sweden. All this has, I hope, set the scene for what follows; namely an analysis of the monographical display of works by the American artist, Robert Rauschenberg (born 1925).

Excellence

> It's here at last! The exhibition that has been on a victory tour [*segertåg*] around the USA and to Paris and has been seen by hundreds of thousands of visitors, has landed in Stockholm for one of its four exclusive shows. *Robert Rauschenberg: Combines* is the red-hot core of the American 1950s – a period of optimism and breakthrough. Robert Rauschenberg was breathtakingly accurate in capturing the atmosphere and tendencies of the time. In art history there is a before and an after his Combines (Moderna Museet 2007b).

This was how Moderna Museet's website announced the arrival of the exhibition 'Robert Rauschenberg: Combines' (17 February – 6 May 2007). It was on its final leg of a four date tour that started at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art before moving on to the Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles and the Pompidou Centre, Paris. Why should this 'exclusive' tour have ended up in Stockholm rather than, say, London where rather more people might have seen it? How does this exhibition 'capturing the atmosphere and tendencies' of 1950s America accord with Nittve's comment about Moderna Museet's exhibitions having 'local relevance' in Sweden?

At first sight there seems little to connect Rauschenberg to Sweden. Instead the display of his work would appear to have another form of legitimacy – of an art historical kind. The exhibition took as its focus a selection of the approximately 162 'Combine' works he produced

between 1954 and 1964. This canon, it is argued, 'demonstrate his [Rauschenberg's] influence on later isms and genres, such as pop art, neo-dada, assemblage, fluxus, Viennese actionism, arte povera and performance art' (Moderna Museet 2007b). Rauschenberg is therefore an iconic artist, one who has a place in, and transformative effect on, the history of art ('there is a before and an after his Combines'). The Combines exhibition is, it would seem, an example of Moderna Museet 'champion[ing]… the artist' in the pursuit of a German-style 'excellence' rather than 'access' (to recall Nittve's formulation).

If there is any 'local relevance' to Rauschenberg's work it must surely be because he was responsible for 'creating a vital shift in the prevailing insular American art climate of the 1950s, while forging links with European surrealism' (Tellgren 2007a). This was then turned back on to the world when Rauschenberg became a sort of 'unofficial ambassador of American art' through his ROCI initiative – or 'Rauschenberg overseas culture interchange' (Kimmelman 2005; cf. Kotz 2004, p. 37; Yakush 1991). On these grounds Rauschenberg would appear to be an excellent example of 'national branding' and the patriotic purposes to which art can be put. Confirmation of this came from a review of the Combines exhibition at New York's Metropolitan Museum in which Jerry Saltz, taking his lead from Jasper Johns, described Rauschenberg as 'our Picasso' (Saltz 2006). That he is the embodiment of American culture is literally true from the everyday elements he incorporated into his Combines. They are a direct product of the landscape from which they originated, namely 'the particular environment of New York City' (Mattison 2003, p. 69). Combines are often characterised by a vivid use of colour and collage. The latter includes everything from newspaper cuttings and magazine features to mundane, utilitarian objects and the detritus of an industrialised, mass consumption society – encapsulated by the Coca-Cola logo. Fittingly enough his iconic piece *Coca Cola Plan* (1958, Museum of Contemporary Art, Los Angeles) took a prominent place in the Combines exhibition (see Moderna Museet 2007a, #02).

There are two general categories of Combines – those that are freestanding and those that bear a closer resemblance to paintings. This reflects the sense that Combines are a crossover of painting and sculpture, as well as the way in which they combine so many sorts of disparate things and found objects (Kotz 2004, p. 85). There is no better example of a freestanding Rauschenberg Combine than 'perhaps his best known work' (Kotz 2004, p. 90), *Monogram* (1955-9, 106.68 x 160.66 x 163.83 cm). It consists of a montage of very diverse materials. The base is made up of a wooden platform mounted on four casters. This is covered by various things including paper, fabric, printed reproductions, metal, wood, a rubber shoe heel and a tennis ball on canvas. At the centre is a stuffed Angora goat (the nose of which is marked with oil paint) encircled by a rubber car tyre.

One may or may not agree that Rauschenberg's 'Combines occupy a mythic place in art history' (Saltz 2006). But what seems indisputable is the fact that no other work by him is in receipt of more accolades than *Monogram*. The piece inspires hyperbole, adulation and frenetic interpretation in equal measure. It is, it seems, a 'bold canonical work' (Metropolitan Museum 2006) that has 'altered the course of modern art' (PBS 1999). *Monogram* has a claim to be amongst 'the most outlandish and barbarous works of art ever made' (Saltz 2006). The Pop artist, Roy Lichtenstein positions it as an era-defining composition, marking the end of Abstract Expressionism (Kotz 2004, p. 91). 'It is Rauschenberg carving his monogram into art history' (Saltz 2006), so much so that '*Monogram* gradually became fixed in the public imagination along with Warhol's Marilyns and Jasper Johns' flags as [one of] the classic symbols of what's American in American art' (Kimmelman 2005).

It is not the intention of this paper to contribute to this peon of praise or add another iconographical analysis to an already burgeoning body of divergent interpretation (cf. Bendiner 2006; Kimmelman 2005; Kotz 2004, pp. 90-91; Steinberg 2000, pp. 54-61). This is not surprising given that Rauschenberg's Combines are 'saturated with autobiographical, art

historical and mass media references' (Hopps & Davidson 1997, p. 100). The artist himself gave by far the best (non-)explanation of *Monogram* when he, in a typically matter-of-fact manner, stated that his aim was 'to see if the goat could be related to anything else' (cited in Mattison 2003, p. 72). This is just what the remainder of this article seeks to do.

Combine

Monogram takes centre stage in this debate about museum landscapes and cultural fields for a number of reasons. The first is because it represents something of a witty riposte to Lars Nittve's talk of fields and zones. Rauschenberg is fond of puns in his work, with *Monogram* being the 'supreme example' (apparently the 'sexual innuendo of the goat and tyre is hard to miss') (Hughes 1976; Kimmelman 2005). But, for us, the joke is that the goat occupies a landscape of its very own. It is variously described as being on a 'pasture' (Kotz 2004, p. 90) or 'on the street' (Mattison 2003, p. 72). This makes for an interesting play on talk of landscapes and zones. Moreover, the wheels attached to the wooden platform – echoing the tyre around the midriff of the goat – 'imply that the work can easily change locations in the gallery' (Mattison 2003, p. 75). With each shift the meaning will alter. *Monogram* thus confirms Nittve's previously cited comment 'that nothing surrounding a work of art is neutral' in that every time the goat is wheeled into a new position, the changed context will 'impact on the way we interpret what we see' (Nittve in Blazwick & Wilson 2000, p. 10). In a similar vein, what *Monogram* "means" 'depends on the baggage you bring' (Steinberg 2000, p. 60). Although somewhat of a cultural truism, this stands out with especial clarity in the case of this particular stuffed goat. The red, white and green nose paint might be deeply significant to an Italian. The fact that the goat appears to be 'pilloried' by the car tyre is likely to be picked up by a Colonial New Englander. Meanwhile a 'modern Haitian' might well perceive the goat as being 'necklaced' by the rubber tyre. All these possible readings have been suggested by Leo Steinberg, prompting him to describe *Monogram* as a very 'international icon' (Steinberg 2000, pp. 59-60).

In spite of this universalism, *Monogram* conversely remains, as has been noted, '[one of] the classic symbols of what's American in American art'. This is doubly remarkable given that, apart from brief loan spells, its place of domicile since 1964 has been Stockholm. It has become an emblem of Sweden. This explains the sense of triumph apparent on Moderna Museet's website when *Monogram* reappeared, temporarily surrounded by other Combines:

> As in the previous venues in New York, Los Angeles and Paris, Moderna Museet's work *Monogram* (1955-59) again brilliantly holds centre stage among the almost fifty works in this unique exhibition (Moderna Museet 2007a, #02).

Taking pride of place in an exhibition that has been 'seen by hundreds of thousands of visitors' in the United States and France is Moderna Museet's signature work – the 'cornerstone of the museum's collection' (Trollbäck 2004). So, despite the fact that '*Monogram* is Rauschenberg's credo, a line drawn in the psychic sands of American sexual and cultural values' (Saltz 2006) it is also a Swedish icon. Since its acquisition in 1964, *Monogram* 'has featured in the museum's permanent collection exhibitions and has been seen by generations of visitors to the museum' (Tellgren 2007b). Given that Moderna Museet's exhibitions are 'in the final analysis, for a Swedish audience' (Nittve), this unusual piece of art must have entered the shared consciousness and collective psyche of many Swedes. It is frequently referred to as simply 'The Goat' (*Geten*) rather than by its official name. In 2005 it was voted the 'No. 1 most popular artwork' in Moderna Museet (RACA 2005). Following its return to Stockholm in 2007 there was a sense that it was 'at home again' (Slöör 2007).

Moderna Museet is a Swedish *lieu de mémoire*. One layer in this palimpsest is *Monogram*. And *Monogram* is in turn both a *lieu de mémoire* and a palimpsest. The layers of collage that cover its base form a plethora of signs and symbols, memories and motivations, reflecting as much the landscape of Rauschenberg's mind as the physical landscape from which they derive. *Monogram* evolved through three 'states' during the period 1955-59. In the first (1955-6) the goat stood on a shelf alongside a Combine painting that would later be entitled *Rhyme* (1956) (Hopps & Davidson 1997, p. 554). These earlier manifestations exist in a number of sketches and photographs (see Hopps & Davidson 1997, p. 554, figs. 146 & 147; Kotz 2004, p. 94).

The palimpsest that is *Monogram* goes on, even if the work itself appears to be unchanged since 1964. The Combines exhibition of 2006-7 is a demonstration of this: the display was ephemeral but it lives on in the catalogue that documents it; the 'hundreds of thousands of visitors' that saw it; and the critics that reviewed it. One such commentator was led to contemplate his personal relationship with Rauschenberg's Combines. He mused that, once upon a time, one could interact with the works as the artist had intended: inviting buttons could be pressed; lamps turned on and off; electric fans set in motion. He then turned his attention to *Monogram*, nostalgically recalling that, as a boy, he used to 'run his hand through the goat's hair and across the rubber tyre; now it lives in its Plexiglas vitrine, a gaze's object of adoration' ('*Så kunde man i min ungdom röra vid getens päls och gummidäck; numera bor den i sin plexilåda, ett blickarnas tillbedda objekt*') (Malmberg 2007).

And this brings us back to a previous discussion of barriers and boundaries in museums. No longer do the wheels under the wooden platform invite movement. A necessary obstacle has been introduced to protect the work, namely a 'Plexiglas vitrine'. The age and fragility of *Monogram* (plus its tremendous financial value) prevents the interactivity of former times. But this has the effect of increasing the sense of sacred perfection. Rauschenberg's work is akin to alchemy: the transformation of 'the most junky stuff possible' into art (Hultén 2005). The Swedish art critic inspired by *Monogram* to muse on his youth was matched by his equivalent in New York:

> I happened to be in the galleries when *Monogram* was solemnly uncrated: swaddled in its custom-made shroud, it was gingerly unwrapped, inspected and primped before being slid into its protective vitrine. But even enshrined, the Combines still manage to seem incredibly fresh and odd, almost otherworldly. I thought of a medieval treasury – all the rich colours and lights and intricate details (Kimmelman 2005).

This is further confirmation that *Monogram* is a veritable icon – and Moderna Museet is its reliquary.

By referring to Moderna Museet in this manner, we are returned to our earlier discussion relating to the framing function of the museum. Indeed, as has been shown, Rauschenberg's *Monogram* is particularly revelatory when it comes to all sorts of boundaries and frames. It helps 'counter the tendency of the frame to invisibility with respect to the artwork' (Duro 1996, p. 1). Firstly because the wheels on the platform encourage the sense that it could be repositioned in the gallery. Secondly given that the vitrine that today encases the work reifies the work. And thirdly because 'the goat stands on a work of art' (Steinberg 2000, p. 54) – i.e. the collage on the base constitutes the "painting" and the goat-and-tyre the "sculpture" in this literal Combine.

Beyond the production of this specific work, Robert Rauschenberg is a good example of 'breaking boundaries' (Mattison 2003). Throughout his career he has gained creative advantage from risk taking and crossing over disciplines – be it in his performance art; his use of technology; or blurring divisions between painting and sculpture or art and audience (Kotz 2004, p. 125).

An early instance of Rauschenberg's performance pieces is *Elgin Tie* made in conjunction with the Judson Theater group. It consisted of a rope coming down from a skylight. Attached to it were various items of clothing which, as Rauschenberg descended, he put on. When he reached the end of the rope he submerged himself into a can of water positioned on a platform. One version of this took place at Moderna Museet in 1964. As the assembled crowd watched this unfold, a cow wandered around the gallery (Kotz 2004, p. 122; Mattison 2003, p. 169). This performance, despite its transience, is inscribed into the memory of the palimpsest that is Moderna Museet. The cow of *Elgin Tie* is long gone, but the goat of *Monogram* remains. It still moves (albeit not by its own volition) in the gallery and on loan to museums in the United States, France and elsewhere.

Monogram entered the collection of Moderna Museet in the same year as the performance of *Elgin Tie*. It was acquired shortly after Rauschenberg had won the 'Grand Prize' at the thirty-second Venice Biennale. It cost '$30,000, then an enormous sum for the work of a young, living artist' (Kotz 2004, p. 110). The man willing to take this risk was Pontus Hultén (1924-2006), Moderna Museet's director from 1960-1973. Shortly after his death in 2006, the writer and art critic Carl-Johan Malmberg said of Hultén that he 'understood what was good art long before others did and thus was way ahead of his time' (Malmberg in Haraldsson 2006). Rauschenberg's *Monogram* exists as a testament to Hultén's farsightedness.

Pontus Hultén's imprint on Moderna Museet endures in a myriad of ways. He has been credited with defining the institution 'as an elastic and open space' (Obrist 1997, p. 75). This was the verdict of Hans-Ulrich Obrist, who interviewed the curator for the April 1997 edition of *Artforum*. Many of Hultén's statements are germane to the themes of this article, not least the following comment:

> A museum director's first task is to create a public – not just to do great shows, but to create an audience that trusts the institution. People don't come just because it's Robert Rauschenberg, but because what's in the museum is usually interesting (Hultén in Obrist 1997, p. 77).

Hultén recalled the 1960s when the fledgling Moderna Museet had 'something on every night' making it 'a meeting ground for an entire generation' (Obrist 1997, p. 77). The Hultén ethos was summed up by two words: 'documentation and participation'. His successor, Lars Nittve, favours the synonyms 'excellence and access'. When Nittve saw to it that the first 'Moderna Exhibition' of Swedish art included a 300-page catalogue as 'a definitive documentation of art in Sweden' he was clearly working in a tradition set down by Hultén. And when Nittve called for funds to buy a new canon of female artists for Moderna Museet the link with his predecessor was even more explicit. He called it 'The second museum of our wishes', referring in the process to the near legendary exhibition of the winter of 1963-4 (Nittve 2006a). This was the original 'museum of our wishes' (*Önskemuseet*) which Hultén had mounted to mark the fifth anniversary of Moderna Museet. He used it to persuade the Swedish government to agree to an exceptional grant of 5 million kronor to make a series of key purchases for the collection. A 'miracle' had been realised (Moderna Museet: history). This was the context in which Rauschenberg's *Monogram* entered Moderna Museet.

Obrist referred to Hultén's tendency to mix genres and art forms in his exhibitions: e.g. 'dance, theatre, film, painting, and so on. This was Hultén creating so-called '"in-between spaces"' (Obrist 1997, p. 77). It is tempting to link this to Rauschenberg's oft-cited desire to 'operate in the gap between art and life' (Kotz 2004, p. 7). This is embodied in the Combine. The survey of this artistic form in the shape of the 2006-7 Combines exhibition can and should be seen as much as a homage to Hultén as it is to Rauschenberg. Its venue prior to coming to Sweden was the Pompidou centre – the museum that Hultén led after his departure from Moderna Museet in 1973, remaining its director until 1981. Hultén was also linked to

the two other venues: he had curated an exhibition at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1968 entitled 'The museum as seen at the end of the mechanical age', and helped establish Los Angeles's Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) in the early 1980s (Obrist 1997).

The Combines exhibition testifies to the friendship between Rauschenberg and Hultén. In 1962 Moderna Museet mounted the exhibition *4 Americans: Jasper Johns, Alfred Leslie, Robert Rauschenberg, Richard Stankiewicz*. Pontus Hultén's introduction to this show connects to his postscript he wrote for what became (for Hultén) the posthumous exhibition catalogue of 2007 (Hultén 2005). Rauschenberg's Combines *Charlene* (1954), *Odalisque* (1955–58) and *Pilgrim* (1960) were all shown in Stockholm in 1962. They made their return in 2007, as its curator noted: 'All these are now back at Moderna Museet' (Tellgren 2007b). These are examples of the historical memory of the museum – the museum as palimpsest and *lieu de mémoire*.

Another layer in this palimpsest connects with Robert Rauschenberg. He is literally inscribed into Moderna Museet. In the spring of 1982, the museum organised an exhibition of photography by Robert Frank, Robert Rauschenberg and Andy Warhol. The following year Rauschenberg designed the cover for the anniversary catalogue *Moderna Museet 1958–1983* (Granath & Nieckels 1983). This collage subsequently became the impetus for Moderna Museet's logo when Rauschenberg's '"signature" was rediscovered during the development of the museum's new identity in 2004 by Björn Kusoffsky at Stockholm Design Lab' (Moderna Museet: shop n.d.). Moderna Museet's expressive typeface is therefore a Rauschenberg artwork in itself. This confirms the fact that his 'best known work' is an intrinsic part of Sweden's cultural heritage. It is linked to Sweden's most famous museum director and is the signature piece of Sweden's national collection of contemporary art.

Conclusion

That a work of art made in New York in the 1950s can in some ways become 'Swedish' reveals a great deal about the mutability of both national identity and cultural heritage. One can think of numerous other examples that show this to be the case. Take, for instance, the events of 2003 when the National Gallery in London mounted a campaign to save 'for the nation' (the British nation that is) Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks* (*La Madonna dei Garofani*) (c.1506-7, oil on yew, 27.9 x 22.4 cm, acc. no. NG6596). This had been on long-term loan to the National Gallery from the Trustees of the 10th Duke of Northumberland Wills Trust. However, after the work had been attributed to Raphael the legal owner tried to sell it to the J. Paul Getty Museum in California (National Gallery 2003a). The National Gallery mounted a campaign to raise some £21 million to retain the painting and solicited the support of the public as well as the trustees of the Heritage Lottery Fund and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). One justification for promoting 'the nationwide ownership' of this painting was that the gallery would, if successful, 'tour it to museums and galleries around the country to enable as many as possible of the British public to enjoy the beauty and tenderness of this great new acquisition' (National Gallery 2003b).

One can relate this seemingly divergent example to the foregoing discussion of Rauschenberg's *Monogram*. Consider my potentially contentious designation of *Monogram* as a Swedish icon. This is certainly no less absurd than the notion that a painting by Raphael somehow 'belongs' in Britain's National Gallery. That this London-based institution intended to tour its new sacred-secular icon around the provinces shows that Moderna Museet is not the only 'national' museum seeking to operate for the whole country, 'not just for Stockholmers' (or Londoners).

I have mentioned the National Gallery and its Raphael in order to establish the legitimacy and relevance of my contextual analysis of Moderna Museet and the claims made about both it and Robert Rauschenberg's *Monogram*. Taking a similar methodological approach and con-

structing an 'institutional critique' of the National Gallery in relation to one of the 'cornerstones' of its collection would undoubtedly reveal a great deal about Britain's heritage; the nature of its national collection of art; and the museological landscape of the United Kingdom. This, if true, confirms that my 'exploratory case study' can serve as a 'vehicle for examining other cases' (Yin 2003, pp. 22 & 38). An important consequence of this is the following claim: that by closely analysing one iconic work it becomes possible to unlock an entire collection.

This article forms part of a wider study analysing linkages between national identity and museums. Previous work on Kumu in Tallinn and Kiasma in Helsinki demonstrate that these institutions are implicated in all manner of debates about collective identity – from emphasising fissures in the canon of Estonian art (Burch 2006a), to revealing aspects of national identity in the Helsinki landscape (Burch 1997, pp. 30-35). One additional case study has already been mentioned; namely the recent and highly contentious history of Norway's National Gallery. Its incorporation into a new National Museum was controversial, as was the role of its first director, Sune Nordgren (2003-6). He had become, as has been noted, synonymous with the institution for which he was responsible. Nordgren would have been wise to heed the advice of his fellow countryman, Pontus Hultén. The latter voiced his concern about the danger of an institution becoming identified with one individual: 'it's not good for the museum. When it breaks down, it breaks down completely' (Hultén cited in Obrist 1997, p. 77).

And yet Hultén did not heed his own advice. Lars Nittve's rhetoric about access, zones and cultural fields shows that Hultén's vision of an 'elastic and open space' lives on. That Pontus Hultén is destined to be inextricably tied to the institution he once led was ensured shortly before his death. In 2005 he offered to donate some 700 artworks to Moderna Museet on the condition that 'any works not shown in the permanent hanging exhibition be made available to the public in a user-friendly warehouse' (Moderna Museet 2005). This sort of 'art library' will be designed by Renzo Piano, architect of the Centre Pompidou in Paris – the institution Hultén headed as its first director. This action, seen in the light of this article, triggers revelatory details about the nature of Moderna Museet's holdings; the ideological and political aspects of the collection and its display; the myriad of interrelationships with other institutions; and the dynamic between the Moderna Museet of the past and the Moderna Museet of the present. And, finally, Hultén's concern for the public accessibility of his bequest (to be stored 'in a user-friendly warehouse') needs to be understood in the context of the preceding debate on zones and barriers in the museum landscape.

Just as *Monogram* carved its creator's own monogram into the history of art, so too has the acquisition of *Monogram* helped ensure Moderna Museet's berth in the canon of international art museums *and* guaranteed Pontus Hultén's reputation as a cultured virtuoso. To an international audience the farsighted acquisition of *Monogram* means good publicity both for Moderna Museet and for Sweden. Indeed, the late Pontus Hultén emerges out of all this as something of a hero for Nittve and his colleagues. He serves as a touchstone for museum directors, daring them to be bold and ambitious and to eschew insularity when it comes to either collecting policy or curatorial decisions. Hultén set the parameters for Nittve to navigate. He gave his successor the excuse he needed to be audacious in his call to buy a new female canon of art, in the knowledge that his forebear had done something similar – and with tangible results. The Hultén–Nittve dynamic that has been constructed in this article evinces that museums possess historical consciousnesses. Hultén is remembered as a model museum director: a visionary, establishing good relations with both artists and audiences alike, whilst at the same time maintaining high levels of funding from his sponsors – not least the government of the day. The continuing necessity of this has been revealed by the new challenges presented by

Sweden's centre-right administration, the policies of which threaten (for some at least) to undermine the open, accessible ethos of a museum like Moderna Museet.

And yet, as we have seen, 'access' needs to be balanced with 'excellence'. At least one critic has charged Nittve's Moderna Museet with 'increasingly… [letting] consumerist attitudes and mass appeal, rather than concerns inherent to artistic practice, guide its institutional agenda' (Petersson 2006). The rejoinder to such accusations is the sense of magic that Hultén ascribed to Robert Rauschenberg's Combines: they transform, after all, 'the most junky stuff possible' into art. This is exactly the sort of translation that all museums hope to convey to, and engender in, their visitors. Some argue that the entrance charges that have been reintroduced to Sweden's state museums threaten to restrict their transformative potential. But, in the case of Moderna Museet, even if this does occur, it will nonetheless serve as yet one further chapter in the course of 'constructing, reconstructing and even deconstructing history' – a mutable process that, as Nittve avers, lies at the very heart of the institution (Nittve n.d.). That Moderna Museet is indeed 'an arena for the contemporary, for contemporary art and the debates that surround it' (ibid) finds confirmation in the article you are just about, at last, to finish. It began with a quotation about fields and zones – and it ends with the negotiation of yet one more barrier. For, as this text was finally taking shape, it was reported that Lars Nittve had successfully overcome a personal hurdle. His six-year directorship of Moderna Museet was due to expire in October 2007. But in April of that year the Swedish government agreed to extend his contract for a further three years (Regeringskansliet 2007). This will give him the time he needs to try and realise 'The second museum of our wishes'. Pontus Hultén, had he lived to see it, would no doubt have been pleased.

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Rethinking the Remembrance of the Holocaust in Germany National Museums and Memorials as Agents for Positive Social Change?

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By taking Berlin as an example, this paper will focus on questions of commemorating and representing history of the Holocaust as a constructive process that is strongly connected to the circumstances of the present. It will question the social role of National Museums in Germany by presenting different examples, which respond directly to the German Government's ambition of encouraging civil courage and democracy.

By presenting examples of smaller, more biographical National Museums like the Museum Workshop for the Blind that focus on the resistance to National Socialism by using authentic places and telling one individual story, the paper will question and re-think the role of National Museums and their possible impact on positive social and global changes with respect specifically to the German identity-finding process.

Due to the fact that the Holocaust is not the focus of my PhD research, I will draw upon my experiences in working in the Jewish Museum Berlin for four years. Then, rather than presenting results, the paper will conclude with open questions for further discussion.

National Consciousness in Germany

The word ” national“ in a German context today is still associated for many, but especially for the German themselves, with images of the darkest side of recent German history- the Holocaust. A feeling of guilt towards the Second World War has, in a sense, repressed the official development of a National Identity in Germany. As it is a very sensitive part of German history it is strongly connected to the self-consciousness of the Germans as a nation. It is remarkable that the World Cup in 2006 was the first time since the end of the Second World War that German national consciousness could be seen with people waving German flags, wearing shirts and painting their faces in German colours. In former times presenting German national symbols in this way was always connected to Neo-Nationalsocialism. The absence of public national consciousness in an understanding of pride and national belonging is also mirrored in the development of National Museums and Memorials and their representation of the Holocaust in Germany.

Commemoration of the Holocaust in German

Museums and Memorials

The first years after the End of the Second World War can be thought of as a period of “concealment”. The era of the National Socialistic Regime was neither addressed within schools nor was it an issue within public discourse. (Bar-On 2005)

Since then, the official way of addressing the era of National Socialism and dealing with the guilt of the Second World War has dramatically changed. The last two decades have seen an ever-growing number of memorials dedicated to the victims of the Holocaust. Huge national projects funded by the German government like the Topography of Terror, the Jewish Museum Berlin and just recently the building and opening of the Holocaust Memorial as Germany's central memorial in 2005 are just a few examples that reflect the explosion of memorial sites in Berlin and all over the country.

Although these government driven projects are of national importance, each of them focuses on different issues and therefore tells particular stories. The mission of the Topography of Terror for example is

> ...) to provide historical information about National Socialism and its crimes as well as to stimulate active confrontation with this history and its impact since 1945. Moreover, the Foundation serves as an advisor to the State of Berlin in all matters relating to these issues. (Topographie of Terror 2007)

Just a few miles away, the Jewish Museum Berlin with its permanent exhibition

> offers visitors a journey through German-Jewish history and culture, from its earliest testimonies, through the Middle Ages and up to the present.

Apart from that it

> offers guided tours, temporary exhibitions, and a diverse calendar of events including scientific symposia, concerts, talks, workshops for kids and teens to name but a few, the museum is a lively center for Jewish history and culture. (Jewish Museum Berlin 2007)

A few miles further away is the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe:

> The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in the centre of Berlin is Germany's

> central Holocaust memorial site, a place for remembrance and commemoration of six million victims. (Stiftung Denkmal fuer die ermordeten Juden 2007)

Within the near future there will be two other memorials in Berlin funded by the government, which will undoubtedly attract national interest. There will be a memorial for the gypsies murdered in the Holocaust as well as one to the homosexuals that suffered under the Nazi Regime. (German Government Bund 2006) These recent and future developments show the extent to which commemoration has become an important means of expression for modern-day Germany.

Missions and Aims

When looking at the missions and aims of these memorials as a way of defining their roles it is surprising to see that they are, in fact, very similar:
The Topographie of Terror will

> (…)provide historical information about National Socialism and its crimes as well as to stimulate active confrontation with this history and its impact since 1945. Moreover, the Foundation serves as an advisor to the State of Berlin in all matters relating to these issues. (Topographie of Terror 2007)

The Jewish Museum Berlin sees itself as a

> learning space for young and old for Jews and Non-Jews, for people of different origins and cultural backgrounds. (Michael Blumenthal 2006)

And the central Holocaust Memorial formulises its ambitions in this way:

> As a result of the process through which it emerged, this Memorial is closely tied to a commitment to democracy and civil courage. Its open form facilitates personal remembrance, commemoration and mourning. (Central Holocaust Memorial 2006)

The main focus of all these institutions is to strengthen democracy and encourage civil courage. It is strongly connected to the circumstance of the present as it tries to tackle current issues like racism and multicultural understanding. In light of this understanding that their aim is to force positive social change, these institutions correspond to recent ideas of Museums as agents for social change contributing towards a more just and equitable society (Sandell 2006). But how are these national memorial sites reflecting the attitude of their nation? Do the Germans identify themselves with the history that is represented within those memorials? How are they connected to them as individuals and the histories that are told within families?

Official Versus Individual Commemoration

Results of a survey of German students in the early 90s showed that only 11% knew or acknowledged that their grandparents were members of the NSDAP, 16% believed that they were active in resistance and 49% didn't know anything about their relatives during this period.[1]

These results can be seen as evidence of a separation of the commemoration into two distinct areas, the official site and the individual site, which tend to be quite different from each other. (Bar-On 2005) Although the official and outgoing means of dealing with the

1 P. Hare/M. Brusten/F. Beiner, “Working through” the Holocaust? Comparing questionnaire results of German and Israeli students, in: *Holocaust & Genocide Studies*, 7(2) (1993), pp. 230–246.

Holocaust might be exemplary, it does not necessarily correlate with the individual views of the Germans. Bar-On, a psychologist and peace researcher from Israel even argues that the individual site is more relevant to understand a nation's attitude, but much harder to influence. (Bar-On 2005) At the same time, he argues that too much official memorising might lead to less personal memorising processes. (Bar-On 2005)

> A survey which was carried out recently among the residents of Magdeburg revealed that when asked whether they wanted to live next to a Jew, more than half of respondents said no. When asked whether they knew a Jewish person, 90 per cent again replied in the negative. Where does this attitude come from? Prejudices on this scale are shocking. Around 15 to 20 per cent of the grassroots population are anti-Semitic. (Paul Spiegel 2003)

How to tackle the complexity of this issue in times of internationally rising Anti-Semitism, Neo-National Socialism in Germany (the right-wing party NPD have gained 7.3 % of the votes in elections in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern in 2006) and growing racism (over 11.000 right-wing crimes have been recorded in 2006) is probably the most important question, that has to be faced.

Museum Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind

Beside government driven memorials is a parallel movement of citizen driven projects that have emerged from the engagement of different groups of interest or individuals, artists, students, etc. One example of a museum that has emerged from a student's project and belongs to the German Resistance Memorial Center (Die Gedenkstätte Deutscher Widerstand) is Museum Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind, which will be presented briefly.

Exhibition rooms of the Museum Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind.

Museum Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind opened on December 5, 2006. It tells the story of a brush manufacturer, Otto Weidt, who during the Second World War employed mainly blind and deaf Jews to produce brooms and brushes in his workshop. Various life stories testify to Otto Weidt's efforts to protect his Jewish employees from persecution and deportation. As danger grew, he searched for hiding-places for many of them. One of these hideouts was in the rooms that are now part of the museum. (Museum Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind 2006)

In 1999 a group of Museum Studies students in Berlin discovered the workshop, and remarkably found that it had remained virtually untouched for over 50 years. They investigated the tales of the place mainly by referring to the memories of the writer Inge Deutschkron who had worked in the workshop from 1941–1943. The students wanted to tell

the story of the workshop and open it to the public. From 2001 the museum was a dependant of the Jewish Museum before becoming part of the Memorial Centre in 2005.

Through telling this simple, individual story and connecting present and future issues by showing ways of behaviour and ways of resistance even under enormous pressure – the museum aims to nurture civil courage, to tackle racism and allow visitors to reflect on their own attitudes towards the past. The hideout itself is tucked away in one of the courtyards in the completely refurbished part of former East-Berlin and is the only courtyard that has remained in its original state and able to give an authentic impression of its own history. It is, as the Museum Director Kai Gruzdz says, a window into history.

Differences vs. Integration

Recently, the way in which memorizing the Holocaust has become a part of "mass culture" has been discussed (Bar-On 2005) within academia, politicians and the Jewish community itself. (Bodemann 1996) Bodemann, for instance, questions the monumental way Germany is memorizing the Holocaust by naming it "Gedächtinstheater" ("commemoration theatre"). He argues that, despite being a small ethnic group in Germany, the Jews are getting too much media and public attention compared to other ethnic minorities. In accordance to that Michael Brenner from the Department for Jewish History and Culture at Munich University argued in 2003 "On the one hand, the holocaust still casts its almighty shadow over all areas of Judaism. On the other, it should increasingly be pointed out that Jewish history and culture may not be reduced to its darkest chapter in the 20th century. The efforts of the wider public to deal with the issue of Judaism in universities, schools, churches and museums is virtually suffocating the small Jewish community, which has grown from around 30,000 to just under 100,000, or from 0.05% of the population to a good 0.1%."[2]

In this understanding the Jewish topos still has a very special role within the narrative of the nation. However, this is not necessarily connected to individual attitudes of the Germans itself, because people rarely know Jews personally and have little idea of the current lives of Jews in Germany. Furthermore, Bodemann questions the Jewish suffix itself. He states that the Jewish community in Germany is too diverse to be pigeonholed by one term. How integrative are these national sites telling the History of the Holocaust? Isn't it German History in all its facets that has to be told? Weren't almost 200.000 of the Jewish victims Germans after all? Paul Spiegel who was the President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany from January 2000-2006 said in an interview with Süddeutsche Zeitung in 2003:

> When I talk to secondary school students about the Jews it doesn't bother me that they don't know much about them. But they talk about Auschwitz and Hitler, not about the fact that they were Germans, and not about what these Jews did for Germany.[3]

While young students from the Jewish Secondary School have been asked about their identities within an interview in 2005 a young female student said:

> In a sense I belong to Germany – but I am Jewish as well. But I never say about me, that I am just a Jew – you can't seperate it that easily.[4]

2 M. Brenner, Dossier Jewish Life in Germany 2003, http://www.goethe.de/ges/rel/prt/en66114.htm, viewed January 2007.

3 Paul Spiegel (2003), *Anti-Semitism is a Problem for all Democrats*, http://www.goethe.de/ges/rel/prt/en66739.htm (viewed January 2007)

4 Jüdisches Leben in Berlin, 2005, http://www.3sat.de/3sat.php?http://www.3sat.de/delta/78764/index.html, viewed January 2007.

Accordingly it has to be realized that the current way of memorizing is predominantly based on an understanding of Jews, Gypsies and others being different. The controversy, which has run for almost ten years, about the place and the aim of the central Holocaust Memorial in Berlin exemplifies the complexity of the debate regarding integration and separation:
"Should only the offending nation commemorate the Jewish victims? And how should a place compete with other authentic places which show the terror of National Socialism?"

Furthermore, integration can also be reflected in terms of questioning the meaning of "national" within a multicultural society.

- To whom belongs the history that has to be told, when "national" has become "multicultural"?
- Are the multicultural minorities in Germany excluded from the memorizing process because they have no German origins and are therefore not connected to the Nazi Era?
- How do multicultural societies influence and transform the interpretation of history?

Facing the Future

> One of the greatest challenges for museums at the beginning of the twenty-first century is the turn to the visitor (Hooper-Greenhill 2006).

The way of remembering the Holocaust has changed and will change in the future. This is especially true at this time as the generation of witnesses to the Holocaust is gradually disappearing. The museums' success in keeping its memory strong will depend on their ability to remain relevant to their German, Jewish and multicultural public.

> Today it is not so much important anymore what has happened, rather than how the tales will be told and contextualized to the present. (Michael Jeissman 2001)

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Images

Exhibition rooms of the Museum Otto Weidt's Workshop, with kind permission of the Museum Otto Weidt's Workshop for the Blind, Berlin 2007.

“Where Race Matters”

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In this article I want to critically analyse the way of exhibiting in the two big German historical Museums, the “Deutsches Historisches Museum” (DHM) in Berlin and the “Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland” (HDG) in Bonn, based on the background of museal history.

“Where race matters”

As opposed to nations like France e.g., the concept of “Nation” is not easy to deal with in Germany. The same is true for naming a historical Museum a “National Museum” due to the role “National Socialism” played in German History and the big influence of NS-politics on the presentation in local, regional and national Museums.

Very early, starting at around 1900, collections of cultural heritage were recovered as media to transport nationalistic ideas. Already in 1914, one of the pioneers (not in a positive way) of these ideas was Wilhelm Peßler, who published a kind of manifesto for a material-based Nationalism presented through folkloristic museal collections: A museum should be a place, where people can recognize the ‘German Character’. Therefore the typical attributes of “Deutschtum” according to other peoples and races should be shown, he wrote. In addition, he wanted to show maps demonstrating the dissemination of the “Deutschtum” and have especially marked “endangered or lost areas”.

Alfred Rosenberg

Peßler’s articles had been published and read 20 years before Alfred Rosenberg became “Agent for the control of the complete intellectual and ‘weltanschaulichen’ education of the NSDAP” in 1934 and defined the museums as places where the ‘blutsmässigen Lebensgrundlagen’ of the German Race can lively be cognified.

Panel to „Rassenkunde“, Kulturhistorisches Museum Dortmund

Caused by the above mentioned facts, national and regional museums became spaces, where ‘Rassenkunde’ and warpropa-ganda were prosecuted in a massive way. The objects and other materials for exhibitions in this field were partly delivered directly from Rosenberg’s ministry. Escpecially with the smaller museums of local history the NSDAP-ministry played with the facts, that a) most of the museums had less money to investigate in selfmade exhibitions and b) they where mostly lead by laities, who didn’t have a historical profession and just little education. For employees in bigger museums it soon became the principal condition to be a member of the NSDAP.

Because of this massive heritage of NS-history, a long time had to pass, before new plans for a Museum of German History could be developed. While in the 1970s big discussions of historians banned any idea of building a national museum, in the beginning of the 1980 the plans for even two buildings grew fast – one in Berlin (at that time still divided and capital of DDR), one in Bonn (at that time capital of BRD).

While both museums face NS-politics in a wide, diversified way, they do not deal with the history of German museums and still represent a monolithic vision of history, instead of bringing in a post-colonial view on a multicultural society, as which the German society has to be defined nowadays.

DHM

At first I want to take the "Deutsches Historisches Museum" (DHM) in Berlin as an example for my argument that the big German museums still act as representatives of the myth of a homogenous nation. Therefore, I have to go a litte back in the history of this museum: When the DHM was founded in 1987 through the attempts of chancellor Helmut Kohl, many journalists were critically reviewing this exemplary attempt to give people a national feeling back through a national museum. In fact, the historian Michael Stürmer, consultant of Helmut Kohl (Germany's chancellor at this time), formulated statements such as: how long the "stony guest of the past" should be allowed to veto over "citizens' goodness and patriotism"[1]. Critical historians managed to prevent this first permanent exhibition from being turned into a nationalistic symbol. Apart from this fact, the former DHM-exhibition was not as sophisticated as written history was at that time, including thoughts of Cultural Studies, Gender Studies and Transnational History.

But these were the 1980s. In 2006 the DHM opened again with a completely renewed permanent exhibition[2] – a good chance to set an example for a topical exhibition, based on the amounts of current historical debates. Beside a very conservative political influence (under which the DHM always operated), there was no reason, why this should not happen.

Rosemarie Beier-de Haan, curator at the DHM, proves that she realizes the changes in thinking about national history in her book "Remembered History – Staged History"[3]: "One of the fundamental changes in times of globalization is the dissolving impact of the national states"[4], she writes. She even gives Arjun Appadurai[5] as a reference for her scientific research in the field of contemporary mobility and new communication media. Appadurai created the phrase of "global ethnic spaces", which should be used instead of talking about imaginized space. For the explanation, he takes Africa as example; as nowadays Africa can not only be found in the continent named Africa, but also in the Carribean, in New York and in London als well as in Hawaii.

Watching the exhibitions she made, one has the feeling, Rosemarie Beier-de Haan reflects this melancholy. Except a pretty small temporary show about "Migrations 1500 – 2005"[6] (sic!), October 2005 – February 2006 and an exhibition about the 'Hugenotten'[7] (Migration of French Protestants 1572) presented at the same time, the permanent exhibition covers not even a little hint about the role immigration and immigrants play for German society nowadays. More about these temporary shows is to follow later.

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1 Cf. Jürgen Kocka: Ein chronologischer Bandwurm, in: Geschichte und Gesellschaft, 32. Jg. 2006, Vol. 3, S. 388-411.
2 See: http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/staendige-ausstellung/english/index.html.
3 Rosmarie Beier-de Haan: Erinnerte Geschichte – Inszenierte Geschichte, Frankfurt am Main (Suhrkamp) 2005.
4 Beier, Geschichte, S. 24f.
5 Appadurai, Arjun (Hrsg.): Globalization, Durham 2001.
6 See: http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/zuwanderungsland-deutschland/migrationen/index.html.
7 See: http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/zuwanderungsland-deutschland/hugenotten/index.html.

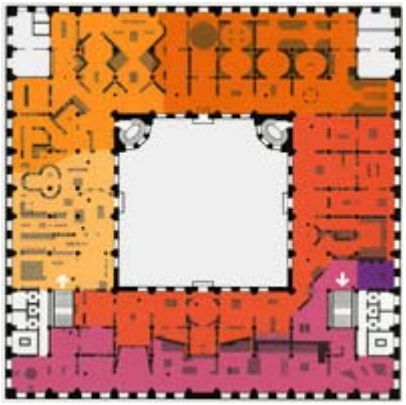
Carolus – Europa: German History in Images and Testimonials from Two Millenia (poster for the DHM permanent exhibition)

Even Jürgen Kocka, originally one of the historians planning the new DHM-exhibition, critizises that there is no room for people to overthink history and current situations from their own view. However, the time of the NS-regime is reflected in a sophisticated way, but the current situation is not dealt with. As a matter of fact, nobody (except the extreme right wing) has a problem with a critically presentation of the NS-regime in Germany anymore, because this is considered as history – and history can always be reflected as something, you are not responsible for. Even if the curating team talks about Europe – and this is one of the main focuses – they do this in a historical way.

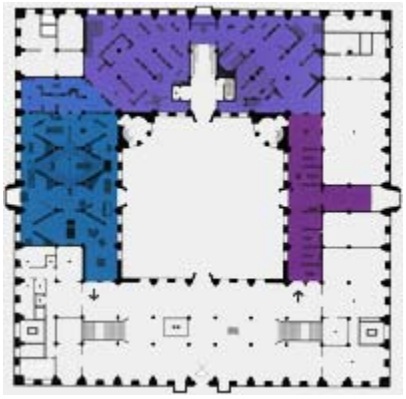
In the DHM I have the feeling that this massive clearing of a problematic historical term shall distract from hidden contemporary situations, like failures in integration of immigrants, dating back to the 1960s – and therefore also considered historical. To say it in hard words (because I am angry): We have such a bad conscience about the NS-regime (although our generation is not responsible for it), so we can't burden ourselves with the current problems of the "wogs" in our country…

The exhibition-plan shows that this is not just a feeling. In the rooms for the 20th century at the ground floor, the focus is on political regimes, 2nd World War and it's impact and the division of Germany. So called 'Social History' doesn't take place and – similar to politics – the show masks entities like the huge amounts of immigrants who settled down mainly in the 1960s-1970s.

second floor: 1 BCE – 1918



ground floor: 1918 – Present



1 BCE – 1500 CE	Early cultures and the Middle Ages
1500 – 1650	Reformation and the Thirty Years' War
1650 – 1789	Supremacy and German dualism in Europe
1789 – 1871	From the French Revolution to the second German Empire
1871 – 1918	The German Empire and the First World War
1918 – 1933	Weimar Republic
1933 – 1945	NS regime and the Second World War
1945 – 1949	Germany under Allied occupation
1949 – 1994	Divided Germany and Re-unification

Surely, temporary exhibitions are a medium to compensate for the deficits in the permanent exhibition. The DHM therefore presented two exhibitions about migration shortly before the opening of the permanent exhibition: "Migrations 1500 – 2005"[8] and "Hugenotten"[9] (Migration of French Protestants 1572) , October 2005 – February 2006. Both exhibitions were presented in the same building, one floor each, so the space provided for the themes was the same size. Both exhibitions were mainly focused on the historical occurences of migration. Especially "Hugenotten" did not give any clue to the influence of that migration on the change of religious stress from Catholicism to Protestantism.

"Migrations 1500 – 2005" of course didn't give much room for all the migration-processes , which happened in more than 500 years, either. The entering text informed visitors about the new Immigration Statue as motive for the exhibition, which shall show migration as a long-term-phenomen. But evidently the historians started their research in 1500, because of the great appearance of even the smallest and partly only regional migration-process until the First Worldwar, while the section for the "Gastarbeiter" (foreign workers) is just divided into Western- and Eastern-Germany (BRD and DDR) and not into the different conditions for workers from the different countries and their different agreements[10]. Anyhow, this great process of immigration is researched and presented in a short but scientifically correct way. Same with the presentations of migration in Germany after the Re-Unification 1990. "New motors" of migration are picked out as the central theme here, which are not so new in many cases, e.g. for "flight and asylum" and seasonal workers from Eastern Europe.

However, although this part of the exhibition was not really provocative, it didn't hide problems of nowaday's immigrants after all. There was an example of an assault of Right-wing Extremists (in Rostock), a documentary film about and made by teenagers who where raised in Russia and an interview with an asylum seeker about the long procedure for his acceptance.

HDG

Rodrigues' Moped

The "Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland" (HDG) broached the issue of immigration from its first day on in the permanent exhibition. As main object they presented (and still do) the moped which was given as a welcome-present to the millionth foreign worker, the Portugese Armando Rodrigues de Sá, who was celebrated like a working-class hero when he arrived in Germany 1964, right before the "economic miracle" slowly came to an end. The text next to this object was always sceptically disputed, because it describes only the moment of welcome and celebration, but doesn't tell the whole story of the moped-owner (who didn't have a driving-licence, by the way), who soon got health-problems, like many foreign-workers in their exhausting jobs, and died in a holiday in Portugal, because he was not sure, if his German health-insurance would pay for the doctor.

8 See http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/zuwanderungsland-deutschland/migrationen/index.html.
9 See http://www.dhm.de/ausstellungen/zuwanderungsland-deutschland/hugenotten/index.html.
10 See 360°-Panorama DDR (Room 6): http://www.dhm.de/pano/showpano.php?p=migration/migration6 and: 360°-Panorama BRD (Room 7): http://www.dhm.de/pano/showpano.php?p=migration/migration7.

Just a while ago, the HDG extended the presentation-area for migration by an Italian ice cream parlour from the 1950s. The object stands for two forms of migration: Italians, who came to Germany to open restaurants and for the increasing tourists who wanted to flee from post-war-Germany and were looking for the "dolce vita" in (post-war) Italy.
In addition to this merely superficial presentation of migration in the permanent exhibition, the HDG organized temporary exhibitions in this subject area from time to time. The first one was in 1998, when photographs were shown by Mehmet Ünal, who shot portraits of Turkish people who live in Germany.[11] "I cannot live without Germany, but I can't stand Germany, too" was the subtitle of the exhibition, shown in the subway-gallery. The aim was to show all the feelings between love and hate of the Turkish people for the country they were living in. A second expamle is a very sucessful travelling exhibition called "Everybody is a stranger – nearly anywhere"[12], in which Europe is described as 'transit-continent' which makes it necessary for people to deal with strangeness. This exhibition was realised together with eight Partner-Museums in Europe (Arbejdermuseet in Kopenhagen, Bujbelsmuseum in Amsterdam, DHM in Berlin, Helsinki City Museum, National Historical Museum in Athens, Swiss National Museum in Zurich, Musée dHistorie de la Ville in Luxembourg) and was shown in all of these eight countries and other countries as well. Fortunately, the HDG officially dissociated from the presentation of a foreign worker in its 1989's exhibition "40 years Federal Republic of Germany"

"Gastarbeiter" in the exhibition "40 years Federal Republic of Germany"

11 See http://www.hdg.de/index.php?id=291.
12 See http://www.hdg.de/index.php?id=3822.
* All photographs in the article are taken from the museum's websites, except the "Gastarbeiter", page 6, taken from: Klein, Hans-Joachim / Wüsthoff-Schäfer, Barbara: Inszenierungen an Museen und ihre Wirkung auf Besucher. Materialien aus dem Institut für Museumskunde Heft 32 - Berlin 1990, p. 67

‘Unionist Nationalism’ and the National Museum of Scotland, c. 1847–1866

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This paper will discuss the campaign for a national museum in Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century, in the context of the theory of Unionist-nationalism. This theory argues that, in spite of being very strongly bound up in notions of union, Britain, and empire, Scotland had a very strong sense of national identity and pride throughout the nineteenth century. Although this paper deals with the period up to the opening of the ‘Museum of Science and Art’ in 1866, future work will examine the relationship between Scottish nationalism and its national museums up to the present day.[1] It will therefore (i) contribute to a study of nationalism and national museums throughout Europe and the world, in association with other NaMu colleagues, and (ii) add to existing research on Scottish nationalism and its place in Scottish society since the mid-nineteenth century.

* The authors wish to thank Alima Bucciantini for many useful comments on drafts of this article. Acknowledgement for financial support is also made to the Marinell Ash Fund, the Marie Curie Conference & Training Course Fund, and the School of History & Classics, University of Edinburgh.

1 Contemporary commentaries demonstrate the evolving nomenclature of the museum, which was to be situated on Chambers Street, Edinburgh. The institution under discussion has been known, sequentially, as the Industrial Museum of Scotland, the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art, the Royal Scottish Museum, and is now part of the National Museums of Scotland.

The Theory of Unionist-nationalism:

Unionist-nationalism is a concept which has gained widespread usage, and acceptance, since the publication in 1999 of Graeme Morton's *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860*.[2] In this work, Morton argues that the general characterisation of Scottish nationalism as a failed movement / philosophy for much of the nineteenth century ignores the dynamic sense of nationality present within civil society in Scotland at that time.

The Conventional Argument

The conventional argument has been that a British nation-state was established in the eighteenth century following the Union between Scotland and England in 1707 and that Scotland, in the same century, ceased to have a meaningful identity of its own. The Union of 1707 produced therefore not only a structurally integrated British state, but also a culturally unified British nation, inhabited by Britons. This influential discourse is supported by such books as Linda Colley's best-selling *Britons,* which argues that a British Protestant nation was established as a result of a series of wars against Catholic France in this period.[3] The formation of a British nation, she argues, was also helped by changing English attitudes towards Scotland. The Jacobite rebellions that were in part propelled by opposition to the Union drew their core support from Scotland, but after the final defeat of the Stuart 'Bonnie Prince Charlie' in 1746 the Scottish Jacobites accepted the new regime. Former Jacobite soldiers enlisted in the new British Army and were consequently accepted as loyal Britons by the English. As a further consequence, any lingering sense of rebelliousness among the Scottish clans took on a strictly romantic character. By the time the Jacobites were pacified, moreover, aristocratic, intellectual and mercantile Scots were becoming increasingly inclined to anglicise their speech, customs and habits to take full advantage of the commercial and employment opportunities presented by the burgeoning British Empire.[4]

Sharing many of Colley's assumptions about the formation of a unitary British nation-state, cultural historians and political scientists such as the late David Daiches and Tom Nairn have argued that people in Scotland *did* continue to have a Scottish identity but in the form of a sub-national and repressed ethnic consciousness under the skin of a dominant British Unionist nationality.[5] However, in sharing Colley's insistence on a dominant, singular Britishness, such writers have interpreted this duality not as positive co-existence of two identities, but as a problem or a deviance.

This duality of identity, they argue, led to a divided or 'schizophrenic' Scottish psyche caused by attempting to be loyal to both Britain and Scotland. This influential school of thinking about Scottish nationhood, which became the dominant discourse by the 1960s, was reinforced by the fashionable influence of psychoanalytic theories on schizophrenia. It assumed that 'normal' people should hold only a singular national identity such as Scottishness or Britishness.

The interpretation of ongoing Scottishness as a problem either to be ignored, in Colley's view, or explained as a deviance from the 'norm' – as Nairn or Daiches would have it – is influenced by the modernist school of interpreting nations and nationalism. This school adheres to the formula of one state for one nation (the classical nation-state) put forward by such leading modernists as Ernest Gellner, Eric Hobsbawm, John Breuilly and Benedict

2 G. Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland, 1830-1860* (East Linton, 1999).
3 L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (London, 1996).
4 Colley, *Britons*, Ch. 3.
5 D. Daiches, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth-Century Experience* (London, 1964); T. Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London, 1977).

Anderson.[6] The modernist school has had a commanding influence on historical discussions of nation-building and nationalism in the British Isles.

The central tenets of the modernist school are adherence to the formula of one state for one nation within a specific geographic area and, secondly, agreement that nationalism is an elite creed born of modern times which produces or invents nations in order to gain or maintain state power. John Breuilly, for instance, writes: 'The nation must be as independent as possible. This usually requires the attainment of at least political sovereignty.'[7] Looked at through this interpretative lens, Scotland, a nation that existed before nationalism (with a long mediaeval history) yet did not subsequently seek independence in an era of nationalism, becomes a puzzling oddity where it is not considered a blemish merely to be ignored.

However, it is important to point out that Scotland (and consequently Britain) is not unique in bucking the model of the so-called classical nation-state. The assumption of a homogenous relationship between a state and one nation is a paradigm that represents very few real countries. In the early 1970s, Walker Connor estimated that only 10 per cent of states were 'real' nation-states, by which he meant that the total population of the state shared a single ethnic culture and that that the boundaries of the state and the nation coincided.[8] K.R Minogue, likewise, refutes the idea of the nation-state:

> The nation-state of modern Europe is almost entirely a fiction. Its two most celebrated examples are the United Kingdom and France, but a glance at the realities will immediately show how completely unreal it is to describe these states as nations. The United Kingdom contains four obvious nationalities – the English, Scots, Welsh and Irish – without in any way exhausting the plurality of her populations. Inherited from the past are such groups as the inhabitants of the Guernsey, Jersey, Shetland and other islands; Cornwall is a county with claims to nationhood, and history records regions (such as Northumbria) which, given the impulse of economic circumstance and intellectual cultivation, could easily be promoted as independent nationalities.[9]

An alternative to the standard theoretical model of the British nation-state (one-nation-and-its-state) put forward by adherents to the modernist school is presented by Morton. Britain, Morton argues, consists of a British state that has a decentralised relationship with its four nations.[10] Whereas previous works have focused on the apparatus of the British state, Morton claims that the Westminster parliament was 'marginalised' during this period, and that urban Scotland was effectively governed by a self-confident local bourgeoisie. There was the establishment of a series of boards or commissions in Edinburgh to administer Scottish affairs such as the Scottish Court of the Exchequer and the Board of Excise. The Act of Union had also ensured that Scotland could maintain its own national church, education and legal systems.

The British state's decentralised and flexible approach to Scotland was both its strength and its Achilles heel. It prevented the agitation and claims for independence that came from small nations within eastern and central Europe, where states such as Habsburg ruled with an

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6 See for example: E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983); E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1992); J. Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester, 1982); B. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1983).

7 Cited in A. D Smith, *The Nation in History: Historiographical Debates about Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 30.

8 A. Smith, *National Identity* (London, 1991), p. 15.

9 K. R Minogue, 'Nationalism and the Patriotism of the City-States', in A.D. Smith (ed.) *Nationalist Movements* (London, 1976), p. 54.

10 Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p. 8.

iron hand of conformity.[11] On the other hand, these institutions prevented a British nation and a shared civil society from emerging, since they helped maintain a distinctive Scottish society. Research done by the British Social Attitudes Survey in January 2007 revealed that after three centuries of the incorporating Union, only fourteen per cent of people living in Scotland regarded themselves as British rather than Scottish when asked to choose between the two.[12]

There is no doubt that eighteenth-century Scots felt loyalty to the Union and a British identity, although it should not be presented as having been their main or sole identity. Instead, they held 'concentric loyalties' to their own Scottish nationality and to the British state in which they had become incorporated via the Union. Eighteenth-century Scots could identify concentrically with their region within Scotland, Scotland as a whole, the British state and its empire. This concentric structure is what Morton describes as Unionist-nationalism.

Monuments and the Museum

The bourgeois Scottish elite who ruled local government in Scotland, moreover, demonstrated a strong devotion to Scottish history – resulting in a multiplicity of monuments being erected to William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, Robert Burns and Walter Scott. A closer look at these events reveal that these were erected in order to celebrate Scotland's historical greatness, albeit within a Unionist framework. Sir Walter Scott, who had done so much to popularise a Union-friendly image of historic Scotland, was rewarded after his death with a 61-metre-high gothic monument. Its official opening on the 15th of August 1846 attracted hundreds of people.[13] The centenary of Robert Burns' birth also stirred national feelings in 1859.[14] Although Burns was celebrated since he had given the Scottish people, the peasantry in particular, a voice, the same occasions tended to give toasts to Victoria and the British Empire.[15] The rhetoric behind the commemoration of the Scottish national martyr William Wallace – with a monument in Stirling, inaugurated in 1869 – also reveals a Unionist-nationalist agenda. Wallace, who had fought the English in the Wars of Independence, was interpreted as having made sure that Scotland entered the Union with England in 1707 as an independent nation. The devotion to the Scottish past in the mid-eighteenth century was therefore not a means of advocating separation from England, but a celebration of what the Scots perceived as their equal status with England within the Union and within the British imperial enterprise.[16]

The erection of monuments, as Marinell Ash argues, often tell us more about the politics and discourses of those erecting them, and their society than the past: 'The truth was most historical monuments had to do with the present rather than the past.'[17] These monuments, which celebrate a Scottish past, show the importance of historical memories, myths and pre-modern national sentiments for the national consciousness. Although there is, as Smith argues, more to the concept of the nation than myths and memories, they constitute:

11 Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p. 11-12.
12 *The Scotsman*, 24 Jan. 2007.
13 *The Scotsman*, 19 Aug. 1846.
14 This issue is discussed *in extenso* in *The Scotsman* throughout 1859; *The Burns Centenary: being an account of the proceedings and speeches at the various banquets and meetings throughout the kingdom, with a memoir and portrait of the poet* (Edinburgh, 1859).
15 Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p. 174.
16 Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p. 155-88.
17 M. Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1980) p. 144.

> … a *sine qua non*: there can be no identity without memory (albeit selective), no collective purpose without myth, and identity and purpose or destiny are necessary elements of the very concept of a nation.[18]

For the formation of a single, unified British identity, this historical attachment to myth and collective memory proved problematic. The continuing celebration of Scottish historical figures and events worked as a delimiting factor in the fabrication of a British nation and a strong singular British identity, a situation that was clearly apparent to outsiders. Scotland's predilection for erecting national monuments was commented on with approbation by General Nino Bixio, a former colleague of Garibaldi in the Sicilian campaigns, during a visit to Edinburgh in 1862:

> Edinburgh is one of the most beautiful cities I have ever seen… In general it appears to me that the Scotch abound as much in public monuments as the English are niggardly of them. I dare not say that it may be so everywhere, but it is the impression which the cities of Scotland leave in comparison with London.[19]

It is, perhaps, unsurprising that a man such as Bixio should be attuned to the number of monuments to national heroes in Scotland. Indeed, Garibaldi himself was one of many foreign contributors to the building of the Wallace Monument at Abbey Craig.[20]

Thus, the establishment of a national museum, we contend, can be placed alongside these iconographical events. It embodied the distinct (and, many in contemporary Scotland would have argued, superior) nature of Scottish education (the 'democratic intellect') within Britain, as well as promoting ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment, and the contribution to the Imperial project of Scottish military and missionary activity.

Early Debates / Justifications for a 'Free Museum' or 'National Museum'

Since the establishment in Edinburgh of the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries in 1780, museums of various types had been established in several Scottish towns, most notably the Marischal Museum in Aberdeen (established 1786), and the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow (established in 1807).[21] Edinburgh was also home to an important collection linked to the University, generally known as the 'College Museum', which contained important biological specimens, and played a large role in the education of natural history to the students. The College Museum was open to the public, but by the 1840s admission was set at one shilling, something which would become a focal point for the campaign for a 'Free Museum' or 'National Museum' in Scotland.[22] The decision by the Town Council to reduce admission from two shillings, made in 1834, had, far from the expected 'twentyfold' increase in visitors, seen numbers rise hardly at all.[23] A 'free day', however, celebrating the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1838, was proclaimed by *The Scotsman* as a huge success, featuring 'immense crowds, no disturbance', and 'no sign of wantonness.'[24]

The Scotsman, which very much saw (and, perhaps, still sees) itself as the national voice, started to print correspondence relating to free museums in the 1840s, and a variety of themes

18 A. D. Smith, *Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford, 1986), p. 2.
19 'An Italian General's View of Edinburgh', *The Scotsman*, 24 Nov. 1862; H. Nelson Gay, 'Garibaldi's Sicilian campaigns as reported by an American diplomat', *American Historical Review*, xxvii (1922), p. 219-244.
20 *The Scotsman*, 19 Mar. 1869.
21 L. Keppie, *William Hunter and the Hunterian Museum in Glasgow, 1807-2007* (Edinburgh, 2007).
22 *The Scotsman*, 3 Jan. 1818.
23 *The Scotsman*, 13 Dec. 1834.
24 *The Scotsman*, 30 Jun. 1838.

began to emerge in justifying the establishment of such a museum in Edinburgh. In November 1847, 'Arachnophilus' commented that 'we hope to see a national museum in Scotland; a building for such a purpose is yet wanting to make Edinburgh (what most other capitals are) a museum-endowed city.'[25] He also articulated the repeated complaint that there simply was not enough space in the College Museum to do justice to its collections. Whether by coincidence or editorial design, another letter appeared alongside that of 'Arachnophilus', from 'A Workman' in Newcastle-On-Tyne, who complained that working-people could not afford the one shilling entry to the College Museum. He concluded that 'it would be a great blessing to the workmen of Edinburgh to get such a place, and visitors would like to see that if your city was not before, at least it was not behind, others in this matter.'[26]

In the following months and years, the issue of a centralised 'National' institution in Edinburgh was debated in newspapers, other print periodicals, Edinburgh town council, and even the Westminster parliament. In the course of these debates, three main themes emerged on the part of those who would advocate the establishment of the museum. Firstly, we see a concentration on the benefit to society at large, but in particular the Scottish 'working classes' – and especially their drinking habits. The following passage from *The Scotsman* is representative:

> In London on holidays the British Museum is crowded with mechanics, artisans, and other working men, with their wives and children, all admiring the wondrous works of creation. These men go home quietly and respectably, we may believe wiser and better, from their visit. In Edinburgh no such place of intellectual recreation is open to our people, and the result is seen in the drunk and disorderly persons met with in all our principal streets on such days… More drunk men may be seen in a day in Edinburgh than in a month in London. There may be other causes for this state of things, but one cause undoubtedly is the want of such places of public amusement and instruction as those we have now been asking for. Such institutions save the people, not only by withdrawing them for the time from places of dissipation, but more especially by rousing their moral habits and intellectual capacities. It is therefore not for the interest of science alone, or for improving the physical well-being of our countrymen, that we would argue for the establishment of a free National Museum in Edinburgh, but as desirous of preserving the ancient intellectual renown of our city, and as anxious for elevating the moral character and habits of her people.[27]

British social reformers argued that museums, libraries and theatres had the didactic function of promoting sobriety by informally instructing and entertaining the working classes and therefore providing 'distractions' from drinking.[28] As Richard Rodger has noted with respect to Edinburgh:

> Social dislocation [caused by urbanisation etc.] was addressed by clubs, societies, political parties, works activities, and sporting initiatives which provided reference points and social networks in a rapidly changing urban world, and the municipality recognised and fulfilled its civic responsibility with a cultural programme for museums, libraries and galleries, as well as parks, zoos and botanical gardens designed to inform.[29]

25 *The Scotsman*, 30 Oct. 1847.
26 *The Scotsman*, 30 Oct. 1847.
27 *The Scotsman*, 15 Jun. 1850.
28 T. Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum* (London, 1995), p. 20.
29 R. Rodger, *The Transformation of Edinburgh: land, property and trust in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge, 2001), p. 295.

By mingling with people from 'higher echelons' of society, the working men and women would also learn how to improve their behaviour. Although some doubted these arguments for self-improvement and feared that the behaviour of working-class people presented a threat to exhibitions, the Great Exhibition of 1851 was held up as proof that the working-classes could 'behave'.[30]

Secondly, the economic benefits conferred through an increased practical knowledge of industrial processes were stressed – hence the eventual establishment (or 'branding') of the museum as an 'Industrial' museum in 1861.[31] A greater knowledge of geology, and Scottish avifauna, or of physics, for example, would help Scotland realise its full economic potential. The new museum should therefore not only store information, but also inspire learning.[32] For the 'national' wellbeing of the Scottish nation, having a museum of industry was believed to be essential. Again, in the words of *The Scotsman*:

> What we have stated now and formerly is sufficient to prove the importance of a National Museum as a means of developing the intelligence, industry, and resources of the country. The waste and want which ignorance of the natural productions of the land and waters produces in many districts is very remarkable.[33]

The role of narrating the past and the early history of the Scottish nation was to remain with the Museum of Antiquities of Scotland.

Related to this general economic argument for an industrial museum was an assertion that Edinburgh's eminent position as a seat of learning helped to attract 'wealthy strangers', who spent their money in the city's shops. A lack of a national museum would endanger this lofty position, and as a result the economic life of the city would also be threatened.

The third major theme to be observed is that of the basic 'right' of Scotland, and in particular Edinburgh as its capital, to have a national museum. This theme is the most important in examining the Unionist-nationalist mindset of many Scots during this period, and will be examined in more detail in the following section.

A strong indication that a national museum for Scotland could be a possibility was given in 1849, when Edinburgh Town Council received a supportive letter from Adam White, of the British Museum, intimating that if suitable accommodation could be found in the city, the British Museum would be able to provide specimens and, indeed, entire collections, 'which would form the nucleus of a national museum of much interest and value.'[34] Council members discussed the advantages that would 'accrue, morally and intellectually' from the establishment of the museum, but remained divided on whether it should be funded from central (London) taxation, or locally from Edinburgh. At a meeting of the Royal Physical Society a year later, Professor Goodsir spoke of the need for the various collections in Edinburgh to be consolidated into a National Museum, adding that 'if these various collections could be brought together and rendered available for consultation, we should have a museum in Edinburgh rivalling that of the metropolis.'[35]

As part of the ever-increasing discussion within Edinburgh on the subject, *The Scotsman* contributed strident editorials on the subject. Its arguments can indubitably be placed within a Unionist-nationalist framework, complaining of the lack of a museum in Edinburgh, and stating it should have a claim 'in like manner with London and Dublin, had to the assistance

30 Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*, p. 72.
31 The success of the Museum of Industrial Art and Science in London also added weight to the campaign.
32 G. Swinney, 'Reconstructed visions: The Philosophies that shaped part of the Scottish national collections', in *Museums Management and Curatorship* 21 (2006), p. 132.
33 *The Scotsman*, 15 Jun. 1850, 28 Aug. 1850.
34 *The Scotsman*, 17 Jan. 1849.
35 *The Scotsman*, 16 Jan. 1850.

of the Government in founding and maintaining such an institution.' Thus, the Westminster government, and its treatment of Scotland, came in for severe criticism:

> For Scotland such a grant is especially difficult. Routine in such matters is all-powerful with those in authority, and we have been so long accustomed to ask nothing for purely national objects that our rulers quietly assume that we have no right to do so…[36]

At a debate in the House of Commons soon afterwards, John Bright, MP for Manchester, demonstrated some of the resistance bemoaned by *The Scotsman*, a unionist mindset that failed to distinguish Scotland as a distinct nation within the United Kingdom, and by extension deny Edinburgh its place as a national capital:

> On the vote of L. 10,000 towards the expense of erecting in the city of Edinburgh buildings for a national gallery, and other purposes, connected therewith, and for the promotion of fine arts in Scotland. Mr BRIGHT said he could not see why this sum should be granted to Edinburgh, while such towns as Manchester and Leeds did not enjoy similar votes. He protested against the principle of the vote, for he thought it was wrong to make such grants, whether to Edinburgh, or Dublin, or any other place.[37]

An attitude such as that demonstrated by Bright, naturally, enraged Unionist-nationalist opinion in Scotland, as did the apparently inequitable distribution of public money between London, Dublin, and Edinburgh:

> Why our country and city have not received such grants, whilst they have been liberally given both to London and Dublin, is a curious proof that the theory and practice are not so widely disjoined as some persons may imagine. When Mr Charteris[38] – who in this as in many other instances has manifested an honourable regard for the interests of his native land – lately asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether it was intended to make any grant for a National Museum in Edinburgh, he received what we may regard as the regular *official* reply to such questions. No grant could be made to Edinburgh, because other places would make a like demand. Here, then, is the official theory and its practical result. Edinburgh, in official estimation, is merely a provincial town, and no special Government grant can be made to it, because other provincial towns would make like demands and with equal justice. London and Dublin are regarded as capital cities, and their wants can be attended to, their tastes and wishes gratified without fear or hesitation; they have a clear and undoubted claim on the national funds, but Scotland is only a province, Edinburgh only a county town, and therefore no national grant for public purposes shall be made to her, lest Coventry or Campbelton [*sic*] should make a like demand on the Treasury. How long our countrymen will submit to this official theory and its practical consequences remains to be seen.[39]

A contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine* made a similar point, musing that:

> When we look at the large sums devoted every year as a matter of course to London and Dublin, while Edinburgh is passed over without notice, we have a right to know for what offence on our part we experience such insulting neglect. This is, moreover, a matter which ought not to be lightly dismissed, inasmuch as, if Edinburgh is still to be regarded

36 *The Scotsman*, 15 Jun. 1850.
37 *The Scotsman*, 3 Aug. 1850.
38 Francis Charteris, 10th Earl of Wemyss, was MP for Haddingtonshire.
39 *The Scotsman*, 28 Aug. 1852.

> as a capital city, she is entitled to fair consideration and support in all things relating to the diffusion of arts and science.[40]

The role of Ireland within the union was a further catalyst in promoting Scots' sense of Unionist-nationalism. The famous visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822 was given extra piquancy by the fact that he had visited Dublin in 1821.[41] Scottish opinion was aghast that such an apparently disloyal and violent people as the Irish should be rewarded by Royal visits, and therefore tried to demonstrate their own loyalty during the 'King's jaunt' to Edinburgh.[42] This sense of disadvantage in spite of their playing a major role in the success of the British Imperial enterprise, can be seen in discourse on the need to establish a national Industrial museum in Edinburgh. The laying of a foundation stone for a new museum at Dublin in 1856 gave additional urgency to Edinburgh's claims, but also allowed proponents of the Scottish museum to present their eventual success as inevitable.[43]

The calls for Scotland to be considered as an equal nation to England in cultural matters were part of widespread concern that Scotland was treated as an inferior partner to England in the Union. The National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, also known as the Scottish Rights Society, was founded in 1853 in order to demand a fairer treatment of Scotland by the Exchequer. There was also the demand for better administration, and better government; this was focused on the re-establishment of the post of Secretary of State for Scotland (lost in 1746.)[44] Adhering to a Unionist-nationalist discourse, they wanted greater representation rather than a break-up of the Union. The chair of its first public meeting made this clear:

> I am not wrong headed enough to wish that the Union, which has been established so happily for the peace and tranquillity of both should be interfered with. I am not foolish enough to imagine that, if such were my wishes, any efforts of mine to sever those, I trust, indissolubly united (cheering). I can only say that if I thought the result of this Association could lead to such a misfortune, I would not remain in it for a moment.[45]

Their opinions resonated with Scottish people from all echelons of the political and religious sections. There were Whigs, Conservatives, Radicals, Free Traders and Protectionists among the members.[46]

The Establishment of the Museum

After several years of debate, therefore, 1854 saw the government agree to the establishment of an 'Industrial Museum' for Scotland, with George Wilson being appointed as its future director.[47] In stressing the practical benefits of this museum to the Scottish economy, and its close ties with the natural history collections of the College Museum, the confident assertion was made that:

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40 Anon., 'Scotland since the Union', *Blackwood's Magazine*, lxxiv (1853), p. 280.
41 *The Scotsman*, 18 Aug., 25 Aug. 1821.
42 J. Prebble, *The King's Jaunt* (London, 1988); *The Scotsman*, 17 Aug. 1822 & seq.
43 *Illustrated London News*, 15 Mar. 1856.
44 Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p. 140.
45 *Justice to Scotland. Report of the First Public Meeting of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on the evening of November 2, 1853* (Edinburgh, 1853), p. 4; Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p. 138.
46 J. Grant, *Nemo Me Imusse Lacesset* (n.p., n.d..), p. 170; Morton, *Unionist Nationalism*, p. 136.
47 J. A. Wilson, *Memoir of George Wilson* (Edinburgh, 1860), p. 448-49; *The Scotsman*, 8 Mar., 15 Jul. 1854, 28 Feb. 1855.

> No such happy combination of science and its applications are to be found in London or Dublin. In the collections of the Highland Society, most liberally placed at the disposal of the Government, an important nucleus is already provided for the New Museum, and we doubt not that the energetic cooperation of the landowners and manufacturers of this country, who, by their frequent memorials to Government for its establishment, have shown themselves fully alive to its importance, will enable the new directors to convince the Board of Trade that a Museum may be founded in Edinburgh worthy of the nation, and worthy of the singular advantages offered by this city of including abstract science and its application in one common building.[48]

The Commissioners of Her Majesty's Works and Public Buildings were to provide land near Edinburgh University, and the Town Council of Edinburgh was to transfer all their right and property in, and management of, the College Museum.[49] In subsequent years, various donations arrived, from Chinese industrial art and Egyptian antiquaries to selections of armaments and munitions from the Crimean War, from such luminaries as the Secretary of State for India, to Queen Victoria herself, and interested individuals from various parts of the globe.[50] Thus, the announcement in 1861 that the inaugural stone of the national 'industrial museum' would be laid in Edinburgh by Albert, Prince Consort, was long-anticipated.[51] The Unionist-nationalist tone of *The Scotsman* presaged the similar feelings which pervaded the stone-laying ceremonial itself:

> Scotland may at length congratulate herself on having immediate prospect or receiving a too-long delayed boon, or rather right; the equivalent of which England has for years enjoyed. And Edinburgh, as the capital of our northern kingdom, the central seat of intellectual industry, may also rejoice in having added to the many noble institutions she can already boast an Industrial Museum, externally not unworthy of a place among the most picturesque city in the world, and internally enriched with specimens of the varied natural and industrial specimens of the varied natural and industrial resources of not only our own, but of many lands. It is fully twenty years since the idea of an industrial museum was popularised amongst us; our own columns through which its value, practicability, and necessity, were urged earliest and most frequently, the subject having been taken up and developed by *The Scotsman* long before the establishment of a chair of technology gave evidence to the Government being prepared to do its part in the matter…[52]

Although there were to be five years between the ceremonial laying of the foundation-stone in October 1861, and the museum's official opening in 1866, the Prince Consort's visit to Edinburgh, one of his final public events before his death in December, demonstrated genuine public excitement for the instigation of such a national institution. It was noted that 'flags of all descriptions and sizes were hung from windows and house-tops, especially along the South and North Bridges, Princes' Street, Leith Street, Waterloo Place, and their vicinities… The flags, as already hinted, were of all varieties. Some were national, other represented societies and trades.'[53]

Alongside the patriotic fervour instilled by a Royal visit, the Prince Consort was made keenly aware of the history of Scotland as an independent nation. Representative of the huge interest in Scotland's past which had developed during the nineteenth century, he was shown

48 *The Scotsman*, 28 Feb. 1855.
49 *The Times*, 21 Apr. 1855. See also *The Scotsman*, 25 Apr. 1855.
50 *The Scotsman*, 9 Jan. 1858; *The Times*, 26 Dec. 1859; G. Swinney, 'Partying in the Museum', *History Scotland*, Sep. / Oct. 2004.
51 *The Times*, 5 Sep. 1861.
52 *The Scotsman*, 15 Feb. 1861.
53 *The Scotsman*, 24 Oct. 1861.

a display of documents in various glass cases at the General Register House.[54] Among the display were original copies of the Declaration of Arbroath of 1320, a letter to Pope John XXII with its clarion call that 'as long as one hundred' Scots should remain alive, they would never submit to English overlordship; state papers of Robert the Bruce and Mary, Queen of Scots; treaties between Haakon V and Robert the Bruce in relation to Orkney and Shetland; signed letters of James VI / I, the first man to unite the crowns of England and Scotland; and, vitally, the Articles of Union of 1706-1707, which precipitated the union considered by most onlookers – in *The Scotsman*'s words – to be 'an unmixed benefit.'[55]

After several delays, the official opening of the – now renamed – 'National Museum of Science and Art', on Saturday 19 May, 1866, was an event which showcased the material culture of Scotland and the Empire. Prince Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, was the main guest of honour, and over three thousand were invited to the opening ceremony.[56] In future sessions, the museum building, exhibits, and its changing identity / nomenclature in its early years will also be examined. The building was designed by Captain Francis Fowke, who was also responsible for the Royal Irish Gallery, the Grand Exhibition of 1862, parts of the Victoria and Albert Museum and, perhaps most famously, the Royal Albert Hall. Again, this architecture located the Museum in a British / Imperial context, and an examination of what exhibits were chosen takes on even more importance.

Moving Forward: Overall Themes for Discussion, 2007-8

Issues of national identity have continued to surround the museum of Science and Art, which changed its name to the Royal Museum in 1904. In 1998 the museum was internally linked to the new Museum of Scotland, which contained artefacts from the National Museum of Antiquities and Scottish objects from the Royal Museum. This development prompted a debate on the nature of Scottish history almost unprecedented in modern times. In the aftermath of the devolution referendum in 1997, which led to the reconvening of the Scottish Parliament after nearly 300 years, public interest in the museums, and other aspects of Scottish history, increased hugely. The merging of the Museum of Scotland and the Royal Museum into the National Museum of Scotland and the re-branding of seven of Scotland's museum as national, together with a logo in the shape of the Scottish St Andrews flag in 2006, are signs of an increasingly confident Scottish identity. The desire to highlight a Scottish identity can be seen in the museum's press release at the time:

> More consistent names have been adopted for each of the sites, which clearly identify them as being national. A new corporate logo replaces six museum logos. The new logo highlights Scottish identity, the wonderful objects in the Museum collections and the revealing stories behind them.[57]

This re-branding of the museums raises the question whether Unionist nationalism is still the dominant discourse of 21st century Scotland. There is also a great deal of material relevant to the National Museums of Scotland which can be covered in the subsequent NaMu sessions, with respect to the architecture and nomenclature of the new National Museum building. In our postgraduate classes at University of Edinburgh we have already collaborated with NMS staff in discussing whether exhibits be led by ephemeral public expectations, or by the artefacts, and issues relating to the external / internal architecture of the building – we would

54 Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History*; C. Kidd, '"The Strange Death of Scottish History" revisited: constructions of the Past in Scotland, c. 1790–1914', *Scottish Historical Review* liivi (1997).

55 *The Scotsman*, 2 Jan. 1868.

56 *The Scotsman*, 18 May 1866; *Illustrated London News*, 2 Jun. 1866.

57 *New Identity for National Museums of Scotland*, http://www.nms.ac.uk/ournewlook.aspx. Accessed 13 Oct. 2006.

very much welcome the chance to discuss these issues on a Europe-wide basis. In particular, we are interested in examining the collections and exhibits of Victorian Edinburgh, and the discourses they represent. We hypothesise that this may shed light on the Unionist-nationalist concentric Scottish identities, alongside the tension between ‘Celtic’ and ‘Norse’ dichotomy which characterised images of Highland and Lowland Scotland.

The National Museum of India: A Museum to and of the Nation

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More than any other type of museum, a national museum provides its publics with a theatre for presenting the ultimate act of the modern era, namely the performances of citizenship and nationhood. In this paper, I will explore the founding of the National Museum of India as a colonial institution, and follow its development as a national symbol through the 1950s. Given the colonial framework for the museum's original conception, including its site, the physical development of its collections, as well as their intellectual meanings, how did the National Museum come to symbolize the national aspirations of the postcolonial Indian government? How did museum objects that were collected and categorically assigned to the imperial canons of Indian art history shift in meaning to assume a national significance, associated with cultural pride, heritage and modernity? These questions epitomize the complexity of the museum as an experimental zone of the postcolonial era, working to consistently reproduce itself as a national symbol, its public as citizens, and its culture as modern.

When one visits the National Museum of India, the experience is different than at any other museum in India. The route to the museum usually involves taking a bus or auto rickshaw past some of the country's most important monuments dedicated to the federal government and its imagined nation. Glimpses of the President's House (Rashtrapati Bhavan), the Parliament House, India Gate Memorial archway, government meeting halls and ministerial offices, the National Archives and the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts help to build a visual crescendo of political authority that culminates at the entrance of the institution. At the National Museum of India, there is an opportunity for the public to come closer to the official operation of the state than at any other government monument in the country. In this space, the "nation" surveys its subjects and its authority is confirmed through their reciprocal and legitimizing gazes.

Just beyond the regal lion balustrades that frame the National Museum's wide staircase, guards clad in khaki security uniforms flank the main entrance and pat down each visitor individually as bags are placed on conveyor belts and screened through x-ray machinery. These guards help to underscore the authority and legitimacy of the museum's mandate and its containment of officially sanctioned narratives. They foreground the contents of the institution—mostly South Asian objects dating from the third millennium BCE to the nineteenth century—and remind visitors of the museum's status as a guardian of "national treasures."

Inside the museum, these narratives take shape as visitors are greeted by a rotunda lined with red sandstone sculptures depicting voluptuous *yakshi*s surrounding a stone sculpture of the Hindu solar deity Surya (figures 1; a,b). Some of these *yakshis*, feminized nature divinities, are portrayed with children and entwined within organic foliate environments. These idealized mother figures invoke an appropriate frame for the national collection, foregrounding a nation state that is often feminized in popular rhetoric as the "Mother". The physical presence of Indian visitors in this landscape at the political heart of the nation renders them active participants in the museum's history-sanctified narratives, and offers a vision of Indian identity and citizenship as long as they are prepared to partake in the institution's carefully orchestrated rituals. Walking through these sculptures across the foyer towards the ticket office, the nation's "children" or citizens are thus affirmed. Referents to worlds outside of this liminal sphere are blocked out; the only natural light in the museum streams in from windows that face inward onto a central courtyard filled with plants and stone sculptures. Paralleling the experience of entering a temple, which enables worshippers to physically and consciously leave the mundane world behind as they embrace the spiritual realm, the outside contexts of the museum immediately give way to a temporal space of suspended time.[1]

The National Museum's vision of itself is likewise self-contained and self-perpetuating, reflecting the interpretations of its creators (past and present), rather than its publics. It is the product of lingering epistemologies from the nineteenth century and disparate political and social ones from the twentieth. Through its nearly sixty-year career, it has distinguished itself as a testing ground of modern government ideologies for visually working out and through the entanglements of a new nation-state. More than any other type of museum, a national museum provides a theatrical space for presenting the ultimate act of the modern era, namely the performances of citizenship and nationhood. In this essay, I will briefly explore how the stage for these performances was formed in the early days of the National Museum—from its conception in 1912, to its founding in 1949—and transfer to its current building in 1960. By tracing the early life of the National Museum of India, I will not only suggest how the

1 See Carol Duncan, *Civilising Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*. (London, 1996) for an extensive discussion about ritual and temporality in public museum spaces.

European model has been used and transformed over the twentieth century in India, but also how India's challenges to refine and redefine the National Museum offer alternative models and strategies for thinking about national museums in the rest of the world.

New Delhi's Central National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology was conceived under colonial rule in 1912, when it existed as a blueprint in the minds of the country's imperial administrators. As an encyclopedic homage to British knowledge, the national museum in India was a critical mark of European ownership and was intended to help define an intellectual domain both in the colony and the metropole based on the legitimacy of imperial power. Following Indian Independence in 1947, plans for the institution were literally passed off to the new nationalist government, where it was subsequently reconstituted as the National Museum of India within the Indian Republic. India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, regarded the National Museum as a place where Indians would take pride in their pasts, unite, and be inspired to move together into their future. Given the colonial framework for the museum's original conception, including its site, the physical development of its collections, as well as their intellectual meanings, how did the National Museum come to symbolize the national aspirations of the postcolonial Indian government? How did museum objects that were collected and categorically assigned to the imperial canons of Indian art history shift in meaning to assume a national significance, associated with cultural pride, heritage and modernity? These questions are at the heart of much of my work; this paper provides an entry point of analysis by tracing the status of the National Museum as an instrument of both imperial and nationalist agendas.

As Susan Stewart has noted in her dual portrayal of the souvenir and the collection, the past is at the service of the collection and lends it authenticity, while the object, perceived as isolated and individual, lends authenticity and legitimacy to the past.[2] The practice of inscribing history within the museum and of thus authenticating its collections with narratives of the past occurs with complete freedom and authority in a designated national museum. Groups of objects legitimize a museum narrative while they are simultaneously legitimized by their collective historicity. This process is critical to consider in light of the National Museum of India, where the transition of imperial *objects* of study to a national *collection* of symbolic heritage was perhaps its greatest feat, and could only be accomplished by the detachment of objects from the historicity of their specific regional and local contexts, and reinserted into a monument dedicated to a national, all-embracing vision of the country. In other words, the museumized Indian object that art historians lament today, which is decontextualized from its location, religion, art history and/or political and social histories, was part of a critical practice to redefine that object as part of a national collection and seemingly to cast off the webs of the imperial project of knowledge production in India.

Also intrinsic to this move was the negotiation between broad epistemic categories of "art" and "archaeology" that became the uneven grounds on which a collective identity attempted construction at the National Museum. Indeed this identity was fostered within the dual displacement and continual recasting of both designations. The institution's opening decade of collection and definition highlights the instability of these historic disciplinary knowledges in Indian museums following Independence. Art, archaeology, and to a lesser extent, anthropology, are particularly critical points of enunciation of a national identity. While the National Museum provides insight into the privileging of the category of "art" over archaeology as a designation that denotes modernity and progression, the category of "archaeology" continues to serve the museum's collections and negotiates a certain historical

2 Ibid, 151.

space within the national narratives of its galleries, referencing its imperial origins while recasting them in the context of a modernized collective heritage for the nation-state.

Constructing a Colonial Institution

In 1912, as the British Government prepared to shift their capital from Calcutta to Delhi, the National Museum found its way onto a proposed city map. The earliest imagining of the museum had its roots in the plans of architect and city planner Edwin L. Lutyens, as part of Lutyens' and Herbert Baker's designs to transform the site of Raisina Hill (the elevated pinnacle of the city's "Central Vista" area) into the governmental locus of New Delhi.[3] Under British possession since 1803, Delhi had become a shell of its former Mughal dynastic glory. Unlike the ad hoc construction that had accompanied the growth of the Raj from commercial to political force in Calcutta since 1774, Delhi provided the ideal domain for the planned composition of a new capital city. It legitimized the heights of British power by usurping the location of Mughal rule and provided a more geographically advantageous political and strategic center than Calcutta.[4] The National Museum was envisioned for the middle of this new city as part of an intellectual and cultural plaza shared with the Oriental Institute, the National Library and the Imperial Record office—all monuments dedicated to the collection of imperial knowledge in India.[5] They were designed to punctuate the transportation route through the Central Vista, up to the imposing new Viceroy's House and its flanking Secretariat buildings, completing the picture of an unyielding government that measured its strength in the accumulation, organization, and categorization of the colony.

The importance of the National Museum as a symbolic monument at this early stage is best noted within its landscaped site. James Duncan has argued that the landscape is one of the central elements in a cultural system, "for as an ordered assemblage of objects, a text, it acts as a signifying system through which a social system is communicated, reproduced, experienced, and explored."[6] The meaning of landscape is constituted in its carefully designed vernacular of signs, symbols, icons and monuments. Taking advantage of the absolute power acquired by the Raj in Delhi after the exile of the last Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah in 1858, the design for the new city reflected the ideals of settled authority and the overt legitimacy of rule.[7]

The encoded narrative of the Central Vista landscape was framed within the cultural system of imperial dominance and specifically, intellectual dominance. As a symbolic monument of the imperial project, destined to be reborn later as a monument to the national image, the museum's perceived importance was structured within these initial aims of its central government and within the careful assemblage of its landscaped site. In government circles, distinctions were drawn from the country's largest imperial museums at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay,[8] which were significantly not aligned with local monuments of government. Lutyens' inclusion of the National Museum in one of the earliest plans for the political hub of New Delhi indicates that the museum was envisioned as instrumental in

3 Robert Grant Irving, Indian Summer: Lutyens, Baker, and Imperial Delhi (New Haven, 1981); Andreas Volwahsen, Imperial Delhi: The British Capital of the Indian Empire (New York, 2002).

4 Irving 1981, 8.

5 Razia Grover (ed). Concepts and Responses: International Architectural Design Competition for the Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts (Ahmedabad, 1992),16.

6 James S. Duncan, The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan Kingdom (Cambridge, 1990) 17.

7 Irving 1981, 4.

8 These museums are the Indian Museum, Calcutta (1814); Government Museum, Madras (1851); and the Prince of Wales Museum (Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya), Bombay (1914).

establishing a dramatic built environment that rivaled the best of Indian historic architecture and assumed a natural place within the legacy of grandiose imperial building in the region.

Lutyens' plans for New Delhi are often compared to Haussmann's plans for Paris or L'Enfant's Washington; from the hub of the Viceroy's House at the top of Raisina Hill, he created a radiating series of linear routes that cut through the city and were managed visually by punctuating structures designed to produce strong visual climaxes at key historical and contemporary sites.[9] The focal point of this network of arteries was The Government or Viceroy's House (later renamed Rashtrapati Bhavan) at the top of King's Way parkway that extended in one direction, linking the Connaught Place commercial center to the 17th-century Jami Masjid (Congregational Mosque) and Lal Qila (Red Fort) of Shahjahanabad**.** Crossing the parkway was Queen's Way, which linked the new railway station in the north with an Anglican cathedral on the south. This comprised a ceremonial route from the railway station to the intersection of Queen's Way and King's Way and west to Government House. On the east/west axis from the heart of this intersection, the route from Government House extended to the Purana Qila (Old Fort) from the sixteenth century, completing the visual lineage of power between past Mughal and present British rulers in the city that was reinforced with a self-conscious architectural vocabulary in the new imperial buildings.[10] The only planned buildings within the vista were located at the climatic node of the King and Queen's Way crossing and were designed to be embraced by the panoptic view from the Viceroy's court.[11] Vision was owned by and radiated from its prominent hill location, taking in the Oriental Institute and Museum, a National Museum, National Library, and Imperial Record Office, although these structures varied in other drafts of the plans that included a War Museum, Ethnological Museum and Medical Institute and Museum.[12] The navel of the city was constructed from the seat of the Viceroy whose first gaze encompassed the museumized quadrant of collected knowledge and "encyclopedic totality".[13] Of these structures, only the Record Office (now the National Archives) was realized in Lutyens' time; the National Museum made an appearance at the site almost forty years later.

Prior to the First World War, an organizational scheme for the museum had already been drawn up in conjunction with plans for the proposed Ethnological and Oriental Research Institutes, and the Imperial Delhi Committee had demarcated its site. The expenditures of the war, however, ultimately prevented the plan from attaining parliamentary approval, leaving the National Museum as an abandoned monument that existed only on paper.[14] It was not until the mid 1940s that the cause of the museum once again peaked interest from the government. In November 1944, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, with the backing of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, addressed the Government of India again recommending the establishment of a National Museum of Indian Archeology, Art, and Anthropology at New Delhi.[15] It is possible that the idea for a National Museum resurfaced in response to the

9 Irving 1981, 83; Grover 1992, 16.

10 Irving 1981, 73.

11 Foucault's model of the panoptic vision is useful to consider within this constructed landscape as the radiating roads from Raisina Hill were clearly metaphors for the surveillance—and omnipotent vision —of the central government imposed on "unseeing" colonial subjects. This metaphor was also seamlessly incorporated into Nehru's national model that encouraged control of the regions from the central political base of Delhi. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish* (New York, 1995).

12 Ibid; Kavita Singh, "Capital Ideas?" *ArtIndia*, vol. 8 (2) (2003), 56.

13 Singh 2003, 56.

14 I. D. Mathur 2002, 7.

15 Government of India, "Establishment of a National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology – Selection of site for building and securing of temporary accommodation" *Ministry of Education Report* (New Delhi, 1950).

mounting pressures of decolonization on the British government. In an attempt to hang on to any declining images of control in India, the museum may have re-presented itself again in the 1940s as a necessary and urgent symbol of enduring empire. Following government recommendations which were marked by the particular initiative of Sir Mortimer Wheeler (Director General of Archaeology between 1944–48), the Gwyer committee, led by Sir Maurice Gwyer, former Chief Justice of India and Vice Chancellor of Delhi University, was organized in 1945 to lay out some of the investigative ground work for the new institution.

The immediacy granted to the project of the National Museum suggested an increasing anxiety about the British situation in India and the National Museum's potential role in providing a useful symbol of benevolent rule and knowledge. The Gwyer report was released in 1946 on the cusp of Independence and recommended that two keepers ("one representing Anthropology, the other, a Muslim") be appointed immediately and sent overseas for tours of the "best museums" in Great Britain and America.[16] Significantly, this report highlights a critical shift in the conception of the museum from the original vision of Lutyens. The policy of sending curators overseas for training had never been suggested in an Indian museum before, so it seems that even for this second wave of proponents of the National Museum, its role in India was intended to operate differently than its predecessors. In the eyes of the Gwyer committee, the National Museum came to represent something beyond the 1912 paper incarnation, composed when the empire was at its peak and envisioned within a landscape of monuments commemorating an enduring colonial rule. By the early 1940s, prevailing nationalist voices argued that the British had failed in their attempts to bring modern and technological development to India.[17] In this context, the museum was viewed as a means to shore up the diminishing power of the empire and act as an evidentiary reminder to the public of how progressive and modern imperial rule had become in India.

The language surrounding the Gwyer proposal spoke to the sudden exigency of this mandate. Gwyer's committee determined that the museum was of the "highest priority" and explained that it was crucial to the salvaging of "local arts and crafts" that were "rapidly disappearing".[18] An increasing European market for Indian objects may certainly have fueled this complaint of disappearing objects, but instead, it is more likely that what was actually disappearing was the strength of the empire, and with it, the immediate plans to realize the Gwyer committee's vision of New Delhi's National Museum. Vitally distinct from other museums in India, which had been initiated out of necessity by archaeological surveyors as early as the eighteenth century, as vessels to support and store the fruits of scholarly research, it is clear that even at this early stage, the National Museum was conceived as a symbolic presence and a monument to a certain image of authority. As a testament designed to commemorate power and knowledge, its intrinsic symbolism made the institution imminently available for appropriation by the new Indian Republic. After 1947, the grand buildings of the Central Vista, which formed the core of the British government in India, were quickly appropriated by Nehru's administration; their meanings shifted overnight to become the heart of the new India.

16 Ibid, 8. While beyond the parameters of this work, it is fascinating to note the relevant criteria for keepers listed in the Gwyer Report and consider why a religious designation was paralleled with academic qualifications.

17 Gyan Prakash, Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India (Princeton, 1999), 188.

18 Sir Maurice Gwyer (chair), "Central National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology: Report of the Gwyer Committee" *Government of India Report* (New Delhi, 1946), 8.

The National Museum: Building a Mythology of Art, Archeology and Nation

In her book *Monuments, Objects and Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India*, Tapati Guha-Thakurta provides an analysis of the 1948 *Exhibition of Indian Art* held at New Delhi's Government House that eventually formed the locus of the collections at the National Museum.[19] The objects on display were selected originally for a 1947 exhibition in London at Burlington House in cooperation with India's Central Asian Antiquities Museum and Archaeological Survey. Taking the lead from the London organizers, objects were amassed from state and archaeological museums all over India, as well as from private collections. The exhibition spectacle was designed to mark the transfer of power in British India and was promoted as a comprehensive presentation of South Asian "masterpieces" prior to the subsequent division of the region. Drawing on both imperial and nationalist canonic art narratives, of unsurprising emphasis in the exhibition were stone objects produced during the Mauryan empire (fourth–second century BCE), Buddhist sculpture from Mathura and Gandhara dating to the Kushan dynasty (first–third century CE), Gupta (third–sixth century CE) and Chola (ninth–thirteenth century CE) Hindu stone and bronze sculptures, and Mughal paintings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[20]

When the consignment of objects returned to New Delhi in August 1948, the Governor-General of India, C. Rajagopalachari, provided the staterooms of the Government House for their storage. Officials from the Archaeological Survey were subsequently charged with the task of organizing a similar presentation in New Delhi between November sixth and December thirty first of that year.[21] In practice, the presentation was not similar at all. While the British exhibition received little fanfare, the Indian version was orchestrated as a grand state event, carefully surveyed by the offices of the Prime Minister of India, as well as the Ministries of Education and Information and Broadcasting. The exhibition generated much local excitement and, in a city with few public spaces that transgressed class divisions, it was promoted as a public show for every Indian and was reportedly attended by citizens from all sectors of society.[22] In 1949, following this successful Indian incarnation of the London show, the National Museum was officially founded in the staterooms of the Government House, employing the Durbar Hall (Imperial Throne Room) as the central exhibition space for stone sculptures, identified in the accompanying catalogue as "masterpieces" (figure 2). Separate galleries for terra-cottas, Central Asian "antiquities," and a pre/proto historic presentation were later created, as well as a more extensive display of manuscripts and an exhibit demonstrating the development of Indian scripts.[23] As Guha-Thakurta notes, the 1948 presentation is often skipped over quickly in narratives of the National Museum, but her careful and deliberate reading demonstrates that the museum was the most natural outcome of its "nationalized" display.[24]

The Government House exhibition in New Delhi marks one additional step in the process towards a National Museum, whose details and conceptual scheme had already been laid out

19 Tapati Guha-Thakurta, Monuments, Objects, Histories: Institutions of Art in Colonial and Postcolonial India (New York, 2004).

20 Leigh Ashton, *Exhibition of Art, Chiefly from the Domains of India and Pakistan* (London, 1947); Tapati Guha-Thakurta 2004; Tapati Guha-Thakurta, "Instituting the Nation in Art" in Partha Chatterjee (ed.), *Wages of Freedom: Fifty Years of the Indian Nation-State* (New Delhi, 1998); V. S. Agrawala, *Exhibition of Indian Art*, catalogue (New Delhi, 1948).

21 Tapati Guha-Thakurta, "Marking Independence: The Ritual of an Art Exhibition" *Journal of Art and Ideas* 30 (31), 1997; and V. S. Agrawala 1948.

22 Staff reporter, "Art Exhibition Opened by Governor-General, An Inspiration for the Future" *Statesman*, Nov. 7, 1948.

23 National Museum of India, A Guide to the Galleries of the National Museum of India, (New Delhi, 1956).

24 Guha-Thakurta 2004, 179.

prior to Independence. This was not an insignificant step, as it enabled the unique pre-Independence goals of the museum to be recast in terms of the Indian nation with the full support of the Nehruvian government. Indeed, the importance of the exhibition and its role in subsequently conditioning the "national collection" can be measured in visits from Nehru who attended the exhibition at least four times during its run, and in the rhetoric of the open and free public spectacle that accompanied the show.[25]

One pointed feature of the exhibition was the designation of certain objects in the collection as evidence of "archaeology" whereas others were qualified as "art". Each category involved a distinct mode of display and specific lexicon in the catalogue descriptions. This duality continues in the National Museum to the present day and can be read as a significant sign of tension within this critical transition from colonial to national. If India itself had been constructed by its colonial rulers as an ancient, unchanging culture—as a living archaeological artifact—then the new nation sought to define itself not through its staid archaeology, but rather through its sophisticated art. And yet, it was only through the evidence of archeology that India could point to an extended historic civilization of culture and sophistication. Gyan Prakash has characterized the newly formed Indian state as an entity that was both archaic and modern at the same time, "neither one nor the other, but formed in the displacement of both."[26] The National Museum is a true articulation of this displacement and (re)characterization of both epistemes shaping postcolonial conceptions of how the nation would define itself through art and archaeology vernaculars.

Although the visual archive is sparse, an examination of some of the actual makeshift gallery spaces in the Rashtrapati Bhavan reinforces this argument that the actual exhibition was a mix of both formal art techniques of display and archaeological modes of presenting the evidentiary remains of hoards. The sculpture gallery in the Durbar Hall, for instance, featured stone sculptures isolated from each other on singular pedestals surrounded by adequate viewing room denoting the appreciation of each art object individually (figure 2). Other galleries, such as in the Deccan Room, featured displays in the form of colonial "trophy cases" designed to present an amassed group of arms, armor, manuscripts and textiles arranged by size and shape for an overall aesthetic tableau of the "souvenir" that referenced archaeological and natural history displays common in imperial museums (figure 3).[27] Groups of small, "pre-historic," objects displayed together in cases clearly derived meaning as part of an archaeological hoard, rather than art objects for individual evaluation, thus highlighting the art historical hierarchies inherent in these types of displays (figure 4). Indeed, this hierarchical display reveals a tension within the collection that continued in the later incarnation of the National Museum in the 1960s and 70s, where Central Asian and Harappan archaeological galleries featured groups of unidentified relics buttressing stone and bronze art galleries designed for singular examined gazing and appreciation.

This archaeology/art dichotomy also exposed the underlying social hierarchy left by the retreating colonial systems. Lectures by prominent Indian and European art historians accompanied the exhibition; they encouraged the reading of objects as "art," but their talks were aimed primarily at an English audience—only three of the fourteen lectures were provided in Hindi.[28] It is critical to keep in mind that nationalism and its progressive rhetoric selectively chose its audiences and its citizens. Despite this underlying meta-narrative, the exhibition was promoted to and apparently attended by a wide swath of the middle classes in India. This poses interesting questions about the institutional conceptions of a public and the

25 V.S. Agrawala, "Exhibition of Indian Art," *The Journal of Indian Museums*, 5 (Bombay, 1949) 27.
26 Prakash 1999, 199.
27 I take Susan Stewart's characterization of the "souvenir" in this instance: Stewart 1999, 132.
28 Agrawala 1948, viii.

embedded quality of class hierarchies within governmental definitions of a national identity. Nehru's intellectual sense of citizenship was particularly engaged with an influential Soviet museum model of mass ownership that called for art and archaeology to be stripped of its bourgeois nature so that "the people" could claim museum objects for themselves. If Independence was Nehru's revolution, the National Museum was a critical symbol around which to rally the masses and construct a collective identity based on this freedom from colonial governance and potential to rewrite Indian history.[29] Admission fees were charged only on Saturdays so that the general public would be able to participate in this performance of viewing and reclaiming the narratives of their national collection.[30] Now that the Central Vista had effectively been reclaimed and recast as an Indian navel of the nation within the heart of the former imperial "landscape of domination,"[31] the ground had been laid for a National Museum building that would further build on these claims of sovereignty. As a monument to the new nationalized status of Indian heritage objects, records indicate that officials hoped its messages of history and beauty would calm and connect with the general populace as it sought to embody them.[32]

Yet the nature of modernity in the political reconstruction of India meant that the term "national" would remain an ambiguous and ill-defined category at the museum. Even at its outset, the National Museum inclined towards the attraction of an elite and foreign audience rather than the general local masses, undermining in practice the Soviet models that appealed on a conceptual level to the Indian government. Embedded within the very structures of this new public museum was the belief of the Ministry of Education that the museum should be located in a "central place" that specifically attracted "scholars not only from India, but from abroad also….". Said Tara Chand, Secretary to the Minister of Education in 1950, "The presence of the Capital of Foreign Embassies and the members of the Constituent Assembly whose discussions attract a large number of visitors, makes New Delhi the ideal place for locating such a museum."[33] This contradiction within the definition of a proper museum audience highlighted the ambiguity that surrounded the meanings of the Delhi institution at its inception. The consciousness of a foreign gaze on the museum was certainly part of these initial foundational plans. Later comments from other officials at the National Museum advocated the production of English museum catalogues because they showed "the world what India had to offer".[34]

Was the National Museum dedicated to the instruction and construction of a citizenry; a controlled image of the state designed to appeal to elite expectations of a modern society; or was its evidentiary nature conceived more as a means to prove to the world that India was deserved of an international profile? It is significant that this latter framing of the museum is distinct from the concerns of European public museums in the post-war period, whose goals of educating the public, while political in nature, were designed predominantly to impress

29 For a further discussion of how Soviet museums were regarded as models in India see: Ajit Mookerjee, *Museum Studies* (Calcutta, 1945); Oksana Tamilina, "Museum and Society in the USSR" *Indian Museum Bulletin* (July 1966) 47-50.

30 Government of India, "Establishment of a National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology: Preparation of a modified graduated scheme" *Government of India report* (New Delhi, 1950).

31 Irving 1981.

32 Letter from Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Director General of Archaeology to Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education (16/2/49) 3.

33 Government of India, "Establishment of a National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology" *Government of India report* (New Delhi, 1950).

34 V. S. Agrawala, "Problems and Trends in Museology" *Cultural Forum* special number on museology (New Delhi, 1967), 22.

inwardly upon a local populace rather than the watching world.[35] India's National Museum was a fertile ground upon which the Indian elite and its Nehruvian government attempted to map "India" after its Western masters. That is, *after* the era of colonial rule; but also *after* in the sense that development strategies of the new Indian government sought to emulate certain characteristics of the universal modern as the products of choice rather than the oppressive tactics of colonial rule.[36] But even within these choices, the concerns of Independent India were so divergent from their European counterparts that the model of the National Museum could only have come from the wholly Indian conditions of colonialism, the relatively rapid rise of nationalist self-government and the demand to imagine a united Indian identity so that India could assume a solid presence on the world stage. While contemporary western concerns about the museum are necessary to consider, they are altogether inadequate for understanding the unique context of Indian museology in the modern era. The role of the legitimizing gaze from outside the country in framing the national image is just one element that highlights this condition.

Government officials further reinforced the primacy of the museum's symbolic impact as they announced the importance of the 1948 exhibition to the masses through the media. Perhaps the words of Nehru that were broadcast on All India Radio on the night prior to the opening of the *Exhibition of Indian Art* indicate best what was truly at stake in the regeneration of objects as symbolic signs of the nation,

> One finds that whenever a nation is great or the people are great, they are creative. Whenever their greatness passes away, their creative instinct passes away and they become servile imitators of the past. The history of India shows this well enough.*We were great and the evidence of this greatness is in this exhibition and other works of ancient times* [37] [my italics].

The assertion that this assemblage of objects representing the entire country proved that "we were great" demonstrated the metonymical activation of the collection as each object stood in for a citizen, whose body commemorated the same "great" past, and "belonged" to a shared national destiny. The evidentiary nature of the museum objects would dually impress upon an Indian citizenry as well as a legitimizing global audience. Nehru's words also point to the key means by which objects in the National Museum—those from the 1948 exhibition that would form the core of the collection and those that would be collected *en masse* throughout the 1950s—would be forever distinguished from those in any other museum in India.

Building a Collection

Even before the close of the Delhi exhibition on the thirty-first of March, it had been decided by government officials that the Rastrapati Bhavan was not a suitable venue for a museum. Among other things, they cited poor lighting and unstable floors as particularly disagreeable features for galleries.[38] But more than these factors, the initial plans for a separate museum called for an "entirely new building…on the lines of progressive museums abroad" indicating the intention of its founders to impress a sign of progressive modernity on the Central Vista

35 Brandon Taylor, Art for the Nation: Exhibitions and the London Public 1747-2001 (New Brunswick, 1999).

36 Vikramaditya Prakash, Chandigarh's Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in PostColonial India (Seattle; London, 2002) 5.

37 Ibid, 11.

38 Letter from Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, Director General of Archaeology to Dr. Tara Chand, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education (16/2/49); Government of India, "Establishment of a National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology – selection of the site for building" *Ministry of Education report* (New Delhi, 1950).

landscape.[39] The nationalist city planners immediately returned to the 1912 plans of Lutyens and the National Museum was earmarked to shift from the Government House, around the corner to Lutyens' original Queen's Way (renamed Janpath after Independence, or "The People's Way") location. Still, the museum was promoted as an entirely new endeavor of the Indian government that paralleled the finest institutions in the world. Much was made of the fact that city officials called upon European "experts" to approve and confirm both architectural and lighting plans for the institution.[40] Correspondence between the Department of Archaeology and the Ministry of Education regarding the need for an alternative site echoed the urgency voiced earlier in the Gwyer report, although the meaning behind this urgency had changed significantly within the context of a post-1947 open market that suddenly gave major Indian collectors access to a global arena of buyers. In addition to building a heraldic architectural symbol of modernity and national pride to house the National Museum, the Indian government was eager to keep its "newly (re)discovered" treasures in the country.

With the eventual construction of the new museum building in mind (a project that would see city officials eventually laying the museum's foundation stone in 1955), a widespread government mandate for collection was immediately instituted along with the instigation of an Art Purchase Committee made of members of the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology.[41] The committee was varyingly staffed with a handful of archaeologists and art historians from India's major museums as well as government officials from the Ministry of Education. This first wave of collecting for the National Museum, which extended between 1948 and 1952, drew heavily on these scholars' contacts, artistic interests and personal relationships with private collectors. Funding for mass collecting was granted by Parliament from 1947; although no guidelines for the types of objects to be collected seem to have ever been laid out officially.[42] Documentation regarding the exact conditions of employing these early collectors is scant, but it seems they were "voluntary" positions that were called for by the central government, strongly encouraging regional governments to volunteer their "experts" for the national cause.

Although costs associated with art purchases for the National Museum had to be approved by the Ministries of Education and Finance, each collector's report indicated their confidence in selecting objects worthy of the National Museum, and indeed their selections were never challenged. Collecting was guided by the proposed departments of Historic Archaeology, Art, Pre-historic archaeology, Numismatics, Epigraphy and Anthropology, as well as by the individual interests of collectors.[43] The historical parameters of objects continued the ancient dynastic privileging seen in the 1948 exhibition; Indian objects from the twentieth century were not considered. In examining the disjointed and ill-recorded records during this period, there is an undeniable frenetic energy that seems to emanate from the early lists of acquisitions as they trace the movements of these few National Museum collectors from Delhi to Calcutta and Bombay, but also to Ahmedabad, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bharatpur, Amritsar, Patan, Agra and Gwalior, revealing a focused terrain of the former princely abodes of Northern

39 Ibid.

40 Two of these "experts" may have been William Archer from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London and Lawrence Harrison from the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Interviews with former curators of the National Museum of India (New Delhi, 2003).

41 Government of India, "National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology - purchase of antiquities" *Ministry of Education report* (New Delhi, 1948).

42 Government of India, "Memorandum for the Standing Committee of Parliament on Education: Establishment of a National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology" *Ministry of Education report* (New Delhi, 1950).

43 Government of India, *Indian Museums Review 1957-58*, (New Delhi: 1958) 19.

India. It should be recalled that these princely families, from disparate kingdoms, were considered symbolically autonomous from the nation state and received privy purses from the government until the 1970s. Thus, the government's call to the former maharajahs to contribute to the "nation" was largely met with indifference and skepticism. The purely constructed nature of national unity – and the government's task of imagining India into being as a collective force with a shared future could not be better articulated than through the National Museum, its primary lens of the national vision.

What is made abundantly clear in these early acquisitions is the lack of focused amassment, the lack of verification of material, and the tremendous degree to which the entire, or near entire, collections from private houses were purchased in their totality. "Lump sums" were regularly requested by the Ministry in order to purchase whole private collections. Thus, the core of the National Museum's collections was very much contingent on and shaped by the personal tastes of mainly wealthy Indian families who, unusually, had amassed or inherited objects at a time when European items dominated the definitions of aesthetics and Indian objects were barely admired for their artistic value. Indeed, the prices paid by the National Museum collectors for some of these items were so low, one wonders about the value they held for the private collecting families by the mid 20th century.[44] Only in the registry books do the local provenances of objects come alive through their association with specific collectors. These transitions from private to public, and from personal object to national collection, are articulated in this distinction between the publicly viewed label and privately viewed acquisition registry, but they are also metaphors for the building of the nation and the process of arbitrarily selecting personal or distinct regional histories and reshaping them to speak for an image of the nation as a whole.

As the National Museum's collecting committee was comprised of seasoned connoisseurs and scholars including Moti Chandra, Karl Khandalavala and Rai Krishnadasa, it seems likely that the random nature of their collecting was in part due to this practice of purchasing near complete private collections. One might ask again about the capacity of the National Museum to be *national* and serve the cultural needs of the whole nation at this early date when its contents relied on the collecting principles in private cabinets of India's gentlemanly patrons. Could the National Museum ever truly represent the entirety of its class and ethnic diversity when its core collections were contingent on the personal tastes of the regional elite?[45] Meanings directly linked to an assemblage, such as the "Jalan collection of jades," the "Tarapore collection of coins," "Vyas collection of Muslim coins" and the "Verrier Elwin collection of anthropological objects"[46] became standardized descriptive terms in the museum, indicating how large personal groups of objects were embraced by the museum as collective wholes and granted artistic or archaeological legitimacy from the attached names of the benevolent elite or princely families. It is also possible that the relative financial freedom allotted to the amassment of these objects and therefore the opportunity to secure them from leaving the country would have particularly appealed to these nationalist scholars. In their urgency to justify the government's interest in the National Museum, they perhaps sought to gather quickly the accoutrements of a national collection, which later could be culled within the security of an established institution.[47] Furthermore, the colonial legacy of World

44 For example, collectors often purchased paintings in the early 20th century by weight because their individual costs were next to nothing. Interview with Anand Krishna (New Delhi; Benares: 2003).

45 Similar questions are raised in Carol Duncan, "Putting the 'Nation' in London's National Gallery" *Studies in the History of Art* 47, 1996.

46, P. Venkatasubbiah, Chair. *Estimates Committee Report* (New Delhi, 1967) 2.

47 Government of India, "Establishment of a National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology: Preparation of a Modified Graduated Scheme" *Ministry of Education report* (New Delhi, 1950).

Expositions and Fairs, "multi-purpose" museums like the Indian Museum in Calcutta, and the more recent participation in the "comprehensive" Burlington House exhibition also helped to devise a collecting framework based on years of claiming "India" as a totality of culture and religion in the context of its visual masterpieces.[48] These practices fostered the expectation that the National Museum *could* represent the entirety of India, if only collected properly. Certainly this belief that a monolithic, or "5,000 year", Indian heritage had the potential to be placed on display was a descendent of this imperial history of cultural representation and the practices of visually "summing up" the colony.[49]

During this period, the geographic centrality of the National Museum was a critical metaphor for the new capital and helped to activate the Central Vista space as a vital national landscape that literally transformed the museum objects as they were acquisitioned. The Nehruvian image of a centralized government that radiated outwards, feeding and supporting the regions, was echoed by the very process of collecting in the new National Museum and indeed, it was Nehru's belief that the museum should become a place of national "pilgrimage".[50] By 1950, the Central Vista landscape was already a galvanized space of national performance and pilgrimage as the location of the first Republic Day parade. Sprawled in front of the Government House, the grassy fields and deep ponds with rental boats were encouraged as public spaces of activity that transcended class and caste barriers, and so commemorated the formation of the national citizen as they participated in the autonomous claiming of this charged landscape.[51] The National Museum added to this activation of national sentiment, playing the role of an Indian monument whose contents collectively performed and reenacted the historical narratives of the nation. The actual act of Independence was so mired in violence and psychological displacement that the making of symbolic monuments and spaces dedicated to a perception of national unity were tangible signs of stability at last. As Vikramatitya Prakash has noted, "one can sense that the hubris of independence must have been invested with gusto in an attempt to nullify the disaster of Partition."[52]

Consciously participating in the myth-making of New Delhi as a cultural locus, it is clear that for some private collectors, local or state museums, the National Museum meant the loss of their own voices and treasured objects. To become part of the public national narrative was to forget reality's splintered, localized natures involving the lingering vertical class hierarchies of colonial rule, and the expansive gulf between rural and urban conceptions of modern India. The Ministry of Education proposed that letters of request specifically be sent to the Maharajas of Bikaner, Udaipur, Jaipur, Mysore, Rampur, Jodhpur, Gwalior and Hyderabad in order to secure their family treasures for the National Museum. Following these letters, appeals were concurrently issued to the Chief Ministers of Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat, Chief Civil Administrator, Hyderabad and the Chief Minister of Mysore, subtly suggesting the tensions of power that existed between local and national government bodies

48 Arindam Dutta, "The Politics of Display: India 1886 and 1986" Journal of Arts and Ideas, nos. 30-31 (Dec. 1997) 115-145; Peter H. Hoffenberg, An Empire on Display: English, Indian, and Australian Exhibitions from the Crystal Palace to the Great War (Berkeley, 2001).

49 Bernard Cohn, *Colonialism and its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton, 1996); See also Hermann Goetz, *The Art of India: 5,000 Years of Indian Art* (New York, 1959), as an example of how India's "5,000 years" became normalized terminology for addressing all representative art in the nation.

50 Staff reporter, "Art Exhibition Opened by Governor-General, An Inspiration for the Future" *Statesman*, Nov. 7, 1948; for brief overviews of Nehru's centralized political vision, see Burton Stein, *A History of India* (Oxford, 1998); Sugata Bose and Ayesha Jalal, *Modern South Asia: History, Culture, Political Economy*, (New York; London, 1997).

51 Irving 1981.

52 Prakash 2002, 7.

and the lingering princely families.[53] Surveillance or acknowledgement of the proposals by local government officials might have been considered a persuasive means to approach the former Maharajahs who, as Chakravarti noted, were likely to feel "rub[bed] the wrong way" by the central government's request.[54] Official correspondence from the government was also sent out to state museums and to known private collectors in India, urging contributions to the "Central National Museum" or the extensions of "loans".[55]

The government officials and the scholars who led the National Museum's first collecting missions aggressively promoted the prestige of the institution and its symbolic role in building a national image although its collections were ad hoc in nature. Nehru sent numerous state gifts from foreign dignitaries into its storerooms and even some Maharajas paid tribute to the cause by choosing to donate, rather than sell, treasured objects to the National Museum, although the context of these "donations" demands further investigation.[56] As the designated chief recipient of Treasure Trove finds, the National Museum was further fashioned as the major repository of the nation, with little scrutiny in its selection process.[57]

Finally, the political excitement generated around the National Museum and its use as an effective symbol for promoting national unity was surely a catalyst of the government's Museum Reorganisation and Development Scheme, which assembled a committee of curators and scholars with the aim of enforcing modern uniformity on all Indian museums. To this end, the committee raised the concern of encouraging closer cooperation between the National Museum and State Museums by placing the latter institutions under the control of the central government and stipulating that, like the Delhi museum, all regional museums should have an "All-India scope and character".[58] The displacement of local narratives was clearly encouraged for the greater good of the national ones. Again, the fruits of these proposals were limited, but the sentiments behind them indicate the specific role prescribed for the National Museum as it echoed the political aspirations of the government and enforced its centrality not only geographically, but in its rendering of a globally-defined nation by the recasting of its local identities. Like the hub of a spoked wheel, the authority of the Delhi museum inspired a mass movement of objects from India's peripheries, and a conceptual movement of national narratives to its political and imagined cultural center.

The National Art Treasures Fund

The ad hoc collecting practices for the National Museum were soon subjected to more systematization that further enforced the dominance of the Delhi institution over regional and local museums and again highlights the tensions from the regions that were the natural outcome of constructing this national symbol. In 1952, a formalized National Art Treasures fund had been constructed that reported to the Government of India and was inaugurated by Nehru. The Fund was administered by art historians, archaeologists and six representatives from state governments, and was divided into two Art Purchase Committees: one for "old art" and another for "contemporary art". All "old art" was defined as objects older than

53 Government of India, " National Museum of Art, Anthropology and Archaeology – Acquisition of works of art from Private Museum and Collectors" *Ministry of Education report* (New Delhi, 1949.)

54 Letter from N.P. Chakrabarti, Director General of Archaeology, to Tara Chand, Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Education (16/2/1949).

55 Government of India, "Appeal to the Maharajas of Bikaner, Udaipur, Jaipur and Mysore by Ministry of State in respect of exhibits kept by State Government exhibition in New Delhi" *Ministry of Education report* (New Delhi, 1949).

56 National Museum of India, *General Accession Registry*, 1950.

57 Government of India 1958, 19.

58 Government of India, "Conference on Museums: Agenda and Proceedings" *Ministry of Education report* (New Delhi, 1955).

1857;[59] they went directly to the National Museum while the latter group was designed to gather art for the newly proposed National Gallery of Modern Art (1954).[60] However, the privileges and funding allotted to the National Museum far outweighed the government's attention to the National Gallery.[61] The most obvious reason for this is the enduring colonial fetish with the ancient over modern and contemporary objects, and the former's perceived greater role in evoking national pride and educating the public about its heritage. The new Indian nation specifically hinged its construction on the picture of ancientness and art heritage; this history reified not only the fabrications of an art historical hierarchy, but also commemorated the true foundation of the nation in the past, subsequently inventing a new historical context that is key to the creation of an imagined nation-state.[62]

The initiative of the National Art Treasures Fund underlines the assumptions of power and authority that were embedded within the construction of the National Museum and reveals how they were met or resisted by regional governments and their museums. Although state museums were not officially granted anything from the National Art Treasures Fund beyond the possibility of loan agreements, plaster cast replicas or occasional training courses from the central museums, each state was required to set up its own Regional Advisory Committee (with its own funds) that could guide the purchasing of the National Art Treasures Fund in each respective region. The national duty of the regional governments was called upon as each state was further asked to provide a "*pro rata* contribution" to the building up and maintenance of the Delhi museums. Unsurprisingly, few state governments actually responded to this government call with either funding for the central museums or by setting up a regional committee; indeed, it is unclear how, if ever, this was enforced. [63] Implying the work of political persuasion, Chief Ministers of the States were sent a letter of encouragement from Nehru who urged them to contribute to the fund and to remember "the basic importance of culture and art," but it was to little avail.[64] State museums similarly dragged their heels in 1953 when a government call was issued to send free examples of regional clothing to the National Museum also at the request of Nehru who wanted the museum to represent the diversity of garments in the country.[65] The direct hand that Nehru played in this correspondence not only demonstrates the significance of the National Museum to the government's construction of national identity, but also reveals the subtle opposition and anxiety from the regions towards centralized rule in the early post-Independence years. The overwhelming focus on the Delhi museum and on the support of its collecting practices must certainly have provoked ire from state authorities struggling with economic downturns and poverty, and state museum officials who were being pressured to relinquish their treasures and their funds in order to make the mythology of the National Museum a reality.

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59 This is also the crucial date of the Indian resistance or "mutiny" against British forces that remains pivotal in Indian historical narratives of the nation. While the choice of this year as a distinguishing characteristic between the two institutions is not directly discussed in official documents, its charged significance makes it difficult to dismiss. Indeed, as this date also signifies the official imposition of British Crown rule in India from 1858, spurred by the bloody resistance battles, it is significant that the identity of the National Museum's collections, as stipulated by the national government, were framed explicitly to recall an imagined "non-British," or pre-Crown rule past.

60 Letter from Jawaharlal Nehru to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, (7/3/1948).

61 Government of India, "National Art Treasures Fund" *Ministry of Education report* (New Delhi, 1952).

62 An extended discussion is offered in: Sudipta Kaviraj, "The Imaginary Institution of India" in Partha Chatterjee and Gyanendra Pandey (eds.) *Subaltern Studies VII* (New Delhi, 1992).

63 Ibid.; also see Government of India, "National Art Treasures Fund" *Ministry of Education report* (New Delhi, 1952) for letters from state governments excusing themselves from contributing to the fund.

64 Extract from Prime Minister's fortnightly letter no. 52, 16 June 1952, to all the Chief Ministers of the States. Government of India, "National Art Treasures Fund" *Ministry of Education* (New Delhi, 1952).

65 Government of India, Report from Ministry of Education and Scientific Research (New Delhi, 1953).

The political history of the mid 20th century in India inevitably exposes stories of continual disconnection and dissonance between governmental visions for the nation and its disparate citizenry, between the centre of the country and the regions; and between government officials and their agents, such as the Art Purchase Committee and curators at the National Museum. As a product of both the colonial and nationalist performances of power, the National Museum of India is unique in the history of museums in India and stands alone as an institution that was always envisioned by its creators as a singular public monument whose symbolic currency superseded its identity as a storehouse of historical objects. This symbolic power came to serve the ambitions of a nationalist government and elaborated the museum's mythology as the country's showpiece and "premier" national institution.[66]

The building records of the National Museum finally force us to return again to the mythological narrative of the institution that would help to define its postcolonial presence, as well as its ultimate detachment from the masses it was intended to inspire. Already alienated from other imperial museums of note, a memorandum from the Ministry of Education in 1955 noted the critical importance of the National Museum to fill an institutional void in the country. Despite the long-standing reputations of large imperially-founded museums in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, they were specifically ignored in the statement that announced, "there is no institution in India where the public and the student can obtain anything approaching a general conspectus of the development of Indian civilization…"[67] Hence the National Museum was conceived specifically to displace its predecessors, and in this displacement, to become a metaphor for the appropriation and alteration of a colonial ideology of museology and central authority. This is why building reports stipulated that "nothing less than the very best construction must be envisaged" for the National Museum, including "first class teak" and the finest accessories available, such as new florescent tube lighting.[68] By 1967, government officials noted that the vast expenditure on building materials and interior accessories had led to spiraling costs for the National Museum throughout the 1960s that were more than double the costs of the country's three largest colonial museums combined, all of which suffered from inadequate funds as the Ministry showered its attentions on the Delhi institution.[69] But the statist engine behind the National Museum, and the subsequent construction of its mythical place in the nationalist imagination, had generated this most intentional of monuments that would increasingly take flight and precedence over other museums under its first director in the Janpath building. This "premier" institution would continue in the 1960s and 70s to be a critical locus of postcolonial negotiation of Indian cultural and political identities, art histories, and international modernities.

66 P. Venkatasubbiah 1967, 19.

67 Government of India, "Construction of National Museum at New Delhi, Phase I" *Ministry of Education report* (New Delhi, 1955).

68 Ibid.

69 P. Venkatasubbaiah 1967, 12.

Figures

Figure 1a

The National Museum's entrance rotunda.

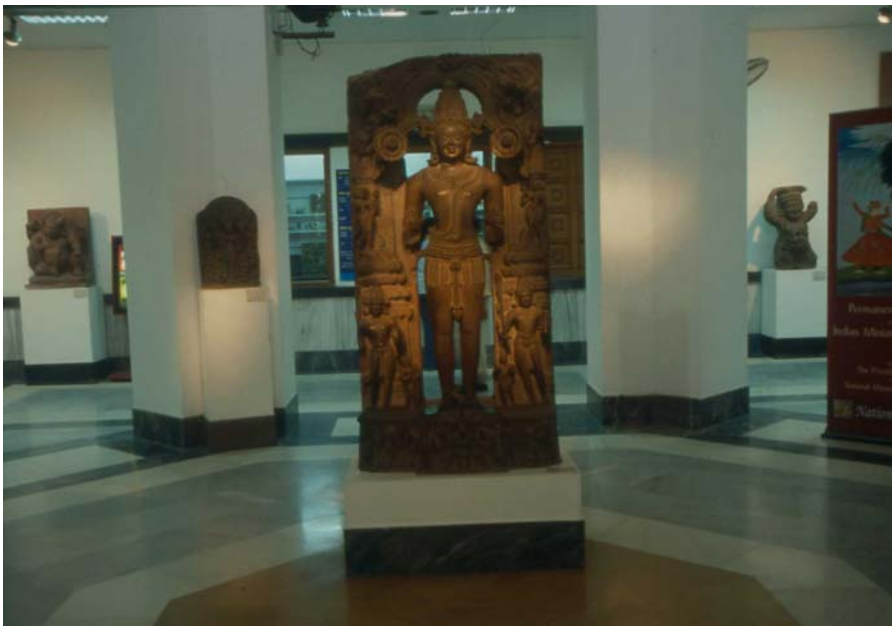

Figure 1b

Two of the *yakshi* stone images adorning the circular space.

Photos by Kristy K Phillips, 2003.

Figure 2
Government House (Rashtrapati Bhavan),
stone sculpture display in the Durbar Hall, c. 1948.

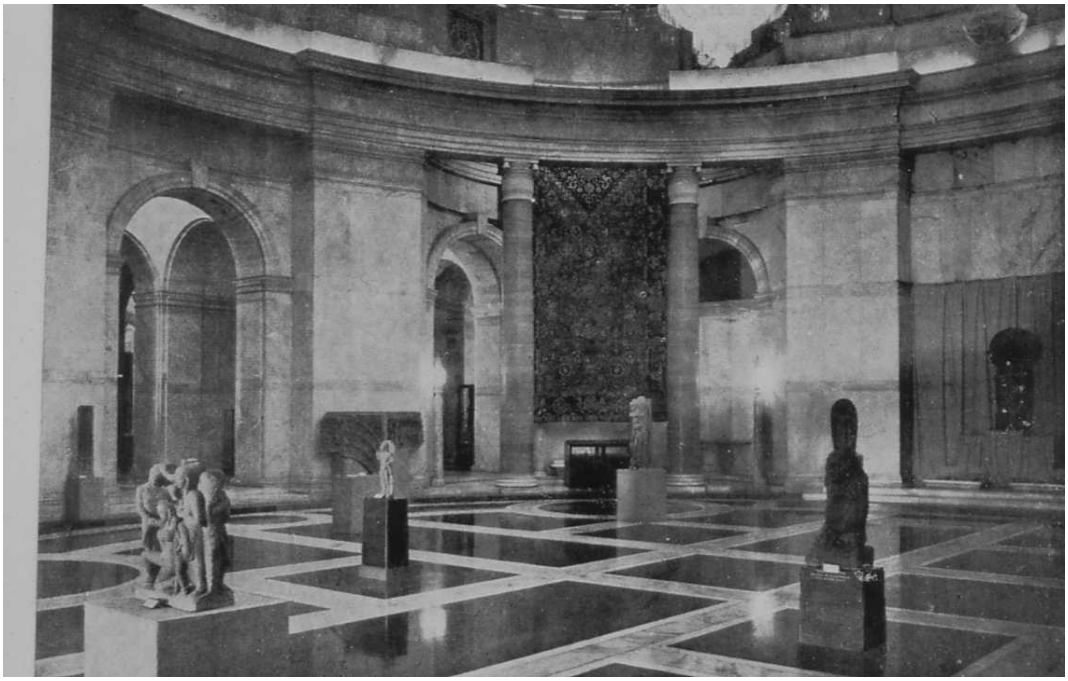

Photo courtesy the National Museum of India**.**

Figure 3
The Deccan Room Gallery at the Rashtrapati Bhavan, c. 1948.

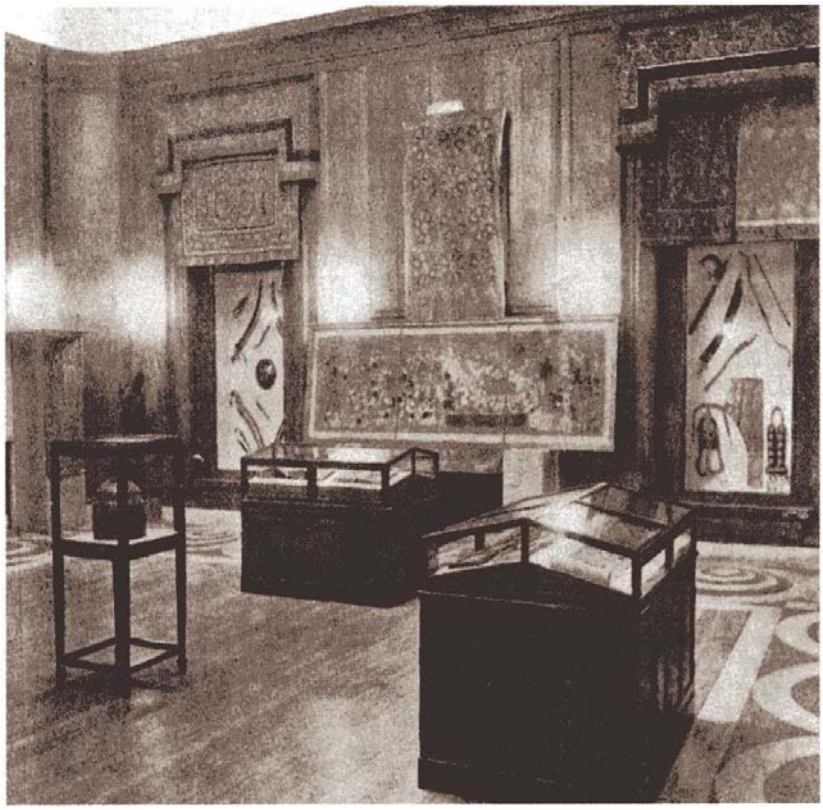

Photo courtesy the National Museum of India.

Figure 4
Another example of display techniques at the Rashtrapati Bhavan, c. 1948.
Possibly from the inauguration of the *Exhibition of Indian Art.*

Photo courtesy the National Museum of India.

MiniaTurk: Culture, History, and Memory in Turkey in Post-1980s

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The main purpose of this study is to be able to delineate the phenomenal changes that museum as an institution has undertaken in Turkey in the years following 1980s. In tracing these transformations, the emphasis is given to narrations of culture, memory and history. Grounded on concepts as such, the study contends with museums that invest exclusively in the organization and visualization of the information of the past and its practices – which leaves art museums, military museums and/or industrial museums outside the scope.

Our intention is to provide at first a brief outline, establishing the emergence and fundamentals of museum practices in the 19th century, so as to capture the museum at its nascent site as an institution of modernity. While tracing the initial function of the museum as encyclopedia of nation-building (Özyürek 2001), our focus will be on portraying the experience of the late Ottoman and early Republican periods in particular. Later on, our focus will gradually move in time with the aim of grasping how customs of "framing the nation" are transformed in the course of changing political, social and economical agendas. Grounding the framework on the crisis of space-time conceptions of modernity and the upsurge of memory practices, we will try to analyze the last twenty years of museum practices in Turkey in the light of: (1) the withdrawal of rigid cultural politics of the State on exhibition rights, (2) the changes in the narrator function, and (3) the privatization of museal projects. In tackling with the spatio-temporal reorganization of modern modes of production, we will inevitably delve into the effects of debates around globalization and multiculturalism – particularly on conservation and heritage politics. Finally, departing from the example of Miniaturk – a theme park, curating a selection of miniaturized historical and architectural pieces as a "Showcase of Turkey" – we will try to identify the neo-conservative tendencies of post-1980s' museum practices in Turkey so as to trace the structural transformations in the space

and body of the museum, along with transformations in representation strategies and power relations at work.

Museum as Encyclopedia of Nation-Building

For the following section, we will be utilizing the rather general metaphor of "museum as encyclopedia"[1] in engaging with the theorization of museal projects in Turkey in the late Ottoman and early Republic periods. Although these two periods show discrepancies in terms of basic ideological premises, several continuities could be claimed – with their roots in the idea of modernization[2].

The emergence of museological practices in the late Ottoman period can be seen as an extension of two general tendencies: Westernization and centralization – the former involving incorporation of modern institutional forms into the new legal and administrative system; and the latter involving realization of a centralized and unified Ottoman identity[3]. In terms of technique and ideology, however, it appears that quite distinguishing problematics were at work (Shaw 2004). The visualization of the past in the late Ottoman political atmosphere was less a matter of constructing national identity, and more a matter of interfering with daily politics and of negotiating inter-state dynamics – as in the first museal examples of the weaponry collection at St. Irene, and the following exhibition of Janissary military models.

In and through the following instances (the initiation of Imperial Museum in 1877, and the pioneering work of *Osman Hamdi*), however, concerns over national identity and narrative self-legitimization came to be more and more noticeable. Ottomans were at the time constantly challenged by nationalist upheavals in peripheral territories, and were unsuccessful in confronting them with a military response. For purposes of territorial accord, the introduction of an integral Ottoman identity was a necessity. At the service of creating and visualizing a unified account, the multiplicity of pieces from territories all around were to be compiled and assimilated in the volume of the encyclopedaeic museum with proper techniques of ordering and representing. Hence, if the initial exhibitions are left aside, the late Ottoman period can be said to witness a relatively substantial effort in the construction of a singular identity discourse – sanctioned not only by the emergence of a concern over the accumulation of pieces in the same space, but also by the increase of restrictions on private property and mobility rights.

Early Republican museum space shares considerable commonalities with its Ottoman equivalent while at the same time bearing quite idiosyncratic features in terms of negotiating with its audiences and actors. Most appreciably, originating in the overall public policies of

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1 It seems appropriate to conceptualize the modern institution of the museum as an encyclopedia of nation-building – with reference Esra Ozyurek's (2001) differentiation between the encyclopedia and the newspaper. The newspaper is the site of a perpetual forgetting – in it, one can refer to the current agenda of a society, only to be replaced the next day. Whereas, the encyclopedia is the embodiment of the very act of rememberance itself – of the fundamental definitions and practices regarding a nation's official identity and culture.

2 It is also important to note that the periodization employed in the rest of this paper relies on Madran and Onal's (2000) examinations of museal practices in Turkey in five episodes. Accordingly, the pioneering steps in museum practices cover the years between 1840 and 1880. Following this preliminary stage is: (1) the period of the eminent archaeologist *Osman Hamdi* (1880 to 1910s); (2) the early Republican era (1920-1950); (3) the period of political transformation (1960 to mid-1970s); (4) the period of cultural transformation (1980s); and (5) the period of multicultural transformation (1990s to today). It is by no means a matter of chance that the articulation of these time spheres coincide with changes in the political, economic and social climate of the country. Museum politics, in this sense, can be easily said to advance in the shadow of, at times intervening in, these processes.

3 An example in this regard is the way in which the tradition of collecting unique pieces that date back to 15th century (the reign of Mehmet II) was quite effortlessly transformed into a modern institutional practice by mid-19th century.

the early Republican era, and in contrast to Ottoman conventions, the museums were categorized as one of the most significant sites for inducing and widening the consciousness of being a nation by way of educating the masses (Madran and Onal 2000) and distributing cultural identity[4]. The central concerns, in this regard, of the early Republican museum politics in general could be said to be: (1) the development of an aesthetic discourse on the former period's heritage; (2) the invention of the new tradition, along with its *modus operandi*; and (3) the distribution of these modes of operation through various administrative and public bodies – in this case, the museum and exhibition branches of the Peoples' Houses.

The first step was the conversion of *Topkapı* Palace (Istanbul) and *Mevlevihane* (Konya) into national museums on 3 March 1924 – date of the official defeat of the Ottoman dynasty[5]. The significance of these two places lie in their iconographic value: the former representing the glorious Ottoman past and the latter, its rooted religious practices – both fundamentally opposed by the Republican ideology. The second step involves invention of new memory sites in the new geography with the aim of constructing a knowledge of historical past. As the new capital where all political and ideological apparatuses of the new regime were concentrated, Ankara stood as the major antagonist figure against the memories that Istanbul embodied. Hence, it is possible to see at this stage the continuity with Ottoman centralization policies in the sense of an encyclopaedic concentration of national identity and cultural capital; only with a twist – a relocation of the center.

The dominant ambition of the encyclopedia was a search for origins – of the Turkish nation – in the framework provided by antique Anatolian civilizations. The early Republican ideology of history (namely the Turkish History Thesis) provided the theoretical basis of this investigation. Adopting principles and methodology of modern historiography, it favored a chrono-deterministic mindset and fostered extensive archaeological research in peripheral regions. Concern over creating an entire narration for Anatolian Turks materialized itself in the inscription of old civilizations and ancient Turkish heritage as ancestor and origin. The archeological studies were mainly based on pre-Ottoman and pre-Islamic civilizations that had existed in Anatolia, particularly focusing on the organic links between the Hittites and the Turks (Şimşek 2002: 154). Hence, the early Republican nationalist historiography laid its basis on the proposition of a "golden age" (Smith 1999: 48) – Hittitean past – while associating contemporary Turkish presence with progressive features of civilization. It is no coincidence then that the first museum founded in Ankara, which included the initial archeological findings from early excavations, was designated the Hittites Museum[6]. Clearly stemming from nationalist historiography and its methods, it served the construction of a unique narrative, founded upon a linear and chronological perspective that encapsulates the Anatolian Turkish past. The museum functioned as an instrument in legitimizing Turkish subsistence in Anatolia, and thus could be conceived as part of a general project in which a

4 In his speech at the First Congress of the Advisory Board for Antique Pieces, the acceleration in the collection of large number of pieces was evaluated by *Hasan Ali Yücel* as an achievement of the Republican regime. Accordingly, the comparison of archives and the number of museums between the periods 1880-1923 and 1923-1943 was demonstrating the superiority of the Republican regime over late Ottoman politics in terms of the creation and preservation of national identity.

5 The conversion of the *Topkapı* Palace had evidently been initiated during the previous period, but with different motivations. Whereas the Ottoman intention was to frame the private space that had been the ground of centuries-long hegemony in the glorious memory of the dynasty, the Republican intention was to submit this private space to public use.

6 It was soon renamed Ankara Museum of Archaeology; and, finally Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, in 1967 – as its narration incorporated pieces other than those that belonged to the Hittites past such as the Neolithic Age or the Phrygia period in Anatolia. The change in name and content is argued by Gür (2001) to be the result of changes in cultural policy and political ideology – a shift in focus from a search for predecessors (in time) towards a territory-based identification (in space).

homogenous Turkish culture was put forward and a national identity established (Gür 2001: 220-221).

Apart from the Museum of Archaeology, the early Republic also initiated the Ethnography Museum in 1925. It was built anew as an exemplary instance of national architecture school (designed by *Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu*) in a previously Muslim district, the *Namazgah* region of Ankara (Atasoy 1996: 1465). This first museum building was instituted upon the mapping of contemporary and daily habits of people living particularly in rural areas. Apart from Turkish artifacts from the Seljuk period, folk attire, ornaments, clogs, shoes, accessories, and finally samples of traditional Turkish handcrafts were put on display. Mainly collected from adjacent religious centers in the Anatolian countryside, these cultural objects provided indications of contemporary everyday life, rather than referring to the knowledge of the past. Like a glossary, these indicators established the official record of how Turkish society practiced its daily life, how people dressed and what they produced (Madran and Önal 2000: 183). Seen in this light, the ideology and cultural politics of the early Republican era can be said to employ, in conceptualizing cultural practices, a rather more territorial framework so as to contain a wider geography in mapping a homogenous culture.

Museum practices of the early Republican era, apart from those initiated by central government, also included those organized at a local scale under the auspices of the Peoples Houses. Inauguration of museum and exhibition branches, although differentiating at a regional basis, shared a common foundation (Arık 1947: 111-123). Two aspects of the organization of branches warranted their effective functioning. The first of these was again related to the educative function of the State, and took the form of consciousness-raising in society – which proved crucial in instilling and spreading the fundamentals of official nationalist policies on cultural affairs. And, second was related to the way in which voluntary participation thrived on the notion of citizenship (Duncan 1995: 24). In claiming equality to the masses in all spheres, the Republican politics precisely opposed the exclusion of public from spaces of display, and thus was able to stimulate collective research. It was a distinguishing characteristic of museum and exhibition branches to operate as a small-scale house-of-commons in which public was entitled to congregate and negotiate certain issues. Thus combining the invigorating effect of the sense of citizenship with an educative function, the State was able to dominate infrastructural contributions of the periphery, and render its own governmental tone active in a demarcated public sphere[7].

Hence, as a general ground rule in the Republican era, it could be said that museum practices concentrated on two major issues: (1) the establishment of a primordial relationship between a geographical region and its citizens, through the discovery of trans-historical bonds, for purposes of self-legitimization; and (2) the representation of the new nation and its citizens in the framework of a series of cultural characteristics. The period also employed the idea of the "golden age", which provided the means for undermining those memory codes associated with Ottoman sovereignty.

Modernity in Crisis, Museum in Crisis

Modernity and its institutions were confronted by a crisis sometime during the second half of 20th century, so the story goes. The dissolution of modernity's spatio-temporal coordinates, of future into present (Urry 1990), was matched by the uprise of memory practices (that which essentially is informal, subjective, and unreliable) in historical discourse – which had

7 In the annual report of the museum and exhibition branch located in Bergama, it was reported that there were initiations in the direction of publishing research studies that prove the Turkish origin of the Greeks – which shows that the framework of Turkish History Thesis found its echoes in peripheral practices as well.

so far effectively identified itself with formality, objectivity, and certainty[8]. The overwhelming "memory boom" of 1980s, paradoxically paralleled by an amnesia that is caused by instantaneously changing agendas, was in this regard principally evaluated as the defeat of history (Huyssen 2000). Just as the anxiety of people to survive led to an escape from amnesia, the weakening of future fuelled the appeal to the past. Accompanied by the longing for a sense of harmony gone astray, the resistive urge was specifically in conformity with the main course of conservative ideology: the revival and reinforcement of nostalgia in daily practices. Systematically distorting attention away from contemporary polarizations and conflicts, the commodification of history constructed an aura around a primordial past from which pain has been removed (Lowenthal 1985). The inevitable result was a de-contextualized re-mapping of the past.

Set within the conditions of a fragmented and accelerated temporality, the space of after-the-modern museum practices quite directly embodied these transformations, and took fairly distinctive forms, especially in the years following 1980s. Experiential layouts that permit the object to occupy a universe that is rather continuous with that of the visitor came to the fore. Replacing the model of "museum as encyclopedia" was the reign of live, communicating, interactive, participatory, open-air and/or virtual museums (Hooper-Greenhill 2000: 127). Introduction, in the meantime, of transnational capitalist affairs and their politics brought about new power dynamics. The focus on nation, in terms of content and thematics, turned into the prominence of those fragments making up the nation. Informed also by discourses of globalization and multiculturalism, the exhibition complex was invaded by alternative memories. The new authority of "taste," and the new proprietor of "symbolic power" (Bourdieu 1989), appeared in the guise of capital-holders and other narrators who, not necessarily following nationalist interests, did rehearse divergent fashions of identity construction. Reaching beyond the sheer aim of housing collections that are permanently exhibited and supplied with large-scale archives (Urry 1999: 130), the cultural center model allowed the inclusion of other components (such as cafés, shops, restaurants, cinemas) in the body of the museum which now tolerated its visitors to spend longer amounts of time. Already equipped with a range of new departments such as new media centers, or activities such as children's education, the museum space turned into a highly organized and ideal site for mass production and consumption. Other effective management strategies fed upon the appeal of culture and history as commodities, and were responsible for the invention of new on-site conservation practices that assert a spatial simultaneity of, and a temporal continuity between, past and present – such as the re-construction of old villages and heritage sites. Pushed out of its protective shell and mainly designed for accommodating leisure activities, the museum space assumed the terminology and vocabulary of a must-see attraction that, by way of producing and reproducing a selective past, held its equally problematic share in the insertion of nostalgia into daily practices.

In Turkey, the museum practices following 1980s appeared to have been fundamentally shaped by this agenda. Up until 1973, the exhibition of objects with historical and cultural value was regulated by the set of laws once created by *Osman Hamdi*. Basically concerned with inhibiting national and international smuggling, these laws also rendered the State as the only authoritative party capable of opening a museum. Revisions in law enacted in 1973, 1983, and 1984 indicated that a lot was about to change. Most importantly, non-governmental collection owners were also granted the right to exhibit – provided that objects would be

8 According to Nora (1989), "memory and history, far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition. Memory is life, borne by living societies founded in its name. It remains permanent evolution; open to dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation, susceptible to being long dormant and periodically revived. History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer."

inspected by the General Directorate of Museums and Monuments. This way, the objects in these small-scale collections were approved eligible, and recorded in official publications and catalogues, which simultaneously acted as a measure in preventing their commercialization. Withdrawal of the State, as the only single agency with power over visualizations of the past, put and end to its monopoly on national and cultural identity, and thus provided alternative memory practices with an opportunity to come to the fore.

Beginning with early 1980s, a number of exhibition facilities were established in the names of actual people, of various foundations, and/or banks. Many institutions such as universities and associations were involved in the organization of museums, projecting their own perspectives on narrations of history and culture. And, finally, pioneering bourgeois families such as *Sabancı* and *Koç* unlocked the doors of their larger-than-life collections to public in the form of private museums. The content and context of all these collections were highly varied, including peculiar objects throughout a wide range of time-periods and disciplines. Hence, the entrance of these collections into the space of the museum introduced new power dynamics into the cultural scene and politics of 1980s and after.

Apart from the privatization of museums, the far-reaching extent of cultural heritage applications was a significant characteristic of contemporary museum practices in the 1980s of Turkey. Under the lure of the reworking of global and multicultural politics, heritage sites have been integrated into everyday life to such a degree that cities, as physical embodiments of history, became "crucial sites where different claims to the past are formulated and contested" (Bartu 2001). In the context of heritage customs, joining UNESCO's World Heritage Convention in 1983 was the first step for Turkey. What followed was the enlisting of numerous architectural and historical sites as world heritage, including Istanbul, Safranbolu, *Boğazköy-Hattuşaş*, Mt. Nemrut, Xanthos-Lethoon, Troy, Pamukkale, and *Göreme*-Cappadocia. Memory practices taking shape in the vicinities of these regions became the ground for the establishment of new identity politics in a period following the trauma of the *coup-d'etat* of 1980. Emphasis was given to the coexistence of diverse cultures on the same geography throughout history, which provided the basis of multiculturalist remembrances. However, the innocence of these coexistence images was quite dubious, since politics of the past took on very different meanings depending on the answers one gives to the political questions of which past to preserve and promote, and to whom.

To sum up, the surfacing of neo-liberal politics in Turkey reflected on the evolution of museum politics in the form of the appearance of private museums in post-1980s. The investments in cultural sphere by private hands triggered destabilization of the power-composition of museum spaces, while raising hopes in the direction of more liberating practices with permeable and inclusive boundaries. However, as marketing and com-modification methods of heritage politics came to the fore, it was obvious that power was simply about to reproduce and exhibit itself in new forms. In the meantime, self-representation of Turkey on the international platform turned into an active cultural policy. In this sense, participation of Turkey in the World Heritage Convention brought about further politics to be constructed on the idea and image of past. Nostalgic remapping of a multicultural geography, in compliance with selective memory practices and new tourism strategies, found its primordial expression in museums without walls. The visualization of this narration organized itself around an imagery of coexistence – of numerous religious communities and nations in universal and transhistorical harmony.

Neo-Conservative Memory in Display: Miniaturk

Miniaturk: Showcase of Turkey sets an emblematic example of post-1980s museum practices in Turkey with its structural and narrative features that are notably unlike those of modern museums. Slipping on the role of reviving vanished memories of a cultural and social

geography that embodies traces of the initial modernization process of the Ottoman Empire during 18th and 19th centuries, the exhibition complex is situated right along the shoreline of the Golden Horn, and envelops its contents with the aura of a fairy tale. Fragmented and non-linear, the internal structure of the park itself employs an eclectic series of remembrance strategies on the surface of which post-1980s power codes and dynamics materialize.

Miniaturk (a.k.a. Miniaturized Turkey Park) is initiated in 2001, and steadfastly finalized in 2003 by *Kültür A.Ş.* joint-stock company, which once belonged to Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality but later was privatized. It is located on the northern coast of the Golden Horn, at *Sütlüce* district, and covers about 60.000 square meters. Mainly populated by Greek and Armenian communities on the northern, and Jewish communities on the southern coast (Belge 1999: 112) during the Ottoman era, the area is accredited with housing a multicultural populace ever since the Byzantian age. Cosmopolitan background of the region seems to have survived up until mid-19th century, when the construction of rather small-scale shipyards along the coast of *Kasımpaşa* initiated the area's transformation into an industrial district. The change resulted in the pollution and depopulation of the coast in due course. Additionally effected by the advance of politics against non-Muslim populations, withdrawal of the inhabitants accelerated during 1940s and 50s, while the skirts of *Hasköy* and *Eyüp* districts evolved into new neighborhoods. Finally, the Golden Horn as a whole was prestigiously inserted into the rehabilitation and reconstruction programs of the Metropolitan Municipality during 1980s, with the initiative of mayor Bedrettin Dalan, so as to be turned into a leisure and entertainment zone (Dalan 1986). The cultural policies of the period mainly concentrated on reviving the delightful dissipation customs of the Ottoman Empire, dating back to the Tulip Era (1718-1730)[9]. Miniaturk is thus constructed, not randomly[10], in the rehabilitated environment of the Golden Horn as an extension of the Regional Cultural Plan of the municipality[11].

The exhibition includes numerous miniaturized models that represent hundred and five monumental structures worthy of natural, national, and historical praise – such as the still-existing Hagia Sophia, Rumeli Fortress, *Sümela* Monastry, Qubbat As-Sakhrah, and the ruins of Mount Nemrut as well as others that no longer survive such as the Temple of Artemis, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and the Castle of Ajyad. Temporally speaking, the selection extends all the way back from Antiquity to present-day. The geography that is covered, on the other hand, traverses not only contemporary Turkey but also earlier Ottoman provinces, stretching out from the Balkans to the Middle East. The pieces, more than temporally adhering to a sequential chronology, rather are reinforced into a space-based framework, and are categorized under three headings: Anatolia, Istanbul, and former Ottoman territories. The basic premise is to present "all times and places of Anatolia, together, all in one place and all at one time." Simultaneity of the past and the present is offered, in this regard, as a unique experience that salvages interested sightseers from the arduous task of visiting these architectural wonders on-site. The visitors therefore are able to reach the information about a piece belonging to Antiquity, right after or just before touring around a monument that dates back to late 19th century.

Two implications are in store, as a result of such spatio-temporal compression. From an optimistic point of view, the experience of the visitor is set free – of any external decision-making mechanism over his/her narration. This provides the visitor with an opportunity to stroll around independently, and discover narrative possibilities other than those rehearsed by official history. Overthrowing the hegemony of time and space over the discourse of the visitor hence seems to make room for carrying "the liberating potential of the museum that

9 Newspaper clip from Radikal: **"**Haliç'te Sefahat," 6 August 2001.

10 Newspaper clip from Cumhuriyet: "Minyatür Mirasa Akın," 17 March 2003.

11 Istanbul Metropolitan Municipaltiy Yearly Plan, 1997 [online]: http://www.ibb.gov.tr/index.htm.

has never been entirely realized" (Walsh 1992: 38) into radical ends. However, the lack of temporal perception not only dehistoricizes the model-object but also decontextualizes the narration itself. The economy of scaling-down at work in miniaturization, coupled with the way in which these models negotiate with their real locations and other surrounding reproductions, bring about some other problems as well. Whereas the original structure continues to function in its original location, the miniaturized model cannot avoid being homogenized and reduced to the status of an icon in the eye of the beholder, for whom the information of its reality is reachable. Surgically isolated from its locality, the model is disengaged from its context as either a unique piece or an aesthetic form – which results in the commodification of the object as an individual case by itself, or respectively makes possible the promotion of Miniaturk as a "Showcase," as a collection[12].

More important than the way in which these objects, along with their multi-layered socio-political contexts, are rendered ineffective and harmless (Urry 1999: 172) is the way in which they are re-assimilated into the general framework of a central narration put forward in the body and structure of Miniaturk itself. That is: if these objects are subjected to a fundamental forgetting, they certainly are subjected to a secondary re-membering – as one set of signifiers that revolve around an identity construction are exchanged by another. As an initial hint, it is sufficient to draw attention to how the spatial division of the sub-sections (Anatolia, Istanbul, former Ottoman territories) precisely imitates the *eyalet* (provincial) system of the Ottoman administrative structure. The stakes and coordinates of this new narration, performed thus in the form of a memory-transplantation, will be more comprehensible once we delve into each sub-section in detail.

The Anatolia section includes not only models of historic or religious monuments, but also civil buildings such as Mardin Houses and natural sites such as Pamukkale. Most interestingly, the Tomb of Mevlana, coded as the symbol of Sufist tolerance, welcomes the visitors at the entrance of this section, and is said to stand for the voice of multiculturalism in and around Anatolia. Conversely, on the one hand, the general outline of the section by and large seems to emphasize Turkish and Islamic identity through models of mosques, castles and houses. So much so that the pieces belonging to antiquity are the only items with non-Islamic and non-Turkish origins (i.e. Greco-Roman heritage), although it is well-known that Anatolia has hosted many communities apart from its ancient past. Whilst, on the other hand, the idea of Anatolia as motherland is confirmed in the acknowledgment of former civilizations as the gain and wealth of Turkish cultural heritage. The ideological basis of this section, in this regard, seems clearly to be affected by the nationalist interests and methods of the early Republican era. Acclamations of pluralism, supported by the inclusion of a variety of building forms from different geographical regions and time-periods, are thwarted by the paradoxical exclusion of more recent Arab, Armenian, or Kurdish monuments. The multicultural framework of the Anatolian section thus can be said to omit the recent past and current multicultural structure of Anatolia – perhaps as an extension of the dominant neo-conservative tendencies of the 1980s in general, and the political ground of Miniaturk in particular.

The ideological discourse and memory practices surfacing at the Istanbul section reaches as far back as the Byzantium. Offered on the one hand is a nostalgic map of the city, which includes the historical peninsula, and highlights in this region the existence of numerous masterpieces such as Hagia Sophia and the Blue Mosque. As distinct from the Anatolia section, promoted here on the other hand is an imagery of coexistence such that significant spots with Christian and Jewish origins, like St. Antoine Church or the Synagouge of *Ahır Kapı*, are exhibited along with Turkish-Islamic models. Also accentuated is the contemporary

12 Please see the guidebook; also available [online]: www.miniaturk.com.tr.

facades of the city such as the Bosphorus Bridge, the *Atatürk* Airport, and the highway network – the representation of the last one in the form of an animated-model (with a 14m section, two tunnels, and 40 vehicles) outcries "We have highways!", and quite literally pushes against the limits of ridicule. The inclusion of very contemporary and awarded architectural examples such as Profilo Shopping Center and *Yapı Kredi* Bank Headquarters not only is rooted in marketing strategies, but also brings about the vision of a modern Istanbul and its modern inhabitants.

The last section covers former Ottoman territories, and emphasizes: (1) the predominant underscoring of multicultural identity; (2) the articulation of Ottoman modernization, along with the hints of an underlying European identity; and finally (3) the contributions of the existence of a common Ottoman past in creating and maintaining a coexistence policy in these regions. The selection of sites to be represented is made on the basis of their being either commemorations of great victories (such as the Castle of Ajyad) or reminders of Ottoman or Islamic existence on the European terrain (as in the example of the Mostar Bridge). The revival of the extent of Ottoman borders throughout the "Golden Age" is a significant theme, as pieces from Balkans, Middle East, and North Africa – with specifically Ottoman, Turkish, and/or Islamic features – are displayed. The recall of former boundaries carries the intention of asserting the conviction that coexistence of multicultural practices in harmony was not something peculiar to Anatolia, but was to be equally witnessed throughout all geographies upon which the Turkish-Islamic past touched. In another sense, while the imperial Ottoman body is reconstructed through a series of remembrances, a homogenized community of signifiers is laid out as the proof and manifestation of this political body.

In sum, the memory that finds articulation in the texture of Miniaturk, while garnished with an emphasis on multiculturalism and coexistence, is predominantly based on the subsistence of Turkish and Islamic identity over a vast realm. If acts of remembering inevitably involve the articulation of present needs in the form of past material (Misztal 2003: 25), it is no surprise that Miniaturk as a project coincides, in temporal terms, with a political agenda that is marked by the process of Turkey's integration to Europe; and prolongs, content-wise, an ideology that embodies the aspirations of *Turgut Özal* attracted in early 1980s to the idea of prescribing a genuine Ottoman identity in cultural discourse (Çetinsaya 2004: 378).

A political agenda and cultural identity as such, perhaps most appropriately encapsulated as Neo-Ottomanism, was mostly the product of recent drastic changes in the political mapping of the world caused by the dissolution of huge political systems such as Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia – both of which acted as hosts to either Turkish inhabitants or Ottoman inheritance (Çetinsaya 2004: 375). It was the revival of imperial Ottoman identity that would provide Turkey with the vision that was required in tackling with the balance-shifts in the area by way of re-imagining pre-WWI Ottoman realms and administrative structures (Çetinsaya 2004: 377). Tributes to Muslim communities in the Balkans, or to the Kurdish population dispersed throughout the north of Middle East, were all an expression of the neo-liberalism of 1980s – in the form of a neo-Ottomanism – in pursuit of a redefinition in the region (Çandar in Çetinsaya 2004: 379).

What Miniaturk offers is precisely the overall framework of such a redefinition – (1) the eagerness to claim a position in a fragmented and timeless post-colonial world by programmatically reinforcing a dehistoricized and decontextualized, yet inherently Ottoman, map on the surface of the Golden Horn; (2) the recurring fantasies of an imperial past around a glamorously multicultural social structure based on the nostalgic coexistence images of a late-19th century Ottoman experience; and (3) the re-making of a modern society, which embraces the imperial senses previously underestimated by the Republican citizenship model, by way of being integrated into trans-national, trans-continental, and particularly European

networks and identity politics. Miniaturk enters the European Union before Turkey[13], and endows it with an already gifted, sparkling and paradigmatic model – of a new, inspiringly para-historic, Otto-European citizenship.

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The exhibition as a multimodal pedagogical text

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In recent years, museum professionals, visitors and politicians have directed their interest towards the museum as a new arena for communication and learning. In this article, I explore the museum as an educational site from a multimodal and social semiotic approach. This approach implies a view of communication and learning as a social process of sign-making, where the meaning of a message is realised across several resources or modes of communication. As an example, I study the characteristics and the design of an archaeological exhibition at the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm, Sweden. The exhibition is described and explored as a multimodal pedagogical text. In my 'reading' of the text, I examine how the design encourages a specific reading path and how it creates coherence through 'framing' and through the use of colour. I examine how meaning is made through objects, text, image and sound.

Introduction

In recent years, museums have often been presented as places where people can meet, learn and communicate by actively engaging in the construction of meaning from exhibits (Hein 1998; Hooper-Greenhill 2000; Bradburne 2002, Smeds 2003; Fors 2006). Studies which focus on analyses of exhibitions usually proceed from a museological and/or an aesthetic point of view. Early studies often operated from a traditional, Shannon and Weaver model of communication, which suggested that the visitors (in some way) received the intended message of the exhibitor, gave feedback to the exhibitor, which enabled the exhibitor to modify the message (Hooper-Greenhill 1991). However, the problems of this linear model have become evident to many researchers, which now emphasize the complexity of communication.

In recent years, some researchers have been concerned with aspects of form and aesthetics in exhibitions (Mordhorst & Wagner Nielsen 2000), while others have taken an interest in the meaning of exhibitions, or to extent the exhibition as text (Smeds 2000, Hooper-Greenhill 1991). In the latter studies, the exhibition and its structure are being described as a text, which in its extension is 'read' by the audience when it comes to the museum and engages with the exhibition. Smeds (2000) discusses how the reading depends upon the social and the cultural background of the curators, their view of history and society and their aims in terms of what they want to show to the audience. In these studies, the analysis of the exhibition seems to be mostly about objects and language as writing.

In what follows, I will suggest a perspective that takes into account the profound changes that has taken place in our society the last decades (see e.g. Bradburne 2002:17). These changes are visible in the multitude of signs, messages, images and other modes that characterize our everyday life. Kress and others have described these changes in terms of multimodality, where language is only one and not necessarily the dominant mode of representation. In this paper, I want to take a look at the exhibition as an educational site, were I discuss communication and learning from a multimodal and social semiotic perspective (see e.g. Kress & van Leeuwen 2001). In such a perspective, communication and learning is seen as social processes of sign-making. Multimodality also entails attending to all resources and communicative modes involved, and not just the linguistic aspects of the exhibition as media of communication. I suggest that this approach also can contribute to a better understanding of the complexity of learning in museums. The multimodal approach offers a perspective on communication and representation, which allows me to take into account the many signs, messages, images and other modes that characterize an exhibition.

The discussion focuses on a specific exhibition, at the Museum of National Antiquities in Stockholm, called Prehistories. The analysis of this exhibition starts from an overall account of the multimodal resources that are available in the exhibition. What can be said about the possibilities for learning in this setting? Central in the article is the concept of design, which here has reference to the active sign-making process, where the interest of the participants is crucial for both the design of the message and the meaning which is made (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001, Kress et al. 2001). This work is part of a larger study which focuses on questions about the way visitors make meaning from what is being offered to them in terms of various resources and representations. In this particular paper, I will not deal with the response of the visitors or with the story of the curators. Instead, I will concentrate on the resources available in a specific exhibition, as I introduce some theoretical tools that can be used in a multimodal analysis.[i]

Social semiotics and multimodality

In this paper, I use a multimodal and social semiotic approach (see e.g. Kress & van Leeuwen 1996/2006, Kress & van Leeuwen 2001, Kress et al 2001, Hodge & Kress 1998). Since multimodality can be said to be linked with social semiotic theory, the central concepts of this perspective also derive from semiotics. For instance, semiotics starts from the assumption that language and the cultural world can be read as signs. Kress and van Leeuwen give the following definition of a sign: 'A sign is a unit in which a form has been combined with a meaning or, put differently, a form has been chosen to be the carrier of meaning.'(Kress & van Leeuwen 1996/2006:4). In sign-making, objects or entities are represented in different modes. The sign-maker makes a selection of what is seen as the most important aspects of the object to be represented, and finds the best means to make the representation. In a social semiotic approach, a sign is thus never arbitrary, but motivated by the interest of the sign-maker (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996/2006:8).

Kress & van Leeuwen describe multimodality as ' […] the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event, together with the particular way in which these modes are combined […]' (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001:20). The concept mode is thus very central in this approach. Modes such as sound, colour, image and writing are given equal attention, as they work together in an ensemble, in the realisation of a message (Kress, 2003: 170). Further, Kress argues that different modes have different affordances, or different representational potentials. This means that potential meanings are realised differently within different modes; they are used for different purposes and are constructed upon different principles (Kress et al. 2001, Kress 2003, Kress & van Leeuwen 1998/2006). Writing, for instance, is temporally governed since the author arranges units in a specific sequence; one word is placed after another. Image, on the other hand, has a spatial organization and presents its elements centrally, marginally, at the top or at the bottom of the space (Kress 2003: 2).

Multimodality emphasizes how the producer of a text chooses from among several semiotic resources in order to best communicate with the reader. Interest is equally directed towards interpretation and to the way people engage with the resources of a context, in order to make meaning (Kress et al 2001:2). Within the multimodal perspective, the notion of design gets a somewhat new meaning. It's accentuated how the readers of today form their own reading of a multimodal text, makes selections and decide in what order the text is to be read. This process is discussed in terms of 'reading as design' (Kress 2003). In this sense, I prefer not to discuss learning or meaning making in terms of 'reception', since this leaves out possibilities to focus on the visitors interests and the design-aspects of learning. If we are to consider the entire communicational process at a museum, we can argue that the design is realized only when it has been interpreted by the visitor, even though these interpretations may differ from the intentions of the curator. In this paper, I use the term 'text' in a wider semiotic sense, in which I also include the exhibition as a whole. Hodge & Kress refers to the term as 'a structure of messages or message traces which has a socially ascribed unity.'(Hodge & Kress 1988:6).

The reading of a text also depends upon the organization of the text, and if it is coherent and logic to the reader. The concept of framing is used to show how different elements in a visual composition can be disconnected from each other, for instance by lines or empty spaces. Equally, the absence of such devices can also imply continuity and that the elements belong together (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996/2006: 203-204, 2001:2).

In line with this reasoning is also the question of 'reading paths' in texts, or how texts can be read. The book, for example, is to be read linearly from the first page to the last. However in my view, an exhibition is structured differently, which I will discuss further below. Kress & van Leeuwen have examined the reading of newspaper text, and state that the reader first 'scans' the page in order to get an overview of the elements it contains and further how these

elements belong together. Then, the reader tends to start with the most apparent elements and moves later on to the rest (Kress & van Leeuwen 1998:205). I start from the assumption that this reasoning is valid also for the reading of exhibitions.

Pedagogical text

As others have suggested, there are several similarities between an exhibition and a textbook, (c.f. Axelsson 2006). In both media, there is a mixture of facts, explanations and stories which exercise influence on the reader/visitor. Both media contains regulations. Exhibitions can be used as tools for learning, just like textbooks. Both exhibitions and textbooks deals with storing of knowledge and they work as a social memory (Selander 2003a:2). There are also some differences that can be noted. Unlike some (older) textbooks, in an exhibition, the visitor is in most often free to choose what to engage with. In textbooks, the pupil must often read everything, or the pages decided by the teacher. One might also argue that teaching is not as central in museums as in schools, since other aims might be just as important. The museum is often presented as a meeting place, or as a place for entertainment or bildnung in a wider sense. Nevertheless, when we visit an exhibition, we learn what is counted as the central knowledge of for instance prehistory. There has been a selection and a delimitation of the content which is to be presented (Selander 1988:17).

Thus, it seems like there are more similarities than differences between the two media. Nevertheless, an exhibition is not a book, so we need to find a concept that is closer to its characteristics. Selander has suggested that the notion pedagogical text can replace the notion of teaching materials, since it contains a wider understanding of what a text can be. The pedagogical text reproduces existing knowledge and it explains the subject content according to educational standards. The relation between the producer of such a text and its reader is expected to be more asymmetric than in many other situations of communication, in that the producer is more knowledgeable and well-informed on the subject content (Askeland et al. 1996:166). In most cases, this is true also for exhibitions, which makes it possible to describe the exhibition as a pedagogical text.

Selander suggests that texts (together with images), can be divided into the following genres, according to their design and purpose: texts can be explanatory, persuasive, instructive or narrative (my translation). Visitors that come to the museum probably know what to expect when they visit an exhibition and they know how to act. On some level, visitors are perhaps also familiar with its, say persuasive or narrative, powers. This pre-understanding may give the visitor/reader some directions for how to read the exhibition (Selander 2003b).

According to Selander, a text is persuasive if it contains orders, advice or suggestions. The purpose is to convince the recipient and to affect the recipients' attitudes and actions. (One might add that other texts may be persuasive, even though they don't give orders or suggestions in an open way). Instructive texts also use orders or requests, but they have a chronological structure that have to be followed step by step. An explanatory text contains verbs like 'is' or 'has' in order to explain a specific subject or notion. Narrative texts often refer to individuals, places and events. Such a text contains verbs in the past tense, like 'were', 'had' and 'did'.

A text doesn't have a fixed meaning, but can be said to gain new meaning each time a person reads it. However, the type of text gives the reader certain directions for the reading. Also the producer of a text might have had a target group or a 'model reader' in mind during the production of the text (Eco 1984).

In what follows, I will make a description of the exhibition Prehistories, which will serve as an example and a starting point for the issues and concepts that I wish to introduce. The exhibition will be examined as a multimodal, pedagogical text, where I will take a look at

how different modes contribute to the meaning that is made in the exhibition. I will then move on to discussing its design and possible reading paths.

Prehistories - an example

The exhibition Prehistories was opened in November 2005. It deals with prehistory from a Nordic perspective, and can be characterized as 'traditional' in the sense that the focus is on the archaeological material, which is presented in chronological order. It has a 'human perspective'; it highlights individuals in stead of the big narrative or structures of history. A number of individuals are staged in scenery with moving images, giant pictures and photographs, illustrations, sounds and lots of different materials. Each room contains 'architecturally' shaped showcases alongside signboards on the wall, together with separate handouts. There are a lot of things to look at, but no objects may be handled or touched, nor are there any stationary IT-artefacts that encourage activity. Apart from signboards and images, there are sounds (birds singing, babies crying, sounds from the ocean etc.) and moving image/film. There is an audio guide, which offers additional information about the objects and the themes in the exhibition.

In the previous paragraph, I introduced the concept of the pedagogical text. Following Selander, such a text can be explanatory, persuasive, instructive or narrative. I believe that all of these types can be found within exhibitions in general, but when studying Forntider, I propose that this particular exhibition is in part both explanatory and narrative. This particular exhibition is explanatory in the sense that the written texts are indirect and speaks in third person. These fragments of writing come from big signboards: 'These types of helmets were adequate, but their principal significance were to signal the power and the high position of the owner…'(authors translation). In the writing, there are verbs like 'is' or 'has' in order to explain a specific subject or notion: 'They are called passage graves and are megalithic tombs. These types of graves are well known over a great area, from Portugal in the south to Norway in the north'. Explanatory images occur in the exhibition, as in maps showing the area of distribution of specific objects, illustrations showing techniques or the usage of objects, or pictures showing humans' use of the landscape.

Further, this particular exhibition is narrative as a whole, by referring to individuals, places and events. The writing contain verbs in the past tense, like 'were', 'had' and 'did': 'The woman from Stora Köpinge had a short skirt made of wool strings…'. In the exhibition, there are also narrative images showing individuals performing specific actions in a specific situation, as for example, an image of a woman holding a bow. She is placed in a forest and seems to be searching for her prey. There are also images of roman soldiers and troops in different settings. The narrativity of the text also has to do with its linear structure in space, where one room is placed after another. It also involves time, since it has a clear beginning and an end, starting with Stone Age and ending with Iron Age (Cobley 2003). The separate rooms are structured differently, though, and can't be characterized in the same way.

I can not find any of the characteristics of the other two genres; the exhibition is neither a persuasive nor an instructive text.

Resources and modes

A multimodal analysis can start from a survey of the wide range of resources used to produce the text. The different modes of communication which are used are offered as a potential for the visitors' engagement with the exhibition. In my description of the exhibition Prehistories, I can notice a strategy, where different modes often 'do' different things. Writing, for instance, is used differently than image. Colour, is used in a specific way in the exhibition, just like sound.

In the exhibition, photos are sometimes used to cover entire walls. These images are very important for the expression of the exhibit; it is often around images that the main message is constructed. On the left side of one room, there is such a photo, of a forest. Here, the archaeological findings frame and support the meaning already mediated by the photo. In the room, the text on the signboards gives us a picture of time and tells us about the individuals that are included in a narrative. Moving images are used somewhat differently than the big photos. When photos have almost a fixed meaning, the moving image is more complex and flexible in its expression. In a film, the expression can quickly change within the same scene. There is a projection of a river on one entire wall, a moving image of the ocean on another and also a moving image of a sunset. These moving images show us what happens. In some cases, archaeological findings are placed centrally in the room, attracting the gaze of the visitors. In one room, there is a grave with the skeleton of a man and a child placed in the centre of the room. One can assume that this exhibit attracts the attention of many visitors, and seems to be the starting point of the narrative this time. In this case, writing is often used to describe events in a sequence, while image is better for describing spatial relations between different elements.

Another example is the film in the beginning which just like 'ordinary' texts tells a story as sequences in time. The important difference is that the film shows us what happens. The film is informative since it represents ideas and interpretations about the archaeological material culture. It shows us what prehistoric man might have looked like, what kind of clothes he might have worn and what kind of tools or objects he might have handled. Sound is used to add an extra dimension to the scene, which is not possible to achieve with just images or writing. Music, a sparkling fire and bird singing appeals to the sentiment and to what's broadly humane through time and space.

How do different modes work together in adding meaning to a message, as multimodal ensembles? In a few places, I can notice that the ambition to address the general public doesn't always succeed. There is a clash between what the written text tells and what the scenery implies. For instance, in the display of the 'Roman Iron Age', the text says that the Nordic elite imported roman goods and that the higher classes were affected by the customs and lifestyle of the Roman Empire. The scenery, with its roman columns, may lead the visitor in the 'wrong' direction, so that s/he thinks that we might have left the Nordic perspective and now find ourselves in Rome? For someone who doesn't have a pre-understanding of this, or for a person that does not read everything on the signboards, it might be very difficult to make that connection.

The design of the text

Who is the model reader/model visitor in this case? Do the curators deliberately turn to specific groups or individuals? Such an ideal limits the semiotic resources that can be used for organizing the message of the text. And by extension this means that the design (the form) also says something about how the reading and the learning can happen. In Prehistories, the model reader is primarily an 'interested general public'. This is evident in signboards with texts that are 'non-academic' and easy to read. In the sign boards, specific notions or terms are explained, like the Swedish notion mjärde: 'The fish was caught in a mjärde [a type of cage], a kind of funnel-shaped cage made of thin wooden bars'.

If a curator wants the audience to make meaning from a text, it has to be coherent and in some way linked together as a whole. It is not enough that the elements of each separate room are connected, there also needs to be coherence between the rooms. Websites often contain a menu or map which in an early stage displays the structure of the site. For exhibitions too, this is important, as a way for the visitors to get an overview and to see how the different parts are linked together and also how events are linked through history. To the visitor, the structure of

Prehistories can be difficult to apprehend, even though there is something like an illustrated index in the form of a film early in the exhibition. In the short sequences of the film, eight individuals represent different parts of prehistory. They also introduce questions tied to the circumstances of the archaeological finds: 'what happened?', ' a sacrifice to the gods?'. These individuals give a very brief overview of the exhibition, but a proper map is actually missing. If a visitor would like to bring an audio guide along, there is a handout containing an index of all the features of the tour along with a site map that points out the different stops. This map can be quite helpful for those who want to navigate themselves inside the exhibition.

In Prehistories, there are walls which separate the different rooms from each other. In this way, themes around the different individuals appear in each room, like for instance life of the Iron Age aristocrats. These themes are marked off from each other, but not very strongly, since there are wide openings between the rooms and no doors. On the other hand, colours are used as to keep together these rooms as coherent periods of time. These periods span over more than one room, which means that colour has a textual function and forms coherence across several elements and rooms of the exhibition (cp. Kress & van Leeuwen 2001:57-58). The colours often begin when the old period stops and when the new period starts. They are also used to articulate aspects of a discourse of living during pre-historic time (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001: 25). Green is used for the beginning of the Stone Age, which spans over two rooms. The first rooms have been designed very much like a forest with trees and grass, with the context of the archaeological finds as a point of departure. This also says something about how the curator perceives life during the Stone Age: man in harmony with nature before the advent of agriculture, the ruling classes or technology. In the late Stone Age the colours are green, grey and brown, in order to reflect the life by the ocean and the cultivation of the landscape. Stones, sand, pictures of the ocean and of the landscape work together to enhance the impression in two rooms. The green colour is still used, as to imply the continuity of many aspects of Stone Age life. For Bronze Age, the colour is orange/yellow, since the sun is emphasized as important in the culture of the time. One big room is dedicated to this period, but the colour is also used for the beginning of the Iron Age. Finally, Red is used in the other three rooms of the Iron Age, which I have interpreted as representative of the colour of iron and perhaps of aggression and the roman god of war. In this way, the cohesion makes it easier for the visitor to understand how different elements in the exhibition are connected to each other. At the same time, the message to the visitor is that materials, customs, and society may be similar across periods. In this way, the shifts in history appear like a slow process of change.

What can be said about the reading path of this text? Do visitors read it like they would read a book, from left to right? Often, readers of newspaper texts start with the most apparent elements and then moves on to read the rest. I suggest that the same strategy is to be expected when it comes to the reading of exhibitions. The exhibition is constructed inside a rectangular space and consists of eight small rooms. The rooms are placed along a closed path with a clear beginning (Stone Age) and an end (Iron Age). Objects that are placed centrally will attract the visitors' attention. In other cases, objects or arrangements that are noticeable for other reasons, for example by their colour, will probably be noticed first. In line with this reasoning is Kress and van Leeuwen's understanding of design which is used to put forward the creative dimension of both producing and interpreting texts.

In my view, the design of this specific exhibition is structured into three levels. The first level is the entire exhibition, with a very linear structure of the different exhibit rooms, placed in a sequence one after another, with no entrances or exits along the way. In this way, visitors have to read the exhibition from beginning to end, even though they don't have to read everything along the way. The second level focuses specifically each separate room, within which the message has a structure of its own. Inside each room, the structure is very much

like a hyper text on a website, with connections and links that in different ways takes the reader in different directions through the text (Karlsson & Ledin 2000:26). The text is 'open' in a sense that the choices made become decisive for the meaning-making process. The reading will imply that the reader chooses some parts and leaves out others, which also makes possible several different readings. The third level is to be found in the audio guide, which makes it possible to get more detailed information about selected objects in the exhibition. In front of some of the artefacts, one can press a button on the audio guide, which plays a recorded message. The guides are similar in structure to the previous level, but with a possibility to enter even more deeply into different themes. The structure is clearly hierarchic with tracks on different levels of different depths (Karlsson & Ledin 2000:26).

Conclusion

In this paper, I have introduced a multimodal and social semiotic approach to the analysis of exhibitions. Such an analysis makes visible the organisation of a text and emphasizes the resources which are available to learners in a possible learning situation. The analysis highlights that meaning is made through several modes, such as image, sound, colour and text. The article suggests that the exhibition can be read as a pedagogical text, and that visitors' reading depends upon the design and the characteristics of the text. The concept 'framing' is used to discuss how the exhibition creates coherence. In the paper, I have discussed how the design makes certain reading paths visible.

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1 In my forthcoming doctoral thesis, I ask questions about what resources are made available to visitors for making meaning? Which resources do visitors make use of in their meaning-making? What can be said about these meanings in relation to the curators' sense of the exhibition?
The multimodal analysis of the exhibition is used as a starting point for further research into the actual response of the visitors, as it provides a basis for an evaluation of the possibilities for learning. The ambition in the study has been to collect different kinds of data; video recordings of nine visits; visitors' own digital photos and their drawings/maps of the exhibition, plus interviews with visitors and with the producer.
The project is connected to a larger project, which is financed by the National Research Council; 'The museums, the exhibitions and the visitors: Meaning making in a new arena for learning and communication'. The larger project will start in 2007, and is planned in collaboration between Stockholm Institute of Education, Institute of Education in London and Umeå University.

The Visibility Zone

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The visibility zone is a concept useful for analyzing national galleries (or national museums in general) in relation to contemporary challenges of globalisation.

First of all the impact of the concept will be made clear and the visibility zone of national galleries will be related to the global museum culture. In the second half of this paper a couple of examples will follow. These are narratives found in the visibility zone of national galleries. They will illustrate general, potential narrative problems. And they will be a short outline of which kind of challenges contemporary national galleries face in the visibility zone. This second half is a brief introduction illustrating how national galleries today compete with each other in the visibility zone to invent the future national gallery concept.

The Space for Global Recognition

This paper responds to NaMu's call by stressing a public (physical or virtual) space outside of the national gallery's own building. This is the space in which a national gallery makes itself become visible to us, previous to we (maybe) visit.

It is not only politicians – and many more – who negotiate the national museum concept different in different countries. "*Publicity materials*" and "*websites*" created by national galleries leave no doubt that these museums each has a very individual institutional self confidence. The National Gallery in London, Nasjonalgalleriet in Oslo (Nasjonalmuseet for kunst, arkitektur og design since 2003), Nationalmuseum in Stockholm and Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen have kindly offered their materials for analysis.

The "*publicity materials*" and "*websites*" show that the strategies chosen to improve on the visibility has become more various, if making a comparison of the four national galleries. The difference among the national galleries increases to a conspicuous degree from around 1996 and onwards. The challenge from the globalisation discourse and a globalising artscene makes the national galleries create themselves a more individual profile. In their materials each national gallery has created a compound of different new narratives in companionship with some well known narratives which traditionally have been representing the local institutional self confidence. The individual narratives profile competes on visitors locally and nationally. And further the profile competes globally (not literally globally though, but world wide) to extend the visibility zone. Not only "*websites*" but also "*publicity materials*" are condensed narrations on this matter.

The national galleries are linked in an international network of museums. They cooperate. But the competition to invent the future national gallery as concept, prevent national galleries from homogenising the idea of national galleries. From a competitive point of view they are not, as they were in the 1980s, trying to do the same kind of thing – just better then the other ones. Now they all seek out different possibilities.

Visual Appearance

The visibility zone is to be understood as every public space in which the individual national gallery appears to us, either as an electronic interface, by distributed "*publicity materials*" on paper, by works of art (or every kind of collection object) on loan for and exhibited by another institution, and so forth.

Please keep in mind that there are several possible media for national galleries to appear to a number of spheres in society. When I silence for example interviews in TV or newspapers of national museums professionals it is a matter of a well defined project. In my analysis it has been important that no journalist had been involved as a co-producer. But that the national galleries may be held as responsible for the product as possible. The institutional self confidence was a main concern in the analysis.

The national galleries' narrations in the visibility zone are very important – not to forget those many people who are not visitors; important for how people locally and nationally may define a national museum.

Also tourists are important as potential visitors. National galleries today are to introduce themselves to every single potential visitor world wide. And to do so just as convinsing as they have introduced themselves to tour organizers and travel agencies since the early years of mass tourism around 1960. Tourism has changed in recent decades. Travel has had a more individual character; people are more often travelling on their own. (Urry 2005: 59) This is an individualisation which unfolds easily when more and more people have the possibility to search information on the Internet. People buy their tickets for airplanes and make reservations for hotel rooms electronically. And the importance of the information from the national

galleries in the visibility zone increase in the sense, that they are supposed to motivate every single potential visitor on a world wide scale and make him/her move him-/herself corporally to visit the national gallery in question.

During the last decade or so the institutional self confidence of the individual national gallery has become even more decisive as the narrator. While the tourists own local travel agency or tour organizer, who has been a figure who translates cultural values, has had proportional decreasing influence.

But this should not be taken to say that the visibility zone is a new phenomenon. Ever since the national galleries were established as public museums newspapers and magazines have been occupied with these institutions and their exhibitions. So the case is rather that national galleries are dependent on and occupy themselves with the possibilities in the visibility zone in new ways. This dependency materialised e.g., when the national galleries from around 1970 began consecutively to create and distribute "*publicity materials*".

So far "*publicity materials*" have been overlooked as materials for research and analysis. When they are mentioned it is regretted that these materials used to be created by people in the lowest level of hierarchy within the museums organisation. (McLean 2006: 3) The smaller the museum is, the truer is also this regret. While the first time a curator was appointed to take education as the field of responsibility, including the responsibility to create "*publicity materials*", was in the single case of Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen in 1974. Since then an expanding field of work has taken place in the department of education which were established next, and the marketing department which followed.

It is important to bear in mind that the pure appearance in the visibility zone, like an electronic interface is, will not be transformed into true visibility until it receives someone's attention. The visual design and the conceptual narratives are to make this desire become fulfilled. Adrian Forty's essay on the remarkable impact a well made design policy has had on the London Transport System since the 1920s (Forty 1992: 222–238) illustrates the importance of the purely visual level of an institution and its appearance. Despite London Transport System is an example far off from the national galleries, the existence of a design policy in both cases has to do with how they address themselves to society.

The Museum-Society Relationship

Theory on museum-society relationships has primary been occupied with the visitor experience (or missing experience) in the museum, for example as mapped out in visitor studies. (Bourdieu 1969) This theory is a basis for the concept of the visibility zone as far as the focus of research is moved away from the museum object to the social space in which values and meanings are created. But the visibility zone as point of departure for an analysis also differs from the manifold visitor studies, when the focus is on a public space outside of the national gallery's own building(s). In the visibility zone the national galleries communicate their institutional self confidence, their plans, their intentions and visions. This is a space reserved less for what a national gallery does, then for what it says that it will be doing, or what it wants to underline as particularly good about what was already done. No experiences but only information and the expectations they create for future experiences are possible.

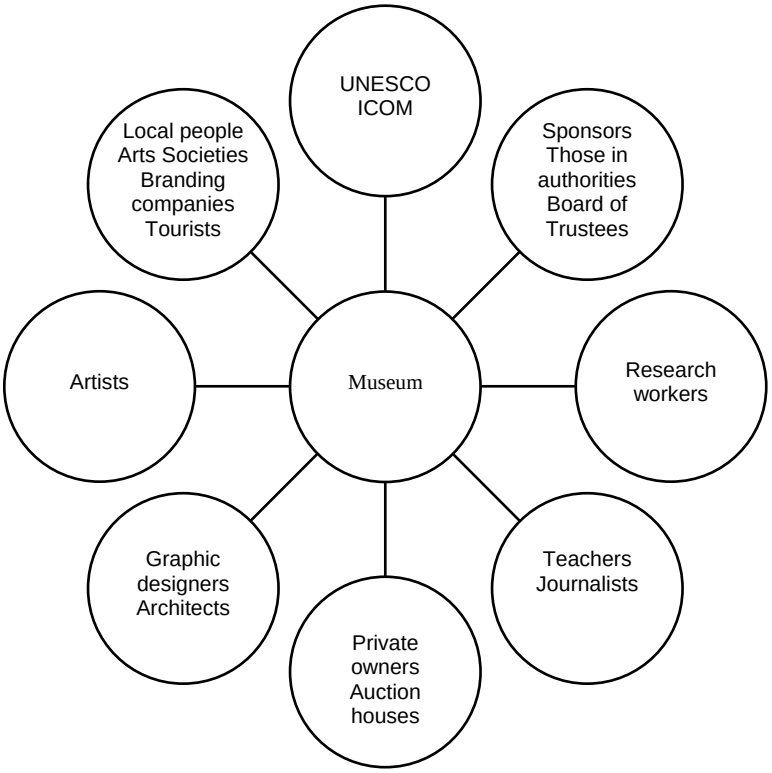
Pierre Bourdieu in *L'amour de l'art: Les musées d'art européens et leur public* systemised his visitors within the social class system of Marxism. Similarly, when the national galleries were established they were a political means supposed to diminish social conflicts between poor and rich citizens and to improve their feeling of being a homogenous "people". While in recent years authors on museological texts have asked whether it is the most important mission of museums today to gather these segments in the population. (Prior 2003: 6) The globalisation discourse reference to migration gives occasion to ask.

But what the right answer to this question is will probably not be the same in different countries. In Scandinavia we are used to our so-called “flexsecurity” model. If compared to for example USA, in economical terms it causes less difference between the richest and the poorest within the population. The “flexsecurity”-model means that the working force is flexible in the sense that it is easy to discharge people. But there is a system securing those who are unemployed with a minimum of economy. In this paper the “flexsecurity”-model is to underline, that the contemporary social problem which seems to us to be the most urgent one, must influence of how we rank our priorities.

Anyway, the critical question opens the opportunity for other ideas, such as the concept of the museum culture. This concept works out well in companionship with the concept of the visibility zone. The museum culture is not a new concept. But several authors, who use the museum culture concept leaves it quite open though (Sherman 2004: ix – xx; Fyfe 1996: 206), free for the readers own association.

In my case, first of all the museum culture is a conceptualisation of the museum/society relationship in the same sense, as Gordon Fyfe has occupied himself with this subject. (Fyfe 1996: 203) In my case the museum culture always holds the museum at the centre. This is illustrated by the diagram of the museum culture below. The museum culture is a culture of loose connections, where the manifold spheres surrounding the museum in the diagram, each have a specific interest in the museum as institution. One example would be the expectation from the researching art historian to the national gallery (or simply a museum professional from another museum), which differs from the expectations of a company where they intend to create a brand for themselves.

Figure 1: Global museum culture.



On the other hand this should not be taken to mean that none in that branded company possibly could have an interest in the artistic phenomenon similar to a researching art historian. It means that I keep to the level of the institution.

It would be another possibility to leave the institution level, for the level of the collection. On this level one would take departure in peoples manifold interests in the objects instead, and work with spheres of interest in that which is exhibited.

Further, the diagram also illustrates how the national gallery and its institutional self confidence are created in a discourse with a society "below" as well as a society "above". Every kind of citizen is part of the public discourse. And in the diagram people are also included who do not visit, but who have faced the visibility zone of the national gallery.

This diagram of the museum culture represents a very dynamic model. It illustrates how there is not a matter of polarity only; not a simple relation of the museum to "the visitor" imagined as a single figure that represents all of society. It is the manifold interests in the museum culture that are stressed here. A phenomenon important to keep in mind when analysing narrations in the visibility zone.

"The Nation"-narration

In NaMu's call every kind of national museums are regarded as challenged by globalisation. And how are national galleries to be understood as particularly national in a globalising world? It seems evident to look for narrations of the institutional self confidence relating to "the nation"-concept. But in which way is this issue a main issue, when national galleries compete with each other to invent the future national gallery concept in the visibility zone? Is it possible to characterize the situation today, as a matter of prominence of new narratives on "the nation"-concept?

This question indirectly leads on to says, that when the narratives may not be classified as strategies that seem to act in offensive they are opposite a tradition: strategies being on the defensive.

The over all impression from the "*publicity materials*" created in the last decade is that less attention has been given to review and renew the narratives relating to "the nation"-concept, if compared to the sometimes impressing attention given to incorporate and intensify narrations of an international museum network.

If a strategy is said to be most on the defensive when it has not been renewed since the earliest years of the national galleries, then this is a strategy to be found among the various "nation"-narratives. In the "*publicity materials*" from Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen this is the national gallery "*being a narrative about us and our ancestors*." This narrative makes "the people" appear to us in very much the same sense as when the national gallery was created in the 1800s. This is "the people" being like a big family, linked to each other by tie of kinship; "the nation" narrated as a matter of biology.

When "the people" is supposed to be the most successful narrative to create attention in the visibility zone a few questions appear: a) what are the national gallery's national obligations more precisely? b) for whom are the national obligations intended and who not? c) how do this narrative contribute to the meanings of and to the definition of the national gallery? And likewise d) to which spheres in the museum culture is this narrative supposed to be the most successful to create attention?

From four national galleries one has chosen "the people"-narrative, while three prefer a -territorial (nation-state territory) "nation"-narrative. And the variety in all the four "nation"-narratives makes it possible to conclude that the four national galleries narratives relate to the social space in which we live to a highly diverse degree.

The narrative of "the people" represents a strategy on the defensive. But it is accompanied by a an offensive strategy to expand the international professional network. When the two narratives are held together, the impression is that considerations on the "nation"-narration has been left behind somehow, while the national gallery struggle to create a super highway to globalisation.

At this point I will conclude, that it does not seem as if ”the nation”- concept is a main issue in the competition among national galleries to invent the national gallery concept of the future. This statement is also based on the fact, that the three national galleries which prefer the territorial model, has kept this model as a basic structure within the period of thirty years or so, when they have been creating “*publicity materials*”. The “nation”-narratives are not renewed in a striking way within this period.

But on the other hand “the nation”-narration is anyway a main issue. In the materials form all four national galleries we face “nation”-narrations. Not to renew a narrative is as prominent a choice to make, as to renew it in part or even totally to transform it. No matter how much on the defensive a narrative is, it is just as prominent a part of the national gallery profile as the strategies that act most in offensive.

When the context in which the meaning of the local/national is constructed has changed, as it has along the globalising discourse, we become aware of new aspects and questions. This also influence on how we face the profile of the individual national gallery. No national gallery can escape this changed awareness. But they may regard this matter to be a problem or as well, to be a new potential.

As example it has become possible to imagine that a national obligation to national galleries would be to create a discourse which develops our imagination and understanding of the “nation” concept.

A Potential Problem in National – Global Narratives

In the materials it is even more striking, how the global dimension sometimes appears as if it is a narration which has been put on top of the already existing narratives. There is often an “inside”-connotation attached to the “nation”-narration and a different “outside”- connotation, attached to the “global”-narration – as if it were something separate.

If globalisation is characterized as differing from that which is international by neglecting and crossing nation-state frontiers unimpeded, this is what information on the Internet do. This means that the global also is something “inside” the frontiers and not something only going on “outside”. But national-global narratives do not always appear this way in the materials from the national galleries.

The impression is that the national galleries find it to be a most challenging matter to - combine narratives of “the nation” on the one hand, and narratives of how the national gallery at the same time is globalising like every modern institution. It is a new potential narrative problem to national galleries, to create a narrative successfully including both. I already mentioned an example, where a major focus is on narrating the prestigious, international museums network. The consequence in this case is that the national professional network has been silenced in the recent decade. While I found another solution in Stocholm; Nationalmuseum has created a half-and-half strategy. This means, literarily to create one paragraph with “nation”-narratives when a paragraph has been created with “international” narratives – or the opposite way around. This strategy is even visible in the layout and possibly makes just as much sense to the brief reader, who maybe just looks through the folder or “*website”* more than carefully reads.

These two different strategies are to exemplify, how it is to a highly diverse degree the narratives in the materials give priority to that which is the local space, the national space and the world wide global space. The choices of narratives made by each national gallery emphasize how an increasing variety among national gallery profiles has appeared within the last decade. And these examples illustrate how the national galleries create individual profiles becoming competitors in the visibility zone; how national galleries compete to invent the future national gallery as concept.

In the materials, it is not always possible to understand the narratives of the local, the national and the global as articulation of one world. They appear as were they separate, parallel worlds, if the national gallery for example happens to introduce a different national gallery profile to the local society then the strategies available in the global visibility zone. Consequently narrative conflicts easily occur, when the two different profiles are inclined to face each other but do not successfully melt together.

The world which (as narrative) has fallen into pieces is a single, particular example which illustrates a more general problem in the materials. I will refer to this as a weakened narrative coherence. This is a general problem which occurs in the materials at about the same time as the competition to invent the future national gallery becomes visible, about 1996. The weakened narrative coherence is a phenomenon that is symptomatic for how the institutional self confidence of the national galleries has become destabilised within the last decade.

Every narrative is similarly important and will influence on what it is possible to imagine as a national gallery's obligations and similarly to imagine, what global opportunities are offering to the same national gallery. The link or missing link between the local, national and global narratives also offers an institutional interpretation to the globalisation discourse of what globalisation is supposed to be. For example: is globalisation primarily a demanding new phenomenon, or are there just as many similarities with what we did or knew for long?

Contradicting Cultural Forces

From a political sphere in the museum culture, "those in authorities" (fig. 1), the national galleries are to be modern institutions, they are to globalise. At the same time the political sphere needs to keep the imagination of "the nation" alive.

The nation as culture does not occupy a specific space but is always a matter of "inside"/"outside" – of hybridity. (Bhabha 2004: 1–7) A "nation" defined as a nation-state territory faces a major problem historically, due to the lack of stableness of state frontiers. A "nation" defined as "a people" face a major problem in migration.

But "the nation", as it appears as narratives in the visibility zone, are to keep the boarders of "the nation" as culture alive, and define that which is considered of significance within the contemporary nation-state in question. At this point national galleries are just as disciplinary today, as they always were, in the way Eilean Hooper-Greenhill has shown them to be. (Hooper-Greenhill 2001: 167–190)

In the diagram of the museum culture (fig. 1), both the political sphere and the artist sphere are important indeed to the existence (or not existence) of the national galleries. But opposite the political sphere, the contemporary artist sphere may ascribe irrelevance to the matter of origin and the "nation"-narration in this sense. Contemporary artists might be born in one country, educated in another country, live in a third country and work in a fourth country. Néstor García Canclini critically asks what makes passports (which means nationality) so important. (Canclini 2004: 699–708) Canclinis text is one good argument for defining the museum culture in a way, which will not primarily restrict people's interests in the national galleries to something dependent on their nationality.

When focusing on these two spheres in museum culture, the "artist" and "those in authorities", it seems to be this second sphere who has the most prominent interest in letting national galleries create a "nation"-narration. But it has become possible to imagine that a national gallery which face such contradicting cultural forces would see it as a potential and create a discourse on the subject.

So far, narratives in the national galleries visibility zone draw the lines of "inside"/"outside" of culture very clear to us. The narratives in the materials analysed reflect the cultural space we live in to a highly diverse degree. And this is a particular important matter because these materials are created to invite people and to give them irresistible good

reasons to become visitors. Taken further, what I also say here is that the national galleries have very much influence on which their visitors actually are.

New Narratives

Which are the future obligations of galleries? They are destabilised. But are they to continue primary as disciplinary, national institutions in the sense of the 1800s? Are they for example to awaken the national feeling in, if not a "people", then to those who reside in the nation-state? Do "the nation"- narratives work out as a strategy that is able to extend the visibility zone globally? Or how are "nation"-narratives interesting when seen from a global point of view? Each national gallery face so many questions!

In this paper I have focused on potential narrative problems. But on the basis of the materials offered for analysis it is possible to conclude that several new narratives already have appeared in the visibility zone. I will introduce you to one example.

It has become possible for every national gallery to choose whether they want to be a disciplinary space for a still ongoing one way flow of information to society, or to become a contact zone. James Clifford has had the experience in a museum, where "*..it became something more than a place for consultation or research; it became a contact zone.*" (Clifford 1997: 192) James Clifford's interpretation of the museum potentially could help the national galleries change their self confidence to become a much more interactive space where the visitors are given a more active role.

And this is what already has happened, when The National Gallery in London announces "The Associate Artist Scheme" on their "*website"*. The electronic visitor is told that an artist has been appointed to work in the museum building with the museums international collection of old masters. The National Gallery invites us to visit the artist's studio in a limited period of time at specific days. The National Gallery has created a narrative where the museum appears as a discreet but indispensable space where we are welcome to create an experience in company with the artist in the studio. We have the opportunity to meet an artist. The artist will meet some of his/hers audience face to face. The National Gallery is a kind of contact zone.

More precisely The National Gallery's idea is cognate to a discipline also practised in the art academies, when the student is to introduce his/her work of art to an audience of fellow students and teachers and to receive feedback. But the National Gallery studio is more informal. The National Gallery seems a silent but an easy to access mediator for contact between different spheres in the museum culture.

Conclusion

How national galleries are defined develop within a discourse in the museum culture. In this discourse the national galleries have a specific authority to choose between strategies and navigate in the agenda. Globalisation is not something happening to them. But they certainly have to make up their mind about a lot of questions. From my point of view it is not decisive if the national galleries already are completely clarified on all the questions and problems, from which only a few are mentioned in this paper. Maybe they will never be. But it is important that the national galleries relate themselves to all of these questions in a reflective and well considered way, when they introduce themselves in the visibility zone to the spheres in the museum culture.

In the visibility zone the national galleries both confirm expectations and create new expectations in the museum culture. When a national gallery for example wants to introduce itself becoming a contact zone, first of all it must appear to us in the visibility zone. A national gallery needs our attention. With our attention the national gallery will have the opportunity to motivate us to move our body; we go to visit. A national gallery also needs attention, from all the national galleries world wide, to be able to participate in the competi-

tion to invent the future national gallery concept. In both cases well made narratives must make a difference.

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National Museums Becoming Woman

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This paper is a shot cut analysis of the past, present and future of National Museums, seen from a Deleuzian point of view.[1] I will try to answer the question of understanding and defining museums and their changing role through some of the considerations Deleuze has had in relation to life in general and it's potential for having a dynamic impact. According to Deleuze life is "questioning power". All products of humanity, including Museums, are answers to the "problematizing" force of life. A good museum pays homage to the power of life in all its aspects.

1 For an excellent introduction to Deleuzian thought see: Claire Colebrook: *Gilles Deleuze*, Routledge Critical Thinkers, Routledge, London and New York, 2002.

Questionning Power – the Oedipal Way – Finding Founding Fathers

National museums were built in the era of Freud to work on Oedipal premises. In order to execute its powers men of honour and public influence took it to their heart to build up structures able to fuel the imagination of the public, by nursing and displaying art working instantly and in tune with the expectations of a crowd amused when provoked to sentiments of loss or gain. Right under the surface made up of the instruments of structuring the past and the present with the instruments of periodization, stylistic criticism, iconography, historicism, and ethical evaluation, everyone possibly could feel the arousal of deeper feelings of anguish and desire triggered by the arts themselves.

What the critics and art historians did, was rising the phallus by naming fathers and promoting the legitimate sons of him, turning museums into a silent battlefield for the selection of the chosen people, and even for the killing of founding Fathers.

In Denmark the name of the "Father of Danish Painting" is C. W. Eckersberg (1783-1914). He was given the title posthumously in 1925. This naming of the Father marked the high point after years of struggle against the success of the breakthrough of modern, European thought in the eighteen fifties. The title seems to stick to him. It was used at the anniversary exhibition in 2005 in The National Gallery of Art in Washington. Eckersberg was again made sacrosanct in the recent canonization of twelve works of art being part of a larger compilation of canonical works of art, presented by the Danish Government in 2006, where the work shown here appeared on it, prominently figuring as the first oil-on-canvas painting on the list.

C. W. Eckersberg, Danish, 1783–1853.
View through Three of the Northwestern Arches of the Third Storey of the Colosseum. A Thunderstorm is Brewing over the City. 1815. Oil on canvas. 32x49.5 cm. Purchased 1911. Inv. no.: KMS3123

Nicolai Abildgaard, Danish, 1743–1809.
The Wounded Philoctetes. (1775).
Oil on canvas. 123x175.5 cm.
Purchased 1849. Inv. no.: KMS58

The promotion of C. W. Eckersberg throughout the last half of the eighteenth century was followed by loud and violent exclusion of others. Most prominently among those scorned in public was Eckersberg's teacher N. A. Abildgaard. He was accused of being international, intolerably intellectual and even intimidating. The painting shown here entitled *The Wounded Philoctetes* was the first internationally recognized painting made of a Danish painter.

But as a sign of the long – lasting "problematizing power" of the critics, it was not put on display at the National Gallery until the beginning of the nineteen eighties. Then again the "questioning force" of life asked whatever happened to History Painting after the rage of Modernity?

Perhaps I could ask you all, if you recognize Oedipal structures in your local histories of building up an imagined, national community based on the arts?

Questionning power – the Deleuzian Way – Undoing Identity (and Finding Cows)

Deleuze offers a counter image to the oedipal one, perhaps opening up for another understanding of how we could define national museums past, present and future, when speaking of a "becoming woman" and when defining the potential of art as creating "new intensities" beyond the oedipal framing. Thus the "becoming woman" of museums could offer a positive future for once oedipally conceived national museums.

Wilhelm Marstrand, Danish, 1810–1873.
The Art Historian N. L. Høyen. 1868. Oil on canvas. 129x98 cm. Gift 1870. Inv. no.: KMS870.

To get to the heart of this becoming, we must first consider the notion of "Identity".

Making national museums is a matter of being able to make a community imagine it's own identity.

But the notion of identity has changed since a national museum lay at the heart of desires. When the notion of Identity changed, and why, I don't know for sure.

But anyway Identity is no longer a question of *who you are*.

It's a question of what you *do*.

Once upon a time the old, essentialist notion of identity paved the way for the autonomy of art, for democracy, and for the life of the individual and everyday life to be something of interest at all.

In the beginning of making national museums much fierce fighting went on in order to select the right objects to enter the collections. In Denmark, the bourgeois Director of the National Gallery N. L. Høyen (1798–1870) fought it out with the King Christian VIII both having the privilege of acquiring new works of art, but having opposite views of what art was good for the nation. A very serious issue to be sure. It was fought on the question of allowing *cows* to be on display.[2]

I myself have been stunned by the amount of works in our collections showing cows. In one hundred and thirteen works of art, "cows" are mentioned in the title. As for "horses" the number is three hundred ninety five. Horses do have another status than cows, since horses could be of interest both to the general public and to the aristocracy.

Johan Thomas Lundbye, Danish, 1818–1848.
A Cowshed on a Farm. 1844. Oil on canvas. 62x95 cm. Purchased 1844. Inv. no.: KMS446.

Funny as it seems nowadays fighting over cows, it makes a case in point, since the subject matter was once of great interest to the public, nearly all of them having been brought up in the countryside, now living in the city. The audience of those days were both anxious and thrilled by modern life bringing abrupt changes, more money and more dangers. The melancholic longing for a lost, rural life had it's own secular church for prayer, anger and redemption to go to, the new National Collections of Art.

2 See Britta Tøndborg: Hanging the Danes: Danish olden Age art in a nineteenth century museum context, SMK Art Journal, Statens Museum for Kunst, 2005 pp. 119.

Johan Thomas Lundbye, Danish, 1818–1848.
A Danish Coast. View from Kitnæs by the Roskilde Fjord. 1843. Oil on canvas. 188.5x255.5 cm. Purchased 1843. Inv. no.: KMS412.

The landscape, with or without cows, sheep or horses, seems to hold the interest to the public, even today. National Identity is still linked very much to landscape painting around 1850 in common culture.

If only we could find out what people miss in their everyday life as citizens of a given nation, we would know exactly what to put on display in our museums.

Normally we tend to think that it takes blockbuster-exhibitions to make people come to the museum by the thousands. And surely it helps a lot to show yet another exhibition based on recognition of Great Modern Classics such as Monet or van Gogh.

But in fact it doesn't really matter anymore what you've got on show for the public, and that's a completely new situation for the national museum.

Since the national Gallery of Art in Copenhagen had the entry fee expelled after a period of approximately ten years, people has come to see the collections re-installed, making the National Gallery the most visited museum in Denmark in the year 2006. It's for the first time ever, since numbers started to matter the most.

The special exhibitions get less attention because of the entrance fee to be paid. They get even lesser attention by the public than special exhibitions used to get when the museum was not accessible for free.

This leads to the next 'breaking news': It doesn't matter if you show your well-known collections, or if you put on even more new, special exhibitions. This is only the logical consequence of identity not being a matter of "who" you are. The identity of the museum is no longer to be found in the collections and the special exhibits. What counts now is only if the museum is a place where you will find movement and change. What matters is what Museums *do*.

They bring people together, they make silence tolerable, they amuse, they entertain, they irritate a little. All this is often done in a rather discrete and, hopefully, in a clever way. Museums are usually polite in their offerings of history since long forgotten. Even when putting hot, contemporary, ethical or political problems to be dealt with on stage, it's kind of nice. But "nice" is to be done away with.

Museums are starting to let the audience direct their activities more, as we do in Copenhagen by inviting teenagers to facilitate our new educational services. In the U.K. museums play an active role in engaging with the lower classes, the foreigners, and the illiterate. The new museum *takes care* of its neighbourhood community.

What does matter is the amount of activity accommodating any exhibition or collection on display. Make an event of your permanent collection, focussing wholeheartedly on the experience for the viewer, by rearranging it once a year in a new, meaningful and splendid way, and the press, as well as the public, will be on the spot to check it out. The lesson to be learned is this: The permanent collections should get all the same attention as do a special exhibition.

Identity matters. Substantial changes in our understanding of identity matters a lot, since the entire history of Western thought is based on being and identity. We have always imagined that there is some being going through Becoming. A museum is made to be the ground or institutional foundation for the structuralization of the proper language and point of view of experience.

But now the imminence of the coming and going of Being has differentiated into numerous ways of revealing itself. There is no single moment or work of art allowing the

perfected Spirit to show itself. Even Identity is not really up to the task of knowing itself completely, since Becoming has always been a matter of openness to change.

Not Identity, But Creativity and Diversity. The Museum as an Unstable Community

So, now *Creativity* is more important than *Identity*. If the Museum allow for *Creativity* to take place, then it's a place to go. Human creativity allows for such ideas as Art, Genius, Identity and Subject, to emerge. Identity and so forth are all ideas made up to raise reliable structures, to allow for the Phallus to Rise. Fine, but *creativity* in the Deleuzian sense, is linked to the *breakdown of structures*. If a Museum turns all closing, self-relying systems of working into a system of looking for openings, for excess, and for instability, then they start to be *Becoming* in Deleuzian terms.

If Museums mutate as time goes by, they might be allowed to continue to exist.

Another thing for the Museums to take into careful consideration is *Diversity*.

Only if museums can handle a vast range of different activities going on at the same time, it's fit for survival. In this sense, museums should be no different from handling the same difficulties, as does the contemporary artist. Museums, once so stable, should think of themselves as *instable communities*. Not because of unreliable income, but as desiring being unreliable, bringing surprise, being radical, or being so "old school", it breaks through Modernity.

Doing, Spectacle, Surveillance, Simulacrum

If the Museum once was a homo-social community reproducing the clichés of manhood, the ideals and metaphors for the museum invoked by Deleuzian thought, as those of Becoming though being aware of what you *do* and not who you *are*, are "Female" through and through. Speaking of becoming as making something new, it's like producing numerous new children out of the womb of the Institution. First, each new event at the museum should be slightly different from the one before. Second, it should not repeat then masculine, one-eyed focus on the artworks. Then the new, national museum can try to be a small "society of the spectacle" (Guy Debord) in a larger "society of surveillance" (Michel Foucault), where the spontaneity of lived experience has degenerated into effects of pure simulation.[3] With Deleuze (and Baudrillard) we can happily embrace the hyper-real simulacrum of reality produced by the Museum becoming Woman.

The artworks themselves will not loose their attraction or power in these instable surroundings.

On the contrary. They will still show off the power bestowed upon them to be able to problematize and question the spectacle, of surveillance, of control of normality, and Becoming.

3 For a splendid comparison between the thoughts of Guy Debord and Michel Foucault see: Martin Jay: *From the Empire of the Gaze to the Society of the Spectacle: Foucault and Debord¸ in* Downcast Eyes. The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth Century French Thought, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1994.

Ancient Sculptures and National Museums: Universal and Local Claims of Antiquity

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Introduction

Almost any National Museum in the Western world with art and/or archaeological exhibitions makes associations with ancient Greece and Rome. Ancient sculpture is in many ways emblematic for high culture. In particular, marble and bronze sculptures of the Greek classical style from the fifth and fourth centuries BC are revered as works of high art. In the field of reception research, which concerns post-antique appropriations of the classical heritage, several studies elaborate on the collecting and display of ancient sculpture from a historical perspective.[1] These studies tend to concentrate on particular periods, collectors, early acquisitions of ancient sculptures to museums, and the fate of famous sculptures in private collections and public displays. Ideological discussions are often focused on how the European nobility associated itself with the classical heritage. There is, however, an apparent lack of analyses of contemporary exhibitions. Reception research has largely avoided to problematize present-day appropriations of the classical tradition. These studies provide us with a historical background to our scrutinisation of the position of ancient sculptures today.

As a material category, ancient sculpture epitomizes classical ideals and ultimately a common artistic legacy for Western culture. In other words, it is in its capacity as exemplary art worth emulating that ancient sculpture often has been displayed in museums. The preservation of this status today is visible in, for instance, the National Museum in Stockholm – a museum primarily exhibiting pre-twentieth century Swedish and West European art. Although the museum does not display any authentic objects from ancient Greece and Rome references are made the classical heritage. To reach the museum's upper galleries where the

1 For example Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique. The lure of Classical sculpture 1500–1900* (New Haven & London 1981); Ian Jenkins, *Archaeologists and aesthetes in the sculpture galleries of the British Museum 1800–1939* (London 1992); Dietrich Boschung and Henner von Hesberg (eds.), *Antikensammlungen des europäischen Adels im 18. Jahrhundert als Ausdruck einer europäischen Identität* (Mainz am Rhein 2000).

permanent picture collections are displayed, the visitor walks up through a monumental staircase adorned with replicas of the Parthenon-frieze. Reaching the upper stairwell, the visitor further encounters plaster casts of famous classical sculptures (masterpieces) placed in niches, for instance the *Laokoon* group, and *Venus de Milo*. Two monumental paintings by Carl Larsson are placed high up on each side of the stairwell. Both adhere to the spirit of national romanticism that flourished at the beginning of the twentieth century. One painting depicts a pre-Christian ritual ("Midwinter sacrifice") while the other shows the triumphal entry to Stockholm of Gustav Vasa, the first king of Sweden. Distinctive national artistic and historic features are here connected with the classical heritage. Thus, before entering the picture galleries in which the development of Western painting is presented, the visitor is imbued with the essential knowledge of the origins of Sweden's cultural heritage; both in a particular vernacular setting and in the general context of West European art.

The present arrangement of this exhibition room is one of the best examples of how a national museum through the display of ancient sculptures claims a universal antiquity.[2] These plaster casts emphasize traditional art historical principles since they are viewed as exemplary pieces of art with primarily aesthetic qualities that transcends spatial and temporal boundaries. As objects of art, they represent the general ancient origin of Western art and the exhibition thereby corresponds with an art historical approach in research. The study of ancient sculpture holds today an ambivalent position in-between art history and archaeology. There is a strong tradition of analysing inherent artistic properties and the development of styles over time, i.e. ancient sculptures are separated from the very cultural contexts that produced them. On the other hand, ancient sculptures can also be regarded as archaeological objects. Elaborations from this perspective emphasize the functions and meanings of sculptures in their original cultural setting.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse how this ambivalence between art and archaeology is visualized in contemporary exhibitions of ancient sculptures. It is also our intention to relate these exhibitions to analytical concepts (terminology) that frequently occur in museological research. We will exemplify these concepts with a selection of museums from Germany, Switzerland, Greece and USA. Our paper is part of a larger study "The Petrified Gaze: Displaying the Ideals of Antiquity" where we investigate how the academic discipline classics and museums under mutual influence establish and preserve an idealised view of antiquity. In the framework of an idealised antiquity, ancient sculpture appears as a suitable analytical object because of its emblematic qualities.

Terminology – Dichotomies of Museums

The distinction between an art (historical) museological tradition and an archaeological – also referred to as ethnographic, anthropological, or historicizing – museological tradition is fundamental in museum studies. According to these conceptual schemes, art museums are characterised by the tendency to exhibit unique and singular works of art. In this tradition the aesthetic qualities of the objects are stressed, not the least through the practice to display only

2 The present-day appearance of the upper stairwell is the result of various additions and removals, since the building's inauguration in 1866. It is only the Parthenon frieze that remains as it was intended from the beginning, while some of the plaster casts, removed in the early twentieth century, were relocated in the niches in connection with a temporary exhibition in 2002. Carl Larsson's painting depicting Gustav Vasa was finished in 1908, while the controversial painting "Midwinter sacrifice" from 1911 was reinstated in 1992. For the changes of this space from 1866 onwards see Solfrid Söderlind, "Från ädel antik till gammalt gods", in Solfrid Söderlind (ed.), *Gips. Tradition i konstens form* (Stockholm 1999), p. 115–155 and Karin Sidén, "Tekniska lösningar och ideologiska ställningstaganden. Nationalmuseibyggnadens interiör och dess förändringar", in Mikael Ahlund (eds.), *Konst kräver rum. Nationalmusei historia och framtid* (Stockholm 2002), p. 40–58.

few and exclusive objects considered as aesthetically pleasing.[3] In this museological tradition the exhibited objects is the end; they refer only to themselves. In contrast, in the archaeological museums the singular aesthetic qualities of the exhibited objects are of secondary importance. The emphasis is on the original cultural contexts of the objects. They are exhibited because of their representativity and not because of their intrinsic aesthetic qualities. The object facilitates a better understanding of another (past) reality. It refers to another external reality.

Conceptualisations of museums by scholars from a variety of disciplines, analysing a variety of aspects, are guided by this or similar analytical distinctions. For instance, Stephen Greenblatt introduced the pair "resonance" and "wonder".[4] Exhibitions informed by the principle of resonance direct the visitor's attention towards an external taxonomy and away from the intrinsic qualities of the objects. Exhibitions permeated by the notion of wonder, on the other hand, highlight the unique qualities of the exhibited objects. Here the visitor should be impressed by the aesthetic qualities of the single objects. These exhibitions are not pointing towards an external taxonomy. Resonance and wonder can be associated with the above-mentioned archaeological and art museological traditions respectively.

Another example is Carol Duncan who makes a distinction between "aesthetic" and "educational" art museums.[5] Educational museums exhibit objects as part of a historical (art historical) development. Aesthetic art museums, on the other hand, are governed by the aim to present unique and aesthetic objects. In other words, educational museums refer to an external taxonomy which informs the visitors, whereas the aesthetic museums are not referring to an external reality. Similarly, Michael Ames elaborating on anthropological museum traditions identifies a dichotomy between a "contextualist" and a "formalist" tradition.[6] A distinction between collections exhibited in accordance with "aesthetic" qualities and "scientific/cultural" exhibitions, which are organised according to an external taxonomy or original cultural contexts, is also made by James Clifford .[7]

Despite the different intellectual contexts, all these schemes conceptualise museums according to a division between art exhibitions, focusing on the single aesthetic objects, and archaeological, focusing on external taxonomies. It is important to keep in mind that the fault line should not only be drawn between archaeological museums on one side and art museums on the other side.[8] Different parts of one museum, or even exhibition, can be associated with the different traditions. That is, we should expect to discern the art tradition at one point or another in an archaeological museum, and vice versa. These notions permeate museum exhibitions in general. Furthermore, these analytical pairs should be viewed as ideal abstractions. Several scholars also stress the fluidity of the concepts and the on-going re-definition of collections due to changing (discursive) circumstances. On a general level, it seems that exhibitions were organised according to scientific/cultural (Clifford), educational (Duncan), and contextualist (Ames) principles during the 19th or early 20th centuries and that there has been a development towards aesthetic exhibitions during the 20th century.

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3 Llewellyn Negrin, "On the Museum's Ruins", *Theory, Culture and Society* 10, 1993, p. 97–125.

4 Stephen, Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder" in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (eds.), *Exhibiting cultures: The poetics and politics of Museum display* (London 1991), 215–251.

5 Carole Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside public art museums* (London 1995), p. 4–5, 16–17.

6 Michael Ames, *Museums, the public and antropology: A study in the anthropology of anthropology* (Vancouver 1986), p. 39–42.

7 James Clifford, "On collecting art and culture", in James Clifford (ed.), *The predicament of culture. Twentieth-century ethnography, literature and art* (Cambridge Mass. 1988), p. 222–226.

8 In addition, other distinctions have been proposed. For instance, Stephen Bann, *The Clothing of Clio. A study of the representation of history in nineteenth-century Britain and France* (Cambridge 1984), p. 77–92, elaborates on two kinds of exhibition rooms, which are common in historical museums.

The scope of our project is to analyse exhibitions of ancient sculptures. Although only halfway through our visits to museums, we have noted that a distinction between an art historical and an archaeological museological tradition is relevant also for us. Exhibitions of ancient sculptures can be sorted along an art – archaeological spectrum. Accordingly, sculptures, most often single masterpieces, are exhibited in a way that highlights their unique aesthetic qualities, at one end. At the other end of the spectrum, we have exhibitions that emphasize the original cultural setting, the archaeological context of the sculptures. Aspects pertaining to issues such as the origin of the object, the date of manufacture, the function of the object, and the relations between the exhibited objects, feature prominently in the archaeological exhibitions. Nevertheless, our impression so far is that most exhibitions of ancient sculptures are to be found somewhere in-between these extremes. Ancient sculptures are separated from other categories of objects in the exhibition and displayed in separate rooms, or spaces, in order to illustrate an art historical development. The focus is on the development of styles, schools, artists, influences between artists and schools, etc. These "historicizing art historical" exhibitions refer to an external taxonomy based on stylistic notions, but not necessarily to an original archaeological setting. Within these exhibitions, masterpieces tend to be singled out and presented in ways that enforce their aesthetic qualities, in accordance with the art museological tradition identified above.

There is yet another factor which has been neglected in the above-mentioned analytical schemes. It is our impression that exhibitions of a "local" antiquity, regardless of the exhibited objects, are more often archaeological. For instance, museums at archaeological sites and regional museums in Greece and in Germany, in which finds from one specific site or region are exhibited, emphasize the original cultural/archaeological context of the finds. The exhibited objects are used to illustrate another past reality, a local history. On the other side, large museums (for instance, the Altes Museum in Berlin, Vatican Museums in Rome, the Louvre in Paris, the British Museum in London, the Metropolitan Museum of Arts in New York, and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston) with a "universal" outlook underscores the aesthetic sides of classical antiquity. That is, in international museums, with a focus on a universal art history where antiquity often serves as a point of origin for a Western art historical development, the exhibits highlight the aesthetic qualities of the ancient objects, or contextualise them along an art historical development. These museums are not exhibiting objects from one confined region, but acquire objects from all corners of the ancient world. This means that the image of antiquity that is mediated in the museums differs remarkably between universal and local exhibitions; in universal exhibitions antiquity is portrayed as an exemplary period with artistic geniuses and other "great men of history", whereas local exhibitions tend to stress the unique – social, everyday – traits of the regional development. On general terms, we can associate the universal exhibitions with the art historical museological tradition and the local with the archaeological tradition.

This analytical pair can further be associated with a historical development. The universal tradition can be associated with the long history of Western claims that have been made on antiquity. Antiquity has been cast as the origins of a western tradition and classical objects have been collected and exhibited according to their aesthetic qualities. Acquisition and display of the classical heritage was an important way to articulate the claims on the classical heritage. The practice of acquisition, which in effect means that the objects are acquired on a one-by-one basis, facilitates the universal exhibitions of ancient collections and contributes to the emphasis on the unique aesthetic qualities of the objects. Furthermore, the universal tradition can also be associated with the tradition of displaying plaster casts of ancient

sculptures during the 19th and early 20th centuries.[9] The widespread practice to present antiquity through plaster casts of a set of well-known sculptures indicates that universal museum has a tradition of displaying antiquity according to aesthetic principles.

Exhibitions of Ancient Sculptures

We want to stress that we do not regard these discourses as mutually exclusive but rather as analytical abstractions, which aid us to sort out and analyse exhibitions of ancient sculptures. In other words, the local and the universal should be regarded as aspects of exhibitions of ancient sculptures, which are discernable in most exhibitions. In the following, we will present some examples of exhibitions of ancient sculptures in order to illustrate our conceptual scheme.[10] Several other factors, beyond this scheme, may have influenced these exhibitions, for instance, when a museum was founded. However, these factors fall beyond the scope of this paper.

At one end of the spectrum, we have museums which exhibit ancient sculptures as any other category of archaeological artefacts. This means that the aesthetic qualities are ignored, or at least, subdued and the original cultural setting of the sculpture is highlighted in the exhibition. This kind of exhibition is more common in small(er) museums which display objects from a confined geographic area, whether a single archaeological site or a larger region. The new exhibition in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, inaugurated in September 2006, is an example of an exhibition in which ancient sculpture is displayed in a local/archaeological fashion (fig. 1). The exhibition in the museum as a whole is organised thematically. The emphasis of the exhibition is placed on the narration of the ancient history of Thessaloniki and Macedonia. This is enforced by an exhibition design where information texts, illustrations, cases, and objects, are placed in a way where they intrude on each other. This design negates exhibitions where the isolation of the objects underlines their aesthetic qualities. An illustrative example of this is a sculpture of *Venus Genetrix* exhibited together with other finds from the sanctuary it was found in. Here the sculpture is first and foremost an object with religious functions. The meaning of the sculpture in the original cultural setting is underscored. This can be contrasted with the displays of *Venus Genetrix* in the Metropolitan in New York, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the Getty Villa in Los Angeles, and the Louvre, where the copies are exhibited isolated or in displays which stress art historical aspects.

The association of the finds with the architectural complex in which they were found is indeed a common kind of archaeological contextualisation in museums. The site museums at Olympia and Delphi are arranged in a chronological order. This order is, in turn, sub-divided by entities/rooms organised according to buildings. The primary narrative in both of these museums is the history of the respective site during antiquity. Nevertheless, both exhibits depart from the determining archaeological order in the display of individual sculptures considered to be masterpieces. The *Charioteer* in the Delphi museum, *Nike* by Paionios in the Olympia museum, and the *Hermes with the infant Dionysos* in the Olympia museum, are all

9 Plaster casts were largely removed from museums in the 1920s, see Marden Fitzpatrick Nichols, "Plaster cast sculpture: A history of touch", *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 21, 2006, p. 118f.; Alan Wallach, "The American Cast Museum: An Episode in the History of the Institutional definition of Art", in *Exhibiting contradiction. Essays on the Art Museum in the United States* (Amherst Mass. 1998), p. 38–56.

10 One photograph of the exhibition in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki is included in this article. We do not include any images of the other exhibitions discussed, since the requests for permissions to publish photographs from these museums had not been processed at the time of the deadline for the publication. Therefore, we refer to the various museums' webpages for images from the exhibitions.

Figure 1. Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki. The display of Venus Genetrix. Photograph: authors (published by permission from the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki).

exhibited isolated in small rooms specially designed for the exhibition of these particular sculptures.[11] In these displays, the unique aesthetic qualities of the sculptures are underscored. These sculptures might have a context that can be tied to the site, but no attempts are made in the exhibitions to associate them with their original cultural setting. The aesthetic emphasis obscures the specific chronological and spatial information that is crucial from an archaeological point of view.

However, not all regional museums in Greece have masterpieces, and in these, it is hard to distinguish the universal aesthetic discourse. In these museums, which primarily address archaeological issues, the preferred taxonomic principle is either chronologic or geographic. The archaeological museum in Kavalla in northern Greece, for instance, contains objects from a handful sites from the surrounding region. The exhibition is organised geographically and each site is presented in one or several rooms. Sculptures are displayed side by side with other kinds of objects. Despite the lack of information-texts, which in our view is crucial for archaeological presentations, the arrangement nevertheless stresses an archaeological understanding of the objects, since they are displayed as one entity. In the regional museum of Argos on the Peloponnese, the sculptures are gathered in one room. The absence of other objects coupled with an arrangement in which the sculptures are placed close to each other, highlights the sculptures as a category rather than as unique objects. Although the sculptures are isolated from other categories of finds and thus this exhibition would conform to a "historicizing art historical" principle, we should also keep in mind that there is no detectable order in the presentation of the sculptures that enables the tracing of a stylistic development.

11 Delphi Archaeological Museum: http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/1/gh151.jsp?obj_id=3404. Olympia Archaeological Museum: http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/1/gh151.jsp?obj_id=7126. Accessed on 9 May 2007.

In addition, several museums in Germany exhibit ancient sculptures according to local/archaeological aspects. The exhibition in the Römisch-Germanisches Museum in Köln, for instance, is arranged thematically.[12] In the main exhibition room on the first floor, most of the exhibited objects are arranged on "islands" built of concrete which the visitor can walk around.[13] Each "island" presents a theme, and contains primarily statues, grave reliefs, and architectural fragments, but also other types of objects. In general, aesthetic aspects are absent in this exhibition and the objects are used to illustrate an archaeological past. A couple of exceptions are noteworthy. First, although sculptures are not ordered separately other categories, such as oil-lamps, are. In other words, the "historicizing art historical" principle is not entirely absent from the Köln museum. Second, singular aesthetic qualities are stressed in the exhibition of a copy of head of a sculpture by Praxiteles, a famous Greek sculptor. Furthermore, the thematic arrangement comes at odds with one fundamental archaeological aspect. In the Römisch-Germanisches Museum the exhibition presents us with a static coherent image of antiquity, without an internal chronological development.

In comparison with Greek regional museums, the German museums tend to organise their exhibitions around themes which highlight the local and mundane everyday life in the province more than the public official life. The local – universal dichotomy does not always correspond with the archaeological – art dichotomy. For instance, in the Badisches Landesmuseum at Karlsruhe the exhibition on the ground floor spans from the first pre-historic civilisations – Egypt, Mesopotamia, Aegean Prehistory – via the ancient Greeks to the Roman Empire.[14] This exhibition is archaeological since the themes around which the exhibition is organised, e.g. democracy, gods and heroes, trade and production, domestic life, contributes to an understanding of social and historical aspects of the past beyond art historical developments. The exhibited objects illustrate various aspects of antiquity; they refer to an external past reality. The universality of the exhibition at the Badisches Landesmuseum should not be associated with aesthetic principles but rather with the selected themes, which emphasize the high culture of antiquity. The universality of the exhibition on the ground floor emerges more clearly, when it is contrasted with the exhibition in the basement in the same museum. In the basement, it is local cultures, the La Tene, the Hallstadt culture, and the local Roman culture, that are presented. This exhibition is also arranged thematically; but the local objects, the focus on provincial everyday aspects, as well as the marked differences in exhibition design, manifests a distinct contrast between the mundane everyday life in the provinces of the Roman Empire and the high public culture of the Imperial epicentre of power.

The National Archaeological Museum in Athens is the central museum for archaeological finds in Greece and exhibits ancient objects from all over Greece.[15] The exhibition is organised according with the categories of finds; ceramics are exhibited as one entity, sculpture as another, bronzes as third, etc. A clear distinction is made between pre-historical and historical periods. The pre-historical exhibition is not divided according to categories of

12 Römisches-Germanisches Museum in Köln: http://www.museen.koeln.de/roemisch-germanisches-museum. Accessed on 9 May 2007.
See also, http://www.zum.de/Faecher/G/BW/Landeskunde/rhein/staedte/mittelrhein/koeln/rgm/index-htm. Accessed on 9 May 2007.

13 See Hans-Joachim Schalles and Friedrich Gross, "Untersuchungen zur Objektpräsentation im Römisch-Germanischen Museum Köln", *Hephaistos: Kritische Zeitschrift zur Theorie und Praxis der Archäologie und angrenzender Wissenschaften* 1, 1979, p. 129–143 for a description and analysis of the Roman exhibition on the first floor.

14 Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe: http://www.landesmuseum.de/website. Accessed on 9 May 2007.

15 National Archaeological Museum in Athens: http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/1/gh151.jsp?obj_id=3249. Accessed on 9 May 2007.

finds, but geographically. In the pre-historic parts of the museum, finds from one site are presented together. The pre-historic exhibition is more archaeological since this presentation facilitates a more nuanced understanding of the original cultural setting. In contrast, the exhibition of sculptures in a series of rooms, without other objects, is a presentation that underscores the stylistic development and corresponds thus with the "historicizing art historical" tradition. Nevertheless, there are also discursive fluctuations in this museum. The art tradition, in which the singular aesthetic qualities are stressed, is discernable in association with the display of masterpieces. Well-known sculptures, e.g. *Poseidon, the Horse and Jockey from Artemision*, and the statue group of *Aphrodite, Pan, and Eros*, are surrounded by a low "fence" of glass, which indicates their uniqueness and distinguishes them from other exhibited objects. The aesthetic discourse is also visible in a room with a distinct design which separates it, and the sculptures in it, from the rest of the exhibition. Only masterpieces are exhibited in this room, e.g. the *Diadoumenos*, a version of the *Capitoline Venus*, and the above-mentioned equestrian group. In sum, also the exhibition in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens oscillates between the two discourses that have been identified above.

In exhibitions pertaining to a universal antiquity, the spaces in which ancient sculptures are displayed often give a colourless, calm impression. There is a minimum of contrast between the white marble sculptures and the surroundings. Walls painted in light colours and natural lighting, together with enhanced artificial lightning, create illuminated rooms where little disturbs the visual field of the visitor when admiring the sculptures. Statues are spaciously arranged which stresses their aesthetic uniqueness. Labels and information texts are kept to a minimum not to interfere with the general visual experience of clean spaces. Such rooms for ancient sculptures can, for instance, be found in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the Antikenmuseum in Basel, Liebieghaus in Frankfurt am Main, and the Glyptothek in München. All exhibitions can, to varying degrees, be defined as exhibitions displaying a universal antiquity.

The exhibition of ancient Greek antiquities in the Metropolitan, which reopened in 1999, is the most recent of the four.[16] Unlike the other three, it is part of a large-scale art museum. Although the exhibition concerns ancient Greece the messages conveyed are of more universal kinds. Firstly, the exhibit is placed on the first floor at the beginning of the left wing. In other words, it is potentially one of the first exhibitions that visitors to the museum encounter, which accentuates the role of ancient Greek art as the early origin of Western art. The exhibition is organized around a large classicising sculpture gallery reminiscent of an ancient basilica. This exhibition is ordered after one of the most enduring art historical discourses in the study of ancient sculpture, the so-called *Kopienkritik* with roots in nineteenth century-research.[17] The central issue has been in what ways copies made in the Roman period can be used to reconstruct lost Greek masterpieces from the fifth and fourth centuries BC (the classical period). In an appeal to artistic connoisseurship, references are made to famous Greek sculptors and their production. Accordingly, in the sculpture gallery the mastery of Greek sculptural art can only be illustrated through Roman copies. There is no apparent chronological arrangement of the sculptures, since there is a focus on the classical style. Sculptures are rather presented as examples of ideal types like the naked male, the draped female, busts of women and grave reliefs. An explanatory panel informs the visitor of the importance of Roman copies in the study and reconstruction of Greek masterpieces. Since the main issue is the artistic faithfulness of the copy to the original statue several versions of the

16 Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York: http://www.metmuseum.org. Accessed on 9 May 2007.

17 Jerome J. Pollitt, "Introduction: Master and Masterworks in the study of Classical sculpture", in Olga Palagia and Jerome J. Pollitt (eds.), *Personal styles in Greek sculpture* (Yale Classical Studies, 30), (Cambridge 1996) p. 1–15.

same type can be on display, as is the case of the *Diadoumenos*. The main purpose of this exhibition is not to explain the function and meaning of these sculptures in ancient Greek societies. Rather, the sculptures appear as timeless objects of exemplary art.

A similar statement on the importance of the Roman copy in the study of Greek sculpture is made in the Antikenmuseum in Basel.[18] Ancient sculptures are exhibited in a large sculpture hall created in the 1960s. The visual experience is here similar to that of the sculpture gallery in the Met – a large illuminated hall with discreet colours and statues in a spacious arrangement. Most of the statues are fragmented Roman copies, but the appearance of the original Greek masterpieces is stressed. Labels show sketches of how some of the original statues looked like. Like in the Metropolitan, the statues are not organized according to chronological developments, but rather in groups of different types that exemplify famous Greek statues. Little information conveys how Greek sculpture functioned in ancient Greece or for that matter what their role was in later Roman contexts. Instead, exhaustive texts explain different art historical aspects of ancient sculptures. Again we see that the timeless aesthetic quality of the classical style in ancient sculpture embodies a universal antiquity.

The Liebieghaus in Frankfurt is an art historical museum which exhibits only sculpture in a chronological order, from ancient Egypt to the 20th century.[19] The stylistic development of sculptures is in focus, and it can be characterised as "historicizing art historical". The exhibition design is minimalist and bright, which together with the scarcity of exhibited sculptures creates an aesthetic impression. Within this general aesthetic presentation, one ancient sculpture is singled out. The so-called *Frankfurter Athena* is the masterpiece in the Liebieghaus. It is exhibited in a room alone, with nothing to disturb the visual field. The isolation underlines the unique aesthetic qualities on this sculpture, along the lines of the art museological tradition.

Another example of the aestheticizing mode of displaying ancient sculpture can be found in the Glyptothek in München.[20] It is a museum solely devoted to ancient sculpture, which implicitly gives the exhibition an art historical slant. Inaugurated in 1830, its purpose was to display the antiquities of the Bavarian king Ludwig I.[21] The museum was almost entirely bombed out at the end of the Second World War and the present exhibition was opened at the end of the 1960s.[22] Rooms with whitewashed brick walls create barren spaces in which the sculptures are sparingly presented. Information panels are found in discreet places, such as doorways, and there are no labels by the statues, which would disturb the visual impression of the separate statues. These rooms form stark contrasts to the nineteenth-century exhibition where sculptures were displayed in gaudy decorated rooms.[23] Interestingly, photographs of old exhibitions in each room inform the visitor of the difference. Today's exhibition oscillates between taxonomy and aesthetic display. Thus, while the rooms are roughly organized after the stylistic development of ancient sculpture from the archaic Greek period (6th century BC) to Roman Imperial times there is a distinct focus on timeless masterpieces. For instance, the famous *Barberini* faun, dating to ca 220 BC, is placed in the middle of a small rotunda early

18 Antikemuseum in Basel: http://www.antikenmuseumbasel.ch. Accessed 9 May 2007.
19 Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung: http://www.liebieghaus.de. Accessed on 9 May 2007.
20 Glyptothek, München: http://www.antike-am-koenigsplatz.mwn.de/glyptothek. Accessed on 9 May 2007.
21 James J. Sheehan, *Museums and the German art world form the end of the old regime to the rise of modernism* (Oxford 2000), p. 62–70.
22 Suzanne L. Marchand, *Down from Olympus: Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton 1996), p. 363–368.
23 Elianna Gropplero di Troppenburg, "Die Innenaustattung der Glyptothek durch Leo von Klenze", in Klaus Vierneisel and Gottlieb Leinz (eds.), *Glyptothek München 1830–1980: Jubiläumsausstellung zur Entstehungs- und Baugeschichte. 17 September bis 23 November 1980* (München 1980), p. 190–213.

in the exhibition and thereby presented as a masterpiece. The educational aspirations of the museum are here overshadowed by aesthetic ideals.

Summary

In this paper, we have elaborated on two discourses that shape the display of ancient sculptures in museums; one (more) locally bound archaeological mode, and a second art historical arrangement pertaining to (more) universal ideals of antiquity. Although both of us approach this subject from an archaeological point of view, we would like to stress that it is not our intention to value one discourse over the other as a better way of representing antiquity. This paper is a first attempt to identify overriding traditions that dictate how ancient sculptures are presented in contemporary exhibitions. The sample of museums analysed shows that there is no clear-cut division between the two discourses. Archaeology transcends into art and vice versa. Ancient sculptures, in particular masterpieces regarded as crucial for the art historical stylistic development, are often treated as unique art objects. Archaeological exhibitions display individual sculptures on the basis of aesthetic principles and emphasize thus timeless aesthetic qualities, for instance the display of the *Charioteer* in the Delphi museum. On the other side, "historicizing art historical" arrangements can be criticized for isolating sculptures from their original cultural setting, but in reality, this taxonomy coincides with exhibitions in archaeological museums, which present objects in typological series. In the end, it seems that museological developments have only had a marginal effect on the displays of ancient sculptures, since they still often are presented as exemplary ideals.

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New Nation, New History: Alexandre Lenoir and the Musée des Monuments français (1795–1816)

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In answer to one of this conference's foundational questions, "How has the concept of the national museum been understood and defined by different actors in the past?", this paper proposes a case study of the design and creation of the Musée des Monuments français (1795-1816) by its founding curator, Alexandre Lenoir, in late eighteenth-century France. As France's original national museum of sculpture, architecture, and monuments, the Musée des Monuments français emerged in the wake of the French Revolution – indeed as a direct consequence of this revolution – just as the nation's first national public museums were taking shape.

The paper considers the Musée des Monuments français as one individual's endeavour to explore the new aims of history and its uses in the expanded social and public spheres of France's post-Ancien régime, and positions the Musée as an example of a specific museological genre – the *narrative* history museum. As a hermeneutic study of this genre, the terms of engagement range from parallel readings on the subjects of historiography, pedagogy, and cultural reform, in addition to landscape and architectural theory, to demonstrate how a changed sense of history and theories of sense perception informed museum scenography at a pivotal moment in its development.

Preface: The Narrative History Museum and the Hermeneutic Circle

The narrative history museum is one that purports to represent historical events in a continuous and cohesive narrative environment, effected through the aesthetic, spatial, temporal, and architectural *mise-en-scène* of the museological setting and the placement of objects within this setting. Recent scholars have claimed the narrative history museum to be an outcome of the twentieth-century appearance of the Holocaust Museum, citing Yad Vashem as the first example of this genre when it was completed in Jerusalem in 1970. I suggest the narrative history museum has roots dating back to the late eighteenth century, and developed contemporaneously with the birth of the modern museum institution in France.

I use the concept and genre of the narrative history museum as one possible defining feature of the national museum, and in my doctoral dissertation, I explore the genre's import in relation to the creation of the revolutionary Musée des Monuments français (1795-1816) by its founder and curator, Alexandre Lenoir (1761-1839). This means that my study of this national museum of history and art does not ground its analysis uniquely in theories of art and aesthetics, nor does it endeavour to trace a stylistic or typological genesis of the national museum in the tradition of Pevsner or Seling, but considers issues related to narrative as well.[1] My dissertation derives its terms from a philosophical and hermeneutic study of the museum and its political, cultural, and historical context, by engaging in an interpretation of this subject. The modern practice of hermeneutics is premised upon our belief that the very act of understanding history entails our recognition that we are also always an active part of the historical process, and thereby requires our on-going participation within this process. According to Gadamer, for this to occur, one must fully engage with historical texts by entering into a dialogical relationship with the past. Hermeneutics insists, by its very nature, on a truly comparative approach in order to gain a better understanding of the past.

I have sought to engage the world of the Musée des Monuments français through a parallel reading of contemporaneous texts on the subjects of historiography, conservation, and pedagogical reform, in addition to landscape and architectural theory. These texts have permitted me a greater understanding of the larger spatial, representational, and cultural practices that shaped modern historical consciousness and the construction of subjectivity in the late eighteenth century. My project considers how a changed sense of history at this time led to significant innovations in scenography and architectural program in the Musée des Monuments français. For Lenoir, the concept of an art museum was inherently tied to the display of history, and this display was to be apprehended experientially by the visitor. Lenoir's empirical ideas were clearly informed by Enlightenment conceptions of subjectivity and indebted to Lockean theories on the processes of human memory, the imagination, and sense perception, and the sensationist theories of the French philosopher Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1714-1780).

I therefore use the architectural concept of the "program," which I define as the theme of the arrangement of a series of spaces into a coherent whole, as key to understanding the Musée's meaning and philosophical purpose. Its use in this sense has enabled me to interpret the site of the museum as the embodiment of two alternating and complimentary intentions:

1 Nicolas Pevsner, *A History of Building Types* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1976) and Helmut Seling, "The Genesis of the Museum," *Architectural Review* 141 (February 1967), p. 103-114.

narrative and enactment. This dual structure opens up the museum to an analysis of both cause and effect, as text and place of engagement. Through a combined consideration of the narrative voice of the museum catalogue, of the architectural program of the diverse conceptual spaces of the museum, of the scenography of the museum as *gesamkunstwerk*, and of the texts of visitor accounts, the concept of the national museum in late eighteenth-century France may be understood in its most comprehensive, and richest, sense.

I. Concepts and Contexts of the Musée des Monuments français

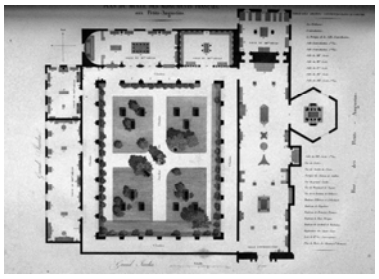

Figure 1.
Plan of the Musée des Monuments français at the monastery of the Petits-Augustins in Paris, from Jean-Baptiste-Bonaventure de Roquefort, *Vues pittoresques et perspectives des Salles du Musée des monuments français* (Paris: Impr. de P. Didot, l'aîné, 1816). Courtesy of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, Canada.

In answer to the question, "How has the concept of the national museum been understood and defined by different actors in the past?", this paper proposes a case study of the conception and creation of the Musée des Monuments français (1795-1816) in post-Ancien régime Paris, by its founder Alexandre Lenoir. I would like to suggest this case study as a way of engaging this conference's foundational questions on the concepts and contexts underlying the national museum, not in any totalizing or generalizing way – I do not and would not make the claim that Lenoir's ambitions in designing the Musée des Monuments français were indicative of the general trend in late eighteenth-century France; quite the opposite, this museum was the product of the singular vision of its founder – but rather as an early example of a national museum that has, since its creation a little over two hundred years ago, exerted influence on the program and design of national museums the world over, with significant repercussions today.

As France's first national museum of monuments, the Musée des Monuments français emerged in 1795 in the wake of the French Revolution – indeed as a direct consequence of this revolution – just as the country's earliest public museums were taking shape.[2] From its origins as one of Paris's temporary storehouses for the country's newly-seized "national" collections, the Musée des Monuments français housed the confiscated objects of France's monarchy, nobility, and clergy which had, since mid-October 1790, found temporary refuge at the dispossessed monastery of the Petits-Augustins on Paris's Left Bank. Under Lenoir's guardianship at the monastery, these objects became the nucleus of an evolving collection organized to highlight a chronological evolution of French art and history.

It must be emphasized from the outset that the Musée des Monuments français was not a museum institution in the conventional sense of an organization mediated by a community of professionals; rather it was the vision and creative undertaking of a single, highly-motivated,

2 Contemporaneously in the nation's capital, the Musée du Louvre was also undergoing transformation as a public museum. Prolonged discussions pertaining to its organization and display strategies marked the early stages of its museological development.

and arguably idiosyncratic, individual. In this observation lies the suggestion of the personality of the collector as an important consideration above and beyond the parameters assumed by the traditional institutional framework of the museum. As founder and director of the Musée, Alexandre Lenoir was also its only administrator and curator.[3] It was Lenoir who conceived of transforming the temporary storage depot into a museum, and it was Lenoir who had begun, even before the idea of a museum was officially sanctioned by the relevant governing authorities, to undertake the measures toward a more permanent, and choreographed, installation of objects. In short, Lenoir was the Musée, and the Musée was Lenoir's project – and a highly original project it was.

Alexandre Lenoir's creation of the Musée purported to recount the history of the French nation through the arrangement and aestheticized presentation of sculpture, monuments, and architectural fragments in a progression of century-specific halls. Toward this end, Lenoir recreated a philosophical *parcours* throughout the cloisters and halls, chapel and courtyards at the Petits-Augustins, which sought to materialize through the art object six centuries of French artistic heritage and history, beginning with the thirteenth century and culminating with the birth of the French republican nation in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Each hall was given its own distinct "character" (a concept borrowed from contemporary architectural practice and theoretical writing) through the modulation of light and various scenographic techniques. Lenoir completed the historical cycle with an Elysium garden at the rear of the site, modelled on contemporary principles of landscape design and the picturesque. Unlike the century halls, however, the Elysium garden did not use chronology as a structuring device, but rather substituted linear time with the suggestion of cyclical time as the garden's main compositional device. The common thread in both interior and exterior spaces was the presence of the monument and its narrative role in each of these settings.

It could be argued that through its display strategies, the Musée achieved the enlightenment's larger ambitions as a nationalist and didactic institution, and I would not deny that this is true. Through a heightened attention to the conditions of the exhibited object, and innovations he brought to the arrangement of works of art that disrupted the Baroque paradigm of decorative patterns of display, Lenoir radically altered the spatial structure and ideological premise of the collection of art at a transitional moment in the museum institution's history. In his design of ambient, century-specific halls, Lenoir inaugurated one of the earliest examples of the period room,[4] while his museum was one of the first in Europe and the first in France to realize a chronological sequence of galleries for the arrangement of art.[5] Both of these

3 There has been at least one mention of an assistant curator, Pierre-Claude Binart, in Lenoir's employ in the *Archives du Musée des monuments français*. Pierre-Claude Binart was Lenoir's father-in-law. Lenoir's wife, Adélaïde (née Binart), was herself a respected portraitist.

4 The idea of the period room entailed the design of a hall so as to evoke historical attributes suggestive of the period in which the objects on display were created. Lenoir's initiative would be followed by period designs undertaken by his son, Albert Lenoir, who, in 1843, was appointed architect of the newly-established museum of medieval art, the Musée de Cluny. This museum rendered the collection of medieval objects, bequeathed to the state by Alexandre Du Sommerard, public. The museum was curated by his son, Edmond Du Sommerard.

5 The chronological arrangement of galleries had previously structured the lay-out of two museums in Northern Europe. Lambert Krahe and Christian von Mechel oversaw the design of the Dusseldorf Gallery in 1755 and, on the basis of his work there, von Mechel was subsequently involved with the re-design of the Imperial Collection in the Belvedere in Vienna in 1781.

display strategies would shortly thereafter be incorporated into the museographic practices of the "modern" museum, and the chronologically-organized (read scientific) collection is now a mainstay in many museological traditions. Furthermore, the Musée's strict focus on French sculpture served the dual purpose of challenging the long-standing authority of Greco-Roman statuary in France, while valorizing a national Gothic style.

However, if Lenoir's scenographic interventions seemed innovative, many of them were in fact inspired by existing traditions outside of the museum paradigm, and born not of the French Revolution, but rather from established literary and urban contexts, most notably the *histoire monumentale* and the picturesque garden. In these alternative spaces, where questions of representation were no less central than they were in the narrative museum, new pictorial and literary discourses altered conventional historiographies and constructions of subjectivity.

The use of the monument to narrate an object-based history had already acquired common currency by historians such as Bernard de Montfauçon (*Les monumens de la monarchie française*, 1729-33) and Aubin Louis Millin (*Antiquités nationales, ou, Recueil de monumens pour servir à l'histoire générale et particulière de l'empire françois*, 1790), whose epic works related the history of a nation through the artefact. Yet even in these texts, historiographical traditions were undergoing significant transformation throughout the eighteenth century. Montfauçon's massively influential volumes were still the work of a monarchical history, and his picturing of objects generally featured these objects intact and in neutral settings. Two generations later, Millin's *Antiquités nationales* instigated significant changes to the pictorialization of the monument. Millin's panoramic selection of French sculptural and architectural monuments – ranging from chateaux and tombs to churches and convents – presented a dramatically different historiography than Montfauçon's more traditional history of French monarchy had before him. Beyond the change in pictorial subject matter to architecture and sepulchral sculpture, certain formal changes also took place. If some plates recalled Montfauçon's precedent in their placement of images against neutral backgrounds, a far greater number of Millin's plates featured buildings and sculpture in the context of an urban or landscape setting. Like Millin, Lenoir also narrated an artefact-based history that focussed less on monarchical lineage (although this was an important element in the interior of the Musée), and increasingly on the achievements of accomplished individuals, specifically in the garden of moral virtue that was the Elysium. And like Millin, Lenoir placed his monuments within a specific, defining setting – be it the century hall or the Elysium – to enhance the narrative context of the artefact. Thus Lenoir's innovations at the Musée combined the subjects of a changed historiography with new scenographic and contextualizing techniques, and these were further indebted to contemporaneous theories in landscape theory which served to heighten awareness of the sensorial potential of the exhibition setting.

Lenoir's attempt to provide a context for the object was developed on many levels, however it was particularly enhanced by the use of the *parcours*, an idea that Lenoir borrowed from contemporaneous traditions in the eighteenth-century garden. The *parcours* was as much a concept as it was a tangible construction, and it introduced the idea of the path, or narrative itinerary, to the museum's program that was primarily structured by the logic of chronology. By its association with the planned itinerary of the garden, the *parcours* established the notion of a "sense" or intention to the museum visit, and its use in the Musée highlighted composition, movement, and metaphors of time as seminal elements of its design. Effectively, the idea of the *parcours* shifted the philosophical focus of the Musée from the object to the visitor, and more specifically, to the visitor's experience of the Musée.

Contemporary garden theory had also popularized the desire for an aesthetic experience, jointly produced by a choreographed environment and the introduction of objects into this environment which served to stimulate poetic associations through the arousal of emotions and the imagination. Lenoir achieved this condition in his designs for the Elysium garden,

however he also imported these ideas inside the Musée, where each century hall was intended to inspire the visitor's identification with history. Thus, in addition to the interior's didactic narrative of chronology, Lenoir also emphasized the character and physiognomy of the halls, that is to say, features that accentuated modalities of experience rather than rational organization. For this reason, the Elysium garden was to have an air of the melancholic, so as to induce the ideal state of contemplation and reflection required for its proper understanding.

> Dans ce jardin calme et paisible, on voit plus de quarante statues; des tombeaux, posés ça et là sur une pelouse verte, s'élèvent avec dignité au milieu du silence et de la tranquilité. Des pins, des cypres et des peupliers les accompagnent; des larves et des urnes cinéraires, posés sur les murs, concourent à donner à ce lieu de bonheur la douce mélancholie qui parle à l'âme sensible.[6]

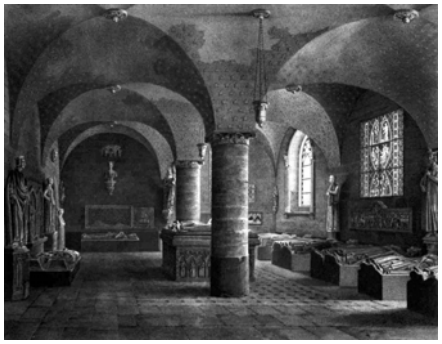

Figure 2.
View of the Thirteenth-century Hall, engraved by Jean Baptiste Réville and Jacques Lavallée; from Jean-Baptiste-Bonaventure de Roquefort, *Vues pittoresques et perspectives des Salles du Musée des monuments français* (Paris: Impr. de P. Didot, l'aîné, 1816). Courtesy of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, Canada.

Figure 3.
View of the Sixteenth-century Hall, engraved by Jean Baptiste Réville and Jacques Lavallée; from Jean-Baptiste-Bonaventure de Roquefort, *Vues pittoresques et perspectives des Salles du Musée des monuments français* (Paris: Impr. de P. Didot, l'aîné, 1816). Courtesy of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, Canada.

In a not unrelated way, Lenoir designed each century-specific hall with a similar intention for eliciting emotive response, using analogies of light to support narratives of progress or decline in the century's artistic practices. When describing the décor of the thirteenth-century hall, for example, Lenoir claimed that:

6 Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français, ou Description historique et chronologique des Statues en marbre et en bronze, Bas-reliefs et Tombeaux des Hommes et des Femmes célèbres, pour servir à l'Histoire de France et à celle de l'Art; ornée de gravures*; Et augmentée d'une Dissertation sur les Costumes de chaque siècle, Vol. 1 (Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Guilleminet, 1800-1821), p. 19. Emphasis my own. "In this calm and peaceful garden, one sees more than forty statues; tombs, placed here and there on a green carpet, rise with dignity amidst silence and tranquility. Pines, cypresses and poplars surround them; worms and urns, placed on the walls, compete to render this happy place the gentle melancholy that speaks to the senstive soul." Translation my own.

> La lumière sombre qui éclaire ce lieu est encore une imitation du temps; magie par laquelle on maintenait perpétuellement dans un état de faiblesse des êtres que la superstition avait frappés d'effroi. Car j'ai observé que plus on remonte vers les siècles qui se rapprochent du nôtre, plus la lumière s'agrandit dans les monumens publics, comme si la vue du soleil ne pouvait convenir qu'à l'homme instruit.[7]

Conversely, for his portrait of the sixteenth-century, "siècle régénérateur des beaux-arts,"[8] Lenoir adopted a much brighter and more celebratory decorative scheme, in ordre to accentuate the artistic accomplishments of the era.

These narrative strategies were not lost on the Musée's visitors, the most famous being Napoleon and his wife Joséphine, as well as a future generation of Romantic writers and historians, including Victor Hugo and Jules Michelet. Years after his childhood visits to the Musée, Michelet would recall their lasting effect on his sense of history in a particularly poignant passage of his mémoirs: "C'est là, et nulle part ailleurs, que j'ai reçu d'abord la vive impression de l'histoire,"[9] he claimed. He would further describe his childhood visits to the Musée in equally visceral terms

> Even now I can recall the feeling, still just the same and still stirring, that made my heart beat when, as a small child, I would enter beneath those dark vaults and gaze at the pale faces; and would then, keen, curious and timid, walk and look, room after room, epoch after epoch. What was I looking for? I hardly know – the life of the time, no doubt, and the spirit of the ages. I was not altogether certain that they were not alive, all those marble sleepers, stretched out on their tombs. And when I moved from the sumptuous monuments of the sixteenth century, glowing with alabaster, to the low room of the Merovingians, in which was to be found the sword of Dagobert, I felt it possible that I would suddenly see Chilpéric and Frédégonde raise themselves and sit up.[10]

II. Book, Tool, Trove: The Musée des Monuments français as Program and Text

In his own words, Lenoir described the two-fold aims of the Musée as visibly demonstrating the progress of French art and history through the object. Lenoir elaborated at length on his intentions for the Musée in two contemporaneous publications he produced on the subject of his museum: his eight-volume compendium, *Musée des monuments français* (published from 1800-1821), and the more modest museum catalogue, *Description historique et chronologique des monumens de sculpture réunis au Musée des monumens français*, which he updated continually over the course of the museum's existence. In the former, Lenoir described two points of view, derived from models in Antiquity, that all museums should aspire

7 Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, Vol. I, p. 181. "The sombre light that illuminates this place is an imitation of the period; magic by which people were kept in a perpetually feeble state, people whom superstition had filled with fright. I have observed that the closer we come to our own century, the more we see light in public monuments, as if the vision of the sun could only be apparent to the educated person." Translation my own.

8 "the regenerating century of the beaux-arts" Translation my own.

9 "It's there, and nowhere else, that I first experienced a vivid impression of history." Translation my own.

10 Jules Michelet, as quoted in Frances Haskell, *History and Its Images: Art and the Interpretation of the Past* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 252.

to having: the first, political, the second, pedagogic. As a political institution, he argued, the museum should be impressive enough to attract the interest, and treasures, of other nations. Yet it was as a didactic institution that Lenoir's insight was most interesting. With a totalizing vision that aptly characterized both enlightenment thinking and the psyche of the collector, Lenoir claimed that the museum must contain "tout ce que les arts et les sciences réunis peuvent offrir à l'enseignement public,"[11] and these were to be displayed chronologically. For it was the dual criteria of chronology and completeness that would achieve the museum's second point of view or intention as a didactic institution: "de ce moment il devient une école savante et une encyclopédie où la jeunesse trouvera mot à mot tous les degrés d'imperfection, de perfection et de décadence, par lesquels les arts dépendans du dessin ont successivement passé."[12]

Lenoir understood his art museum as the spatial equivalent of a book, and it was in the literary traditions of the *encyclopédie* and the *histoire raisonnée* (literally, an analytical, or reasoned, history) that Lenoir modelled the Musée. From the literary genre of the monumental history and the German archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann's (1717-1768) canonical art historical texts,[13] Lenoir appropriated the structure and values of progress, decadence, and decline that would form the narrative basis of his museum,[14] while the encyclopedia imparted the idea for a totalizing collection of French artistic heritage to be centralized in one location. Indeed, Lenoir was obsessed with the dual task of locating objects that would further his historical narrative, and transporting these to Paris, even when the latter were the important heritage of the country's different regional communities. Lenoir was heavily criticized for this approach, and the argument against decontextualization was one of the principal reasons for the eventual closure of the Musée in 1816. Yet to Lenoir, the complimentary notions of chronology and completeness justified such acts over any attempt for political correctness, and he insistently sought out works almost to the point of fanaticism in his quest to illustrate France's past.[15]

Lenoir's vision of the pedagogic potential of the Musée as a site of comparative study was in fact intended to challenge the very hegemony of the *Académie des Beaux-Arts* as the sole source of teaching for artists, a community from which he felt bitterly excluded and never missed an opportunity to condemn:

> Versé dès ma jeunesse dans l'art du dessin je me suis convaincu que les collections étaient plus precieuses pour les progrès des arts que les écoles, où les eleves ne voient ja-

11 Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, Vol. I, p. 51. "all that the arts and sciences combined can offer to public instruction" Translation my own.

12 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 52. "from this moment it becomes a learned school and an encyclopedia where youth will find word for word all of the imperfections, perfections and decadences, by which the arts of drawing have successively passed." Translation my own.

13 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of Ancient Art*, 1764.

14 "L'objet d'une histoire raisonnée de l'art est de remonter jusqu'à son origine, d'en suivre les progrès et les variations jusqu'à sa perfection, et d'en marquer la décadence et la chûte jusqu'à son extinction." Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, Vol. I, p. 47-48. "The goal of an analytical history of art is to return to art's origins, to follow its progress and its variations until its perfection, and to observe its decadence and decline leading to its extinction." Translation my own.

15 Lenoir was required to transfer many of the depot's original objects to the Louvre for its sculpture collection. Before doing so, Lenoir made plaster casts of these sculptures, with the intention of displaying them in a specific gallery at the Musée. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 13-14.

> mais de monumens, et dans lesquelles ils n'entendent aucunes dissertations. Les exemples que l'on a sous les yeux, les comparaisons que l'on fait d'une manière de faire avec une autre, forment le goût et constituent l'étude raisonnée. Sans ce travail de l'esprit, l'étude n'est plus qu'une routine, l'art devient un métier et se dégrade infailliblement.[16]

In a footnote, Lenoir confided that for these reasons, he intended to offer drawing classes and a course on theory within the Musée des Monuments français. Yet practically speaking, Lenoir was far too preoccupied with ensuring the very survival of the Musée to have developed a school in the manner that his British contemporary and counterpart, the architect John Soane (1753-1837), did from his home and museum at number 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields, in London. Lenoir's most immediate concerns as founding director and curator of the Musée were to oversee its daily operations, and to secure the financial means to enlarge and complete its collection, to renovate the exhibition halls, and to restore the objects on display. Indeed, the very integrity of his museum was continually threatened by the competing interests of the city's other developing national museum, the Musée du Louvre,[17] as well as by critics of Lenoir's unorthodox curatorial practices, which blended invention and fantasy with the object's reconstruction.

III. Revolution, *fabrique*, and Restoration of the Self: Performance and Reconstruction at the Musée des Monuments français

Figure 4.
Lenoir's *fabrique* monument to Bernard de Montfaucon, featuring a composite of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman sources, designed by Lenoir; from Lenoir, *Musée des monumens français*, Plate 202, Vol. 5, opposite page 202. Courtesy of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, McGill University, Montréal, Canada.

16 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 46. "Versed in the art of drawing since my childhood, I concluded that collections were far more precious in the quest for progress in the arts than schools, where students never see monuments, and in which they never hear theoretical ideas. The examples that we have before our eyes, the comparisons that we make, form good taste and are the basis of analytical study. Without this intellectual work, study is nothing more than a routine, and art becomes an occupation and devalues." Translation my own.

17 It was decided that the Louvre, or the Muséum Français as it was then known, would open to the public with much pomp and circumstance on August 10, 1793, on the same day as the Festival of National Unity, commemorating the first anniversary of the birth of the Republic. After great debate about the nature of the design and pictorial display of the Grand Gallery, an ahistorical, mixed-arrangement display was decided upon over a modern, chronological one.

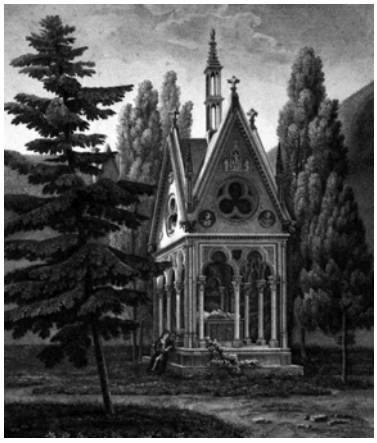

Figure 5.
Lenoir's *fabrique* monument to Héloïse and Abélard in the Elysium garden at the Musée des Monumens français, engraved by Jean Baptiste Réville and Jacques Lavallée; from Jean-Baptiste-Bonaventure de Roquefort, *Vues pittoresques et perspectives des Salles du Musée des monuments français* (Paris: Impr. de P. Didot, l'aîné, 1816). Courtesy of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, Canada.

Though limited public access to monarchical collections had been granted as early as 1757 with the partial opening of the Luxembourg palace to visitors (which may have indicated the beginning of a changed social attitude toward culture and the arts), a broader museum movement emerged as a direct result of the political and cultural implications of the French Revolution. This revolution instigated the nationalization of monarchical and ecclesiastical collections, as well as a new outlook toward the related concepts of conservation, preservation, pedagogy, and historiography. For the first time in French history, culture was being formally politicized, and the concept of a comprehensive and binding cultural heritage was being formulated. It could also be argued that the democratic ambitions of the Revolution needed to be legitimized, and in a highly visible way. The emergence of the national museum at this historical moment was by no means strictly a question of convenience or pragmatic necessity, but rather it fulfilled the need to divest the object of its pre-Ancien régime symbolism, and insodoing the museum served to reposition the object as "art" in a wholly new and modern context. At the Musée, the issue was particularly pressing: determining how to recycle the spaces of a former religious building, and the objects of a régime now deposed, from their former identification with the politics and ideologies of the Ancien régime was key, providing these objects had not already been reduced to their primary materials and commandeered by the war effort.

The effects of the revolution must not be overlooked in any assessment of the emergence of the French national museum at this time. The political events that preceded the creation of the first generation of national museums in France conditioned the very way objects were understood within the new museological context, by undermining their originary symbolic significance. Lenoir's museum was no exception: the funerary and monarchical origins of much of the Musée's collection were overriden by a narrative that sought to restitute a cohesive sense of nationhood in line with the revolution's principles of liberty, fraternity, and equality over the realities of a monarchical past. Lenoir's narrative of French national history promised a restorative poetics by virtue of its re-writing of national history, a re-writing that occurred in no small measure through the use of the *fabrique*.

The tradition of the *fabrique* had its origins in landscape painting in the mid-eighteenth century. The French artist and landscape theorist Claude-Henri Watelet coined the term *fabrique* in a 1756 entry in the *Encyclopédie*, though his description at that time was confined to the language of painting. The *fabrique* was, in essence, an invention or construction in the landscape, a cross between a confabulated ruin and an imaginary structure, often composed of disparate elements. Lenoir appropriated the concept and developed it in different ways in order to realize his own curatorial vision at the Musée.

Although he completed reconstructions of monuments and *fabriques* in the interior halls, it was the *fabriques* Lenoir placed in the Elysium that demonstrated the most outlandish and

Figure 6.
View of the Elysium garden, engraved by Jean Baptiste Réville and Jacques Lavallée; from Jean-Baptiste-Bonaventure de Roquefort, *Vues pittoresques et perspectives des Salles du Musée des monuments français* (Paris: Impr. de P. Didot, l'aîné, 1816). Courtesy of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal, Canada.

unorthodox designs. The monuments in the Elysium were often odd sculptural constructions in their complex and creative combination of emblematic and symbolic iconographies and it is doubtful that any single reading was intended for these objects. Lenoir described his design for the monument dedicated to the antiquarian and historian Bernard de Montfauçon, for example, as a composite of "hieroglyphs, Egyptian figures, Greek reliefs, figures from the late Roman Empire and remains of monuments from the first years of the French monarchy"[18] – a hybrid arrangement of motifs intended to recall the diverse historical interests, and writings, of the scholar. This was one of many monuments that Lenoir created from the remains of others: a curious conservationist practice by our current standards, and not without significant criticism in his own time as well. Although Lenoir insisted that the monuments he fabricated combined only materials from similar historical eras (much like the criteria by which he organized his period halls), he did not always abide by this dictum. In the very popular chapel he re-created for the medieval lovers Héloïse and Abélard, Lenoir combined a newly-commissioned neo-gothic canopy, the twelfth-century funerary monuments of Héloïse and Abélard he had purchased from their original setting at the Abbey of Paraclet near Nogent-sur-Seine, and a contemporary death mask of Héloïse he commissioned from the sculptor – and later detractor of his practices – Louis-Pierre Deseine.

As Lenoir confessed in his own writing, in the absence of authentic objects, an invention will do, providing that it conformed to (one might read "evoked") the character of the period. This very viewpoint also underlay Lenoir's spatial conceptions of the period halls. These two examples of *fabriques* – the monument to Montfauçon and the monument to Abélard and Héloïse – equally attest to two traditions of *fabrique* that co-existed at the Musée. The former was pure invention, pure fantasy on the part of Lenoir; the latter was intended to be created in the likeness of an original, be that "original" a human being, or an existing (but damaged) monument. Neither traditions conformed to contemporary conservation policies, but their distinction is an important one in the museological context of the Musée des Monuments français. In the case of Lenoir, whose intention it was to illustrate a history of progress of French art, the *fabrique* tipped the scale toward artistic innovation over that of veracity, even if, as he famously proclaimed, to leave disassembled monuments in a heap would surely con-

18 Lenoir, *Musée Impérial des monumens français: Histoire des arts en France, et description chronologique des statues en marbre et en bronze, bas-reliefs et tombeaux des hommes et des femmes célèbres, qui sont réunis dans ce Musée* (Paris: De l'Imprimerie d'Hacquart, 1810), p. 290. Translation my own.

tribute to their ruin. In other words, Lenoir was committed to illustrating an idea of progress at all costs.

It could be argued, like Michel Makarius has done in more general terms, that Lenoir's *fabriques* were a form of ruin.[19] But by virtue of their composition of fragments, of sculptural and architectural "ruins," the *fabriques* promised the antithesis of the ruin: regeneration. They were, in effect, the anti-ruin. It is true that in the shape of the *fabrique* lay the demise of one aspect of the ruin's poetic dimension: in the object re-constituted there could be no acknowledgement of the lived past, at least not through the object itself, and therefore no contemplation of the future – not in the traditional sense. However it is also true that Lenoir was engaged in re-writing France's past, indeed his entire project of the Musée des Monuments français was dedicated to this single goal, even if he did not allow the stones to speak their own history. If, as Christopher Woodward has elegantly articulated, "The ruin is a dialogue between an incomplete reality and the imagination of the spectator,"[20] Lenoir's anti-ruins sought the opposite: to restitute a sense of totality and wholeness on a post-Revolution, fractured French psyche. And thus Lenoir's *fabriques* spoke of another truth.

Lenoir's intent in using the *fabrique* was to arouse feelings and emotions, much like the traditions popularized by the eighteenth-century irregular garden and its use of the *fabrique*-ruin. It is therefore no surprise that the most daring designs for the *fabrique* appeared in the Elysium, rather than in the interior halls of the Musée, as the monuments dedicated to the philosopher René Descartes and historian Bernard de Montfauçon would suggest. Just as the picturesque garden movement with its follies and *fabriques* had emerged as the alter ego of the overseeing château in eighteenth-century traditions, so too did Lenoir's Elysium perform a discursive transgression to the official discourse of the interior chronological narrative and historiography of the Musée.

But unlike the folly of garden traditions, many of Lenoir's *fabriques* paradoxically required something of the authentic object for their completion. Divested of the pure vestige, the anti-ruin could not speak of the future, it merely contained the past, not to erase it, but to present it as something entirely *new*. Ultimately for Lenoir, the *fabrique* was a manner to re-inscribe the past; to borrow again from Christopher Woodward, it functioned as an inversion of the Ancien régime's folly. If the ruin imposed a certain catastrophic image of the present, the *fabrique* inverted that image and invested it with another order, one capable of re-animating the past and the stasis of the ruin.

The *fabrique* in the garden performed a second, no less significant, role in Lenoir's Elysium as a legitimization of opposing styles. As Barbara Stafford has demonstrated,[21] the ruin permitted a certain co-existence of two competing traditions in Northern Europe, one imported (the Classical) and one local (the Gothic), through its unique relationship with the landscape. Indeed, it is no coincidence that the co-existence of Classical and Gothic forms was first valorized within the setting of the garden, where Gothic elements were prized precisely for their poetic associations at the same time they were disregarded within the larger

19 Michel Makarius, *Ruins* (Paris: Flammarion, 2005). See especially his chapter entitled "In the Garden," p. 118-130.

20 Christopher Woodward, *In Ruins* (London: Vintage, 2002), p. 139.

21 Barbara Maria Stafford, ""Illiterate Monuments": The Ruin as Dialect or Broken Classic." *Space Site Intervention: Situating Installation Art*, ed. Erika Suderburg (Minneapolis: U. of Minnesota Press, 2000), p. 64-83.

urban landscape. The *fabrique*, which first positioned the Gothic as ruin and therefore as picturesque, was the vehicle by which two separate phenomena gained acceptance by uniting them in the public imaginary. In the same tradition and at virtually the same historical moment, the museum also provided a public space to endorse competing styles.

The *fabrique*, then, permitted Lenoir to pursue his ideal of a museum of progress by illustrating a perfectable history. Contemporaneous to Constantin-François Volney's meditative and highly influential *Ruines, ou, Méditation sur les révolutions des empires* (1791), which used the ruin as a departure point for moral reflections on the decline and decay of empires, there could be no greater antithesis in the creative endeavours produced during France's era of revolution than Lenoir's own project of the Musée, which nevertheless shared a similar pedagogical intention to sum history up through the subjects of empire and revolution. Where Volney sought enlightenment in human actions through his invocation of the ruin (according to Zucker, Volney elevated ruins into "universal symbols of the philosophy of history"),[22] Lenoir's was an effort to correct human (read artistic) shortcomings through his very re-construction of the ruin.

Thus unlike his contemporary John Soane, in whose museum of architecture in London the fragment was left intact precisely for its poetic associations, Lenoir did not leave the object in a fragmented state. His obsession with reconfiguring the object to a pristine, though not necessarily "authentic" condition, seems to have been informed more by a literary sensibility, such as that espoused by the renowned philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, than by the prevailing views of his contemporaries and immediate predecessors in architecture and the fine arts. Just like the rhetorical device of the "embellishment" – Rousseau's equivalent to Lenoir's *fabriques* – sought to overcome memory lapses, not to confabulate or to promote falsity but to avoid emptiness ("and if by chance I have used some immaterial embellishment ('quelque ornement indifférent') it has been only to fill a void due to a defect of memory"[23]), so too did Lenoir's impetus seem to have been a post-Revolution need to fill in the void: to rewrite a cohesive history of France and to render this history visible, tangible, felt, even as the nation itself was revising its own history.

Like Rousseau, who freely resorted to invention to fill in the gaps, Lenoir used the compositional freedom of the *fabrique* to achieve wholeness rather than accuracy in the individual monument. With their emphasis on verisimilitude as distinct from exactness, these objects functioned outside of an official "national" narrative as poetic suggestions of human accomplishment, and made appeal to the body – not simply the intellect – through the heightened sensorial devices and associations of the mythic elysian garden. These monuments' presence in the garden highlighted universal themes that served to challenge modern historiography and a past burdened by a relentless obsession to record all things historical. In this manner, the Musée des Monuments français can be said to have upheld the aesthetic, historical, and didactic innovations that conditioned the foundations of the modern museum, at the same time that it sewed the seeds for this institution's self-reflexive, philosophical critique. Lenoir's appropriation of the narrative techniques of contemporary landscape theory posited the Elysium

22 Paul Zucker, *Fascination of Decay* (Ridgewood, New Jersey: Gregg Press, 1968), p. 198.
.198.ood, Bernard, N.Y., 1969) 433.ical fiction, eux ou des monumens publics."ainting. "loguee other illustrious remains. lea

23 Suzanne Nalbantian, *Memory in Literature: From Rousseau to Neuroscience* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), p. 27. Please see her footnote 17.

as an act of poetry in the manner it put history to the service of life rather than bearing the burden of the past – recalling Nietzsche's caution of the hypertrophic sensibility that conditioned the historical sciences at the turn of the nineteenth century.[24] Poetry, Aristotle famously proclaimed in his treatise *Poetics*, described the universal, whereas history dealt with particulars.[25]

Perhaps Antonio Gramsci best characterized the significance of Lenoir's work within its post-Ancien régime context in an unrelated passage he wrote in the *Prison Notebooks*: "The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appears."[26] Not all projects undertaken in the post-Ancien régime were of such morbid character, however many were concerted efforts to construct a new modern self, and to this end, public spaces and objects figured prominently. This construction of the new modern self involved adopting a particular attitude to the past and to objects. Monuments in particular were poignant statements about history, but ones that could be modified. Within this context, the ruin was an ambiguous locale, where an unpleasant past could be revisited, and exorcised. The monument speaks of entitlement and disparity, hierarchy and privilege, and in Lenoir's hands it metamorphosed into a tool for democratizing history and the space of a convent-turned-museum. The curator's ambitions were thus two-fold: he endeavoured to over-write France's decaying past, while simultaneously repairing this past and putting it to the service of the edifying ideals of the Revolution dedicated to educating, enlightening, and leading the new, modern public toward progress.

Thus to speak of a form of emplotment in the Elysium is to recognize the role of the visitor in linking separate monuments – or episodes – into their own personal and cohesive narrative, a narrative that stood as the interior's other within the overall framework of the Musée. The garden for Lenoir presented all of the possibilities that the interior halls did not. With its predominance of *fabriques* and the variety of historical figures to which these paid tribute, through its use of the relic and the reconfigured ruin, through its characterization and alliance with contemporary landscape theory, the Elysium was neither bound by chronology nor monarchical historiography, and in this liberated space Lenoir posited themes that lay outside of the dialectic marked by notions of progress and decline. He was free to explore history as a continuum, rather than as a linear evolutiuon, and to this end it was in the garden that cycles of nature, time, and humanity itself were given full expression.

To consider the Elysium as in some way existing outside of time is to ignore Lenoir's most important commentary about the past. What we gain from the *parcours* of the Elysium is the understanding that history is best understood not as a chronological sequence towards progress, but as a continuum. This insight normalizes the atrocities of the Revolution as but one instance of many throughout time. By emploting the visitor within the Elysium's *parcours*, Lenoir placed the visitor within this continuum, corporeally affirming the premise of hermeneutics itself: that we are all part of history, that we have a tangible and visceral con-

24 Frederick Nietzsche, "On the Utility and Liability of History for Life." *Unfashionable Observations* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), p. 83-167.

25 Aristotle, *Poetics* (Mineola, N.Y.: Dover Publications, 1997).

26 Antonio Gramsci, *The Prison Notebooks*, quoted in Geoffrey James, *Morbid Symptons*: *Arcadia and the French Revolution*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1986), [3].

nection to the past, and that our memory of the past constitutes an important aspect of who we are today.

What emerged in the halls of the Musée des Monuments français was hybrid. Part monument to French accomplishment, part mythic narrative, Lenoir's project was an embodiment of Enlightenment ideals in its deliberate attempt to provide moral and didactic instruction to its visiting publics through the sequencing of objects in choreographed spaces. Yet the Musée's claim to didacticism must be qualified, for the reality was that this museum was born of the unique social, historical and political circumstances of the French Revolution – a singularly tumultuous and radically transformative moment in modern social history – and in form and content the Musée bore witness to a society coming to terms with beginnings and endings in ways that recalled the paradoxes of the very horizon in which the institution first took shape. Lenoir's almost fanatical obsession with fragments and their reconfiguration, and his desire to evoke mythic origins and traditions, proved fertile concepts in the psychological recovery of a nation emerging from revolution and the denial of its feudal and monarchical past. Thus it was as a direct consequence of the Revolution – to which the Musée owed its fortuitous origins – and in response to this Revolution, that the Musée truly realized its poetic dimension as an evocative narrative of history. The Musée des Monuments français was both museum of art, and museum of history, and in the fissures of the discursive historical/chronological structure that Lenoir gave to its program lay a poetic intention that served to open up this museum to other possible relationships with history, through the very unity that Lenoir gave to the building and the objects this building housed.

The Demise of the Narrative History Museum

I would like to conclude this paper by exploring the legacy of Lenoir's scenographic and philosophical innovations at the Musée des Monuments français and by noting some of the historical changes that have occurred in national museums since Lenoir's creation of this museum in 1795. These changes demonstrate not only a transformed societal understanding of, and relationship with, the past, but more importantly, they reveal an alarming observation about the museographic representation of societal relationships with this past. Today, the larger industry that has developed out of our desire to represent history in an evocative way is in crisis, marred by a culture dominated by the narrow, one might even argue impoverished, definition that it has given to the notion of experience. Re-enactment in this context has been re-defined through the lens of simulacra – to trivializing effect – and has dramatically altered our capacity to relate authentically with the past.

At its essence, the Musée des Monuments français was one individual's endeavour to explore the new aims of history and its uses in the expanded social and public spheres of France's post-Ancien régime. As a museum marking the origins of the museological genre known as the narrative history museum, the Musée des Monuments français emerged in opposition to the scientific model of most history museums. By definition, the narrative history museum is philosophical, not rational, and tells a cohesive story through the combined narrative of its collections, scenography, and architectural program. As a synthesized or "total" narrative environment, it is the museological equivalent of the *gesamkunstwerk*. Today, this genre has undergone profound change, owing to transformations in societal attitudes toward time (emphasis on the here and now; technologies that permit instantaneous representation and the continual "making" of historical events; and the phenomenon of telescoped time), representation (our sensationalist attitude toward representation which privileges trauma, victimization, and shock value), and technological innovations that permit simulated rather than authentic experience. But to understand the intentions of the narrative history museum at its genesis, indeed to appreciate the very concept of the national museum at its origins, it is imperative to restitute these institutions within their own historical and hermeneutic context.

Although not all national museums have been the product of such momentous political change as those of the revolution that created France's first democracy, increasingly in the contemporary moment the content and context of our major history museums are being generated by specific historical (often traumatic) events rather than a collective of historical phenomena. Witness the generation of Holocaust, Apartheid, and Human Rights museums that have proliferated around the world and consider their narratives and scenographies. It is these museums, with their common subjects rooted in civil war and human oppression, that are our latest national museums, and their *raison d'être*, like the contexts of their creation, has signalled a profound change in societal attitudes toward history and its representation in the public sphere. Commensurate with this is a changed subjectivitiy and positioning of the visiting public, from witness to victim, from the detached observer of the history museum to the engaged participant of the increasingly popular narrative history museum.

My work stems from a genuine concern for how history is being represented and transmitted in national museums in our contemporary moment, and a desire to determine how this condition came about. In this moment of impoverished notions of time and durability, which are reinforced by the all-too-often uncritical celebration of technologies of representation, event-generated institutions have become our new national museums, and visitors, these museums' simulated victims. Determining a modern origin for historiographical traditions in the museum, such as in the example of the Musée des Monuments français, reveals a very different motivation for animating the past than the one we are faced with today. My research has concluded that, far from a desire to render the visitor a "victim" of the traumatic historical narratives that are the focus of many contemporary national history museums, Lenoir's museographic innovations were entirely different. Beyond realizing the larger pedagogical and historiographical objectives of the French Revolution, Lenoir's ambitions for the Musée des Monuments français were to restitute the fractured ethos of a nation recovering from a severed past.

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Representing Byzantium: the Narratives of the Byzantine Past in Greek National Museums

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This paper focuses on the narrative of the Byzantine Middle Ages introduced by the Greek national museums. It aims to shed light on the historical and sociopolitical events that led to the creation of these museums, as well as on the changes that this narrative underwent in certain times in Modern Greek history.

As departments of the Greek Ministry of Culture, Greek archaeological museums are state museums and thus represent the state's cultural policies. During Enlightenment the Byzantine Ages were considered as a period of darkness and decadence. The recognition and presentation of this period as an integral part of the Greek nation's history came only in the 1840's with the development of national historiography. Major historical and sociopolitical events marked the course of this rediscovery of the Byzantine past. In the 1914 Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens, Byzantine monuments and findings were regarded as objects certifying national identity and affirming the nation's historical continuity.

A second time in the history of narrating the Byzantine past was in the 1980s, as Greece became a member of the European Union in 1981. The Byzantine past had to be integrated within the broader European historical context. The establishment of the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki in 1989 has to be examined through this same prism. Informed by new museological theories, the Museum of Byzantine Culture sheds light on discourses neglected in earlier periods, always influenced by the "myth of Europeanism", as analyzed and presented in the following paper. Through the museum displays the Byzantine narrative that is presented becomes part of the common European past.

Introduction: the Myths of Greek National Ideology

As departments of the Greek Ministry of Culture, the Greek archaeological museums are state museums. Being entrusted with the preservation and promotion of the national cultural heritage, they accumulate and activate social authority, by providing interpretative suggestions on their collections, narratives that are employed communicatively in the social framework they function. The interpretive and operational role they adopt confirms their institutional character and ensures their survival.

The discourse expressed within the framework of the national museums determines the management of the cultural heritage, as it constructs representations of a past, promotes selectively certain fields of knowledge and introduces interpretations that allow for social consent, according to the ideology that is each time dominant. Ideology permeates the structure, the methods and the objectives of the museum disciplines. As theorists of the Frankfurt school have argued, any discipline may be transformed into ideology; the level of a discipline's penetration into institutional social fields, namely its own institutionalization, alters the structure and the objectives of the institution itself, by founding its own legitimacies.[1] By introducing, reproducing and simplifying their own models, disciplines, being ideologically charged, orientate institutions implementing their own predetermined choices and beliefs.

In an almost two-century period, Enlightenment, modernity, liberalism, positivism, nationalism, socialism as ideological movements and their idiosyncratic reception in Greece have shaped the discourse developed about the Greek national museums. National museum discourse was developed ensuing and serving the constitution of the Greek nation state, raising nationalism in its multiple versions as the dominant ideology. Being the first Greek national Museum to be established in the mid 19th century, the Athens National Archaeological Museum inaugurated a national narrative that was to be employed in order to handle and present the past, according to the nation's occurring needs.

In this paper we will examine two moments in the history of narrating the Byzantine past within the Greek national museums: the first took place in the few decades that preceded and followed the foundation of the Christian and Byzantine Museum in Athens (1914); the second is linked with the establishment of the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki. Both historical moments are intertwined with the discourse that was each time developed about the definition of Greek nation. Adopting the theoretical scheme introduced by the art historian Eugenios Matthiopoulos,[2] we attempt to examine the narratives the two museums initiated through three myths that dominated the national ideology: the ideological myths of "rebirth" and of "uninterrupted continuity" of Greek civilization, both dominant from the establishment of the new Greek state until the first decades of 20th century; last, the myth of "Europeanism", that evolved in the tormented years that followed World War II and concluded with Greece joining the European Union.[3]

At this point it should be acknowledged that utilizing the notion of "myth" may be considered as venturous, mainly due to the numerous uses and the various charges the term

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1 Jürgen Habermas, "Technology and Science as 'Ideology," trans. Jeremy J. Shapiro (Boston: Beacon, 1970), rpt. in *Jürgen Habermas On Society and Politics: A Reader*, ed. Steven Seidman (Boston: Beacon, 1989).

2 Eugenios Matthiopoulos, "I istoria tis tehnis sta oria tou ethnous" in Eugenios Matthiopoulos and Nikos Hadjinikolaou (eds.), *I Istoria tis Tehnis stin Ellada*, (Irakleio: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2003). At this point, we would like to thank Panayiotis Bikas for indicating us Matthiopoulos' text and disposing material from his unpublished doctoral dissertation. Many thanks, also, to Areti Adamopoulou, whose useful advice and texts on Post-War Greek art enriched our view on "Europeanism".

3 Matthiopoulos bases his analysis of the relation between myth and ideology on Plamenatz. See John Plamenatz, *Ideology* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970).

acquired within time. Limiting the interpretations the term "myth" may obtain, we have to clarify that in this specific context it is used to denote how the national narrative is crystallized at certain historical moments investing each time the past with different symbolisms.[4]

Discovering Byzantium

The second and third quarters of the 19th century were for Greece the difficult years of the formation of the new Hellenic nation state. In a climate of uncertainty, fragility, insecurity,[5] of a Bavarian royal family set in the 1830s by the patron countries to rule the new Hellenic kingdom and with the general feeling of disappointment[6] due to the geographically restricted borders of the new state, the Greeks had to organize and define themselves, as a newly independent country. Apart from that, they also had to prove their historical and cultural continuity in an effort to counteract the accusations of the Austrian historian Fallmerayer, who questioned the relation between ancient and modern.

The myth of "rebirth", supported by scholars influenced by Enlightenment, argued that modern Greece was the "rebirth" of Ancient Greece, omitting at the same time the medieval Byzantine period. National continuity, therefore, had to be demonstrated rather than simply assumed or declared; the "missing link" affirming it was the Byzantine period. The myth of "continuity" found its first, belated,[7] supporters in the early 1850s with the birth of national historiography and the intellectual labors of historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos. His aim was the projection of Byzantium, as an integral component of Greek history and identity. Due to the pressed and defensive political atmosphere that demanded the urgent reconstruction of Greek history, his monumental *History of the Greek Nation*[8] – influenced by European Romanticism – acquired a didactic and epic character.[9] In order for his work to be captivating and comprehensible by the public, Byzantium in his narrative was presented through familiar

4 In this certain context we employ the concept of myth in its phenomenological dimension, namely not seeking to question whether a myth is genuine or invented, as Eric Hobsbawm does in his 1983 collection of essays. See Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1983). Our aim is to examine how and why myths are accepted expressing the public's sentiments and covering its needs. This approach is based on myth's functionality as this is used in social anthropology; see Bronislaw Malinowski, *Malinowski Collected Works, Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays,* vol. IX (London and New York: Routlegde, 2001); and Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Myth and Meaning* (New York: Schocken, 1995).

5 George Huxley, "Aspects of modern Greek historiography of Byzantium" in David Rick and Paul Magdalino (eds.), *Byzantium and Modern Greek Identity* (London: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 15–23.

6 On the general feeling of disappointment after the Greek revolution, see Elli Skopetea, *To "Protypo" vasileio kai i Megali Idea* (Athens, 1988), pp. 231–247.

7 The belated Greek reaction to Fallmerayer was due to the strong Bavarian classicist feeling and general negative attitudes towards Byzantium that prevailed among latter-day followers of the Enlightenment for almost two decades 1830–1850. See E. Skopetea, ibid., pp. 177–178.

8 The five successive stages of the linear cultural continuity are ancient, Macedonian, Christian, medieval and modern Hellenism. According to Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos: "Medieval Hellenism" is thus the great-grandchild of first Hellenism, (in between there is Macedonian Hellenism and Christian Hellenism) in *Istoria tou ellinikou ethnous,* Introduction, 8th ed, vol. V (Athens, 1930), pp. 8–9.

9 Paschalis M. Kitromilides, "Paparrigopoulos and Byzantium", in David Rick and Paul Magdalino, (eds.), *Byzantium and Modern Greek Identity* (London: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 25–33.

terms, examples and comparisons.[10] His work was also the theoretical prerequisite of the Great Idea, which desired the unification of the Greek state to the Greek *ethnos.*[11]

The emergence of Greek historiography and the formation of the New Greek state coincide with the general nationalist feeling and nation building that occurred in 19th century Europe. In discovering, correcting, elaborating, inventing and celebrating their histories, nations struggled to validate their goals by appealing to continuity with, or inheritance from their ancestors. Therefore, such efforts were not seen only on the scientific level of historiography, but were an integral part of any nation's earnest search for a heritage that would secure their autonomy and identity.[12] Nationalism gradually became politically important in many European countries and began to play a more prominent role into shaping scientific archaeological research.[13] The primary function of this newly emerged *Nationalist Archaeology*[14] was to "bolster the pride and morale of nations or ethnic groups", who felt politically threatened, insecure or deprived of their collective rights. In general, nationalist archaeology, according to Bruce Trigger, has a tendency to glorify the creativeness and "primitive vigour" of the assumed national ancestors.[15] As nationalism constantly gained political importance, it became evident not only in the fields of archaeology or history, but also in different cultural events and exhibitions in Europe towards the close of the 19th century.[16]

The aesthetics ruling in Europe saw ancient Greek art as an unsurpassed model. Neoclassicism, dominant in all arts, provided aesthetic, anthropological, ethical and political models in the national fantasies not only of the Bavarian kings and but also of other patron countries.[17] Such ideas, which fostered Neoclassicism, and were supported by scholars of the time, led to the destruction of dozens of Byzantine type churches.[18]

Contrary to this general interest in neoclassicism, having studied Theology and Christian Archaeology, Georgios Lampakis, viewed historical and national continuity as synonymous to the uninterrupted life of the Church.[19] He was among the founders of the Christian Archaeological Society in Athens in 1884, which envisaged the creation of a Christian Museum.[20] This period, from 1884 until 1914, founding year of the museum in Athens, may

10 Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos makes a comparison between the Parthenon in Athens and the temple of Saint Sophia in Constantinople, suggesting a relation between the two on the level of "half brothers" as the latter is one of the best examples of Christian architecture. See *Istoria tou ellinikou ethnous*, Introduction 8th ed., Vol. IV (Athens, 1930), p.17.

11 On the Great Idea see: Elli Skopetea, *To "Protypo" vasileio kai i Megali Idea* (Athens, 1988), pp. 273–286; Paschalis Kitromilides, "Paparrigopoulos and Byzantium", in David Rick and Paul Magdalino (eds.), *Byzantium and Modern Greek Identity* (London: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 26–27.

12 David Lowenthal, conclusion in P.Gathercole and D.Lowenthal (eds.) *The Politics of the Past* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990).

13 Bruce G. Trigger, "Romanticism, nationalism, and archaeology", in Philip Kohl and Clare Fawcett (eds.), *Nationalism, politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 263–279.

14 Term introduced by Bruce Trigger in "Alternative Archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist", *Man* 19, pp. 355–370.

15 Bruce G. Trigger., ibid., pp. 355–370.

16 Francis Haskell, *The Ephemeral Museum. Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 98–106.

17 Eugenios Matthiopoulos, "I istoria tis tehnis sta oria tou ethnous" in Eugenios Matthiopoulos and Nikos Hadjinikolaou (eds.), *I Istoria tis Tehnis stin Ellada* (Irakleio: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2003), p. 432.

18 Eugenios Matthiopoulos, ibid., p. 435.

19 Olga Gratziou, "Apo tin istoria tou Byzantinou Mouseiou. Ta prota hronia", *Mnimon* 11 (Athens, 1987), pp. 55–56.

20 *Deltion Christianikis Archaeologikis Etaireias*, period A' 1892–1911, vol. A (Athens, 1892), article 3, p.6.

be seen as the preliminary period in the long history of the establishment of the first Byzantine Museum. The need for the preservation of the medieval –mainly religious- monuments was connected to the restitution of Byzantium and the formation of a common national consciousness, bridging the distance from antiquity to the Greek Revolution years. Therefore, Lampakis collected and enriched the Christian Archaeological Society's collection. It is important to mention that he did not gather objects based on their artistic, but on their religious value.[21] His final goal was the prestige and empowerment of the Church.[22] In his annual reports, as Director of the Christian Museum, one can trace his romanticism, eagerness, enthusiasm in his assigned task, but also his disappointment with the fact that all the funds were given to classical excavations.[23]

From solely religious objects, Byzantine artifacts were gradually regarded as objects of scientific research. The first deviation from the rigid hellenocentric neoclassicist orientation of archaeologists came from historians and scholars, who were familiar with the newest scientific trends in the field of European historiography and informed on the gradual scientific autonomy of art history. In 1911 Adamantios Adamantiou was the first to teach the subject of "Byzantine Art and Archaeology" within the curriculum of the University of Athens.[24] He was, also, from 1914 to 1923, the Director of the Byzantine and Christian Museum. However, as an archaeologist, he could not yet escape from regarding Byzantine art through the prism of antiquity, as an artistic survival of ancient Greek art.[25] In 1914, after the liberation and annexation of the Northern Greek provinces to Greece, he suggested the establishment of the Museum in the recently liberated city of Thessaloniki,[26] as it was the second most important city of the Byzantine Empire after Constantinople; he tried to scientifically support his request to the broader public.[27] The museum was finally founded as a national museum in Athens in 1914 [28] and was destined to:

> ... assemble the works of Byzantine, Christian and medieval art, from the first years of Christianity to the constitution of the Hellenic State.[29]

A new museum is born

The most decisive phase in the history of the Byzantine and Christian Museum is linked to its next Director, Georgios Sotiriou. The accumulated Byzantine objects –including the rich collection of the Christian Archaeological Society- were kept in the National Archaeological

21 Demetris Triantaphyllopoulos in his article "Byzantine Museum of Athens: from Pietism to Aesthetism", *Domus Byzantinus,* vol. I (Athens, 1987), pp. 119–128 suggests that Lampakis treated the objects of cult from a pietistic point of view. However, Olga Gratziou counteracts the connection to "pietismus". See Olga Gratziou, "Apo tin istoria tou Byzantinou Mouseiou. Ta prota hronia", *Mnimon* 11 (Athens, 1987), note 24, p. 64.

22 Olga Gratziou,, ibid., pp. 59–61.

23 Georgios Lampakis, "Istoria tis idryseos, katastaseos kai ton spoudaioteron antikeimenon tou Christianikou Mouseiou apo tou 1884–90", *Deltion Christianikis Archeologikis Etaireias*, period A' 1892–1911, vol. A (Athens: Press Nikolaos G. Igglesis, 1892), pp. 56–71.

24 Eugenios Matthiopoulos, ibid., p. 443.

25 Adamantios Adamantiou, "I Byzantini Tehni os prodromos tis Europaikis", *Deltion Christianikis Archeologikis Etaireias,* period B΄1924–1927, vol. Γ (Athens, 1926), pp. 79–82.

26 See in Olga Gratziou, "Apo tin istoria tou Byzantinou Mouseiou. Ta prota hronia", note 25, p. 64.

27 Adamantios Adamantiou, I Byzantini Thessaloniki (istoria – koinonikos vios – tehni) (Athens, 1914).

28 Daphne Boudouri, *Kratos kai Mouseia: to thesmiko plaisio ton archeologikon mouseion* (Athens-Thessaloniki: Editions Sakkoula, 2003), note 43, p. 73.

29 Georgios Sotiriou, "Préface de la première édition", Guide du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes (avec avant-propos sur la sculpture et sur la peinture byzantines en Grèce), French edition (Athènes: Hestia, 1932), p.6.

Museum until 1923.[30] According to the preface of the first edition of the Byzantine Museum's Catalogue in 1924:

> If art is the highest expression of a country's civilisation, then in those terms, we are presenting the civilisation of our fathers, as the Archaeological Museum presents the civilisation of our ancestors.[31]

As the "ancestors'" art had already gained international admiration and character, the "fathers´" art had one more advantage apart from its direct proximity to ancient art; these objects had an ongoing religious value and were vehicles of ideas, beliefs and traditions, popular among the public.[32] At the same time, this fact could be considered as a "barrier" that Sotiriou had to overcome, as he had to explain the reasons for which these objects were extracted from their natural surrounding. Although he recognized that only within the Church could these objects be fully appreciated, he also pointed out that only within the Museum their comparative study and detailed understanding could be possible. Sotiriou ended the preface to the first catalogue of the Museum in 1924 with the aspiration that the Greek State would offer a new permanent building to house the collection of the Byzantine Museum; thus, a museum of such national importance and with such a rich collection, would become a "model museum in the Near East".[33] Obviously, he was still influenced by the ideas expressed during the previous century and Paparrigopoulos's romantic views.

When the second museum catalogue was issued in 1931, the Museum had finally found a permanent building to house its collection. Through the presentation of all the considerably large collection, Sotiriou´s ultimate goal was for the Museum to become a "centre for Byzantine studies and art",[34] omitting his earlier statement on the Museum becoming the model museum in the Near East.

For the purposes of the exhibition organized by Sotiriou at the Villa Ilissia in 1930, all the exhibits, especially the sculptures, were arranged in such a way as to allude to the interior of the buildings in which they originally stood. Thus, three basic types of church were reconstructed on the ground floor: a three-nave basilica typical of the early Christian era; a mid-Byzantine inscribed cruciform church; and a single-chambered post-Byzantine chapel.[35] The finest sculptures of each period – early Christian, Byzantine and post-Byzantine- were also displayed within the museum's ground floor, in the vestibule of each reconstructed church of the relevant period. The first floor was given over to artifacts arranged chronologically and typologically into collections. Specifically, the exhibition comprised four rooms; the first two presented paintings – mainly portable icons – and the other two rooms minor art – mainly garments of the clergy from the Byzantine and post-Byzantine period. Manuscripts, triptychs and small icons were also displayed in glass cases in those two latter rooms. [36]

30 Daphne Boudouri, *Kratos kai Mouseia: to thesmiko plaisio ton archeologikon mouseion* (Athens-Thessaloniki: Editions Sakkoula, 2003), p. 74.
31 Georgios Sotiriou, "Préface de la première édition", *Guide du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes* (Athènes: Hestia, 1932), p. 6.
32 Georgios Sotiriou, ibid., p. 5.
33 Georgios Sotiriou, ibid., pp. 4–6.
34 Georgios Sotiriou, ibid., p. 8.
35 Georgios Sotiriou, ibid., p. 7.
36 Georgios Sotiriou, ibid., pp. 15–144.

The Christian and Byzantine Museum: Narrating the Byzantine Middle Ages

At this point, having presented the sociopolitical background that led to the establishment of the first Byzantine Museum in Athens and having analyzed its basic display structure, an attempt will be made to reconstruct some key aspects of this first exhibition's narrative, based on restricted sources, such as the museum's first catalogue as well as recent editions of the Byzantine Museum in Athens.

Sotiriou's ultimate goal was the exhibition's didactic character. Based on this fact, he commissioned the architect Aristotle Zachos to transform the building's interior and organize the displays accordingly.[37] Starting from the first floor of the exhibition, icons were considered as items of adoration and respect, enclosing within them a sense of power.[38] Therefore, these were probably the most difficult objects to be displayed. Until then, the Christian Orthodox public was educated in viewing religious objects solely as objects of worship. As a result, an instructive effort was made so that people could start viewing icons also as artistic achievements. The icons were displayed in two rooms and the decision for their categorization is extremely interesting. The icons displayed in the first room were unsigned, while in the second room were those bearing the artist's name or signature.[39] Sotiriou's attempt to legitimize these works as art is, undoubtedly, part of the museum's aim to propose a new way of viewing and thinking about icons; as works of art with or without their master's signature. For this reason, Sotiriou, also analyses in the catalogue the different schools that influenced Byzantine iconography and continues with the typological classification. Objects in the third and fourth room were displayed typologically respectively. The artifacts (such as small icons, works of art from different material and clergy clothing) were orderly arranged and lined on the shelves of glass cases.[40]

Although objects in the first floor were typologically classified, in the ground floor a different kind of display was selected. The same pattern was repeated for all three reconstructed churches. Each reconstructed church had a vestibule, which, by presenting the finest objects of sculpture, functioned possibly as an introductory phase to the art of the relevant period. Artifacts were displayed as close as possible to the original place they occupied within a Christian Orthodox church,[41] and thus close to their primary religious and ecclesiastical role. For example, the early Christian sculpture [42] and other objects were placed in the vestibule before the reconstructed basilica. Within the basilica, sculptures relevant to the sanctuary or to the general ornamentation of the church, early Christian symbols and inscriptions were placed accordingly in the temple.[43]

Sotiriou, throughout the exhibition's catalogue, refers several times to the educational character of the new Byzantine and Christian Museum of Athens, which he envisages as a model museum and a centre of scholarly research.[44] As presented explicitly through Sotiriou's educational effort, the public entering the museum was not accustomed to the

37 Dimitrios Konstantios, introduction "The Byzantine and Christian Museum: from the 19th to the 21st century", *The World of the Byzantine Museum* (Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 2004).

38 "Power of objects" as one of Stocking's seven dimensions of the aesthetic analysis of objects. Apart from the three known dimensions, the others are historical dimension, beauty/aesthetics and ownership. G.Stocking, *Objects and Others: Essays on museums and material culture* (Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1986).

39 As Sotiriou mentions, these icons were mainly from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. See Sotiriou, *Guide du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes* (Athens, 1932), pp. 101–117.

40 Georgios Sotiriou, ibid., pp. 117–144.

41 Georgios Sotiriou, ibid., p. 70.

42 Specifically sculpture of the 4th-7th century AD. See G. Sotiriou, ibid., p. 25.

43 Georgios Sotiriou, ibid., pp. 31–39.

44 Georgios Sotiriou, ibid.

notion of a Byzantine artifacts' exhibition. For him, the most feasible way to achieve his didactic aim was to organise and display objects, considered as "artistic achievements", in the familiar environment of the church.[45] Consequently, through a "direct comparison"[46], he gradually introduced the visitors to the notion of evolution of Byzantine art and architecture. For the Christian Orthodox visitors such objects, especially icons, have always maintained a spiritual character and have been items of worship, contemplation and prayer. Ideas and beliefs that have become an integral part of people's culture and with which they filter almost all external information and stimulants, cannot be altered easily. Even nowadays in Byzantine art exhibitions the public is differentiated according to its cultural and religious background. [47]

Bearing in mind all the above-mentioned facts, Sotiriou's attempt and mission were undoubtedly complicated, as he had to overcome the public's cultural and religious barriers. Consequently, in his effort to present the artistic and scientific aspect of the objects, he used the churches' original architectural representations and displayed objects in their primary place as a medium to instruct the public, overcome existing barriers and bridge all the different aspects of thinking about objects.

As known from museum history, throughout the years the museum had gradually substituted the religious/ritual sentiment of the Church. Like in a ritual space, the museum space is reserved for contemplation and learning; it requires a specific way of behavior, and involves an element of performance by the visitors who follow a set route and finally leave with a sense of having been spiritually nourished or restored.[48] Sotiriou's narrative not only conveys this ritual sentiment in the museum, this transition from a religious space to the museum; he also goes on with a "tautology" and structures the museum in imitation of an Orthodox church.

The Myth of Europeanism

Contrary to the ideological myths of "rebirth" and that of "continuity" that referred to an attitude towards the past, the myth of "Europeanism" for several decades functioned to shape directly a perspective for the future. The gradual development of this argument started within the framework of the pro-western and modernizing Greek policy adopted during the post-war era. This policy was intensified by the negotiations regarding Greece's integration into the European Economic Community (EEC), which started in 1959. Europeanism became the dominant ideology in 1960s Greece. The ideological, cultural and educational apparatuses in Greek society were reoriented, supplying the dominant nationalist ideology with a convincing pro-European perspective. In order to present this solution as the only effective, a propaganda against the socialist and internationalist ideological and political tendencies took place. Since national identity was now defined through Europeanism, the nation's real or imagined accesses to the culture and the history of Europe had to be upgraded.

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45 Dimitrios Konstantios, introduction "The Byzantine and Christian Museum: from the 19th to the 21st century", *The World of the Byzantine Museum* (Athens: Archaeological Receipts Fund, 2004), p 13.

46 Georgios Sotiriou, ibid., see reference 25. Artistic comparison was one of the museum's proclaimed goals.

47 Antonis Liakos, "The Glory of the Museum", *To Vima*, 30/3/1997, p. B03. In his article Liakos refers to the exhibition "Glory of Byzantium" organised at the Metropolitan Museum of New York in 1997. In this exhibition, the Orthodox public regarded Byzantium as part of an entire cultural tradition, rather than a detached and complete artistic period. On the contrary, American visitors, differently educated, could easily view Byzantine icons as works of art, in direct comparison to the Tiepolo exhibition displayed in the next room or comment stylistically on the differences and similarities between the Byzantine and Renaissance Art.

48 Carol Duncan, "The Art Museum as Ritual", *Civilizing Rituals inside public art museums* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), pp. 7–20.

The new pro-western or pro-European trend that appeared in the cultural field can be best traced in texts by Angelos Procopiou. Influential art historian and critic of the time, Procopiou had been teaching at the Athens Polytechnical School since 1960. He had shaped his own "platonic", Greek-centered theory, according to which pre-historic art was united in a continuous dialectical course, with Classic, Byzantine, Renaissance and contemporary American or European abstract art. He attempted to incorporate the established aesthetics of Greekness into the cultural and artistic production of the western world. Characteristically enough, commenting on Greco's iconography, he argued:

> The unification of the two middle fingers implied the union between Greece and the West. Greco brought to the West, by this symbolic gesture, the message of Greece's integration into the European Intellectual Community.[49]

Within the framework of Europeanism, a reinterpretation of the Byzantine history and culture was needed – a revision that had to be accepted by the international academic community. Byzantium's relation with and contribution to Europe ought to be emphasized.

Dionysios Zakythinos, a prominent scholar of Byzantium, provided a new basis for historiography, investigating in his studies the relations between Byzantium and Europe.[50] Another element signaling historiography's attempt to support Europeanism was Panayotis Kanellopoulos' change of opinion. Member of the Athens' Academy and politician of the Right, he published in 1941 a voluminous work entitled *"History of European Spirit"*, in which he examined European art from 14th to late 19th century. In his work he altogether excluded Byzantium from European culture. To justify this exclusion he argued that

> …[Byzantium] ignored exclusively Greece in art, and remained devoted to Asia" and that "Byzantium did not influence Italian Art, transmitting to it only Asiatic artistic elements.[51]

In 1966, however, 25 years after the first edition, he rewrote his work adding 260 pages on Byzantine art and culture. Attempting to denounce his earlier rejective position regarding the continuity of Greek spirit within the Byzantine culture, he admitted that *"Europe is today our fate too"*.[52]

Nevertheless, the most important event for the promotion of Byzantine studies was the 9th exhibition of the Council of Europe, organized by the Greek Government in 1964 Athens under the title "Byzantine Art, a European art". The display's intentions can easily be discerned in the catalogue's introduction, written by Manolis Chatzidakis, distinguished Byzantine scholar and commissioner of the exhibition:

> A total of about 650 objects has been collected and visitors will thus have the pleasure of following a vivid manifestation of the ancient Greek heritage and of estimating the substantial contribution made by Byzantium to medieval art. Considered from this point of view it can be clearly perceived that Byzantine art is European, and the only art

49 Aggelos G.Procopiou, "I krisi tis sygchronis technis", *I Kathimerini*, 5 January 1960.

50 Dionysios A Zakythinos, "To Byzantio metaksy Anatolis kai Dyseos", *E.E.B.S.*, vol. 28 (1958), 1970, pp. 368–400; *idem*, "To provlima tis ellinikis symvolis stin Anagennisin", *E.E.F.S.P.A.*, vol. E', 1954–1955, pp. 126–138.

51 Panayiotis Kanellopoulos, *Istoria tou Ellinikou Pneumatos*, vol A (Athens, 1942), pp. 16–17.

52 Panayiotis Kanellopoulos, *Istoria tou Ellinikou Pneumatos*, part A, vol, A (Athens, 1966), p.11.

> between East and West which kept alive that spirit of Greek humanism now recognized as preeminently the basis of European values. [53]

Against this theoretical scheme a number of objections have been raised, among which this by Talbot Rice. Educated within the framework of "colonial archaeology", Talbot Rice could not attribute a purely European character to Byzantine art. In this manner, although he admits that the classical elements traced in Byzantine art may be accepted as truly European, there are other elements, bearing an Eastern influence, that are also distinct. He concludes by arguing that:

> This is not purely an academic question but is very germane to the attitude of mind with which we must approach Byzantine art in order to grasp its nature fully. We must, in fact, accept that we have to learn a new language if we are to appreciate it completely, and that language is not a wholly European one in the narrowest sense of the term. Even today the Greeks, Byzantine's most direct heirs, speak of 'going to Europe' when they visit London, Paris, Berlin or even Vienna. This extraneous element is thus perceived by them, even if they would be the last to admit it overtly.[54]

Greece's integration into the EEC in 1981 boosted the myth of Europeanism. In the application Greece submitted for its official integration into the E.E.C., the Greek Prime Minister Konstantinos Karamanlis, addressing to the community's dignitaries stated that:

> Greece belongs and wishes to belong to Europe, where it has been placed by its geographical position, its history and tradition -an element that it shares with the cultural heritage of your countries.[55]

A number of events were organized supporting Greece's integration in the decades that follow; regarding the Byzantine studies, two major symposia held were entitled "Byzantium and Europe": the first took place at the European Cultural Center of Delphi in 1985,[56] while the second at the Paris Maison de l'Europe, under the auspices of the Greek presidency in Europe in 1994. Byzantium is by now legitimized as a true part of the European heritage. Quite characteristic is the statement with which the prominent medievalist Jacques Le Goff concluded his 1994 speech:

> Within the perspective of the united Europe, which summoned us here under the auspices of Greece, I believe that both western historiography and public opinion have:
>
> 1. To legitimize Greece's Byzantine past.
> 2. To reintegrate Byzantium into the General history, to Middle Ages as an entity. And finally,
> 3. To acknowledge Hellenism's position within Europe, though today's Greece, which we love. Even if we no more speak of the "Greek miracle", the Greek heritage constitutes the first great cultural heritage of Europe; as such we have to grant Byzantium with its own

53 Manolis Chatzidakis, "Foreword", *Byzantine Art, a European Art,* exhibition catalogue, Zappeion Exhibition Hall, April 1st- June 15th 1964 (Athens, 1964), p. 11.

54 David Talbot Rice, "Byzantine Art, A European Art?", *The Appreciation of Byzantine Art* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 67.

55 Konstantinos Svolopoulos, "I entaxi stis Europaikes koinotites", *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous*, vol. 16 (Athens, 2000), pp. 340–345.

56 *Byzantium and Europe*, First International Byzantine Conference, European Cultural Center of Delphi, Delphi, 20–24 July 1985.

right position: Byzantium, an original place of creation and acculturation, of Hellenism and European history altogether.[57]

Museum of Byzantine Culture: Towards a "Europeanized" Narrative

The question of founding a Museum for Byzantine art and culture in Thessaloniki came up again in 1975, year when Democracy was restored, following the Dictatorship that tormented Greece for seven years. In 1977 a nationwide architectural competition was announced, to be won by Kyriakos Krokos. In 1989 the foundation stone was laid while the building was completed and handed over in 1993. The 11 rooms of the Museum's permanent exhibition opened gradually to the public from 1997 to early 2004. The entire project of the Museum's completion coincides with the decades that signal Greece's course within the European community.

Deeply influenced by this certain ideological framework, the new museum adopted a narrative that would accentuate Byzantium's relation with and the contribution to Europe. This attempt is best exemplified in the first issue of the new journal the Museum of Byzantine Culture initiated; the introductory text by Dr. Eutychia Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou, director at the time, provides a detailed mission statement of the new institution, in which European culture maintains a central role.[58]

First, we have to comment on the obvious references made on the relation between Byzantium and Europe that are traced within the narrative the Museum initiated. The post-Byzantine era, a historic period that for a long time had been neglected by historiography for a number of reasons,[59] has been dedicated two of the total eleven rooms of the permanent collection. It is precisely the historic era when the relations between the former Byzantine world and Europe become extremely apparent. Room 10 entitled *"Byzantium after Byzantium: The Byzantine Legacy in the years after the Fall of Constantinople"* (1453-19th c.) represents the variety of religious painting schools in both Ottoman- and Venetian- ruled Greek areas. The parts of Greece under Venetian rule are presented to have enjoyed more favorable living conditions. The display emphasizes their contact with the West through the incorporation of contemporary and earlier Italian painting elements into the art of the Cretan and Ionian schools. Not by chance, the completion of this specific display was co-funded by the Third Community Support Framework, Operational Programme "Culture".

Room 8 is dedicated to the Dori Papastratou Collection, which consists of 18th and 19th century engravings, "paper icons", as these are called in the museum narrative. The display demonstrates the western provenance of this specific medium that was adopted by the Orthodox Church circa the mid-17th century. It also underlines the places where these engravings were produced: they were initially printed in European cities with strong Greek communities, which had the necessary modern technology. Like their western counterparts, the engravings, depicting panoramic views of monasteries, were the monasteries' chief means of encouraging financial support: they were distributed to the pilgrims as *eulogia*, "blessing".

Room 11: Discovering the Past constitutes the final room, the "epilogue" to the permanent display. It illustrates the procedure archaeological findings follow from the excavation to the museum display. In this way, Byzantine artifacts are not differentiated from the ones of other

57 Jacques Le Goff, "I Dysi mprosta sto Byzantio, elleipsi katanoisis ke pareksigiseis", in *Byzantio kai Europi*, Symposium, Paris, Maison de l' Europe 22 April 1994 (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1996), pp. 104–105.

58 Eutychia Kourkoutidou – Nikolaidou, "A Museum is Born. Aims and Orientations", *Journal of the Museum of Byzantine Culture,* Museum of Byzantine Culture, Greek Ministry of Culture, 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities, Thessaloniki, vol. No 1/1994 (Athens: Editions Kapon, 1994) pp. 14– 20.

59 The historical framework of the negligence of the Post-Byzantine era is analyzed by Eugenios Matthiopoulos in his article "Istoria tis Tehnis sta oria tou Ethnous", in *Istoria tis tehnis stin Ellada*…Ibid.

periods or areas. In the same room a digital display presents the history of the museums. Starting by locating the ancient Greek provenance of the term "mouseion", this exhibit focuses on institutions and events that led to the birth of the museum from the Italian Renaissance and the Enlightenment to the mid 20th century "purified" museum of modern art. It constitutes an "archaeology" of the museum history seen from a West-European perspective.

On a second level, we will attempt to analyze theoretically the narrative as a whole the Museum of Byzantine Culture introduced. The emphasis is given to several aspects of the Byzantine culture, as for instance the religious life, the burial customs, everyday life at home and in the market. Art and architecture are utilized only to illustrate these thematic units. This turn justifies the proposition made in 1997, year of the museum's opening to the public, to rename the Thessaloniki's Byzantine Museum into "Museum of Byzantine Culture", a title that would best correspond to the narrative the display initiated.

As Eleni Katsanika and Gabriella Papadeli exhibition designers of the permanent display argue, through the display of its collections the Museum of Byzantine Culture aims at presenting both the memory and the knowledge of this culture. The exhibition material is selected and systematized so as to provide meaning, to become a complete theme. The artifacts should construct images of the life of an entire culture, in order to narrate their story in the most expressive way. For this reason, the exhibition designers searched for a language that could offer meaning to the display and communication with the public.[60] Eco's semiotic theory can be discerned in the way the exhibition designers structure their thoughts on the display planning:[61]

> We attempt to grant the artifacts with their semiotic entity in order to elicit the communication abilities they have. Not having the illusion that these, decontextualized artifacts would acquire in the exhibition the meaning they used to have, we use them in order to give information and emotion, the expression of a past reality, as we interpret it.[62]

The exhibition designers accentuate the role of the emotion within the display's narrative. By introducing a number of different themes, micro-narratives as we may call them, they lead the visitor to become part of it, to share this expression of past, to identify himself/herself with the heritage displayed. This narrative practice is best summarized by Pierre Nora:

> We study the everyday life of the past because we want to return to a slower-paced, more savoury existence, and we read biographies of ordinary people as if to say that the "masses" can never be understood simply by, as it were, measuring their mass. And from the countless "microhistories" we take shards of the past and try to glue them together, in the hope that the history we reconstruct might seem more like the history we experience.[63]

The awe-inspiring attitude towards the "magnificent" art and architecture of the Byzantine era, dominant till very recently, is abandoned in favor of a more intimate narrative. This does

60 Eleni Katsanika-Stefanou and Gabriella Papadeli, *I simiotiki tis ekthesis*, unpublished article (Thessaloniki, 1997).

61 Umberto Eco, *The open work*, trans. by Anna Cancogni (Cambridge, Massachussetts: Harvard University Press, 1989).

62 Eleni Katsanika-Stefanou and Gabriella Papadeli, *ibid.*

63 Pierre Nora,"General Introduction: Between Memory and History", in Pierre Nora and Lawrence Kritzman, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), vol. 1, p. 13.

not only demonstrate the application of the new museology methods, but also evinces an ideological alteration. The nation's self-definition is now found within the limits of the common European ideals: a more intimate and based on the emotion narrative provides the opportunity to consider the things Greeks and other Europeans, inheritors of a "common" heritage, share.

It is precisely the myth of Europeanism that the Museum of Byzantine Culture narrative attests. This ideological scheme was legitimized by the Prize the Museum was awarded by the Council of Europe for 2005. By honoring the Museum, the Council of Europe and the European community in a wider sense, acknowledged the role of Byzantium into the European culture. Indicatively enough, the Museum of Byzantine Culture successful model was very soon followed by the Athenian Byzantine and Christian Museum, which adopted a similar Europeanized narrative in its 2004 collection rehanging.

Conclusion: Inventing Byzantine Traditions

Investigating the discourse that has been developed about the national Byzantine museums, we adopted the notion of ideological myth. Acting within the dominant ideological framework, myths perform consolation, allowing the subject to place itself within time: to connect imaginatively with the past, to interpret the present, and to conceive the future. Providing existential security to the subject, myths teach and motivate, confirming in an understandable way its adherence to a continuous present.

In the three myths we analyzed, nationalism emerges as the dominant ideology. Nationalistic ideology attests the nation's unimpaired genuineness, utilizing historical arguments; it has to highlight nation's uniqueness adducing efficacious testimonials. Therefore, nationalism seeks to update the past persuading the public with its significations, and soothing its contestations.

The product of the ideology construction is continuously readjusted and modified according to society's occurring needs. Political aspirations are incorporated with inherited or invented memories, which inevitably, are chosen and structured so as to serve certain ideological objectives. The notion of "myth" is, thus, mobilized to examine the relation that nationalistic ideology builds with history, reconstructing imaginatively communities of the past [64] and inventing their symbolic and didactic narratives.

We have to encounter the museum as an ideological state apparatus functioning as a reflex of an already inscribed power within the procedure of a social engineering.[65] The two moments in the history of narrating the Byzantine past in the Greek national museums are part of a larger process the Greek state undertook to "read" its past according to its occurring needs. In both museums the interpretation of the past that is attempted is retrospective: the past is construed having the present as a starting point. Informed by the dominant each time national ideology, these myths convert history, namely the representation of the past, into an eternal present.

Rendering the Byzantine past into the present within the museum, bolstered the public's identification with a heritage it should learn to share; allowed the nation's aspirations to be

64 The concept derives from Benedict Anderson's text in which "*a nation is an imagined community –and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nations will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives an image of their community*". See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso 1991) p.6.

65 Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses", in Charles Harrison and Paul Wood, (eds.) *Art in Theory 1900–2000, An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) pp. 953–960.

expressed and propagated through the narrative these institutions, as state apparatuses, adopted at certain historical moments. Whether the issue was Greek nationalism in the form of Hellenism's historical continuity or Greece's necessity to keep up with Europe, a different kind of Byzantine tradition had to be recalled or "invented", as Eric Hobsbawm argues in his celebrated text,[66] so as to legitimize the state's national policy.

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The Art Museum as a Platform for Self-formation

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This article considers the tradition of 'Bildung' in relation to the museum by drawing on recent self-formation theories developed by the Danish social analysts Lars Geer Hammerhøj and Lars-Henrik Schmidt. It is argued that today the museum can be used as a platform for self-formation, where the museum user employs the museum narratives and the art works in a self-formative and personal way. Furthermore, the article debates the pedagogical challenge, which faces the museum today, suggesting that the museum should take a more active role museum, becoming a partner for dialogue instead of a lecturer.

Introduction

The focus in this paper is the basic question of what role the museum plays in our society today, in order to understand why exhibiting and communicating art remain significant. How and why do people use the art museum? And what consequences does this use have on exhibition practices and communication strategies employed by museum professionals? The theoretical angle, from which I wish to investigate the issue, is the recent theory of self-formation developed mainly by the Danish social analysts Lars Geer Hammerhøj and Lars-Henrik Schmidt. The self-formation theory reviews and challenges the modern notion of 'bildung' and offers a contemporary understanding of how we as individuals form and develop our selves today. Hammershøj and Schmidt describe their method as a 'social-analytical' diagnosis of our age, and attempt to investigate the relationship between the self and society. Based on this, they seek to make a diagnosis of contemporary society exposing the imminent tendencies present in society, which might influence the way society develops in the future (Raffnsøe, Nielsen et al. 2004 p. 3). By taking into account the radical process of individualization in late modernity, this theory is rethinking the way we shape and develop our self, and how this is done in relation to society as well as considering the consequences it will have on the future. The aim here is to consider how this diagnosis can be used in a museum context and what effects it could have for future museum practice.

The main reason for converging theories about self-formation and a museological discussion is that the art museum, as it is well established, was born in the late eighteenth century along with the nation-state, national identity and the notion of the people, and is closely bound with these concepts. One of its key functions was to educate and inform people, both through the artworks themselves and through chronological displays. The museum was used for disseminating knowledge to people, teaching them to be good citizens (Hooper-Greenhill 1993, Macdonald 2003 p. 1–3, Sheehan 2000 p. 83–137). In this way, the art museum has always been comprehended as a place where people can form and develop themselves. However, the understanding of how this development takes place has changed over time and Schmidt and Hammershøj propose a new perspective on this. In contrast to the initial ideas about museums and formation of the self, the self-formation theory argues that ahistorical or transhistorical values are not possible and education and development happens on the individual's own terms and on the basis of subjective priorities hence the word **self**-formation (Hammershøj 2003 p. 441). The idea of self-formation not only influences the primary functions of the museum such as exhibiting, but in addition has consequences for the understanding and planning of pedagogy, as well as the practical didactics, which are practised in the museum. It is these consequences that seem important and central when discussing the learning and the experiences, which take place in the museum.

Following these ideas this paper will consider the impact of the self-formation theory on the role of the art museum and the corollary for the work that takes place within it. It is proposed that the museum could be seen as a platform for self-formation and self-performance and instead of being a place where a shared culture is celebrated and common values communicated, the museum could be a space, where individuals are engaged in self-formation, debating personal values and reflecting upon their own originality.

I begin with briefly establishing the idea of education and self-development in the modern museum[1], outlining the tradition, which self-formation challenges. The aim is to summarize

1 I refer to the 'modern museum' as the first museum institutions, which were founded on Enlightenment ideas around 1800. See for example Eilean Hooper-Greenhill. (1992) Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge. London: Routledge.

the historical background of how people develop in the museum, along with defining key concepts, which are used throughout the paper. I then continue to explore the self-formation theories seen from a museal perspective.[2]

Historic Self-Practices

The rise of the modern art museum in the 18th century was built upon the Enlightenment's neo-humanistic values about education of the public and establishing a feeling of national community. The museum was an institution that could be used by the people to develop and become educated, forming themselves through the objects and displays (Hooper-Greenhill 1993, Sheehan 2000). The concern of how the self is formed has changed throughout history and has been conceptualized and explained in different ways by various scientific disciplines (Giddens 1991, Rose 1998). In relation to this, the concept 'self' is by no means axiomatic, for example in relation to notion of identity, which is a certain perception of the self (Hammershøj 2003 p. 59–60, p. 443). Nikolas Rose explains that the notion of identity is based on the conception that the self is constituted by the narratives we create about ourselves (Hammershøj 2003 p. 60). It is the idea that the self can wear different identities and as such a particular understanding of the self, in the same way, but fundamentally different as we shall see to self-formation, which is also a certain way of explaining the development of the self. This is not the place for an elaboration of these two concepts, but it is key to note that I, following the theory of self-formation, use the concept of self as a description of what distinguishes one person from another[3] with the social-analytical emphasis on the self as a boundary in sociality. My aim here is to look closer at the debated self-formation as an understanding of the self, as well as the neo-humanistic way of relating to the self, which was dominant during the development of the modern museum.

In order for Hammershøj to establish a self-formation theory he looks at historic ways of developing the self. Hammershøj refers to Michel Foucault's article '*Technologies of the Self*' from 1982, where Foucault constructs three types of self-practices: The Greco-Roman, The Christian and The neo-humanistic. With self-practice Foucault means the way in which people have related to and developed their selves and corresponds in this way to the term self-formation.[4] Self-practices are historically determined and can be connected to ideal types, which constitute the 'perfect' person in a given time. These ideal types suggest therefore how the individual should relate to herself and reflect ethical, social or religious values present in society in a particular time in history. Foucault identifies two major self-practices as predecessors for the neo-humanistic practice. Briefly explained the Greco-Roman (fourth century B.C. – second century A.D.) is an ethical self-practice concerned with 'a care of the self'. Through self-mastery and education of the self a higher moral and good judgement is obtained. The ideal is an individual that takes care of herself mentally and physically educating her judgement by using reason (logos) and Greek deeds (Hammershøj 2003 p. 34–42). With the Christian self-practice the Greco-Roman practice is restructured. Here the ideal is concerned with 'self-knowledge' or 'insight into the self' and is imperative for purifying

2 I wish to clarify that I use the distinction between the modern museum and self-formation not because I see a definitely break with all modern values in museal practise today. On the contrary, I often find that the separation between museums in modern times and today is obstructing the investigation of the complexity, which is going on within a museum. However, discussing self-formation is a break away from the traditional 'bildung' tradition and therefore the distinction is pertinent in this case.

3 See Oxford Concise Dictionary 10th edition, revised.

4 I interpret the use of the term self-practice as complying with the concept of self-formation, because in context both 'self-practice' and 'self-formation' is applied to the process, where people relate to and develop their self.

the self in preparation for the salvation. The ideal is acknowledging sin, showing penitence and by keeping oneself under constant surveillance, be alert for impure thoughts hidden in the soul and as a consequence of this exposing the self, denying and giving up the impure self (Hammershøj 2003 p. 43–47). An interesting note here is that Hammershøj draws a parallel from this Christian self-knowledge to the present concept of identity. He argues that both are using self-knowledge as self-practice, but for the concept of identity, self-knowledge is used as a positive constitution of the self, because the analysis and articulation of the self, leads not to a denial and religious acceptance of human sin, but to a optimistic and constructive definition of an identity (Hammershøj 2003 p. 48).

Neo-humanistic Self-practice and Bildung

The neo-humanistic type of formation draws on the two self-practices described above, but interprets them in a new and aesthetic way. It is developed in Germany in the eighteenth century and is characterised by idealising Greek antique culture. Hammershøj describes this self-practice*:*

> For neo-humanism 'bildung' is the process, in which the individual transgresses his particular self towards the universal humanism, and generates taste from this in a way so the individual at the same time displays his individualism and expresses the universal concept of humanity [My translation] (Hammershøj 2003 p. 69).

In this way educating and developing the self means a transcendence of the self into something larger, a formation of the self and a development of taste. We can talk about a process where the self transgresses into sociality and obtains the universal values. Behind the neo-humanistic understanding of self-practice lies the theory of 'bildung', a German work meaning 'general education' or 'self-development' in English, however missing a proper and pertinent translation. [5] It combines formal and informal education, development of aesthetic taste and self formation and refers to the potential of becoming a moral, educated person. It is not a set of rules and it is not dictated by any authority. As Martin Swale succinctly has put it:

> The word **Bildung** implies the generality of a culture, the clustering of values by which a man lives, rather than a specifically **educational** attainment. [..]**Bildung** becomes, then, a total growth process, a diffused **Werden**, or becoming, involving something more intangible than the acquirement of a finite number of lessons (emphasis in the original) (Belfiore, Bennett 2006 p. 108).

The tradition of 'bildung' draws on philosophical thoughts, which are found in for example Immanuel Kant and Frederich Schiller and their ethical and aesthetic theories (Böhm 1927, Kant 1969) (see below). These philosophical and aesthetic ideas were formulated into a theory about 'bildung', by Wilhelm von Humboldt in the beginning of 1800. He applied these theories to cultural policies and played a major role in shaping the school system, the royal library and Berlin's museums (Sheehan 2000 p. 56). 'Bildung' is as such the historical reasoning that lies underneath cultural strategies as well as under personal development including formal and informal education, and can be seen as a direction towards which, all people should choose to steer.

5 I have in this paper chosen not to translate the word 'bildung', since the terms self-development or general education do not cover its meaning properly. Instead I aim to establish the meaning from the following definition as well as from the context.

For the modern art museums the theory of 'bildung' was especially significant, since aesthetics are central to the theory. Kant's notions about the link between art, beauty, moral and universal human values are important, as well as Schiller's concept of 'Spieltrieb' (free play) as a situation where the personal and the universal melts together (Böhm 1927). This understanding of the self as developing from the particular to the universal, connected to the philosophical theories mentioned above, placed the art museum firmly within the project of self development and defined it as an institution for the neo-humanistic self-practice. When experiencing the artworks in the museum, people were exposed to universal values and history and through this, they were able to transgress themselves into a universal humanism, which would unite the personal and the universal and they would become educated and good citizens. Fundamental to this self-practice is an ideal image of a perfect moral universal human being modelled on the idea of the ancient Greeks, who were used as a mirror for the individual, hence the word 'bildung', which derives from the word 'Bild', which means image.

Nationalism and the Development of the Neo-humanistic Self-practice

The German art historian Rudolf Margraff wrote in 1838 'The work of art not only reveals, it also stimulates and enlivens the spirit of the Volk, and thus becomes…means of cultivating [Bildungsmittel] the national spirit' (Sheehan 2000 p. 110). With the development of the nation state, the neo-humanistic self-practice was supplemented with a nationalistic aspect, hence the need for conveying a national feeling of community and belonging. In Denmark N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783–1872) had a strong influence on the nationalistic version of the neo-humanistic self-practice and with his concept of the 'historical-poetic', he drew a connection between Nordic mythology, poetry, history and the Danish people. He played a fundamental part in establishing the ideological foundations for the Danish Folkehøjskoler (Folk High Schools), schools for life, as he called them, arguing for a school where national history, Christian values, practical skills and poetry were combined though motivated speakers, dialogues and debates (Bugge 1968). To the universal human values and moral described by Schiller and Kant were added the idea about shared national values and a collective national culture. This meant that the ideal of a universal human 'bildung' were transformed or at least supplemented include knowledge about the nation and its history and culture. The development is also seen at Statens Museum for Kunst through the words of director N.L. Høyen (1798–1870):

> it is not only because of the aesthetic enjoyment, even though it can be very significant that we dwell on art, but as one of the great means for strengthen, raise and draw the people (my translation) (Høyen, Ussing 1871–1876).

The consequence of this view is seen in his practical museological work, since he discarded a large amount of art work from the collection in order to focus on the major works of art, to give people a more pure aesthetic experience when visiting the museum. But he also started to collect and support Danish art and lectured about and promoted national art (Villadsen 1998 p. 45–46, p. 49–61). It is clear that he both prioritized a universal aesthetic experience in line with the neo-humanistic self-practice, but in addition saw the potential of art as a vehicle for a national feeling of community and homogenization.

There are many issues and intricacies that could be discussed around 'bildung' and the neo-humanistic self-practice, however, here I just briefly want to comment on one of immediate aspects that arise when thinking about 'bildung' today. Underlying the concept is the idea of a unified mass of people as well as the suggestion that all people have equal opportunities. When the royal collections were opened it was indeed a major step for

accessibility to the art. But the brief opening hours, the entrance fees and other restrictions meant in reality that it was difficult for lower social classes to use the museum (Sheehan 2000 p. 115–116). The people cannot be seen as a coherent unified group, on the contrary 'the people' is a heterogeneous body whose opportunities, priorities and interests differ. This has an impact on how the tradition of 'bildung' developed. Because 'bildung' and the neo-humanistic self-practice in reality not were accessible for everyone, it was consequently used and appreciated by specific groups. This soon turned into what Hammershøj calls the decay of the neo-humanistic self-practice, since it was used primarily as a tool to mark social distinction and as such became an outer practice, which was more concerned with correct manners, proper dress code and canonical knowledge, than with moral and spiritual enlightenment (Hammershøj 2003).

The debate concerning museums, social inclusion and elitism is very much a central issue today and seen from the perspective of the 'bildung' tradition, it adds to the complex picture of why this situation has arisen.[6] The museum is based on a conceptual framework that does not discern between individuals, but considers the people as one with the potential of shared and universal values. This very optimistic and humanistic idea originates from the theories about aesthetic experiences presented above on which the notion of 'bildung' was established and from which also the modern museum derives.

Self-formation

And a rethinking and reframing of 'bildung' is what Schmidt and Hammershøj do with their self-formation theory and their conclusions are interesting for all institutions offering information, knowledge and experiences to the public such as libraries, museums, schools etc., since it challanges the way we look at the interaction between the public and the museum. By taking into account contemporary philosophy and sociology, Schmidt and Hammershøj seek a new understanding of the relationship between the development of the self and society. In their view the development of the self within the late modern society need to be redefined on the background of the philosophical developments that have taken place in the 20th century. According to Hammershøj self-formation today takes place on the following conditions:

> The first condition has to do with the radical individualization process and the second could be called culturalization. These conditions seem to fit in well with the late modern concept of formation of the personality. Firstly, formation of the personality is per definition 'without authority' and is therefore interesting in relation to the 'self-socialization' of the late modern individual. Secondly, formation is an aesthetic practice of the self, concerned with the unfolding of the personality. This happens today as the individual's transgression of itself, and the experiences made in various culturalized communities. (Hammershøj 2003 p. 443–444).

It is central to the theory that society still plays a large role and do not take the position that the individual is becoming more isolated, less involved in society and in the end is self-sufficient. On the contrary self-formation is concerned with the relationship between the individual and society and takes place in society (self-socialization) with transcendence into sociality, while at the same time the individual's integrity is sustained. The individual and society are not in opposition to each other, but are in a contingent and dialectical bond, where

6 See for example Pierre Bourdieu. (1991) *The Love of Art and their public*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Or more recently Richard Sandell, (2007) Museums prejudice and their reframing of difference. London: Rutledge.

they assert and develop each other. This is what Schmidt calls 'self-exceeding self-insurance' (Schmidt 2002). I emphasize this, since in the debate about museum learning, the radical view of personal learning can lead to an understanding of museum users as black boxes, who project their own meaning and narratives into the displays, without being affected by the exhibition, the intentions behind it or the context in which it is presented. Thinking self-formation within a museal context opens for a dialogue between the museum and the user, since it is in the self-exceeding process or the transcendence into sociality (here the museum situation) formation of the self takes place. I will return to this later, but here just highlight the consequences of the radical individualisation and how the social-analytical approach understands the relationship between individual and society positively.

The social analysts investigate the relation between self-formation and society through particularly two concepts: sociality and transcendence. Sociality is defined as the process of interaction between individuals and society, and is imperative, since self-formation is determined by the perpetuating input that the individual gets from society. It is this interaction, which has changed under the late modern conditions (Hammershøj 2003 p.12). One of the ways this has developed is explored though the concept of 'transcendence', which refer to a state where the self moves out of itself into sociality, into the interaction with society, into something, which is larger and more than itself, for then to return and internalize the experience (Hammershøj 2003 p. 72–73). The notion of society as 'something larger' can be seen in relation to the theory of 'bildung' presented above, where the individual also transgress herself in the process of socialization. The difference however, is that in 'bildung' the individual assimilates the universal values and becomes part of the larger, in self-formation the individual experiences the larger in sociality for then to return to her own particularity. It is important to note here that the experience of the larger society is interpreted by the individual and as such not an objective experience, however self-formation highlights the preparedness to risk and to transgress beyond ones existing values and understandings.

Radical Individualization and Cultural Pluralism

The first condition that Hammershøj mentions is the radical individualisation. Radical individualisation is closely connected to the rejection of universal values, since if there are no ahistorical truths it must be up to the individual to establish her own principles and standards. The sociologist Ulrich Beck says in his book *Risk Society*:

> In the individualized society the individual must therefore learn, on pain of permanent disadvantage, to conceive of himself or herself as the centre of action, as the planning office with respect to his/her own biography, abilities, orientations, relationships and so on…[..] in order for one to survive an *ego-centered world view* must be developed, which turns the relation of ego and world on its head, so to speak, conceiving of and making them useful for the purpose of shaping an individual biography. (Beck 1992 p. 135–136).

The self is placed in the centre of the world and it is from here everything is understood and through which everything is filtered and the sole responsibility of the development of the self is placed on the individual. The universal prototype has been dissolved, and it is up to the individual to find meaning and develop her self. In relation to the neo-humanistic self-practice these ideas have a deep impact. Earlier the individual developed through aesthetics from a particular personal self to become an educated person, with universal values. It was transcendence into sociality, where the universal values and moral was assimilated. This has now been turned around and the aim for self-formation is not to become universal, but instead increasingly particular. It is a transgression into society where the individual reflects upon what she is exposed to and then returns to her self, adapting what she has seen to her own use, values and standards. Self-formation today is not about being able to quote

Shakespeare as Schmidt proclaims, but to enter into a state of transcendence in different communities, being able to expand our self, reflect upon ourselves and others, and then return to our self differentiated. It is a question of using values and ideals in a unique and personal way. (Vesterdal, Dehlholm 2002) Here again is the social aspect of self transcendence emphasized, since it is in the interaction with society that transcendence is possible and the development of the self tested. Lars-Henrik Schmidt illustrates this further by saying: 'Today no one would ask: "What did you learn in school today?" Instead a father would ask "What did you say in school today?"' (My translation) (Vesterdal, Dehlholm 2002). It is not so much about what knowledge is acquired, but more about how the individual responds and internalizes it. Instead of looking outwards for a universal prototype, the individual looks inwards and tries to build up his or hers unique self. Said in another way, in the neo-humanistic self-practice everyone was striving towards the same values and would essential all become alike. In self-formation the individual strive to become different.

The second condition for self-formation is the development of cultural pluralism. One of the aims for Grundtvig's Folkehøjskoler (see above) was to establish a school where Danish common culture was in the centre. There was a clear idea of specific Danish values and a history, which all Danes could recognize. This is the idea of culture as a community and as a stable and homogenous signifying system. These ideas are also what shaped the modern museum. However, today culture is viewed as much more complex. It is in constant movement and development and consists of numerous, often opposing voices and values, and is as such a heterogeneous place, where difference and diversity exist[7] (Hammershøj 2003 p.101–102). The consequence for the museum is the major challenge not to portray one singular culture, but on the other hand show and present the complexities within a culture, giving space to a multiplicity of perspectives.

The Original as Ideal Type

With the two conditions epitomized above, a setting for how we today, and in the coming future will relate to our selves, is mapped out. But is it possible to create an ideal type? How will the 'perfect' human being look like in the future? Hammershøj uses the term 'interesting' as directional for self-formation. Using 'interesting' underlines the aesthetic or taste oriented aspect of self-formation. The individual forms herself in relation to what she personally finds interesting in the transgression into society. (Hammershøj 2003 p. 140–149). Jonas Lieberkind, another Danish theorist, explores this further proposing a new 'ideal' type, using the quotation marks to specify that it is not the old concept of an ideal he is referring to. As explained, today it is not possible to establish a universal image for everyone, in which they can reflect themselves. Instead each individual needs her own 'ideal' which she can navigate towards. Lieberkind has named this the original attitude (Lieberkind 2005). By this he means a posture or an attitude that the individual takes when internalizing the information, values and views she is presented with in society. The aim for the original is to form a distinct personality, in order to differ from everyone else. In this way the interesting or the original can be said to be a common ideal for dissimilarity (Hammershøj 2003 p. 140–149). Hammershøj and Lieberkind agree that it is not about being like everyone else, but on the contrary being as original as possible. This is, of course, a posture that is ever changing and never stable, since being original is determined by how the surrounding individuals respond and accept views and values. A significant consequence of the original as ideal type could be that the motivation for putting oneself though experiences, which are transcendent, is very

7 For writings about culture see for example the writings of Zigmund Bauman, Lars-Henrik Schmidt, Terry Eagleton.

much present today. Following Schmidt, Hammershøj and Lieberkind's ideas, individuals today and especially in the future, should be seeking experiences, which continuously can shape, form and develop their selves.

From the museum's perspective this could mean increasingly motivated museum users. But how is self-forming individuals using and behaving in a museum? How can self-formation happen within the museum? How does this influence the professional work, which takes place? And will this change the museum institution as we know it today?

The Art Museum and Self-formation

Art museums are part of society and part of the arena where sociality happens. It is a place for individuals to meet, have experiences and discussions, and a space where values, history and a diverse range of issues can be engaged with and debated in different ways. The museum is unique because of the interaction between objects and users. It is a social space where collective experiences happens, facilitated and mediated through objects, context and the individual, as well as through dialogue between individuals. This interaction happens in a dialectical, contingent and continuous relationship between individuals, objects and companions.[8] At Statens Museum for Kunst more than 80% of adults visit the museum with other people, underlining the social aspect of a museum visit.[9] The museum experience has in this way a double-sided aspect, since the individual experiences the displays and art objects, but in addition she is able to reflect upon and put forward her opinions in conversation with other individuals. This gives a unique opportunity for new experiences and acquisition of new knowledge, which can challenge existing values and the same time realising, performing and socialising herself. The performing aspect of this is similar to what Jay Rounds has described as the 'performative character of identity', which happens within the museum (Rounds 2006 p.6) and what Eilean Hooper-Greenhill discusses as the performative characteristic of a museum visit. (Hooper-Greenhill 2007). However, in a self-formation perspective, the preparedness for forming the self is emphasized, focusing on the museum visit not just as a stage or an opportunity for performance, but a place where formation of the self can happen, since values and preconceptions can be challenged and changed through the interactions with the displays. What has changed is not just the fact that we, as we are exposed to new experiences in the museum, learn and in that sense are in a continuous state of 'becoming' (Wegner 1998), what is just as significant seen from a self-formation perspective, is that the general tendency in society today is a willingness and eagerness to keep changing. We are not just seeking a forum where we can perform our identity, but to a larger extent turn to experiences, which will transcend this identity. In this way the self is never stable and is continuously redefined by the thriving towards development and change. The museum visit can be seen as a situation where this challenge of the self can happen on different levels: through artworks, the narratives they are presented within, the interpretative material arranged by the museum and the discussions the museum users have with their companions. Following the lines of self-formation, it will then be the

8 For more information on the interaction between museum, objects and individuals see for example John H. Falk & Lynn D. Dierking (1992). The Museum Experience. Washington D. C.: Whalesback Books or Leinhardt, G., & Knutson, K. (2004). Listening in on museum conversations. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.

9 Visitor surveys conducted over the last two years have shown that between 78,5%–86,5% of all visitors share the museum experience with other people. It is important to note that the surveys are carried out in special exhibitions and not in the permanent collections, where the percentage might be different. No survey has been carried out in the collections.

task of the museum to enable and motivate the transcendence of the self in order to support the individual self-formation.

To facilitate the modern tradition of 'bildung' the art museums first of all opened the royal collections to the public, so people were exposed to art. Later it was important to minimise the amount of 'noise' present in the galleries so people could absorb the artworks as untainted as possibly. [10] In the era of self-formation the role of the museum can be seen as encouraging museum users to engage with the art, make own judgements and debate whether the art and the thoughts, which it provokes, are interesting and relevant for them. This means that the role of the museum is shifting from a lecturer to a facilitator, becoming a partner in dialogue and a resource for the museum user.

Competent Museum Users

Considering museum users as self-forming individuals, means that they can be regarded as highly motivated, very active and looking for ways to transcend their selves. In his article *'Identity work in the museums'* Rounds explains that museums can be seen as a threat for established identities and this highlights the fundamental difference between the two theories, since in self-formation individuals will embrace a change and never consider their identity or self to be stable (Rounds 2006 p. 9). On the contrary a major and perpetuating life mission is to form themselves and this is done through interesting jobs, exotic travel as well as with demanding leisure activities and as described the museum presents experiences, which can facilitate this. Their self-practice is to continuously risk their self. They have values, opinions and a personal agenda for the museum visit. This is very far from the understanding of the passive guest receiving expert knowledge or universal values in the modern museum. The user becomes the centre of the experience, a position, which earlier was inhabited by the art works and art historical knowledge.

It is clear that not all museum-users are expert self-forming individuals, nevertheless both Hammershøj and Schmidt would argue that it is a tendency that they see within contemporary society, and a development in relation to how we practice ourselves today. In that way the self-forming museum user might be the younger generation and as such an immanent characteristic of many of the museum users in the future. However, just as the antagonistic divide between the modern and the post-modern museum at times causes an unproductive and less complex discussion about museums, the idea about self-formation need to be seen in a syncretic perspective, where other pertinent theories and empirical material are taken into account.

The redefinition of the museum users as very competent individuals has many consequences for the museum as an institution and how it defines itself. For example, following this view, the museum is returned to the people in the sense that it is theirs to use. It is interesting here that the new slogan for Statens Museum for Kunst in Copenhagen after the complete rehanging of the permanent collections is: 'The New Statens Museum for Kunst – its your's use it!' Of course, this slogan can be understood in many ways, but from a self-formation perspective this is what they do. The museum looses its status as the authoritative voice, cannot control the experiences that the individuals have and becomes a platform, where each of the museum users can transcend their selves in relation to what they find interesting. The role of the museum becomes not to transmit knowledge, but to form a frame from where knowledge and experiences can be produced in dialogue with the museum users.

10 See for example Brian O'Doherty (1999). Inside the White Cube: the ideology of the gallery space. Berkeley: University of California Press.

The Dialogical Museum

A major challenge for the museum seen from the self-formation point of view is how to handle the pedagogy within the museum, when everyone is different and have different agendas. Since the relationship between museum and user has been turned on its head, and it is not the museum, which transmit narratives and values to the user, but instead the user who interprets the museum objects and displays, constructs her own narratives and relates them to her self. The productive authority of the museum has shifted to the museum users and from this perspective it could become difficult to pinpoint the role of the museum pedagogic. How does the museum face this deadlock?

Seen from the perspective of self-formation the process of sociality and the transcendence into society is as important as ever. In order for self-formation to happen the individual must play against and be in dialogue with other values and other views, said in other words, there must be something to draw the boarders between. Therefore the slide into total relativism is not an alternative seem from a self-formation point of view. On the contrary, the transcendence into society means an acknowledgement of the knowledge and the different views outside one self. However, it is not a question of taking it over uncritically, but a question of internalizing it and using it for development of existing values. Consequently, the need for a museum, which demonstrates and displays values and views, is even stronger than it perhaps has been in the past and it is crucial that it actively presents itself as having a particular position or taking a special stand. Accentuate that the particular display is no objective truth. This means a more transparent museum, where the reasoning behind the displays, views and perspectives presented as well as the processes, are emphasized giving the museum users the opportunity to judge whether they agree or not. It could also mean a type of display showing the complexity of a theme and let the answers stand open, for example presenting a research project, but not reaching a definite conclusion.

The pedagogic consequences for the museum in relation to the concept of self-formation can be seen as supporting the ideas presented in the constructivist learning theories by authors like Hein, Hooper-Greenhill and Falk and Dierking. This is by no means surprising since the self-formation theory is operating within a constructivist paradigm. However, as I have mentioned self-formation is also epitomized by the imperative need for dialogue and interaction with society, which opens for a more social and conversational model of interaction with objects and a pedagogic, which focuses on the social aspect of communication. Within the museum this places an emphasis on the dialogic process and suggests a more active museum, which embraces the museum users as a partner for dialogue. However, a dialogue that happens on the terms of the user in the sense that it will be impossible to dictate what she comprehends and experiences as the museum's perspective. It will be the user's interpretation and the user's specific areas of focus within the exhibition that will be engaged with, and together with her companion, the user will start a dialogue, where she internalizes the experience and use it in her self-formation. What the museum also must be prepared to accept is that the criteria for success is not whether the museum user got the message, whether the art historical research was communicated to the user or not, but instead define it as successful when a museum user has a unique personal experience, which is important and relevant for her self-formation.

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Museum Publishing: Representing the Museum

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The communication and cultural uses of print media associated with permanent and temporary exhibitions by national museums are examined in this paper. Also outlined briefly is the author's ongoing study of production of these commodities, the analysis of their text and their reception by museum visitors. Print media are presented as extending national museum's communication in time and in space while representing the values of the institution and its associated sponsors. In addition, it is suggested that visitors use these commodities to align themselves with the values of the institution. The ideas outlined in this paper are being examined through case studies in two UK museums. This field work will be completed in 2008 and the study submitted as a doctoral thesis to the University of Leicester, Department of Museum Studies.

Introduction

This paper sets out the context of research to be presented for a PhD from the Department of Museum Studies at the University of Leicester. Started in January 2006, the ongoing study is based in cultural and communication theories and explores the ways in which printed commodities, that is, books and catalogues, frame museums, collections and objects and how they are used by the producers (the institutions), the authors (curators) and the readers (visitors) in diverse ways. The field work for this study is pending, so the ideas and comments are speculative or based on initial interviews and observations. In presenting this paper, I hope the ideas will contribute to understanding one of the avenues by which national museums present themselves to their publics and construct meaning. I also suggest the authoritive nature of published text is used effectively by institutions to shut down negotiation between the museum and its visitors *and* that visitors willingly use these commodities to align themselves with the cultural values of the national museums.

An examination of the production of published text by national museums and its use by audiences will contribute to the study of narratives in national museums. The books, catalogues, guides and other printed materials published by and for national museums not only contribute to the museums' communication processes but also constitute part of the complex discourse between the institutions and their audiences. This discourse contributes to the diverse and evolving concept of a national museum.

Museum publishing includes a number of commercial and non-commercial activities involving printed texts. For this context, I define museum publishing as writing, illustration, design and production of books for a general audience to support permanent or temporary exhibitions.

Routes to Production

The comparative aspects of my study concern an examination of the national museums' various routes to production in their publishing activities and the effect of these routes to production on the resulting text. I suggest a textual and design analysis of books and catalogues would identify differences between publications from national museums in the United Kingdom and those in France, for example. In the UK the national museums' enterprise entities within individual museums conduct publishing activities along similar lines to commercial publishers and undertake commercial risks. In France, a government institution (Réunion de Musée Nationaux) provides publishing services (along side exhibition services) to 30 national museums located throughout the country. This centralized approach is likely to provide less diversity in design and a cohesive presentation style to the publications. In 2004, the Réunion service was reconstituted on a competitive basis and some museums, for example, the Louvre, and Musée National d'Art Moderne, have set up autonomous publishing offices. Is it possible to identify a difference in approach with this new structure? Do publications produced in the autonomous centres of museum publishing, both in France and the UK, create products that are more diverse than those produced under a centralised system? And, if so, what difference, if any, does this produce in the way the documents are used by institutions, departments, sponsors and visitors?

From a preliminary Internet survey, national museums in other European countries would appear to work primarily with commercial publishing companies which take on much of the production and design of the books, and a considerable part of the commercial risk. Does this approach result in a more market-oriented, less academic product aimed at a scholarly audience? What affect might these differences have on the reception of the message by their respective audiences?

Historical Associations of Printed Materials with Collections

Although an historical view is not the focus of this study, a brief reference to institutions' use of publishing in codifying and presenting museum collections shows that the authority vested in books has been used by museums over an extended period. Catalogues associated with early museums 'demonstrate(s) that texts both as physical objects and as vehicles of presentation were vitally important to the negotiation of meanings of collections and collectors in early modern England.'(Swann 2001 p. 9). Over 100 years later, museums were seen as a means to help construct a national identity; one function for the Louvre, for example, was to instil a sense of national identity and pride in citizenship, 'Cheap catalogues and guides to the collections on display were produced specifically to inform the visitors' (Hooper-Greenhill 1992 p. 182). At this time the function of the museum (with its publications) was to produce a 'population... constituted as citizens of the state' (Hooper-Greenhill 1992 p. 182). Preziosi (1996 p. 75) explains that the public institutions of the early 19th century were distinguished from their predecessors by the 'heightened linkage of structure to chronology...objects and artefacts were selected for their documentary value in staging a progress'. Supporting texts made these narratives explicit and provided visitors with a guide to the themes and purposes in the displays.

Considering contemporary national museums, it is in the printed material that the museum's 'voice' is made most explicit. For example, visitors to the new Musée du Quai Banly in Paris can revel in the architecture, enjoy the ambience of the gardens, marvel at the artwork and objects in the exhibition but only through reading the guide book are they initiated into the explicit purpose and intentions of the institution. In summary, objects are 'always contextualised by words' (Hooper-Greenhill 1994 p. 115).

Despite printed materials' long association with museums, this commodity has received little attention in museum studies. The recent book *Museum Text* (Ravelli 2006) makes no mention of catalogues, books or any other published materials in considering the relationship of text to displays and museum communication.

Books as a Communication Resource for National Museums

The book, its form, history and association with authoritative knowledge, its cohesive presentation of image and text, the semiosis of its cover, presentation and sale and its consumption by readers either within or away from the museum, place it in a particular relation to its producing institution, the collections and objects: a relation that is very different from other museum texts. What communication resource do museum books provide to their institutions, collections and objects? I suggest national museums utilise books in a number of ways.

Catalogues provide a permanent record that outlives the exhibition, particularly for high-profile short-lived touring shows. These books extend the life of the museum's communication and in some cases are the only record of the unique mix of borrowed objects garnered from around the world. As relatively expensive objects offering a specific academic focus, these exhibition books are retained by scholars and lay people for subsequent reference. Their communicative function persists long after the objects are dispersed. In essence, we could say that the exhibition book extends the museum's communication temporally.

Catalogues carry the institution's communication far from the institution itself. National museums promote their books to an international audience who may become visitors to the museum or may remain consumers at a distance. Representatives of the national institutions such as The British Museum, V & A, Réunion du Musée Nationaux, the Louvre, National Galleries of Scotland, Metropolitan Museum of Art, to name only a few, attend the international rights selling fairs in London and Frankfurt to promote future publications.

Besides additional income derived from the rights sales, these conjunctions either with other national museums or with commercial publishers advertise the institution and aspects of its collections. International sales of book rights place the institutions in positions of power and excellence which recognise that their collections offer something of international value. Here, the book extends the museum's communication spatially into the arena of international collaboration and globalisation.

In the essentially anonymous and non-personified agency of national museums, books provide a substrate for the name of the institution, and the exhibition's or collection's curator. Only in the catalogue or the exhibition book, which is bound by book conventions, is the curator/researcher obviously acknowledged as author. In addition, the catalogue's preliminary materials usually acknowledge the director and the sponsor with forewords or commentaries for each of these participants. These pages provide a permanent record of the generosity of donors and this acknowledgement is considered by some publishers as one reason for owners agreeing loans to exhibitions and donations to museums. Books make museum communication less anonymous, more appellative and personified. Communication through print could be described as using a warmer, more human substrate.

Most national museum catalogues for temporary exhibitions provide a 'voice' for the institution, usually in the form of a situating foreword from the museum director as mentioned earlier. As an example, it is instructive to examine *The Museum Guide Book* to the new Musée du quai Branly (Musée du quai Branly 2006). Two introductory texts open the book. One, on page 6, is *signed* by Jacques Chirac as President of the French republic. His photograph is printed along side the text. This written piece strongly associates the new institution with the French state, at the same time that it establishes the museum's relationship to its collections and their cultures and the institution's 'will to see justice rendered to non-European cultures'. The other introductory text on page 8 is by Stéphane Martin, President of the Musée du quai Branly. Martin explains that the guide 'familiarises readers with the museum' before their visit, 'offers directions and advice' during their visit, and 'when the visit is over, it spurs them to deepen their knowledge and, ... to return.' These messages follow a listing of patrons, donors and contributors and a list of senior staff. At no other location is the visitor presented with such a forceful voice outlining the intent of the museum, explaining its purpose and its inception. This printed vehicle is the personification of the museum in a package which is easy to carry, long lived and, above all, explicit in its message.

In taking these observations further, it would prove useful to examine this voice from a single institution over time, or compare similar publications, for example, guide books, from a number of national museums. Guide books occupy a particular position in relation to museums and galleries and their visitors and the introductory text in these documents might provide a useful resource for investigating this relationship. For example, the guide tells visitors how to enjoy and participate in the museum. The size of national museums and their collections make a guide necessary. Tourists want the essence of the overwhelming institution and need to locate the 'valued' objects which will provide resonance within their communities on their return home. The guide reassures, removes anxiety, ensures that the visitor locates the iconic objects in the museum. Writing in the *Guide to the Uffizi Museum* (Fossi 2005) the superintendent of Florence's museums, Antonio Paolucci, explains the book is 'for both the uninformed but willing visitor and the refined and jaded intellectual'. His preface explains that 'These guides ... guarantee that at the year of publication the state of each museum is exactly that described in the guide.' – a comment indicating the difficulty in maintaining accurate but commercially viable guide books. Museum books then provide a vehicle for a specific message to the visitor, and to other institutions such as funding bodies and local governments.

Another voice is associated with catalogues. The sponsor of a museum, exhibition or collection is provided with space for a supportive message that serves to associate the commercial enterprise with the cultural values of the exhibition and the institution. The company logo is usually shown prominently in the exhibition and printed with the sponsor's message and company logo in the catalogue which provides the permanent vehicle for the company's association with the exhibition. The catalogue is the usual gift for attendees at sponsor-funded openings.

Museum books and catalogues have high production values: they are generously illustrated in colour and care is taken to ensure the colour printing provides an accurate rendition of the object. The paper, usually heavy weight and glossy, and binding are high quality even in paperback books. The books are usually individually designed, or, when part of the series, the series itself will have been designed. These attributes communicate a sense of substance and importance to the publication, its message and its publishing institution. The logos of museums (or their presses) appear obviously on the front cover and/or the spine of their publications. The high quality museum book represents the national museum and its values.

In addition to representing the institution, I suggest that museum books are designed and written to communicate the authority of the museum and its collections. Books provide a uni-directional form of communication from author to reader unlike exhibitions where audiences are freer to interpret objects because of the three dimensional nature of their presentation and the possibilities of group interaction during the visit. While readers interpret texts differently, most books offer no specific site for debate or negotiation unlike museums with their sites for comment and discussion. At a time when museums are being urged to be more constitutive, inclusive, embrace a diversity of views and voices, and 'move away from their previous roles in controlling the meaning and messages of collections' (Suzanne Keene 2005 p. 161), is it possible that the growth in the number of museum books indicates a contrary approach which shuts down this diversity of view and so effectively avoids a debate? Books present an author's view; and while they do contribute to a wider debate, few museum books are published with the idea of generating discussion. Even if they were, where would the discussion take place? There is no location within traditionally designed books for the reader's response. Books are essentially one-to-one, one-way communication.

In concluding this discussion of museum books as a communicative resource, I suggest that the obvious delivery of information through the text and illustrations is augmented by the style and authority of the book which supports and extends the institution's style and voice beyond the institution's walls into visitors' and non-visitors' homes. Books also extend the institution's reach through time. They provide a platform for sponsors, donors and funding agencies as well as providing a vehicle for career advancement for curators and other contributing researchers. Museum publications make manifest the museum's symbolic functions, its current purposes and institutional voice. These defined roles and messages are easily and obviously packaged in the printed commodity which can be consumed *in situ* or at a distance by the visitor and non-visitor alike.

Audiences Use of Museum Books

Museums 'involve the culturally, socially and politically saturated business of negotiation, and value-judgement; and they always have cultural, social and political implications' (MacDonald 1998 p. 1). In a similar way that museums use books to represent their values, so audiences use these commodities to advertise their association with the institution and its values. I suggest it is through the acquisition and display of the guide books and catalogues that tourists and national visitors align themselves with the purposes and values of the national museum. These printed materials enable visitors to share their performance with others, so extending the museum experience to non-visitors. Books and catalogues carry the

authority of the museum back to the visitors' home town and country and in bringing these commodities back, the individual audience members gain status from their association with the museum. Books become the physical equivalent of the photographic pose in front of the iconic museum object. I suggest that audiences use museum books and exhibition catalogues to demonstrate their alignment with the high cultural values of the objects and art on display.

While guides, catalogues and books are used within the museum during the visit and also serve as souvenirs, visitors use the museum catalogues in ways other than reminders of an experience. These books offer audiences a means of possessing the unpossessible. The value of these collections, both as individual objects and the collections as a whole are often reported in the national press. These values put the objects and artwork beyond the reach of visitors; postcards, posters and books provide the means for them to 'possess' some part of the 'fabulous'.

My initial observations suggest that books, catalogues and other publishing activities represent the museum and in providing a commodification of the museum experience, offer a non-negotiated arena for the authoritative presentation of the institution's values. Visitors make use of these acquirable objects to celebrate their association and identification with the cultural values of the museum.

Data Collection for the Study

These preliminary observations will be tested using a case study approach to data gathering in UK national museums and exhibition centres. Interviews with staff members curating exhibitions with publications will seek to identify ways that working practices, discussions, norms and constraints affect the production of messages through the exhibition and catalogue. This approach will be augmented by observation of discussions and meetings during the development of exhibitions and their catalogues. I will analyse the preliminary text of the catalogues using textural analysis methods (Fairclough 2003) to identify the coded meanings presented in the publications. Finally, I will examine the exhibitions' visitors' practices of decoding and reception through interview and observation. I am currently negotiating access to exhibitions with accompanying publications in an art museum with a national constituency. I have agreement from the Wellcome Institute, London to take part in evaluating some of their 2007 exhibitions. Field work will be completed by the end of 2008.

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Museology and the Problem of Interiority

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Museum and culture studies traditionally approach social issues related to national museum narratives by critically analyzing the historical development and orderings of collections and their functions. Studies may investigate museums' representational practices in interpretations of the 'other,' for example, or the role of official and state narratives in history museums' constructions of national identity, or scientific paradigms in natural history museums' orderings and material culture. Often these histories are told from the perspectives of 'insiders' who relate the motives of actors engaged in producing narratives of a national character, namely, collectors, state authorities and museum founders (Roberts 1997).

However, the *consumption* of narratives is typically not included in these accounts. While perspectives on national museums may acknowledge that visitors bring their identities, memories, and previous knowledge into the museum experience, meaning making and identity formation are not the analytical focus. As a consequence, conceptualizations of visitor agency often remain implicit and under-theorized in analyses of how national museums 'make new realities thinkable' (Bennett 2005). The purpose of this paper is to develop a perspective on visitors' agency that moves away from a focus on 'practices of inwardness' and 'kinds of interiority, in other words what goes on 'inside' the individual in entanglements with museum objects, to instead locate experience in the entanglements themselves.

Introduction

Museum and culture studies traditionally approach contemporary social issues related to national museum narratives by critically analyzing the historical development and orderings of collections and their functions. Studies may investigate museums' representational practices in interpretations of the 'other' (see Farago and Mann 2006), for example, or the role of official and state narratives in history museums' constructions of national identity (Wertsch 2002), or scientific paradigms in natural history museums' orderings and material culture (Knell 2000). Often these histories are told from the perspectives of 'insiders' who relate the motives of actors engaged in producing narratives of a national character, namely, collectors, state authorities and museum founders (Roberts 1997). However, the consumption of narratives is typically not included in these accounts. While historical and social science perspectives on national museums may acknowledge that visitors bring their identities, memories, and previous knowledge into the museum experience, problems of actors' meaning making and identity formation are not the analytical focus. As a consequence, conceptualizations of visitor agency often remain implicit and under-theorized in analyses of how national museums "make new realities thinkable" (Bennett 2005).

At the same time, it is apparent that perspectives on the nature of relations between objects and persons do shape notions of agency and mediation in museological investigations. Preziosi (2006), for example, speaks of early museums' aims to improve the minds and values of the working class through exposure to art and curiosities previously reserved for the elite, Duncan (1995) describes how public museums have been intertwined with moral ideals and civilizing rituals from their very inception, and Bennett (2005) discusses the ordering of relations between objects and persons in terms of enabling different kinds of interiority. Tellingly, in these studies and in museology in general, agency is analytically and empirically explored in terms of the productive power of museums, not visitors. This trend has been the subject of critique in recent research (McTavish 2006; Trodd 2003).

This paper takes up the critique of museological approaches that situate agency in museum expertise and practices of cultural objecthood rather than in visitors' encounters. Specifically, I take up from a sociocultural perspective the tensions between attributing museum objects an agency that is provisional, in flux, and reconfigurable while at the same time envisaging the effect of museum object on self in terms of a direct, unmediated process. The purpose of this paper is to develop a perspective on visitors' agency that moves away from a focus on 'practices of inwardness' and 'kinds of interiority, in other words what goes on 'inside' the individual in entanglements with museum objects, to instead locate experience in the entanglements themselves. In this way, it is proposed, it may be possible to analytically and empirically situate the narrative performance of museums in the public sphere.

The discussion is organized as follows. First, I explore the concept of interiority in psychology and its implications for understanding relations between objects and the ways in which they are experienced. I then introduce a sociocultural perspective on the significance of mediated activity and the social origins of mind in order to extend the concept of interiority, drawing on the work of Vygotsky (1978), Bakhtin (1986) and Wertsch (1985; 2002). I conclude by considering the potential of a dialogic, sociocultural approach to narrative for studies of public and social discourse within but also outside of national museums.

Interiority and Methodological Implications

Interiority is a general term that refers to the inner nature of mental and spiritual life, inviting associations with a range of psychological perspectives on human development and behaviour from the past century. These include Wundt' s introspective psychology in the 1880s, Jung' s theory of symbols and shared archetypes in a collective unconscious in the

1930s and 40s, and Piaget's concept of autistic thought from the 1950s. However, as Vygotsky (1978) points out, a shared characteristic of psychological theories that focus on internal, mental processes is a method of research that implicitly, if not explicitly relies on a stimulus–response framework. This framework serves the purpose of providing a context for the researcher to develop descriptions of processes "presumed to have been elicited by the stimulus" (Vygotsky 1978, p. 59). Although interpretations of the consequences of a response may vary, research aimed at uncovering interiority processes will apply variations of this approach. This means that psychological phenomena are ultimately explained as products of individual mental structures.

How is a stimulus-response framework apparent in museum research? Much of the research in visitor and learning studies is influenced by this methodological approach, for example, grounded in behaviourist and constructivist perspectives on human learning and development. There is a political aspect to this focus as well, in that quantitative methods used to assess learning results, or what Bennett (2005) calls museums' 'civic yield,' scientifically address problems of accountability and the need to secure government funding for museums as educational institutions (Lindauer 2005).

In art museum research, notions of interiority are intertwined with long traditions of reception theories. Here, aesthetic response is equated with cognitive activity, and relations between perception, object and the beholder's experience are explored as such (see Kesner 2006). Emphasis is placed on universal, ahistorical aspects of an object's formal characteristics, the structure and organization of which constitute its essence in immediate and unmediated reception. Fredric Jameson describes this as "some 'pre-established harmony' between the structures of the mind (and ultimately of the brain) and the order of the outside world" (1972, p. 110). Interestingly, although newer museology is more interested in 'network' approaches from the social sciences than in generating verifiable learning results, questions of what constitutes 'reception' seem to be similarly based on the premise of an unmediated, cognitive response to objects. This premise often remains *implicit*, however, for as Knox et al. point out, "researchers are not primarily interested in individuals at all, but in the dynamics of certain kinds of network structure . . . most of these cultural studies have not used ethnography, but have instead concentrated on historical case studies using documentary data" (2005, p. 13).

Furthermore, the notion of a direct correspondence between museum object and beholder's perception is often at the core of museology investigations into how the collecting and ordering of objects in art museums affects cultural competence and networks of art production and consumption. In Bennett's research on the production of cultural objecthood in national historical museums, there is interest in "…whether, and, if so, how the forms of objecthood that are produced by museums are characterized by a similar internal complexity that gives rise to similarly complex and dynamic *forms of interiority* on the part of persons who become entangled with them" (2005, p. 8). On the whole, I maintain that embodied in approaches to analyzing the roles of national museums in producing a collective identity and public memory is a cognitivist understanding of relations between objects and persons.

Mediation Concept

How might a concept of interiority be 'extended' to analytically and empirically embrace the social and cultural sphere? From a sociocultural perspective, the concept of *mediation* developed by Vygotsky and others is central to overcoming behaviourism's problematic stimulus–response model. Rather than severing the active subject from the world of objects in a stimulus-response framework, sociocultural perspectives analyze cognition as "individuals–acting–with–mediational–means" (Wertsch 1991, p. 12). This means that relations between human action and the cultural, institutional, and historical settings in which

action occurs are always conceived as mediated (Wertsch et al. 1995). From infancy, humans first participate in their surroundings, and semiotic, cultural 'tools,' particularly language, mediate their actions and meaning making. Human cognition thus develops through processes of participating, negotiating, and interacting in cultural and social practices. This is what researchers mean when they speak of the 'social origins of mind' (Polman 2006).

The essential role of culturally developed tools in mediating understanding is fundamental to what is referred to as the sociocultural tradition. Therefore, in museums, a sociocultural perspective situates processes of interiority in the social sphere by focusing on naturally occurring human activity in encounters with museum artefacts. Importantly, this perspective has methodological implications, in that human activity - and not products of mental structures - is the unit of analysis. Rather than behaviourist analyses of how external factors stimulate response in the brain, ethnographic methods are used to understand how and whether cultural tools and artefacts are made relevant in social interactions and other forms of public discourse. Consequently, analyses of human action are obliged to include observations of the specific social, linguistic, and historically variable settings. It is in this way that the social sphere enters into analyses of encounters with museum objects, making it possible to situate museum visitors within a spatio-temporal context.

Narrative as a Mediating Tool

What are some of the mediating tools afforded by museum settings? The museum's architecture, objects, orderings, exhibitions, thematic content, practices of looking, conversations, physical interactions, labels, websites, podcasts, blogs, catalogues and other texts are some of the resources that may mediate experience. An intrinsic aspect of many of these affordances is that of narrative. Accordingly, emphasis is often placed in museum and culture studies on the *narrative performance* of museums. How may narrative performance be understood from a sociocultural perspective?

Museum research often deals with narrative as a cognitive instrument, wielded by museums to mould and fashion the beliefs and behaviours of their visitors. In other words, narrative research often operates with a transmission–absorption model of learning, attempting to get inside individual minds to determine and improve the affect of museum narratives on their experiences, behaviours, and interpretations (Roberts 1997). It is precisely this approach to narrative that Wertsch (2002) addresses and unpacks in his analysis of Soviet ideology in Russian national museums. In his critique of institutional perspectives on narration in national museums, Wertsch applies a sociocultural perspective in order to distinguish between what he calls *narrative production* and *narrative consumption.*

First, Wertsch makes distinctions between kinds of narratives in museums according to their functions and characteristics. He identifies specific narratives that are produced to relate historical events and the characteristics, and points to the 'schematic templates' that these stories of national identity often share. Second, Wertsch draws on Bakhtin to argue the dialogical function of these narratives and sheds light on how visitors master and appropriate meanings that emerge in their encounters with museum exhibitions (Wertsch 2002). Mastery is a term that describes 'knowing how to use' historically and culturally developed narratives and forms of knowledge, and points to how people's skills in reproducing this knowledge renders them legitimate participants in social systems. Appropriation, although intrinsically linked to mastery, implies a personal stake in the meanings put forth, what Bakhtin (1986) refers to as the "expressive aspect" of utterances. Appropriation stems from Bakhtin's use of the term *prisvoenie*: (pri) "forward" and (svoi) a reflexive form "on oneself," or "to make one's own" (Wertsch 2002, p. 120). In appropriation, specific narratives, as cultural tools, thus become more identity than knowledge resources, "a means for anchoring or constructing one's sense of who one is" (ibid). Central to Wertsch's argument is that it is possible for people to

master national narratives without appropriating them as their own. Therefore, analysis of interaction and discourse *in situ* makes it possible to discern 'who owns the meaning' in the consumption of narratives.

This is illustrated empirically in Wertsch's interviews with museum visitors and Russian citizens. The dialogic function of national narratives is revealed as embedded in concrete discourses that people master as part of their national identity, but also as open to contestation, negotiation, appropriation, and in some cases, 'disappropriation' (Bakhtin 1986; Wertsch 2002). It is in this sense that mastery and appropriation are useful in conceptualizing the narrative performance of national museums. In understanding narrative as embedded in concrete discourses that persons may or may not choose to appropriate, visitors are endowed with agency not found in cognitive, transmission theories of reception (Pierroux 2003). Instead of ideological demonstrations or (ultimately) linguistic structures, then, narratives enter into human activity as mediational means, "part of the 'cultural tool kit' that characterizes a sociocultural setting" (Wertsch 2002, p. 57). It is through analyzing the dialogic function of narratives in national museums, that is, how narratives are made relevant in specific socio-historical settings, that the performative aspects of narrative production and consumption are revealed (Pierroux 2006, in press).

Networks and Multiple Timescales

Although analysis of interaction and discourse may shed light on how museum narratives and other tools mediate visitor experience and meaning making, ethnographic methods do not necessarily entail a micro-approach to museum research. Ethnographic methods are also used to understand how networks of relations make the world meaningful to people (Knox et al. 2005), and there is increasing interest in network theories in museum research. In particular, Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT) is used to examine the processes of making national museums, the specific forms of expertise that produce museum 'objects,' and how forms of cultural objecthood give rise to similarly complex forms of interiority (Bennett 2005). Artefacts, from policy documents to orderings of museum objects, play an important role in all of these processes, and Latour (1999) refers to the significance of analyzing both human and 'non-human' agents in actor networks.

However, from a sociocultural perspective, it may be argued that intentionality, a uniquely human characteristic, is not captured in network theories that confer an agency to 'non-human' artefacts that is on par with humans. Furthermore, it has been proposed that network theories operate with *spatial* metaphors, tracing human activity and public memory in spatially organized sets of data and entanglements of artefacts (Middleton & Brown (2005). In contrast, sociocultural approaches are equally concerned with the temporal aspects of situated activities, that is, how human intentions, cultural artefacts, and institutional frameworks, comprising multiple timescales and individual trajectories, intersect *in situ* (Lemke 2000; Ludvigsen et al. forthcoming).

The point to be made here is that the making of national museums involves multiple timescales and activities at individual, social and institutional levels. Sociocultural approaches are sensitive to the task of choosing a unit of analysis that corresponds with the genetic domain under inquiry. In this way, problems of interiority at an individual level are not conflated with institutionalizing processes and the fabricating of cultural objecthood in national museums.

Interiority in the Public Sphere

In this paper I have considered the problem of interiority from a sociocultural perspective. I have argued that visitor agency is often neglected in museology discourse, and that the experience of museum objects is framed, implicitly if not explicitly, in terms of a stimulus-

response. Vygotsky's concept of mediating tools was introduced as a means of shifting focus from a transmission model of cognition to a concern with the context of the physical and social arena in which museum visitors act and interact with each other and museum collections. I have pointed to the significance of narrative as a mediating tool in museums, and the possibility of mastering but not appropriating institutionalized discourses. This dialogical understanding of narrative allows for a concept of visitor agency in processes of meaning making. Finally, the problem of conflating types and levels of activity was raised, drawing attention to the analytical and empirical challenges of museum research.

A concern with visitor agency is particularly important in understanding national museums today, as new forms of social software - blogs, wikis, podcasts, and YouTube - are being used to shape museum discourse in the public sphere. Just as visitors' agency within museums may be understood in terms of a mediated, dialogical relationship to objects and their narratives, so too may this understanding be extended to relations between visitors and national museums in a larger cultural context. Therefore, museology needs a concept of interiority grounded in a sociocultural concern with the connections that visitors construct between disciplinary content, narratives, objects and experiences within national museums and, equally important, how these intersect with experiences outside museums. In light of the access to knowledge resources that we have in our global society today, extending notions of interiority into the public sphere seems an important task for national museums setting the frames for their positions as cultural institutions in the future.

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"It is Capturing the Important Innovative Moments for the Nation, But It Is Also Some Intellectual Space to Think about Science and Technology"[1]

Or How to Explore the Nation within Europe through National Museums as Museums for Contemporary Issues

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This essay explores how the findings about current strategies of exhibiting and communicating Science and technology at five Western European Science and technology museums could be used as a starting point in order to think about National Museums within Europe. It is based on the assumption that insights in one specific field (exhibiting Science and technology at Museums) could be used and adapted very fruitfully in other, similar fields (National Museums) if this is done very carefully and thoughtfully.

The three basic questions of "Exhibiting what?", "Exhibiting how?" and "The museum: what sort of public place?" are illustrated and discussed by some of the most essential findings of the interview results and are then developed further in the form of some more specific fundamental questions as a starting point for exhibiting (Science and technology) at the museum today.

1 Quote taken from the interview with R. H.: 15.

In many European countries Science and Technology Museums have been perceived as National Museums when it comes to collecting and exhibiting the achievements of Science and technology since the end of the 19th century (e.g. Boswell/Evans 1999). Science and technology has been exhibited in regard to its important role within progress and as the expression of national prosperity and of national pride. Or later, at the end of the industrial age in the 80s, as the important memory of an industrial past that has lead to today's achievements. However, today, as Science and technology has become an international phenomenon in a global world, there are also alternative concepts to describe the role of Science and technology for different cultures and their future development. There are many other places than national Science and Technology Museums that exhibit Science and technology today, like Science Centers, commercial fairs, Industrial Museums or Company Museums. Thus, it is not surprising that today, the role of Science and Technology Museums is very contested and in transition.

Science and technology as an integral part of our everyday life and as an important field of social and economic development challenges museums to be public places that enable people to be informed and knowledgeable about current scientific and technological questions, issues and debates. As a consequence, today, museum professionals seek to put Science and technology exhibits in new frames of reference for their visitors. Science and Technology Museums are no longer seen only as treasure vault and showcase for national scientific achievements, but more like places of knowledge, reflection and debate for people when it comes to Science and technology in society.

As a consequence, today, there is a lot of effort put into exploring new ways of communicating (about) Science and technology at museums by the use of new media, but also by experimenting with different forms of communicating. All these efforts have changed the work related to exhibiting at Science and technology Museums and the expectations towards Science and Technology museums' role within society considerably. Thus, currently, there are also a lot of efforts and thoughts put into questions of how do deal with the numerous challenges and the fostered experiences of change and development.

This situation and how it is dealt with by museum professionals working at Museums exhibiting Science and technology could be a good starting point when thinking about the current role of National Museums and about new ways of exhibiting at National Museums.

My contribution starts from these current developments at Museums exhibiting Science and technology (MeST) and it aims to investigate how they could offer new insights for current thinking about new developments for National Museums. It is based on research done in relation to my comparative PhD-research-project, in which I explore different ways of exhibiting Science and technology at five museums in four European countries.[2]

As I depart from the assumption of exhibiting Science and technology as a historically and culturally situated practice (Sharon Macdonald 2002, 2006), I have developed a methodological approach based on ethnological research methods that would help me to gain more insight into the diversity of practices and intentions which lead the very complex process of exhibiting Science and technology today[3]: The main focus of my research is on

2 I am using the overall term of „Museums exhibiting Science and technology" in order to be able to include various kinds of museums, that is, the major Science and technology museusm, but also museums exhibiting Science and technology with more socio-historical or socio-cultural approaches into the sample: Science Museum, London: "ingenious" (2005), "energy 2000" (2005); Museum of Science and Industry, Manchester: "Manchester Science" (2004); Deutsches Museum, München: "Verkehrszentrum" (2004, 2006), "Leben mit Ersatzteilen" (2004); Technisches Museum, Wien: "medien.welten" (2004), "Alltag – eine Gebrauchsanweisung" (2006); Museum für Kommunikation, Bern: "Abenteuer Kommunikation" (2003).

3 Cf. (Sharon Macdonald 2002) and (Andrea Witcomb 2003) with two major research projects that also use ethnological methods.

conversations and eventually one longer taped interview with European museum professionals who had been in charge of a major exhibition at their respective museum. The interviews were lead by an open-questionnaire and should enable the interviewees to express their personal experiences and strategies when "exhibiting Science and technology" today. I hoped that the analysis of the interviews would allow me first, an overall and general view over problems and difficulties of the practice of exhibiting Science and technology today and second, would also allow to consider different practices of exhibiting Science and technology as situated processes; that is, in very specific cultural settings and institutional frames of reference.

At the moment, after having done the interview analysis and being about to finish writing about my findings for my PhD, I can say, that this ethnological approach has shown itself as a very fruitful methodological approach. First, it has allowed me to pin-point current difficulties and challenges of exhibiting Science and technology based on practical experiences. Second, it has also given me a more differentiated insight into various experiences and strategies of museum professionals. And third, it has also enabled me to think further, that is, to take up and to combine some of their ideas and experiences in order to define some important points of departure for future developments of exhibiting Science and technology at the museum (cf. Barbara Wenk 2006, 2007). Some of these findings and further thoughts are also relevant when thinking about National Museums in a comparative and in a European context.

In the following, I will therefore put forward some of those findings and will relate them to the issues and questions raised for the first NaMu meeting at Norrköping. Doing so, I start from the assumption that insights in one specific field (exhibiting Science and technology at Museums) could be used and adapted very fruitfully in other, similar fields (National Museums) if this is done very carefully and thoughtfully. Thus, it is important to me that the following is considered as an input of "unfinished suggestions" and as a basis for further discussions and for debate.

As the results of the interviews have also shown, that current challenges in many points don't differ that greatly in different cultural and cultural-political contexts, but that it is rather how they are perceived and what kind of "new" strategies are developed in order to deal with them, which makes the difference.Thus, presenting this in a very international field, with people from very different cultural backgrounds and who are therefore used to very different interpretations of "museum culture", I am aware that for some of you some of the following statements might be common sense (as it is done in your country very habitually) or for some of you the same statements might be very new (especially the ones stated in the interviews as "new" and people "only just experimenting" on them). However, I don't consider this as a problem, but on the contrary as a good opportunity to reconsider practices we take for granted within the museum context each of us is used to and to make good use of the chance to think about different practices at museums in different European countries (I will come back to this later).

As this is an input for the first NaMu workshop, I would like to start from some overall and principle questions that can be derived from the statements in my interviews and won't go into specific details. In the following, I will therefore start from the following three major and important questions for exhibiting (Science and technology) today and will then see in how far these or similar, adapted questions are relevant for National Museums today:

Exhibiting WHAT?

- "Science and technology": which and what kind of phenomas, topics, issues?

- "Science and technology": which and what kind of knowledges, experiences?

Exhibiting HOW?

- Conceptualization process as team work, as work in cooperation with externals:
- the importance of communication and mediation skills
- Communicating and visitors:
- Shift from "how to communicate?" to "how to communicate with?"

The MUSEUM: What Sort of Public Place?

- How to deal with the relations between past – present – future?
- How to deal with different "modes of exhibiting":
- e.g.: "showing, explaining", "communicating and interacting", …

1a) The "Phenomena, Topic or Issue to Exhibit"

Today, museum professionals at Science and technology Museums agree, that "Science and technology" should be exhibited **"in context",** mainly because they (start to) perceive "Science and technology" as a phenomenon that should be discussed as a complex and socially and culturally situated phenomenon (e.g. Science and technology as Culture: Hengartner/ Rolshoven 1998).

> One shouldn't exhibit "Science and technology", but topics and issues that are related to Science and technology and that are of relevance for people today, this is what should be exhibited. These (topics and issues) will then also find an audience. People are surrounded by technology, however they hardly ever are offered the opportunity, to find a reflective approach towards their relation and use of Science and technology. (Interview with M.T.: 13)

However, it is interesting, that it is then crucial to see whether "exhibiting Science and technology as a socially and culturally situated phenomenon"just changes the ways "Science and technology" is dealt with on the **"thematic or theoretical level",** that is **as a topic** in regard to chosen themes and perspectives or theoretical approaches, or whether it implies a more fundamental change that **"converts presenting topics into raising issues"**, that is, that relates topics to specific contexts by **starting from specific contemporary issues.** (And thus objects are presented by "related and specifically situated issues" rather than by "contextualizing topics").

As the interviews show, there are considerable differences of how this question is dealt with: rather between different nations/cultures than between different museums or exhibition projects; that is also why I consider it as an important and interesting question for thinking about National Museums:

- How do National Museums deal with phenomena to be exhibited?
- Is it "topics" or is it "issues" they aspire to exhibit?
- If it is the later, how can this be done?

1b) The Question of Dealing with Different Kinds of Knowledge

- and with different kinds of experiences in regard to
- "Science and technology in context"

Museum professionals find it increasingly difficult to define the knowledge to communicate in their exhibitions, because dealing with knowledge for exhibitions has become so difficult: **the sheer amount and diversity of knowledge**, of experiences, of opinions, of perspectives and of expert views… available makes it difficult to choose, to define and to vouch for (cf. also the idea of "social robust knowledge", Helga Nowotny 2005).

There is a feeling that there are more questions than answers, that there is a lot of contradicting and fast changing information, but no fix or universal answers or statements (which seems to be very the antipode for the idea of the museum per se). Thus, it is first more about defining one's own views as a starting point and to find certain criteria to work with in order to deal with knowledge during the conceptualization process. And it is about **thinking of new ways of exhibiting that allow for more flexibility and for more variety**. Exhibitions try to be more **discursive** and **interactive** and use more **communicative** and **participative** formats.

> "Well, it means you need to keep evolving new forms and it means, that you can't think about something lasting for forty years. You have to think about five to ten years live spans for exhibitions. Because, you know, if you are dealing with contemporary Science…, even if you are dealing with history, we are all more aware than ever – it is all postmodern (ironic tone) – we are aware that history is being reviewed. There are different lenses, you know, culture is consumed and spat out and refigured much more rapidly than ever before. And that has an impact on how we do things." (Interview with R.H.: 13)

However, again departing from that situation, there are considerable differences in ideas, what role a museum (exhibiting Science and technology) as a place where knowledge is dealt with and communicated could be today. Some museum professionals stated that, today, they are more considerate about what kind of knowledge or experiences they take into account for their work and about how they deal with different kinds of knowledge and experiences in order to make them meaningful and relevant for the museum audience. This also means, that they differ less between expert knowledge, practical knowledge and lay knowledge anymore, or at least try to engage more diverse people from outside the museum in public discussions or in participative procedures during the conceptualisation process. As some interviewees describe in their answers, today it is less about passing on "knowledge" or "information", but it is more about discussing about different horizons of interpretation or even more about deciding which horizon of interpretation should be the relevant one in a given situation.[4] If indeed museums are experimenting with new, participatory forms of communication, then the discussion of different horizons of interpretation, that is arguing one's own horizon of interpretation and finding out about other's horizons of interpretation becomes essential; mostly also the decision of which horizont of interpetation should be the relevant one in the given situation. What happens if visitors have free, but assisted access to the collections with their own questions in mind?[5] What happens if visitors are asked to tell their own knowledge

4 Cf. The understanding of communication put forward by Heinrich Rombach: he differs between the three different levels of "information", "horizon of interpretation" and "the debate about which horizon of interpretation is the decisive one in a specific situation". Cf. Heinrich Rombach, (1977), pp. 24-29.

5 Collections Center, Museum of Science and Industry Mancester.

and experiences about certain objects in order to inform exhibition content?[6] What happens if there are open forum-talks and debates organized in the context of the exhibition?[7]

I think, these experiments with new, more communicative and more participative formats could be very interesting for National Museums today in regard to how they want to deal with knowledge and experiences in relation to their visitors.

- How do National Museums deal with different kinds of knowledge and with different experiences?
- How do National Museums make sure that they deal with knowledge and experiences in ways that make sure that it is relevant for their audience?

2a) Looking at the Conceptualizing Process

Which Practices and Skills for Exhibiting?

Looking at current practices for the conceptualization process, there is a big change towards teamwork, towards "interdisciplinary"[8] work. Exhibiting has become such a complex process that the combination and the mediation of different knowledges and skills is needed. The subjects specialists knowledge might to a certain extend still be in-house, however and cooperations with current researchers from different subject backgrounds and with people working in the practical field are becoming more and more essential in order to keep up-to-date with current developments and changes (this is for collecting, exhibiting and communicating). Working in a Thus, museum professionals find themselves more and more in a mediating position: this is for developing content, for finding appropriate ways of communication in the exhibition, and for actually organising the building and setting up of the exhibition.

> I would describe it,…. particulary the role I had in (X) as being about going out there with quite a free reign, to find out everything that I possibly could about the topic that we were invited to do an exhibition about. And bring that back and make sure that it really was high quality information. That I had gone through, you know, a really wide range of resources and everything, bring the information back, share it with other expert colleagues at the museum and together work with them to turn it… And then my role becomes actually delivering that solution, so the writing of the words, often, the explaining and keeping hold on the integrity of the Science to computer game makers, who are going to make some of our interactive games. Working with all these non-scientific people and making sure none of those people lose sight of the information that we first had decided trying to communicate. And keeping an eye on that all the way through till the opening day, so you make sure that things don't get lost. (Interview with S.E.: 3).

As today, working on an exhibition isn't about "???" ("Verwerten von Bekanntem"), but more about "continous learning of new things" ("Lernen von Neuem")[9] and being knowledgable in a specific academic field for most museum professionals has become less important in their everyday work and **other competences are of much more importance: communication skills, interpersonal and social skills, team skills, management skills… .**

6 "ingenious"-exhibition, Science Museum London.

7 Cf. Dana Center, Science Museum London or the Forum at the Verkehrszentrum, Deutsches Museum München or special events at the Museum für Kommunikation at Berne.

8 "Interdisciplinary" at the museum means not only that there are different scholarly disciplines, but there are inter-relations also between other different fields like theoretical-and practical work.

9 Cf. Thomas Diener (2007), S. 57.

Different jobs and the required competences have been defined more specifically in order to make teamwork during the conceptualizing process more transcient and more manageable. And there were new jobs created like “project manager”, “content manager”, “interpreter”, “community officer”… . For museums exhibiting Science and technology, communicating with their audiences has become so paramount, that many new jobs have been created in this field (e.g. Science Communicators, audience’s advocate).

As can be seen in the interviews very clearly, museum professionals react very differently to these new challenges: Some take additional training, others take over a different role in the museum, many younger people who have been trained in specific new skills might find it difficult to bring them in working with older and more practically experienced staff. Many interviewees also find it a pity that there aren’t more opportunities for the exchange of experiences, be it within the museum or be it with people from other museums.

In the context of thinking about National Museums, I think it is very important also to think about different ways of professionalization for museum staff, because if National Museums should become relevant museums, there has to be some kind professional training specifically for museums staff and for current competencies needed at the museum today (which again could be profitable for all museums within the nation).

- What skills and expertise is necessary for people working at National Museums, so that National Museums can fulfil their social role?
- How do National Museums ensure appropriate training and professional exchange opportunities for their professional staff?
- In how far should this be done by museums, in how far by other institutions?

2b) Looking at Different Ways of Communicating

Shift from “How to Communicate?” To “How to Communicate With?”

Talking about different ways of relating to visitors, museum professionals are much aware of different ways of interpreting and communicating their collections today. They aspire to engage and to involve visitors more directly and personally during their museum visit. In order to do so, they make good use of new exhibition design and of new media in order to communicate Science and technology.

However, today, some museums professionals are also much more interested in using these means or to develop new methods in order to **find more inclusive and discursive ways to communicate WITH their visitors**. Currently, this is done mainly through more interactive “offers of communication” in the exhibition (feedback-stations, discursive guided tours, additional programmes like public debates), but newly also through more opportunities for visitors to inform the conceptualizing process (front-end studies; regular trials or collaborative projects). This allows visitors to get more actively involved during their visit to the museum and to more actively bring in their interests and knowledge in, too. There are more opportunities for personal interaction with museum professionals, they are encouraged for more interaction with other people visiting the museum or there are even public debates organised. The idea is to involve visitors more with the museum and encourage them to make good use of the museum as public place and as a place “for them”.

However, as one can also see, that the museum professionals find it sometimes difficult to deal practically with the idea of “how to communicate with” and to experiment with formats and offers for communication that are more open and more interactive. I think this is because **the settings during the conceptualization process and later in the exhibitions for these kinds of formats or “offers for communication” are complicated and also less predictable**, thus one still has to experiment with them.

Still, I find it very interesting to differ between looking for different methods and formats for "communicating something" in an exhibition" and looking for different formats and methods for "communicating WITH visitors about something" (also figuratively speaking, as an attitude) in order to think about different possible ways of communicating at the museum in general. I also think that this might be a very interesting starting point when thinking about communication and learning at National Museums.

- How do National Museums want to communicate with their visitors?
- Which methods from different theoretical fields or different fields of practice do they use in order do develop new ways of communicating at the museum? (learning, arts&design, communication, multi-media…)

3a) Museums as Public Places to Raise Contemporary Issues?

Museum professionals are looking also for new ways to relate their collections to their visitors in meaningful ways. What they describe as difficult today, is **to establish a link between past – present – future that makes sense to their visitors**. It is about finding relevant current issues that can be raised by the use of the historically grown collections.

Often this is done by contextualization of objects, that is by using additional means like pictures, TV footage, documentary material or other additional media like AV-stations or the internet for contextualization. Some museums have also started to exhibit "cutting-edge" and future Science and technology and thus started new collections for current exhibitions. However they try to establish this link between past – present – future, the major difference doesn't lie in different ways of presenting and contextualizing objects, but more **in the overall aim of the museum as a public place and how the museum and its role is imagined between past – present – future**:

- Is it to exhibit objects, so the present can be explained by past developments?
- Or is it more about remembering the past in order to think about the present?
- Or is it about seeing how current issues were handled in the past?
- Or is it about looking at the present in order to imagine the future?

What is interesting, most museum professionals, when talking about the museum as public place and how it should use its collections today, tend to **start very much from the present and would like to be a place as forum where important contemporary issues can be raised** that are discussed in public anyway. (cf. The idea of the exhibition space as a place/forum for contemporary issues by the Co-Director of "The Stapferhaus Lenzburg" (CH), Beat Hächler 2006, 2007).

> I think that is back to what I was saying about being a place for reflection and debate and information. I think that IS the role to be a space where questions can be raised and to be one of the leading organisations that raises some of the most important questions. That people come, you know, not only for answers and that we can give any answers we can, but we reach a point where people feel comfortable asking questions. (Interview with R. H.: 16)

What is difficult here though, is that often "we haven't necessarily got the right objects collected" that would allow us to do so. Or there are clashes with the traditional role of the museum that was more focused on the past and remembering the past. However, it is interesting to see that at some museums **there are deliberately specific places created where contemporary issues can be exhibited or discussed** (Wellcome Wing with the

"Antenna" area at the Science Museum London or the "Zentrum Neue Technologien" at the Deutsches Museum Munich). May be these kind spaces and the experiences with them could be a starting point to think about museums generally as places for contemporary issues?

Thus, for any discussion of today's role of National Museum, I think it essential to reflect in how far they want to start from "now" and whether they want to be places to raise contemporary issues; that is also, to reconsider how National museums want to relate past – present – future.

- What sort of public places do National Museums want to be within today's society?
- How do they want relate to past – present – future?

3b) Museums as Places for "Showing and Explaining" or as Places for "Debating and Interacting"?

Looking at the interviews, it is interesting to see how museum professionals think of the museum as a place by describing what they would like their visitors to do in their exhibitions and at the museum. Different ways of "learning" and "of enjoying themselves" are essential, however there is a difference in modes to do so: some describe it more "rationally" as "looking", "reading" and "inform themselves", and there are others who would like to have much more "active and self-directed" visitors "searching", "getting involved", "interacting" and "debating".

> I mean the (X) example, I love the way you get to go there, you know and meet a plastic surgeon, or you hear what.… One of the last debates I saw, which was web-cast, was about pre-natal screening, and that is terribly significant for me at the current time of course... And it was brilliant to see those real people debating that stuff and not just, you know, be in the audience for a radio show, or something, but get to quiz them and question them and be there with them. I know the (X) is not the only group doing that kind of thing, but it is a role that we can have. (Interview with M. R.: 13)

They also wish the museum to be a much more livelier place that allows visitors to get more actively involved "and get something out of the place for them". And some of them would like to consider the museum visit more deliberately as a social event and **to think about new offers towards the museum visit as a social event**. Not as entertainment, but rather by making good use of the fact that people usually come to museums in groups and that there are usually other people present (cf. The idea of the Social Lab by the director of "Dialogue in the Dark, Hamburg; Andreas Heinecke 2003)

Eventually, this comes to thinking about **new ways of interacting between visitors and objects, between visitors and museum professionals and among visitors themselves**. Is it a "show and explain" mode, is it a "debate and interact" mode or are there any other possible modes?

- What sort of public places do National Museums want to be for their visitors?
- How do they want their visitors to interact during their visit?

Some Summary Remarks

To summarize, looking for new ways of imagining the National Museum, it might be an inspiring observation that new and interesting thoughts were mentioned when the interviewees weren't talking about "objects", when they weren't talking about "topics or content" and when they weren't talking about "different ways of presenting objects or content".

That is, the museums professionals' deliberations became most interesting when they talked about current practices: that is, about their work and how they relate it to their audience, when they talked about different ways of communicating with their audience and when they talked about different practices used at the museum that would hopefully make the museum a more livelier place and more a place for people.

For my research I have been travelling Europe a lot, also for conferences and for professional exchange. I also have lived abroad for fifteen months.

In the conversations and the discussions with colleagues I have found it very telling that discussing the museum, its contemporary role and current museum practices very often lead to misunderstandings or incomprehension, because people weren't paying enough attention to differencies in current general cultural practices like:

- How do we acquire "knowledge" today?
- How do we discuss issues, how do we work out a solution or how do we settle on an agreement?
- How do we deal with individual and with collective current experiences?
- How do we reflect individual and collective everyday experiences?
- How do we learn?

These questions related to the museum and museum work and the fact, that they are answered very differently by people from different (European) cultures, were very often the underlying reasons why it was so difficult to discuss different ideas of the museum, its role as a place of knowledge and learning, and its role for society (in different cultural frameworks).

However, as I have said before, I don't consider this as a problem, but on the contrary as a good opportunity to reconsider practices we take for granted within the museum context each of us is used to and to make good use of the chance to think about different practices at museums in different European countries.

This is also the reason why I believe that, when thinking about National Museums, it is essential to aspire for different ideas of National Museums. This means to learn more about different strategies and ideas in different cultural contexts and then discuss in one's own context how some of the strategies or ideas heard of could be adapted accordingly. Thus, it might not be about finding one, unified definition or "recipe" for National Museums, but rather about working out and agreeing on some essential questions as a point of reference or as tools, which have to be dealt with and answered by each nation (or National Museum) in their own way, according to their culture and according to contemporary necessities.

This means, eventually, not to depart from the idea of "Nations made" and exhibiting them and their historical making at the National Museums, but rather departing from "Nations in transition" in the European context and raising contemporary issues for debate at the National Museum. In my opinion, this could be a suitable contribution of National Museums towards contemporary "state-building within Europe". This procedure would **not only concentrate on objects and products of Cultural Heritage, but would also integrate different cultural practices** (also relevant for practices at the museum) **as part of an Immaterial Cultural Heritage.** And, what is more, this procedure would hopefully lead to further reflections about current practices at museums in relation to current cultural practices of different Nations within Europe.

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What Makes a Museum National? National Identities at Community Museums

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How can we understand and define the national museum concept? One broad definition is that a national museum is a state or government funded institution that plays an important role in shaping and mediating public discourses of national identities. This paper argues that national museums are not the only museum sites which address issues of national identity, contrary to what much of the existing literature on this topic suggests (Crooke 2000; Boswell and Evans 1999; McLean and Cooke 2003; Mason 2004). Local community based museums, often perceived as only addressing local and community identities (Karp, Kreamer and Lavine 1992), have the potential to engage with discourses of nationhood.

My doctoral research addresses the construction and representation of Welsh identity by a number of community museums in the United States, run by and for self-identifying Welsh Americans. This identification is commonly based upon possession of Welsh immigrant ancestors. While not funded by government nor possessing collections of national significance, these sites could be described as 'national museums' because they are engaged in the process of creating and narrating a sense of Wales, its national identity, history and culture. I argue that, while the national museum is a key site to study public discourses of national identity, the potential contribution of local and community museums to this discourse should also be considered.

Introduction

How can we understand and define the national museum concept? A broad definition might be that a national museum is a state or government funded institution that plays an important role in shaping and mediating public discourses of national identity. This role as a space in which national identities are articulated is a key element in our understanding of the national museum concept; the vast majority of academic studies of the relationship between museums and national identities have focussed on national museum sites (Crooke 2000; Boswell and Evans 1999; McLean and Cooke 2000, 2003; Mason 2005, 2007; Prösler 1996; Kaplan 1994; Fladmark 2000). We commonly implicitly assume that *national* identities will naturally be addressed at *national* museums. Very little work has been done on the construction and representation of national identities at local community museums. Indeed, most research done on community museums has focussed on their role in articulating local community identities (Karp, Lavine and Kreamer 1992).

In this paper I argue that community museums can and do engage with national identities, utilising ideas about nation and national identity in their constructions and representations of local identity. My ongoing doctoral research investigates the production, display and performance of Welsh national identity at a number of 'Welsh American' community museums in the USA. These museums have been established and are run by and primarily for self-identifying Welsh Americans, individuals who claim an identity as both American and Welsh, commonly on the basis of an ancestral link with Wales. This paper draws on the results of this investigation at three sites: the Welsh American Heritage Museum in Oak Hill, a village in south eastern Ohio (site 1) ; the Welsh Nationality Room in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (site 2); and the North American Festival of Wales, an annual and peripatetic cultural heritage festival (site 3). A number of research approaches were used to explore and analyse constructions and representations of Welsh identities at these sites. The first involved an analysis of the exhibition spaces and collections, drawing on existing museological research. The second approach involved in-depth interviews with the curators and managers of each site. The third approach involved exit interviews with visitors to the sites, using a qualitative survey of seventeen questions to explore their perceptions of Wales, Welsh identities and the museums: 272 exit interviews were carried out over the three sites. By combining these three approaches a detailed analysis of the Welsh identities articulated at each site was achieved.

Museums and National Identities

The vast majority of literature on the role played by museums in constructing and representing national identities has focussed on national museum sites. This focus is both natural and valid: national museums play an important role in the articulation of national identities, providing a space in which the nation, its national culture, history and identity is defined and embodied in material form (Prösler 1996: 34). Investigations of the relationship between national museums and national identities take one of three main approaches (Mason 2007). The first is an historical approach, focussing on the creation of national museums by European nation-states in the nineteenth century and their role in transforming the population into a national citizenry (Crooke 2000; Prösler 1996; Boswell and Evans 1999). The second approach deals with national museums in relation to contemporary debates about postcolonialism and First Nation peoples (Kaplan 1994). The third approach addresses the changing roles of national museums today in the context of globalization and postnationalism (MacDonald 2003).

All three of these approaches focus their attention upon national museum sites, large public institutions funded and often established by central governments. However, national

museums are not the only museums at which national identities are constructed and articulated. National identity is constructed at the local level as well as the national (Crooke 2006: 174). The local informs the national and vice versa: my research suggests that community museums play a part in shaping and representing local perceptions and experiences of national identity, while, as MacDonald argues, 'the model of identity articulated by national museums play[s] into the more localised identities being constituted and displayed' at non-national museums such as my case studies (2003: 4).

This reciprocal relationship between the national and the local is of particular relevance when we look at diasporic hybrid and transcultural identities such as Welsh American. As a result of the ongoing processes of globalization and the increasing ease of movement of people, goods and information across national borders, national identities are no longer to be found only within the borders of their respective nation states (Hall 1991: 22; Cohen 1997: 157; Clifford 1997: 261). Self-identifying Welsh Americans identify with and claim a Welsh identity outside the geopolitical boundaries of Wales.

Welsh American Community Museums

My research looks at three Welsh American community museums and cultural heritage events which are engaged in constructing and representing a Welsh national identity both outside Wales and outside the national museum model. Each of these community museums uses Welsh national identities to build and articulate a community identity as Welsh American, on both a local and a national level.

Welsh American Heritage Museum

The Welsh American Heritage Museum is a small community run museum in an area of south eastern Ohio that experienced high levels of Welsh settlement during the nineteenth century. The museum is housed in an old Welsh church building. Following the church's closure, local self-identifying Welsh Americans began a fundraising campaign to purchase the building, save it from destruction and establish a museum of the area's Welsh heritage. The museum is a non-profit making organisation, managed by a board of trustees and elected officers, who work on a voluntary basis. The museum's collection is made up of objects donated by self-identifying Welsh Americans from both the local area and further afield. The building is also used as a meeting space for the local Welsh American community, with monthly social gatherings and annual Christmas and St. David's Day (the patron saint of Wales) events held there.

The museum is first and foremost a community site, run by and for local self-identifying Welsh Americans and representing the local area's Welsh heritage. Its mission statement is 'to keep the Welsh culture and traditions alive in the area and to preserve for all time the old Welsh Congregational Church building' (Oak Hill Public Library website). However, in order to represent local Welsh heritage, the museum draws on discourses of Welsh national identity. Much emphasis is placed on religiousness and musicality as perceived national characteristics of the Welsh settlers, characteristics that have been inherited by their Welsh American descendents: 'We want to preserve the traditions and cultures of the Welsh people in the area, and a big part of that is the church of course - that's why we saved the building – and the music. Us Welsh, we're singing all the time' (curator of the Welsh American Heritage Museum, pers. comm. 21st March 2006). Similarly, while the museum's core audience is the local Welsh American community, the museum makes much of its claim to be 'the only museum of Welsh heritage in the States', stressing its importance to a national Welsh American community.

Welsh Nationality Room

The Welsh Nationality Room is currently under construction at the University of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The University houses a museum, currently made up of twenty-six period 'nationality rooms' which represent the national cultures and identities of some of the various immigrant groups that have settled in the Pittsburgh area. These rooms are both a popular tourist attraction and used as teaching classrooms by the university. A local Welsh American cultural society, the St. David's Society of Pittsburgh, has led a fundraising campaign to establish a Welsh Nationality Room to commemorate the city's Welsh immigrants. The room will take the form of a nonconformist Welsh chapel of the late eighteenth century, complete with pews, pulpit and an attached preachers' residence (St. David's Society of Pittsburgh website). Its design is based upon the Ty'n Rhiw chapel, part of the collection of the open air St. Fagans National History Museum, a National Museums Wales site.

Like the Welsh American Heritage Museum, local self-identifying Welsh Americans will be a core audience group of the completed Welsh Nationality Room. Members of the St. David's Society are looking forward to using the space to celebrate various Welsh holidays and events and see the space primarily as a memorial and monument to the Welsh immigrants to Pittsburgh. However, the room's location within the University of Pittsburgh's nationality room complex and its dual function as both a tourist attraction and a working classroom mean that its audience will be broad and varied: self-identifying Welsh American visitors from across the USA; university students; members of the general public; and both internal and overseas tourists.

North American Festival of Wales

Finally, the North American Festival of Wales is an annual cultural heritage festival that has grown from more modest beginnings as a local community *gymanfa ganu* (hymn signing festival) into a four day celebration of Welsh culture and heritage attended by self-identifying Welsh Americans from across the USA. The event includes a *gymanfa ganu*, an *eisteddfod* (literary and musical competition), seminars on various aspects of Welsh history and culture and a marketplace selling books, music, ornaments and clothing on a Welsh theme (North American Festival of Wales website). It is managed by the Welsh National Gymanfa Ganu Association (WNGGA), made up of a board of trustees and ten elected officers, and supported by membership fees and donations.

More than the Welsh American Heritage Museum or the Welsh Nationality Room, the North American Festival of Wales operates on a national level, both in terms of its content and its audience. The festival's mission statement is 'to preserve, develop, and promote our Welsh religious and cultural heritage and our religious and cultural traditions' (WNGGA website). Its peripatetic nature, being held in a different city every year, also contributes to its broader, more national scope; the event is not associated with the Welsh American community of a particular locality, such as Pittsburgh or south eastern Ohio, but with a national Welsh American community. It is an event at which individuals who identify as Welsh from all over the USA and Canada come together to perform and celebrate their Welsh culture and heritage. Visitors commonly perceived the festival as national in its scope and influence, with 85.4% of survey respondents (176 individuals) expressing views similar to the following quotes:

> The festival informs all Americans with Welsh heritage, it tells them about what it is to be Welsh. (Respondent 55, site 3)

> The festival gives Welsh Americans as a whole a sense of their heritage and cultural identity. (Respondent 12, site 3)

Community Museums and National Identities

The three case study sites are places where self-identifying Welsh Americans go to 'actively make and remake their [Welsh] identities, to selectively select and reject and manipulate the images and identities found within', a description applied by McLean and Cooke to the National Museum of Scotland (2000: 150). To varying extents, each of the sites functions on both a local and a national level: they construct and mediate local Welsh American communities and community identities through representations of Welsh national identity and culture, while also playing a role in the articulation of a national Welsh American community and its identity. All three of the sites also perform several roles traditionally ascribed to national museums: they provide origin stories for both the Welsh nation and the Welsh American community; the are museums 'of' the nation, representing Welsh national culture and identity; and they are instruments of Welsh American community pride on both a local and national level (Mason, 2007).

Museums as providers of origin stories

Providing an origin story for the nation is seen as one of the primary roles of a national museum (Mason 2007): representing 'the nation in time and space, embodying the legitimacy of the nation for both citizens and the "other"' (McLean and Cooke 2003: 154). A national museum traditionally defines the nation and its boundaries through its collections and exhibitions, providing a linear narrative of its history and representing its 'unique' cultural qualities in tangible form through the collection of objects it exhibits (MacDonald 2003: 3). While the three case study community museums' main focus is on Welsh American history and culture at both a local and a national level, their exhibitions also represent the cultural identity and history of Wales, providing a narrative of the nation's origins.

Each of the three sites provide this narrative by defining the cultural distinctiveness of Wales, emphasizing what makes it 'unique': in other words, the grounds on which Wales can be defined as a separate nation, with a distinct national culture, identity and history. This articulation of the defining characteristics of Welsh national identity feeds into the sites' representation of origin stories, both for local and national Welsh American communities, defining what makes these communities 'unique' and distinct.

The North American Festival of Wales represents music and song as the defining characteristics of 'Welshness' through its key events, the *gymanfa ganu* (hymn singing festival) and the *eisteddfod* (musical and literary competition). Visitors' opinions of the role of the festival reflected this emphasis, with 47.3% of respondents citing music or song as a key part of the event:

> The festival promotes Welsh uniqueness in song, poetry and history. (Respondent 21, site 3)

> The musical heritage – that's played a big part in Welsh history. All the Welsh can sing. (Respondent 48, site 3)

The Welsh Nationality Room places the emphasis on religious nonconformity as the defining characteristic of Welsh cultural identity, choosing to represent Wales through the architectural style of a nonconformist chapel. As the architect responsible for the room's design, himself a self-identifying Welsh American explained:

> The room has to represent Wales as it was in 1787, the date that [Pittsburgh] University was founded. The initial concept of a manor house was felt to be too English, the people who lived there would have been mainly English…We felt that what was truly Welsh…at

> that time was the chapel and if there was a way to connect with the song and voice and literature of the time it would be the early chapels.

Similarly, the Welsh American Heritage Museum emphasizes music, song and religion as the defining characteristics of Welsh culture; it is housed in a religious building and its collection is heavily weighted towards musical material, including a number of organs owned by local Welsh settlers and numerous Welsh hymnals and songbooks (Welsh American Heritage Museum catalogue).

Museums 'of' the Nation

The role played by national museums in defining the cultural distinctiveness of a nation is particularly obvious at what can be called museums 'of' the nation: sites which seek to present the nation in miniature through their collection and display of material objects deemed to be 'typical' of that nation (Mason 2007). This ethnographic approach is illustrated by sites such as Skansen in Sweden, and St. Fagans: National History Museum in Wales, whose collection included the Ty'n Rhiw chapel on which the design of the Welsh Nationality Room has been based (project architect, pers. comm. 6th March 2006). Such museums play a role as symbols of national identity (Prösler 1999: 35). The inherent element of selection at such museums must be remembered: such sites represent a single, often the dominant, discourse of national identity while ignoring other discourses.

The three Welsh American community museums can all be described as museums 'of' the Welsh nation. Each site presents a narrative of Welsh cultural identity through its exhibitions, all three choosing to focus on a romantic and nostalgic version of Wales and 'Welshness'. There were no references to specifically contemporary symbols of Wales or Welsh identity evident in the three sites' exhibitions; similarly, there were few representations of elements of the recent industrial history of Wales such as coal mining. The three museum sites each presented a timeless, preindustrial Wales, focussing on romantic imagery of unspoilt natural landscapes, music, song and religion. As the curator of the Welsh American Heritage Museum put it: 'The museum…is a memorial to what this area was and the Welsh people who founded the area and the Welsh culture they brought with them. We're trying to preserve what Wales was like in the past' (pers. comm. 21st March 2006). This focus on a Wales of the past in numerous survey responses:

> When I think of Wales I think of beautiful hills, legends, enchantment…Something ancient and noble, castles, harps and Merlin. A place I yearn to be, to see, to know. (Respondent 6, site 2)

> To me, Wales means mountains, valleys, song and *hiraeth* [roughly translated as a longing for the homeland]. (Respondent 24, site 1)

> Wales is a land of natural beauty, rough country, wind…My people's homeland, sheep, an undecipherable language, a proud people, struggle… (respondent 45, site 3)

Over three-quarters (82.0%) of respondents drew on similar romantic and nostalgic symbols of the Welsh nation.

This emphasis on a Welsh culture and identity of the past may be linked to the sites' roles as museums 'of' both localized and national expressions of Welsh American community. The Welsh American Heritage Museum's aim is to preserve and present the Welsh culture that flourished in its local area in the nineteenth century. Similarly, the Welsh Nationality Room seeks to represent Wales as it was in the late eighteenth century, at the time the University of

Pittsburgh was founded. These sites provide self-identifying Welsh Americans with a sense of roots, of the nation and culture their ancestors came from, as epitomized by the North American Festival of Wales, with its emphasis on traditional aspects of Welsh culture. These three sites are not museums 'of' the contemporary Welsh nation but of a Welsh nation of the past. They use aspects of traditional Welsh cultural identity to construct local and national Welsh American communities and identities.

Museums as a Source of Community Pride

National museums play an important role as instruments of civic pride, symbols of a city or nation's cultural status (Mason 2007; MacDonald 2003: 3). Indeed, possession of a national museum is frequently perceived as an essential symbol of nationhood (McKean 2000: 126). In a similar way, the three case study sites serve as instruments of community pride, for both their local and the national Welsh American community. The museums are symbols of Welsh Americans' pride in their Welsh heritage, their desire to preserve it and their willingness to support its preservation through the donation of funds, time and objects for the museums' collections. These collections assert and represent in material form 'Welsh American' as a distinctive and separate cultural identity. They are 'empowering institutions that have provided the people of the area with a renewed and positive sense of identity' (Crooke 2006: 176). As 'bottom-up' museums, established, funded and run by self-identifying Welsh Americans and existing outside the formal museum sector, they represent a desire for self-representation of the community's history and culture. A key element of the three museums' role is that of ownership. As the architect of the Welsh Nationality Room put it:

> …the fundraising has all come from Welsh Americans who are interested. We've had a lot of ownership from societies around Pennsylvania and the general Welsh community across the country. So, we have these people feeling that ownership and so… [the Welsh Nationality Room] is important to them, it will be their room and not just ours here in Pittsburgh. (pers. comm. 6th March 2006)

The decision of these various Welsh American groups to claim, articulate and perform Welsh identities through the establishment of museums illustrates the important role museums are perceived to play in shaping and mediating national identities. As quoted earlier, MacDonald has argued that 'the model of identity articulated by national museums play[s] into the more localised identities being constituted and displayed' (2003: 4). The decision made at the three sites to construct and represent community identities through a museum draws on the role played by larger public museums, including national museums, in the articulation of national identities. Similarly, the three sites have drawn on Welsh national identity in their construction of Welsh American community identities.

Conclusions

With reference to the question asked at the beginning of this paper, 'how can we understand and define the national museum concept?', I argue that our understanding should not focus too heavily on the national museum as a museum site at which national identities are articulated. In this paper I have argued that community museums, as well as national museums, are engaged in the construction, representation and mediation of national identities. Community museums can and do address national identities; the Welsh American case study sites utilise discourses of Welsh national identity in their construction of Welsh American community identities on both local and national (America-wide) scales. The national is being used to achieve local agendas.

A key element in our definition of the national museum concept should be the way in which they are managed and funded. The Welsh American museums, while they can be described as museums 'of' the nation, 'national museums' in the sense that their exhibitions represent Welsh national identity, are not national museums. They are community museums, established, funded and managed by and for self-identifying Welsh American groups. National museums are large public institutions, established and funded by, and accountable to central governments of their respective nation-states. The defining characteristic of the national museum is in this relationship between the museum, the state and the public: in the political agendas inherent in the activities of a national museum and the way in which it constructs, represents and mediates public discourses of national identity. It is not that the national museum articulates national identities that defines it, but *how* and *why* it articulates national identities in the way that it does.

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Exploring the Museum: A Comprehensive Approach

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To understand what role a museum, such as a National Museum, plays in society this paper proposes the approach of looking at museums in a comprehensive way. An exhibition can be seen as a process of mediation and three phases of this process can be discerned and analysed. Different actors and conditions connected to these phases have the potential of shaping the story told and the way it can be understood. This paper underlines the importance of analyzing each of these phases separately, but also of looking at the process in its entirety. Questions such as "What are the intentions of the museum staff or exhibition producers?" What is narrated and reproduced in the exhibitions?" "How does the visitor make meaning of the mediation in the museum?" can then not only be answered, but also be seen in the light of each other, promoting a greater understanding of the museum itself, of the museum's role in society and of the museum experience. Using examples from research on the exhibition *Afrikafararna* this paper proposes that this comprehensive approach is a fruitful method to apply when analyzing and comparing different museums, and when trying to understand what the concept of a National Museum really is.

Exploring the Museum: A Comprehensive Approach

A National Museum can, from a historian's point of view, be described as an institution entrusted with preserving the memory of a nation's past. An *official* memory of the nation's past that is – an *official memory of a common heritage of the majority of the people of the nation.* The institution can, as such, be seen as the foremost interpreter of which stories of the past that should be called 'common knowledge', 'significant symbols for the characteristics of the people and the nation', and 'important to remember today and tomorrow'. But does that mean that National Museums only mediate the aspects and stories of history that have *positive* connotations and are character building – in the interest of consolidating the notion of the nation and in the interest of uniting a large group of people and define the community, as well as defining who is part of it and who is not? For sure, it doesn't have to be that way, but I must confess that this is an image that comes to mind when I reflect upon the idea of a National Museum. Are those prejudicing thoughts of mine an outdated legacy from a time when a more nationalist ideology was predominant in, for instance, my country – Sweden? Have National Museums in fact renegotiated their understanding of their task and purpose in the 100 - 150 or so years since many of them were established? Have National Museums changed to meet demands from a new society, demands for fundamental democratic values, such as for example equality? When thinking of National Museums it is easy to assume something preserving and static. But is this always the case? Are National Museums perhaps more than willing to continuously renegotiate their mediation of history, or are they in fact worse than other institutions (perhaps than more modern museums) when it comes to interacting with the present? What is the impact of National Museums in society today and what messages are mediated in these institutions?

A Comprehensive Approach

All of these questions have their rightful place in the programme of the series of conferences of which this one; "Setting the Frames," is the first. In order to be able to compare and discuss these matters, examples and studies from several National Museums are needed. This, however, does not necessarily have to mean that researchers or scholars have to agree to look upon the objects of study in exactly the same way – ask the same questions, focus the same aspects, or use the same methods. In fact, the comparison of different National Museums in different contexts will probably be a lot more interesting if differences are explored rather than common traits compared.

However, if we want to be able to discuss National Museums from different contexts, and assess or understand their role in the society that they are working in, this paper proposes that a comprehensive approach is needed. In order to be able to see and analyze if, and how, a museum interacts with society – is influenced by, as well as have an influence on, society – it is important not to focus only the obvious, that is the exhibitions and their message, but rather to try and gain a broader understanding. When conducting research on the mediation and use of history in society, using the museum as an example, I have tried to put this broader approach into practice. This paper would like to discuss how this could be a fruitful method to apply when analyzing and comparing museums, and when trying to understand what the concept of a National Museum really is.

A Process of Mediation

The exhibition is the heart of the activities in the museum. The exhibition can be described as a process of mediation, or a process of communication, depending on how the museum chooses to work. Professor of history Klas Göran Karlsson states that:

> Pedagogy of history […] always includes aspects of production, distribution and consumption of history. The principal questions for the pedagogy of history are thus: Who writes history or produces it in another way? About what is history written? For whom is history written?[1] (my translation)

From this statement can be understood that there are phases to each mediation process, and that different actors can be connected to different parts of the process. This means that to understand the mediation of for example history it is important to look not only at the tangible things, such as how the exhibitions are laid out and what artefacts are displayed in the museum, because they are only one part of the mediation process. Focus needs to be widened and include questions of how different actors both influence and make meaning of the mediation. Karlsson and professor of history Peter Aronsson both (separately) suggest that the mediation process can be divided into three phases. These could be labelled:

- The phase of production or shaping
- The phase of distribution or mediation
- The phase of consumption or reception (my translation)

All three phases are equally important and need to be considered to gain a broad understanding of the interaction between the museum and its context. In all three phases the questions *What? How?* and *Why?* can be asked.

What? How? and Why?

The *What?*-question concerns the historical content in the mediation or teaching – the subject matter itself. The answer to this question clearly shows what has been considered important content in this particular situation or mediation. Furthermore, the aspects or content that is *not* part of the narration – the content that has been omitted – appears as if on a negative.
The *How?*-question asks with which method the chosen content is dealt with or mediated through. The answer to the question *How?* will expose what methods have been considered useful and successful in the mediation of the particular message in question. The connection between the method and content is impossible to disband and might be fundamental for reaching the goal of the mediation.

The third question – *Why?* – is also inextricably connected with the other two. The answer to this question will reveal the idea behind the whole situation of mediation – intentions and purpose. This question can also be used to problemize the other two. It is for instance possible to ask the question *What?* to the mediation situation and see what aspects are included, perhaps at the expense of other aspects. If we then ask *Why what?* – that is; Why this content? Why this story? – interesting conditions are exposed. These can uncover underlying structures, motifs, and ideologies that can say quite a lot about dominant values, norms and power structures in present society. Examples are, for instance, what significance nationality is given, what the limits of the concept of democracy are, or how gender and class relations are reproduced.

1 Karlsson, K-G. ”Den svenska historiedidaktiken och den dubbla historiska paradoxen.” In Hans-Albin Larsson (ed) *Historiedidaktiska utmaningar.* Jönköping University Press, Jönköping (1998) p 12.

To these three questions can also be added the question of *And then?* How does the mediation actually influence the visitors that take part of it and the society that it is presented in? Does it, in fact, influence it at all?[2]

Mediation or Dialogue

One way of understanding the mediation process is a didactic one; that learning is about passively receiving an unproblematic subject matter from someone who has the priority of interpretation.[3] Another way of looking at it is that learning involves an active learner in a social and societal context. Professor Peter Aronsson suggests that the mediation process can be seen or interpreted in (at least) two different ways like this:

a) Mediation or implementation
   Intention – design – mediation – reception – use
b) Dialogue
   Dialogue – design – communication – reflection – use[4] (my translation)

The first way of looking at the process can be characterised as linear whereas the other could involve a more complex pattern of communication. Other variations of the process can be considered – perhaps even combinations of the two examples. What is interesting, of course, is to see how the museum in focus works and mediates history; in a way that can be described as didactic and linear, or in a way that can be described as being in dialogue with its visitors and its context – a dialogue in which the historical content is the topic?[5] Or perhaps in a third way? Needless to say; if we can describe with some accuracy the way in which the museum in focus actually operates in these matters it is easier to discuss whether or not the mediation in the museum has any impact on the surrounding society at all.

Three Phases – Example Afrikafararna

A close study of each of the three phases of the process can give the researcher a solid basis of knowledge to start from when discussing the museum in its entirety. A focus on the first phase of the mediation process – the phase of production or shaping – can clarify which actors have the most influence in the process of defining and forming the exhibition and the museum's work. It can also reveal what specific inner and outer factors that set the frames for the work in the museum. History, for instance, is used by different groups, parties, communities in our society, and these can be of an ideological, political, economical, cultural etc, nature.[6] Such factors also, to a greater or minor extent depending on the museum in focus and the situation, influence the mediation in the museum. In my previous research I have looked at a museum exhibition – Afrikafararna, produced and shown at the Swedish Emigrant Institute, Växjö Sweden, and Kalmar läns museum, Kalmar, Sweden, in 2004-2005 – as a mediation process. I have focused and explored each phase in itself and discussed how

2 Discussion on *What? How? Why?* etc from my unpublished licentiate's thesis *Afrikafararna. Historieförmedling och historiebruk på Svenska Emigrantinstitutet och Kalmar läns museum.* Växjö university (2006).

3 For a discussion on different approaches to knowledge, teaching and learning in the museum, see for instance Hein, George E *Learning in the museum.* Routledge, London och New York (1998) p 25-36.

4 Aronsson, Peter. *Historiebruk – att använda det förflutna*. Studentlitteratur, Lund (2004) p 100.

5 This discussion from my unpublished licentiate's thesis *Afrikafararna. Historieförmedling och historiebruk på Svenska Emigrantinstitutet och Kalmar läns museum.* Växjö university (2006).

6 Karlsson, Klas-Göran "Den svenska historiedidaktiken och den dubbla historiska paradoxen" in Hans-Albin Larsson (red) *Historiedidaktiska utmaningar* (1998) p 13.

they relate to each other and how the narration of history has been shaped by the conditions in each of these phases. I have worked mainly with interviews but also analyzed the content of the exhibition and the pedagogic program. When focusing the first phase I contacted the producers of the exhibition and the persons in charge of the exhibitions in the two museums. I interviewed them and could then discuss how their convictions (or in fact lack thereof, in some aspects) about such matters as theories of teaching and learning, history and democratic values have made crucial impacts on how the history of Afrikafararna – men and women from Sweden who migrated to southern Africa – was told. From the interviews it was also possible to discern what outer factors, such as time frames, economy and political ambitions, set the limits for the visions of the producers for the exhibition. It would also be possible to consider public and perhaps political debates, which might precede the exhibition, in this first phase.

For the second phase – the phase of distribution or mediation – I analyzed the content of the exhibitions – the product of the producers' efforts. The results of these analyses could then be discussed in relation to the visions that the producers' had had, but also in relation to the goals of the museums; goals such as being a proponent of democratic values and a multicultural society. In the case of *Afrikafararna* it became clear that the mediation in the museum did not correspond with many of the visions and goals set up by the producers and the museum. Outspoken goals were for instance to work for integration and equality but the content *and mediation* in relation to the historical content could be described as stereotyping different groups of people, separating for instance whites from blacks and subordinating women. The story told was in many ways told in lingering patterns from a colonial ideology.

This second phase does not only include an analysis of the content but also the methods used in the exhibition to present the artefacts and the narration to the visitors. The *Afrikafararna* exhibition was mainly a traditional exhibition presented with texts and photos on screens and some artefacts in display cases. There were few open ends or unanswered questions in the story, and there was little opportunity for interaction between the visitors and the exhibition or museum staff.[7] The story about the travellers to Africa was mostly unproblematic and I argue in my thesis that it did not really challenge the visitors' previous understanding of migration history or of "Swedish identity." The mediation process could be described as being informative rather than challenging or problemizing.

In the third phase – that of consumption or reception – the visitor to the museum is obviously the most prominent actor. As I am interested in what happens when the mediation in the museum is used by schools and in the teachings of history in school, I interviewed schoolchildren and high school-students about their experiences and learning in the museum exhibition. In this phase a number of methods for assessing or discussing the reception or interaction could be employed. I do not believe that the method of interviewing people necessarily gives a comprehensive answer to the question "What did you learn in the museum?" – but then again few methods probably do. The answers from the interviews were interesting enough and for example uncovered the fact that the students did not remember very much at all from the exhibition, hadn't really grasped the narration, as it were, but mixed *Afrikafararna* up with other exhibitions in the museum. Another revelation was that even though many of the students specifically brought up and discussed 'evaluation of sources' and 'scepticism' as some of the most important things they had learned in history class in school, they talked about the museum in terms of "a place where you get to know how it really was" and "where you get to know the truth." In this third phase it is also interesting to discuss questions such as why the visitor chose to come to the exhibition in the first place and, in the

7 Not entirely true for the pedagogic program where guides in clothes typical for the time that guided the children in the exhibition hall.

case of the school children and students – how did the teacher use the exhibition as part of the curriculum?

From my research around *Afrikafrararna* it became clear that the communication process between the visitors and the museum (the school and the museum) around topics such as content, methods and intentions were virtually non-existing, in this case. Based on the answers from my interviews I thus feel I can make a case arguing that the students and school-children probably didn't learn so much about Africa, or migration, or the conditions in Sweden in the 19th century, as one could have hoped, from the exhibition. And about democratic values, or the benefits of a multicultural society – almost certainly nothing at all. This was possibly due to the fact that the museum staff seemed not to have a strong conviction about teaching- or mediation methods that permeated their work in constructing the exhibition. It was probably also due to the fact that the teachers didn't seem to work the visit to the museum into their curriculum, and that there was little or no communication or cooperation between the museum and the teachers. The visit became a solitary "happening" and the students and school children had a difficult time relating this new information to previous knowledge, on their own. From this point of view, discouragingly enough, the museum's impact on the students' learning and on the surrounding society can thus seriously be questioned. However, in the interviews the producers of the exhibition were excited to talk about the many spin off-effects that the exhibition had caused. They told me of new contacts and plans for cooperation between the community councils in their town and the town in Africa that the emigrants had ended up in. They told me about coming agreements between the universities and plans for study-visits to learn about each country's work with democratization, health care, and so on. This means that it most certainly is possible to look on *Afrikafararna,* and the mediation in the museum, as having a very concrete impact on, and perhaps even as being a sort of motor in, processes in the surrounding society. It also makes it interesting to again look at *what* is narrated in the exhibition and ask if the choices made when constructing the exhibition had anything to do with pleasing political and economic interests.

Conclusion

The above example shows very clearly that discussions around museums' interaction with, and impact on, the surrounding society can be made more balanced, varied and probing by adopting a comprehensive approach when exploring the museum. By looking at the exhibition as a process, and by exploring each phase of this process, it is easier to see and discuss how the phases are related and how they make an impact on and are formed by conditions in other phases. Had I only, in the case of Afrikafararna focused one phase, such as for example the phase of distribution or mediation, I would not have had the opportunity to see how the museum interacts with the community in other ways than just the mediation in the exhibition itself.

When discussing the notion of the National Museum and in assessing whether or not the National Museum interacts with or has an impact on the surrounding society the comprehensive approach can thus open up for many interesting revelations and discussions. In using this approach questions such as "What are the intentions of the museum staff or exhibition producers?" "What is narrated and reproduced in the exhibitions?" "Who uses the museum?" and "How can the visitor make meaning of the mediation in the museum?" can be not only answered, but the answers can be seen in the light of each other, so that they promote a greater understanding of the concept of the National Museum.

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Manor Houses, Mansions and the Norwegian National Museum Concept. Commemorations of 'the 400-year Night'

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In Norway, manor houses, mansions and similar phenomena are repressed and underestimated, representing a culture which was not suited for Norwegian nation-building in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In its wider context the narrative of 'the 400-year night' has not been very central in the traditional narrative found in Norwegian museums. The history of manor houses and mansions can be divided into three phases; from the Medieval until 1660, from the Absolute monarchy until early nineteenth century and from early nineteenth century until to day. This article will focus museums, monuments and nation-building from the perspective of the backyard of national museums. It is represented by the narrative of a manor house, or rather a princely residence dating from the seventeenth century and turned into a monument and museum at the beginning of the twentieth century. Although the perspective is local, the questions and further work will hopefully be relevant to the complex and dissimilar group of manor houses and mansions on a national level.

Introduction

> Was it not one's plain duty to preserve visible memories from past times, and would it not be right to present to the public a picture of past generations daily life, in order to strengthen their national consciousness.[1]

The quote is taken from an article in the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History's (Norsk Folkemuseum) yearbook in 1945, which was dedicated the institutions 50 year's anniversary. Attributed to the initiator of the museum, Hans Aall, it illustrates not only his strong calling, but as well echoes a characteristic trait of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century conception of the tasks of a national museum in Norway. In 1894 Aall was travelling the valleys of mid-Norway searching for folk art objects. On his way he had his eyes opened to the fact that there were more to be rescued than artistic culture. He was confronted with 'a whole culture dissolving, and on its way to destruction and oblivion'. The same autumn he managed to gather people with influence in academic and governmental circles, and before Christmas they had founded Norsk Folkemuseum, a museum category which formed a prototype for cultural history museums in Norway until after the 2nd World War.[2]

This article will focus museums, monuments and nation-building from the perspective of another fragmented and forgotten culture. Represented by the narrative of a manor house or rather a princely residence dating from the seventeenth century and turned into a monument and museum at the beginning of the twentieth century. In Norway, manor houses, mansions and similar phenomena are repressed and underestimated, representing a culture which was not suited for Norwegian nation-building in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In its wider context the narrative of 'the 400-year night' has not been very central in the traditional narrative found in Norwegian museums. The history of manor houses and mansions can be divided into three phases; from the Medieval until 1660, from the Absolute Monarchy until early nineteenth century and from early nineteenth century until to day. Although my perspective is local, the questions and further work will hopefully be relevant to the complex and dissimilar group of Norwegian manor houses and mansions on a national level.

My starting point is as curator in charge of the project of restoring the Princely Residence of Larvik. It soon turned out that the there is more into it than examining the condition of the solid walls made of timber and layers of colour built upon each others for centuries. Apart of having a complex restoration history, and as well being the subject of conflicting opinions and attitudes during the years, the building also have museum functions which to some extent are supposed to be continued.[3] Therefore we also need to plan for the re-organisation of the museum concept, which turned out to be complicated as well. Firstly, it was difficult to say exactly what constituted the museum. Should it be understood as a historic house converted to a museum? Or was it primarily a monument commemorating important historic events or persons?

And in that case; was it on a local, regional or national level? Or was the explanation a local cultural history museum? On one hand what we need to do is the usual museum job of new documentation, registration and interpretation in order to understand the building and its context. On the other hand we need to take into consideration the social, cultural and perhaps

1 Kjellberg, 1945:2.
2 Pedersen, Roede, Lie Christensen 2003.
3 Aske and Brænne 2004.

political aspects and include reflections on values, institutional conditions and cultural meaning in society into the process.[4]

The broad approach opens up for a variety of sources presenting variations over the theme princely residence, monument and museum; notes, letters, instructions, reports, magazines, newspapers, works of history and topography and the like. At this stage the situation is more of a pre-study, rather than the actual study, exploring themes rather than actually analysing them in depth.

1660–1805. Memorializing the Dual Monarchy of Denmark-Norway

The challenge presented by this period is actually to understand how and why the building was erected. Today The Princely Residence of Larvik is known as one of the largest profane wooden buildings in Norway, with rare decorative paintings carried out by artists' who usually performed their skills in the halls and chambers of the king and aristocracy in royal Copenhagen. Even though the term 'manor house' has been applied for almost 200 years it is misleading referring to the dwelling house of the feudal lord of a manor. A more precise term would be 'the princely residence', which was the term actually used by the owners in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

The contact between the aristocratic milieu in Denmark and the Residence in Larvik[5] was direct. The first owner and his successors belonged to the highest social rank in Denmark-Norway[6]. The elected king Frederik 3 (1609-1670) strengthened his position during the wars with Sweden from 1657 to 1660, and in 1660-1661 hereditary and absolutist monarchy was introduced. The monarch's illegitimate son was knighted in 1656 and Ulrik Frederik Gyldenløve (1638–1704) was included into the inner circle of the Danish court, and he was also one of the king's close alleys during the wars with the Swedish. In 1671 king Christian 5th (1666–1699) created a new order of nobility of earls and baronets open to the bourgeoisie. One of the first to be appointed was his own half brother, Gyldenløve, who was also Governor of Norway. His high position among the aristocracy in Denmark was reflected in his representational mansion in Copenhagen. The Earldom of Larvik was erected for Gyldenløve by his brother king Christian 5th in 1671.[7] The town of Larvik was founded the very same year as a direct result of the absolutist Danish monarchy, and continued to be Danish domain until 1814. The first Earl of Larvik, rarely paid visit to his residential town; however his Residence in Larvik surrounded by a magnificent formal garden reminded people on his existence, his princely power and status within the new upper class.[8]

David Cressy describes how governments in early modern England made calculated use of national memory for dynastic, political, religious and cultural purposes.[9] The following paragraph gives a glimpse into how Larvik and the Residence was the spot for establishing public memory of the king as ruler of the dual monarchy of Demark-Norway in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

4 Amundsen and Brenna 2003.
5 Larvik is a coastal town approx 140 km south of the capital Oslo.
6 A brief summary on Norway's union with Denmark is available at Norway portal – Ministry of Foreign Affairs http://www.norway.org/history/upto1814/.
7 All together two earldoms and one barony were erected in Norway during the Absolute monarchy.
8. Blanning, T. W. C 2002. Gives an Presentation of 'the old regime' and its representational culture in *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture.*
9 Gillis 1994:61.

The Kings Entry

One of the Residence's representative functions was to shelter kings, queens, counts and ambassadors at the ceremonial arrangement of what is called 'a joyous entry'[10]; the first visit of the ruler to one of his cities in the realm. During the actual period the residence was the scene for entries four times, in 1685, 1733, 1749 and 1788.[11] In local history the events are presented as colourful fragments from an exotic and remote time, and with no further explanation or contextualisation. However, in literature on baroque festivals[12] a king's entry is understood as a particular kind of festival taking place partly for the public and partly as private court entertainment. Typical traits for a festival are prayers and sermons, pageants, cannonades, music, drinking, feasting, firework, spectacles, firework, bonfires and joyful ringing of bells.

In 1746 the king Fredrik 5th succeeded his father Christian 6th and three years later he visited Norway. The prompts and instructions for the entry festival in Larvik clearly came form above, probably from the king and the government itself, and 'descending through the matrix of command'[13] leaving it up to the earls officials to find practical solutions based on local resources and economy. The Residence was close to and in the axis of the main street with an open space in front of it, and presented enough space for the public to gather and to celebrate. The structure of the Residence and the town very closely linked together can easily be read, echoing the actual meaning of 'the Residence' and the political unity of the city and the court.[14] The pageant was one of the main public features of the festival. Late in the afternoon it moved slowly towards the Residence with the groups important to the prosperity of the small town, but as well to the monarchy: The busy business community, the miners, workers from the iron mill and the saw mill dressed in costumes or carrying symbols of their occupation. They were gathered *to be seen, not to see*. He that *saw* was the king, standing on the balcony in front of the Residence. The king would surly observe the representation of a small mountain gnome from the deep mines singing and making faces, and as well a savage dancing a rapid mountain dance.

'The court festivals served to represent symbolically 'a dynasty, a ruler, or a court by giving public expressions to the significance and the power embodied in these persons'[15]. The royal entry was a most effective form of royal propaganda 'neither royal proclamations nor official tracts could move the hearts of the people as much as ceremonies in which the king appeared in person amidst a décor carefully designed to project his idealized personality and the nature of his rule'.[16] In Larvik the king appeared in front of the public as ruler of the monarchy's most successful early-modern industries, and he added to peoples memory the absolute monarchy's Enlightenment inspired cosmopolite definition of Denmark-Norway as native country represented by typical Norwegian folk elements. Attaching national symbols or expressions to situations of allegiance and loyalty to the dual monarchy was absolutist propaganda at its peak.[17]

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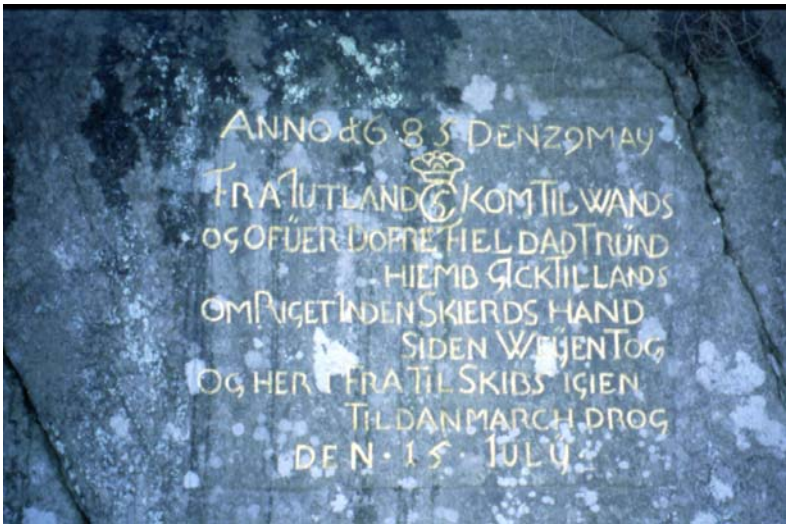
10 Knecht 2004:19.
11 See e.g. Johnson (ed) 1923 and Swensen 1966:1-20.
12 See e.g: Wade 1996 and J. R. Mulryne, Helen Watanabe-O'kelly. Margaret Shrewing (eds.) 2004.
13 Cressy 1994:63.
14 Daniels 2004:34 The capital city of a territory is called in German, the Rezidentz (that is the prince's seat) and the city and the court are, politically, one.
15 Daniel, 2004:33.
16 Knecht 2004:20.
17 Rian, Øystein 2003. The Norwegian historian Øystein Rian explains how the the Danish government was very aware of the Norwegians national love for their country, and how this was actually used in propaganda to strengthen loyalty to the dual monarchy and its ruler.

The royal entries were commemorated in festival books, specially designed coins and medals, tapestries maps and drawings. In Larvik a local alternative of memorializing the events was invented, and verses were carved into a cliff opposite the Residence. The golden inscriptions paid tribute to the monarch *and* the national traits like steep mountains, deep forests, blank waters, purity and bravery. This kind of public memory was clearly a political construction, derived form the needs of the dynastic authorities.[18] 'Its primary features were imposed from above and mediated through magistrates and ministers, before being adopted and internalized by the people at large.'[19] And in the case of Larvik, like in early-modern England, we know very little about how the ritual commemoration of the elite was modified, contested and shaped by popular culture. In the introduction to *Commemoration*s J. R. Gillies repeats Pierre Nora who:

> Argues that prior to the nineteenth century memory was such a pervasive part of life - the "milieu of memory" is what he (Nora) calls it – that people were hardly aware of its existence. Only the aristocracy, the church and the monarchical state had need of institutionalized memory. Outside the elite classes, archives, genealogies, family portraits and biographies were extremely rare; and there was no vast bureaucracy of memory as there is today. Ordinary people felt the past to be so much a part of the present that they perceived no urgent need to record, objectify and preserve it.[20]

However, even in its own time the Princely Residence appeared as a monument carefully designed to commemorate the absolute monarchy of Denmark-Norway and its ruling kings.

Fig. 1. Inscription celebrating King Christian 5th of Denmark-Norway 1685.



1805–1900: Irregular Memories and Hidden History

The 434 years of union between Denmark and Norway came to an end in 1814. The Danish king was forced to cede Norway to the king of Sweden. During a short intermezzo Norway took the opportunity to declare independence and adopted a Norwegian constitution based on

18 Oluffsen 1791. In 1790 the Danish agricultural economist Oluf Oluffsen visited Larvik. He refers to a marble monument commemorating the last Earl Christian Conrad Danneskold Laurvig and how the monument had been stormed by the mob.

19 Cressy 1994:71.

20 Gillis 1994:5 f.

American and French models. It was formally adopted on the 14th of May 1814 and the Danish crown prince Christian Frederik was elected king on may 17th 1814. The same autumn Norway was forced into union with Sweden lasting until 1905. This period gave rise to the Norwegian romantic nationalism cultural movement as Norwegians sought to define and express a distinct national character. It was as a result of this movement the long period in union with Denmark was referred to as the '400-year night'.

In 1805 the last earl of Larvik was no longer able to take the economic responsibility for his earldom, and it was handed back to the king. The earl, Frederik Ludvig Ahlefeldt-Laurvig kept the Residence as private property until 1813, when he arranged for his highest officials to buy it. Some years after, the town decided to purchase the building for various purposes: Classrooms for private and public schools, flats for the headmaster and the vicar, a theatre and last but not least premises for the new town hall. In order to finance the refurbishments, remaining objects from the era of the earls were sold on two auctions. The gardens were rented out to a local gardener and later laid out for sites to public buildings like schools, prisons and a sports-hall. It seems like the town's motivation for taking over the building was solely functional, as it could give space to house functions essential for a town with newly won independence.

'History is serious matter, memories are of a different kind'[21] – and it seems like the memorializing of kings, which helped shaping the identity of the earls (as noble aristocrats) fragmented. The representation of 'the old regime' lost its power. As a consequence the Residence could no longer function as symbol and monument. Or could it be that in some way irregular memories and narratives survived among groups in society?

One obvious option was amongst the group of men who, even though they were strained and provoked by the aristocratic power of the earls, as well balanced their professions, culture and economy upon it. In Larvik as in many other Norwegian towns the years following 1814 was a difficult time. Firms and businesses faced liquidation, and made way for new investors, a new generation of capitalists who often came from foreign countries.[22] Could it be that they deliberately rescued the Residence (as this old generation still kept high political positions in the local society) from falling into the hands of 'new money'? The old building was clearly not suited for its new functions, but in the course of 100 years it was renovated, reorganised, maintained into something that could fulfil the wishes and needs of a democratic town, building its new identity. The transition can be traced in municipal executive work when refurbishment was claimed for, either from the headmaster or from the vicar.[23] Whether or not it also represented something more is uncertain, but should not be excluded from further investigations.

Going through other sources, examples tell that the towns aristocratic past was not completely forgotten:

One example goes back to 1796 and was written by the vicar Andreas Schelven (1738–99). This was the very first printed description given of the earldom called: 'Noget om Laurvigs Grevskab I Agershus Stift'. It was published by 'Det topographiske Selskab' (The topographic society). The Society's ambition was to map Norway. The members signed a declaration that they would contribute to encourage the society, and thereby give an example of patriotic zealousness to the best of the native country. In his letters to the society Schelven declare patriotic attitudes and says he is honoured to be a member. In 1798 he handed in a description of Laurvig Earldom; its administration, history, geographic outreach, rivers and lakes and so on. In an attachment he outlined the family tree for the founder or Laurvigen

21 Eriksen 2000:5.

22 Eliassen 2007:243 ff.

23 Hesselberg 1921. The Residence is mentioned almost every year and sometimes several times 1821–1900.

Earldom, known as one of the earliest examples of genealogy in local history tradition. Whether Schelven did this on is own initiative is not known. The fact that he was employed by the earl himself, who had helped him when he was a young student in Copenhagen by giving him the position as 'Informator' (house teacher) for his youngest daughter (Schelven actually lived in the earls palace), might have had some influence on his pioneer work.[24]

Another example is found in Norsk Penning-Magazin' in 1836. The magazine was an early example of press freedom and the cultural movement growing stronger in the second half of the century. It was meant for public education and the authors were officials, theologians and students. An objective and historic review of the Earldom and its owners was given. The Residence was described as a building which had the honour of giving shelter to royal and princely persons, however in 1821 the citizens of Laurvig bought it for the purpose of town hall, and flats for the vicar and the parish clerk.[25]

The shift from being a feudal to a democratic town had an aspect of national rapture to it represented by the editor of the first local news paper in 1834 and his rage towards any remnant of former Danish dominion. Hans Christian Hansen was an outspoken representative of the so called 'wergelandske strømninger' and exploited every opportunity to mock the towns aristocratic past, and those who showed any affection towards it.[26]

What about local peoples memories and opinions about the building; stories told by those who worked in the garden, kitchen and the princely chambers? It seems like those who actually lived and worked in the building were the ones influenced and reminded of the building's past. Among these were students, teachers and the vicar telling ghost stories about 'the Earl' and one of his mourning and abandoned women.[27] Local 'memory work' did not constitute enough power to turn commemoration into a monument, or say a museum. So where did that power come from?

J. R.Gillis says that 'nineteenth-century commemorations were largely for, but not of, the people. Fallen kings and martyred revolutionary leaders were remembered, generals had their memorials, but ordinary participants in war and revolution were consigned to oblivion'.[28] The Norwegian kings and heroes brought back from the long gone past were not Danish kings and noble men from the fifteenth century, and definitively not those who had represented the 'dual monarchy' in a very tangible way in Larvik. On a national level the consciousness of cultural heritage was in its early awakening Norway the 1840's, first and foremost among prominent persons and the upper class and under strong influence of the humanistic science eager to study Norwegian history as a key to national identity. It was an urgent political issue to proclaim Norwegians with an independent history dating as far back as possible.[29] From a national cultural heritage point of view, the old earldoms of Vestfold were of particular interest, namely because of the number of medieval churches and not at least its archaeological sites. From 1860 and onwards many hundreds of moulds, the majority dating from Iron Age were excavated, crowned by the Oseberg find in 1904. The objects were brought to the capital Christiania for further conservation and for the creation of one of the great narratives about the Norwegian Viking. At the end of the century five archaeological museums were established, followed by the 1905 Act for the Preservation of Antiquities. Responsibility for ancient cultural monuments was clearly assigned to the museums. In 1844

24 Fagerli 1998.
25 Norsk Penning-Magazin. 1836.
26 Langeland 1953:227–236.
27 Knudtzon 1945:94.
28 Gillis 1994:9.
29 Ågotnes 2000.

'Fortidsminnforeningen' (The Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments) was founded. Its purpose of was to

> ..discover, examine and maintain Norwegian cultural heritage monuments, in particular those which could enlighten the Cultural Awareness of the People and their Appreciation of Art from the Past, as well as to make these Objects known to the General Public through Illustration and Description.[30]

From 1905 and onwards the conservation of architectural heritage became the primary task of 'Fortidsminneforeningen', accompanied by a new interest in the rich architectural culture from the centuries after the medieval era.[31] In Larvik the magic sleep was soon over, but to what kind of reality was the Princely Residence about to wake up to?

1900–1940: The Re-Construction of a Monument

> In this particular case work has been more complicated than usual because the building's interiors dates from two or rather three different styles, one hidden behind the other, all of them equal of importance, layers upon layers of paint, distorted and often damaged. (…) The premise was to restore the building, not 'repair' or 'clean', as this would have made a chaotic ruin. But to reconstruct with consistent palette of colours.[32]

In July 1929 the decorative painter and conservator Domenico Erdmann[33] left Larvik for good. His merit had been to restore the Residence, at this point of time the name had shifted to the more common: *the Manor House*. He visited the building for the first time in 1919, and in his journals he refers to the project as one of his most prominent and difficult.[34] In the years gone as well in those to come debate flourished on a national level as well as in the local society. Erdmann disagreed with Riksantikvaren (the Directorate for Cultural Heritage) on restoration principles and with the director of the Norwegian Cultural History Museum on extradition of cultural heritage material. The latter fought to acquire examples from the Manor House, but the temperamental Erdman never gave in.[35]

On a local level strong hatred towards Denmark and everything that tasted 'Danish' in general can be registered in Larvik, but despite all the different ambitions pushing and pulling in various directions the Manor House's transformation into a museum was forwarded. I have found it helpful to apply some of the perspectives from Arne Bugge Amundsens article *Museum som fortelling: Sted, rom og fortellerunivers* when looking closer into this process. Particularly the presented alternative:

> to see how museums are arenas for more or less official narratives about themselves, their activities, and their characteristics. What 'is history about' - seen through the 'eyes' of the cultural history museum. This approach does not only imply how museums tell about themselves, but as well one should look at how they legitimize or authorize their own lines and their own identity.[36]

30 The Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments: Available at: http://www.fortidsminne foreningen.no/English.
31 Fett 1912.
32 Erdmann D.J. 1926. 1921-28. Journal for restaureringsarbeidene. Nasjonalbiblioteket.
33 Erdman was the first conservator employed by Riksantikvaren (The Directorate for Cultural Heritage). The bureau, was founded in 1913.
34 Erdmann D.J. 1921-28. Journal for restaureringsarbeidene. Nasjonalbiblioteket.
35 Letter from Hansteen to Bødtker 18/2. 1925. Håndskriftsamlingen, Nasjonalbiblioteket.
36 Bugge Amundsen 2003:72.

In 1901 a new epoch started for the Manor House. At last, after having outlived several fire onsets, hundreds of pupils slamming doors and drawing graffiti on the walls, and freezing residents always in process of rebuilding and adding more and more layers to cover up insufficiencies, something happened which focused the building and its history. This year the Manor House was mentioned when the city council discussed whether to participate in the National Cultural History Exhibition in Christiania (Oslo). Those who forwarded the case in Larvik were good citizens, and with an outspoken historical interest. They urged the exhibition was of particular interest to Larvik and proposed that the following should be put on display:

> Characteristic lists of inhabitants with name and position, dwelling etc from before or after the beginning of the 19th century. Descriptions of houses, valuations, maps, curious conveyances, old costumes and uniforms for the police and firearms, costumes from night watchman, objects like drums, bells, and 'Morgenstjerner'. Treasures from the churches and old chasubles. Copies of rooms perhaps with a kitchen, and with motives taken from the manor house, the old hospital or other houses. The rooms should have moulding boards, doors and windows and iron stoves from Fritzøe iron mill. Useful and decorative objects, porcelain, paintings of ships and portraits. Furniture made by the local craftsmen and silver from local goldsmith. [37]

In 1904 the vicar Torbjørn Frølich in Christiania wrote to architect Schirmer in Fortidsminneforeningen and told him about "the so called Manor House of Larvik, a building supposed to be erected by Gyldenløve".[38] Another 12 year after this incident the Magistrat and Chief Constable in Larvik, appealed to his good citizens for the founding of a town museum. One of the buildings suitable to house a museum was the former Residence, now the 'Manor House'. A committee was appointed and besides the protection of cultural heritage in the town and surrounding rural districts, their ambition was to take Larvik to the same cultural level as its neighbour town.[39] The first paragraph in the museums statutes was:

> To build a museum for Larvik and its surroundings. Its purpose is to collect and protect everything which might shed light on the town's and the rural district's culture in times past and particularly to protect and if possible bring 'The Manor House' back to its original being. [40]

The initiative had already gained support from Riksantikvaren. He suggested that the museum should be built on local traditions, the obvious site was the Manor House and it would also be worthwhile to try to reconstruct the surrounding garden. The following times to come were busy as the plan was to open the museum for the town's 250 years anniversary. An important element in the preparations for the celebration was the historic work on the town's history. The task was assigned to the historian Oscar Albert Johnson. In the instructions for the chapter on 'The Manor House' the editor instructed:

> I kindly as you to collect all your sketches notes and articles about the manor house, at least the knowledge important to the town at its citizens. I suppose that manorial life has been followed with anxious attention form the townspeople in olden times, therefore

37 Hesselberg 1920:66.
38 Riksantikvarens arkiv.
39 Østlands-Posten, 8. mars 1916.
40 Ketilsson 1966: 4.

> culture history is relevant, and however you should make a point of the side of manorial life facing the town. [41]

The work was published in 20 booklets in 1921 and completed in 1923. The genealogy, the county and the dual monarchy had been subject to topographic and historic works already, however for he first time the Residence/the Manor House was focused as an important element. With no ambition of analysing the text in depth, much weight it was put on the Earl Gyldenløve, as individual and his importance to the town. One chapters was: 'Gyldenløve's town' and another: 'Social and cultural conditions during the Gyldenløve Era'. Ulrik Frederik Gylden-løve already had a special status both in public commemoration and history works in Norway. Even tough he was Danish; he was referred to as friend of the peasants and for his reform of Norwegian legislation. Legends were told about him, and to a certain degree he might be accepted as a hero to be commemorated – on a national level.[42]

The17. December 1920 the city council in Larvik met to discuss the future of a building they had discussed so many times, only this time they discussed it as a monument and cultural heritage and a museum. The situation turned into a confused and aggressive argument. The issue was whether the Manor House could still be used for public functions, or should it be turned into – something else. Was it possible to use it for various purposes – and still protect it as cultural heritage? One said it ought to be converted into a barracks, since they had neither money nor the skills to protect it. Another claimed it was possible to do both, use it for public purpose and protect it as a distinguished and venerable monument.[43]

The restoration process was started and went on and interacted with to the writing of the history all along. In its initial phase the project was presented in national newspapers and magazines[44]. The headlines and articles depicted the manor House as if this was another Oseberg find. An archaeological excavation, although more colourful, vivid and resurrecting the forgotten lives of the earls. The architecture and decorations dating from the Baroque Period which had been encapsulated gradually came forth. Art historians, architects and historians were enthusiastic as this happened exactly at the same time as attention was directed toward conservation of architectural heritage, accompanied by a new interest in the rich architectural culture from the centuries after the medieval era. The Residence was protected by the Cultural Heritage Act in 1923, and even though local politicians in Larvik feared the expenses of a restoration, they actually had no choice but to bring it back to pomp and ceremony – and 'hereby the town might obtain a cultural monument of importance and of eminent art historic and historic value' as declared the Riksantikvaren. The national attention was towards the buildings cultural heritage values and categorization as a 'live monument' opposing 'dead monuments' [45]

The museum society managed to establish a deal with the municipality, that nothing should be done to the building that might diminish it's the value, and they were given premises for the museum. The restoration was governed from a national level by Erdmann and Riksantikvaren, 'history' was edited by a historian. The museum process however, was attended to by local people. What ideals and principles for guidance and formation were available?

41 Letter from O.A. Johnson to K.E. Bødtker 18/4 1918. Håndskriftsamlingen, Nasjonalbiblioteket.
42 Rian 1976, Øverland 1891-95 and other.
43 Østlandsposten . 18. December 1920.
44 Aftenposten and Tidens Tegn 1920 and 1921.
45 Aftenposten 9. April 1921.

Ideal Form and Authorized Content [46]

The birth of the museum in Norway in the late nineteenth century was strongly related to a complex set of factors in society; the modernisation of industry, transports, science and urbanisation. In Norway like in other European countries the national aspect was important, combined with ideals from the Enlightenment. The old society was about to be abandoned, and the overall mentality was progressive and future-oriented. Museums are described as important elements in the national scheme established to support nation-building, national values and identity.

"Det Kongelige Norske Videnskaabers Selskab" (The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters) founded in 1760 inspired the formation of encyclopaedic museums in the major cities with natural history objects, antiquities, ethnographic material and medieval collections. The Norwegian University was founded in the capital Christiania (Oslo) in 1817 and laid ground for museums like Etnografisk Museum (the Ethnographic Museum) and Oldsaksamlingen (the Antiquity Collection). The function of these early museums was scientific and inspired by similar museums and milieus in England and Denmark. Displays were governed by the principles of classicistic scientific taxonomy. From about 1860 and until 1940 evolutionism dominated museums scientific analysis and the way collections and displays were organized.

The idea of heritage as important for nation building had its roots in the national Romantic Movement. The philosophy of the German philosopher Johan Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) was an important impulse to the history subject, as well as for the focus on national heritage. From his point of view the common people represented the national, the authentic and something that was genuine, original and untouched by foreign influence. The genuine Norwegian was associated with rural culture and the peasant. Folk art was particularly suited to demonstrate the character of people and places. The remains of history could shed light on and concretize the native people's character and unique history. In Norway it was an urgent task to demonstrate that the country was a native people and a nation through history. History was given the role of shaping identity, besides its traditional scientific function. Parallel to nation-building cultural regionalisation and consciousness was a parallel movement. There was no contradiction between nation-building and weight put on the regional/local; remote areas were understood as just another approach to the national. For the birth of the museum in Norway the connection between cultural heritage and nation-building became increasingly more important towards the 20th century.

About 1900 the various museums had developed their institutional form and their hallmarks. A main structure based on ideas and concepts rather than a hierarchic model based on geography or governmental funding model, is proposed by Ragnar Pedersen which includes encyclopaedic museums, university museums, enlightening museums, cultural history museums/open air museums, commemorative museums and theme museums. Their responsibility could be nationwide, or of national importance as symbolising the cultural and scientific level of the Norwegian nation.

The Norwegian Museum of Cultural history was the prototype of an open-air museum in Norway, but it also had important impact on regional museums and cultural history museums in general from the beginning of the century until after World War 2. An interesting aspect of this museum was its overall or holistic view on the native country. Both the rural districts and cities were represented, mainly as "high" or "low" culture or bourgeoisie culture and folk culture.[47] A division was made between "the national section" and the section for "the towns

46 The pharagraph is mainly based on Pedersens 2003: Noen trekk av museenes historie i Norge fram til tidlig 1900-tall in *Museer i fortid og nåtid: Essays i museumskunnskap.*

47 Lie Christensen 2003:100.

and the upper class"[48]. The scheme was carried trough both in the open air section and inside the exhibition halls with displays based on typology and style. The museum proved to be a success, and copies were initiated on a regional level. Dag Vestheim[49] writes that the regional museums were within a national culture tradition. Their superior cultural historic and cultural policy context was national, and sometimes international. The government supported their foundation financially, first and foremost the establishments in the middle of Norway, where folk culture would be particularly strong.[50]

The responsibility of the regional museums was to collect and exhibit regional and local cultural tradition. Examples on institutions near and relevant to Larvik was e.g. the Drammens museum in Buskerud County founded 1908. It reflected the same program as Norsk Folkmusum, and collected both rural culture regarded as 'folk culture' with little attention towards individuals, as well as 'town culture' understood as the culture of important families and individuals. Other relevant museums are Skien Museum in Telemark County, established in 1909 and Tønsberg museum (later Vestfold County Museum) in Vestfold County in 1894. The 'town section' exhibition in the latter was re-organised as late as in the 1950's, still following the scheme handed down from the prototype. Displays are based on style: Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Roccoco, Louis XVI and narratives reflecting the important families and their continental inspired style of life[51].

The larger museum context was probably well known to those who initiated formation of a museum in Larvik. Was it their ambition to introduce the typological and stylistic approach into the seventeenth century princely residence? The chosen name, 'The Manor House' indicates this modest alternative and so does collecting and displays: Larvik like other places experienced old patrician buildings and their beautiful gardens disappeared, as well as traditional institutions and traditions, arts and craft – probably associated with the middle class values, and as well the minimal representation of high class culture. It also had an educational aspect, to teach about good taste and high standards. The exhibition of 1901 evoked local feelings and pride. 'We cover for almost every style, from Renaissance to Louis XVI.'[52] Even rural objects were on display, perfectly arranged in the kitchen section. What seems to have become more and more a challenge was history and the restoration, in which direction the contour of a cultural monument and commemorative museum grew.

To sum up: It seems like it was actually events like the publishing of 'history' and the restoration process that legitimized the museum. The supposed ambitions to become like other town museums or regional museums turned out rather half-hearted and actually failed, as the museum did not expand its ambitions and territory until the 1970's. What came into existence was, in Ragnar Pedersen's terms, a 'minnemuseum'[53] – commemorative museum, relating to the importance of ancient monuments and the content of meaning as symbols and metaphors for important historical events, and as well important individuals. This group of museums concretize central values for the society, and their symbolic content have storytelling power. One Norwegian example is 'Eidsvoldsminnet' founded in commemoration of the historical events leading up to the signing and sealing of the constitution in 1814.[54]

The commemoration of Gyldenløve, his and his successors' activities in the Earldom could not happen without history and not without the Manor House itself. It is tempting to imply

48 The division is kept until today, however in more neutral terms as "town section" and "rural districts".
49 Vestheim 1994:48.
50 According to Lise Emilie Fossmo Talleraas and her coming thesis on Norwegian museums.
51 Thoresen 1996: 4–13.
52 Letter from Hansteen to Bødtker 22/2 1922. Håndskriftsamlingen, Nasjonalbiblioteket.
53 Pedersen 2003:41.
54 The building was purchased in 1837 as a national heritage and opened for the public.

that commemoration was planned and arranged for, echoing seventeenth and eighteenth century. 'Every thing was arranged for the transition from history to memory, and for it to happen in a correct manner. The place would carry the right message. It was coded with meaning which could be read and experienced, valuated and re-created by those who visited the place.'[55]

In 1925 a small part of the old garden was opened to the public. In the east corner a column was raised, the antiquarians and historians thought it to be from Gyldenløves residence. In an ironic and mocking comment in the local news paper says that first and foremost it is ugly and stupid, and then:

> At this place, one has decided to raise a 'monument'. This man, like everyone else, had good qualities. However, qualities are not the most characteristic about this person. It is a fact that he ruled during the darkest period in Norwegian history. Remembering this, it gives good reason to be surprised about the exaggerated constraint made to protect the memory of this man. As far as I know, no one has raised a monument for those who represent progress. [56]

The commemoration of 'the 400-year night' turned its page again.

From the Backyard of National Museums

My initial standpoint was from the backyard of national museums and the national narrative, asking if the process of restoring an old manor house, or rather a princely residence, might shed some light on museums, monuments and nation-building in Norway. I also hoped for an opening towards new approaches to the group of manor houses and mansions which exist as monuments and museums today.

Fig. 2 Colum in the Manor House garden.

55 Eriksen 1999:95.
56 Nybrott 29/9 1929.

So where did this journey take us, and how to proceed?

The story of the Residence of Larvik its days of glory, oblivion and resurrection has strong connections to the Absolute Monarchy from 1660-1814. First and foremost it must be related to other quasi-princely earldoms and baronies erected in Denmark-Norway during the same period of time. One way of approaching its extended meaning and broad cultural content is as shown, to look for practice, events, traditions which can be analysed in depth and compared with similar situations elsewhere. The king's entry-example implies new modes of understanding the historicity of the building and elements relevant to the terms 'nation' and nation-building'. In its turn this may revise interpretation and displays for the future museum.

The transition from former glory to a more modest, common and social acceptable role and use is something the Residence share with many of the scattered and dissimilar group of manors and mansions in Norway. What happened to the various buildings and their interiors during the nineteenth century? What was written about them? How were they memorized? How did they fall into oblivion?[57]

And finally: How did manor houses and mansions find their way into museums? This is a story yet to be told, and it deserves to be looked into. The national attention given to the Manor House in Larvik in the 1920'es was towards its cultural heritage values and categorization as a 'live monument' opposing 'dead monuments'. The building was an example of continental architecture and decorative art, and the restoration brought back what was once lost. As cultural heritage monument the Residence was seemingly successful, and because of its status as 'living heritage' it could serve public entertainment like concerts, representative dinners and so on, which it actually still does. The perspective on 'dead' and 'live' monuments and further consequences for the museum function during the first decades of the twentieth century is an interesting question, and so it might be for other mansions and manor houses as well.

It seems like the Recidence/the Manor House in Larvik was less suited for the big picture as a legitimate part of the national narrative, communicated by national and regional institutions. It could not easily be modified to the bourgeoisie way of narrating important families, individuals and their activities to the prosperity and progress of the Norwegian nation. The alternative; commemoration of a Danish aristocrat was controversial. The town was reluctant to embrace its *museum*. Was it because its content of meaning could not be accepted as collective commomeration? Will there be a second chance?

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57 The theoretical discussion in Eriksen 1999, Urry 1996, Gillis 1994.

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