NaMu

Linköping University

Making National Museums: Comparing institutional arrangements, narrative scope and cultural integration (NaMu)

NaMu IV   # Comparing: National Museums, Territories, Nation-Building and Change

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Comparing National Museums:
Methodological Reflections

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The article sets out to define the need for comparing national museums as complex cultural processes. To do this questions are developed that concern the workings of institutions as arenas for cultural policy and identity politics in relation to central fields of knowledge. Methodological considerations for designing a comparative project are presented, and finally four fields of comparative endeavours related to different sets of state-making processes are presented:

An all-encompassing European comparison (including colonial endeavours) on the path taken by various nations to establish the place of national museums and the role they play in the creation of community.

An in-depth study of how the national display in a selection of countries creates visions of cultural community. How do they deal with differences and belongings on a super-national level and how do they relate to regional differences?

From a citizens' perspective the intentions of cultural policy or institutional ambitions might be of little importance. This part will simulate visitor experience of national narratives in a comparative selection of capitals from project one, in order to develop an understanding of how citizen experience relates to the more structural findings in the other sub-projects and hence map in what directions citizenship and community are moving through contemporary displays of national community.

The place of national museums in changing knowledge regimes.

National Cultural Heritage

Rather surprisingly, reflections on public historical culture have not been de-nationalized by comparative approaches to the same extent as research on nationalism. Partly this is due to the fact that Cultural Heritage, as a field, is one of the complex responses to contemporary challenges producing more or less open constructions of collective identity with a new frenzy from the 1990s onwards. Furthermore, the competence for analysing public history culture is multidisciplinary, yet fragmented. Therefore, the need for and benefit of trans-national, trans-disciplinary action to connect research and knowledge is extraordinary. Fields of knowledge already in practice in the present re-activation of national museums and with the potential to create active research, reflexivity and training environment do exist also in different multi-disciplinary settings: public history (USA), history culture (Germany) and museum and heritage studies in several countries adding to all disciplinary islands of research relevant to the topic. They often focus on one major national institution for public history in order to (re)construct its history, use it as a case in a theoretical argument in a post-colonial, foucauldian or educational context, to criticise or to facilitate the current development. By bringing disciplinary and multi-disciplinary fields together with a sharp and comparative focus on national museums the NaMu program forms a new departure for understanding and analysing European diversity in this central institution.

Ambitions of NaMu

A comparative strategy has to be instrumental to a set of research questions. For NaMu these are broad but not all encompassing:

1. As an organisation a national museum may be a single building hosting something labelled National Museum or perhaps a cluster of National Museums of culture, art and natural histories. *The different ways of organising the form and content of national public display is in itself the first of the comparative questions raised: What forces and intentions are materialised in the institutional form and division of labour between national museums?*

2. *The second question is related to the content of the narratives presented by the national museums*: what political order and what values are legitimised? Who are presented as actors (bad and good) in the formation of the nation, what "we" in terms of territory, class, gender, ethnicity etc, forms the proper national community? What is the destiny of the people? Towards what does the narrative point in terms of ethical and utopian dimension in the future? On what levels and with what analytical tools is it possible and fruitful to read the messages and the negotiations that the national museums are part of?

3. *The third question has to do with the results: What is the place of the national museum in culture at large?* The question could be answered in terms of visitor figures, by analysing its place 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? Does it correspond with old dominant traditions stabilising and legitimising the present order? Does it 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? What are the more powerful and successful narratives in terms of reaching various goals defined scientifically, politically, culturally and economically? This is of course one of the hardest questions to answer, and to find applicable methods for answering. The need for theory is obvious. Museums do express hope and an urge to act upon people and society, but does it work the way people hope or fear?

National Museums: A Four Dimensional Object of Research

What defines a national museum needs some elaboration to balance the need for clarity with the demand for flexibility to work across two centuries and a continent. It is not only the question of finding a working definition for an analytical concept. The concept is in itself part of the cultural process, defined and contested by historical actors. As an analytical concept it can be preliminary delimited by the overlapping of the two defining concepts the heading contains. It brings the moulding of public museum traditions together with nation-states and especially the making of national master-narratives. As an organisation a national museum may be a single building hosting something labelled National Museum or perhaps a cluster of national museums of culture, art and natural histories. *The different ways of organising the form and content of national public display is in itself the first of the comparative questions raised: What forces and intentions are materialised in the institutional form and division of labour between national museums?*

There are several ways to meet the question of defining the national museum. The *methodological* way chosen in NaMu is to view the creation of the concept and the institutions as historical processes 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. Initiatives for building national museums were often a response to the challenges the Napoleonic wars, and the simultaneous museum acquisitions and exhibition ideals developed in France.[1]

This means the definition must be dynamic enough to host an array of questions raised and also to allow for historical change – and yet be able to discriminate cases outside the comparative scope. The proposed dimension is not stipulating a definite shape of a National Museum, but rather a model of how to specify the considerations necessary to deal with in defining more precise comparative tasks within the broader framework. This is not an easy task and I propose a four dimensional definition to be able to discuss what kind of cases we do or do not compare.

1. *Ownership*. The nature of stakeholders, formal owners and financiers is one obvious defining dimension. It could be comprehensibly presented with a scale from state to national, overlapped by an axis where judicial forms move to more subtle forms of ideological and cultural legitimate claims. State ownership is clear-cut enough but not entirely so: the state owns other things than national museums. A national ownership can be organized in various ways, as foundations or even as private, if accepted in the public sphere as speaking of or about national commonalities. Usually this recognition takes the form of at least some legal protection and state funding.

2. *Field*. There is a great abundance of enclosure of the type of collections designated with national importance. I suggest that the basic varieties can be separated into four groups: art (aesthetic objects), cultural/historical (us), ethnographic (them) and natural (facts of the natural world). A fifth group is comprised of all the museums that are recognized as nationally specific according to national historiography and self-understanding: a maritime museum in Lisbon might be one case. They can be grouped into the four types mentioned above, but would in another national setting not be regarded as national since their special meaning is so closely knit to national historiography.

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1   Various approaches are illustrated and discussed already in the first NaMu meeting and published in Aronsson, Peter. "Making National Museums: comparing institutional arrangements, narrative scope and cultural integration." In *NaMu, making national museums program, setting the frames, 26–28 February, Norrköping, Sweden [Elektronisk resurs] Linköping electronic conference proceedings (Online), 22*, edited by Peter Aronsson and Magdalena Hillström, (eds.), pp. 5–12. Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press, 2007..

Those are the aspects that we discuss the most, but the following ones are even more important as they are of a more theoretical nature and important to keep track of in order to know if we are really discussing the same type of instances when comparing.

3. *Process/dynamics*. In a linear model the establishment of a museum or the communication of a message might be modelled as a series of events from creating an idea, an institution, a house and collection, exhibiting and surrounding the dissemination with a program for visitors who acquire the message (or not) reusing it making a functional footprint of the activities. Even if this model is too linear – there is feedback all along the line, or turned upside down for theoretical reasons, the point here is to know where in this process our arguments come in: do we study the institutional dynamics or museum utopias – and use them as argument for how they work through visitors? Can this be justified through theoretical arrangement or even enhanced with comparative approach? In either case certain clarity in this dimension is often revealing since many of us do investigate on one level and draw arguments on another.

4. *Articulation.* In the last dimension it is of importance to make clear on what level of articulation the object of comparison is constructed. At the most articulated level we find theoretical arguments: coherent and explicit systems of thought explaining the idea of the museum. At the next step downwards to silent and implicit statements we find clear but fragmented statements, like propaganda, which might well be contradictory to the ones used tomorrow or for another audience. Next we have open action (on the dimensions above) defining another level of interpretation. All these can be used to read more implicit levels of mentalities, attitudes, values, forgetting, repression etc.

Defining the national museum by these criteria is obviously a methodological groundwork of great importance to the possible impact of any comparative argument. The idea is not to include too many arguments on the actual workings of the museum in the defining process, separating the explanans from explanandum at some distance even though the hermeneutics of the approach is evident. Hence different logics of ideology, economy, pleasure, entertainment and education will be treated later on under theoretical considerations rather than using them in order to define the object. Obviously an object in an art museum could have all of these effects, depending on situation and context.

Comparative Methodology

Systematic comparison might be done for different reasons:

a) In order to *generalize*: by comparing several processes of creation and the functions 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 those communal forces, but perhaps also other negotiable factors might be worth exploring comparatively: gender, regional, class, traumatic conflicts or tensions due to rapid change. In its strongest universalising form it would produce a covering law predicting under what circumstances a certain phenomenon appears, for example the establishment of national museums or a post-modern challenge of traditional narratives. The ambition is to cover all instances with a single theoretical statement.

b) To *explore variation* and to nuance generalizations and stereotypical images of national museums. This can of course be done through singular counter-examples in a critical mode, but it would be more productive and refined if several examples are used not only to question the general truths but also to qualify them. Then the ambition would again be to make a complete mapping, but not in order to cover all empirical instances by one theoretical statement but rather with a set of categories. Any attempt to describe various strategies or paths for developing national museums dependent on the trajectory of state-making, allowing for politics and skills of active patrons, would fall into this category.

c) If the variation is related to an *encompassing unitary context,* this is a third perspective on the comparative task. This could be exemplified by discussing how the ensemble of various museums play orchestrated roles in a national system in order to produce a national scientific or ideological part on the whole.

d) To *individualize and contrast.* Even if the main concern for the researcher is not comparative there is in fact always an implicit comparison made, 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 studies, and a more careful contextualisation, bordering on a comparative approach, would in many ways 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.

e) The main object of comparative exploration may also, with Marc Bloch as a prominent forerunner, be to develop new questions that do not appear when the object under scrutiny is analyzed in only one context. The whole NaMu project is in fact working mainly under this condition to heuristically, stimulated by questions arising from a multitude of perspectives, to form rejuvenated research platforms for individual and joint ventures. A platform for comparative research is developed step by step.[2]

A more rigorous scientific comparison would demand at least as many cases as there are variables to consider, and the ability to hold other parameters fixed while they vary. This is not possible in most cases where a complex cultural phenomenon is studied, too many parameters are part of the theoretical background or not known well enough to be given a proper position in the theoretical framework. However, it is necessary to let go of some complexity in order to be able to make some of the possible gains of comparative reflection. Basically there are two quite opposite ways to go about the selection of a comparative sample.

Most different selection. If we have a very good idea and theory of what to investigate this might be optimal: post-colonial settings, gender- and nation-making theory predict certain similarities that can be explored in quite different cultural or epochal settings.

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 with similar cultural, political and economical environments, like Wales and Scotland, or Finland and Norway, England and France

There is a diversity of worldwide surveys to draw inspiration from for the comparative design: state-making, democratization, community-building, modernization, values and attitudes and historiographical narration are among the relevant processes that have been mapped in large scale investigations. Some examples are the broad studies done by political scientists on political culture: Barrington Moore, Sidney & Verba, and Stein Rokkan. But also more recent social scientists like Immanuel Wallerstein, Michael Mann, Manuel Castells and Charles Tilly would be possible to draw on, especially for large scale but "thin" comparative

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2   There is a huge amount of literature, circulating around similar appreciations of the possibilities, mainly differing regarding hopes for universality and the urge to explain versus the amtion to understand and heuristcally develop perspectives at the issues at hand. Skocpol, Theda, and Margaret Somers. "The Uses of Comparativ History in Macrosocial Inquiry." *Comparative studies in society and history* (1980): pp. 174–97; Tilly, Charles. *Big structures, large processes, huge comparisons.* New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984; Bloch, Marc. "Toward a Comparative History of European Societies." In *Enterprise and Secular Change*, edited by Fredric C Lane, (ed.). London, 1953; Landman, Todd. *Issues and methods in comparative politics : an introduction.* 3rd ed. 1 vols. London: Routledge, 2007; Ragin, Charles C. *The comparative method : moving beyond qualitative and quantitative strategies.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987; Denk, Thomas. *Komparativ metod. Förståelse genom jämförelse*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2002..

approaches of certain aspects. [3] I will dwell somewhat on the state-making perspective, which I think is a powerful actor, and only mention briefly some additional dimensions that might be fruitfully adopted in order to connect issues of national logic to visitor attraction and citizen perspectives.

Nation-Building and Museum Strategies

As the creation of national museums here is focused as a major player in the nation-making process, this is one of the contextualizing comparative contexts that needs to be addressed. Two major research traditions of relevance to the creation of the modern state exist. The first one deals with the establishment of the early modern state, and the second is oriented towards the modernization-period dealing with nation-building. They discern quite different forces of dynamics where, simplified no doubt, the emphasis on early state-making is on the power of war. The precise negotiation of social forces to achieve military potential to survive determines the variety of forms for early modern state making and the creation of a modern bureaucracy. For the later phase the ideological investments are given more space in the well-known approach of nationalism research. Often the modernization approach is connected to the development of a market-economy and sometimes more critical credit is given to the evolving global World system of unequal exchange. [4]

There are some major comparative projects in the late 1990's that give us reason to believe that power analyzes of the early modern period underestimate the level of ideological investment in religious structures but also in political dialogue (though not necessarily in the political theory of absolutism, always a prerequisite for legitimate rule on a longer term and with reasonable costs). Some have argued that absolutist rhetoric discloses a lack of control and that parliamentary rhetoric discloses a firmer grip on society, already in early modern times. [5] Further more it seems that propaganda for the masses was part and parcel of the governmental practice also in the 17th and 18th Centuries. The transformation of the Louvre is put forward as a typical nationalization created by Napoleon but the fact is that the Versailles was visited from its opening, and directions were given through guide-books. Already in the early modern period artefacts were gradually perceived as pieces of art in their own right, in addition to their role as representations of religion and power. Similar observations can be made in the European periphery of Sweden. The contemporaries perceived this transformation from allegoric classicism to more secular modernism as a crisis of representation already in the 17th Century. [6] The radicality of the Napoleonic Louvre was its claim to liberate art from

3   Berger, Stefan. "National Historiographies in Transnational Perspective: Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries." *Storia della Storiografia*, no. 50 (2006): pp. 3–26; Almond, Gabriel A., and Sidney Verba. *The civic culture: political attitudes and democracy in five nations: an analytical study.* 2. ed, The Little, Brown series in comparative politics,. Boston,, 1965; Moore, Barrington. *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy : lord and peasant in the making of the modern world.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973.

4   Leading work for the first approach are: Tilly, Charles (ed.). *The formation of national states in Western Europe*, Studies in political development, 8. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P., 1975.

5   An excellent overview, unfortunately not provided by the large scale ESF program itself is accessible in Swedish. Gustafsson, Harald. "Den gamla staten på nya äventyr. Synpunkter på nyare statsbildningsforskning." *Scandia* 72, no. 1 (2006): s. 93–117; Blickle, Peter, (ed.). *Resistance, representation and community*, The origins of the modern state in Europe, 13th-18th centuries,. Oxford: Clarendon, 1997.

6   Burke, Peter. *The Demise of Royal Mythologies*, Iconography, propaganda, and legitimation. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

history and free it from its historic boundedness. In this, and in its state centred organization, it was a completely different project than the British Museum.[7]

Scholars have pushed the question of how negotiation of identity on various arenas is essential for understanding the formation of nations, already before the 19th Century.[8] This research presents a more fruitful line of research than the reified positions between primordialists and constructivists often structuring debates on the nature of nationalism. In particular it presents a background for the importance of reflecting on the negotiation of identities, also when dealing with such seemingly scientific and obscure matters as museums of geology and fossils.[9] When that happens, around 1800, it opens a new arena where the more general process of negotiation of power and knowledge can take place. It is not new in nature but presents a general dynamic of political/cultural negotiation creating the context of knowledge, worldview and legitimacy urgent for any society to agree upon.

Systematic collection did start out from a more general desire to order the world, grasp the unknown and to share splendour and knowledge with peers, if expanded from an early modern treasury museum, to a cabinet of curiosity. Successive opening and redirection to a national audience occurred already in the ancient regime, but was concluded by the transformation into nation-state. The successive spread of the model went, on a macro-historical scale and in accordance with regular models of colonialism and globalization, almost simultaneously to the white colonies in Charleston (1773), Rio de Janeiro (1815), Sydney (1821), Cape Town (1825). The first global boom was in the decades after 1870, also the high-tide of imperial expansionism and the second wave has been in the phase of post-colonial nationalism after the Second World War.[10] The need for national display to complement the political process seems, from then on, to be a strong driving-force over-determining the desire for knowledge. Enhancing popular education by a national museum might have been the political target in Scotland and India, or just the possible argument to get imperial support for such a potential disruptive investment in the peripheries. An ambiguous dimension is always present if there is an ongoing negotiation rather than just a dissemination of propaganda or monolithical discourse.[11] Ordering the political frames determines the doxa of the museums, at least on the signifying level of national public.

For the later development there is an interesting argument by Janet Coleman on the relationship between the simultaneous development of a strong state and the development of an increasingly viable individual. Though the relationship might not be a necessary one, and

7 Déotte, Jean-Louise. "Rome, the Archetypal Museum, and the Louvre, the Negation of Division." In *Art in museums, New research in museum studies, 5*, edited by Susan Pearce, (ed.), x, 292 s. London: Athlone Press, 1995. In Preziosi, Donald, and Claire J. Farago, (Eds.). *Grasping the world: the idea of the museum*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004.

8 Kidd, Colin. British identities before nationalism : ethnicity and nationhood in the Atlantic world, 1600–1800. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999.

9 Knell, Simon J. "Museums, fossils and the cultural revolution of science: m apping change in the politics of knowledge in early nineteenth-century museums." In *Museum revolutions: how museums and change and are changed*, edited by Simon J. Knell, Suzanne Macleod and Sheila E. R. Watson, (eds.), xxvi, 385 s. London ; New York: Routledge, 2007..

10 Robertson and Lewis, from Prösler, Martin. "Museums and globalization." In *Theorizing museums: representing identity and diversity in a changing world*, edited by Sharon Macdonald, Gordon Fyfe and (eds.), 236. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

11 Nair, Savithri Preetha. "Economic logic versus Enlightenment rationality: evolution of the museum-zoo-garden complex and the modern Indian city, 1843–1900." In *Museum revolutions: how museums and change and are changed*, edited by Simon J. Knell, Suzanne Macleod and Sheila E. R. Watson, (eds.), xxvi, 385 s. London ; New York: Routledge, 2007.. Wales and Scotland by Rhiannon Mason, Andrew Newby and Linda Andersson Burnett at *Comparing National Museums: Nordic Culture - National History*. Panel at ESHC, Lisbon, 080301.

this might be a very important observation to prohibit a linear tendency present in so much of the modernization strand of macro-sociological theory, as argued by Antony Black: The early development of Greek individuality did not have a modern state to support its expressions; Islam is an individualistic religion which do not implicate a western state development at the early modern period. The modern nation-state did not erase the old bonds but established a new one to a citizenry.[12] We might ad that the formal power to transform Royal collections to national exhibitions is more readily at hand during absolute rule, than through parliamentary negotiations: a more rapid change in France than in the UK, in Denmark than in Sweden – more complex mobilization of civil society was an essential part of the creation of national museums.

One of the important links between individual desire and community building in political forms is trust. The ability to transform and negotiate cultural capital from *bonding* to *bridging* forms is crucial for the capacity to open communities for lasting and dynamic integration. Here the category of *linking* social capital is crucial for understanding the role of institutions in the process.[13] The general question on the relationship between the working of national museums and democratic development is of course more complicated than just to assess the specific contribution of this cultural phenomenon in relation to the strength of the state, its capacity to develop security, welfare and economic development and its constitutional structure and practice.

The more restricted question of the quality of the relationship itself is however in need for consideration and many of the complex issues can be boiled down to the question whether the net effect of national museum representation is an expression and viable part of developing existing community trust – or if it is a persuasive move to create something that does not exist, or even a futile construction in reality contrary to existing structures. In either case they do matter and play a role, but have to be analyzed differently: footprints of an existing nation and state of knowledge or a project, more or less viable, for a future to appear.

Further steps could be taken to connect these collective processes to individual appreciations of trust and well-being and correlate this to variations in representations and workings of museum institutions. This perspective opens for the possibility to see the development of modern individuality and its relationship to community as a much more open-ended process, hence the product of negotiations between formation of corporations, individual desire and contemporary challenges. They could and can be met differently. The national museum is part of the arena where the forces are negotiated, no doubt with a certain tendency to articulate the communality and the virtue of the national community, but at the same time hinting at what the desired virtues of individual citizens ought to be, giving a broad audience an ambitious possibility to participate in the making of individuality and community

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12 Coleman, Janet. "Preface." In *The individual in political theory and practice.* , edited by Janet Coleman, (ed.), xxv, 395 s. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.

13 Putnam, Robert D., Robert Leonardi, and Raffaella Y. Nanetti. *Making democracy work: civic traditions in modern Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992; Putnam, Robert D. *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. London: Simon & Schuster, 2001. Florida, Richard L. *The flight of the creative class. The new global competition for talent*. New York: HarperBusiness, 2005. Woolcock, Micheal. "Social capital and economic development: Toward a theoretical synthesis and policy framework", *Theory and Society* 27 (1998); Szreter, Simon. "The state of social capital. Bringing back in power in politics and history." *Theory and Society* (2003). in Sandén, Annika. *Stadsgemenskapens resurser och villkor. Samhällssyn och välfärdsstrategier i Linköping 1600–1620*, Linköping studies in arts and science, 330. Linköping: Enheten för historia, ISAK, Univ., 2005..

by the practice of making the museum: discussing, projecting, building, visiting, used as narrative and metaphor for self-understanding.[14]

This overview does not however answer more detailed questions regarding major differences in the place and structure of establishing national museums over the world, but it does provide us with a complex theoretical framework of an external dynamic of museum foundation. Exactly how this negotiation of knowledge, community, individualization and globalization is handled is not only a matter of different resources or local adjustments but feeds political strife with a variety of strategies chosen by the compound of elites making national museums become real. Today the old political strategic exposure of the grandeur of a country has turned into an economic resource of highest carat for attracting a good portion of the rapidly growing visiting industry.[15]

With this background we might suspect a certain pattern of institutional action to be grouped roughly according to 1) the chronology of the establishment of an independent state 2) the relation between state and nation(s): conglomerate, empire, nation-state 3) the challenges met from external/internal enemies. The actual narrative relates to these realities in the making of what knowledge ought to be collected and exhibited, shaped as national exhibits, but also with the democratization process and more subtle definitions of citizens, regional diversity, class divisions.

Facts and Representations

National museums differ fundamentally from written history, where a multiplicity of voices are possible, challenges raised to dominant interpretations, even if a methodological nationalism is often shared also among combatants. Museums differ from this practice in several ways since for most of them the national historiography is not an explicit frame of reference and the resulting effect of the compound reading of historical layers of one institution and several museums together could be much less homogenous than expected for state sanctioned and overtly negotiated institutions. But in principal we expect less of open contradictions in a location labelled national museum than on the printed scene.

The important and ambitious investigation taking form through NHIST (Representation of the Past: The Writing of National Histories in Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries) provides a stimulating point of inspiration. Comparing two comparative projects both on the level of methodologies and the results might be rewarding. They are looking at two different complexes for dealing with the past, two parts of the historical culture: professional historians on the one hand and national museums on the other. The role of museum narratives in relation to the professional historians and their master narratives in all the European countries will now be possible to compare due to the efforts of the NHIST project. No doubt there are questions of transfer and linked histories here, but also various

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14 Inglehart, Ronald, and Christian Welzel. *Modernization, cultural change, and democracy: the human development sequence*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Killerby, Paul. ""Trust Me, I'm From the Government": The Complex Relationship between Trust in Government and Quality of Governance." *Cultural Policy Journal of New Zeeland*, no. 25 (2005): pp. 1–15. R.Inglehart and H-D. Klingemann, "Genes, Culture and Happiness," MIT. http://www.worldvaluessurvey.com/ and http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/ provide two large reservoirs of comparative source material to tap comparative facts on diverse attitudes and inspiration from.

15 Löfgren, Orvar. *On holiday: a history of vacationing*, California studies in critical human geography, 6. Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1999. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. *Destination culture. Tourism, museums, and heritage*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1998. Dicks, Bella. *Culture on display : the production of contemporary visitability*, Issues in cultural and media studies. Buckingham: Open University Press, 2003. Mason, Rhiannon. *Museums, Nations, Identities. Wales and its National Museums*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007..

differences in logic. To what extent are the strategies of successful national narratives similar and how do they differ in national historiography and national museums?[16]

Parallel to the scientific revolution of Leopold von Ranke and his demands for objectivity and source criticism in the exploration of national history, ambitious state oriented museums relied on the scientific discourse to give credit, legitimacy and power to their presentation. Quite often, both by adherents and critics, those are understood as oppositional programs, as in the long-standing debate on new museology around the turn of the century 1900, and in its new clothes as a campaign against the Heritage industry led by David Loewenthal in the 1980's.[17]

I would argue, and this is a general argument of how scientific use of history and ideological uses relates, that a simple falsification or openly pronounced ideology just does not do the job properly. The more ideological the program was and is, the greater the necessity to give it a scientific shape, to make it legitimate, based on knowledge of the world and not on opinions about it. This could be drawn one step further into an argument of great relevance to museums. The more important and shaky the history of the nation is, the more important those stories of national decent, pride and territorial belonging are factually represented, produced not only by history museums proper, but by natural, technological and art museums. And it does work. Museums are among the more trustworthy carriers of explanations of the world, much more so than schools or television.[18] They are also an intensively used form of mediation approaching a billion visitors only in the USA at the turn of the Millennium.[19]

The observation of simultaneous ideals of universal objectivity and claims on absolute uniqueness also shows the double need for a comparative perspective as an analytical approach, and an open mind to the fact that ideas and ideals do travel: transfer and "histoire croissant" are not opposite poles but have to be observed as such so that the methodology of comparing national entities does not become a major tool for constructing them, but rather historicising their existence as part of certain typical vehicles for modernization through national integration.[20]

Programme

If we were to make a grand selection for a project on world scale, how would such a selection be made to catch the dynamic elements in the most rewarding way? Current knowledge of paths to nationhood would of course be central, but also the timing of that path. We are dealing with different contexts if the state and national museum are set up in mid 19th or early 21st Century. Into the more nuanced block it is also reasonable to count the process and structure of democratic culture, disciplinary structure and historical narratives.

Taken crudely we might deal with three groups of states and expect different approaches in the construction of national museums:

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16 Porciani, Ilaria. "Mapping Institutions, Comparing Historiographies: the Making of a European Atlas." *Storia della Storiografia*, no. 50 (2006): pp. 27–58; Berger. "National Historiographies in Transnational Perspective: Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries."

17 Lowenthal, David. Possessed by the past: the heritage crusade and the spoils of history. New York: Free Press, 1996..

18 Rosenzweig, Roy, and David P. Thelen. *The presence of the past: popular uses of history in American life*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1998.

19 Luke, Timothy W. *Museum politics. Power plays at the exhibition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

20 Berger. "National Historiographies in Transnational Perspective: Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.".

A) Empires and conglomerate states. Large and ambitious enough to view themselves as universal Homo sapiens, multi-cultural enough to give credit to diversity. England, France, Habsburg, Spain. Corresponding forms of National museums would be early royal assets together and/or a thriving civil society would produce a rich and diverse jungle of museums, well illustrated by the museum-scape of London.

B) Smaller states with a long history: Sweden, Denmark, Portugal and Switzerland. The first two without doubt with early imperial ambitions but steadily in decline in the 19th Century. The self confidence and long trajectory give less impetus to nation-making through National museums, but threats from abroad, societal change and a need for cohesion gives ample opportunity for building institutions gradually and to define the nation far back in history.

C) New emerging nation-states with a great need to produce a national narrative. All former colonies and nations evolving from the devolution of empires: USA, Finland, Norway, Hungary, Germany, Italy and Turkey. More recent violent examples are South Africa and the Balkans and peaceful secessions like Czechoslovakia to Czech and Slovakia. Here we would presumably find the most conscious and explicit plans, and we would need to actually produce a coherent story of a long trajectory – exactly because of the short actual history. Below this group is of course the failed or not yet successful: Basque, Catalan etc.

States do move between these, hence giving fuel to new uses of national museums and simultaneously bound to some extent by their earlier history by path-dependencies or a necessity to contrast with a revolutionary agenda. The trajectories of earlier institutional investments become important either as an asset or as a problem. Austria's main assets were formed in the situation of an Empire. Turkey relates after 1923 to overcome the greater Ottoman past of decline and Muslim culture. USA was a liberated colony building the Mall as a major and explicit investment in national pride, but is now an empire. Soviet union the other way around, like the Habsburg in devolution. Less pronounced but still in the same direction is the UK heading for a diversity of National museums in Wales and Scotland, challenging England to define the scope of the division of labour. The negotiation of national community of course plays different roles in these very different settings. A major question is to delineate how important the historical narrative and the various symbolic representations of these are compared to other sources of legitimacy, as a democratic system, effective economy and welfare provisions. The power of historical representation has a tendency to increase in periods of crises, and it happens that observers interpret this as a product of "too much history".[21]

A more intriguing, challenging and acute question is to address the actual contributions that the establishment and workings of a national museum make to democratization and de-democratization processes. Structurally oriented comparative historical sociologists, like Charles Tilly, see three mechanisms feeding the process: integration of trust networks, minimising categorical inequality and dissolution of other autonomous power centers competing with the state. Democratization depends on the process where large groups of people are drawn into consultations with elites, and conversely democracy retreat when elites withdraw from these consultations.[22] The institutional form of those consultations might vary, but it seems clear to me that they both need to be founded on a broad local practice and have to be given a strong public representation on the level where national political negotiations are taking place. A strong and internalized idea of shared culture and history is part of a structure making withdrawal from consultations harder since that affects the identity of participants. To

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21 Ibid., p. 26
22 Tilly, Charles. *Democracy*. Cambridge, [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007., p. 195, 197.

assess the role of national museum in this process needs not only an appreciation of when and where institutions are established, but also an analysis of the actual narrative and the viability of the knowledge and imagery represented and immersed in the national society by them.

A rough chronology of democratization to discuss in relation to this could be:

1850–1899 Western Europe and Latin America
1900–1959 Australia, New Zeeland, Japan
1950–1979 Southern Europe, Latin America + Pacific, Egypt, Morocco, Zambia
1979–2005 Eastern Europe, Latin America, African regimes, Asia Pacific.[23]

The role of museum institutions in relation to societal change at this level can theoretically be put on a scale and hypothetically be related to the epistemic approach advocated as suggested below. The scale is not a chronological one, but rather a spectrum of possible political approaches to link knowledge regimes and political directions to museum politics.

Categorical relationships between museum and nation-making policy

	Modern scientific museum	Democratic	Reformist	Revolutionary
Reference to society	Representing	Developing	Projecting	Utopia/propaganda
Epistemic approach	Knowledge	Dialogue	Education	Prophetic

However the urge to order and arrange must not hamper the creativity and ability to unmask irregularities where the legitimising stories might have produced too much order. The misfits coming out of a structured comparison might be even more productive to the understanding of the workings of national museums than those that fit neatly into the patterns that we expect to find. The messy landscapes of collectors, commerce, politics and science, transfer the conflicts between tourism, art, kitsch, ideology and knowledge. This is perhaps what excites even more – and creates the type of institutional uncertainty and creativity in the institutions themselves – opening for reorientation and reflexivity.

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

On this background I see at least four possible frameworks that would benefit from systematic comparative research: politics, knowledge and identity.

1. An all-encompassing European comparison (including colonial endeavours) on the path taken by various nations to establish the place of national museums and the role they play in the creation of political legitimacy. Allowance will be given to policy choices, disciplinary structures and they will be related to structural variation in state-making paths as former empires, old and emerging nation-states.

2. An in-depth study of how the national display in a selection of countries creates a vision of culture community. How do they deal with differences and belongings on a super-national level and how do they relate to regional differences? How has national emphasis dealt with other identities and how is this changing?

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23 Ibid., p. 199.

3. From a citizens' perspective the intentions of cultural policy or institutional ambitions might be of little importance. Most museums are visited briefly by visitors from the countryside, foreigners or more ambitiously for an hour or so by schoolchildren. In addition many of them will not restrict their experience to only one institution. This project will simulate visitor experience of national narratives in capitals of a comparative selection from project one, in order to develop an understanding of how citizen experience relates to the more structural findings in the other sub-projects and hence map in what directions citizenship and community are moving through contemporary display of national community.

4. The place of national museums in changing knowledge regimes. It will give an account of relationships between museums and academic disciplines, their role in the rise of enlightenment, the role of objects as carriers of knowledge and as transferrers of ideals, but it has also forcefully been transformed by foucauldian research to an even more ambitious placement of the exhibitionary complex as a decisive place for disciplinary action on body and soul of modern man, demanding adherence not only to national interpretation but also to evolutionary, gendered and class related doxa of contemporary society

The first one is the most obvious context for most of the published research with comparative ambitions, often with a critical account of the role of the institutions as carriers of hegemonic, nationalist narratives. There is still room for a systematic approach at world level to understand the spread and reuse of the national museum as a cultural model of representation. The second phase will contextualize the findings more carefully by picking a selection of countries to deepen the understanding of the variety of roles museums do and can play. In turn this is connected to the third approach answering contemporary claims that museums do give opportunity for empowerment and inclusion to counteract threats of fragmentarization. Uses of museums as tools for democratic reuse and integration of various groups are foreseen or advocated. It is the space for hopes for democratic integration put on museums all over the world, which could be seen very much as a continuing renegotiation of what it means to be a citizen. At the same time museums are more left to finance their activities through the ticket office and it is regarded as equally important to attract visitors for business and leisure. What is the range of visitor experience produced in these settings?

The fourth framework develops in several directions and connects to earlier museological research on the formation of an exhibitionary complex and the relationship with academic disciplines. It has however also repercussions to the other proposed studies since claims on knowledge aesthetics are decisive and formative carriers of the possible frames of references for negotiating community and citizenship.

I consider it possible to place most of the comparative approaches developed so far within these frameworks. All are indeed valuable and possible to explore further. Mapping the system of national museums on national level, as regards the functional and institutional division of labour, and to interpret the meaning of this, is largely undone. The same applies for mapping and understanding the international transfer and spread of museum practices, even though this has been at least sketched by earlier research and on a normative or discursive level.

Finally I would like to argue for the benefits of dwelling a bit more on the development of the third approach instead of the former. In spite of (or perhaps because) the fact that more theoretical and generalizing approaches are available there and attract most of the scholarly attention at present, I argue that there is a need for learning a more multi vocal and multi layered mode for analyses also on the historical material and hence the processes of change. There is a need not only to focus on the articulated, normative and explicit but also on practice, the implicit and practical use of the institutions in their real complex setting in a fluent city-scape.

Conclusion

Explanations tend to follow levels of investigation. Actor oriented perspectives or discursive focus explain the role of museums differently. The failure in Sweden to establish a National museum early in the 19th Century might be ascribed to the parliamentary situation where the government commission to strengthen cultural heritage institutions was blocked in the 1820's, in spite of similar traumatic loss of Finland in 1809. Also proposals to build a national museum were blocked due to the strength of "parsimonious" farmers.[24]

There is also arguably a more stable trajectory established through openly conservative and revanchist epochs, since still no forceful explicit and united manifestation of Swedish national heritage is institutionalized. It is to a substantial degree left to civil society to create. Both the long chronological grasp and the comparative outlook opens for other combinations in interpreting differences and similarities. The early establishment of national museums in Denmark could be attributed to legendary museum directors and scholars like C J Thomsen, as a reaction to Napoleonic wars or the power of absolute rule. It seems also to set a track, create a path-dependency, which is followed suit rather consequently up until our own days as part of the overarching historical culture. The country has more chairs in specific Danish topics than other academic communities.[25] Cultural heritage is thought of in definite singular and the government decides on a cultural canon with academic collaboration as the best tool for integration in a multi-cultural society. Explanations need to take into account the trajectory itself, setting up a specific heritage of institutions, forming a historical culture with implications for political solutions to contemporary problems.

Widening the comparative scope would add more complexities to the agenda. Why the lack of a strong National museum in a young and nationalist country as Italy and even in a country with a strong tradition of state interventionism as Turkey? Has this got to do with historical specificities like the fascist heritage or strong regionalist and city state structure for Italy, and the survival of a Muslim scepticism to visual representation of devotion for Turkey? Or is it due to the choice of writing a rather short Turkish national story encompassing the older civilisations in the concept of Anatolia and all its successive civilisations, so contrary to Italy where Rome seems to imply a city that is at the same time a capital and an open-air museum of Western civilisation? How important is the fact that there are distinct minorities and languages almost impossible to write into an image of a happy family in both cases (North/South divide in Italy; Armenian and Kurd issues in Turkey)?

The comparative approach does not solve all problems. To start with, an array of interesting issues arise, not least from the interesting misfits in regard to the crude theoretical assumptions of what could be expected if state-making was a coherent and universal process. New questions do arise and well-established canons become less evident. A fresh start for a comparative endeavour.

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Comparing Cultures of Citizenship and Changing Concepts of Nation and Community in the EU and USA

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This paper examines whether museums and cultural institutions meet or challenge increasing calls by Western/European neoliberal governments (and some communities) to become sites of social action, innovation and entrepreneurship. I begin by exploring the relationship between multiculturalism, social cohesion and museums in Britain, which I then compare with an examination of Native rights and sovereignty in the contemporary post-colonial North American context. My overarching aim in bringing case studies from the EU (Britain) and USA together is to examine how and why the terms 'culture' and 'citizenship' have been centralized by projects of self-determination for Native Americans, and yet also employed as tools central to the promotion of national government interests in the US and EU countries. With an interest in drawing attention to the politics of culture and museums, and in light of ongoing challenges to traditional concepts of citizenship and the authority associated with 'nation', the purpose of this paper is to examine if museums contribute to changes in the way citizenship is understood and defined.

Introduction

Any pairing of museums with democracy requires a consideration of the changing concept of citizenship. Citizenship is traditionally understood as representing the public face of individuals' membership of a political community, and as referring to a legal-formal contract between an individual and the state where, in exchange for being socially and morally responsible, individuals are granted rights to political agency that include having the right to vote and stand for office, and access to legal support. Formalistic conceptions of citizenship like this have provided the basis for most Western liberal democratic constitutions, and support the model of citizenship as consisting of political, civil and social rights, as put forward by British sociologist, T.H. Marshall (1950, p. 11). Each of these dimensions of citizenship is supported by an institutional apparatus: the juridical system as regards civil rights, education as regards the social, and the electoral system and political parties as regards the political (Yudice 2005, p. 164). Despite contemporary recognition of the ways in which citizenship has been a core component of national cultural homogenization (Campaign Against Racism and Fascism 2002), the Marshallian paradigm dominant throughout the post-war period relegated culture to the everyday and private or domestic sphere and in effect excluded it, as such, from discourses on citizenship.

In the last two decades, however, the liberal tradition of rights—where citizenship aspires to be unitary and universalist, and thus seeks to convey representation and participation rights to all individuals within a polity on an equal basis—has been significantly influenced by ideas of universal and cosmopolitan human rights and the implications of globalization (cultural and social pluralism and fragmentation) on the territorial, sovereign state. The singular notion of citizenship has been pluralized and pushed aside by theorists including Renato Rosaldo (1994), Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman (1994), Aihwa Ong (1996), Marion Young (2000), Toby Miller (2001), Gerard Delanty (2003), Nick Stevenson (2006), Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner (2007), whose work has led to recognition that citizenship may be understood more broadly than as referring to the relations between individuals and political institutions, and that it can in fact be realized through everyday experience and cultural practice itself. Indeed, discussions about citizenship often rely on the potential of culture to redefine the term, and frequently put forth the argument that a cultural collective may be a site of political membership and legitimacy. This cultural turn has shifted the focus of citizenship from civic to political and social rights, and has led to renewed attention to culture (represented as identity, gender, sexuality and race), values and habits as potentially unifying and motivating, as well as an interest in the ways that the contested norms of conduct and citizenship are influenced by power relations. The shift has also combined with claims made by supporters of global democracy and cultural pluralism (Young 2000), who contend that citizenship does not need to be articulated through the nation-state to be meaningful, but that it can be exercised in a multiplicity of sites, located at different levels of governance. This move designates a shift toward decision-making processes at the social or community level that involve, ideally, a large number and range of diverse actors, not only governmental, but also from the private and non-profit sectors. Governance also incorporates the new demands of citizens and groups to be involved in decisions that affect them so that the new focus on cultures of citizenship can function as an extension of claims by minority groups for greater direct political representation, or sovereignty.

This paper picks up a point raised by Dominique Leydet (2006, p. 25) to ask: 'how robust an identity can citizenship provide in complex and internally diverse societies?' I examine whether museums and cultural activities meet or challenge increasing calls by Western/European neoliberal governments (and some communities) to become sites of social action, innovation and entrepreneurship, and ask whether active state policy-making processes

can regenerate the terms of social democracy through rebuilding an engaged civil society that has the resources and capacity to tackle tough issues including economic regeneration, conflict between civic groups, and even neighbourhood safety. I examine the role that culture is perceived to play in growing this potential at grass-roots level. The paper begins with an expanded discussion of the relationships between culture, identity and citizenship. It then moves to compare the concept of cultural citizenship as it has been evoked in relation to and by Native American cultures in the USA with the formalized concept of European identity that has been promoted by the European Union in the same period. The comparison provides a framework to examine the role that museums and culture play in creating these concepts, and enables investigation into how museums can contribute to changes in the way citizenship is understood and defined. The first section of the paper analyses the relationship between multiculturalism, social cohesion and cultural activities in Britain, and my principle case study is Liverpool's successful bid for the title of Capital of Culture 2008. In the second section, I examine Native rights and claims for sovereignty in the contemporary post-colonial North American context, and present the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington DC as my main case study. Germane to these examples is the suggestion that 'changing sociocultural realities underscore the limitations of strictly legal-formal notions of citizenship; not least, for example, in the face of the social problematics in post-colonial multicultural societies' (Hermes and Dahlgren 2006, p. 259). We can see this reflected in Britain, where practices of citizenship have come under scrutiny and re-assessment as a consequence of 9/11, the 7 July 2005 bombings in London and other threats to security, including the 2001 urban disorders that spread across northern England (Home Office 2001, Burnett 2007, p. 354). In the USA, the community-based activism, civil rights movements and politics of difference that emerged throughout the 1970s combined to challenge the unilateral decisions made by the colonial American state as well as dominant ideas about citizenship.

My overarching aim in bringing case studies from Britain and the USA together is to examine how and why the terms 'culture' and 'citizenship' have been centralized by projects of self-determination for Native Americans (many of whom have never been fully included in citizenship regimes), and yet also employed as tools central to the promotion of national government and supranational interests in the US and in EU countries.[1] I argue that while access to and participation in cultural activities or traditions may be represented as secondary to political participation, typically as 'symbolic restitution for the injustices of the colonial era in lieu of more concrete forms of social, economic and political redress' (Phillips 2004, p. 22), debates on the politics of difference and the politics of entitlement have increasingly been staged according to the language of cultural rights. Add to this the role of cultural policy, as a goal-oriented zone of social governance that contributes to the construction of citizen identities, and it becomes evident that any ideological or historical distinction between culture and politics is unsustainable. With an interest in drawing attention to the politics of culture and museums, and in light of ongoing challenges to traditional concepts of citizenship and the authority associated with 'nation', the purpose of this paper is to examine whether cultural activities and museums contribute to changes in the way citizenship is understood and

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1 As well as being a 'postcolonial' nation, the USA is also multicultural, and Kymlicka and Norman's three categories of rights exist there as much as they do in the EU. For the comparative purposes of this paper, however, I am going to focus on the relationships between self-government rights and culture in the US and multicultural rights and culture in the EU. Similarly, there has been much debate concerning the implications of changing concepts of citizenship on the civil and social rights of migrants, refugees and 'state-less' peoples in both contexts (usually in regard to Kymlicka and Norman's categories of special rights and multicultural rights). These have often been discussed in relation to the emergence of universal human rights regimes that focus on crimes against humanity, and attention to the recognition of refugee, immigrant and asylum status (Benhabib 2007). Attention to these issues is beyond the scope of this paper.

defined. I am interested in whether museums can, by working with communities to expand their representation of the practice and experience of citizenship, challenge the instrumentalization of the term. As such, my examination is concerned with ways that citizens actively engage in governance and participate in democracy, rather than with what Delanty (2007b) calls 'disciplinary citizenship' (as the processes by which they learn to behave in certain ways). This means that my emphasis is more on theory and conceptualization, and on ideas about the possibility of achieving 'everyday democracy'—which can refer to how 'users can take the lead in redesigning public services like health and social care, to explaining the role that local communities need to play in combating Europe's terrorist threat, to helping the residents of the city of Glasgow imagine a different future for their city in 2020' (Skidmore and Bound 2008, p. 25)—rather than on empirical measurement or connections between citizenship education and museums (Message 2008, Message 2002; See also Belfiore 2002, MLA nd, MLA 2005, MLA South West 2008). If the new museology is to be believed, and museums do have this potential (Peers and Brown 2003, Kreps 2003, Newman, McLean and Urquhart 2005, Message 2006), does the agency created by the challenge rely on exercising (or legitimating) the new discourses of *cultural* citizenship? If so, is it also possible that new museums aspire to develop what Joke Hermes and Peter Dahlgren (2006, p. 261) call 'a more widely shared and more widely available form of "the political" as moments of engagement, of "public connection"'?

Culture, Identity and Citizenship

Cultural citizenship and European identity are both concepts that have gained popularity as ways to explain how contemporary interests in culture, identity, and citizenship have been brought together. Both concepts promote the construction of more democratic institutions that develop more directly dialogical relationships with their constituents. Both emerged out of the recognition of identity politics and civil rights movements of the 1960s onward, but have firmer origins in the moments of public and governmental optimism and connection to politics that led to the wave of democracy which spread globally throughout 1989, and with the increasing institutional interest in reconnecting with constituent communities that followed on from this period. The events and institutions I discuss in this essay are the direct result of ideas that crystallized at this time, when professional museological and other institutional interest, government confidence, and public optimism came together to heighten links between culture and citizenship. It is notable, for instance, that the European Capital of Culture programme followed on from the European Cities of Culture programme, which was launched in 1985 as a way of bringing citizens of the European Community closer together. The connections are also apparent in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, which led to the creation of the European Union. This period was also important in the United States for acknowledging calls by Native communities for greater recognition of their claims for sovereignty over cultural patrimony. In 1990, for instance, the Indian Arts and Crafts Act and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) were both enacted. The National Museum of the American Indian was established by an act of Congress in 1989, and the institution's central planning document, *The Way of the People,* was written soon after (Smithsonian Institution Office of Design and Construction 1991). The federally recognized Tribes List Act came into force in 1994. Karen Coody Cooper (2006, p. 9) has suggested that this suite of legislation led to a surge in cultural confidence that was manifested in the development of around 40 tribal museums and cultural centers throughout the following decade.

Although the concepts of cultural citizenship and European identity are both based on ideas of culture and shared identity, there are differences between the projects. Defined as the right to cultural difference and to participate in democracy, cultural citizenship seeks to provide a set of conceptual and communicative tools to frame interactions between individuals

and between individuals and institutions. It often results from bottom-up or community-based activism, and advocates for the recognition of multicultural and/or self-governance rights (Kymlicka and Norman 1994), as I will discuss in relation to the National Museum of the America Indian in the second half of the paper. In contrast, the call for the creation of a European identity is a top-down initiative that was formalized by the 1992 Maastricht Treaty. Unlike cultural citizenship, European identity has a greater allegiance to the traditional, liberal concept of citizenship as described by Marshall, in that it aims to be unitary and universalist, is comprised principally of political and civil rights in the public sphere, and is intended to contribute to an overarching conception of social integration and cooperation and cohesion throughout the political union. Having said this, however, culture does play a greater role in the 1992 Maastricht Treaty than in Marshall's conceptualization. The connections between citizenship and culture are demonstrated in Article F of the Maastricht Treaty, which asserts: 'A state which applies for membership must therefore satisfy the three basic conditions of European identity, democratic status, and respect of human rights'. The Maastricht Treaty represents culture both as a means of constructing and maintaining identity, and as creating a space for the enactment of an expanded notion of 'European' citizenship that appears to both, or by turn, combine and refuse the national identities of member states under an overarching cosmopolitan superstate. The approach and rhetorical language used by the European Union has attracted criticism on the basis that it results in uncertainty (if not contradiction) in the way official European Union discourses represent culture because Europe is conceived as a unified and singular cultural entity on the one hand, while on the other, Europe is conceived as a space of diversity, an amalgamation of many cultures, and by implication, of many peoples and interests (Shore 2006, p. 7).

Despite its interest in connecting citizens with the idea of a collective European culture and participatory democracy, the European integration project has been plagued by problems in developing a common vision and citizen-like bonds between the EU and individuals. Europeans are less likely to vote, join political parties, or trust elected representatives than 30 years ago (Skidmore and Bound 2008, p. 17), and although Article A of the Maastricht Treaty claims to mark 'a new stage in the process of creating an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe, in which decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen' (and despite the trend toward devolution on national fronts throughout the EU), there have been problems in translating this rhetoric to reality. 'As a public relations exercise, European citizenship has been a dismal failure', states one commentator (Bauböck 2006, p. 1), who then goes on to argue that 'most citizens *in* Europe are not eager to become citizens *of* Europe and regard with suspicion any demand to shift their political allegiance and identities from the national to the supranational level'. As a result of concern about the widespread lack of public engagement in the EU, very significant financial resources have been committed to formal programmes that include the Europe for Citizens Programme 2007-2013, the 2006-7 round of European Citizens' Consultations, and the ongoing European Capital of Culture projects. These projects are metonyms for the EU and seek to identify and animate a space between cultural fragmentation and national assimilation that will bring individuals into conversation with the EU by reconnecting representative politics and the informal sphere of people's everyday lives so that the two support and sustain each other (Skidmore and Bound 2008, pp. 23-4).

This focus on community connections indicates how important the elements of conversation and dialogue are for the creation of a public sphere, which is itself seen as an important precondition for the development of European integration. According to Craig Calhoun (2004, p. 1), a non-spatial communicative public sphere enables:

> participation in collective choice, whether about specific policy issues or basic institutions. Second, public communication allows for the production, reproduction or transformation of a 'social imaginary' that gives cultural form to integration, making

Europe real and giving it shape by imagining it in specific ways. Third, the public sphere is itself a medium of social integration, a form of social solidarity, as well as an arena for debating others.

A key element of this space of dialogue is that it encourages culture and identities to be 'made and remade in public life' (Calhoun 2004, p. 1). Its functions reflect the capacity that many museums and cultural institutions have in regard to providing intermediary, dialogic spaces that aim to connect places, people, activities, technologies, and clusters of cultural meaning, have a role in building social integration, and in so doing, enhance communication between individuals and political institutions. Following on from this context, the European Capital of Culture programme can be understood as initiating a range of community-based cultural activities and regeneration projects that replicate the strategies employed by grass-roots, community-run cultural centers and tribal museums in the USA, including, importantly, the National Museum of the American Indian. The appropriation of strategies from community-based projects may indicate an acknowledgement by the EU that for European identity (and institutions) to be effective they must actually align with individual and personal expressions and understandings of belonging—that are more usually associated with cultural citizenship, as a concept which grows out of local interests and concerns as articulated by community members. In light of this, European identity may be more accurately represented as an outcome or effect of greater communication between the provincial regions and the Union, which acts more as an overarching umbrella concept that is detached from the everyday life of its citizens, than as a pluralist federation of member states which retain discrete national identities.

Global Comparisons

I want to start my comparison of cultural citizenship in the USA and the European identity project—and the subsequent, interrelated consideration of the role that museums and culture play in creating these concepts—by invoking Isin and Turner's suggestion (2007, p. 6) that the first step of any attempt to investigate citizenship 'inevitably involves the comparative study of the rights and duties of citizens across diverse states.' As such, my discussion focuses on distinctions in the attitudes and approaches to social change taken by the EU in comparison with the US as a settler society, and I argue that these differences emerge, at least in part, from historical differences in the approaches that each have taken to ideas of citizenship. Although citizenship has been widely theorized across a variety of national (and post-national) contexts, Kymlicka and Norman's (1994, p. 372) identification of three types of demands goes some way toward accounting for the different approaches taken by the EU and US in relation to citizenship. Their three categories include special representation rights (for disadvantaged groups), multicultural rights (for immigrant and religious groups) and self-government rights (for national minorities). The first two are demands for inclusion into mainstream society and concur with Rosaldo's (1994, p. 57) argument that cultural citizenship emphasizes difference and cultural practice and aims to protect the right to be different (in terms of race, ethnicity, or native language) with respect to the norms of the dominant national community without compromising one's right to belong to the larger political community (in the sense of participating in the nation-state's democratic processes). This does, of course, mirror the multicultural ideal which has motivated the establishment of many social and cultural policy initiatives and programmes in the EU and UK that seek to legitimize cultural difference by integrating it within the mainstream. However, as Ong (1996, p. 738) points out in relation to Rosaldo, this concept of cultural citizenship risks subscribing to the very liberal principle of universal equality that it appears to call into question. Kymlicka and Norman (1994, p. 375) explain that claims to self-government rights are grounded in a principle of self-determination that potentially endangers civic integration since—unlike the other

two types—these claims do not aim to achieve a greater presence in the institutions of the central government, but work to gain a greater share of power and legislative jurisdiction for institutions controlled by indigenous peoples and national minorities. Kymlicka and Norman (1994, p. 372) explain that:

> These groups are 'cultures', 'peoples', or 'nations' in the sense of being historical communities, more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given homeland or territory, sharing a distinct language and history. These nations find themselves within the boundaries of a larger political community, but claim the right to govern themselves in certain key matters, in order to ensure the full and free development of their culture and the best interests of their people. What these national minorities want is not primarily better representation in the central government but, rather, the transfer of power and legislative jurisdictions from the central government to their own communities.

Looked at broadly, the American tradition of citizenship has tended to stress individual responsibility for welfare, a reliance upon voluntary organizations and community-based initiatives rather than state agencies to address social problems, and an abiding suspicion of central institutions of the state. In contrast, the European tradition has emerged out of a Keynesian framework to be more concerned with ideas of social justice that equate to rights *and* participation, or access to privileges in return for obligations. (For comparative discussion on Britain and USA as characterized by a 1993 'Committee of Experts Report on EU Information and Communication Policy', which draws explicit parallels with the nation-building strategies of the United States, see de Clercq 1993, p. 3). Adding to the existing bank of international agencies, agreements and organizations (like UNESCO, the WTO, etc), formation of new political communities such as the EU have enabled innovative ways of regulating the relations between states, markets and nations. The establishment of the EU has led to questions about how citizenship rights and characteristics should be defined at the overarching European level, and discussion about whether traditional concepts of citizenship might simply be transferred from nation-states to the polity of the EU, or whether new models of a cosmopolitan or 'global' citizenry need be developed. Rejecting the possibility of a simple transfer of national rights to an international context, Nikolas Rose (2000b, p. 1401) argues that the creation of the EU means that 'the question now is not one of national character but of the way in which multiple identities receive equal recognition in a single constitutional form'. Ultimately, European citizenship and identity need be understood as complex and multilayered concepts made up of a variety of newly created tiers of government. Reiterating this point, Elizabeth Meehan (1993, p. 1) explains that a new kind of citizenship is emerging that is

> neither national nor cosmopolitan but that is multiple in the sense that the identities, rights and obligation associated … with citizenship, are expressed through an increasingly complex configuration of common Community institutions, states, national and transnational voluntary associations, regions and alliances of regions.

In contrast to this attempt to remove or subsume 'nation', in the US we can identify attempts to *multiply* the concept of nation that are guided in large part by demands for the recognition of self-government rights. Evident there is the attempt to legitimize the local as national and thereby raise many Native nations and tribal communities to the status of equivalent sovereign state. The relationship between local community identity and (national) independence is clearly demonstrated in the current process for federal recognition, which requires the petitioning tribe to satisfy seven mandatory criteria, including historical and continuous Native American identity in a distinct community that is defined geographically (http://www.ncai.org/). Federal recognition is important for tribes because it formally establishes a government-to-government relationship, where the US Constitution recognizes that

Native American tribes are independent governmental entities (Sissons 2005, pp. 124-5) that (like foreign governments and state governments within the US) have inherent power to govern their people and their lands. While most citizens of federally recognized tribes will also identify as citizens of the United States, they exert their indigenous citizenship to seek recognition as distinct 'peoples', as first 'peoples' (Sissons 2005, p. 126).

The European Union and Multicultural Rights

The creation of the EU has led to a growing diffusion of power away from national governments. Authority has flowed upwards to the regional level, and processes of devolution have enabled a re-location of the symbolic power of nation onto local communities, which themselves become viable through their partnerships with the EU and other international organizations and superstructures. A range of interpretations can be made about the creation of new tiers of government, which we may identify as a strategy to make engagement with government—that is, democratic participation—a viable option for all citizens. Some commentators have suggested that the diffusion indicates 'a trend towards the emergence of a quasi-national European identity and an eclipse of national identities, others see a revival of nationalist sentiments such as ethnocentrism and xenophobia, whereas still others emphasize the growing importance of local and regional affiliations' (Arts and Halman 2006, p. 179). These changes may further evidence a loss of confidence in 'nation' as an effective socio-economic and political unit, and lead to questions about the ongoing role and relevance of central government institutions including national museums, as sites where 'the nation tells its story' (Luke 2002, pp. 226-7). Indeed, it is probably no coincidence that, faced with a loss of effective power, many liberal governments and national museums promote positive symbols of cohesive community-based models of citizenship where, in addition to complying with the basic citizenship duties of voting and reading the newspaper, individuals have the capacity to generate a healthy civic sphere through voluntary contributions to welfare causes and participation in local clubs, associations and organizations. In Britain, these anxieties have been manifested by attempts to neutralize any potentially divisive focus on heroic symbols of national or racial or religious identity, and reiterate instead the culture and role of local communities and services in the process of individual identity-formation. In return for the privilege of social membership, people are expected to contribute to the health and security of the local area by building communities of interest.

While these shifts in power have tended to be associated with globalization and the new forms of population movement endemic to it, they have more recently been attributed to the expansion of the European Union into principally a constitutional, rights-driven superstructure that functions as 'a central bank, bureaucracy and single currency' (Stevenson 2006, p. 488). This reality contrasts with the image of the EU as an intergovernmental organization that many had hoped would generate a shared sense of collective or common purpose between states and possibly manifest in a European 'social state' (or civil society) that would protect citizens from any market uncertainty and any regressive forces of nationalism like those which marked the first half of the twentieth century (Stevenson 2006, pp. 488-9). However, despite any debate over its capacity to manifest meaningful links with individuals, a key rationale for the formation of the EU was to create and promote an overarching conception of social integration and cooperation throughout the political union. Indeed, while recent re-evaluations of citizenship can be seen to reflect anxieties about the diffusion of authority, the existence of the EU networks has made available a range of new approaches, infrastructures and funding opportunities to deal with the problems of cohesion identified by many European countries, including Britain, where national security and social integration have been used in defence of the current backlash against notions of multiculturalism, cultural diversity and other forms of social inclusion.

Loss of confidence in multiculturalism was epitomized in Britain in 2006 by Black Labour politician and former political journalist, Trevor Phillips, who, after supporting multiculturalism for many years, became one of its most outspoken mainstream critics. He expressed fears that multiculturalism could cause Britain to 'sleepwalk towards segregation' (in Casciani 2006), and predicted that the balkanized ghettoes seen in American cities would be repeated throughout Britain. In his capacity as Chancellor of the Exchequer (just prior to being named British Prime Minister), Gordon Brown also proclaimed the failure of multiculturalism, in terms that were reaffirmed by the Leader of the Opposition, David Cameron, who remarked evocatively that 'The doctrine of multiculturalism has undermined our nation's sense of cohesiveness because it emphasizes what divides us rather than what brings us together' (Johnston 2007, Cameron 2007). The terms of this backlash echo the sentiments expressed by sociologist Nathan Glazer (1997) and others who have claimed that multiculturalism has failed and that the United States is fragmenting along ethnic divisions. A further instance of the trend to reconstruct diversity according to cohesion was an inquiry held in 2007 into what local and practical action was needed to overcome the barriers to integration and cohesion in Britain. The investigation by the independent Commission on Integration and Cohesion, chaired by Darra Singh and established by Communities Secretary, Ruth Kelly, led to the publication of a report entitled *Our shared future* (2007). Its recommendations downplayed the potentially unifying role of nation at every opportunity, privileging instead the language of EU policy and the creation of allegiances between local cultures and international policy. Advance commentary about the report in the *Guardian* (Bunting 2007, p. 1) noted: 'Multiculturalism is conspicuously absent [from the report] … Nor will there be any profound insights into Britishness; it is more interested in local identities and connections to place—such as Brummie or Geordie—than the big national picture'. Newspaper coverage criticized the Commission for bypassing multiculturalism and for avoiding the difficult task of identifying where associations with nation, and concepts of national identity, fit into the picture.

The rephrasing of previous policy initiatives of multiculturalism and cultural diversity according to rhetorics of cohesion has been accompanied by a renewal of governmental interest in the wellbeing of local areas, and Seyla Benhabib (2007, p. 22) has observed that 'We are moving away from citizenship as national membership increasingly towards a *citizenship of residency* which strengthens the multiple ties to locality, to the region, and to transnational institutions'. As a result of this change, dominant understandings of diversity have also been transformed. Instead of signalling difference that is ethnic, cultural, religious or racial, diversity discourses now focus on regional differences in the hope that people will identify principally with the region in which they live. These have been supported by social policy initiatives of neighbourhood renewal and community cohesion that, in some cases, promote opportunities for improved local public service provision. Recognizing that nationalism and the state can still claim an imaginary but motivating power that can fuel conflict, public policy in Britain now seeks to encourage citizens to engage in the first instance with their boroughs and local communities of residence, rather than the (beleaguered) symbolic English nation, or their place of birth. This measure seeks, at least superficially, to disrupt nationalism's potentially divisive links between cultural identity and place by relocating the focus onto communities and cultures of shared interest. Although these developments are, as Stevenson (2006, p. 496) explains, 'increasingly necessary in the face of racist nationalisms, which seek to defend "our" common heritage or home against others (immigrants, asylum seekers, migrant workers)', the emergence of locality as a primary site of inclusion, governance and wellbeing has been criticized for its potential to reactivate the idea that communities can serve the dominant moral order and produce civic order by promoting particular forms of behaviour and types of allegiance and affiliation that assert notions of inclusion instead of raising questions of equity and inequality (Rose 1996, 2000b). Indeed, on the basis that the rhetoric producing

public policy initiatives of cohesion is not supported by the provision of sufficient infrastructure or services (due to the withdrawal of provision for English as a second language classes and the reduction of legal aid for asylum-seekers, for instance), Jon Burnett (2007, p. 355) contends that community cohesion has become a 'euphemism for integration; and integration a euphemism for assimilation. … while assimilation suggests a form of "hyper-inclusion" of certain forms of diversity, it also tells us equally about the forms of diversity that will not be recognized or accepted'.

There exists a paradox in this promotion of 'the local' by the national—where people are asked to build communities of work, support and wellbeing, and be proactive about their involvement with the local civic sphere through volunteer work and membership of clubs and organizations—because it appears simultaneously to undermine *and* bolster the totalizing discourses of national cohesion and 'unity in diversity' (as the motto adopted in 2004 for the EU). On the one hand, the contemporary currency of signs of local engagement, as evidenced by a healthy civic sphere with high levels of voluntary participation, are designed to produce nostalgic associations between local areas and the symbols and concepts of nation as an imagined community. However, at the same time as these traditional images of 'belonging' to a local area reassure residents and please tourists, they can also be understood as operating within (and produced by) the logic of a market-driven global economy, and enjoying the free-trade agreements as negotiated through supranational organizations including the EU.[2] The paradox deepens when we consider that the community cohesion agenda may, through its promotion of the local, the relational, and the deliberative, aim to build a civil society out of the networks of community groups, associations, and voluntary organizations that are not part of government and that equally, do not operate as private companies in the market. This may be motivated by the belief that civil society is important because it connects with part of our lives that the state or the market do not reach. Alternately, it may be motivated by recognition that while civil society provides a context in which citizens can cooperatively pursue their comprehensive vision of the good life, it also, and without coercion, educates citizens about the principles, practices, and virtues required for the success of democratic institutions (Jensen 2006, p. 47, Skidmore and Bound 2008). As such, community cohesion may embody the primary aim of redefining identity as shared codes of behaviour among citizens and would-be citizens of the European Union.

The European Capital of Culture Initiative

The overlaying of local interests by a global superstructure is epitomized by the high-profile European Capital of Culture initiative (established by the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers to run from 2005 to 2019), which seeks to pair European Union cultural policy with regional areas in order to expand the EU's profile, influence and popularity.[3] Here,

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2 This contradiction becomes more apparent in context of fears that market-driven globalization will drown small cultural producers out of policy debates (if not markets) by a chorus of larger corporate players and by governments that aim to maximize the potential of culture as a strategic resource (that can be used, for example, in the creation of national cohesion, pride, or wellbeing). This reiterates the fear that globalization can lead to the commodification of traditional culture. Commentators often observe that the challenge national policy makers and global governance experts now face is how to 'protect cultural freedom, promote multicultural identities and simultaneously recognize the property rights of cultural producers' (Drache and Froese 2006, p. 363; See also Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006).

3 The European Capital of Culture programme was established by the European Parliament and the Council of Ministers to run from 2005 to 2019. The programme follows on from the European Cities of Culture programme which ended in 2004. Under the new programme, each Member State has been assigned a year for which to nominate a city to hold the title. The Independent Advisory Panel for the UK nomination for European Capital of Culture 2008, *Report on the short-listed applications for the UK nomination for*

culture acts as a tool of politics to act on and increase European intervention within the social. Even though the cities selected to be European Capitals of Culture are decided at a national level (in Liverpool's case, a national competition organised by DCMS), they aim to create a bridge between the concept and expansive governance structure of the European Union (or European 'Community' as it has previously been called), and local areas, contributing to the 'growing diffusion of power away from national governments; both upwards to the regional level of the European Union and downwards to the sub-national level of provincial, state and municipal governments' (Harmes 2006:725). Forged by cultural policy, connections between the EU and the local areas also provide a positive, symbolic representation of the wider EU aim to create a new umbrella of governance under which local areas and regions can identify, and hence enhances EU rhetoric to build the perception that the EU is a 'community of cultures' that promotes the collectivist ideal of 'unity in diversity'. This discourse is equivalent to the British concept of social cohesion because it focuses similarly on creating a federated union that is composite (inclusive of difference) but unified (European Communities 2002, p. 3).

Analysis of the material produced by Liverpool's 2003 bid to become European Capital of Culture 2008 reveals that the dominant perception of the city is that its strong sense of cultural identity has been shaped by its history as a port, by the impact of immigration and particular religious and political traditions, and by the subsequent impression that it is a city with 'national marginality and world centrality' (Berg 2005, p. 232). Liverpool's successful bid for the title repositioned the historic fact of Liverpool's economic isolation within a contemporary context as evidence of the city's 'independence', which is used to promote the policy ideal that individuals should recognize their local area as the primary site for cultural identification, rather than taking a generic, pre-existing or nostalgic 'British' set of values that have been shaken and uprooted by recent events. The opening statement in the executive summary of Liverpool's bid makes a point of celebrating the city's track record in utilizing culture as a key tool of renewal:

> This is a city where strong local identity embraces cultural diversity. Liverpool's 800-year history has given the city one of the longest established truly cosmopolitan communities in Britain, second perhaps only to London. While tradition has its place, Liverpool has learned the lessons of urban cohesion—sometimes from conflict and adversity—to emerge as a confluence of a myriad of cultures, which can now claim to lead by example, even on a world stage.[4]

Consistent with this example, and with the European Capital of Culture initiative more broadly, connections between regional wellbeing discourses and international policy interests are promoted through policies produced by national government, in a move that makes national governments appear compliant with the redirection of power upward to the over-arching superstructure of the EU at the expense of their own visibility. However, it may be that, to quote Stevenson (2006, p. 497), 'the kind of progressive European solidarity that is being articulated here' aims to avoid replicating a context in which '"the nation" becomes an

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European Capital of Culture 2008, issued by DCMS on behalf of the Independent Advisory Panel for the UK nomination for European Capital of Culture 2008 (2003, p. 2). For background on the European Cities of Culture programme, see García 2005, pp. 841–68.

4 Culture in all its configurations is perceived as central to Liverpool's successful bid for the European Capital of Culture 2008 title. One section of the executive summary of the bid reports: 'Culture, with its potential to drive both tourism and inward investment, as well as deal with the enormous challenges of regenerating communities, is a key tool' (LCC 2002, p. 201). In this context, culture is used to characterize all forms of social exchange, ethnic identifications, lifestyle choices, and the geographies of taste and value that are both aesthetic and economic.

anchor in the troubled waters of globalization', and thus attempts to remove 'nation' from the equation, encouraging individuals to identify with local regions and contribute to the wellbeing of their communities in its place. The remapping of diversity onto local region (away from ethnicity) is exemplified by Ruth Kelly's statement (in Bunting 2007, p. 1) that 'Fundamentally, the challenge [to national social cohesion] is at local level, identity is primarily located at the local level'. It may also reflect the more overarching loss of confidence in the central agency of the nation. Delanty's idea (2007a, p. 70) that citizenship has been 'split into fragments and has lost its capacity to be integrative' seems to make sense of this complex context, despite uncovering a tension where even though the promotion of local areas has been a central government initiative, it compromises traditional concepts of citizenship because it allows for the possibility of multiple identities and multiple points of identification. I take this to mean that by suggesting that individuals should identify principally with the local areas in which they reside, national government has also effectively allowed for the *possibility of choice*—and must therefore be prepared that individuals will, despite the advice, choose to practice different cultures of citizenship.

We can begin to make sense of these tensions by observing that on the one hand, citizenship is both understood in increasingly liberal terms, and identified as a participant in an increasingly contested domain in which the state is only one actor, where it is 'no longer the sole frame of citizenship in the face of new nationalisms and cross-border affinities that no single government apparatus can contain' (Feldblum in Miller 2001, p. 5). Indeed, citizenship is now routinely described according to more subjective reflections on what binds us, what we expect from life and of what we are, and from the understanding that a concrete sense of community and reflection on one's own identities and everyday interpersonal interactions contribute importantly to the way citizenship is experienced and represented. However, national governments continue to be perceived as powerful defenders of culture (Barker and Dumont 2006, p. 134), if not the main guarantor of human rights (Delanty 2007a, p. 71). And museums have always been instrumental to the central role citizenship has had in ongoing projects of national cultural homogenization. Both sides of the debate have been played out in responses to the National Museum of the American Indian, which has been identified by some commentators as a site that advocates successfully for Native concerns, while for others, the museum is perceived to represent a compelling if not oppressive image of federal government authority. It is to a discussion of the contradictions inherent in the relationship between calls for Native sovereignty and the symbols and colonial legacy of the federated United States of America—summarized in the national motto: '*E pluribus unum*': 'out of many, one'—that I now turn.

The National Museum of the American Indian and Self-Governance Rights

In contrast to nationalism, which has been defined as a political ideology with culture at its center (Smith 1991, p. 74), self-determination has been defined as 'the right of a distinct and identifiable group of people or a separate political state to set the standards and mores of what constitutes its traditional culture and how it will honour and practice that culture' (Miller 2005, p. 123 in McMullen 2008). The National Museum of the American Indian (hereafter referred to as the NMAI) attempts to balance ideas of mainstream American nationalism that are embraced by its largely non-Native visitors to the Mall Museum, with the ideas of tribal sovereignty and independence that are embraced for the most by large sections of the museum's Native constituents. This means that discussions about nation, nationalism, affiliation, and citizenship are complex and problematic for the NMAI, which, despite being a national museum, has an international mandate, and privileges images of shared, multi-tribal authority. In light of its broad remit, the National Museum of the American Indian recognizes the value of both engaging with and modelling the 'bottom-up' practices of community

engagement that are employed by intermediary institutions including the cultural centers and tribal museums located within and governed by one of the 562 federally recognized tribes, as well as the many other tribes, and or/communities that seek status as independent sovereign nations (Abrams 2004, p. 3) and which may or may not accept the concept of a singular American nation-state. This sense of potentially conflicting loyalties and a subsequent awareness of the requirement to balance multiple conceptions and indeed cultures of citizenship led the founding director of the NMAI, W. Richard West Jr, to contend that the museum must embody a paradigm shift. In a frequently-quoted statement, West (in Evelyn and Hirsch 2006, p. 90) asserts that the NMAI 'has the capacity for becoming a larger social and civil space, a national and international forum . . . regarding Native peoples and cultures and their broad and deep experience, past and present'. This statement reiterates the spirit of the NMAI's conception as represented in the institution's central planning treatise, *The Way of the People* (Smithsonian Institution Office of Design and Construction 1991, p. 103) which articulated that the NMAI would 'extend and change the definition of a museum within the Smithsonian Institution and in the perceptions of its visitors, through conducting traditional museum activities in new ways'. And, perhaps indicating success in regard to this aspiration, in 2006, the NMAI was itself described by at least one commentator as being 'like a tribal museum' (Jacknis 2006, p. 532).

The NMAI was established by an act of Congress in 1989 and embodied a new spirit of reconciliation as well as a revitalized interest in cultural politics and the aim to reconnect collections and communities. The Washington campus of the museum opened on the Mall in September 2004. Replicating a kind of multifaceted, multidirectional constellation, the NMAI is comprised of individual and collective and personal and institutional voices, and barters consciously with the idea that museums are valuable both to the government and diverse publics because of their widespread role and key investment in the project of identity-making. The museum renders voices both figuratively and pragmatically, and its process of collaborative decision-making is epitomized by the Welcome Wall—where hundreds of written and spoken words meaning 'welcome' in Native languages from throughout the Americas are projected onto a 23-foot screen above the Welcome Desk inside the entrance. Within this highly animated representational sphere, these voices (and the collections and stories that they speak to, through and for) connote the museum's aim to engage with the social life of Native American people and communities beyond its walls. Most of all, it acknowledges that the full possibilities of citizenship can only be produced and maintained if individuals feel they have a voice and the 'the space in which to exercise a voice' (Couldry 2006, p. 326; See also West 1993, pp. 5–8). In this mode, the institution adopts the role of social activist, and lobbies for a greater recognition of cultural rights (including the repatriation of heritage and the preservation of language) and human rights (including access to health, education, employment and housing services). At the same time as it demonstrates the potential for federal government agencies and local tribal organizations to work as productive partners, the museum's attention to representing pluralism clearly encourages Native Americans to identify simultaneously as Indigenous citizens and citizens of the United States (Sissons 2005, p. 115).

The NMAI's developers were motivated by the principle that community ownership of the museum or cultural center should be apparent at all levels of the museum's operations, particularly in relation to management. The principle is manifest in its mission, goals and objectives, but is most clearly depicted through the make-up of the NMAI's Board of Trustees, which is legislated to have 23 members, 50 percent or more of whom will be Native American. Indeed, the NMAI has aimed to model itself as a cultural center-like museum (Jacknis 2006, p. 532, Cooper 2006, p. 8) that is 'national' insofar as it brings together or 'federates' the diverse interests of its key constituents and communities by representing the collective presence and agency of the many communities. Despite the NMAI's attention to pluralism,

however, the question of who—federal government or Native nation—ultimately has the right to define the field of citizenship becomes very difficult in view of the fact that the American tradition of citizenship has tended to stress engagement with the local community rather than a central bureaucratic state (Putnam 2000). The tension between state or national identity and tribal sovereignty was rendered acute by the concerns expressed by some commentators over the symbolic meaning of the placement of the NMAI on the National Mall in Washington DC, directly opposite the Capitol Building.[5] This tension is also apparent in the *The Way of the People* (Smithsonian Institution Office of Design and Construction 1991, p. 102), in which consultants explained that the design of the NMAI:

> could be seen as analogous in some ways to that of a nation's embassy in a foreign capital. … This analogy of course is only partial: there are hundreds of sovereign Native nations of this hemisphere represented by the Museum and many of their people are United States citizens.

The NMAI's focus—as stated in its mission—on 'contemporary culture and cultural achievements of the Natives of the Western Hemisphere' (http://www.nmai.si.edu) offers a clear indication that the museum aimed to foreground and privilege the concept of cultural citizenship over a more traditional, and politically fraught definition of the term as tied exclusively to ideas of nationalism (where, for instance, citizens enact allegiance to the nation as an imagined political entity that has the power to confer legitimacy but also to reject claims to membership) (Cobb 2005, p. 489, p. 492). The shift away from purely political notions of citizenship may have been designed to avoid butting up against the reality that in the US as elsewhere, citizenship has become a site of competing visions of political community, as well as the recognition that this is nowhere more apparent than in forums representing relationships between the federal government of the United States, Native nations, and other federally recognized and unrecognized tribes. However, disappointment in the perceived lack or absence of politics and statements about sovereignty from the museum have been expressed by a number of Native commentators, including a former NMAI employee, Jacki Thompson Rand (2007, p. 134), who argued that the institution's focus on cultural recognition and the representation of traditional and contemporary arts is not sufficient to motivate real change. In terms reminiscent of Ong's (1996, p. 738) critique of Rosaldo's claims for cultural citizenship, Thompson Rand argues that cultural recognition 'will not create a working arena where Native America might engage the United States government on something resembling level ground', but will only provide a distraction from the core project of achieving social justice, political power, and economic change for Native Americans. Her response shows that there is diversity of opinion and debate amongst Native Americans regarding the potential for culture to produce a satisfactory experience of citizenship. Other commentators have similarly argued that the basis for an effective indigenous citizenship would need to strengthen the potential for participatory democracy (ideally through increased direct representation in Congress) rather than emerge exclusively from the notion of cultural autonomy or cultural citizenship.

Designed in the mode of aspirational intermediary institution, the NMAI aims to mediate between the federal government and the museum's regional and international publics and core communities and constituents. The aim to create a 'long-term collaboration between the National Museum of the American Indian and Native communities' (Cooper 2006, p. 9) also responds to the *Tribal Museums in American* report (Abrams 2004) that presented results of a survey that sought to determine 'the present overall status, current situation, needs, and expectations of a wide range of tribal museums and cultural centers throughout the United

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5 For an emblematic range of responses to the NMAI see *The Public Historian* 28(2), 2006, and *American Indian Quarterly* 30(3 and 4), 2006.

States' (Abrams 2004, p. 3). According to the report's author, George H.J. Abrams (2004, p. 24), 'one of the major conclusions to emerge from this survey is the almost universal expression of need for the creation of a national American Indian tribal museum association; a free-standing organization unaffiliated with any existing organization'. The NMAI may prefer to produce the image of partnership in the network (rather than ownership over it) to avoid the fact of their affiliation both with the Smithsonian and with federal government. The image of independence may also work to downplay perceptions that the museum functions as an instrument of the government that promotes and neutralizes public policy and provides the role as 'a facilitator of cross-cultural exchange with a view to taking the sting out of the politics of difference within the wider society' (Bennett 2006, p. 59). Perception of the NMAI as independent is important also because, according to Abrams (2004, p. 24):

> Some [tribal museums] also see such an organization as a potential lobbying organization to press for legislation favourable to the Indian museum movement in the United States. Advocacy ranks relatively high by respondents, and they picture an organization representing tribal museums at the national level.

The NMAI's interest in facilitating the development and ongoing progress of a network of tribal museums across the United States offers a general example that illustrates the broad range of cultural agents that are active across the political, social and cultural spectrum. In this instance alone, the museum may attempt or be seen to mediate between the federal government and tribal communities and nations, offering 'public relations for tribal government' (Abrams 2004, p. 7), as well as promoting federal government services. While Penney (2000, p. 47) notes that Native American consultants, advisory board and community representatives are often 'confused about the intentions of museums when they are asked to participate' in their programmes, one NMAI curator interviewed for this paper suggested that in fact communities agreed to the NMAI's invitations to be involved in the museum's opening exhibitions (such as *Our Peoples: Giving Voice to Our Histories*) because they hoped that the museum would function as an intermediary institution by providing a stage that would accommodate and legitimize their political concerns. In another context, McMullen (2008) says that tribal participation in the museum's programmes may be 'strategically aimed at increasing community visibility and contributing toward federal recognition as a tribe with their own cultural traditions'.

The desire to function as an intermediary institution charges the NMAI with providing a clearly defined use-value or social functionality that moves beyond educational programmes to embrace public service and social development ideals so that it can motivate action beyond its walls. Rather than producing the conditions for negotiation that the dialogical civil sphere environment would seek to evoke, this means that postcolonial and cultural diversity discourses are overlaid against the ideals of liberal citizenship that are more usually associated with traditional nation-building exercises, and that these expand (via the museum's exhibitions, collections, resources, and public outreach programmes) to impact beyond the museum's immediate environment. Indeed, while she does not use this terminology, it is clear that Thompson Rand's critique of the NMAI is based at least in part on her perception that it fails in its responsibility to function as an intermediary institution. In this guise, the museum would present an accurate history of colonial encounter and its effects. It would provide a bridge between the museum's resources and collections and the communities who are traditional owners of the cultural patrimony. Most importantly though, if the museum were to function as an intermediary institution, it would recognise and inspire Native Americans to engage in activism and community leadership. It would aspire to more than cultural recognition and celebrate examples that include 'the successes of the Chickasaw Nation', who have used casino proceeds to benefit the people in the form of a wellness center, counselling cen-

ter, library, scholarships, an aviation and science summer academy, and rebuilt stomp grounds (for an annual green corn dance), 'the devoted activism and scholarship of Andrea Smith, and the ongoing work of community-based activists' (Thompson Rand 2007).

Conclusion

Thompson Rand's response to the NMAI is important and it echoes claims that the current urban regeneration of Liverpool is likely to achieve little if any marked improvement in social membership, nor diminish social inequality. In their study of Liverpool's bid, Paul Jones and Stuart Wilks-Heeg (2004, p. 353) similarly argue that there is a significant danger that Liverpool Capital of Culture will engender a 'politics that celebrates marginality rather than seeking to redress it'. This analysis reveals the underlying tension separating the perception that culture is a tool for economic growth from the contention that cultural policy can produce and embrace grassroots and community based activity. It also makes the point that the Capital of Culture bid and corresponding events are cultural policy initiatives which are not politically neutral but inherently bound up with political economy and its attendant social inequalities. Indeed, 'the real danger' may be that 'Liverpool's oft-cited "renaissance" will not include those who operate outside of a politically sanctioned culture that can be incorporated into the new re-branded image of the city' (Jones and Wilks-Heeg 2004, p. 357). And yet, while there can be little doubt that top-down, policy-driven cultural activities (like the Liverpool Capital of Culture 2008) most often promote the development of entrepreneurial behaviour intended to attract the tourist dollar rather than the re-integration of locals into a shared space of meaningful exchange, it is important to make the point that culture continues to be recognized as a tool that is valuable for source communities and community-based 'bottom-up' activism as well as governments and markets. Advocacy (that is no less political but more locally— rather than nationally—directed) and negotiation continue to be valued by museums and public policy as keywords that are understood to offer effective ways of facilitating the development of community networks, strategies that enable community involvement in the museum, and an active sense of citizenship. Indeed, this is the core aspiration of the NMAI, which is predicated on the expectation that the promotion of cultural confidence and recognition are central to any attempt to redress the social problems experienced by Native Americans. The NMAI's focus on community as a site of cultural production and agency confers with Dahlgren's (2006, p. 273) argument that citizenship is, 'in part, a question of learning by doing, but also that civic competence cannot derive exclusively from political society; [emerging instead] from the overall development of the subject'.

I do not have sufficient space to discuss further examples where individuals and community groups have themselves utilized culture to their political advantage, but it is important to note that this does happen in the EU and Britain (see the Self-Build Cities programme, for example, the Glasgow 2020 project in Hassan et. al 2007), and in the USA, where the clearest examples are Native cultural centers and tribal museums. A single, if not exemplary illustration of this is the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository in Alaska, which was conceptualized in the late 1970s when the Kodiak Area Native Association—a nonprofit organization that provides healthcare and social services to Kodiak's Native people—'recognized the reawakening and preserving of Alutiiq traditions as essential to community healing' (Steffian 2006, p. 32). Importantly, the Alutiiq Museum aimed to avoid simply 're-presenting' civil society in existing institutions and preferred to offer new ways of 'doing' cultural politics by de-linking the concept of citizenship from one determined by nation to one that becomes multiple and increasingly democratic. As such, it may provide an illustration of Jürgen Habermas' emphatic call for the urgent expansion and multiplication of spaces within which citizens may shape the rules, policies and decisions that govern their lives at the local, national and supranational levels (Habermas 2001, Arneil 2007, pp. 301-28.). This example also

makes the point that we should remain wary of overstating the extent of governmental reach, so as to avoid challenging the potential that particular circumstance, seized discourse, contestation and compromise have to develop into new processes and forms of government and even altered relationships between individuals and the state, which may even result in the creation of new definitions of citizenship and new sites of sovereignty.

The European Capital of Culture initiative, the National Museum of the American Indian, and the Alutiiq Museum all offer proof that museums and cultural initiatives are publicly understood as providing social and as political spaces, as well as cultural ones. Each of these case studies have been produced by partnerships between different levels of government and community organizations—the Liverpool Council and the European Union in the first case, the Smithsonian Institution, the US federal government, and many tribal authorities in the second, and a number of local community organizations in the third. Looked at comparatively, they express different and sometimes multiple conceptions of citizenship, and provide loose illustrations of Kymlicka and Norman's (1994) concepts of multicultural rights and self-governance rights in relation to the EU and USA. However, rather than representing neatly bounded 'cultures' (even if they try), these examples demonstrate difficult-to-define and contested distributions and even constituents in some cases. When accompanied by the concerns of Thompson Rand (2007) and Jones and Wilks-Heeg (2004) that cultural rights do not easily equate to political change, this complex field may lead us to question the utility of the term 'cultural citizenship', or the currency of the concept of European identity. Indeed, instead of assuming that we already know what cultural citizenship or European identity is, who these processes benefit, and what purposes they may have, we may be better to focus our investigation on the particular practices, 'cultures' and politics of citizenship and identity that play out in everyday communicative spaces as well as through museums, government policy, and in other institutions that create or challenge dominant cultural imaginaries.

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Memories of Expo 67: Recollections
of Montreal's World Fair

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This paper discusses the results of a long-term memory study in which fifty visitors to Expo 67 (25 participants from British Columbia and 25 from Quebec) shared their recollections of their personal experience forty years after the event. The impetus for such a study stems from a desire to understand the long-term impact of visitor experience in informal, leisure-time contexts, and, particularly in large-scale exhibitions. This paper presents and discusses outcomes that elucidate the nature of personal memories of Expo 67 and in relation to the collective memory of cultural events/productions. Moreover, the study illustrates and discusses an interesting paradox of personal memories of the event. Specifically, most visitors report common themes surrounding the memory of self (the script of events, the things they saw and did), yet almost all participants report highly idiosyncratic stories that are mediated by their personal identities, and more so, the recollection and perception of the national significance of Expo 67 appears clearly differentiated by cultural communities to which they are affiliated. These understandings provide insights assist museums and similar institutions employing exhibit media, to comprehend the long-term impact of visitor experience.

Memories of Expo 67: Recollections of Montreal's World Fair 40 Years After the Event

> When the lights go out for the last time, when the crowds have left the pavilions and the avenues, a World Exhibition begins a new life. Less glittering but more profound, this new life is nourished in the souls of those who visited the Exhibition, and it will blossom into a legend for generations to come. (Pierre Dupuy, 1968. p. 7 in Expo 67: The Official Souvenir Album)

When Commissioner General of Expo 67, Pierre Dupuy, wrote these words shortly after the event, he probably did not expect anyone to investigate the matter literally. What do people actually remember of their visit to Expo 67, decades after the event? Expo was often referred to as Canada's entry on the world stage; a universal exposition viewed by experts as one of the best of its kind ever staged since the inception of the London Exposition of 1951. This paper echoes Dupuy's thoughts by explicating the results of a long-term memory study in which fifty visitors to Expo 67 (25 participants from British Columbia and 25 from Quebec) shared their recollections of their personal experience forty years after the event. This paper presents and discusses outcomes that elucidate the nature of personal memories of Expo 67 and in relation to the collective memory of cultural events/productions. Moreover, the study illustrates and discusses an interesting paradox of personal memories of the event. Specifically, most visitors report common themes surrounding the memory of self (the script of events, the things they saw and did), yet almost all participants report highly idiosyncratic stories that are mediated by their personal identities, and more so, the recollection and perception of the national significance of Expo 67 appears clearly differentiated by cultural communities to which they are affiliated.

The investigation focusing on visitors' memories of Expo 67 is part of a larger study exploring nature and character of long-term memories of World Expositions. The impetus for such a study stems from a desire to understand the long-term impact of visitor experience in informal, leisure-time contexts, and, particularly in large-scale exhibitions. Such understandings provide insights that will better serve museums and similar institutions employing exhibit media, and ultimately enhance visitor experience. Over the past 20 years, museums have become increasingly interested in capturing visitors' thoughts about exhibitions to assess the institution's ability to communicate and engage with their audience. It is one strategy, among others, to situate the role of the museum in contemporary society.

Although this study examines visitors' memories of a World Exposition rather **than recollections** of a museum visit, many parallels can be drawn between the two kinds of experiences: both require from participants a physical and intellectual engagement with displays of material culture which are presented within a circumscribed environment. These displays were and continue to be designed for public education and entertainment in mind. Both contexts are experiences generally propelled by the organizers' desire to explain, organize and promote a specific set of values and understandings of the world. Additionally, the examination of memories from a sample of visitors to World Expositions can be easily located in terms of the chronological distance since the event is more easily identified than casual visits to a museum.

The Study: Background and Methodology

Very few visitor studies have set out to understand the long-term impact of museum or exposition visits years after the experience. This study represents the first known attempt to understand the impact of exhibition-like media 40 years after the event. Most visitor impact studies collect visitor feedback/response days, weeks, months after the visit (cf. Anderson,

1999; Anderson, Lucas, Ginns & Dierking, 2000; Adelman, Falk & James, 2000; McManus, 1993; Medved & Oatley, 2000; Medved, Cupchik & Oatley, 2004; Stevenson, 1991). This study is situated within a suite of studies conducted by co-author Anderson, which have considered visitor memories of several World Expositions including, Expo 70 (Osaka), Expo 86 (Vancouver), and Expo 88 (Brisbane). Anderson (2003) investigated the long-term memories of 50 visitors who attended either Expo 86 or Expo 88 were probed through in-depth, face-to-face interviews. The previous statement isn't a sentence. The outcomes reported represent themes common to visitors' memories of two different expositions held in two different countries, yet the emergent themes regarding memories of these kinds of events were strongly confirmatory of each other. In particular, the study demonstrated that visitors' social memories of the experience were highly salient, their socio-cultural identities at the time of the experience critically shaped their memories of the experience, and the agendas that visitors recalled at the time of the experience influenced the vividness of memory. Later work by Anderson & Shimizu (2007a, 2007b), which investigated visitors' memories of Expo 70, demonstrated that three psychological and behavioral factors - affect, agenda fulfillment, and rehearsal - are key to the development and retention of vivid long-term memories. Anderson and Shimizu (2007a) speculated that memory episodes that have a strong associated affect and/or agenda fulfillment as they occurred 34 years since the participants' Expo 70 experiences are likely influencing the degree to which they are later rehearsed through life. Hence, this combination of factors ultimately incites memories to become rehearsed, and thus plausibly accounts for high levels of memory vividness many years later.

The outcomes reported in this paper were derived from a qualitative-interpretivist approach (Schwandt, 1998) to understand the nature and character of visitors' long-term memories of Expo 67'. The nature of interpretive research often reveals insights that are not entirely predictable at the commencement of the study, and in the case of this research the broader aforementioned focus permitted the emergence of several insights related to impact of these kinds of event as a function of visitor memories 40 years later. The study was in part phenomenographic in nature, in that it sought to interpret the phenomenon of the nature and character of visitors' long-term memories of World Expos (Martin, 1986; Holstwin & Gubrium, 1998), while its theoretical location resides with the examination of episodic and/or autobiographical aspects of recall (Conway, 2001; Squire, 1992; Tulving, 1983; Tulving and Donaldson, 1972).

Between November 2006 and February 2007, 50 participants who had visited Expo 67 were individually interviewed face-to-face using a semi-structured interview protocol. Interviews were on average 40 minutes and sometimes as long as 60 minutes. The sample comprised 31 females and 19 males who were between the ages of 7 and 40 in 1967. Half the participants lived in Greater Vancouver and the other half in the Montreal area. Interviews were conducted by researchers in English (27) or in French (23). The interviews were conducted in the language in which the participants felt the most comfortable articulating their memories of the event. All Vancouver-based interviews were conducted in English and all but two Montreal-based interviews were conducted in French. The cultural/ethnic background of participants consisted of a majority of Canada-born Caucasians with the exception of one Aboriginal woman, one African-American, and three Caucasians who had recently immigrated to Canada at the time of Expo.

Interviews took place in community centers, on university campuses and in the homes of interviewees. Participants were voluntarily recruited to participate in the study by means of electronic posters sent via list-serve. The advertisement cited the objectives of the study and called for participants of diverse ages who visited the exposition at least once. The advertisement stressed that participants did not need a detailed memory of Expo in order to participate in the study. The interview questions followed the semi-structured interview

protocol, and were conducted in a relaxed conversational manner and probed issues such as the spontaneous recall of Expo memories; episodic memories of events, occurrences and happenings during their visit(s); social aspects of their visit including stories and events that participants could recall in relation to their social context; and their socio-cultural identity (or identities) in 1967, such as their stage of life, interests and occupations. The final interview question prompted participants to discuss the significance of Expo 67 for Quebec and/or Canada.

Over 350 of these episodic memories[1] were discerned from fifty participants' interviews and form the basis of thematic analysis. *Episodic memory* in this study was defined as the recollection of singular events in the life of a person. It is what a person remembers feeling, thinking, seeing and doing. It is the memory of life experiences seen through the individuals' perspective and mediated through identity of the individual. Concern about the *accuracy* of participants' memories was not a focus of the study. It is known that long-term memory is a contingent, evolving, and subjective account of thoughts, events and experiences that took place in the life of individuals. Moreover, it is well accepted that subsequent experiences and time may re-shape the way experiences are remembered and conceptualized in the life script (Bruner, 1994; Freeman, 1993; Neisser & Fivush, 1994, Bielick & Karns, 1998; Ellenbogen, 2002). Hence, in this study, the qualitatively rich memories described by the participants were considered their "current reality" (or "subjective reality") of the recalled events in 1967.

In a recent publication, renowned world fair historian R.W. Rydell (2006) provides a robust literature review of world fairs, reiterating the historical and symbiotic relationship between museums and world fairs. While asserting the relevance of post-structural analysis in understanding the role of world fairs in shaping modernity, Rydell alludes to a range of promising research avenues aimed at complexifying the story of this cultural institution. One of the under-studied aspects identified was the issue of human agency and particularly the visitors' meaning-making abilities. He also commented on the general paucity of studies of fair visitors in academic literature. While admission statistics, marketing surveys and newspaper editorials may be the only way to collect data about visitors of historical fairs, the memory study of Expo 67, provides an exceptional opportunity to analyze visitor's experiences first hand. This paper will in part fill this research gap by considering the question of world fair memories in relation to visitor's agency.

EXPO 67– Key Features of the Experiential Case

Expo '67 ran from April to October 1967 in Montreal, Quebec. It consisted of more than 900 acres partly built on two man-made islands in the St-Lawrence River. It qualified as a first-category Fair, a universal, international exposition officially defined as "one at which various countries construct their own pavilions and which constitutes a living testimony of the contemporary epoch."[2] Attendance reached fifty-three million; almost doubling predictions. The exposition surpassed everyone's expectation in scope and quality. With a less experienced team and a tighter timeline than at other venues, the organizers managed to produce the second largest World Fair ever held. Sixty-one countries participated. The creation of Expo 67 allowed the creation of important infrastructures for Montreal: a subway system, roads, bridges, slum clearance, hotels and theatres. The theme of the Fair, "Man and

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1   Other episodic memories were identified but only the most vivid ones were coded.
2   Definition elaborated by Bureau International des Expositions (BIE) founded in 1931. The BIE establishes the dates and locations of fairs and broadly oversee planning and organization, insuring that the host country meets the organization's rules and requirements.

his World"[3] expressed humanistic interests in exploring man's ability to interact with nature and each other. In the countercultural atmosphere of the late sixties, while war raged in Vietnam and Soviets and Americans competed in the space race, the Fair's organizers "made a deliberate point that their event would not be a showcase for what they described as 'cold technology'." (Mattie, p. 228).

Data Analysis and Interpretation

The analysis and interpretation of data exposes both the uniqueness and commonalities of participants' Expo 67 memories. Emergent themes will be discussed first in *Remembering the Self* where visitors' memories of their experience oscillate between, or fuse, the very personal and Expo 67's intended portrayal of the world and the era. The second part of the analysis, *Remembering the Nation*, will launch a discussion about the interplay between individual recollections and the collective memory of cultural productions. The large number of participants' quotes is a deliberate effort to share with readers the texture and nature of these long-term recalls.

I REMEMBERING MYSELF

Articulation of Memories

When comparing the overall reported episodic script of participants' memories of Expo 67, the level of detail and number of episodes self-reported varied[4]. However, the backdrop of the fifty participants' "Expo narratives" (travelling, site exploring, being impressed by the setting, etc.) was, on a surface-level analysis, similar from one participant's account to another, but the actors and the conditions in which the plot unfolded beyond the surface-level analysis differed tremendously. It seems apparent from this and other studies (c.f. Anderson, Storkdieck & Spook, 2007) that a wide range of variables such as visitor characteristics (age, gender, occupation, personal interests, and cultural background) mediated the way memory was encoded. Episodic memories are idiosyncratic and at times, mundane and yet they are indicative of the individual's identity, sensitivity and worldview at the time the memories were etched. The following interview segments from three participants provide exemplars of the heterogeneity, and richness of recollected episodes.[5]

> We were about to take the Metro [subway] to go to the Expo site, when suddenly a group of policeman came to us and push us aside saying "Make way! Make way!" We then saw General de Gaulle walking to the metro with his entourage. The president of France was taking the Metro to go to Expo site; imagine that! It went so fast. I was so close to him, I could have touched him! Later on we went to see him at the French pavilion and in the crowd, somebody yelled "Assassin." The man was immediately arrested. It had to do with the conflicts in Algeria, I think. . . It is the following day that General de Gaulle made his *famous* statement at the municipal hall. We went back to our hostel and talked about this incident with our new American friends."5 *(Participant #32, 17-year old Anglophone*

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3   The original title in French "Terre des Hommes" referenced the title of a book from French author Antoine de Saint-Exupery (1900-1945) whose writings were reflections on the place of man in the universe.

4   The number of vivid memories recalled by participants varied from 2 to 13.

5   The participant refers to General de Gaulle's speech of July 25, 1967 at Montreal City Hall where he made evident his support for Quebec's separatist movement.

man, travelling with one friend from Nova Scotia; they visited Expo for a full week. Today: Quebec resident)

One thing surprised me. In Montreal, people when taking the bus, would push each other. They were very rude. So I thought, "What will happen when they'll take the Metro at Expo?" Nothing bad happened. People were so civilized; all in ranks; same thing on Expo Site. I remember saying to my relatives from out-of-town, "Don't worry, people are very respectful." Same thing when we would be waiting in line to get in the pavilions. The cleanliness was also surprising; so many people and yet nobody misbehaving.

(Participant # 29, 32-year old man, Francophone from Montreal, worked as an engineer, visited several times (20+) with family and relatives. Today: Quebec resident)

We waited two hours to taste lobster. Being Jewish it was the first time we were going to eat lobster; it's not kosher food. When it came time to order, we all ordered lobster except one of the girls ordered sole - she had chickened out at the last moment. We were furious! We kept talking about it [this incident] years after." *(Participant # 4, 17-year old woman, travelled from Toronto with three other girlfriends; all four had just graduated from high school. Visited Expo 67 a full week. Today: BC resident)*

Factors affecting memory vividness can be seen at work: *affect* in the form of recalled excitement, surprise, frustration and *rehearsal* in the form of subsequent discussions with friends and relatives. These factors are noticeably modulated by visitor's characteristic such as age and specific interests. These accounts of Expo 67 do evoke important aspects of the events: the visit of the French president, the behaviour of the crowd, the waiting time before entering pavilions and the cleanliness of the site. But contrary to official historical records, they are overtly saturated with personal details, feelings and judgments making the event and self remembered simultaneously. The re-framing of these episodes captured dominant aspects of their identity at the time of the visit. Participant #32 for example situates his visit as his first real trip as a young independent adult. "We had a summer job waiting for us back home, and we were just ready for an adventure." Visitor #29 a young father, recalls thoroughly enjoying acting as a guide at Expo 67 for his out-of-town relatives and seeing the various displays through the eyes of his children and nephews. Participant #4 remembers clearly feeling happy to 'be functioning as an adult ... .We felt intelligent and about to be educated" referring to her and her friends about to start their university degree. The recollections put the world fair in constant relations to the participants' identity and actions (including feelings and thoughts). It is these inter-actions with world fair displays, environments and people that are remembered. The significance of these interactions however must also be considered within a particular socio-historical context that impacts the nature of the memories. The identification of themes in the memories does help account for these contextual components.

Emerging Themes Across Participants' Memories

Amid the range of Expo narratives, common themes emerged regardless of participants' linguistic and cultural differences. Three predominant themes emerged from our interpretive analysis and linked memories associated with (a) technological innovations (the intended portrayal and representations of the world and the era), and (b) otherness (the personal or mediated meeting with other cultures, mostly perceived as exotic), and (c) mundane episodes (the seemingly insignificant, but highly important personal experiences of the individual).

The presence of the first two themes in participants' memories, representing two-third of the recalled episodes, concurs with World Fair literature that considers universal expositions as "giant rituals" of modernity; bold expressions of nationalism affirming cultural identity and economic competence through very sophisticated displays of material and living cultures

associated with technological progress, racial and cultural taxonomies and exoticness (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Rydell, 1994; Willinsky, 1998) Below is an inventory of common memories amongst participants that demonstrate a keen interest and curiosity for technological innovations, and otherness. These memories, unlike the mundane, deal directly with the exposition displays. Each participant recalled only a few of the following memories; the frequency of these memories is indicated beside each memory:

Table 1. Nature of memories association with fascination with technological innovations and otherness.

Nature of technological innovations memories	Nature of otherness memories
Entering, traveling, walking in the new subway; (5) Entering, touching, seeing, walking in Geodesic dome (US pavilion); (13) Entering, admiring structures of suspended tent (German pavilion), (6) Watching, walking on, the man-made islands on which the Expo site was built; (3) Seeing, traveling on, watching from the suspended monorail; (9) Seeing up close the NASA display in the US pavilion; (4) Seeing from bridge, up close, visiting inside Habitat 67: residential complex made of prefabricated, superimposed cubicles (5) Watching, feeling dizzy, feeling immersed by a 360-degree film production titled "Canada 67" at the Telephone pavilion; (16) Watching, responding to facilitators, multimedia interactive production (*polyvision*, *diapolyecran* and *kino-automat* at the Czech pavilion.(6) Touching, seeing, getting in a particular display having to do with technological innovations i.e the talking chairs in the Australian pavilion, new rides at the amusement park (15)	Eating and smelling exotic food; (28) Meeting/ listening/ conversing with foreigners (for out-of-province Anglophones, French culture was exotic); (11) Hearing and seeing traditional musical/dance performances from various cultures; and (11) Seeing, touching, climbing exotic objects, animals (20) Going through, touching, seeing non-Western pavilion architectures (Thailand, Iran, African, Mexican, Ceylan) (25)

Displays of Technological Innovations

These recollections speak of novelty, kinaesthetic and aesthetic experiences related to personal encounters with innovative technologies. In large part, the techno memories spoke of optimism, connecting technological developments with progress: We, human kind, transport better, build better, and entertain better. Here are a few exemplars illustrating the articulation of this theme in participants' recollections.

> We went to the US pavilion. We entered through with the monorail. I felt intense happiness and awe. My eyes weren't big enough to see everything. I took an escalator. There were space shuttles, I think. Apollo? (Participant #48, 8-years old male, Francophone, living in Quebec visiting with parents and 6 siblings. Visited Expo once.

Today: Quebec resident)

When taking the metro to the site, I was really conscious we were going under water to get to the island. I was quite anxious. It's quite something when you think about it, travelling in a train underwater. I eventually calmed down and felt safer. (Participant #28, 10-year old female, Anglophone, living in Ontario, visiting with parents. Visited Expo for one week. Today: Quebec resident)

Bell pavilion had this 360-degree cinema. We were very impressed. We kept wondering how they did this. It's as if we were entering the image. It was on Canada. There were the RCMPs with their horse deployment/parade. It was unique. It was about showing off cutting-edge technology. They were talking about the technology but I can't remember the details. (Participant # 27, 40-year old female, Francophone, living in Quebec, visiting with mother. Visited Expo three or four times. Today: Quebec resident)

Displays of the Exotic Others

The fascination with other (mostly non-Western) cultures is embodied in statements concerned with "out-of-the-ordinary" architecture, people, objects or animals. Terms like "bizarre", "mysterious", "strange", "colourful", were often used to describe the exotic displays. It spoke of curiosity and openness to cultural differences. Below are a few interview excerpts conveying this key theme.

I remember visiting the USSR pavilion and feeling there was something a bit bizarre about visiting the "cold war enemy" and then realizing they were just like us. *(Participant #16, 25-year old female, Anglophone, visiting from Alberta with husband and toddler. Visited Expo for one week. Today: BC resident)*

In the Iran pavilion there was a demonstration that impressed me a lot with an artisan dressed in white with some kind of turban. He was doing ceramic, or paper. I remember seeing him working as he was sitting. It was totally outside of my daily life, my little neighborhood. The building had large blue columns, with glass. It represented wealth and luxury. It was like Disneyland transformed in real. It was an architecture I didn't know. It wasn't a brick building. (Participant #33, 12-year old female, Francophone, visiting with friends, or relatives. Visited Expo over thirty times. Today: Quebec resident)

I remember artisans making glass-making demonstrations at the Czech pavilion. It was intricate work. I had never seen anything like it. It impressed me. (Participant #1, 26-year old male, Anglophone, visiting from Nova Scotia with wife. Visited Expo for three days. Today: BC resident)

I remember the Chinese pavilion. It wasn't very busy. It was during the reign of Mao. I remember purchasing the little red book of Mao. I was curious to read it because I knew it had played a role in the Cultural Revolution. *(Participant #30, 27 year- old female Francophone, mother of two, lived in Montreal region. Visited Expo over 10 times. Quebec resident.)*

Recalling Technological Innovations and Otherness

Given the prevalence of these themes in the visitors' mnemonic script one could argue that these participant-visitors performed according to World Fair promoters' expectations in regard to an enthusiastic reception, and as this study demonstrates, a salient memory, for technological progress and an encounter with new elements of different/exotic cultures. From their inception, showcasing of technological advancements and the display of cultures of the world (divided by cultures of the colonizers and colonized) were always key components of

universal expositions. As Rydell (1984, 1994, 2006) explains, world fairs were complex events that served multiple purposes; nation-building being a central one. Expositions, just like museum exhibitions, were seen as a great vehicle to educate the public about cultural taxonomies and the necessity to embrace science and technologies for the development of strong modern nations. Conversely, any nations/cultures that did not subscribe to these ideals of scientific progress were perceived as less sophisticated. Participant's memories evoke this reality: economically powerful countries were appreciated for their ability to display technologies (even though aspects of traditions were on display); the smaller economic players for their displays of exotic traditions. In large part, their response to exhibitions became an appreciation and differentiation for human inventiveness whether folkloric or technological that acted as re-affirmation and consolidations of a social representation conforming and extending to the beliefs, values and interests of dominant corporative, political, and scientific authorities. As Rydell (2006) emphasized, World Fairs are "embedded in particular cultural, national and globalizing political economies". The production and reception of Expo 67 must be situated within a particular era. While embracing canons of modernity (fascination for technology and the exotic Other) western countries in the 1960s were developing new consciousness after witnessing two World Wars, the brutal violence of European colonization and the environmental effect of over-consumption. Participants' account describing their first encounters with images of the Holocaust, or the devastating impact of the residential school system on aboriginal communities, or their visits to *communist* pavilions during the cold war period attest to a new awareness and willingness on the part of fair producers and visitors to engage with the less celebratory side of modernity's rationalism and ideal of progress. Yet, even with the presence of this critical component in memories, participants generally regarded technological progress as a way to envision a better future.

Remembering the Seemingly Mundane

The third theme emerging from the participants' memories consists of recalls of mundane/banal episodes that derived from the Expo experience. They constitute close to one-third of the memories recalled during interviews. The theme of mundane memories has not received a great deal of attention in visitor studies. Perhaps because most of these memories do not seem at first glance to bear much relation to the nature and purpose associated with producing or visiting expositions. For example, in anecdotes such as wearing a particular pair of shoes, having a fight with a spouse, watching one's toddler's first steps, losing the car in the parking lot, Expo 67 acts as a backdrop. These recalls may seem trivial from the point of view of exhibit developers but they do hold some meaning to the individuals who remember them. By remembering who they were with and what they did and thought in a particular time and place, these stories contribute to the construction of the self (Bruner, 1994; Fivush, Hudson, & Nelson, 1983). It could be argued that these mundane memories act as a reminder that the meanings of cultural event activities such as going to world fairs or museums are enmeshed within the larger scope of life performances and process of self-identity formation in the context of modern life.

There are very few people who recall the same innocuous moments, the line-up being an exception. The mundane act of waiting is one of the most memorable episodic memories throughout the sample of visitors. It is remembered as a frustrating, but unavoidable, aspect of the experience. Participants' coping stories about the act of waiting in line differ dramatically. Some talk about the pleasure of chatting with foreigners, others discuss the intense heat, the avoidance of line, or their waiting strategies, or bypassing schemes. Why would people remember waiting in line forty years after the occurrence? Perhaps the compliance in regard to the line-ups has to do with the perceived importance of the event and the disciplining of the

body discussed in the work of Foucault (1980, 1981) and Bennett (1995) but it may possibly be a manifestation of individual's responses to the contingencies of modern life.

Historical/Structural Forces and Visitor Agency

It could be argued that the *educational* effect of world fairs (or the learning of cultural taxonomies benefiting the Western world) is evidenced in the memories of participants; and that these testimonies give weight to the notion pursued by museum scholars that the expositions have the ability to shape visitors' attitudes and beliefs. However, the phenomenographic approach to studying visitors' long-term memory of fairs also brings something new to the discussion: it invites researchers to consider the integration and appropriation of "World Fair memories" into the larger scheme of the visitors' life script. By doing so, the diversity of participants' accounts describing their visit acted as a reminder that visitors *participated* in the event in unique ways. By "taking part in," and "being part of," each person contributed to shaping the event. There would have been no Expo 67 without its visitors. Furthermore, despite the fair promoters' and organizers' (states officials, bureaucrats, designers) attempts to direct visitors' behaviour, visitors decided on the nature and combination of the itinerary, activities, frequency of visits and social groupings. Visitors' agency continued in the way visitors remembered and shared their experience of Expo with others. This argument expresses the tension involved in analysing visitors as recipients of dominant values conveyed through displays of material culture while considering the visitors' ability to negotiate meanings based on their individual features, life experience, and particular context of the visit. The richness and diversity of participants' memories are indicative of this individual ability to discriminate and construct meaning within a particular socio- historical frame.

II. REMEMBERING THE NATION

Discussions about the Importance of Expo 67 for Quebec and Canada

World Fairs have been identified as a catalyst for nationalistic sentiments and Expo 67 is no exception. It was recognized by the media as *the* centennial party for the nation; a rendezvous for all Canadians and the world (Expo 68, 1968; Fulford, 1968; Moore, 2007). It was a colossal and concerted effort that resulted in one of the best universal expositions ever produced. It was "The greatest thing we've done as a Nation," according to Peter C. Newman.[6] An enthusiastic international press expressed their amazement and admiration: "Expo 67 isn't just a World Fair: it has glitter, sex appeal, and it's given impact and meaning to a word that had none: Canada."[7] "What's got into our good, gray neighbour?"[8] "The most successful World's Fair in history!"[9] These are all expressions of admiration for the quality and creativity apparent in the making of the Fair, which may have boosted the confidence of the hosts at the time.

    The last question of the interview protocol: "What do you think was the significance of Expo 67 for Quebec and Canada?" referred directly to the impact of large-scale expositions on the collective. Researchers wanted to observe the participant's point of view as witness to the event as well as identify possible differences between the Francophone and Anglophone

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6   Reference in Fulford, 1968, pp 25-27.
7   London Observer's headline referenced in Fulford, 1968, pp 26-27.
8   Reference in Fulford, 1968, pp 25-27.
9   Time's headline referenced in Fulford, 1968, pp 25.

participants. English and French are Canada's two official languages with a majority speaking English with the exception of the province of Quebec. Cultural differences between these two linguistic communities have long been established (Bothwell, 1998; Letourneau, 1992; Taylor, 1996).

The vast majority of respondents of both linguistic groups agreed on the importance of the event for the nation for multiple reasons, which broadly centered around the themes of the scope, quality, originality of the exposition, and the event's capacity to attract people from all over the world at a time when international travel was a rather exotic and uncommon activity for the general public. We could say that episodic memories related to an appreciation for technological progress and otherness substantiated these patriotic feelings. National pride was associated with the materiality of Expo, which demonstrated the intellectual, cultural, and engineering competence of the hosts (Montreal, Quebec, Canada). The participants' responses to this question seemed to go beyond the scope of the lived memories. The forty years separating them from the event meant they situated the event within a broader historical scope.

One Event, Two National Narratives

As mentioned previously, participants' memories tended to be idiosyncratic and highly personalized. The thematically interpreted recollections, described in the *Remembering Self* section, signalled more similarities than differences between the memories of Anglophones and Francophones. Yet, the interpretation and framing of the event's historical significance varied drastically between the two groups. None of the Quebecois Francophones, for example, associated Expo 67 with Canada's centennial (a major source of funding and event promotion came from the federal government to celebrate Canada's anniversary). For the Francophone participants, Expo 67 was primarily Quebec's accomplishment and celebration to which the world was invited. Conversely, none of the Anglophone participants alluded to Expo 67's importance for Quebec. In some ways, one could argue that a federalist discourse would automatically include Quebec and yet it is surprising that, with one exception, none of the respondents expressed a desire to qualify the difference between host province and the rest of the country. I'll develop more on this sentence.

The other divergence between the two groups of participants lies in the positioning of Expo 67 with other historical landmarks within a larger national narrative. Several Anglophone participants felt compelled to situate the fair in relation to cultural tensions in general terms, or specifically, i.e. it was before the "animosity between English and French Canadians", "all-French language laws"[10], or "October Crisis.[11]" While none of the Francophones alluded to negative tensions between English/French Canada, many invoked Quebec's backwardness in relation to the rest of the modern world to describe the period preceding Expo 67. Expo 67 was identified as a catalyst, a key event that helped Quebec to "wake up;" several Francophone participants associated Expo 67 with Quebec's Quiet Revolution, a period of rapid social, political and cultural change when the pervasive influence of the Roman Catholic Church began to decline (Bothwell, 1998; Letourneau, 1992; Taylor, 1996). It is important to note that the two Anglophone participants, long-time Quebec residents (although they did not

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10 In 1977, René Lévesque's government passed Bill 101making French the sole official language within Quebec.

11 The October Crisis consisted of a series of dramatic events triggered by the kidnappings of two politicians by members of the Front de Libération du Québec in the province of Quebec, Canada, in October 1970, which ultimately resulted in a brief invocation of the War Measures Act by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau.

reside in Quebec in 1967) shared the same view as the other Anglophone participants residing in British Columbia. This affirms an argument that linguistic/cultural affinities, within the sample at least, took precedence over geographic ones when discussing questions of collective identities.

Halbwachs (1980), to this day an influential memory theorist, coined the term "collective memory" in the 1920s. He discussed how memories form among people who share a common experience, idea or belief. This kind of shared knowledge, he argued, is sustained through the act of recalling. Each recall reshapes that memory for the individual and in turn influences the memories of others. Collective memory can be shared by an entire nation or two individuals. For the purpose of the following analysis, and because of the internal consistencies of the two groups' responses, we consider the two groups' memory to be two different collective memories and for argument's sake, we will suggest that they are representative of English Canada and French Quebec sensitivities. Although the sample does not allow for any kind of statistical claims, this initial qualitative exploration may orient future quantitative studies on the subject. The following excepts are illustrative of the divergence of viewpoint:

> It was tied with Canada's coming of age ….. It seemed like there were convoys of Canadians on the road going to Expo. The highways had just been re-worked. We had the feeling of sharing an experience with other travellers on the road …. The baby boomers were becoming adults". . . It was before the Trudeau's repatriation of the constitution. We [Canada] were still very tied to the UK. It was an assertive step to host an event of this magnitude. It was part of the Centennial anniversary. It promoted Canadian nationalism. It was a euphoric, high-energy time. It was THE Canadian experience. And it [this high energy] continued through the 1970s 'til the movement crumbled. [Alluded to separatist movement in Quebec]. (Participant #5, 20 year-old, woman, Anglophone, celebrating her honeymoon by driving from BC to see Expo67. Today: BC resident)

> It had a major importance for Quebec. The thinkers of the time did a lot in Quebec to trigger the Quiet Revolution but for [the development of] design, and architecture, Expo was pivotal. The intellectuals, such as the authors of "Refus Global" knew what was going on outside Quebec but for the general population, Expo 67 was a "wake-up call" for the whole population. Most of us were used to "suburbs architecture" It was a shock. It influenced the way we designed chairs, furniture …. I bet tons of design students were really inspired by this … It was an explosion, and a catalyst of creativity to help accelerate progress. Mayor Drapeau might have foreseen the impact of that Expo. He was a visionary; he helped us get out of our darkness, and backwardness. (Participant # 42, 10-year boy. Francophone from Montreal. Visited Expo over 20 times. Today: Quebec resident. Currently working as a designer in Montreal.)

> It was a big deal. It was the first event that gave an international presence to Canadians.It was very meaningful …. I remember meeting lots of Canadians in line from all over the country. We really had two communities in Montreal: the Anglophones and the Francophones. Can't tell you about the Francophones but the Anglophones in Montreal felt very Canadian. *(Participant #8, lived in Montreal, 24-year-old man, Anglophone, who was a graduate student in MTL. Visited Expo over 20 times. Today: BC resident)*

> Yes it was undoubtedly was very important. It was a very important category of Universal Exposition. The last big one had been in Brussels in 1958 …. It opened the mind of Canadians and Quebecois. The Quiet Revolution in Quebec had already started. It was very beneficial. We really had to "get out of the woods. (Participant #45 40-year man. Francophone from Montreal region. Visited with his wife and in-laws less than five times. Today: Quebec resident)

Table 2 is a summary of participants' responses to the question of Expo 67's significance for the nation. Given the Quebec/English Canada political and cultural landscape of the past forty years, it is interesting to observe how differences of opinion on questions of national identity between English Canada and Francophone Quebec are echoed in the interpretation of a large-scale cultural event supported by multiple governments (municipal, provincial and federal). Quebec's pursuit of political and cultural self-representation and various forms of sovereignty (within or without Canada) emerged in the early 60s. Heated public debates on these issues have shaped the relationship between English Canada and Quebec over the past 40 years. What became clear in the late 60s is Quebec's sense of itself as a culture/people distinct from the rest of Canada - a situation often met with frustration, or mixed feelings, by English Canada and palpable in the Anglophone participants' memories of Expo 67.[12] The object of this paper is not to focus on the relationship between Quebec and Canada, but to discuss how political perspectives embraced by collectives (in this case Anglophone in/outside Quebec and Francophone inside Quebec) affect perceptions of cultural productions.

Table 2. Participants' response to the question of Expo 67's significance to the nation.

Anglophone BC-resident participants (#) = Frequency of commentary	Francophone Quebec-resident participants (#) = Frequency of commentary
- The ultimate Canadian experience that summer (3)	- Opened Quebec to the world and the world came to us. (18)
- Canada's coming of age (3)	- Important moment in Quebec's history (2)
- Canada's first meaningful appearance at the international level (6)	- Expo inspired people to immigrate to Quebec (2)
- It felt very proud to be Canadians (4)	- Benefited Montreal's infrastructure and construction businesses (2)
- Canada's centennial: Expo 67 was the ultimate centennial party (3)	
- A WOW for the whole Canada (3)	- It developed creativity of Quebecois, and transmitted the 'creative bug" to future generations of film makers, artists, architects in Quebec (2)
- It influenced a whole generation of designers in the country (2)	
- We realized we weren't just British Columbians, we were Canadians (1)	- The world discovered Quebec and Canada. "Before it was nothing more than just a quiet place." (2)

Historical landmarks to situate Expo	Historical landmarks to situate Expo
- Expo 67 was before the tension, the animosity between French and English Canada (5)	- Before Expo we [Quebecois] were: backward, secluded, parochial (5)
- Expo 67 was before the French-only law (1)	- Expo is linked with Total Refusal manifesto and with the Quiet Revolution (1)
- French people were surprisingly nice and spoke English to me (1)	- Contributed to a collective awareness in Quebec (2)
- The high-energy wave of nationalism crumbled in the early '70s (1)	
- It was pre-Trudeau government. (1)	
- After Expo, we [Canadians] never knew as clearly who we were (1)	

12 Discussed at length in numerous publications. A few solid references: the work of Fitzmaurice, 1985, Resnick, 1985, Rothwell, 1998

The participants' explanations are not without foundation and yet the same event is framed in two different historical scripts. As Elsner (1994), pointed out, studying collective memories is not about determining whose memory is most accurate, but rather about examining the consensus of assumptions and prejudices shared by the historian and his audience.[13] What is remarkable is the clear appropriation of the same event by two different collectives, for two different national narratives. Clearly, Expo 67 was part of a modern epic for two nations: Canada's and Quebec's. This overlap would confirm Benedict Anderson's definition of nations as imagined political communities *"imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign"* (p.6). Anderson views the idea of *nation* as a construct, an artificial grouping different from an actual community because it is not (and cannot be) based on daily face-to-face interaction between its members. Instead, members hold in their minds a mental image of their affinity. A kinship that manifests itself, among other things, through shared memory.

This idea of collective affinity through shared knowledge has been discussed by several thinkers whose work helps interpret the participants' responses. Lyotard (1993) envisioned the process of knowledge legitimation (scientific and non-scientific) through the use of *popular narratives*. Popular narrative, defined by Lyotard, is a central and essential component of society. It is a type of knowledge that is instrumental to the transmission of social tradition. It creates social bonds by providing access to membership through apprenticeship (modelling), language games, and specific transmission pragmatics. Popular narrative ideals are embedded in daily activities and disseminated and reproduced through various channels (families, school, museum, media). The ubiquity of these values and beliefs establishes them as common sense or taken-for-granted and legitimizes them as a result.

We locate Expo 67 within two different and yet overlapping popular narratives of two nations. These national narratives expressed in the memories of participants appropriated Expo 67 because of its ability to demonstrate the nation's modernity through technological achievements. Yet, the two narratives diverge in their historical framing. Several Anglophone participants regard Expo 67 as the last great achievement before Canada became challenged by Quebec's efforts to define itself as culturally different from the rest of Canada. For many Francophone participants, Expo 67 was a pivotal moment where Quebec stopped feeling secluded and non-modern. Wertsch (2004) developed the term *schematic narrative templates* to describe the configuration of collective narratives, which preserve their structure of the plot while interchanging some of the events or actors. The Anglophone's schematic narrative template emphasizes tense aspects of nationhood and the feeling of a weakening relationship between Quebec and the rest of Canada. The schematic narrative template of Francophone participants concerning Expo 67 has to do with Quebec's emancipation as a modern nation (separate from Canada)[14]. Werstch stressed the role of nations' leaders in disseminating collective memories through media, school textbooks, cultural policies, and official versions of national history; naturalizing the beliefs of communal belonging. Given the many disconnects (the fragmented memories vs coherent explanations; the banality of episode recalled vs the importance given to the event) between the experience of the visit and the explanation of Expo's significance for the collective, it is apparent that participants relied on sources other than their own experiences to construct their representation of Expo 67's

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13 Indeed, the split between history and memory has been recently challenged, and a more fluid transition between memory and history is proposed instead (Thelen 1989; Burke 1989).

14 Pauline Currien's doctoral dissertation (2003) discusses at length the cathartic role Expo 67 played in Quebec's identity as a modern nation. She analyses the intent of the Quebec's pavilion's organizers while taking into account the larger picture of Quebecois' identity construction. The number of interviews with Expo 67 visitors is limited to a few individuals.

importance to the nation. Foucault's (1980) notion of "capillaries" is helpful in that it stresses that power struggles are perpetuated in the smallest, most banal manifestations of social relations. In this case, the conflicting patriotic agenda promoted by political histories is obvious even in their interpretation of the same cultural production.

An Obligation to Remember Differently

In his philosophical essay *Ethics of Memory*, Avishai Margalit (2004) pondered the obligation of remembering. Although Margalit focused on the remembrance of traumatic societal events, he developed a framework that helps thinking about the necessity of remembering for collectivities. He set the stage of his argument by discerning between *ethics* and *morality*, which he stated are based on two types of human relations: thick or thin relations. *Thick relations* are grounded in associations with parents, friends, lovers, fellow countrymen, the "near and dear." *Thin relations* have to do with relation to the stranger and the remote i.e. humanity. Ethics is associated with the thick, the local and particular. Morality by contrast is thin, general, abstract and detached. The Charter of Human Rights would have to do with thin relations and thus would be grounded in questions of morality i.e. treat others well, whoever they are and whether you know them or not. Thick relations are anchored in shared past and shared memory. "Memory is the cement that holds thick relations together." If imagined communities such as nations are partly held together by memory, this means that loyalty to these thick national relations must be accompanied by the act of remembering defining moments. Given their affiliation to different imagined communities (English Canada, Quebec) participants have an obligation to remember significant events differently. Remembering becomes a way to sustain the specificity of national identity.

Margalit's linking of the individual's participation in and memory of the event with the larger scheme of collective memory and national narrative may suggest another link between remembering Expo and the explanation of national narrative.

> We do not expect to be remembered individually by the nation. But many of us are so woven into the web of thick national relations that the use of the first person plural "we" is quite natural. This "we" is an enduring body that will survive. We shall not be remembered personally but we shall be remembered by taking part in events that will be remembered for their significance in the life of the collective." (p. 96)

Could it be that remembering the significance of Expo 67 has to do with a desire to be remembered by association with events that are meaningful for the nation? Most responses incorporated personal memories of Expo or included at least a "we" when speaking of the importance of Expo 67 for the collective, as if to bear witness and inscribe oneself in the larger story of the nation. The notion of agency here operates differently than when asked to focus on the personal experience. The question of collective meaning prompted participants to envision their experience as being something larger than themselves while being able to contribute to its unfolding.

Final Comments

Investigating visitors' 40-year recall of a large-scale exhibition belongs to the experimental realm of visitor studies. Yet, this study has demonstrated, as Commissioner Dupuy suspected, the richness of visitors' recollections after/over such a long period of time. It also revealed that the use of a qualitative interpretivist method to analyse participants' testimonies is a productive mode of enquiry to examine the articulation of visitors' memories.

The overarching themes of technological innovation and cultural otherness in participants' memories converge towards previous analyses viewing World Fairs as both constitutive and

constituted of modernity's ideals. On the other hand, the participants' insistence in remembering the self in these experiences via the interaction with displays or with mundane episodes non related to these displays is indicative of the participants' agency in constructing meaning in ways that depart from the exposition organizers' aims. Micro-narratives of Expo 67 may not describe the event's scope, but they are meaningful; they are helpful in remembering/constructing the self as a unique individual and as a member of a larger community. Indeed, participants' explanations of the significance of Expo 67 for the nation suggest that imagined communities, such as nations, successfully appropriate cultural events to legitimize their identity.

It is hoped that the outcome of this qualitative study will stimulate more research that would tease out further questions concerning the overlap between individual and collective memories of large-scale expositions. Future surveys of Expo 67 could include Canadians who know of Expo 67 but did not visit. The sample could also include much younger people with diverse cultural backgrounds to establish how the memory of Expo 67 evolves when passed on and recalled by other generations across cultural backgrounds.

Finally, it could be said that Expo 67 was remembered differently by each of the 50 million people who visited it. Because of the selective nature of any historical records, we could argue that some of these personal histories go where no official records have gone before. Fortunately, their unofficial status does not prevent them from circulating to enrich and alter the collective memory of Expo 67.

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On Maps, Abused Virgins and Nations: Anti-Communist Memorial Museums in Hungary and Romania

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In this paper I compare two museums in Hungary and Romania which exhibit communism or better say, anti-communism, a subject with a strong importance for defining national identity in Eastern European countries. *House of Terror Museum* in Budapest, Hungary and *The Memorial of The Victims of Communism and of the Resistance in Sighetul Marmatiei*, Romania are two memorial museums which "represent" the victimized and suffering nations –presented to the nowadays young generation as being abused virgins of their political past context- during communist times. Under this victimizatory discourse one can difficultly grab an essentialized fascist version of the past: same spots of terror and death for both terror regimes, fascism and communism became places of commemoration only for the victims of one: namely communism.

This work in-progress focuses mainly on a material-cultural analysis of maps and objects in exhibition rooms, images and texts presented on museums' web-sites. Since in the last hundred years, these two neighbour countries debated a lot on territories, population and history, the comparison between the two strong narrations on the recent pasts inside these two memorial-museums, is revelatory on the way "illusionary" national identities are discursively staged and narrativized. Underneath the anti-communist victimizatory narrative in these two eastern European Countries one can discover fragmented parts of the Holocaust.

Eighteen years ago, in 1989, Eastern European countries confronted themselves with a revolution: from communism to post-communism. The change was perceived as a total rupture, even if later writers tried to call it 'transition' or 'transformation' (Burawoy, 4) to imply a certain kind of continuity between 'before' and 'after' ('89). Laurent Theis affirms in "Guizot et les institutions de mémoire" (Nora, 575) that more than ever the knowledge of the past seems to reinforce the uncertain present in the times of revolutions. What a community chooses to remember decides on its present order, or to put it in Paul Connerton terms, "our images of the past commonly serve to legitimate the present social order. (…)" (Connerton, 3)

In my presentation I will analyze how the memory of the recent communist past is constructed in two countries (Romania and Hungary) by focusing on museums about the communist past, opened after '89.) I am also interested to see what kind of present social order these images of the past imply. My comparative study will include *The Memorial of the Victims of Communism and Resistance* in Sighetul Marmatiei and *The House of Terror* memorial museum in Budapest.

Museums that exhibit communism in Eastern European countries are sites who not necessarily have been produced because of a collective memory, but mostly are the producers of certain organizations in the creation of such a memory or "collective self consciousness" to be formed. (Shils apud Ames, 111) The museums, in general, play a very important role in the "construction of consciousness" (Bourdieu & Haacke, 98), because they are conceptualized as public services and "educational" centers (Ames, 26). In the case I am presenting now, their role is also increased by the fact that they are the most important institutions to deal with this rupture/ from Communism to post-communism in these two countries. Considering them formatters rather than simply representations of public opinion about a controversial past makes the discourses inside them enter the political arena.

As I mentioned in the printed materials, and as it can be obvious from the names: "House of Terror" in Budapest and "The Memorial of the Victims of Communism and of the Resistance" in Sighetul Marmației, are memorial-museums of the victims of communism, and consequently exhibit **anti**-communist discourses.

"House of Terror" (photo 1, next page) is located in Budapest in a three storey painted in grey building, where **Fascist** and Communist regimes had their headquarters. The visitor can see a huge black metal frame that isolate the house from the adjacent palaces. When the sun is at noon its light forms the shadow of the word TERROR on the façade. He or her has to push a button and only afterwards open a load iron huge door and enter a corridor painted in black and red (slide). The music terrifies senses. He/her has to climb two floors surrounded by huge communist and fascist statues. If one looks down can see an inner court painted with black and white faces of victims. Down on earth a huge Soviet tank lies. A strong smell of burden oil can be felt. The first exhibition room is the "Double Occupation Room." Here, **on a big screen is projected the map of Greater Hungary** (in its glorious times, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) **conquered and abused by Fascist and Soviet troops.**

The introductory text on House of Terror web-site explains: "Hungary emerged from World War I on **a losing side**. Once part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (slide), she had possessed a territory larger than Italy or England. However, under the terms of the Treaty of Trianon which settled the war, the empire was carved up, reducing its territory by two-thirds… At that time the focus of politics was the implementation of a peaceful territorial revision… In the mid 1930s, Hungary found itself in the cross fire of an increasingly aggressive Nazi regime in Germany as well as a menacing and powerful Soviet Union. First allies then enemies, The Nazi and Soviet dictatorship began a life-and-death fight to create a new European system of client and subordinated states. **There was no room for an independent Hungary**." (Rev, 285)

I will make a text-analysis because I consider that museums' web sites can be very important tools for understanding the discourse inside the museums. One can see more easily when something is implied/hidden/unclear in a text, rather than in a museums-exhibition.

"After the outbreak of WW II, Hungary made desperate attempts to maintain its fragile independence and democracy and maneuvered to prevent the worst: Nazi (sic!) occupation. (…) "The text does not say that between the 1940 and 1946 parts of the lost territories were re conquered because of the political and military alliance that Hungary signed with German Arrow Cross regime. North Transilvania and parts of Ukraina became again components of Hungary[1].

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1   During the Second World War, the government of Hungary allied itself with Nazi Germany in exchange for assurances that Greater Hungary's borders would be restored. This goal was partially achieved when Hungary expanded its borders into Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia at the outset of the war. However, after 1947 the same territories were given back to the same countries, because of the interests and intervention of the Communist Russian Party.

The building (photo 2) where the most important Romanian museum that deals with Communism / Anti-Communism is located as well in a place of suffering. It used to be a major political prison but not in the center of Bucharest/ as the other one is in the centre of Budapest, but in Sighetul Marmației – a little town in Maramures, in the very north of the country, 2 kilometers from the northern border with Ukraine, the previous USSR border and also very closed to the actual Hungarian border.

The web site explains: "**The building was constructed in 1897 [while Sighet was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire]**, as a common prison. **After 1945** the repatriation of former prisoners and **deported persons** from the Soviet Union was done through Sighet. In August 1948 it became a place of imprisonment for a group of students, pupils and peasants from Maramures. On 5 and 6 may 1950 over one hundred dignitaries from the whole country were brought to the Sighet penitentiary some of them convicted to heavy punishments, others not even judged."[2]

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2   Official museum site: http://www.memorialsighet.ro/en/istoric_cladire_sighet.asp, accessed 8th of January 2008.

The prison operated between May 1950 and July 1955 as an extermination centre for the political, military, intellectual, religious, economic and administrative **leaders of interwar Romania.** After 1955 it was transformed again into a common prison. all the political prisoners alive being transferred to other places of detention in the country: Pitesti, Aiud, Gherla (harta).. In 1970s it was entirely emptied.

One could wonder why the curators of the museum chose the most impossible/far away place to exhibit anti-communism. Who are the visitors of this museum? The first shred of explanation can be found out in the very first room of the museum: the Maps Room. Here one can see seven maps of nowadays boundaries of Romanian[3] state, with Transylvania as a gained territory after Greater Hungary was defeated, but also without Bessarabia, and north of Bucovina that were lost. On the walls, over 230 places of imprisonment, forced labor as well as psychiatric institutions with a political character, places where fights and executions took place, and common graves are marked by crosses on a large map of the country. Six smaller maps present in detail each of these categories. On the ground, under the big map, there is a cluster of the barbed wire used in constructing prison fences. People who were imprisoned, suffered and some of them died were the leaders of National Liberal Party and National Peasant Party of Interwar Romania (Gheorghe Bratianu and Iuliu Maniu are the most well known names). They are considered the "fathers" of Romanian national state, because they fought for the unification of Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania under the same name, and under their rule Greater Romania including Bessarabia became a political reality. That is why the "Maps Room" constitute a symbol of the success (Transylvania is nowadays under the rule of Romanian state) but also a symbol of lost (Bessarabia and north Bucovina are not any more Romanian territories – and this is because of the Soviet policy, is believed).

Siget is in the centre of Europe it is said on the museum site. Sighet is a Roumanian site because heroes of Romanian Nations died. And it affirms national ideas and values in a symbolical site, at only two kilometers from the Ukrainian border and five from Hungarian one.

On the front page of the museum site it is said that the "memorial" is formed from the Museum and…the International Center for Studies about Communism. This center organizes summer schools for "teenagers." "Fortunately [says the site] it was also possible for pupils from outside the borders of Romania to participate: The newspapers from Chisinau [Republic of Moldavia] and Cernauti [Ukraine] published the announcement (…) The meeting of the teenagers from three countries (Romania, Moldova and Ukraina) was a living image of Romania in its ethnical integrity, as Adrian Marino will be writing lately."[4]

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The website of House of Terror says: "Whoever has visited Budapest before, knows that one of the most beautiful boulevards in the capital is Andrassy Boulevard. (…) The Neo-Renaissance building at 60 Andrassy Boulevard was designed by Adolf Feszty in 1880. It is also notable that the twentieth-century terror regimes, the Nazis and Communists, both decided on a villa located on this boulevard for their executioners' headquarters. The fact that

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3   Nowadays Romania was formed from the unification of Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania in 1918. Greater Romania was the way Romanian state was named in-between the two World Wars. In that moment it had the nowadays territories plus the north of Bucovina (now Ukrainian territory), the south of Cadrilater (now part of Bulgaria) and Bessarabia (now the independent Republic of Moldavia), which in 1946 became part of USSR.

4   Official museum site: http://www.memorialsighet.ro/en/scoala_de_vara.asp, accessed 15th of February 2008

both regimes chose 60 Andrassy Boulevard as the scene of torture and interrogation, speaks for itself." This was the first paragraph of the introduction to "House of Terror" on the web on January 2002, before its opening.

The building does not speak for itself. Only people know to tell one or another story. The site does not mention that the building was owned by a Jewish family, which, in 1931, "decided to bequeath the family properties, including this building, to the Jewish Community of Budapest, ironically, with the aim of using parts of the proceedings for a Jewish Museum." (Keresztessy 2002) The site continues: "During World War II **Hungary found itself in the middle of the crossfire between the Nazi and Communist dictatorships**. On March 19, 1944, the Nazis occupied Hungary and raised the representatives of the extreme-right, unconditionally faithful to them, into power. The new, collaborating Hungarian government **did not guard the life of its citizens with Jewish origin any more."**

"In fifty-six days, beginning with May 15, according to German documents – 437,402 Jews were deported by 147 trains, with the exeption of fifteen thousand, to Auschwitz."

Historical statements says Istvan Rev, paraphrasing Ian Hacking, "are words in their sites. Sites include sentences, uttered or transcribed, always in a larger site of neighborhood, institution, authority, language." (Rev apud Hacking, p278). "Linguistically it would have been possible for Hungary to fight against both the Nazis and the Communists; it would have been imaginable – in a linguistic sense, outside the frame of Hungarian history – for Hungary not to have been Germany's last and one of its first allies." (Rev, 284) It is impossible, says Istvan Rev that less than 200 German occupiers to manage to grab so many people in such a short period of time. The site does not mention that anti-Jewish legislation existed in Hungary from the early 1920s onward and that Hungary was not necessarily a victim of the German occupation but one of its firs and last allies.

"After the German invasion, the short and blood-thirsty Arrow-Cross rule began… In 1945 Hungary was brought under the sway of the new conqueror, The Soviet Union. The Hungarian Communists who arrived in the Soviet tanks, in contrast to the short-lived Arrow-Cross rule, settled down for the long run. One of their first acts was to take over 60 Andrassy Boulevard, in order to signal to everybody that the moment of revenge has arrived. But that moment lasted but for very long painful years… The museum wants to become a memorial dedicated to all those people who fell victim either to Arrow-Cross terror, which lasted for a few months, or to the decades long Communist rule."

Because the fascist regime was short, and the communist one, very long, the House of Terror web site explains why only two and a half rooms are dedicated to fascism and all the others 25, dedicated to communist terror. That is why many of the visitors consider that this museum deals only with communist terror and that the comparison with fascism is used only to potentate the atrocities of communism. ("Changing clothes," "Resettlement and deportation," "Every day life," "Galery of victimizers," "Hall of tears" - the description of all the others rooms in the museum).

At the end of the second floor is a room dedicated to religion and its forms of resistance. A huge white cross is painted on the ground. From here, from the Heaven, the visitor is forced to wait a lift/ an elevator with glass walls which descends/ goes down, to continue its visit into the under-ground floor. Four to six people can enter inside of it and listen to an old police officer describing for three entire minutes how man can be killed. Three minutes of minute description are enough to begin and to end this process. At the end of this trajectory, the underground rooms open in front of the visitor. One can fell the smell of the burden oil again. It bleeds from the Soviet tank.

One interviewee: "Going downstairs, going into the cellars, and the cave I mean the cellars and the prison where they tortured people in different ways: electric shocks, beating them, hanging them just killing them… it was awful"

Second interviewee: "You carry with you certain images, and you do not know any more which is Communist and which is Nazi."

Third interviewee: "G-There was something that you did not like? A-I missed something (…) it didn't take me with it, it was like a weight…*I wanted to be more horrified, more impressed. (…)….I wanted a reality…G-…to be more interactive…?!A-downstairs it was horrible, yes, but upstairs I wanted more.* Maybe because I visited it for the first time and I didn't read everything *and I was shocked but not so shocked as I thought to be…"*

* * *

The prisons and the cells under the ground are the most impressive spot of the museum. Because they are horrible (as a terror can be) are conceived to be the expected reality. It is nociable that exactly these rooms are a huge muzeographical invention, based on an entire mythology of the underground tunnels under the city[5]. On a small peace of plastic is written that these underground cells are "reconstituted." Paradoxically, the web site says that the basements were turned into clubs for the Communist Youth Organization. The communist secret service left the building in 1956. So the terror did not last up to the last Soviet soldier…

* * *

After the Maps Room, in Sighet Memorial Museum the first exhibition-cell is called Faked Elections. It exhibits a double-bottomed wooden box where votes are thrown. It is not an original artifact, but it speaks about how elections were faked. After it, the "re in acted" cell where Iuliu Maniu died. In this rooms only those objects that were "originally" found were exhibited (the iron beds, the heating installation, sometimes the bed-cover, some iron pot where the prisoner received water).

In the room Repression against the Church, among documents testifying to the repression of Orthodox, Greek and Roman Catholic Churches, a big white cross is painted on the floor, with handcuffs and some prison-like stripped clothes thrown on it. The room Collectivization: Repression and Resistance exhibits the terror and impoverishment that peasants suffered during the thirteen years of the collectivization process. It is stated here that 96% of the agricultural area of the country and 3,201,000 families were brought into collectivist farms. On the front wall there is a map of Romania and in the middle of the room a permanently green piece of turf. This last installation "stands for both the land, alive and free, and for the grave of those who sacrificed themselves for it."[6]

Thick plastic panels with texts and images are on the walls of other rooms (e.g. Workers' Movements in the Jiu Valley and Brasov). In the room "Golden Era or Communist Kitsch" the viewer will find two statues representing Nicolae Ceauşescu and his wife. Other objects represent Ceauşescu's cult of personality: portraits and clothes which Ceauşescu used to wear on specific special occasions. In 2004 the voice of Ceausescu giving speeches could be heard throughout the prison: as soon as the visitor entered the room, the sensors started the audiotape. The second soundtrack in the museum was played in the *Securitate* room evoking

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5   Beginning with 1950s in Budapest an entire mythology of hidden underground tunnels flourished. It was many years believed that in these tunnels revolutionaries were hidden. The communist state sustained this mythology for many years. When The House of Terror Museum opened in 2002, visitors were pleased to knee and listen to the message of the people that lived in the underground. See "Underground" in retroactive Justice, Istvan Rev.

6   http://www.memorialsighet.ro/en/sala.asp?id, accessed 10th of January 2007.

sounds and voices during the interrogations.[7] **The museum exhibits a teleological understanding of the communist regime: from the original sin, namely the forged elections, the subsequent crimes of repression and terror followed logically up to Ceasusescu's eventual conceited cult of power, ending in the emergence of resistance and victory of anti-communism.** The Museum has special exhibition rooms dedicated to anti-communist movements in Eastern Europe: the revolution in 1956 in Hungary, the Prague Spring, Charta 77, Solidarity, the Velvet Revolution (photo 3).

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Few people know that Sighet was one of the most important cities in Eastern Europe before 1944 where the majority of population was Jewish. Elie Wiesel, the famous writer who wan the Nobel prize was born here. In 1944, the Hungarian Fascist Troupes helped by the Arrow Cross officers took 12.000 people, in the first day of Jewish Easter, and put them in two ghettoes in the city. Two months after, four trains, took them to Auschwitz. If in 1944 here were 18 synagogues, nowadays only one remained.

The interwar Romanian politics was very nationalistic and anti-semite, as the Hungarian one. Most of the interwar leaders imprisoned in Sighet were responsible for the glorious unification of Romania, but also for the anti-semite laws. Leon Volovici in "Nationalist Ideology and Anti-Semitism. The case of Romanian Intellectuals in the 30s" writes: "National Liberal Party which had remained the most powerful Romanian political party advocated and applied a nationalist policy of economic protectionism that contained an element of moderate anti-Semitism." (Volovici, 52) "Even more profascist and anti-Semitic was the National Christian Party. "Romania had to be totally or partially "disburdened" or "disinfected" of Jews. Romanian Jews should be colonized in Palestine or anywhere else in the world." Supporters of this thesis included also professor Gheorge Bratianu, the president of the

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7   We do not know if the voices were authentic or just "mise en scene."

national Liberal Party. The most ardent anti semit Romanian political movement in the interwar period was Iron Guard. They promoted an anti-semit new idea: that the new threat of Jewish threat was Bolshevism. "When I say communist, I mean yid." (Volovici apud Codreanu, 64)

"In an effort to present a more indigenous image, some Jewish party members took Romanian cover names, among them Ion Roitman (Chisinevschi), Leonte rautu (Lev Oigenstein) and Valter Roman (Ernst Neulander)" (Deletant, 20)

Why does the web site of the Sighet museum presents the history of the prison jumping from 1897 to 1945. What happened in-between?

On the official site of the Sighet city one can enter and read the history of the town. Absolutely nothing is mentioned about the Jewish community who lived here for several hundred years and was deported from here directly to Auschvitz. The deportation of Jews from Transylvania is not the Romania's problem, but Hungary's, because north Transylvania was part of the Hungarian state for those 6 years. And the deportation of Jews from Bessarabia, is not Romania's problem, because after the WWII, Soviet Troupes occupied Bessarabia, and nowadays it is not any more Romanian territory.

One plays the maps and the stories of history as he/she desires.

Part of the Memorial Museum is also the Cemetery of the Memorial, which is called the Cemetery of the Poor. It is situated outside the city, two and a half kilometers away, towards the border (see map). Since the prisoners' graves could not be identified among the thousands of graves prior and subsequent to the 1950s, a landscape project was developed. On the 14,000 m2 area of the cemetery, **the outline of the whole country was drawn by planting mainly coniferous trees. "The idea is that, in this way, the country keeps its martyrs in its arms and mourns them through the repeated generations of vegetation.** From a viewing point which will be placed on a raised area, actually on the bank of Tisza (the current frontier with Ukraine) visitors to the Memorial will be able to see this symbolic drawing more and more distinctly as nature perfects the project."[8]

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The mourning of the victims of communism in Hungary and Romania stays always under the sign of the cross[9]. When the room of Tears was opened in House of Terror only crosses with candles were presented. After some critics, some Moses stars appeared on some crosses. The memorial, and the Space of Meditation and Prayer in Sighet Memorial Museum were erected in the yard of the famous political prison. [10] Anti-semmitism in interwar Romania was always related with Christianity.

A true museum is a coercive mseum says Donna Haraway.

"Having survived two terror regimes, it was felt that the time had come for Hungary to

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8   http://www.memorialsighet.ro/en/istoric_muzeu_memorial.asp, accessed 20th of December 2006.

9   About the symbolism of the cross in Romanian anti-communist museums, see "Raising the Cross. Exorcising Romania's Communist Past in Museums, Memorials and Monuments" (co-authored) in "*Past for the eyes*", ed. Sarkisova, Oksana and Peter Apor. Central European University Press, Budapest, 2007.

10   The Space of Meditation and Prayer was built by the architect Radu Mihailescu, in a modernized antique style (referring to the Greek *tholos* and the Christian catacomb). On the walls there were engraved in smoky andesite the names of almost 8,000 people who died in prisons, camps and deportation places throughout Romania. Extremely meticulous, the operation of gathering the names of the dead took ten years of work within the International Center for Studies about Communism, yet the figure is far lower than the total number of victims of communist repression. Most of the names were established by Cicerone Ionitoiu and the late Eugen Sahan, both historians by vocation and former political prisoners.

erect a fitting memorial to the victims, and at the same time to present a picture of what life was like for Hungarians in those times,"

"When justice does not succeed in being a form of memory, memory itself can be a form of justice"ii Ana Blandiana, the president of Civic Alliance sustains, on the front page of the Sighet's museum site.

The restoration process of the Sighet prison began in 1994. Private funds helped this process[11]. The creation of what was called *The Memorial-Museum of the Victims of Communism and of Resistance* was the most important enterprise of the *Civic Academy Foundation. Civic Academy* took birth in June 1990, at the anticommunist manifestation in Piata Univeristatii, to contest the post communist elections of 1990. Their position remained the same, years after. was involved was the march against Ion Iliescu and FSN in june 1990. Since then it founded a party in 1991, and entered in a coalition with the so called "historical parties" PNTCD, PNL who ruled before the instauration of Communism in Romania, and who fought for involving Transylvania in the Romanian borders, after 1918. This coalition managed to gain the elections in 1996.

In 1997 the Government funded the final stages of the restoration process - the roof was repaired, the interior painted white - and "in 1998, the Council of Europe designated the Sighet Memorial as one of the main memorial sites of the continent, alongside the Auschwitz Museum and the Peace Memorial in Normandy."[12] Consequently, the Sighet Memorial, was funded from Governmental founds in 1997. In 2006, some of Civic Academy Foundation's members became important contributors to the Report of the Presidential Commission for the Analysis of Communist Dictatorship in Romania. It is only recently that the Civic Academy Foundation's effort has become part of the mainstream discourse in Romanian public life, since before 2006 its visual discourse was totally alien to Romanian society at large.[13] Immediately after this moment, Traian Basescu the actual president of Romania, visited the museum.

"With the intention of turning it into a museum, the building in Andrassy avenue was bought by the *Foundation for the Research of History and Society in Central and Eastern Europe* in 2000. The museum opened on February 24, 2002, the official day of commemoration of the victims of communism. Not at all incidentally, it was also the time of the campaign for the general elections of 2002.

(…)The opening of the House of Terror can be seen as part of the election campaign of the then in power conservative party, FIDESZ. This argument can be supported by the fact that the museum's opening ceremony was turned into a political rally with not very subtle party political references in Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's opening speech. Furthermore, the crowd gathering for the opening ceremony was joined by members of the extreme right MIÉP (Hungarian Justice and Life Party), arriving from a demonstration against the socialist party. The opening ceremony was, thus, a thoroughly political event, and this, irrespective of the museum's quality, turned visiting the museum

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11 An English businessman of Romanian origin, Mr. Misu Carciog, paid all the costs of the restoration and the architectural plans.

12 Official museum site: http://www.memorialsighet.ro/en/istoric_muzeu_memorial.asp, accessed 20th of December 2006.

13 On January 14 th2007, one month after Romania's president, Traian Băsescu pronounced his discourse in the Parliament on the crimes of the Romanian Communist regime, he visited for the first time the Sighet Memorial Museum. He declared for television that, now he visited this Memorial he is more convinced he is right in sustaining the efforts for an encyclopedia and a manual about communism to be published in Romania. Retrieved from Realitatea TV, 9. p.m news journal, ,14th of January 2007.

into a political statement, too, for many Hungarians." (Szakács)

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Propaganda in the Museum:
Past and Present Representations of
Communism In Eastern Europe

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In its lifespan, the national museum as institution has been constantly moving forward in close relation to society, academic disciplines and government politics. The Museum served loyally to nationalism but the totalitarian state transformed it into propaganda tool because the official state ideology needed to be materially proved and visually presented in historical continuity. In this paper I will discuss some possible interpretations of communist ideology in museum environment before and after the fall of the Berlin wall in regard to the social and political context. Subject of research is the construction of the message, its structure, contents and characters.

The text as part of a future research project aims to trace the forms and mechanisms of building the museum representations of communist ideology, the relations between decision-making and concept realization. The research is based on two case studies – the ex-National Museum of Working Class Revolution in Sofia and the Museum of Communism in Prague. They are subject to comparative study, regarding the content, context and authorship of their public presentations.

The study of the narrative structures of both museum exhibitions registers similarities and identifies a possible pattern for their construction. The potential factors influencing the presentation concept and planning could be traced first in curators' background and political standpoints, in the thematic focus of the museum, in the institutional funding resource and in the social and political climate of the region.

Introduction

In its history, the National museum has undergone numerable reformations and de-formations. Although it has been strongly bound to the development of society and science and humanities, its close relationship with governmental institutions was hardly overcome. The Museum served loyally to nationalism but the totalitarian state needed it as additional space for propaganda. The official state ideology was supposed to be materially proved and visually presented by the exhibition. The collections should validate the governing party's pretences for historical continuity. A perfect example of such museums de-formed into propaganda machines is the communist 'museum of working class revolution'. Its mission was complemented by the one of the 'museum of building socialism'. Both variations of communist museums were designed to support the official ideology as distributors of totalitarian power and control. They were born with the regime and lived out some years after its end when they were sentenced to death or closed behind the repositories' walls.

Some years ago, when the fall of the Berlin wall seemed far away enough, several newly designed museums took up to show and explain the communist period and lifestyle. They are not *of* the communist ideology but *about* it. Regarding the present status of the communist regime, these museums stand up to unmask it. They pretend to show the "true" face of the regime. Fortunately, their point of view is already free to be presented in public. The museums *about communism* took the place of the others, those *of communism* that had already passed away. The question here is not if these two forms of museological interpretation of communism could coexist now when the social and political context is open enough to bare any opinion. In the following text I would try to find out the possible interpretations of communist ideology in museum environment in regard to the social and political context. Subject of research is the construction of the message, its contents and characters as well as its authors.

This paper as part of a future research project aims to trace the forms and mechanisms of building the museum representations of communist ideology, the relations between decision-making and concept realization. The paper is based on two case studies. The Bulgarian ex-National Museum of Working Class Revolution is selected as representative for the official museological point of view during the communist regime. The other – the Museum of Communism in Prague stays for one of the alternatives of communist representations in contemporary museum environment in the East European countries. Both of the cases are subject to comparative study, regarding the content, context and authorship of their public presentations. Their status as interpreting a particular *national* version of the communist regimes in separate historical time-cuts, their recognized central position in the discourse about communism makes them comparable for the purpose of this research. The Museum of Communism in Prague does not hold a "national" status and exists on completely private sponsorship. It is the only museological attempt thoroughly devoted to review the recent history of the country. Likewise, the ex-National Museum of Working Class Revolution in Sofia was the only possible, officially recognized museological presentation of the recent Bulgarian past and contemporaneity before 1989.

Historical Notes

Some years after joining the communist Eastern Bloc, Bulgaria initiated its own National Museum of Working Class Revolution in 1948. Its first permanent exhibition was opened two years later. Being the most important museum in the country, it was privileged to have enough money, space and human resources for collection management, exhibition or whatever museum activity. The central management of the Communist Party facilitated and controlled all its initiatives especially assembling the presentations. Its position was secure till the heavy economic, social and political crisis of the 1980s. By the end of the decade came its

decline and in the early 1990 it was already politically inconvenient. As such, the museum's fate was subject to uneasy discussions organized by the Ministry of Culture that ended with renaming the institution into "National Museum of Political Parties and Movements". It was finally closed down three years later, in 1993, its collections being distributed between the Central State Archive and the National History Museum. Currently, the ex-National Museum of Working Class Revolution has no participation in any museum exhibition. It exists only in the repositories out of public view. The Museum of Working Class Revolution's official interpretation of the recent past was abandoned as manipulating.

Some years later the political context in Central and Eastern Europe began to induce again museum presentations on the communist past. Opened at the end of 2001, the Museum of Communism in Prague is a private initiative of an American businessman living in the Czech Republic. It was designed to fill a huge gap in the social needs for such information and interpretation the official museum institutions did not offer. The Museum of Communism was viewed as good tourist attraction supplying the foreign tourists with inaccessible before ideological "goods"[1]. The museum is available online as well[2].

Narrative Structures

The Museum of Communism's exhibition in Prague is purposefully divided in three sections outlining the interpretation. "The film-maker and exhibition curator, Jan Kaplan, who escaped his homeland and fled to London during the Prague Spring of 1968, describes the museum as "a tragedy in three acts""[3]. It starts with the *Dream*, then goes through socialist *Reality* and ends up with the *Nightmare*. At first one could imagine that the narrative slightly moves downward with the highest point at the beginning and the lowest – at the end. But it is in fact a curve that finishes again high up, like with the Dream at the beginning. The visitor leaves with the impression of a tale with happy end. The (first) Dream is supposed to be the official deceit composed by the Communists and spread westward by Soviet "agents". The formation of the local Communist Party and the first years of its rule are exhibited on flat display on the walls telling the story in text and photographs. This is the introduction to the Dream.

The *Dream* is shown as unlimited opportunities verbalized in slogans or posters. There stay the rockets and the astronaut gear symbolizing the Czech participation in common communist attempts to reach the Space and go beyond the boundaries of the past. There one finds the smith shop as a symbol of "forging" the communist future. Next, the school room is surely the place where the dreams were learned by heart and deeply rooted in children's minds.

The *Reality* is exhibited by a common guestroom, the sports, the empty local NARMAG shop shelves and counter, where the goods stay hidden behind and distributed selectively through the informal social networks. There are the two valid state currencies, the "socialist realism" in art and the propaganda materials, as well as the state boundaries' defence.

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1   "*Nobody had talked about doing a museum of communism and nobody had done it. The idea came to us one evening and it was like "Eureka!" - it hasn't been done, let's do it. And it became an obsession and a passion and I had to do it.*". This is a citation of the owner's words on a radio Praha reportage from 27 December 2001. (http://www.radio.cz/en/article/12239, 10.01.2008)

2   Museum of Communism, http://www.muzeumkomunismu.cz/ , 10.01.2008. I visited the exhibition in Prague on June 21st, 2007.

3   Kate Connolly, "Red revival", Guardian Unlimited, March 6, 2002, http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4369153,00.html , 10.01.2008.

Figure 1. The Dream (Museum of Communism, Prague, 15 June 2007).

Figure 2. The Reality (Museum of Communism, Prague, 15 June 2007).

The most impressive part of the exhibition is expected to be the restoration of an interrogation room with its constantly ringing black phone and single chair for the arrested. The *Nightmare* starts somewhere around the hard-to-cross state borders and the censored art and culminates in the real skirmish between ordinary people and the repressors from the ruling party in the famous Prague Spring'68. The fight continues while the macro-social situation facilitates the dissidents' activities inside. In the final 1989 clashes "Good" defeats "Evil". The democrats seize the power from the communists.

Figure 3. The Nightmare (Museum of Communism, Prague, 15 June 2007).

The description of the exhibition narrative enlightens a kind of fairy tale model, as the one described by Vladimir Propp (1995). Here it is quite simplified – having three distinct phases, hardships and heroes. If we look at the exhibition plot of the ex-National Museum of Working Class Revolution in Bulgaria, we could clearly outline the same features: different levels of hardships, heroes, dreams and happy end.

The exhibition of the Museum of Working Class Revolution started with the same introduction: the assembling of the party in Bulgaria, the help from the Soviet Union, appointment of the main characters in the story. In other words, it described the birth and the content of the ideology in texts and human faces, giving the *Dream* that was going to be followed to its realization. Second, the *Reality* was presented in the attempts of the appointed heroes to get into power and rule the country. Following the revolutionary ideas of Lenin, they got into real fighting with the official authorities, naming it "fight against fascism in Bulgaria". Perhaps this part was intended to impress like a real *Nightmare*. It was long enough and covered most of the first half of the 20th century. The culminations here were two – a September 1923 uprising and the so called "communist revolution" from September the 9th, 1944, the start of the communist regime in Bulgaria with the help of the Soviet army occupation. Like the contemporary Museum of Communism in Prague, the ex-National Museum of Working Class Revolution in Sofia completed its story with a happy-end. But unlike it, the Bulgarian exhibition continued to show the dimensions of the communist dream to come true. The Museum in Prague leaves the story open, but the ex-Museum in Sofia continued its narration about the present. The last part of the story was important for the official state propaganda although there were separate museums specializing in the so called "building communism". Incidentally or not, the last-phase Dream (dated after the communist defeat from 1944) in the Bulgarian exhibition included the participation in Soviet Space programs, showing the same kind of exhibits.

With the Czech exhibition pattern in mind at first I was surprised how similar it is to the plot of the Bulgarian one. No matter the latter was older and no longer valid interpretation of the communist past, it was either constructed as a fairy tale. The questions here to be asked are: Why the contemporary authors of the Museum of Communism exhibition chose the same format for their story? Could it be just a mere coincidence or what factors could influence the narrative construction? These problems are open for further research.

But as the Bulgarian exhibition of Revolution had no fixed names of the narrative phases, it could also be viewed in a reverse order. The hardship of the early communists in Bulgaria could be labelled *Nightmare*, which is linked to the introduction and represents the central problem of the exhibition (the revolutionary movement). After the 1944 defeat of the Bulgarian Communist Party the exhibition used to tell about its present-day reformations or the *Reality* in Bulgaria back then. After that the communist *Dream* for a brighter future remained not exhibited but expected and felt as a conclusion of the story. Such a reverse order corresponds in a different way with the interpretation of the Museum of Communism in Prague. Being a typical totalitarian museum, the Museum of Working Class Revolution in Bulgaria used to offer the communist, biased reading of the past before the communist regime. The Museum of Communism in Prague aims at exposing the communist regime from the democratic point of view. It is a kind of continuation of the story, explaining the next period that the Bulgarian narrative leaves with no comment.

Both museums' exhibition stories seek and extract arguments for its recent history interpretation in the so called nightmares of the past. They provide the valid state authorities with power derived from the past hardships. These are argumentation constructions for revenge upon the past. But first we need to identify the plot authors and the story characters to make any further conclusions.

Exhibition Authors and Plot Characters

All we know for sure about the curators working for the Museum of Working Class Revolution in Bulgaria is their devotion to the Party. The selection criterion for curators used to be clearly set on political loyalty. They worked following the instructions issued by the Central committee of the Party, using the valid political methods and the Party's financial support to accomplish the Museum mission. The characters of the story compiled by the curators were also Party members or even Party leaders. Identification between the narrative's heroes and the authors is supposed and required by the Party control. The story of the Museum of Working Class Revolution was highly personalized using individual success to measure political success. The other use of the personalization of the story was to construct models to be followed by the individual visitor thus enabling the psychological success of the propaganda.

The Museum of Communism works in a slightly different way. As a private initiative rising in a democratic country some ten years after the fall of the regime it could be considered a totally free institution to express its political position. It surely does so, but the interpretation points to some essential features of its authors. They are said to be famous Czech historians, museum workers and a documentary maker, Jan Kaplan, who has contributed not only to the collecting and exhibiting of the materials but by giving his own point of view in a film. The curators as locals are supposed to have some previous experience in Czech museums. One could assume they have even visited the local equivalent of the researched Bulgarian Museum of Working Class Revolution. The biographical approach could well contribute to the analysis but these facts are quite obscure and are subject to future research.

An essential guideline for the curators' political inclinations is the documentary that could be watched any time during the exhibition's open hours. It represent roughly and literally the fight between the official authorities and the common Czechs, featuring the communist secret agents. The film aims at distinguishing the characters in the fight by even circulating in red figures and blaming the agents guilty for the skirmishes. The museum visitor could assume that the authors prove themselves and the common people not guilty and identify themselves with the "Good" side of the story. It is possibly the real story of the communist regime but the exhibition narrative gets somehow confused between the official regime's participation in the story and the one of the 'common people' (if we pretend there is such a category). The visitor would then ask – whose story is the dissidents' movement and are they "good" or "bad"? The so called 'common people' stay aside the history scene and do not participate in the action. They are presented as victims. The victimized heroes of the Museum of Communism in Prague very much resemble the passive characters in the other story, this of the Museum of Working Class Revolution in Bulgaria. The 'common people' there were set as inheritors and consumers of the bright communist future; they were not the heroes of the museum's story plot. So are its authors. Both the Czech and the Bulgarian curators pretend to stay aside and be objective but are biased in regard to their own contemporaneity. And their subjective point of view influences the interpretation.

Propaganda in or of the Museum

The structure and the mechanisms of constructing the museological interpretation of communism were set as central problems of this paper. By definition the Museum of Working Class Revolution in Sofia was supposed to support and validate the Communist Party pretences for historical continuity and stable power. It used to be called by its authors "the most important propaganda institute" in the country.

Figure 4. "Propaganda" out of the Museum of Communism, Prague (15 June 2007)

Propaganda is defined (Nelson 1996; Jowett and O'Donnell 2006) as a systematic form of purposeful persuasion that attempts to influence the emotions, attitudes, opinions, and actions of target audiences for ideological, political or commercial purposes through controlled transmission of messages.

Now having in mind the comparison exercise above and the definition of propaganda, could the Museum of Communism in Prague function as ideological propaganda machine in the contemporary social and political context? Is it just an expression of the present-day freedom of mind? Or, are the techniques for constructing the narrative enough evidence to define the interpretation as propaganda? The press materials uploaded on the website of the Museum support such categorization of the museum as they complement the Museum mission, stated on the main page[4]. Again likewise the situation with the Museum of Working Class Revolution, the opening of the Prague's Museum was said "to highlight the divisions in

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4   Museum of Communism, http://www.muzeumkomunismu.cz/ , 10.01.2008, see "About the Museum".

a society which is still struggling to come to terms with its past"[5]. At that time, 2001-2002, the Communist party was the third strongest bloc in the Czech parliament, and according to a survey 50% of Czechs hanker for the past. In the described social context, what is the museum reaction to their voices?

The situation in communist Bulgaria before 1989 was totally different while the Museum of Working Class Revolution was among the most important political institutions. Described by restricting human rights and censorship, the political context could not allow the coexistence of alternative points of view. On the opposite, today the museums in Central and Eastern Europe are assumed as free expressions of social opinion with zero political pressure imposed. I would argue the history museums still not act as such and hardly offer presentations not complied with the official or the modern political situation.

Target Groups

The main target audience of the ex-National Museum of Working Class Revolution stated in its Guidebook was the young people. There were some older groups as well – the working class, the factory brigades, the political organizations summarized by 'the people' as a whole. One could easily define the groups as loyal to and dependent on the official political ideology that only need to reinforce their perceptions. The term 'propaganda' in the ex-communist countries today also refers to false information meant to reinforce the mindsets of people who already believe as the propagandist wishes.

The Museum of Communism addresses the young, representing the newborn generation after the fall of the regime, as well as the foreign tourists coming to Prague as having liberal values. The latter are said to be regularly seen in the exhibition rooms. Choosing an easy-to-convince audience allows the museums to be satisfied with the results (in visitors' numbers).

Probably the necessity of interpretations of the recent past in Eastern Europe is underestimated by the locals. Their attitude towards the communist regime is closer to neglecting it than to evaluating it through ideological and material representations. The political fashion points out as right the denying approach to the communist past. The social environment still lacks alternative interpretations not because there is no need for them, but because museums are not used to stating a different opinion. They prefer to stay silent.

Conclusion: Perspectives

The narrative strategies in both case studies help us identify the gaps and problems of the few contemporary museum representations of communism. There are lots of other alternatives available that supplement the museum "puzzle" in Eastern Europe. Only some of them are the collections of the ex-Party Museums that are deposited in other museums' repositories. In the case of the Bulgarian one the collections are still existent but abandoned from public view. A curator of the National History Museum, responsible for them, said: "I do not see a possible future way of exhibiting them"[6]. She explained it with the policy of the museum to end its permanent exhibition with the rise of the Bulgarian Republic in 1948[7]. In her words, paraphrasing a well-known Bulgarian historian, Nikolay Genchev, "an event does not become a historical one until there are still eyewitnesses alive. The maximum validation period is set at around 100 years". It is supposed to guarantee an objective exhibiting of the event.

5   Kate Connolly, "Red revival", Guardian Unlimited, March 6, 2002,
     http://www.guardian.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4369153,00.html , 10.01.2008.
6   E. S., currently curator at the Collections Department of the National History Museum, Sofia. Interview
     taken by R. Sharenkova, 12 December 2007, Sofia.
7   The last part of the permanent exhibition is labelled "The Third Bulgarian Kingdom" and chronologically
     dates from 1879 till 1948.

Strangely enough, the same National History Museum in Sofia exhibits some contemporary items dated in the late 1990s and the beginning of 21st century[8].

The Museum of the Romanian Peasant hosts the ex-collections of the History Museum of the Communist Party and the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement because it inherited the building. Some of the exhibits are arranged in the basement presenting the collectivisation and nationalisation of the land properties. The collection is also declared by curators almost useless.

The Museum for German history offered a year ago its visitors an interpretation[9] on the communist regime in GDR. It has an alternative in the existing in Berlin Museum of GDR. The Museum of German History chose to exhibit the political development in the country as opposing to the popular culture story in the DDR Museum. Struggling for almost the same target groups, they staked on somewhat polarized approaches. The need for interpretations of the recent past in Eastern Europe is still in high demand which could serve as a strong motivation for museum change.

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8   Such are the wedding dress of the daughter of the Bulgarian ex-King and at that time Prime minister, the pen used by the Prime minister to sign the documents for the Bulgarian joining the NATO, etc.

9   By the time of the conference, the museum has already arranged a permanent display about the communist period.

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**Past and Present – Multimodal Constructions
of Identity in Two Exhibitions**

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Introduction

In museums, exhibitions are shaped as a result of professional strivings but also in relation to the political agenda. An exhibition is in that sense not only a representation of for example history, but also a response to the interests in the present society (Aronsson, 2008). Today's museums are changing, as a response to the demands from a society in transition. This change is visible in several ways and on several levels; in the museum's identity and its mission, and in exhibitions. The museum's identity is visible in the museums presentation of itself (on websites, in advertisement, in booklets etc.) and in the way it addresses its visitors in exhibitions. Aspects of identity, in terms of existential questions, may be one of the things that are emphasized in the efforts to make exhibitions that aim at providing new perspectives on history. What seem to be new in exhibitions are also the narratives of nationhood. In a globalized world, the territorial nation-states naturally loose some of its significance; and it is now apparent that a multicultural discourse dominates museum policy (Bier-de Haan 2006, Aronsson, 2008, Smeds 2007).

As for history museums, the changes can be compared to the changes in the discipline of history itself, where over the past thirty years there has been a shift from a political and economical focus toward cultural and micro-history. In museums, this is visible in exhibitions, where the old emphasis on facts and grand histories of nation-states in many cases have been replaced by an emphasis on description of contexts, emotions and everyday themes (Bier-de Haan, 2006). While earlier interpretations of material culture often were about the identification of specific "cultures" (especially in archaeology), we can now notice that interpretation has become more complex and nuanced (Pettersson, 2004). On a meta-level, the change has been described by Smeds as different exhibition rationalities or "systems". The shift is made visible by contrasting different keywords of the different systems. System 1 starts in the beginning of the 18th century, and is still prevalent when System 2 appears around 1890/1920. Traces of both systems can still be found when System 3 made an entrance during the 1990's. Some of the key words for system 2 and 3 are put in contrast to another; where history, (national) narrative, truth, normative and homogeneity in System 2 is replaced by stories/histories, messages, poly-vocal (dialogue), reflexivity and diversity in system 3.

As we can see, museums have started a search for new identities beyond those of ethnicity. According to Beier-de Haan (2006) there is a tendency in museums internationally, to present polyvalent or non-national identities (Beier-de Haan, 2006). In different ways, unity and heterogeneity is promoted. One example is the German Historical Museum in Berlin, where the idea is to promote, not a global, but a transnational identity, and to present different perspectives on history, connections and diversity in a European context. Aronsson (2008) has shown how the multi-cultural standpoint prevails in Sweden. The cultural agenda concerning civil virtues and human rights seems to promote all kinds of identities, except for the national, which according to Aronsson is perceived as a threat to democracy, unity and integration. Within Swedish cultural heritage work, there is a focus on access and on broadly humane questions, which are relevant to people in all times, and in the present society (Pettersson, 2004).

In what follows, we approach these issues from a didactic perspective[1], based on a multimodal and social semiotic view of communication and meaning making.

Aim

The aim of this paper is to offer a method for studying the narration and construction of different messages, such as national identity, in two present time museum exhibitions. We approach these issues from a multimodal perspective and will compare the exhibitions in terms of narrative, organization and form of address. In the one case it has to do with the identity of one self, and in the other about identity in relation to the other. Apart from representations of identity at a national level, this approach also enables us to illuminate other aspects of identity, found at different levels in the exhibitions.

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

A multimodal and social semiotic perspective emphasizes the social aspects of all communication, and pays special attention to the interplay between different modes of communication (i.e. speech, writing, images, gestures etc.). Modes are conceived of as semiotic resources for representation that can be used in the making of signs of some sort. Social semiotics departs from 'traditional' strands of semiotics in the view that all signs are socially motivated (Kress, 1993). Signmaking can thus be thought of as a process where a signified is connected with an apt signifier – a connection between form and content. These can never be completely separated as they give meaning to each other. The form of a representation affects the content of a message, in that we say something about how we perceive of things through the way we design a message (Kress, 2003; Selander & Rostvall 2008). A different design gives a different message.

Another key element within social semiotics and multimodality is the notion of *metafunctions*, which stems from Hallidays functional linguistic theory. According to this notion all communicational systems must be able to produce three different forms of meaning simultaneously (Kress et al. 2001). They must be able to represent some aspect of the world (the *ideational* metafunction), represent and construct social relations between the participants in communication (the *interpersonal* metafunction), and produce texts that appear coherently by themselves and in relation to other text within a certain context (the *textual* metafunction). These metafunctions appear in all forms of texts – books, verbal communication, exhibitions etc.

The Ideational Metafunction

Since our interest here is directed towards aspects regarding identity, our main effort will be concentrated on analyses of the ideational meanings constructed in the two exhibitions. However, exhibitions are modally complex as they communicate through a number of modes and are organised in time and space. In semiotic terms, they can be looked upon as complex signs which construe ideational meaning at a number of levels, or in different layers. In this text we will present brief analyses of three of these layers, here referred to as *container layer*, *content layer* and *ideo-logical layer*. We will account for them chronologically, in the same order as they would be encountered with by a visitor.

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1   We see didactics as a discipline dealing with all questions located in the intersection of, on the one hand a specific area of knowledge and, on the other hand, how the learner is developing and becoming competent within different situations and settings.

> 1. Container layer – overall design of the exhibition "surface".
> 2. Content layer   a. Pre-textual – historical and archaeological artefacts, material level.
>   b. Pro-textual – other resources, discursive and didactic level.
> 3. Ideo-logical layer – brings coherence and closure. A 'grand narrative' of the exhibition.

The *container layer* has to do with the design of the exhibition as a whole, encountered by the visitor at the entrance of the exhibition space. In a way, this layer can be compared to the cover of a book, which not only fulfils a function in keeping the pages together in a certain order but also adds meaning through graphic design and other information.

The next layer of meaning is more closely connected to aspects regarding the 'contents' of the exhibition: the archaeological artefacts on display, informative texts and other constructed representations. A seemingly awkward but yet fertile idea in respect to the use of pre-existing objects within a text of some sort stem from the writing of film theorist Christian Metz, who distinguishes between different materials in a (filmed) representation (Metz, 1974). He argues that, on the one hand, there are materials that exist prior to, but used in, the making of a film text (*pre-filmic material*). Other forms of materials are those that are constructed specifically for the specific film text (*pro-filmic* material). In the context of museological research, equivalents of these two forms of materials can be discerned in the division between historical artefacts on the one hand and informational texts, images and similar representations produced for the specific exhibition on the other. We will here address these forms of materials as *pre-textual* and *pro-textual* contents. Both of these can be seen to represent layers of meaning within the exhibition, but they also correspond with different practices in the making of it.

In terms of ideational meaning at the pre-textual level, what becomes interesting is the selection of objects on display. What objects are selected as representative of something – both in terms of singular objects in each display case and in terms of the entity of objects throughout the exhibition?

In terms of pro-textual contents it becomes interesting to look at what these texts say something about. In that sense, these texts are of a discursive or didactic nature as they serve to direct our attention towards certain aspects of the themes that are dealt with in the exhibition.

The ideo-logical layer appears when representations and objects are accounted for at a more general level within the exhibition as a whole. This has to do with the more or less obvious storyline or narrative that serves to bring coherence to the exhibition. This layer works to present the selections and connections made by the curator. We have chosen the term ideo-logical for this layer since it serves an ideological purpose in that it projects a sense of logic to way the exhibition represent the world.

The Interpersonal and the Textual Metafunctions

At the same time we are interested in other aspects of the museums' communication with their visitors. The two other metafunctions enable us to say something about identity at other levels than merely in terms of thematical approaches within the exhibitions. The interpersonal metafunction directs our attention towards questions concerning identity in terms of the subject positions on offer in the social relation constructed between the visitor and the museum/exhibition.

An analysis of aspects regarding the textual metafunction tells us something about qualities of the exhibition as a text and how the textual organisation influences the construction of visitor identities.

The Historical Background of Two Museums

The Museum of National Antiquities is not a national museum in the sense that its collections cover the entire Swedish history. Its first prehistoric antiquity was acquired in the 17th century, but the collections remained relatively sparse until the 19th century, when an interest in Sweden's early history was awakened. In 1919 the museum was conformed to the organisational forms of state responsibility. At that time, the cultural heritage in museums became a matter of the state, as part of the ambition to construct the image of the Swedish people, or Folk (Hillström, 2006, Aronsson, 2007). Since the end of the Second World War, the museum has acquired a large part of its collections through the growth of rescue archaeology (Andersson & Jansson, 1984). The museum is responsible for the prehistoric collection and ecclesiastical objects from The Middle Ages. Its area of responsibility in terms of collections and objects reaches until the 16th Century, when Sweden became a Lutheran state during the rule of Gustav Vasa. In 1943, the museum was opened at its present address on Narvavägen. Since then, the nation-state has lost its significance, and the rapid changes in society have shaped the museum in many ways. As part of the central museum agency the National Historical Museums, its task is to preserve and promote Sweden's cultural heritage and provide perspectives on social development and on the present (http://www.shmm.se/). The aim for the museums' exhibitions is to provide new perspectives on history (http://www.historiska.se/home/exhibitions/).

The history of *the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* began in China during the 1920s, when the Swedish archaeologist Johan Andersson found painted ceramics from Chinas agricultural Stone Age. These collections formed the basis for the museum, which was instituted by the Swedish parliament in 1926. The collections were merged with the National Museum of Fine Arts' collections of Far Eastern and Indian arts and crafts in 1959, which led to the opening of a new museum, located in its present habitat on the island Skeppsholmen. Since 1999 the museum has been one of four Swedish museums that constitute the National Museums of World Culture. The aim of these museums is to "present and bring to life the worlds cultures and offer a perspective on our world." (http://www.ostasiatiska.se/smvk/jsp/polopoly. jsp? d =138&a=6293). Similarly to the situation of the The Museum of National Antiquities, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities finds itself in a cultural context that has changed since the time of its inauguration. Museum director Sanne Houby-Nielsen addresses this fact when she states that:

> Today, over 40 years later, we find ourselves living in a different world altogether. Parallel to ongoing globalisation and the expansion of trade, growing numbers of Swedes have become acquainted, through tourism and business travel, with China's cultural treasures and historic places. In the light of these developments, the historical Chinese collections of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities have acquired a decisively new and important position. The thousand or so exhibits on display in "The Middle Kingdom" were produced in China, but as a collection have no counterpart in the world, not even in China itself, the reason being that this Museum's collections represent a history of Swedish acquisitions and have come about through the special contracts forged between Sweden and China. (Houby-Nielsen, 2007, p 6)

Prehistories 1 – An Exhibition about Scandinavian Prehistory through Eight Life Stories

The permanent exhibition Prehistories 1 was completed in November 2005, as part one of two connected exhibitions about prehistory. It is presented on the museums' website as an exhibition where you can get to know many different stories from different periods of time, from the woman from Bäckaskog in the Early Stone Age (7000 B.C) to the man from Vendel in the Iron Age (600 A.D). The exhibition is about the lives of the people that, for thousands of years, have populated the land we today call Sweden. We are encouraged to examine the similarities between those people and ourselves. In the exhibition, the visitor encounter a time which gives a background of today's Sweden, an exhibition which answers questions of how one looked upon life, on relations and on death during prehistory and at the same time provokes thoughts about how we live today. (http://www.historiska.se/besokmuseet/ommuseet).

On a signboard in the beginning of the actual exhibition, it is said to be an exhibition about the people who lived here before us. The museum wants to put humans in the centre, by presenting eight life stories as frozen moments in history. In this way the exhibition represents different times, different places and different circumstances, where the visitor's own identity is an important aspect.

An Introduction to Prehistories 1

The exhibition is characterised by worked-through scenery, where the archaeological material is arranged chronologically around the different life stories in different settings. As a visitor, you are being drawn into these settings with its multitude of resources: e.g. sound, images, materiality and light. Often, the artefacts are placed in display cases which are integrated into the scenery. The exhibition is rather dim which gives a mystified tone to it all.

The exhibition consists of seven rather small rooms, placed in sequence, one after another. It starts with an illustration of a time-line in the "introduction" (the Ice age). This introduction is an open space just before the actual exhibition, where a large sign board tells the visitor about the exhibition and its overall theme with eight individuals. Inside the first room there is a film with the life stories that the exhibition is constructed around. While standing there, you can hear music, babies crying and birds singing. The first room is followed by six more rooms. In the last room, there is a shorter version of the introduction of the exhibition, meant for those who begin their visit the other way. The film is also shown, but in a smaller scale. This layout with rooms in a row makes it impossible for visitors to deviate from the general path; they must either continue all the way through to the last room, or go back the same way they came from.

The exhibition can be said to contain representations of particular milieus, places, periods and humans. For instance, we meet in the first room the woman from Bäckaskog, placed in woodland in Early Stone Age. Later on in the Stone Age, there is the old man and the child from Skateholm, which is arranged as a settlement by the sea. In yet another room we meet The Iron Age ruler from Vendel, in a room just like a large hall building, with the throne and a fire place.

Ideational Analysis: Aspects of Nation and Identity

The container level, which has to do with the overall design of the exhibition, demands a more careful analysis in this case, since the layout with different small rooms makes it hard to get an overview of the exhibition before actually entering it. At first glance, there are no obvious symbols or signs that tells us as visitors what we are about to see. In the first small room before the actual exhibition, there is nothing that indicates that this has to do with humans during prehistory. What we see there is a reduced glimpse of the Ice Age, with blue

"blocks of ice", a reindeer horn and a small tool, which is not what the exhibition is really about. Through the sliding glass doors, it is possible to see a glimpse of the film with the eight individuals, which can be seen as a more obvious sign of the overall theme in the exhibition. The film gives us an idea of "what it means to be human" in different times in history. But to get a full understanding of what the exhibition is really about, the visitor must enter and engage in the exhibition room by room.

Pre-Textual Content –The Selection of Archaeological Artefacts

The pre-textual aspect of the content layer concerns the already existing resources for meaning making, which are the authentic, archaeological artefacts. The selection of objects has been made in the way that all included objects are possible to attribute to the eight individuals. There are many different objects for everyday use, like ceramics and axes, but also weapons and objects which can be identified as ceremonial or connected to higher classes in society, such as jewellery and imported goods. The objects function as an essential way to stage the different life worlds that the visitor meet, which also works as a way for visitors to start reflecting upon their own identity and position in the world. At the same time, the selection of artefacts also tells us something about the national. On labels next to the display cases, each finding is mentioned by name, together with dating and the name of the place where it was found. One can notice that these objects all were found on Swedish grounds. But instead of the overall nationhood, it is the local identity that is being emphasized. From the site where the archaeological material was found, there is even talk about the Stone Age people as "Skateholmers". The eight individuals are equally "local" in their identity; as they are called "The people from Rössberga", "The woman from Köpingsvik" and "The man from Kvissleby".

Pro-Textual Content – Representations of Prehistoric Scandinavia

The pro-textual aspect of the content layer focuses on materials which have been added to the already existing materials in the exhibition. Here, the curators have produced written texts and other resources which are there to make a comment upon the selected artefacts. Their function is to create a narrative around the objects. National identity is in a way part of that narrative, even though it only appears in very subtle ways. The question of nationhood is vaguely addressed in the beginning, where a large sign board informs the visitor about the exhibition. It is an exhibition "about the people who lived here before us" (our emphasis). The written texts in the exhibition don't talk about a specific territory, it is just assumed that "here" represents the land that we today call Sweden. The word Sweden or Swedish is never explicitly mentioned. So in this case, national identity seems to be a topic that's almost avoided in the exhibition.

But the national appears in contrast to "the other"; that is to other nations or areas. In texts, we can read about similarities between finds presented in the exhibition (which are mentioned together with the names of the places where they were found), and finds from Denmark. As a part of the smaller theme "living together" it is mentioned that on a bone from Denmark, there is an engraving that represents a group of people, which has been interpreted as a family. Implied is that there are similarities between areas that go beyond borders and countries. Another way of representing "us" is as part of something that's mutual. In texts, we can also read about finds, which are the eldest one discovered in Scandinavia. If we look at the written texts, we can conclude that the exhibition narrates the story of a common Scandinavian heritage, but never actually mentions national identity.

If we take a look at the different images, we are facing a prehistory which is in a sense presented to us as a story of a fixed place. This fixed place can be identified as somewhere in Scandinavia. There are large photographic pictures which represent landscapes like a forest, a

wintry snowy landscape, shore or plain. Most images in the exhibition are easily identified as representing "Scandinavian nature". There is a strong sense of the setting being a Scandinavian place, with actual actors who are presented as "Scandinavian". In one room, though, there is a strong break against the overall narration. Here, the scenery is changed completely, and we are suddenly in a roman setting, with columns and images of roman soldiers. The idea is to show that there were strong connections between "us" and the Roman Empire. In the exhibition, written texts tell the story of a process, where the Sweden as a nation did not exist, and where similarities over areas and exchange between people were a common feature of society.

Ideo-Logical Level

The ideo-logical level has to do with how coherence is created on a general level. The logic behind the organisation of the multimodal ensemble is about the creation of a room which allows for visitors to engage with different aspects of identity. The entire room with the worked-through scenery, the many open questions in signboards and on labels and the different life-worlds in different ways relates to questions of identity. A dialogue with the visitor is created, by allowing for the visitor to encounter different life-worlds which are possible to compare with the life-world of one self. This existential feature, where the visitor can question what it means to be human, is important in the overarching narrative. A more peripheral feature is the part which concerns the national. What emerge are a Scandinavian community and an emphasis on contact between cultures (compare Aronsson 2008). In the exhibition, the relation to other people and to other parts of the world is emphasized through the selection of objects from other parts of the world.

Interpersonal Analysis: The Relation to the Visitor

The interpersonal meta-function is a function of enacting social interactions as social relations between participants in communication (Halliday, 2004; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996/2006).

The written texts in Prehistories are written in a non-formal style with many open questions, which allows for a dialogue where the visitor is invited to contribute with own reflections and interpretations. The texts are written with direct address, which works as a way to create a connection to the reader. In the text, there is an introduction telling us about the eight individuals. It says: "You meet them as frozen moments in time", and further "It could have been you who lived at that time". We are connected in a fellowship where "there are similarities with us and our time".

In images, the system of gaze is important to create social interaction. If a person in an image looks at the viewers, that participant establishes an imaginary relation with the viewers, in a way demanding something from the viewer (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996/2006, van Leeuwen 2005). The images of the eight individuals are mostly arranged so that the participant looks directly at the viewer. Each person is depicted as someone to engage with, and as visitors we can imagine that these (prehistoric) people were just like us. Most of the persons are given a very serious expression and sometimes also an imperious look (arms crossed, hand on spear), which though creates a certain distance to us as viewers.

Textual Analysis: Organization and Coherence

The textual meta-function has to do with how a text is presented as coherent to the "reader" (Halliday 2004, Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996/2006). The exhibition Prehistories is structured in at least two levels. On the first level is the very linear structure with the chronology through the seven rooms; you either start from Ice Age/Stone age and continue through Bronze Age and then end at Iron Age, or go through it the other way around. It has a narrative with a given start and a given end, depending on which way you start your visit. The beginning at Ice Age

– Stone Age is more elaborated, and can be seen as the "proper" start. Once inside the exhibition, you can't deviate from the path, unless you go back the same way you came or if you quickly go through it till the end. So partly, Prehistories can be seen as a rather closed text.

The second level is the organisation of resources within each room. Unlike the structure on the first level, there are many possible ways of engaging with the resources inside each room. There are images, large sign boards and objects that the visitor can choose to engage with, and there is an arrangement with links to different written texts, like poems and interviews. You can choose to read some texts but skip others. There is also a possibility to get even further information through an audio guide.

The text is coherent in several ways, and the structure in levels is one example of how this is done. Another example is the function of the film, which presents information about the eight individuals. The same images that are included in the film, reoccurs along the way, as a sign of the overall exhibition.

The themes of the exhibition is not just consistent regarding the different elements within the present text, but they are consistent also in relation to the context of other exhibitions, and other representations of national identity in society at large. This connects to both the multicultural discourse that we see in museums today, and also to the globalisation and European integration that is apparent in both politics and society today.

The Middle Kingdom – An Exhibition about Chinese History and Worldwide Relations in a Historic Past

The permanent exhibition the Middle Kingdom was completed in September 2007. It presents aspects of Chinese history through a selection of dynasties, ranging from Shang (1600 – 1050 B.C) to Qing (1644 – 1911 A.D.). It is presented as a continuation of the exhibition China before China, which describes the oldest known Chinese civilisations. Taken together, the two exhibitions present glimpses of 5000 years of Chinese history and show more than 1200 objects on display (Houby-Nielsen, 2007, p 6). However, despite the vast number of historically interesting objects on display the exhibition is not focused solely on China and Chinese history. Other issues are accounted for against the backdrop of the Middle Kingdom and its rich heritage, for example aspects of Swedish cultural history related to the trading companies and the impact of Chinese cultural artefacts within the Swedish bourgeoisie. Another aspect of the exhibition deals with the role of the museum itself in terms of obtaining knowledge about the historical past. And so on. In this way, the exhibition can be seen to deal with themes concerning both nation and identity in different ways and at different levels. Apart from the themes accounted for, the exhibition itself is also presented as historically coherent with previous exhibitions:

The exhibition "The Middle Kingdom" signals the reopening of the doors to the Chinese collections at the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. The collections were first put on show at the Museums inauguration in 1963, in a beautiful exhibition which quickly gained a very special reputation both in Sweden and abroad." (Houby-Nielsen, 2007, p 6)

Houby-Nielsens statement also indicates the role of the museums own collection in The Middle Kingdom, which is interesting in relation to the idea of *pre-* versus *pro*-textual material.

An Introduction to the Middle Kingdom

The Middle Kingdom is staged in a large, subtly lit room with a vast number of display cases along the walls. Floors, ceiling, walls and backgrounds are black. All texts are written in white letters on a black background. The room is divided by a long (approximately 20 metres) conceptually designed "dragon" in red and black, created by a well-known Swedish

architectural group. Apart from its symbolic and aesthetic value, the dragon serves to define the exhibition space and the walking path as the exhibition is organized in a path around it. The dragon also contains a number of display cases. The front end of the dragon, which faces the visitor at the entrance, contains a display case with a sculptural head of a woman. This sculpture is portrayed in posters, advertisements and other representations of the exhibition.

Once inside the exhibition room, the visitor can either go to the right or to the left. However, the exhibition is chronologically ordered, beginning to the left.

The first display cases present objects from the Shang dynasty. A written text explains the ritual use of the objects during the time of their origin. Each of the display cases throughout the exhibition are arranged with one to five shelves with objects from the different represented dynasties. Informational texts give insight into different aspects of the objects and civilisations presented. The name of each represented dynasty is written on the floor.

Each dynasty is presented with a small map of its territory in relation to present-day China, a mark on a timeline and an explanatory text concerning the historical circumstances.

There is a slight change in terms of focus as we approach the time when the technique to produce objects in porcelain is discovered. Apart from the introductions to the dynasties, the informational texts are increasingly focused on aspects concerning porcelain items and china. Trade is also introduced as a theme at this point.

Once we reach the end of the room and begin to walk back on the other side of the dragon, Sweden is brought more and more into the picture. We are presented with the East Asian Company which imported vast amounts of china to Sweden, and we are told about famous collectors, the status of china in Swedish upper-class environments, and so on. In this way, the larger part of the second half of the exhibition deals with Chinese crafts from a Swedish cultural historical perspective.

Ideational Analysis: Aspects of Nation and Identity

To begin with the container layer, the overall design of the exhibition can be seen as a way of embodying the idea of ancient China through the use of some of the symbols and semiotic takes that are commonly associated with it – such as the dragon, Chinese signs and the use of red and black colours. The dim lighting and the dark surfaces add to a sense of mysticism and historicity. In terms of identity, the selection of elements used to signify China is interesting in the way it tells us something about how we construct "the other", both in terms of nation/culture and historical time. The image of China that is expressed here is marked by a general sense of mysticism and mythology. It is also interesting to note how well these few signifiers work in order to represent China as a nation. They become efficient markers in the construction of 'Chinese identity as a sign'. The way this is performed aesthetically in the exhibition - through the modern design – contribute with certain qualities to the representation, as they serve to portray China as an interesting nation.

Simultaneously, the design at this level also signifies the exhibition itself, at a meta-level. It tells us that we are approaching ancient China in a new and appealing way. In this way, the design of these aspects of the exhibition can be seen as a form of self-presentation of the exhibition itself. In the same way as clothing and other aspects related to 'style' are important in the construction of personal identity, the aesthetic design of the exhibition is a way of performing museum identity.

Pre-Textual Content – Historical Artefacts

The meaning-making within this layer is, of course, closely dependent on the access to historical artefacts. In the *Middle Kingdom* all historical objects stem from the museums own collections.

The objects on display predominately consist of various forms of vessels, tools, weapons, jewellery, musical instruments, sculptures, china/porcelain, lacquer ware and handicraft products from different times. A change can be discerned throughout the exhibition, in terms of the type of objects displayed and in terms of materials. The earlier parts of the exhibition (representing the time from 1600 B.C. to 618 A.D.) show vessels, tools, musical instruments and weapons of various kinds. All objects are made either in metal of some kind or ceramics.

From the account of the Tang dynasty (618 A.D to 906 A.D) and onwards, the majority of the objects are made in porcelain. A gradual shift can be seen to occur from a dominance of sculptures to various forms of items in porcelain (vases, dishes, plates, bowls etc.). In the second half of the exhibition, (mainly Swedish) collections or sets of china are dominant. Apart from these, some display cases display furniture and in the later part of the exhibition objects of glass, lacquer and other materials are introduced. At the very end of the exhibition female clothing is presented as a theme. Taken together, we can see a gradual shift of materials, from bronze, silver and ceramics to porcelain, glass, lacquer, textile and other materials suitable for handicrafts. However, the main part of the objects displayed are made either in some kind of metal, pottery or porcelain. A gradual shift can also be discerned in terms of the kind of objects that are shown – from tools, ritually used vessels and other culturally significant artefacts to china.

To us, as visitors, the selections and displays of the various objects appears to have been made with an intention to demonstrate historical progression within different areas – in terms of technology, cultural customs etc. The places of origin within the different dynasties indicates a continuous transition of what China 'is' at different points in time.

Pro-Textual Content – Representations of Ancient China

Apart from the objects themselves, several of the display cases are accompanied by informational texts that shed light either to the specific objects and their cultural and historical contexts or to aspects of the history of the dynasties in focus. These texts contribute with a didactic or discursive layer of meanings, since they direct our attention to specific aspects of Chinese history in regard to the presented objects on display.

We can discern a few different types of texts, as they either present the objects on display and aspects related to their use and significance during a specific dynasty or present historical information concerning the dynasties themselves. Parallel to the displayed objects, a sense of progression can be seen within the themes that are introduced.

Once we reach the parts of the exhibition more thoroughly focused on porcelain and china, the texts also become more focused on this specific side of Chinese material culture. Besides presentations of how techniques are enhanced and refined through developments of new forms of glazes and through differences in terms of artistic freedom between different dynasties and so on, international trade is brought into the picture. Halfway through the exhibition the Swedish East-Asian trading company is introduced, followed by a number of texts about Swedish collectors and specific sets of china made for Swedish royal families and other prominent families in Sweden. Texts also inform of the recent making of a replica of one of the old Swedish ships used in the trade with China during the 18th century. In this way, the exhibition leaves room for the visitor to partake in the construction of Swedish identity.

Other aspects that are accounted for in the texts has to do with archaeological scientific work and of achievements made by early Swedish archaeologists in tracing aspects of a Chinese past through the remains on display in the exhibition. This can be seen as another way for the museum to perform its own identity.

The texts and maps that inform about the various dynasties are of particular interest in terms of national identity. Taken together they give an idea of China as a nation in constant transition, both in terms of its changing geographical boundaries and in terms of the diverse groups of people (culturally and ethnically) that are represented as Chinese at different points in time.

Ideo-Logical Layer – Bringing the Pieces Together

In the Middle Kingdom the ideological layer works as a way to bring the different parts of the exhibition together and construe a sense of coherence between the quite different aspects that are dealt with. The exhibition can primarily be seen to consist of two main parts – one consisting of Chinese historical artefacts from different points in time and another part more closely connected to Swedish cultural history. These are brought together through a gradual change of the themes presented in the informational texts. One such theme has to do with materials and technology. In the first part of the exhibition we are invited to follow the progression from clay pottery and the use of bronze vessels, to other more sophisticated technologies and materials. Once we reach the time of the introduction of porcelain, the narrative shifts from a national to an international focus. Trade is gradually brought into the picture, at first within Asia, then in more global terms. The logical continuation once we reach Europe is to present the Swedish trading companies and their travels to China. From there on, the narrative is more dominated by Swedish perspectives.

Interpersonal Analysis

The organisation of space in relation to the chronological structure of the exhibition plays an important role in establishing the relationship between the visitor and the producers. The directionality of the tags with dynasties written on the floor indicates where the exhibition begins and once the visitor decides to follow the indicated path the "dragon" prevents her or

him to leave that route for own excursions. The visitors are, of course, free to dispose of their own time and they can move freely within each part of the exhibition, but the narrow and corridor-like organisation of the exhibition spaces - where one thing is presented after another – implies a certain reading order and an intended directionality of flow. Viewed as a text, the exhibition thereby appears to be rather closed in relation to the visitors and in that sense it reminds of older forms of pedagogic texts, where the author has the authority and the reader is subjected to the organisation of the text. In similar ways the producers here construct an interpersonal relation where the visitors are subjected to the organisation of the exhibition.

A closer look at the texts that appear in display cases throughout the exhibition confirms this relationship between producers and visitors. The texts are informative and written in a formal language. As visitors we are never invited to reflect or pose questions, but are merely 'told' about the things that the producers have decided to tell us something about. The visitors are not able to take part in a quest for new answers of any kind and is thereby deprived of their agency. Another way of inviting a reader to a joint possession of a text is to use personal pronouns, such as 'you', 'we' and so on – thereby making the reader a part of a community in relation to the text. In the exhibitional texts the pronoun 'we' is used at ten instances. At each of these instances, however, 'we' is used to signify the producers and the scientific community they are part of, thus leaving the reader/visitor outside. Again, the visitors are subjected to the interests of the producers, which reinforce the unequal relationship between them.

Quotes from - and references to - ancient Chinese texts function as modality markers which indicates seriosity and a familiarity with historical sources within the field. Apart from using these sources in order to inform about different aspects of ancient China, they serve to establish the producers as authorities. In relation to the visitor this implies a difference in knowledge and can simultaneously be seen as a way of establishing the social hierarchy within the exhibition.

Similar to the way that organisation of space influences the interpersonal relations between visitors and producers, the organisational aspects of informational texts have a social impact. The texts in this exhibition are written in quite small letters, and most of them are placed quite low within the display cases. To be able to read, one has to stand close to the glass. In other words, the visitor needs to engage with effort to be able to read the texts. This can be seen as yet another way to demand something from the visitor – you need to be docile in order to gain something from the texts.

Textual Analysis

The textual aspects of the exhibition are closely connected with the other forms of meaning that we have presented so far. Many aspects relating to the textual organisation of the exhibition has already been touched upon within the previous analyses. What we can state here is that the exhibition gains coherence through the interplay of three-dimensional design, the organisation of space, the historical artefacts and the informative texts. Each of these parts are organised coherently within their own specific fields of communication, but they are brought together through the overriding design on a general level and through the written texts in terms of the thematical issues that are dealt with. The chronological and thematical organisation of the exhibition in a circular path from left to right through the exhibition space are important in relation to the other aspects of both meaning-making and construction presented earlier. We are gradually led along the narrative path through diverse forms of pre-Chinese items and contexts towards more familiar items and context in the parts of the exhibition focused more closely on Swedish cultural history. The design of the container layer also contribute textually with a sense of coherence, as it brings all of the different themes presented throughout the exhibition together as parts of the complex Chinese sign.

Comparison and Discussion

In this concluding paragraph we will point at some of the differences between the two exhibitions. From this comparison a few conclusions have evolved.

As a first observation both exhibitions respond to features that are characteristic of the postmodern condition at large. In Prehistories this can be perceived through the focus on local identity while in the Middle Kingdom, there is a focus on globalisation and transnational flows.

The exhibitions approach identity in different ways and emphasises different aspects. In Prehistories there is a focus on existential issues as the prehistoric life-worlds invite the visitor to reflect upon her or his own life situation. Through the direct address and open questions in the written texts, the visitor is also invited to take part in the interpretation of the prehistoric life-worlds. In this sense the Middle Kingdom is more closed in relation to the visitor. The formal address and the overall structure of the exhibition as a closed text keep the visitor at a distance. Identities are not negotiable in the same sense as in Prehistories.

In "The Middle Kingdom", time is represented as an even flow. The narrative and the presentation of objects create a sense of historical progress. In "Prehistories" there is, on a macro level, a chronological wholeness, and on a micro level, sections where time appears as more intense. The narration stops in a sense, in order to communicate with the visitor in a dialogue around specific themes and issues in the exhibition.

National identity is not fore grounded in "Prehistories" in the same way as it is in "The Middle Kingdom". In the first exhibition, the over all theme is more about time; where each room tells the story of a specific time. This can be compared to the overall design of the surface in Middle Kingdom, which uses many different symbols and signs which are easily identified as "Chinese".

Both exhibitions set out to represent a time when nations did not exist. However, a difference between them can be seen in their approach to national identity. It appears to be more problematic to represent aspects of nationhood when it comes to ones own cultural heritage.

The results from the analysis can be related to what Pettersson (2003) has brought forward in his research on the fundamental values of Swedish cultural heritage preservation. His research suggests that national identity is articulated first in representations of the Middle Ages and even more strongly in representations concerning the period after the 16th century. In prehistoric exhibitions, for instance, there seems to be a tendency to leave out the national in favour of a representation that's especially focusing human beings as social creatures, in order to provide perspective on our existence. Questions of identity may be dealt with in more common terms, or as part of the regional or the local. As Aronsson (2008) stated, the dominance of the multi-cultural standpoint within cultural heritage work in Sweden makes it problematic to promote the national.

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Steps Toward An Analysis of "Sápmi: Becoming A Nation" Exhibition at Tromsø University Museum

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Sápmi, en nasjon blir til is the first exhibition ever made taking the stand to present the social-history of an indigenous political movement, by visualizing elements of a national discourse about ethnicity and assimilation, in which the main focus is not "material culture" nor art objects. By discourse I utilize Foucault's French philosophical and political definition of "discours" (1995) intended here not as purely verbal-oral construction, but as institutional and material practice.

When I first visited Tromsø University as guest lecturer in 1993, I immediately became acquainted with the distinctive Norwegian term "Formidling" (Mediation of Knowledge). The paradox of such term is that it means different concepts in the languages I know (some Latin languages but also in English) and it is hard to find an all-fit translation for it: it must be understood in context. Sometimes as "mediation", sometimes as "dissemination", others as "interpretation" and even as "negotiation". One thing is plausible: it is a core concept in Scandinavian academic practices of production of social scientific knowledge. Still, it triggers scholars to explore its meaning. It is a strong theoretical stand of a certain Norwegian social anthropology. In this way the aim of my fieldwork at Tromsø Museum is to gather and analyze examples of contextualization and to reflect upon how representation is affected by it. Moreover, this can become a reflection about how inclusive or exclusive for different audiences, such "museal" cultural politics may be.

For this aim, I start by analyzing failures and scores of existing projects, in order to provide a lively representation of these practices, which connect academics with civil society at large, not in general terms, but in the analysis of dynamics that researchers, social actors and specific audiences create together when they encounter and react to these representations: an inclusive and dialogical practice from one and side and a constructive, strident or simply dialectical critique on the other side.

These are important aspects because they provide the context to understand further how meaning is made beyond the commodity "exhibition", and how it is transformed or negotiated/omitted/exalted, etc. Moreover, manifold narratives are elicited through the meeting with the audience. These representations are context-of-reception dependant. A scrutiny of the modalities of these meetings, from the fieldwork's reflective practices, to the feed back sessions with social actors; from follow up exhibitions or productions of new media (books, films, catalogues, etc.) to surveys and monitoring of the exhibitions themselves, from local-national discursive debates, to transnational discursive representations, is my research's agenda.

Figure 1. Iver Jåks's sculpture in the exhibition
"Sápmi en Nasjon blir til"

Introduction and Background

When I first visited Tromsø University as guest lecturer in 1993, I immediately became acquainted with the distinctive Norwegian term "Formidling" (Mediation of Knowledge). The paradox of such term is that it means different concepts in the languages I know (some Latin languages but also in English) and it is hard to find an all-fit translation for it: it must be understood in context. Sometimes as "mediation", sometimes as "dissemination", others as "interpretation" and even as "negotiation". One thing is plausible: it is a core concept in Scandinavian academic practices of production of social scientific knowledge. Still, it triggers scholars to explore its meaning. When in 2003 he became the recipient of the Norwegian "Formidlingspris" (Prize for Dissemination of Knowledge) at the University of Oslo, Prof Per Thomas Andersen stated:

> "Det er simpelthen ikke sant at det går an å skille klart mellom forskning og formidling, ikke nå lenger. Det fins former for innsikt – også faglig innsikt – som bare oppstår på møteplassene, det vil si i formidlingsrommene der kunstig atskilte fagfelter berører hverandre – og der enda kunstigere atskilte eksistensnivåer i våre liv kommer i meningsskapende kontakt. Formidling er ikke bare å gjøre allerede etablert kunnskap synlig. Formidling er å skape møteplasser for mening (Mediation is a way to shape an encounter for the creation of meaning)".

It is a philosophical statement, even a good intention in the field of Humanities, but it is actually what a certain Norwegian social anthropology (probably enhanced by Barth and his early theories of processual anthropology in the '60s) has practiced and reflected upon since many decades (Eidheim 1993; Altern and Holtedahl 2000; Eidheim, Bjørklung and Brantenberg 2002; Arntsen and Holtedahl 2006; etc.).

What I think needs to be produced in order to revitalize this debate, is a study in which not only the academic text, but a more experimental mixed media[1] format conveys how projects which have Dissemination and Mediation at their core are achieved, documenting the meeting-spaces and the process of eliciting meaning where and when they occur too. It may attempt to render how production of knowledge go through processes of "repersonalization"

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1   Mixed-media is a concept that finds its more acute theorist in Mitchell (2005).

(Altern-Holtedahl, 2000:37) through the ethnographic process, and how exhibitions, display and installations in the Museum may as well keep accessible these levels of ongoing production of meaning, in all spheres: as a discursive, pedagogical and aesthetic aim. In this way the aim of my fieldwork at Tromsø Museum is to gather and analyze examples of contextualization and to reflect upon how representation is affected by it. Moreover, this can become a reflection about how inclusive or exclusive for different audiences, such "museal" cultural politics may be.

For this aim, I start by analyzing failures and scores of existing projects, in order to provide a lively representation of these practices, which connect academics with civil society at large, not in general terms, but in the analysis of dynamics that researchers, social actors and specific audiences create together when they encounter and react to these representations: an inclusive and dialogical practice from one side, and a constructive, dialectical critique on the other side.

More studies on mediation of knowledge are needed where the actual meeting-spaces for the attribution of signification are visualized too and the existential and experiential connection among audiences, researchers and informants are also in focus. Eidheim et al. (2002), curators of the Exhibition I took as my main research topic, *Sápmi en nasjon blir til*, (see its online version on http://sapmi.uit.no and its catalogue) well describe the necessity of situating the various agents of this triangular dynamic in their interaction with the exhibition itself. The example is taken from an article published in the Norwegian journal of social anthropology, where they analyzed some of these issues emerged in the curatorial work for "Sápmi Becoming a Nation":

"The visitors who meet our presentation have their own cultural competences. These represent as well potentials for interpretation, which are activated in the encounter with a presentation in which we've included conditions for experiencing a purposeful agenda (Griffith 1996). The audience come surely with their own most diverse preconceptions when it comes to the main theme." (Eidheim et al. 2002: 131-132)

These are important aspects because they provide the context to understand further how meaning is made beyond the commodity "exhibition", and how it is transformed or negotiated/omitted/exalted, etc. Moreover, manifold narratives are elicited through the meeting with the audience. These representations are context-of-reception dependant.

I am in the first phase of my postdoctoral inquiry, but so far my research's agenda consists in the scrutiny of the modalities of these meetings, from the fieldwork's reflective practices, to the feed-back sessions with social actors; from follow up exhibitions or productions of new media (books, films, catalogues, etc.) to surveys and monitoring of the exhibitions themselves, from local-national discursive debates, to transnational discursive representations. In order to do that, I am gathering data and documenting acts of mediation (to document the "triangular" process of production of knowledge in context) among scholars at the Museum itself and in their direct network. These scholars contribute to the research too, and I become in turn a mediator of instances and processes taking place among them and with their own environments and communities of study in the perspective of what Schneider practiced in his own multisided fieldwork: an "hermeneutic" between social actors and researchers (Schneider: 2006), but this theoretical trajectory was initiated by the seminal work of Clifford James, especially in "Routes". It implies to explore museums as "contact zones" Pratt's trope, as Clifford (1997:188) relates to it:

"In contact's zones, Pratt tells us, geographically and historically separated groups establish ongoing relations. These are not relations of equality, even though processes of mutual exploitation and appropriation may be at work. As we have seen, fundamental assumptions about relationship itself – notions of exchange, justice, reciprocity- may be topics of struggle and negotiation. Moreover, contact zones are constituted through reciprocal

movements of people, not just of objects, messages, commodities and money." (1997: 194-95)

   The final outcome serves the community of interest surrounding the museum, as much as a further theorization on dissemination of knowledge, which is currently wished by many scholars, and not only at the national level.

Figure 2. Fifty Governmental reports (NOU) about Sami issues in fifty years.

The Exhibition

> "As disseminators of knowledge, ethnographic museums can still play a very important role in relation to multicultural society. (…)[Museum staff] can place much greater weight on problem oriented research which studies various challenges tied to the understanding of global and multicultural processes. There is a growing international trend to let individual temporary exhibitions become projects with expansive vistas which address a phenomenon, a specific decade, a specific process or a concept. There is great need to progress from exhibitions which to a large degree only illustrate a theme/culture through objects and text, to exhibitions which profile reflections." National Museum Authority Report section III (P. Rekdal 2001)

Sapmi, en nasjon blir til is the first exhibition ever made taking the stand to present the social-history of an indigenous political movement, by visualizing elements of a national discourse about ethnicity and assimilation, in which the main focus is not "material culture" nor art objects. By *discourse* I utilize Foucault's French philosophical and political definition of "discours" as he did in History of Sexuality (1995) intended here not as purely verbal-oral construction, but as institutional and material practice. Discourse for Foucault is also to be understood in connection with the concepts of Power and Knowledge. As Yúdice (quoted in Message 2006:18) states: "Politics of representation seeks to transform institutions not only by means of inclusions but also by the images and discourses generated by them". (Yúdice 2003:164). Thus, by reading the catalogue of the exhibition and moreover its website, it is quite clear that the curators from Tromsø Museum do not avoid, but instead make a point in telling a series of narratives in which themselves, as anthropologists and ethnographers, have been historically involved, becoming among those who contributed to the cultural critique which Sámi and Norwegian scholars developed (Minde, 2008) within the discourse on ethnicity over a period of 50 years, 1950-2000. As we read in the introduction to the website of the exhibition:

> "Thus, our presentation is not only meant as a corrective to the conventional philosophy and practice of museums, but also to provide the public with means to grasp the implications of the emergence of Sami nationhood as a creative, innovative and cumulative process - a virtual revolution in political and cultural terms within the span of some decades. Moreover, we want to make the audience aware that museum displays- like the old and the new exhibit here in Tromsø Museum – are not just "facts", but presentations reflecting the interests, motives and historical contexts of those who made them."

And it is signed by all the curators together. They had indeed in mind first a foremost an already informed audience for their main thematics: Norwegian and Sami from North of Norway and by extension, all those interested in this particular debate. The exhibition did not mean to make every aspect too explicitly, as if it was a national museum in the capital of the country. This choice is evident, because the main target is the audience that is active in the discursive practices connected with the exhibition and the history of these regions, from the postwar period ahead.

Figure 3. Entering the exhibition Sápmi- Becoming a nation.
Introductory room.

The Space

Concerning the physical space, one separate subchapter will be dedicated to the description of the museum and the actual site of the exhibition, which in this short paper cannot be undertaken. To have a fairly good impression of it, it is nowadays possible to navigate the impressive 3D design of its locations in the online version of this exhibition (http://sapmi.uit.no). Quickly said, there are one entrance and three interconnected rooms, each addressing a particular period, from post war to current days (1999). The rooms were called by the curators: The Norwegian Room "The Making of the Welfare State and Quest for Equity" (1945-1960); The Sami Room "The Struggle for Equal Worth" (1960-1980) and The Indigenous Room "Sami Land (Sápmi) the Making of a Nation" (1980-2000).

   The displays show only few captions or none, and this makes the signifying process of visiting the exhibition highly based on metaphors, associations, individual agency and extra verbal expressions. The visitor can express in each enclave (entrance and rooms 1, 2, 3) some freer forms of agency, which in other exhibitions are reduced to an obligatory linear "circuit". The absence of many captions and longer texts can enable a more intuitive movement that in most cases follows personal curiosity and identification with certain parts of the display and not others. It allows for a freer movement, a return to sites that acquire a new meaning when one has understood or recognized other parts of the exhibition. A study of the corporeal motions around the various cabinets could also be relevant in order to visualize how people assign meaning to things, and how links between disparate cabinets are made.

Main Narratives

Terje Brantenberg, anthropologist and project leader/curator of the exhibition, wrote in the final project description which constitute also the museum newsletter:

> "The aim of the project is quite ambitious; it is the first attempt ever presenting an overview of the cultural and political movement of Sámi in Norway in the form of a museum exhibit. Our story is controversial for several reasons. By giving a general overview, we will always be open to criticism for our selection of events, actors and places. The very heading of the exhibition –Sápmi- "Sámi Homeland" or "Nation" – is also highly controversial. The term emerged during the 1980's, replacing the older Sámi term Sámi Ædnam (Sámi Land), referring both to the territorial homelands of Sámi as well as being a political symbol of Sámi unity and nationhood, common for all Sámi. For some, the very term of Sámi nationhood is a provocation, and nothing but a political slogan." (1999: 9).

And more recently he stated:

> "Actually, we did not find difficult to describe **what** stories and messages (the exhibition) should treat. But something very different, was to make concrete suggestions about **how** the diverse themes should be illustrated, visualized." (Norwegian Anthropological Association (NAF) Conference, Tromsø 2006).

Here, he formulates one of the basic questions, since anthropology has come to a point, after 30 years from the so called "narrative turn", in which its claim for self-reflexivity is no more a controversy[2], but a distinctive sign of identity of the discipline itself. The "situatedness" and

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2   The controversy I am addressing, is mainly based on the assumption that interpretative instances should be transformed into models resembling those of natural sciences. But a more subtle controversy, emerged after Geerzt, was that defining Culture as Text to be interpreted, was eliminating the possibility for comparison with other media, for the geertzian "Text" was not a neutral metaphor, but indeed it was often associated and compared to the long tradition of academic and literary-essayistic writings. Those contrapositions between

constant positioning of the researcher, is part of the construction, production and dissemination of knowledge and cannot be hidden as a pure methodological "noise". The point about mediation of knowledge through visualization is a crucial one, a productive one.

First the curators should mediate with the exhibition designer. To describe certain type of stories, to use words evoking stories: what did it mean? What were the media one should associate to words? The telling is characterized by verbal and bodily language (i.e. oral storytellers), or written and illustrated texts (i.e. children's books). Preponderantly, this telling is using a descriptive form utilizing the same medium (language, oral or written). Stories are based on facts, chronicles, acts, actions as they are reported by various sources. They need a degree of performance in order to become appealing, but they can also be told or written maintaining their main features and messages from one teller to the next (Czarniawska 2004).

Figure 4. The threshold between two rooms, seen from room no. 1.

Moreover the visit of the exhibition doesn't rely too much on captions and texts, and this is made so in order to induce audience to make sense of images, sounds, items in a freer, associative way. In this way, a more complex level of reflection and critique of what is not accounted for, by connecting, linking, comparing or discovering by oneself, can be enhanced. The captions, when they are there, do not really inform about the items and objects themselves, but more about why they were chosen as symbolic, emblematic, representative and about their value for certain social and political movements. During my fieldwork I will collect examples on why and how the few objects were chosen by the curators, their consultants and the designers and how the actual fact of working through things created findings, new meanings and aesthetic results.

When it comes to the actual presentation in the museum, many unexplained facts can be source of reflection, not everything has been explained. Audience can also, in a sort of complementary attempt, "fill in" the gaps or absence of images, stories, items and symbols by

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sensorial aspects, communication systems, logic categories had limited the analytical and representative construction of scholars in my view.

imagining their own. The exhibition enhances a sort of "political imagination", if I may. To explore more this aspect, I am now going to present two items in the exhibition, in order to attempt an interpretation of their mode of functioning.

First Item: Visualization of Statistic (Kvænangen)

Figure 5. Census in Kvænangen 1930. A device made to show the expression of ethnicity.

The device which was designed to visualize a statistic in Kvænangen (see the three pictures) is a cylinder that visitors observe behind a glass, but that can be rotated by pushing a button. Once rotated, the flags display a different average, corresponding to the percentage of Sami, Kvæn and Norwegian citizens censed over 20 years (1930-1950).

Figure 6. Rotatory movement.

The device works through Gestalt-like patterns: background and foreground, shift of average flags, black, white and red abstract colors, stylized human forms, flags as holder of identity, rotatory movement creating a sense of "hidden" and "exposed"…) etc.. Moreover, it also suggests that the portion contains the same average of figure in both appearances, but that *they* have made a change of identity, they hold a different flag. One must indeed realize that at the that time Sami and Kven flags weren't yet invented, so the display is only using "ethnic" on a white sheet, as conceptual marker, not as a real flag.

Figure 7. Figures in 1950, same region.
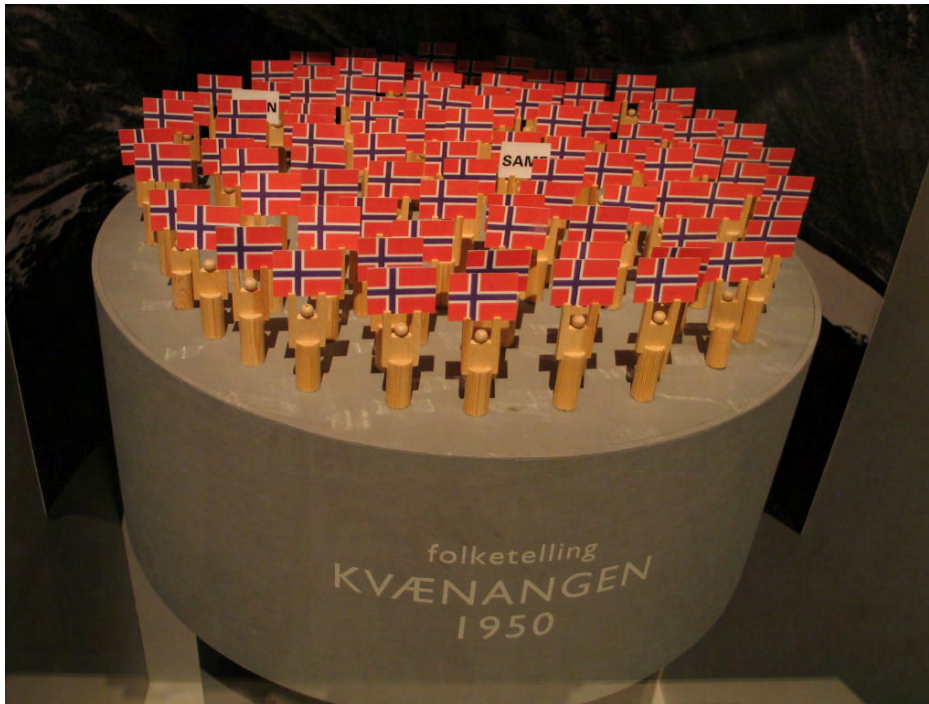
It is the same "portion" in terms of population and territory, but the change happens in the way ethnicity is displayed, etc. It can eventually evoke a "cake", which is not a neutral figure: it seems also based on metaphors proper to some of the Norwegian cultural practices. A cake is an artifact invested with sense of aesthetics, affectivity, pride, and highly genderized, not only in Norway (thus a socially rewarded Norwegian woman knows how to make good cakes, within a certain repertoire, and this seems to be a very rewarding skill). It appeals the community, being under the same "umbrella", and it reinforces the metaphor of nation to be shared and valued together, deserving celebrations and coming together. It is a friendly metaphor.

Is the fact that so many hold a shifted flag a historical improvement? The device is no to be charged with prejudice in the conception of Norwegianization, but indeed, it is not a "strident" image of a nation. It is domestic, almost childish (Lakoff and Johnson: 2005; Gullestad: 2005). The fact that the device can be seen also as a children's carrousel, which the visitors can actually switch by themselves through a simple button, makes the item a "performing" object, even in a minor degree. This installation is acted by visitors, it makes a "trick". But perhaps they do not get the "pain" or the striding history behind the shift of flags. It "happens" in a switch, a "click" covering an historical period of 20 years. It has something light, funny and it reduces the sense of conflict that one could derive from such a change in ethnical adherence. The designer tried to visualize a message: the one concerning how people signified their ethnical belonging after linguistic/economic assimilation. So, by trying to

interpret the message hidden in this particular item, one can approach as well the discourse that the curators wanted to signal in the exhibition, the cultural and political critique, if one may. It is only by making people reflecting and acting the device that one can observe these aspects. The item could help visitors to notice how such a message became able to produce other meanings, how discourse was evoked through visual metaphors like that. In a way the designer of the exhibition was searching for a visualization of a fact (the census of Sami subjects in Kvænangen over 20 years, between 1930 and 1950). But in my interpretation, he and the curators ended up as well visualizing a latent discourse that still is implicit in mainstream Norwegian history.

Further on, Brantenberg said that the most difficult was to find out and communicate *how* themes should be illustrated, visualized. ***Themes*** are per definition a linguistic conceptualization, a synthesis, an abstraction that only language can operate by reflecting over how various topics compose a larger thematic. Because this exhibition wished to operate at the level of *discourse* this was obviously the core of everything. One could say that discourse is thematic per definition. It makes abstractions and synthesis: a discourse is a critical philosophical practice, produced and reinforced in social and political arenas. A discourse can be manipulated by different social actors. A discourse seeks for consensus, but it is always controversial. This was intended by the curators, I do not think I am speculating too far here. But part of the research I must still conduct will try to demonstrate **how** it was dealt with.

The message of the installation about the census in Kvænangen (majority and minority, ethnicity as flexible and changing in some short laps of time, linguistic acquisition as equating ethnic belonging, etc) is also, at another level, the metaphor born out of a certain discourse, the one I evoked above, about nation as constructive effort for equality, first of all by protecting those who are included in its citizenship. The fact that the human figures on it were very stylized, makes impossible to address questions of gender, age, disability etc. Again, these differences are disappearing in a more "statistic based" average of generic "people". In this respect, it works as a sociological item, less as an anthropological one, if one may. But what visitors got out of it? Did it work mainly as a visual statistic, or as a funny discovery about national change? Or more, an ironic item making the otherwise too serious exhibition more friendly? Visitors are different in gender, nationality, ethnicity, age etc. How the device operates, and for whom? Who was the ideal audience the curators had in mind? Was it the same as the one the designer had in mind? Etc. When one pushes the button of the case, one thinks about an early child-like audience. But the rest of the exhibition doesn't really appeal to the same age span… It is an artifact that served the purpose of visualizing an abstraction and a materialization of statistic, sociological facts. But in the way it turned out, it also became a signifier of discourses addressing the assimilation process, as the curator wished. It nevertheless used symbols which are appealing for reconciliation, celebration of national pride, more "positive" in my eyes than the fact they wished to problematize and the conflicts and pain behind the enculturation process.

Second Item: The Road Sign from Kåfjord

Figure 8. Road sign from Kåfjord region, north Troms.

Conversely, the road sign from Kåfjord, written in double language, Sami and Norwegian, seems a very different item. It signifies beyond its signifier, so to speak. It is not a road sign like another. It is ruined with bullets marks. The item does not provide any explanatory caption on purpose.

Kåfjord is a coastal Sami region, for those who know (not many indeed, even in Norway). Where do the bullets come from? "Nordmenn", Norwegian locals? Is it the old vendetta between racial discriminated ethnic minorities and settlers, going on here? But what happens if we make the hypothesis that the bullets come from Sami themselves? The hidden pain of coastal assimilated subjects, disappeared into the "Fornorskning" (cultural and linguistic assimilation) much earlier than other Sami…?

The road sign is an item in a museum, invested with symbolic meaning (the one I evoked above, and many others): it is not like an arrow, a necklace, a mosaic or an axe in an ethnographic museum. It is the actual road sign, which was target of racist[3] actions. It is an historical piece, in that respect, like the shield of a warrior in a certain battle. It is de-contextualized and made visible in such a strong degree, that most of the visitors are taken by

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3   I use concept of race obviously not as synonymous of "ethnicity" , but in the sense that race is culturally constructed by dominants in order to create subalternity (Gramsci), by utilizing ethnic difference, which is not biological proved, but socio-politically constructed. An act can be provoked by racism. But I never say that this or that person "is" racist. The act creates racism, the persons are not "racists". It is a social pattern, not a judgment over people.

a deep emotion, when they realize its message: actually that the bullets have erased the name of Kåfjord in Sami language.

In this way the road sign operates a shared meaning with those who belong to the region and have taken part in a similar local history. It also makes again those who are tough, tough and those who have shot the bullets remembering their self-destructive action. It makes those who are moved to tears feeling the harshness of history, but also a bound with the place. In the fruition of the road sign, there is plenty of out-coming. Its presence in a room which otherwise is very "friendly" looking, with nice portraits and items in cases, it is a sort of slap in the face of collective, local memory. It is a warning sign: we enter in a sort of "memory zone", which is being painful and controversial, in which there are not only clear enemies, but where the contradictions of the Sami identity are also emphasized. Especially if we think that the bullets are shot by Sami themselves. But how this sign operates for more cosmopolitan, international visitors? And how for South Norwegians[4], who know very little about the history of the North?

How should we look upon such an item? Contemplated? Observed? Interpreted? Minimized? Because it is what it is, a "real" item collected from the road, an authentic remain so to speak, less conceptual than the statistic-cylinder-with flags, it could be said that it is less charged with metaphors. But in fact, it is not. Actually, it is a producer of metaphors, images, it is a maelstrom of sensations, memories and evocations. And most of all, it calls for stories to be told. Each bullet seems to hide one individual story, an epoch, some desire of expressing anger but also visibility. A road sign should inform about a direction to follow in a given region: Kåfjord. The fact that it is in double language, means that in the region two languages (Norwegian and Sami) have the same status. A bilingual region. But also, a region where by looking at those bullets marks on the sign, hunters are "outraged" citizens! Or maybe, simply, a region in which playfully, youths learn how to use their fathers' rifles by shooting street signs as targets. And they score points when they hit certain "words"?

What do visitors express encountering the sign in the exhibition itinerary? And to elicit emotions and interrogations, like rage and pride, were these some of the aims of the curators? The road sign does not reproduce a discourse about nation-making and identity, like the "cake" with flags, nor does it illustrate it. It signifies, as a thing invested with affective and political meaning, especially for visitors of the region from where it comes from. An item like this, calls for stories and chronicles to be told: after the first recognition (it is a road sign) and identification (it is marked by bullets, a symbol of violence against a place and its inhabitants, against oneself, etc.) one wants to understand more: why this happened, and maybe more important, if this still does happen today. The location of the road sign as a gatekeeper in the exhibition is also signifying that, from now ahead, if one follows the itinerary of the display, one can make sense of that sign differently. In this respect the road sign is also a medium to raise consciousness and curiosity for the discourse the curators wish to describe and criticize. The street sign operates a semiotic "metalevel" of communication. It serves historical purposes for the exhibition itself, as a material cultural item in many ethnographic exhibitions; it represents a sociological symbol of a collective and shared local history; it rises the questions whether and how this could happen so recently in historical terms, and it enables the visitors to enter a sort of metaphorical re-imagined "Kåfjord", a territory of Sami society, a borderline sign, marking a no-man's land of political violence: the portion of space between two rooms: the past (room 1) and the very present (intro-room).

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4   For instance at Oslo Kulturhistorien Museum, fellow Phd student, Mari Mathisen, is currently working with a similar road sign and group of Olso-based rappers in action-exhibition about integration and multiculturalism. Total Teater, in North of Norway, also used the road sign in its performance.

Figure 9. Threshold between rooms seen from the intro-room.

Brantenberg said that the curators had many stories and descriptions they could retell to the designer. What are the stories behind the road sign? How are they maintained alive, how are they still hidden? How such an item could "represent", make sense in various ways, and still not be a simple reification, as in the more conventional ethnographic museums? Because through the work of interpretation visitors could discover aspects of society, get emotions or be touched, reconstruct events and visualize one of the aspects of "Forsnorskning" (namely aspects of a discourse of political assimilation and integration) the road sign did not reproduce a discourse like the "cylinder-with flags", but it addressed individual reactions in order to raise consciousness and to induce desire for production of meanings and stories. Before the "friendly" cylinder presenting the Kvænangen statistic stays a destroyed road sign engraved by shots. One must start to make the connections, because the exhibition is based on this challenging form: visitors are invited to lift up their awareness and interest, but if they remain passive, the exhibition won't give them too much to reflect and feel and maybe to be remembered.

If the device addressed the topic of ethnic identification (each figure holding a flag) in a little nuanced way (the only change: one Norwegian flag or the name of an ethnic group without flag, but no other signs on the figures themselves) but to a certain level of abstraction about ethnicity, assimilation and nationalism, the road sign, conversely, operated at the level of psychological identification (one who could shoot, one who could be shot, one who lived there, one who discovered what happened there, etc…) and created that identification by an increase of awareness. The flag holders represented a fact, the road sign represented untold stories and social disruption. The rotator cylinder reinforced a discourse about the nation (becoming more and more of an emblem) while the road sign represented Kåfjord people and

by synecdoche all the attempts to erase bilingual identity from the North, discriminating Sami people as in the old times.

Figure 10. Monitors with interactive videos are placed in some of the rooms in order to be used by visitors.

Visitors, Curators, Analysts

"A closer, more ethnographic, look at particular sites of heritage collecting and performance than one gets from the political-economy systematisers, often tells an ambiguous, open-ended story. There is undeniably, a systematic aspect to the proliferating politics of heritage, ethnicity and tourism. But it's a system of worlds in contact rather than a world-system." Clifford in Coles (2002:68)

What Are the Messages of the Visitors, Concerning These Two Examples?

I have not yet come further in the analysis of the messages and questionnaires which the curators obtained by a certain number of visitors. These type of studies are not competing with other forms of analysis, but for me, they mostly do not suffice to render the processual and interactive mode which users experience. It is not that in interpreting the exhibition like a "text" we deny the importance of ethnologic fieldwork and observations in situ, nor that we avoid to analyze the visitors' feedback and elicitations. The work of analysis is parallel and integrated; we need to insert more and more users perspectives into the interpretations and to base them on these. It can be seen also as if the renewed experience of visitors creates a performance of identification and personalization that can be captured in progress and that constitutes the action over the Exhibition as Text and Artifact. In this, the curators can learn

and improve, or simply transform some of it, accordingly. But also, they can write about this process, in order to help other curators, anthropologists, museologists and conservators to make new exhibitions in the future.

One important question is: Did the way visitors make sense of the exhibition match the curators' expectations? Or does their aim be a very different one? It seems that the main preoccupation of the curators was to represent a discourse about cultural and political assimilation and mainly about Sami Political Movements after the II WW, in a national context, with a long history of cohabitation, and to show how ethnographic exhibitions, most of the time, hide such aspects by highlighting mainly items, material culture and descriptive/objectifying displays. In this respect one has to see the four areas of "Sápmi en Nasjon blir til" in the very space of the museum: behind the last room, there is a sort of monolith. Behind that, one room hosting temporary exhibitions with installations and conceptual art. Behind this one, another room consecrated to religious items from churches and chapels in North of Norway, which by the way looks also a chapel. A room in which visitors, suddenly, feel compelled to lower their voices and some of them even to sit at the benches and pray (personal observations made in the gallery).

Figure 11. Section of Museum dedicated to religious items from North of Norway

If most of the museum representations and presentations operate in what Fabian calls "allochronic" mode (Fabian 1991: 89), by doing so, curators and anthropologists reinforce a temporal distance between apparently a-storical "ethnic" items, which are not called to evoke a dialogue with mainstream national historical ones and to challenge it. In this way they deny the sense of what became a trope in critical anthropology, Fabian's concept of *coevalness,* an historical perspective linking the production of knowledge of researcher and social actors in the same historical contingency, in the same epoch[5].

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5   Fabian critiques functionalist British anthropology and structuralistic French anthropology for this. He points out as both traditions mostly have kept at stake historicism as a step in ethnographic research, although Evans-Pritchard recognized the important of it, in his latest work.

Figure 12. "Samekultur" permanent ethnographic exhibition at Tromsø Museum: turf hut.

If the permanent ethnographic exhibition at Tromsø University Museum, "Samen Kultur" put up in the late 70s, was characterized by a certain lack of *coevalness*, by distancing the subjects and social practices represented to a non-sharable time, viceversa, "Sápmi en nasjon blir til" exhibition seems to operate exactly that recuperation of *coeavlness.* It does that by courageously addressing contemporary time, recent events (differently from usual a-storical and arcaic-oriented ethnographic exhibitions): the events and discourses represented in "Sapmi en Nasjon blir til" are in the making, are contemporary, the curators are visibly part of them, and still they can be acted upon by visitors' lived experience (as many visitors' elicitations demonstrate).

It is an "inclusive" exhibition, for the social actors whose historical facts are narrated are still alive and can interact with it, because it is designed in such a way that plural readings and interpretations are possible. If one of the main ways social sciences have put the Other at stake was by moving it into remote zones of a-historical times, this exhibition conversely, dares to bring the issue here and now, even at the risk of being limited, biased, incomplete and not enough exotic.

Some questionnaires were filled by visitors. They were questionnaires of "ranking" type (one has to rank in terms of improvement or increase, "godt kjent (well understood), litt (little), ikke (not)", etc.). But this system tells almost nothing about the processual and dynamic way in which knowledge is elicited, generated or shared[6]. In some ways the old

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6 When a given percentage said in the questionnaire: "har lært noe nytt eller ikke lært" I guess people think about learning as "getting information". We know well that there is a distinction between information and

fashion questionnaire does not match the innovative style of the Sápmi exhibition, which as the curators stated in the catalogue: "wish to address links, connections, signifying practices" etc. To rely too much and to spend much time on the analysis of such questionnaires can be problematic, at least it seems to me. It somewhat collides with the intentions of the whole project and it also shows very little in relation to what guides experience when they introduce visitors, or what visitors have been able to contribute, after the exhibition, by being asked to elicit their perspectives in another medium than the schemes of questionnaires.

If the exhibition requires absolutely a guide (be it a scholar or a pre-recorded auto-guide on headphones) in order to be really deepened, it is also possible to use the exhibition as a "classroom", where one creates each time a laboratory in terms of generative knowledge. This is what the museum offers to school (of all levels) through the work of its specialized pedagogues. I have started work with Marianne Gjæver, who developed a very effective and adaptable pedagogy linking Same Kultur with Sápmi en Nasjon blir til.

Moreover, there is also a range of "guiding modes" now widely performed by the museum curators and anthropologist, be them for Indigenous people-activists, or for university students, for Sami individuals and groups for researchers and scholars etc.

Finally there is a model of guiding by external guides at Innovasjon Tromsø, a tourist-cultural agency, for tourists arriving with the coastal steamer and visiting Tromsø only few hours.

Figure 13. A child exploring the multimedia devices.

Coming back to the pedagogic aim of Sápmi, the context of reception changing, guiding adjusting, the "classroom-type" guide can become interactive, and a more complex knowledge can be produced, that the questionnaire cannot capture and render. One must find ways to explore audience's dissemination of knowledge using participant observation, I guess. And this will be the second step of my current fieldwork.

In "Sápmi en nasjon blir til", one has to make first sense of what one knows already, of what one can catch by oneself with one's own methods. Visitors are called in a space that asks them to think about where and what kind of "knowledge" is possible to produce, how

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knowledge. Information can be passed onto somebody else, it can circulate as both an immaterial or material cognitive datum, while knowledge can only be generated and embodied by each in a unique way, mostly immaterial, because it is a dynamic process of cumulative "enskilment", combining dynamically innate and social acquired patterns as Bateson well described in numerous of his works (and further theorized, among others, by Ingold 2000).

different and diverse knowledge can be, according to one subject's position (like in the example of the road sign which I articulated above). Self-reflexivity is enhanced.

The Guest Book

There are different messages left on the guest book. It is a large, elegant book whose hard cover is made of "steinbit" fish dried skin, a technique developed by coastal Sami to make fish-leather belts, wallets and hard folders. The Guest Book was left in the site of the exhibition for one year and once terminated it was not replaced. Many categories of people wrote disparate messages in this book: mostly school pupils, Sami visitors, random tourists and some university students or backpacker travelers. Average in gender was quite balanced: as many men than women. The writing styles were free, spontaneous and somewhat mimetic in relation to the type of messages written by peers or by other people in the previous pages. Most of these visitors came to discover the museum as a whole, a minor average came only to visit "Sapmi en nasjon blir til". Almost all the messages were signed by surname and first names.

By reading these messages one could guess something about the cultural background of these visitors and also their acquaintance or not with the debate and discourse about Saminess, both in Norway and abroad (i.e., in France Sami "disappearing" are almost equated with whales according to the tone of most French messages).

Some of the messages, unsigned, offer an elicitation of forbidden words, sentimental-confessional mode, and some are completely out of place, using the book as a wall in a railway station. But these latter are only two or three.

I must analyze more in depth this document, problematising also examples which are not only positive, but I report here one message, which Brantenberg quoted in his paper, for it can become paradigmatic when retracing the whole history of denial and shame of being Sami, which occurred for many centuries. In it, we read:

> "I feel that the exhibition is very good. Good for me, who has partially Saami background and I get to feel a sense of belonging, to finally let see and know to people who want to have its own. And who have worked for that. Get more courage then! I discover again more of the culture and expression within myself. In this way the city has a completely different way of expressing itself and the world is no more as it was when my ancestor (my Sami) lived. That is a time passed, but not lost, because of this enflamed soul. I am proud." (Not signed.)

The metaphors used here are very relevant, they call for a further analysis of this type of confessional-political message, I feel. There are many metaphors based on body parts (guts, face, gaze) and locations (cities, world) that call for the level local-global-regional of "complex connectivity" as Tomlinson defines it. (in Coles-Clifford 2001:59). The Norwegian word "ildsjelan" (soul of fire) when written by a Sami, cannot but suggest also the concept of "árran", fireplace, which is a symbol of sociality and exchange of perspectives, yoiks (Sami chanting) and stories. It makes thus the message even more political, because issued from a sense of communality ("my Samis") etc. I cannot now speculate too much on this, because one should talk with the writer also, but I find it relevant because personal, confessional and also, lyrical. It is one of the messages that remains in the mind of those reading the Guest Book. If this is a message that curators identify as a gift (personal communication), it would be relevant to analyze more what kind of historical ground the person who wrote offers as "visibility" (feedback elicitation) that prolong, so to speak, the exhibition's purposes beyond its walls.

Figure 14. An exhibition which demands an active interpretatation from its publicum.

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My work and fieldwork in Norway: Hjemme i Verden and Firekeepers is being focusing on Sami topics: coastal Sami flexible identity and ecological knowledge and communication (Ragazzi 2005a) and creative practices among young Sami artists, in this case young yoikers (Ragazzi 2007).

I am now conducting a museum anthropological research for my Post Doc focusing on Dissemination and Mediation of Knowledge, addressing the museum audiences, the intercultural communication in museums and forms of representations of scientific knowledge through multi media devices.

Conflicting Visualities on Display: National Museums from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic

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National museums in the late 19th and early 20th century of Turkish history can be interpreted as conflicting paradigms between the binary concepts of West and East, modern and traditional, patron and architect, and theory and practice. In this paper, I would like to explore within these dualities how first museum buildings functioned as a formative space or a vehicle for visualizing power, collective memory, identity, and historical heritage in two different contexts during the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish nation-state. In that sense, what I will attempt to analyze is the themes such as how Western concepts of archaeology and national museums relate to the creation of the first imperial museum during the late Ottoman period and the first national museum during the early Republican era; how national museums were constructed differently with the changes in political system – empire or nation-state, how history, archaeology and museums were utilized and represented as part of political strategies such as modernization or nationalism, how and to what extent the architectural design of museums contributed to the narrative of national museum; in other words, how the representation of the past coincided with architectural features of these museums. What kind of a relationship can be established between the contents of the first museum of the Ottoman Empire and its architectural style; and how were the objects displayed integrated with the narration and spatial formulation of the museum? I will also discuss the underlying reasons for adopting a particular architectural style for the museum building, its harmony with its environment, and compatibility of interior and exterior of the museum building; who the patrons and the clients were in the building of a national museum; what kind of power the intelligentsia had in this process; and to what extent the collections, building and location of the museums contributed to the formation of collective memory and identity, considering whether the collections of the museums, the museum buildings themselves and their visuality are the instruments of display or not.

Conflicting Visualities

The Imperial Museum (Istanbul Archaeological Museum [1891]) [Fig. 1] in the late Ottoman period and Ankara Museum of Ethnography (1927) [Fig. 2] and Ankara Anatolian Civilizations Museum (1938) [Fig. 3] in the early Republican period were the first museums planned and built to function as such.[1]

Figure 1. The Imperial Museum (Istanbul Archaeological Museum [1891]
(Photographed in 2005 by the Author).

Figure 2. Ankara Museum of Ethnography (1927)
(Sözen, Metin. 1984. *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Mimarlığı*, Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları).

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1 There was the idea of establishing a national museum during the early Republican period. But for some reasons the foundation of such a museum did never come through.

Figure 3. The Museum of Ankara Anatolian Civilizations
(An old Ottoman market complex including a *bedesten* and a *han* from the 15th century, which was restored as a museum in 1938.)
(*Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesi*.1966. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi).

Those museums represent two different ideological agendas. Before dealing with the first Ottoman Museum, it would be appropriate to discuss those notions such as museum, history, historical heritage and archaeology during the late Ottoman period. The history of those initially emerged with the 19th century. Before that there was not even a consciousness observed clearly towards the notions. For centuries as the Westerners did, the Ottomans did not deem it necessary to collect or conserve these values except in palace collections and *vakıf* works. It was after the vivid and disseminating winds of nationalism and the increasing popularity of museums in Europe, and the smuggling of antiquities in the Ottoman lands by foreigners, that the formation of such an interest during the late Ottoman period was motivated. The legislation regarding the prohibition of taking away worthy pieces outside of the Ottoman lands could have come through in 1846. And the idea of the first museum came through with the storage of the antiquities in 1846 in *Hagia Eirene*. But it was shortly after the serious attempts of the foundation of the first imperial museum that came to the agenda of the empire thanks to efforts of a few of the Ottoman elites. Although the western originated notions of archaeology and museum were imported during the late Ottoman period this implicitly indicates a progress for its term. The minister of education of the era, Münif Paşa, reveals this development at the opening ceremony of the former museum building, *Çinili Köşk*, saying that "it was the goal of our developing country to establish a museum in Istanbul as it had been the case for other civilized countries. The completion of this museum filling a niche should be a fountain of serenity for all of us as a monumental masterpiece created by His Almighty and Imperial Highness the Sultan who has been serving his royal efforts for augmentation and extension of similar monumental art pieces." (Cezar 1995:241)[2] Besides its value in its term, during the late Ottoman period the imperial

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2   Great interest of Ottoman intelligentsia towards archaeology concretised by their attempt to preserve cultural heritage and aspire to display them in a monumental museum building, on the other hand it is contradictory that the intension of the foreign director's of the Imperial Museum about selling some of the

power tried to form a single Ottoman identity by co-opting Greco-Roman and Byzantine heritage and displaying objects found by excavations on the lands under Ottoman hegemony. Therefore, in order to protect its authority against the potential threat of independence by multi-religious and multi-ethnic communities, the imperial power utilized the Imperial Museum as a communicative device to show how the Empire embraced various cultures under its roof. Thus, the imperial museum in Istanbul which would display the lands under Ottoman rule imitated the institutions for exhibition and hereby corresponded to the way of what European museums did that was to compile collections brought from around the world, particularly colonized dependants to emphasize their imperial power. Thus, by representing the cultures and values of different parts through museums, the empire would prove its power to the masses, which suggests the concrete instrumentality of the museums in power-knowledge relations.

On the other hand, museums were used as effective instruments for the declaration of nationalistic idealism and progress through modernization for the Republican regime in the early 20th century. Both in the Ethnographical Museum and Anatolian Civilizations Museum in Ankara, the practice of exhibiting was confined to the collection of historical works, designated to be displayed as the best representation of the national past. Indeed, the nations which had revolutions would utilize the museum idea which was for praising historical national entities. In that sense, the museums in the early Republican era were appropriate tools to suggest a collective identity for the nation based on the idea of a common culture rooted in common history. (Arık 1953:5) The Ankara Museum of Ethnography displayed Turkish society through its past and folkloric culture. But it is striking that "in the Ethnography Museum, the exhibits consisted of familiar things still part of everyday use, which were labeled as historical and placed on display for the viewing of the locals… By taking the familiar out of its context and thereby estranging it from its common users, the Ethnography Museum deliberately attempted to seal off from the present the practices and objects that defined a way of life that, according to the official ideology, was to remain in the past." (Kezer 2000:107-108) Besides the Ethnographical Museum, the first archaeological museum of the new Republic, the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations displayed the archaeological heritage of the new nation, which was claimed to have been built mainly upon the Hittites -a culture which established its empire in Anatolia- instead of the Greco-Roman culture. In the process of nation building, the goal of the government was to create a new Turkish identity and Turkish past, which depended upon new symbols. And the designated representation was neither Ottoman nor Greco-Roman, rather Turkish history was constructed through Anatolian civilizations which was viewed as its own past. Besides this, the establishment of those museums in Ankara, the new capital city of Turkish Republic, in the cradle of Anatolia, was also a representation of an attempt for a complete break with the Ottoman past. In that sense, the government decided to make serious rules and regulations about how to classify, preserve and display the antiquities. The palaces of the Ottoman Sultans which symbolize the earlier political system of the empire were converted into museums in early republican years. The Topkapı Palace became a museum in 1924, just after the foundation of the republic, and the Museum of Paintings and Sculpture was formed in the Dolmabahçe Palace in 1937. Besides, all over Anatolia, there was an incredible interest towards opening new museums in such big cities as Izmir, Bursa, Edirne, Adana, Konya, Manisa, Kayseri, Sivas. For these museums teachers graduated from archaeology and history departments were assigned. The first excavations were made in Ahlatlıbel and Alacahöyük, and were conducted by the natives. The Alacahöyük excavation conducted by the Turkish Historical Foundation (TTK) was quite illuminating in terms of showing 5000 years of Turkish history and it was very much helpful to re-construct Turkish history. Hence, scientific

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antiquities in order to be able to cover the expenses of such a monumental museum building in the middle of a serious financial crisis.

research in Turkish history, archeology and museology gained momentum with the implementation of new state regulations.

Speaking of their place in architectural production these first museum buildings suggest conflicting visualities. 19th century European influence can be seen in the neo-classical style of Istanbul Archaeological Museum built as the Royal Imperial Museum during the late Ottoman period. In Europe the first a museum building constructed in the same century "invokes a classical tradition that resonates with an idealised past, both remote and Arcadian." (Giebelhausen 2003:1-2) Classicism was central to the concept of nationalism in the nineteenth century and these monumental structures represent "the idealised power of civilisation and the paternalistic concerns of the nation state" (Giebelhausen 2003:4) in a significantly chosen spot in the urban context.[3] In the same vein, like European museums the architectural style echoed the primary collection of Greco-Roman art displayed in the museum. Such thematic correlation between style and contents are found in many other museums established in the 19th century in the West, such as the British Museum in London (1823-46) and the Altes Museum in Berlin (1823-30). However, the imperial museum had a different background. Osman Hamdi Bey, the French-trained founder of the Ottoman Academy of Fine Arts, was the mastermind of the project, and the building was designed by the French architect Alexander Vallaury. Since *Tanzimat* was a period when the Ottoman intelligentsia gradually had gained power they also had the opportunity to intervene and to form the architectural taste of the empire. The architects had been charged by the elites and those people became the creators of the architectural style of the empire. This meant that the architectural products became concretized with talent and architectural taste of the architects. The intelligentsia was so active and powerful that, despite serious financial crisis of the empire and disinterest towards archaeology and historical heritage, the permission of the Sultan for the foundation of such a glorious museum could have been taken with the efforts of these people and thus the museum building had been constructed in the palace area being competitive to other classical ottoman buildings of the Topkapı Palace.

On the other hand, Ankara Museum of Ethnography was designed by a Turkish architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoğlu in an historical Turkish style, and had a rich collection of Anatolian folk art, which was appropriate to the nationalist ideology of the new Republican regime. As Aslanoğlu pointed out, "the contesting projects for the competition of the Ethnographic Museum in Ankara in 1927, is a strong evidence to show the intimacy of the ideology of Turkish nationalism and the architecture of those years." (Aslanoğlu 1986:16) The style of the museum is called as the first national movement that was corresponding to the nationalist sentiments, which were understood as the cladding of facades with Seljuk and Ottoman elements such as pointed arches, domes, ornate mouldings, cornices and pediments. "The Museum of Ethnography was organized and commissioned by Atatürk himself who saw it as the repository of folk art and culture, the base for his new cultural policy." (Yıldırım & Özkan 1984: 63) Beyond its architectural features, the

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3   Lewis Mumford deals with the museum as "the most typical institution of the metropolis, as characteristic of its ideal life as the gymnasium was of the Hellenic city or the hospital of the medieval city." Mumford, Lewis. 1975. *The City in History*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, p.639. Indeed, the museums were the symbolic representations of the city, and were generally situated at the central points alongside the public parks, and built with marble and interiors with marble halls. Because of its monumental image, the museum was "a shrine of cultural treasures, a place for calm and deep communion with the great works of art of the past ages." Trachtenberg, Marvin and Isabelle Hyman. 2002. *Architecture, from Prehistory to Postmodernity*, Upper Saddle River, N.J: Prentice-Hall, p.419. Hence such buildings had a powerful notion; the site and approach to the museum were appropriate and contribute to this effect. Carol Duncan in her book called *Civilizing Rituals* states "art museums have always been compared to older ceremonial monuments such as palaces or temples. Indeed, from the eighteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries, they were deliberately designed to resemble them." Duncan, Carol. 1995. *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums*, London and New York: Routledge, p.7.

site of the museum was the result of a decision that conveyed "a prominent hill halfway between old and new Ankara, as if the repository were meant to be the mediator between tradition and revolution." (Yıldırım & Özkan 1984: 63) Besides the Ethnographical Museum, the contemporary choice of an Ottoman building to display Hittite artifacts in the case of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations (an old Ottoman market complex including a *bedesten* and a *han* from the 15th century, which was restored as a museum in 1938)[4] also reflects the importance given to the museum building as an integral element of the formation of a cultural identity provided with the collection of antiquities brought from every corner of Anatolia.

Conlusion

In this paper I attempt to examine the relationship between narrative and space focusing on the first national museum buildings as the concrete symbols of social, cultural, economic, technological transformation and a vehicle for political and ideological meanings created through the discourse of visual representation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries of Turkish history. Architecture has always been a powerful symbol as well as an effective instrument of reform and change in the modern world. Thus, to examine how the national museums were designed differently with the changes in the political system – empire or nation-state; how archaeology and archaeological museums were utilized in order to support those political systems and ideologies such as modernization or nationalism; and particularly how the representation of the past, cultures, history and antiquities were designated in national museums as appropriate to existing approaches and in this process; or which ones of these cultures, histories and objects were subject to be excluded or included deliberately as part of political agenda are all worthy to study. Speaking of the museums, not only style of the museum building but also the collection, and how it was classified and displayed are issues closely related to spatial planning of the building which contributes to the formation of collective memory and national identity. Greenhill states, "the existing systems of classification enable some ways of knowing, but prevent others? Are the inclusions, exclusions and priorities that determine whether objects become part of collections, also creating systems of knowledge?" (Greenhill 1992:5) This becomes clearer with reference to Foucault's ideas that reason and truth are relative, rather than absolute concepts, because reason and truth have historical, social and cultural contexts.[5]

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4   The delay in beginning of the project was proceeding that the foreign architect Ernst Egli's project didn't satisfy the authorities that's why a Turkish architect, Macit Kural's project was applied who was thought to be someone who knew Turkish building techniques very well. This presents an important note for our architectural history since the restoration work was given to a Turkish architect rather than a foreign architect who was in charge of building many education and state buildings in the same period.

5   Gordon, Colin. 1980. Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977/ Michel Foucault, Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, p.257.

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Archaeology and Museums in the
Nation Building Process in Greece

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This paper considers Greek archaeology as a product of the development of the nation state and investigates the way this relationship has determined the discipline and its museums. A critical presentation of the foundation of the Greek state sheds light on the conditions from which the relationship between archaeology and the State originated. The changes in archaeological legislation and administration demonstrate the way this relationship developed. Greek museums constitute the main agents of representation, interpretation and communication of archaeological heritage and as such they are considered. Classical Greek antiquity as the fount of the European spirit contributed immensely to the materialization of modern Greece. This ideological premise set constrains on the displays and narratives presented in archaeological museums and on the development of the entire discipline. Almost two centuries after the foundation of the State Archaeological Service and the National Archaeological Museum few things seem to have changed.

Introduction

The theoretical framework for the discourse about the nation and nationalism has been recently reshaped by eminent social theorists. Nations have been studied in the context of the modern world and the major phenomena that have marked it (Hobsbawm 1990). Furthermore, relations with existing ethnic communities -*ethnies*- (Smith 2001) and mechanisms of representation and narration have been identified; archaeology among them (Anderson 1991, 182).

The discussion about the relationship of archaeology with the socio-political context within which it is being practiced (Trigger and Glover 1981, Trigger 1984, Ucko 1987) has opened the way to more specific investigations that have proliferated in the past decade. Cases from all over the world have now enriched our knowledge on the ways archaeology and authority have interacted with one another (Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996, Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990, Kohl and Fawcett 1995, Meskell 1998).

Each case that comes to light reinforces the significance of historical conditions in the shaping of the relationship between the discipline and the strings of power. Archaeological research has particularly benefited from the birth of the nation state; as is the case with Greek archaeology. Related legislation and the administrative structure of archaeological resource management from the early days of the State's foundation are considered as immediate expressions of any state's values and aims.

Greek archaeological museums have increasingly become the focus of research in the past 15 years (Gazi 1993, Hourmouziadi 2006, Mouliou 1997, Skaltsa 2001, Voudouri 2003). Although funds have been recently allocated on their renovation, it seems that their new exhibitions have not been particularly influenced by the museological discourse, national and international (Hourmouziadi 2006, 341–346).

The questions this research attempts to answer are the following: what has the role of archaeology and archaeological museums been in the foundation of the Greek state? How is this role reflected in legislative measures and the administrative structure of the State Archaeological Service? How has this relationship evolved throughout the 19th and 20th century?

Nationalism and Archaeology: An Overview

In the 19th century, archaeology was established as an institutionalized discipline. At the same time, nationalist movements emerged throughout Europe. A quite complex relationship of influence between the two seems to have developed especially during the last three decades of the century (Kohl and Fawcett 1995, 10). In the context of nationalism, archaeology is called to legitimize the existence and the right of a nation to constitute an independent state by providing supportive evidence for its national history (Diaz-Andreu 1995, 54). Archaeology provides the reference points, the objects and the monuments, the visualization of the imagined nation. It also provides the nation with a sense of being timeless and therefore natural and adds to its cohesion and legitimacy. At the same time, nationalism attributes to past entities the traits and identity of the present nation in literal and abstract terms (Sorensen 1996, 28–29).

The influence of nationalism on archaeological research can be both positive and negative. In general terms, nationalism determines the kind of questions asked or not, the categories of data to be collected and the amount of evidence regarded as sufficient to support an approach. More specifically, nationalism orientated archaeological research towards the quest for local cultural variations and ethnicity, which were ignored until its emergence by linear evolutionists or colonial archaeologists. Thus, archaeology concentrated on interpreting the archaeological record as the history of specific peoples, that is, on culture-historical

approaches of the material remains of the past. Archaeological remains were identified as prehistoric manifestations of historically known peoples (Trigger 1995, 269).

The lack of written sources constitutes the ethnical identification of the archaeological finds extremely arbitrary and conjectural. Furthermore, the intentional misreading of data for the service of political purposes has often led to the misapprehension of important aspects of humanity (Trigger 1995, 269, 272). Being in general suspicious of such approaches is not an answer to potential problems. Silberman is right in noting that not all culture-historical approaches of archaeology are nationalistic and there are cases in which reasonably well-grounded archaeological interpretation can be shown to foster legitimate national pride, ethnic awareness, or communal solidarity (1995, 251).

Within the above context, the examination of the historical conditions within which the Greek State emerged will contribute to the understanding of the reasons and the ways the past was used to support the political claim for independence and the shaping of the perceptions of the past by the Modern Greeks.

The Seeds of the Emerging Greek Nation State

The relationship modern Greeks developed with the past and with archaeology was formulated in the 18th century under the influence of two interdependent factors; the socio-political changes taking place in the Greek peninsula and the European cultural and political developments of the time; mainly Hellenism and the balance between the Great Powers. One needs therefore to investigate the 18th century, known in Greek national historiography as the century of 'national awareness' (Svoronos, 1994, 51, regarding the theoretical implications of the term, see Kitromilides 2003, 55–71) and of the 'Neohellenic enlightenment' (Dimaras 1977).

The relatively stable conditions in the declining Ottoman Empire in the 18th century allowed for the flourishing activity of Greek commerce in connection with markets of central Europe, where colonies were soon established by the Greek merchant class; Amsterdam, Vienna, Odessa, Marseille and elsewhere. The socio-economic conditions of the orthodox communities improved, new urban centers developed and Greek became the *lingua franca* of the Balkan Peninsula (Svoronos 1994, 51–53).

This emerging merchant class supported the educational revival of Greek-speaking orthodox communities by funding schools, libraries and publishing houses and by disseminating the European Enlightenment and French Revolution ideas, the writings of Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau and Diderot, contributing to an intellectual revitalization, known as the 'Neohellenic enlightenment' (1774–1821) (Dimaras 1977, 1–6). Antiquity as a model of free thought and individual dignity, opposed to the 'dark era' of the Ottoman occupation, ensured the return to the classics and the appreciation of the classical past through the eyes of the 'enlightened Europe' and Hellenism.

Adamantios Korais (1748–1833) was one of the most eminent figures of the 'Neohellenic enlightenment' and his work superseded its boundaries. He edited the *Helliniki Vivliothiki* (Greek Library), a series aiming at acquainting the people with classical writers, and a preface in each of its volume dedicated to issues of education and culture in contemporary Greece. His extensive preoccupation with the Greek revival led him to 13 suggestions on ways and measures for the safeguarding of manuscripts and monuments under the auspices of the Ecumenical Patriarchate; the first articulate proposition for the protection of heritage in the soon to be founded state (Kokkou 1977, 27–31).

Hellenism and Philhellenism

At the same time and in the spirit of the developing years of archaeology, somewhere between the interest in classical art and architecture and the race for collections, the work of J. J. Winckelmann (1717–1768), the 'father of archaeology', emerged and constituted the basis for the idea of Hellenism. In his *History of Art in Antiquity (Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums, 1764)* he associated the stylistic phases of classical Greek art with stages in the spiritual, cultural and political development of ancient Greece. It was this idea of the relationship between political liberty and artistic excellence that led to the idealization of the golden classical age and to Hellenism (for a recent review of Winckelmann's work see Potts 2000). The notion that the fount of the European spirit is located in ancient Greece as idealized by current scholarship developed in the context of the quest of 'what is European' and prevailed in the 18th century (Morris 1994, 11). This notion determined in a reflective way the identity, the perceptions of the past and the political future of the inhabitants of what was defined since antiquity as Greek land (for a further consideration of Hellenism see Hamilakis 2007, 57–123).

The consequent increasing demand for information about Greece and its classical past was satisfied by visits to the monuments. When traveling conditions in the region improved, Greece was included in the Grand Tour of the English aristocracy. The notes and sketches from the travels of Jacques Carrey (1674), Jacob Spon (1675–1676), James Stuart and Nicholas Revett (1751–1753) and others, remain invaluable sources for the condition of Greek monuments in the 17th and 18th centuries. The influence of their work on their contemporaries was considerable. Scholars, antiquarians and travelers were looking to Greece for examples of that Hellenic ideal that Winckelmann had championed (Tsigakou 1981, 21–61).

Poetry, literature, art and folk studies became means of communicating news to the rest of Europe about the heroic resistance of the Greeks (e.g. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier's *Voyage pittoresque de la Grece,* (1782–1812), Lord Byron's *Childe Harold*, J. F. C. Hoelderlin's *Hyperion or the Hermit in Greece* (1797–1799), Eugene Delacroix *The Massacre of Chios*, Claude Fauriel's *Chants populaires de la Grece Moderne*). Shelley's famous proclamation '*we are all Greeks*' illustrates most eloquently this spirit (Tsigakou 1981, 21–61).

From these influences stemmed the philhellenic movement, a multi-dimensional expression of Hellenism. Individuals from different cultural and political ideologies became Philhellenes and they provided ethical, material and political support for the Greek War of Independence by lobbying in political and diplomatic circles through their committees in Berne, Zurich, Stuttgart, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Munich, Paris and other cities. The notion prevailed that this war was different from any other revolutionary movement because it was aiming at the restitution of the glorious classical civilization (Vakalopoulos 1979, 168–169, 172, 175).

At the same time, the foundation of national museums in European capitals, their American counterparts and their competitive relationships accelerated the race for classical antiquities' collections. Foreign missions arrived in Greece in order to collect. Sculptures from Aegina and Bassae enriched the new *Glyptothek* in Munich and the British Museum respectively. The latter soon acquired sculptures from the Athens' Parthenon temple, from Xanthus, Asia Minor, and part of the Mausoleum of Alicarnassus, again in Asia Minor (Shanks 1996, 44).

Antiquities before Independence

The formation of a national movement for independence from the declining Ottoman Empire led to war in 1821. The struggle against the Ottoman occupation, the philhellenic movement, the 'Neohellenic enlightenment' and the, *sine-qua-non*, condescending policy of the European

Forces were all factors that favored the foundation of the Greek State. The First National Assembly proclaimed the country's independence in the First Constitution of Greece in 1822. Conflicts against the armed forces of the Ottoman Empire lasted for approximately 10 years. In the meantime, three civil wars took place and a series of Temporary Governments and Revolutionary Constitutions were activated to regulate and represent the belligerents (Clogg 1992, 7–45).

A series of measures for the protection of antiquities, nominal or substantial, were enacted during the War of Independence (1821–1829). The Temporary Administration of Eastern Greece placed the protection of antiquities under the responsibilities of the Ephor[1] of Politics. The General Secretary of the Administration protested in writing against the looting of antiquities from the island of Melos by the Dutch colonel Roittiers in 1825 (Kokkou 1977, 34, 38–41). In 1825 the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Central Administration assigned to the Ephor of Education the collection of scattered antiquities of every region in schools, so that every school had a museum. Curatorial duties were assigned to teachers (Gazi 1993, 64).

The National Assembly in Troezene in 1827 adopted the Second Constitution and elected the first President of the country, Ioannis Kapodistrias (Clogg 1992, 41–45). This Constitution prohibited the export of antiquities and encouraged people to surrender their finds to the local authorities. The same article was included in the 1829 revision (Kokkou 1977, 34, 38–41). A Director and Ephor of the National Museum was appointed in 1829. The National Museum consisted of piles of scattered ancient remains hosted in the Orphanage of Aegina, the first capital of the state (see plates 1–3). No archaeological service existed. The Presidential Decree no 953 (1830) constituted the first archaeological legislative document (Kokkou 1977, 50–54).

Figures. 1–3. The premises of the first Archaeological Museum are under reconstruction to host a diachronic museum of Aegina (A. Sakellariadi 2006).

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1 The word 'ephor' literally means 'the one who overlooks' and originates from the political system of ancient Sparta. It is still used as a title for the Directors of the peripheral services of the Archaeological Service. The peripheral services are called 'Ephorates'.

At the same time, however, Greek governments had been using the granting of research permits to foreign missions under special terms and conditions to put forward political claims. The Constitution of Troezene (1827) made special provision for the export of antiquities for educational and research purposes to serve the French Scientific Mission of Moreas (1829) (Kokkou 1977, 49–50). Kapodistrias himself suggested that the Greek government should allow the export of antiquities if a significant advantage for the country was at stake and the ceding of antiquities in exchange for *"things valuable and unavoidably necessary for the public education, such as books, astronomy instruments, geological instruments, machine models etc."* He also proposed the exchange of antiquities for weapons. However, these suggestions were perceived as violating the Constitution and contributed to shortening the period of Kapodistrias' office[2] (Kalpaxis 1990, 18–22, Protopsaltis 1967, κλ-λη).

Hereditary sovereignty for the monarchical and independent state of Greece was officially recognized by the Great Powers in the Convention of London signed in 1832 between Britain, France and Russia. The King chosen was Otto of Wittelsbach, son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria. The new King and his Regency were called to create the basic infrastructure of a state, where none had previously existed and a shared sense of Greek identity (Clogg 1992, 43, 46–49).

State Patronage: the Archaeological Legislation (1834–2002)

The first regulatory texts, adopted by the Revolutionary National Assemblies, constituted the basis for the laws of the new state. The most influential legal documents that are going to be discussed are the laws of 1834, 1899, 1932, 2002 and the current Constitution of Greece (1975, revised in 2001).

The beginning of state legislation and antiquities in the Greek state was made in 1834 (*"About scientific and technological collections, about the discovery and conservation of antiquities and their uses",* 10/22 May 1834). This piece of legislation was drafted by Georg Ludwig von Maurer, an eminent law scholar and historian and A. Weissenburg, an architect who was appointed General Ephor of Antiquities, and has defined the grounds for archaeology ever since (Petrakos 1987, 55–56).

The law stated that "all antiquities inside Greece, because they are works of the ancestors of the Greek people, are regarded as national possession of all the Greeks in general" (article 61). The foundation for an all-state property right was set. "All ruins remaining on or underneath national land, on the bottom of the sea, rivers or public streams, lakes or swamps, or other archaeological artifacts, of any name, are property of the State" (article 62). The legislation was flexible on the issue of property rights acknowledging private ownership of antiquities on private land. "Private property is all private collections or antiquities remaining in private property, all ruins on private land or underneath…" (article 63). However the possibility for the state to exercise further rights from then on was ensured. "Those on private land or underneath, in walls or under ruins or lying in any other way, discovered after the existence of this law, half belong to the state…" (article 64). The export of antiquities without government permit was prohibited (article 76) and nobody is allowed to attempt to excavate private or other property without permit (article 100) (Petrakos 1982, 123–135).

The Archaeological Service was set up under this law. Soon afterwards two of the leading organizations in archaeology emerged; in 1836, the Archaeological Committee

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2 Such political uses of archaeology continued after the foundation of the Greek State and mainly involved the establishment and activities of the foreign schools of archaeology in Athens. To encourage the establishment of foreign schools, Prime Minister Trikoupis, for instance, donated land to the British (1884) and the Americans (1887) (Morris 1994, 34). Land was also donated for the foundation of the Russian Archaeological School (Petrakos 1982, 193). For other cases see Davis 2002, Sakka 2002, Kalpaxis 1990.

(*Archaeologiki Epitropi*), effectively the predecessor of the Central Archaeological Council (*Kentriko Archaeologiko Symvoulio*) to support the poorly staffed Service; and in 1837 the Archaeological Society (*Archaeologiki Etaireia*), a club of highly influential patrons, including ministers and even the King himself, with complementary and formative role, especially in those early days of state archaeological management (Petrakos 1987, 57–58).

In the spirit of Hellenism, Maurer believed that "the Greek antiquities…have above all for the Kingdom of Greece huge political importance…because the idea of ancient Greece was that inspired the entire Europe in this so big interest about the fight of the heroes of Modern Greece" (Voudouri 2003, 18–19). It was modeled on the Vatican State law about antiquities (Petrakos 1987, 55–56). The premise of this legislative document is extremely reminiscent of the public debate taking place at the time about the regime that would suit the nation's needs. Napoleon's dictum 'everything for the people, nothing by the people' was a popular one (Koliopoulos and Veremis 2002, 11–46). The dictum's second part was to be fulfilled by the next archaeological law.

The failure to recognize and act within the law across the country has been frequently reported in the archaeological journals of the time (for a list of references from the *Praktika tis Archaeologikis Etaireias*, see Gazi 1993, 53). A new one (24 July 1899, 2646/1899) was promulgated to remedy the situation. The law no 2646/1899 determined the protection of antiquities for more than a century; in 1932 its basic premises were included in a codification of laws and decrees issued in the meantime (no 5351/1932, Petrakos 1982, 21). It remained in use until 2002.

This law introduced the absolute right of the state to the possession of all antiquities; a condition which remains in force and is considered the cornerstone for the protection of antiquities and *raison d' être* of the Archaeological Service itself. "*All antiquities in Greece, no matter where they lie, in public or private property, movable or non movable, from the most ancient time and onwards, are state property*" (article 1). The right of compensation to land owners was also established. The encyclical that succeeded the law in 1899 is characterized by a spirit of excessive admiration for the classical culture and the hatred against antiquities smugglers (Petrakos 1982, 21–22, 141–151). This law of 1899 has been regarded as the *'enlightened foundation'* of the Archaeological Service by eminent Greek archaeologists (Carouzos, mentioned in Petrakos 1982, 34).

The law of 1932 was insufficient and contradictory. Despite its weaknesses and taking into consideration the tremendous social and economic changes from 1950s onwards, the results of its implementation were regarded quite satisfactory. It is noteworthy that some of its articles were not even compatible with the 1975 Constitution. In addition, many efforts had been made to limit its effect over the last forty years because of the obstacles it posed to construction and industrial development (Petrakos 1982, 26–28). For 70 years there had not been any concise laws redefining the archaeological agenda in Greece. A series of decrees and Supreme Court decisions were issued to confront problems that rose from changing conditions or that were not taken into consideration in the first place.

As a result the 3028/2002 law was passed. This remains loyal to what has been the spirit of archaeological legislation for almost two centuries now, mainly prioritizing public interest over individual property rights (Government's Gazette, no 153, 28 June 2002).

Finally, the Constitution adopted in Greece in 1975 declared that the protection of the natural and cultural environment constitutes a duty of the State. "*The State is bound to adopt special preventive or repressive measures for the preservation of the environment. Monuments and historic areas and elements are under the protection of the State*" (article 24, par. 1 and 6).

State Patronage: Administration of Archaeology

The Archaeological Service has an administrative structure dating back to 1834. The most important change that has occurred since then was the removal of the Service from the authority of the Ministry of Education in the 1960s. The responsible Ministry became the Ministry of the Presidency, where it constituted an independent service under the title "Service of Antiquities and Anastylosis". This move aimed at its release from the numerous educational and ecclesiastical problems that undermined its importance in the Ministry of Education (Petrakos 1982, 60).

In 1971 the Service was placed under the authority of the Ministry of Culture and Sciences, set up by the Military Junta (1968–1974), where it has remained ever since. The structure of the Ministry of Culture reflects the State's priorities in cultural policy. One realizes that cultural heritage, that is, archaeological heritage and mainly classical antiquities, comes first. In the field of contemporary cultural creation, the State has only supervisory role (Voudouri 2003, 260, 262–263).

Considerable criticism has focused on the dual role of the Service, which is both administrative and scientific at the expense of both (Voudouri 2003, 257, no. 8). The chronological division of the services is fundamental (e.g. Ephorates of Prehistoric and Classical and Ephorates of Byzantine and post-Byzantine antiquities); it sustains for two centuries now the tripartite division of Greek history established by the national historiographer Constantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815–1893) in his seminal work *History of the Hellenic Nation* (1853). However, it limits general strategic planning, diachronic and interdisciplinary approaches (Voudouri 2003, 264–271).

In addition, as in all levels of archaeological research and practice, object-oriented approaches dominate in the Service. This kind of approaches ensures the visual authentication of the ancient heritage while the social, economic and communicative dimensions of archaeology are neglected (Voudouri 2003, 274–275).

The Development of Archaeological Museums

During the 19th century Greek archaeology struggled to protect antiquities from war, removal and looting. Therefore the 1834 law specified that museums should be founded in the capitals of every prefecture for *"the preservation in situ of all objects having local value"* (articles 2, 8) (Gazi 1993, 51–52, Petrakos 1982, 124–125). In reality, the first provincial museum was founded in 1874 in Sparta (Gazi 1993, 340). The lack of human and financial resources forced the State to entrust the local authorities with the protection of antiquities; local collections constituted the first nuclei of provincial museums and were considered an effective medium for the protection of antiquities at the time (Gazi 1993, 56–66).

Legislation in 1885 envisaged a public and educational role for archaeological museums; "the teaching and study of archaeology, the general diffusion of archaeological knowledge and the generation of love for the fine arts" (Royal Decree, On the Organisation of Athenian Museums, 25/11/1885). In practice, this translated in extended opening hours and catalogues for public use almost exclusively in Athenian museums (Gazi 1993, 315).

The presentation in museums was linear and classificatory; typical of 19th c. 'show-case' museums. Interpretation was lacking partly because of the early development of the discipline but mainly because of its ideological implications. As Kotsakis argued, the powerful and self-sufficient ethnocentric ideological construct has legitimised the absence of theoretical orientation in Greek archaeology (2002, 15–17). The symbolic nature of the antiquities as national emblems was regarded as self-evident and therefore no interpretation was required. Art-historical approaches to archaeology had prevailed (Gazi 1993, 327).

In general, there was no overall State policy for museums in the 19th century. The idealised view of the classical past was evident in all displays, even when the vision of the nation

included Medieval Hellenism towards the end of the century. The displays evoked more feelings of reverence rather than appreciation. The affinity with the past was curtailed rather than enhanced in the eyes of the public and therefore created distance rather than understanding (Gazi 1993, 332).

In the 20th century, the study of prehistoric cultures entered the archaeological discourse. In the First Meeting of the Association of Greek Archaeologists (1967) D. Theocharis mentioned a public approach to archaeological activity through museums for the first time and referred to the presentation of other aspects of life apart from art works. The first exhibition of artefacts intended for the presentation of the Neolithic culture was not set up until 1976 (Hourmouziadi 2006, 74, 81–82).

The post-war period saw the proliferation of rescue excavations because of both public and private construction and resulted in an 'archaeology of building plots' (Hourmouziadi 2006, 52, n. 128). More archaeological museums were built as depositories for these finds, according to where the need for storage was more pressing. Archaeologists first realised the 'distancing' of the public from museums and the lack of a theory behind their exhibitions (Hourmouziadi 2006, 76).

At the same time increased numbers of tourists were arriving in the country with the emergence of mass tourism (Hourmouziadi 2006, 77). Still the visitor needs were not considered until the 1980s in Greece. Until 1977, the law defined museums in relation to their role of safeguarding collections. The 2002 law (article 45, par. 1) has shifted the focus to the social role of the museum and its aims mainly to exhibit and project collections to the public for their study, learning and entertainment (Hourmouziadi 2006, 111–112). Up to the present, visitor numbers of the Greek archaeological museums show dependence on tourism and school visits (General Secretariat of National Statistical Service of Greece). Despite extensive refurbishment, Greeks still do not visit them (Ministry of Culture 1998, 'Greeks and museums, relationship at a distance', Kathimerini, 2/3/2008).

In the 1970s the political role of the museum was occasionally referred to. The foundation of museums was seen as a political act and a State obligation. Since then exhibitions of classical antiquities have remained entrenched in aesthetic principles of history of art. If there is any experimentation taking place, it is restricted to the prehistoric exhibitions. The lack of central planning and spasmodic action, irrelevant to the museum discourse, continue to drive museums' development. Thirty-five new museums have been founded since 1980 certainly not to meet visitor demand (Hourmouziadi 2006, 83, 122, 110).

Museums' funding and development has also been affected by their relative significance. The National Archaeological Museum and the Acropolis Museum, for instance, have always been granted all the attention and resources necessary for organisation and maintenance (Gazi 1993, 322). One only needs to take into account reports on the cost of the New Acropolis Museum to realise that this situation has remained unchanged. Museums have never acquired autonomy; their variety is only due to the lack of an overall state policy. At the same time the Greek museological discourse continues to neglect the visitor (Hourmouziadi 2006, 346).

Conclusions

Having examined the development of archaeology, it is clear that its institutionalization at the same time as the emergence of the nation state and nationalism in Europe is more than mere coincidence. Furthermore, the tight connections with the State's ideology have influenced the development of the discipline and its museums up to the present. The idea of Hellenism, the idealization of the classical past and its identification with the fount of the European civilization, has rendered Greece unique (Lowenthal 1988, Morris 1994). Hellenism placed antiquity in the service of the creation of the Greek state and constituted an unparalleled foundation for the formation of the State and the national identity.

Since the foundation of the Greek state and up to the present day, one can identify numerous examples of the ways Greek governments have used the past in the service of the national cause. Most noteworthy are the attitudes of two of the most important leaders of the state in the 19th century, Ioannis Kapodistrias and Harilaos Trikoupis. In their politics, one can discern a liberal attitude towards what constituted the cultural capital of the country. Both approached the antiquities in a very realistic, practical and functional perspective. They perceived material remains of the past as the means and not the end of their aspirations, taking into consideration the immediate needs of the nation. The same observation applies with the first law of the Bavarian Regency. These attitudes demonstrate that in the 19th century a valuation system was applicable to antiquities, just as to any other commodity; this situation changed on the eve of the 20th century.

With the law of 1899 and political and intellectual influences since then, antiquities have been elevated to a supranational sphere, regarded as sacred. This evolving process of glorification may be explained by the continuous struggle of the state to acquire its final physical form and finally appropriate the values Westerners had envisaged for the true heirs of the classical golden age. One cannot ignore that Greece struggled through many political and military obstructions on her way to become that state. Further research is necessary to associate these changes with specific socio-political developments and the role of individuals.

However the conditions that made this mechanism necessary and contributed to its building up are no longer in tune with reality. Morris believes that the devaluation of Hellenism as an academic discourse that started in the 1950s has left the field of classics and Greek archaeology without an intellectual framework. A reevaluation of what and for who the archaeology of Greece is practiced, is due (Morris 1994, 8–9). Further work is necessary to redefine new research directions and goals for the discipline. Kotsakis suggests the re-orientation of contemporary archaeology towards the search for ethnic identities in the every day experience of people, not included in the formal historical narrative but traceable in the archaeological record (Kotsakis 1998, 58).

The immense State effort to take over archaeology in the name of the public interest and benefit has ironically resulted in a state archaeology practiced in a 'private' manner; entrenched exclusively inside the limits of the Archaeological Service, alienated from the Greek people. Hamilakis regards a distancing from the 19th century national myth of classical Greece necessary for the rapprochement of archaeology and the public (Hamilakis 2000, 179–180). It is possible that the opening up of archaeology to the influence of larger social groups could lead to a broader change in the views about antiquity as a sacred world irrelevant to anyone but archaeologists.

Acknowledgements

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List of Illustrations

Figure 1, 2 and 3. The premises of the Orphanage in Aegina where the first National Archaeological Museum was located are being renovated to host a museum (A. Sakellariadi, 2006).

Representing "Greek" Prehistory: Some Remarks

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This paper aspires to briefly examine the prehistoric Collection in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. It also focuses on this Collection's particularities and on the reasons behind their existence: these are preliminary remarks, which will be extensively elaborated in the context of a research program.

In contrast to the respective European national museums, which evolved from private collections, the National Archaeological Museum of Athens was created from the outset as a national ark. The approach of archaeology as ancient art history concerns primarily the classical period, but it will be shown that it also influences in a certain degree the interpretation of prehistory.

Although belonging to one Collection, the three prehistoric periods (Neolithic, Cycladic, Mycenaean) are exhibited in a manner suggesting different approaches on behalf of the Museum's curators.

Introduction

The national museums of Europe were founded at the end of the 19th century, that is, during the time of the creation of national identities. These museums display a clear ideological orientation: they aimed to declare the national identity and to strengthen the bond between the state and its civilians (Ambrose-Paine 1993, 84). In contrast to the respective European national museums, which evolved from private collections, the National Archaeological Museum of Athens was created from the outset as a national ark, when the Neohellenic state and the Greek national identity was formed and defined by the Neohellenic enlightenment and built upon the relationship and the allegedly unbreakable continuation between the ancient and modern Greeks (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1977). The Museum was gradually transformed into a «treasury» of the history of ancient Greek art (Voudouri 2003, 365). At this point, let us note that the identification of archaeology with art history is deeply rooted in Greece and could be emanating mainly from the love for antiquities displayed by Germans: this was also the main direction that the Germans propagated and imposed on the young Hellenic state at the time of its establishment, after the end of the Greek Revolution, along with their presence in the Hellenic institutions (Tzaxili 2006, 16). It has been noted that the approach of archaeology as ancient art history concerns primarily the classical period (Tzaxili 2006, 16), but it will be shown that it also influences in a certain degree the interpretation of prehistory.

The Prehistoric Collection of the National Archaeological Museum

The Prehistoric Collection belongs to the Collections constituting the National Archaeological Museum [Collections of Sculpture, Vases, Terra-Cotta and Bronze Figurines, Egyptian Art (Egyptian Collection)]. The framework for the collection's creation dates back at 1891, when the creation of a «collection of antiquities of the so called pre-Hellenic art» was stipulated by a royal decree (Government Gazette n. 329, November 21st, 1891, RD of November 19th, 1891). The very next year, 1892, finds from Mycenae, Spata, Menidi, Nauplio, Vapheio and from the other prehistoric sites began being transferred from the Polytechnic School, where they were temporarily sheltered, into the Museum (Acts of the Archaeological Society, 1892, 61-62 and Κόκκου 1977, 248). After the Second Word War, Christos Karouzos, Director of the Museum, directed the project of the whole Museum's exhibition. In 2004, on the occasion of the Museum's reopening for the Olympic Games, the Prehistoric Collection of the National Archaeological Museum was once again made available to the public.

The Prehistoric Collection can be divided in three distinct collections:

A) The Neolithic Collection.
The objects belonging to this Collection come from the excavations of Christos Tsountas at Dimini and Sesklo, which brought to light the Neolithic Helladic civilization. The results of his research were published in the work titled «The prehistoric acropolis of Dimini and Sesklo», proceeding to a preliminary description and synthesis of the Neolithic Civilization (Τσούντας 1908), which Tsountas interpreted on the basis of the Homeric epics (Preziosi-Hitchcock 1999, 34).

   The collection is enriched by finds resulting from seizures, such as the Neolithic Treasure (Δημακοπούλου 1998), which came from a successful fight against the illicit trafficking of antiquities. These objects are displayed as works of art: this fact is enforced not only by their form but also by the rarity of their material, given the period in which they created.

   Today, as one enters the room of the Neolithic collection, he sees a showcase functioning as an abstract restoration of a Neolithic house. In the background one can discern the designed representation of the Dimini acropolis, while the foreground presents objects which would

have composed the house's household effects (mainly pottery but also tools, carbonized fruit, pieces of clay with stamps of reeds etc.).

The other showcases are dedicated to various art forms. Apart from the showcase containing the abstract representation of a Neolithic house, where objects belong in a way to a context (Hodder 1992) within their period, the Neolithic Collection exhibition presents the objects themselves and their authenticity on the basis of their archaeological typological classification. This is an exhibition practice common to the National Archaeological Museum: in a characteristic example of this room, the objects in one showcase are presented on the basis of their enumeration in the grave in which they were found; this alludes to the care displayed by the curators not to perturb the excavation's ensembles, and the same concern was also apparent in the previous exhibition of the Neolithic civilization (1958-2002).

B) The Cycladic Collection comprises objects which are the fruit of the excavations of Chr. Tsountas, who has excavated in the Cyclades and proceeded to the first comprehensive consideration of the Early Cycladic Civilization (Τσούντας 1898, Τσούντας 1899), of the anthropologist Cl. Stephanos, of the British School at Athens from Phylakopi (Atkinson 1904, Renfrew 1985) as well as recent finds coming from the efforts against illicit excavations.

The objects are mainly displayed according to their place of discovery, while some showcases are thematic (one has Cycladic figurines, another is dedicated to metal working and another to the working of stone). The fact that the presentation of the objects has been conducted on the basis of their place of discovery indicates the curators' effort not to disrupt the unity of the excavation ensembles. This choice however does not permit other forms of correlations between the objects.

C) The Mycenaean Collection, occupying the large central room on the museum's ground floor, consists of finds dating to the Late Bronze Age, the period when the Mycenaean civilization flourished. The exhibition presents objects coming mainly from the great centres of the Argolid and particularly from Mycenae, Messinia, Laconia, Attica and other regions of Greece.

The exhibits are presented chronologically as well as by place of provenance. The exhibition comprises the following units:

i) grave Circle A, excavated by Heinrich Schliemann at the end of the 19th century, and grave Circle B of Mycenae, excavated mainly by I. Papadimitriou and G. Mylonas. The exhibition of the finds begins with the grave stelae crowning the graves, while the grave gifts constitute the gallery's most impressive element: gold masks, bronze and elaborate weapons, rhyta from ostrich eggs, ivory and stone objects, clay and metal vases and vessels, jewels from precious stones and metals.

ii) Finds from the mycenaean acropolis of Mycenae, Tiryntha and Pylos.

iii) Finds from the vaulted and chamber tombs of the Argolid and Laconia, mainly jewels of gold, glass and semiprecious stones, glass paste and faience, bronze weaponry, silver vessels, clay vases and figurines.

iv) Finds from the Mycenaean graves of Attica, Thessaly, Skopelos and Cythera.

Discussion

Although the absence of written sources in prehistoric times would plausibly justify the imperative need for a theoretical framework and for eventual experimentations (Wood-Cotton 1999, 30, 36), the archaeological and museological practice in the Prehistoric Collection of the National Museum appears riveted in its conservative character, and the representation of modern tendencies (Post-Procedural Archaeology, Cognitive Archaeology, etc., cf. indicatively Hodder 1997) is completely absent.

Although belonging to one Collection, these three prehistoric periods are exhibited in a manner suggesting different approaches on behalf of the Museum's curators: the Neolithic and Early Bronze Period (where most of the Cycladic collection objects are dated) are very distant, chronologically speaking, from the «body» of Greek history, beginning conventionally with the Mycenaean civilization, which is considered – on the basis of Linear B – as the first «Greek» civilization, and therefore has the place of a prelude for classical art: this is why the objects in the Mycenaean room are exhibited as works of art, and the grave gifts of the Mycenae Grave Circle A are particularly displayed, as they are sumptuous and elaborate objects.

On the contrary, the interpretation of the Neolithic civilization has been marked by the proposal of G. Hourmouziadis for the Museum of Volos (1975). This suggestion has henceforth constituted a landmark for the curators of Neolithic collections, be it consciously or subconsciously. Since then, the presentation of the Neolithic Civilization on the basis of the Systems Theory, which was unquestionably pioneering in its time and for the Greek reality then, has had a huge impact and constitutes the dominating point of view to this day: it seems to be the only adapted way, it constitutes a kind of 'beaten track', an image which is reproduced and followed, even by very 'young' Museums, created within the last five years or even more recently. The attention brought to this model is not unjustified: its contribution lies in the fact that today, there is not one single Neolithic Collection presenting the objects of the Neolithic Civilization exclusively as «works of art»: even in exhibitions with a conservative background and a particular role, such as the National Archaeological Museum exhibition, an effort is being made to integrate the object in the civilization that created it. Therefore, the exhibition serves its highly educational character, which stands out as a main aspiration for curators.

The Cycladic Collection is seen under a different light: since the modernism movement – and even abusively - figurines are compared to modern sculptures, and this perception has also influenced the interpretation in the National Museum. However, one should note that in no case does this situation reach the degree in which these figurines are considered as sculpture in the –private- Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens; this situation can also be deduced from the fact that the objects in the Museum of Cycladic Art are deprived of their particular context, as they come from illicit excavations. The remaining objects are presented as burial groups, which is a popular practice for this particular Museum. Vital issues are silenced – such as the matter of illicit excavations, which infested the Cyclades particularly in the '50s and '60s and have had determinatively negative repercussions in the study of the Cycladic civilization (indicatively cf. Davis 1984, 20). Moreover, issues pertaining to questions on prehistoric religion are completely concealed: the finds from the Phylakopi sanctuary, presented in the Cycladic room, are befitting for the presentation of this thorny issue, as the excavation of the Phylakopi sanctuary has also constituted the basis for an attempt to decipher the religion of the Bronze Age (Renfrew 1985).

Figure 1. Athens, National Museum. A view of a showcase of the Neolithic Collection.

Figure 2. Volos, Archaeological Museum. A view of the G. Xourmouziadis gallery.

Figure 3. Athens, National Museum. A view of a showcase of the Cycladic Collection.

Figure 4. Athens, Museum of Cycladic Art. A view of showcases with cycladic figurines.

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National Museums of Architecture: the Creation and Re-Creation of a New Type of National Museum in the 19th century, London and Paris

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This paper discusses the worldwide rise of national museums of architecture in the shape of architectural casts museums in the second half of the nineteenth century, through case studies chosen in Britain (the Architectural Courts at the South Kensington Museum) and in France (the Museum of Comparative Sculpture).

The two national museums were born from emulation either with independent societies or from competition between the two nations as regards the creation of museums. Cross-Channel exchanges of ideas therefore helped define different modalities of the national museum of architecture.

The study cases show that different missions were endorsed by the various museums, ranging from educational to envisioning the notion of heritage and the history of art, and the prioritization of any one mission was the result of native disciplinary context, depending on whether the collection was part of a museum of a broader scope or constituted in itself a museum in its own right.

The acquisition policies of the two museums also allow analyzing the representation of national identities on both shores of the Channel, and re-evaluate the usual distinction made between British imperialism and French nationalism to define two tendencies: an imperialistic universalism in Britain and an expansionist nationalism in France.

Introduction

The 19th century saw the rise of a new type of national museum in the Occident from the mid-19th century onwards, as evidenced by the creation of national architectural museums or collections in Europe and the United States. This international phenomenon can be broached upon by comparing early case studies in Britain and France, namely on the one hand the Architectural Courts at the South Kensington Museum in London and on the other, the Musée de Sculpture Comparée (Museum of Comparative Sculpture) in Paris. The parallel history of their collections seems to offer an interesting insight into the peculiar moment of emergence and definition of that new type of museum, which would subsequently spread across Europe. The comparison is particularly relevant in that these museums were born from cross-Channel exchanges of ideas: their respective founders were well-aware of similar initiatives in other countries, and used the reference to a foreign pre-existing museum to advocate for the creation of a national museum of their own.[1] However, the spirit of these exchanges seems to have been one of rejection more than of imitation, and each new museum stressed its difference from and superiority over the model to which it referred. In that respect, although at first sight these museums seem to form a homogenous model, a careful examination of their stories and principal features will reveal differences both structural and circumstantial. The first part of this essay will set the institutional context in which those museums emerged, and analyse the distinct relationships between private initiatives and public institutions – national museums. The second section will discuss the different aims that architectural museums decided to endorse and the relationship with the disciplinary fields of museum display, architectural education, art historiography and heritage preservation. The third part will finally address the issue of national identity as perceived through the diverging acquisition policies in both countries, owing to broader native self-representations of the nation.

Competition and Changing Institutional Contexts: from Private to Public Status

Two major national collections embodied the concept of the architectural museum in Britain and France in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first of these two architectural cast collection to be constituted in a national museum was that of the South Kensington Museum, which opened its Architectural Courts in 1872–1873 as part of the applied and fine art collection. The courts are still extant though altered, and are today known as the Casts Courts in the museum, which has been renamed Victoria and Albert Museum in 1899.[2] In Paris, an almost equivalent collection was put on display at the Museum of Comparative Sculpture, created in 1879 and opened in 1882 at the Palais du Trocadéro. It has been reopened once more in September 2007 after several years of rearrangement work and is now part of the Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine in the same building as before.[3]

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1   On this particular aspect, see Isabelle Flour, 'Inventions et réinventions du musée d'architecture, Londres – Paris – Liverpool, 1851–1887', in *De l'imitation dans les musées. La diffusion de modèles de musées en Europe, XIXe-XXIe siècles*, ed. by Hanna Murauskaya and Anne-Solène Rolland (Paris: L'Harmattan, forthcoming), Proceedings of the Conference held at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris, 5–7 December 2007.

2   On the history of the South Kensington Museum, see in particular Anthony Burton, *Vision and Accident: The Story of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: V&A Publications, 1999); *A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, ed. by Malcolm Baker and Brenda Richardson (London and New York: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1997); Clive Wainwright, 'The Making of the South Kensington Museum', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 1 (2002), pp. 3–78.

3   On the history of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture and later Museum of French Monuments, and on the recent project of rearrangement, see the recent publication: *Le musée des monuments français*, ed. by Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Cité de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, 2007).

Although these national institutions hosting architectural collections were dependent on governmental funding, they both had superseded private societies rooted in the preservationist movement. The preservationists would gain public recognition after the creation of these collections, with the vote of laws in favour of the preservation of historical monuments, respectively in 1882 in Britain (Lubbock's Ancient Monuments Protection Act) and in 1887 in France (the first law on Historical Monuments). One can nevertheless trace back the roots of these two national collections in the action of private societies.

The Aborted Nationalisation of a Private Collection in France in the 1850s

In France, the short-lived Société d'Archéologie Nationale, which gathered antiquaries and restorers such as Viollet-le-Duc, had first attempted in 1848 to secure premises for an existing collection of plaster casts.[4] These architectural casts had been taken from medieval historical monuments mainly during restoration works. The promoters of this collection considered that it had a distinctive educational value to artists and artisans and was worth exhibiting at the national fine art school (Ecole des Beaux-Arts). But the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, whose academicism Viollet-le-Duc would bitterly criticize, was reluctant to admit medieval sculpture – a rival to the classical canon – and this first project failed.

It was then reactivated in 1855 by the same Viollet-le-Duc as head of an informal group of architects and restorers involved in restoration work for the Commission of Historical Monuments.[5] The collection had grown substantially not only during restoration works but also more systematically as a result of casts being ordered by the Architectural Museum, a museum which will be discussed later in this paper.[6] Once more, the project found no governmental support and the collection was eventually lost failing premises.

Nothing would be further achieved in that particular field in France until the creation of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture in 1879 by Viollet-le-Duc a few months before his death. While in France the government considered that supporting societies that claimed their independence was either useless or even risky, the situation was rather different in Britain. There the relationship between various museums displaying architectural casts seem to have been of a more cooperative spirit.

From Cohabitation to Competition: Independent Societies and Government in Britain

In Britain, at least two private institutions foreran the creation of the Architectural Courts at the South Kensington Museum: the Crystal Palace, which was moved and rearranged in the suburbs at Sydenham after the close of the Great Exhibition of 1851, to be reopened to the public in 1854, and the Architectural Museum which was housed at the South Kensington Museum from 1857 to 1869, and which fostered the project of a national collection of architecture.

The Architectural Museum was founded in London in 1851 by the Gothic Revivalist architect and restorer George Gilbert Scott and a handful of fellow architects.[7] The museum took over part of the collection of a departed restorer, L. N. Cottingham, whose collection of

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4   Archives des Musées Nationaux (hereafter AMN), 5HH9, Report of the Commission of Historical Monuments of 24 November 1848.
5   AMN, 5HH9, Letter by Viollet-le-Duc of 15 June 1855, and Report of the Commission of Historical Monuments of 30 June 1855.
6   AMN, 5HH9, Letter by Viollet-le-Duc of 15 June 1855.
7   For an account of the whole story of the Architectural Museum, see Edward Bottoms, 'The Royal Architectural Museum in the Light of New Documentary Evidence', *Journal of the History of Collections*, 1 (2007), pp. 115–39.

architectural casts had been sold at auction in 1851 four years after his death.[8] As several appeals in the press had failed to obtain the acquisition by the government of Cottingham's collection, Scott and other architects had contributed towards the creation and upkeep of a collection of architectural casts. They believed that this collection, which enjoyed the support of most of the architectural profession by means of subscriptions, would be useful to the contemporary architectural output. The study of casts of gothic ornaments would help improve the quality of architectural ornaments in the revived gothic style, by educating the art-workmen who carved architectural sculptures.

For some years the Architectural Museum managed to keep its collection open to the public on an independent basis but soon the lack of funds threatened the existence of the museum. The Architectural Museum first applied for a governmental grant in 1854, but in 1856 instead of the renewal of their grant the Architectural Museum obtained temporary salvation in the shape of premises offered at South Kensington.

Indeed a new museum was to make a remarkable entrance into London's museum setting: formed around the nucleus of the Museum of Ornamental Art removed from central London, the powerful and governmental South Kensington Museum was to play a major part in the history of museums. Now known primarily as a museum of decorative arts, it gathered at its opening in 1857 a wide range of different independent collections beneath the same roof, from food or patents to educational and fine arts collections. The Architectural Museum was one of these independent museums hosted by the South Kensington to form part of this ambitiously encyclopaedic museum.

From its inception the Architectural Museum had intended to form the nucleus of a national collection of architectural art. Therefore the Architectural Museum could not miss this opportunity to complete the project, since the idea of a national museum of architecture had gained increasing appeal amongst the architectural profession. Indeed, as early as its opening in 1857, the South Kensington Museum became the tribune for a plea in favour of the creation of a national collection of architecture. An address on this topic was given in December 1857, and the lecturer was surprisingly James Fergusson, himself the director of the Crystal Palace.[9] The Crystal Palace, opened in June 1854, housed ten monumental courts composed of architectural casts.[10] Oddly enough, in his address, Fergusson, who was also a self-taught architectural historian, disqualified his own institution from a distinct role in the process of forming a national collection of architectural art, for he considered the Crystal Palace casts too heavily painted and too inaccurate to be of any scientific value and educational use. He also discredited the Architectural Museum whose display of architectural details was according to Fergusson "too exclusively mediaeval to perform, even in a limited degree, the functions of an institution to improve the taste of the nation".[11]

This lecture by Fergusson was not followed by immediate action on the part of the South Kensington Museum whose priorities must have laid in original works of art, although casts and reproductions were often used as substitutes for originals that could not be acquired. The housing of the Architectural Museum was therefore a temporary substitute for the formation of an architectural collection of its own by the South Kensington Museum.

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8   On L. N. Cottingham and his collection, see Janet Myles, 'L.N. Cottingham's Museum of Mediaeval Art: Herald of the Gothic Revival', *Visual Resources*, 3 (2001), pp. 253–87, and *L.N. Cottingham, 1787–1847, Architect of the Gothic Revival* (London: Lund Humphries, 1996), pp. 28–35.
9   James Fergusson, *On a National Collection of Architectural Art* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857).
10 On the Crystal Palace, see Jan Piggott, *Palace of the People: the Crystal Palace at Sydenham 1854–1936* (London: Hurst, 2004).
11 James Fergusson, *On a National Collection of Architectural Art* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1857), p. 15.

But while the Architectural Museum and the South Kensington Museum had seemingly been reciprocally satisfied with their cohabitation in the first years, the claims of the Architectural Museum to become a national institution altered their peaceful relationship. As had been the case in France, the private institution was paradoxically claiming for public funding as well as independence of action on the grounds of public utility. Henry Cole, the director of the South Kensington Museum, was not prepared to see a competing institution dictate its views upon his own museum.

While the idea of a national collection of architecture was gaining momentum and provoked various proposals and public debates in the architectural press in the early 1860s, the tension between the two museums grew to the point that the Architectural Museum had to leave South Kensington and to find new premises. Henry Cole eventually decided in 1864 to create an architectural collection of his own, on principles completely different from the projects presented by the Architectural Museum. The new collection would, as it were, be half-way between the principles of the antiquarian Architectural Museum and those of the popular Crystal Palace: only monumental casts could be of interest to the general public, but they had to be indisputably faithful to the original to meet educational standards. Launched in 1864, the idea was not followed by a consistent acquisition policy until 1869 and the Architectural Courts eventually opened in 1872 and 1873.[12]

The emulation between the three existing institutions had therefore resulted in the creation of a new national collection of architecture and the end of the cooperation with the independent society. The Architectural Museum moved back to central London in 1869 and carried on its educational and specialised activities while losing a wide audience as well as public support. Ironically, in 1916 when the Architectural Museum collection ended up totally abandoned by its supporters in the architectural profession, it was taken over by the South Kensington Museum now renamed Victoria and Albert Museum and joined the upper galleries of the Architectural Courts.

International Competition and National Pride: The Founding of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture

While the national collection of architecture at the South Kensington Museum was the result of a competition between native institutions, that of the Trocadéro was the product of an emulation with Britain. As early as 1855, when Viollet-le-Duc had advocated for premises for the above-cited collection, he explicitly referred to the Architectural Museum collection while arguing that the British cared more for French architecture than France itself did.[13] The reference to a foreign existing museum nurtured the idea that France was far behind Britain and therefore inferior: France had to fill the gap as soon as possible by creating a like museum. The argument was used again in 1879 and Viollet-le-Duc was now referring to the South Kensington Museum and the Crystal Palace in addition to the Architectural Museum.[14] Nonetheless this reference did not involve admiration but rejection of the British models on the part of the French. Viollet-le-Duc thought these models could be improved, especially as regards scientific classification.[15]

12　On the intertwined histories of the Architectural Museum and the South Kensington Museum, see Isabelle Flour, ' 'On the Formation of a National Museum of Architecture': Architectural Museum versus South Kensington Museum', *Architectural History* (forthcoming).

13　AMN, 5HH9, Letter by Viollet-le-Duc of 15 June 1855.

14　Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Musée de Sculpture comparée appartenant aux divers Centres d'Art et aux diverses époques* (Paris: Bastien et Brondeau, 1879 [11 June]), pp. 1–2.

15　Ibid., pp. 2–3: "However, the classification of the sculptures deposited at the Crystal Palace or at the South Kensington is far from being comprehensive and methodic and, if we manage at last to gather documents of this kind suitable for study, we will have to proceed with a more severely critical attitude", my translation

This process of emulation was a result of rising competition between nation-states in the 19th century and could be best perceived through the development of international exhibitions which helped compare the productions of different nations, from the first Great Exhibition held in London in 1851. As one of the major roles assigned to international exhibitions was the improvement of artistic productions, those events were a strong impulse for the creation of educational institutions such as art schools and museums and for the constitution of international professional networks. Viollet-le-Duc had indeed met Henry Cole at the International Exhibition of London in 1862[16], and at that of Paris in 1867 Henry Cole had furthermore set up a "Convention for Promoting Universally Reproductions of Works of Art for the Museums of All Countries" which was to have a lasting effect on the development of casts collections in museums all over Europe.[17] The Convention was signed by a number of princes in Europe and various museums would carry on exchanges of reproductions for several decades. Therefore, although both national collections had had private origins rooted in the preservationist movement, they also resulted from different native histories: the national architectural collection was born in Britain from inner national competition, while that of France was born from international emulation.

Disciplinary Contexts and the Missions Assigned to Architectural Cast Museums

Other institutional differences can be pointed out as the result of native contexts rather than generic features: while in France the national Museum of Comparative Sculpture was a specialised museum independent from other art museums – it was placed under the authority of the Commission of Historical Monuments rather than that of the Direction of Museums, in Britain the national collection of architecture was part of a broader encyclopaedic and educational museum. This must have had a strong impact on the missions these museums assigned to themselves, ranging from artistic education to the making of heritage and the establishment of a scientific art history, according to the disciplinary context to which they belonged.

The Educational Value of Cast Collections

The first and foremost function of these national architectural museums was an educational role. The pedagogical role of casts in the artist's education was rooted in the history of prior cast collections formed in the fine arts academies and schools of art. Plaster casts had always been in use and indeed some schools of art still hold them for use in teaching the drawing from the round. But the purpose of these 19th century national architectural collections was not only general teaching in drawing. In these particular cases, the cast collections were also considered as tri-dimensional repositories of models of ornament to be literally copied in the contemporary output. National museums shared this conception of the usefulness of cast collections with other independent museums such as Scott's Architectural Museum above-mentioned or another architectural cast collection set up at the Walker Art Gallery by the Corporation of Liverpool.[18]

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for: "Toutefois, la classification des sculptures déposées au South Kensington Museum est loin d'être complète et méthodique &, si nous parvenons enfin à réunir les documents de cet ordre propres à l'étude, il faudra procéder suivant une critique plus sévère."

16 National Art Library, Henry Cole Diaries, 22 May 1862.

17 *Fifteenth Report of the Science and Art Department of the Committe of Council on Education* (London: HMSO, 1868), p. 24.

18 On the architectural cast collection at the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, see Isabelle Flour, 'Inventions et réinventions du musée d'architecture, Londres – Paris – Liverpool, 1851–1887', in *De l'imitation dans les*

In the case of national museums their cast collection had however a broader educational scope, since these museums were actually part of the educational system and formed the core of a network for the diffusion of casts in schools of art.

The forerunner of the South Kensington Museum, the Museum of Ornamental Art, had been created to support educational tasks carried out in the pre-existing Schools of Design. The Museum already comprised a collection of casts, though not properly architectural, which would be further developed when relocated at South Kensington. From the 1850s onwards the museum cast collection was also the central repository for the diffusion of ornamental models through the network of governmental schools of art and of branch museums placed under the authority of the Board of Education. There were inner workshops and outer firms as Brucciani that took on the reproduction and sale of such models of ornament across the country. While this diffusion of models by means of casts had been wide-ranging and long-lasting in Britain, the French situation was not as dynamic as the British system.

Only in the 1890s and 1900s did the Museum of Comparative Sculpture become the core of a restricted scheme of diffusion decided by the government, which would then send a standard set of twelve selected casts to any recognised school of art.[19] However, the reproductions workshop of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture had from the start sold casts of exhibits in the museum, but this distribution nonetheless relied essentially on orders made by individuals and schools rather than on a definite governmental policy. The Museum of Comparative Sculpture had however a proper educational scheme of a narrower scope. From 1887 onwards, the museum housed a specialised training programme for architects who were to be employed on restoration works by the Commission of Historical Monuments. This course still co-exists with the museum at present.

The Making of Heritage in the Eyes of the General Public

These two national museums also invested themselves with a mission that private museums, apart maybe from the Crystal Palace, had on the whole neglected, that of creating for the general public a tri-dimensional imagery of heritage. This had an impact on the museum display: while a strictly educational purpose could be satisfied by means of casts of fragments, the two national museums attempted to embody the very notion of heritage by reproductions of full-sized monuments. The South Kensington Museum and the Museum of Comparative Sculpture would therefore use a popular and spectacular display of monumental casts, although they were careful about the faithfulness of reproductions, unlike the Crystal Palace. Both museums therefore used, on the whole, a broad framing of the casts taken (i.e. whole portals or gateways in both museums, or even a cast of the Trajan column split in two parts at the South Kensington Museum) to help contextualise the whole monument in its broader context. In addition, photographs were placed besides the casts, so that the visitor would imagine the monument from which the casts were taken.

Moreover, the fact that museums had from their inception been conceived as repositories for masterpieces served the aims of the preservationists: reproductions helped increase the 'exhibitional value'[20] of works remained unknown from the general public, and helped justify

musées. La diffusion de modèles de musées en Europe XIXe-XXIe siècles, ed. by Hanna Murauskaya and Anne-Solène Rolland (Paris: L'Harmattan, forthcoming), Proceedings of the Conference held at the Ecole Normale Supérieure in Paris, 5–7 December 2007. See also the only catalogue of this collection: Corporation of Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, *Catalogue of the Museum of Casts, Architectural and Sculptural* (Liverpool: C. Tinling & Co, 1887).

19   AMN, 5HH12, proceedings of the Sous-Commission du Musée de Sculpture Comparée of 2 October 1899, and letter to the 'préfets' of 3 June 1901.

20   Walter Benjamin, *L'œuvre d'art à l'époque de sa reproductibilité technique* (Paris: Allia, 2003, French translation of the 1939 version).

the need for a preservation of the originals *in situ* in promoting their reproductions at the rank of a masterpiece in the museum.

Therefore in both cases the museums were related to and in some way legitimised undertakings aimed at improving the knowledge and preservation of architectural heritage. At the South Kensington Museum, there was no formal link with preservation societies nor with the first law on historical monuments that would appear far later, in 1882 with Lubbock's Act. But Henry Cole himself had decided that the museum should be the impulse for the discovery of heritage, in a way similar to tourism and colonial conquest. Henry Cole and his museum officers had gone on what might truly be called exploration journeys in Italy, Germany, Belgium, Spain, and India.[21] These extensive cultural visits aimed both at purchasing originals and ordering reproductions for the museum, and at preparing a tantalizingly encyclopaedic *Universal Inventory of Works of Art*, which would be published in several volumes by the museum.[22] As for India, the undertaking was closely linked with a governmental institution, the Archaeological Survey of India, of which Cole's own son was an officer.[23] Some of the most spectacular architectural casts from India were also displayed as a major attraction of the London International Exhibition of 1871, the first of a series of several exhibitions organised in London by Henry Cole, who had already masterminded the London exhibitions of 1851 and 1862, and who Bonython and Burton rightly nicknamed the 'Great Exhibitor'.[24]

At the Museum of Comparative Sculpture it was more humbly national heritage that was unveiled to the general public, and the great majority of casts was taken from buildings protected by the Commission of Historical Monuments. The network of architectural heritage surveyors set up by the Commission helped identify works to be reproduced, and very often restoration works provided additional opportunities for casting operations, without additional cost for erecting scaffoldings. The museum display also tended to contextualise exhibits, and monumental portals were gradually multiplied. Some of them were even reconstructed after some years, as was the case with the portal of the church of Moissac: at first, only a few fragments of it had been cast, and later the casting of other parts was carried out to reconstruct the portal as a whole in the museum.[25] The aim of the Commission was to convey to the

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21 On Henry Cole's journeys in Europe, see in particular Christopher Whitehead, 'Henry Cole's European Travels and the Buildings of the South Kensington Museum in the 1850s', *Architectural History*, 48 (2005), pp. 207–34, and 'Aesthetic Otherness, Authenticity, and the Roads to Museological Appropriation: Henry Cole's Travel Writing and the Making of the Victoria and Albert Museum', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 10 (2006), pp. 1–26.

22 On this particular point, see Isabelle Flour, ' 'On the Formation of a National Museum of Architecture': Architectural Museum versus South Kensington Museum', *Architectural History* (forthcoming).

23 On Henry Hardy Cole's travels in India, see: Partha Mitter, 'The Imperial Collections: Indian Art', in *A Grand Design: The Art of the Victoria and Albert Museum*, ed. by Malcolm Baker and Brenda Richardson, pp. 222–229 (p. 225); Maria Antonella Pelizzari, 'From Stone to Paper: Photographs of Architecture and the Traces of History', in *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850–1900*, ed. by Maria Antonella Pelizzari (Montréal and New Haven: Canadian Centre for Architecture and Yale Center for British Art, 2003), pp. 22–57 (pp. 34–38); Tim Barringer, 'The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project', in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850–1900*, ed. by Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 11–27 (pp. 17–20); Isabelle Flour, ' 'On the Formation of a National Museum of Architecture': Architectural Museum versus South Kensington Museum', *Architectural History* (forthcoming).

24 Elizabeth Bonython, Anthony Burton, *The Great Exhibitor: The Life and Work of Henry Cole* (London: V&A Publications, 2003).

25 On the museography of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture, see Isabelle Flour, 'Style, Nation, Patrimoine: du Musée de Sculpture Comparée au Musée des Monuments Français, 1879–1937', in *Stratégies identitaires de conservation et de valorisation du patrimoine*, ed. by Jean-Claude Nemery, Michel Rautenberg and Fabrice Thuriot (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 33–41, and 'Style, Heritage,

visitor the tri-dimensional sensitive experience of architectural heritage, at a time when extensive travel was not yet allowed by the developing railway network. The making of the aesthetic value of heritage by means of its museumization was therefore the best way to publicize and justify the preservation work led by the Commission of Historical Monuments. The first law in favour of the protection of historical monuments was not voted until 1887, and at that time it was still unsuccessful to protect monuments against the right for individual owners to alter their architectural properties, however ancient they were. Some decades later, the First World War would give evidence that the museum casts conveyed not only the image of heritage, but also the commemorative values attached to it: when the cathedral of Reims was hit by German bombs in 1914, the museum casts became the support of a narrative directed to the 'imagined community' of the nation.[26] The curator of the museum placed labels mentioning that the original sculptures had been destroyed by the Germans, and this process was part of the immense international propaganda directed against the Germans, making them new 'Vandals' and atavic enemies of the civilization. Therefore the Museum of Comparative Sculpture had become a 'site of memory' in its own right, where mourning was made the cement for national cohesion against the enemy.

The Establishment of a Scientific History of Art

While the South Kensington Museum had not developed a consistent theory of art history as a museum narrative, it was though the principal goal of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture. This was a specific feature of Viollet-le-Duc's idiosyncratic project, and casts would serve the ambition of a visual history of art without any lacks. Casts allowed the representation in the museum rooms of works of art now rendered unmovable from their original site, or rendered inaccessible by their market value or by their being already acquired by other museums.

Instead of displaying the final result of a scientific process, i.e. a taxonomy or classification of schools of art, Viollet-le-Duc rather displayed the method of art history, that is to say the comparative method that gave its hermetic title to the museum.[27] Viollet-le-Duc's so-called scientific history of art was based on paradigms borrowed from antagonists theories in the field of natural history: comparative anatomy and evolutionist theories. The scheme he conceived was unsurprisingly the translation to museum display of theories he had already extensively discussed in his varied publications, such as the *Dictionnaire raisonné de*

Nation: from the Musée de Sculpture Comparée to the Musée des Monuments Français', in *Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, forthcoming), Proceedings of the Conference held in Durham, 15–17 September 2006.

26   On polemics and propaganda during the First World War as regards the bombing of Reims Cathedral, see Nicola Lambourne, 'Production versus Destruction: Art, World War I and Art History', *Art History* 22, no. 3 (1999), pp. 347–63; Michela Passini, 'Martirio e resurrezione di Reims. Dispute novecentesche su una cattedrale', in *Arti e storia nel Medioevo. Volume quarto. Il Medioevo al passato e al presente*, ed. by Enrico Castelnuovo and Giuseppe Sergi (Torino, Giulio Einaudi, 2004), pp. 571–87; Yann Harlaut, *La Cathédrale de Reims du 4 septembre 1914 au 10 juillet 1938. Idéologies, controverses et pragmatisme* (Ph.D. diss., Université de Reims, 2006); Isabelle Flour, 'Les historiens de l'art français et le vandalisme allemand: la cathédrale de Reims au coeur de la propagande de guerre', in *Actes du 132e congrès national des sociétés historiques et scientifiques: Images et Imagerie* (forthcoming, online publication). On nationalism, see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London: Verso, 2006).

27   On Viollet-le-Duc's schemes, see Isabelle Flour, 'Les moulages du Musée de Sculpture comparée: Viollet-le-Duc et l'histoire naturelle de l'art', in *L'artiste savant à la conquête du monde moderne*, ed. by Anne Lafont (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, forthcoming), Proceedings of the Conference *Le concours de l'image dans les sciences du vivant. Flore, faune, humain : formes et propos de l'illustration scientifique*, held in Paris, 15–17 March 2007. On Viollet-le-Duc and natural history, see Laurent Baridon, *L'imaginaire scientifique de Viollet-le-Duc* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1996).

l'architecture française, or the *Entretiens sur l'architecture*.[28] The display gathered works from different schools of art in the same rooms, instead of separating the various schools of art as had been usual from the 18th century onwards. This gathering allowed the comparison of works of art distant in time and space in order that the visitor would detect the analogies in the processes of evolution in the different schools of art. The evolution he wanted to point out, which comprised the phases of archaism, classicism, and mannerism, was inspired by the notion of a 'cycle', as had been defined earlier by Winckelmann. Within the museum rooms it implied that in the first rooms medieval French sculptures were compared to classical works of art (Greek, Assyrian, Egyptian) and that in the following rooms sculptures from the end of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance were compared to contemporary works from Italy, Germany and Spain.[29] This conception of a scientific history of art seems to have remained truly unique and did not find any echo in Britain.[30] Even in France, Viollet-le-Duc's project was soon to be misunderstood: as early as the opening in 1882, the comparative display was severely criticised in the press. The art critic and historian Louis Gonse, though agreeing with the establishment of French medieval architecture at the first rank of history of art, however stated: "The theory is at least ingenious but it is impossible to admit its strict conclusions. Its written version seems to be justified, but its vices are too manifest in practice […] The analogies of style and execution are purely circumstantial; they are not at all evident nor structural."[31] The Commission of Historical Monuments kept the elaborate comparative scheme only in respectful memory of their late master, but it was eventually abandoned in 1903 when the museum returned to a more usual display separating the various schools of art.

Acquisition Policies and Representations of the Self and the Other

A common Ground: the Preference for the Primitive

In spite of these different missions, the two national museums also conveyed different representations of the self and the other, whether explicitly or implicitly. Literature on the topic has often opposed French nationalism to British imperialism. While this is partially true, there is one ground less obvious and related to the history of taste that was common to both museums, that is the preference for the primitive.[32] In this respect, these two national collections began departing from the mainstream of classical cast collections that had been

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28 Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française* (Paris: Bance and afterwards Morel, 1854–1868, 10 volumes) and *Entretiens sur l'architecture* (Paris: Morel, 1863–1872, 2 volumes).

29 Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Musée de Sculpture comparée appartenant aux divers Centres d'Art et aux diverses époques* (Paris: Bastien et Brondeau, 1879 [11 June]), and *Musée de la Sculpture Comparée. 2e Rapport* (Paris: Bastien et Brondeau, 1879 [12 July]).

30 It should be noted however, that the Liverpool's collection of casts was explicitly modelled on the example of Viollet-le-Duc's Museum of Comparative Sculpture. Several large extracts of Viollet-le-Duc's two reports for the Trocadéro museum were translated in P. H. Rathbone, 'The Museum of Casts', in Corporation of Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, *Catalogue of the Museum of Casts, Architectural and Sculptural* (Liverpool: C. Tinling & Co, 1887), pp. iii-xii. However, Rathbone thought that 'the foregoing scheme, though admirable, would probably be too elaborate for this city, and besides makes no sufficient provision for the English schools of Gothic architecture' (p. vii).

31 My translation for: "La théorie est tout au moins ingénieuse; il nous est cependant impossible d'en accepter les conclusions dans leur rigueur. Elle a fort bon air sur le papier, mais ses vices sautent aux yeux. […] Les analogies de style et d'exécution sont purement accidentelles; elles n'ont aucun accent d'évidence et de continuité", cf. Louis Gonse, 'Le Musée des Moulages au Trocadéro', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 26 no. 301 (1882, July), pp. 60–72 (pp. 63–66).

32 Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Preference for the Primitive: Episodes in the History of Western Taste and Art* (London and New York: Phaidon, 2002).

widespread for two centuries. The Architectural Courts at the South Kensington Museum and the Museum of Comparative Sculpture both focused on the illustration of the relationship between architecture and its sculpted ornamentation, and the overall goal pursued was to foster a style of architecture in which ornament would be closely intertwined with its architectural structure. This particularly echoed long-lasting theories of organicism in architecture evolved from the Renaissance onwards.[33] Therefore rather than a preference for classical sculpture in the round easily separated from its architectural context, these two national collections would particularly reflect the taste for the primitive, be it distant in time (medieval) or distant in space (oriental).

At the Museum of Comparative Sculpture, the acquisition policy favoured from the start medieval architecture, which represented about 80% of the collections, and particularly 13th century French architecture, as it was considered by Viollet-le-Duc the best period of Gothic style.[34] While Viollet-le-Duc's museum never intended to embrace oriental architecture, there was another cast museum in the Trocadéro: the Indochinese Museum, which displayed original sculptures as well as casts from Indochina. Although funded by the government this museum did not have the same pretensions to become a national museum and had always encountered great difficulty to sustain itself. Therefore the parallel between oriental and medieval architecture at the Trocadéro was the result of chance instead of a purpose-built scheme.

On the contrary at the South Kensington Museum, both occidental and oriental casts were acquired by the same institution and paralleled in the two Architectural Courts: one of them was devoted mainly to casts taken in India, and the other court gathered medieval and to a lesser extent modern casts, from various European countries.[35] There remained at the South Kensington Museum a collection of ancient and Renaissance classical casts, but it was displayed apart and did not belong to the Architectural Courts. Although one of the Courts is now dedicated to Italian Casts, they supplanted the Indian Casts in the 1880s – therefore these did not belong to Cole's initial grand design for the Architectural Courts.

Besides this overall similarity between the two museums as regards the taste for the primitive, the attitudes towards the representation of the self and the other were quite divergent in both museums. As will be seen, in that respect, the usual distinction between nationalism and imperialism should be balanced by another opposition between inclusion and exclusion.

Gothic Revival and Nationalist Ideology

As well as Scott's Architectural Museum, Viollet-le-Duc's museum focused on medieval architecture, as a result of the Gothic Revival in which they were both rooted. But in the case of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture, the glorification of medieval architecture presented a less practical utility and a more ideological stake, i.e. demonstrating the greatness of national art. While the South Kensington Museum also comprised casts of medieval

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33   Caroline Van Eck, *Organicism in Nineteenth-Century Architecture: an Inquiry into its Theoretical and Philosophical Background* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Press, 1994).

34   For example, in 1883 there were only 71 casts of foreign works out of a total 358. In 1910, 276 of 1805 casts were of foreign works. See *Catalogue des sculptures, appartenant aux divers centres d'art et aux diverses époques, exposées dans les galeries du Trocadéro* (Paris: Palais du Trocadéro, 1883) and Camille Enlart and Jules Roussel, *Catalogue général du Musée de Sculpture Comparée au Palais du Trocadéro (moulages)* (Paris: Picard, 1910).

35   For a list of items displayed in the Architectural Courts at their opening, see John Hungerford Pollen, *A Description of the Architecture and Monumental Sculpture in the South-East Court of the South Kensington Museum* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874).

architecture, it did not over-represent English architecture as compared to the other schools of art.

On the contrary, at the Museum of Comparative Sculpture the core of the collection was made up of casts of national architecture. Against all expectations the comparative display was not meant to be encyclopaedic in any way. The comparison first served the definition of 'national art', of the Self against the Other: labels of different colours were placed alongside the casts: yellow labels for 'French' casts and grey labels for 'foreign' casts.[36] Therefore the coloured labelling helped the visitor to include and unite the several regional schools of art 'in one bundle', in Viollet-le-Duc's words, i.e. French art, and to exclude the other schools of art as 'foreign', in the same way as the coded colours on a map delimit a country from its neighbours.[37]

In addition, the display largely favoured French art which held the lion's share of the collections and as it were 'crushed' the antique and foreign schools of art by its numerical superiority and monumental size. Not only were the French casts more numerous than the others, they were also the very core of the museum narrative: it was the only school to pursue, in the eyes of the visitors, a complete cycle without any phase of decline (whereas all other schools of art, even the Greek school that was the indisputable canon of art, were supposed to have known their decline era more rapidly than the French school did).[38]

The superiority of French art could therefore be perceived through the duration of its cycle as compared to the short-lived other schools of art, according to Viollet-le-Duc's history of art. Louis Gonse could therefore write at the opening of the museum in 1882: "Sculpture represents – with architecture, of which it is only the complement – our national art. From the beginning of the 11th century to the present, the chain is unbroken; there are no ups and downs in its evolution; it conserves all its vigour and extends to all branches; the art of sculpture is our purest, surest glory".[39] This largely reflected the nationalistic way in which history of art was written in France. Moreover the comparison served the establishment of hierarchies. Surprisingly enough, some acquisitions were even decided in this perspective, even though the works of art were considered to be inferior in quality: such was the case of some of the Italian casts, which were acquired because they were thought to be inferior to French art: "The statue of Charles of Anjou is the illustration of the state of art in Italy in the 13th century. This is indeed by far inferior to sculptures made in France at that time. […] The comparison will serve to make clear to the public that in the 12th and 13th centuries French sculpture was by far superior to Italian sculpture."[40]

36   Archives du Musée des Monuments Français (hereafter AMMF), Proceedings of the Sous-Commission du Musée de Sculpture Comparée, 26 April 1882.

37   Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Musée de Sculpture comparée appartenant aux divers Centres d'Art et aux diverses époques* (Paris: Bastien et Brondeau, 1879 [11 June]), p. 6.

38   On Viollet-le-Duc's conception of the museum display, see Isabelle Flour, 'Les moulages du Musée de Sculpture comparée: Viollet-le-Duc et l'histoire naturelle de l'art', in *L'artiste savant à la conquête du monde moderne*, ed. by Anne Lafont (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, forthcoming), Proceedings of the Conference *Le concours de l'image dans les sciences du vivant. Flore, faune, humain : formes et propos de l'illustration scientifique*, held in Paris, 15–17 March 2007.

39   My translation for: "La sculpture représente, avec l'architecture, dont elle n'est d'ailleurs que le complement, notre art national. Depuis le commencement du XIe siècle jusqu'à l'époque actuelle, la chaîne est ininterrompue; l'évolution n'a point d'éclipse; la sève conserve toute sa vigueur et s'étend dans tous les rameaux; l'art de la sculpture est notre gloire la plus pure, la plus certaine", cf. Louis Gonse, 'Le Musée des Moulages au Trocadéro', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 26 no. 301 (1882, July), pp. 60-72 (p. 70).

40   My translation for: "la statue de Charles d'Anjou est la constatation de l'état de l'art en Italie au XIIIe siècle. Cette statue est en effet inférieure de beaucoup aux statues faites en France à cette époque […] La comparaison qui en résultera ne servira qu'à mieux faire comprendre au public qu'aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles

From its inception the Museum of Comparative Sculpture held a definite nationalistic viewpoint based on the historic greatness of national art, where the South Kensington Museum or the Architectural Museum had had more universalistic views. Even the Architectural Museum, though focused on Medieval Architecture, admitted substantial collections of continental gothic casts, and the museum display did not intend, be it implicitly or explicitly, to establish hierarchies in favour of English architecture.[41] If the Architectural Museum had conveyed nationalistic ideas, it is only to be found in the way it was thought that Britain was the country where the Gothic style would best be revived. Therefore, as national pride could be recovered in the present, the Architectural Museum did not need to rewrite the history of art in a biased way. It could without challenging the British self-esteem admit that the past continental styles of gothic were better or at least as good as the English Gothic.

Imperialist Universalism Versus Expansionist Nationalism

The acquisition policy of the South Kensington Museum was the exact contrary of that of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture. It was genuinely based on universalistic principles, even though the classical casts were kept aside from the architectural casts: one could argue that the size of the casts prevailed in the choice of their location, and the monumental space dedicated to the mediaeval and oriental casts was far from lowering their value. Moreover, within the two Architectural Courts, Mediaeval and Oriental Architecture were paralleled and placed on an equal footing, even though the parallel helped define by contrast the Orient as opposed to the Occident. Both medieval and oriental architecture were submitted to the same process of appropriation, which can be identified with actual imperialism in the case of India and with a form of cultural imperialism or pseudo-imperialism in the case of European heritage.

Malcolm Baker and Maria Antonella Pelizarri have described the same kind of appropriation by means of photographing, casting, publicizing and exhibiting the heritage of other nations, which operates in two directions: first the museumization of works of art previously unknown gave these exhibits the status of a masterpiece; then in return, these newly established masterpieces attributed to the imperial museum the glory of having discovered and publicised the world's universal heritage and of having spent so much time and money on the making of these masterpieces.[42] This dialectical process can also be sensed in the dual experience that the visitor could have when visiting the Architectural Courts: first the visitors rambled amidst these overwhelming casts and were literally dominated by their monumental size; then when the visitors went to the upper gallery, they could in turn dominate this compendium of the world's heritage, without physically leaving the centre of the Empire.[43] The beauty of the casts therefore reinforced the power of the Empire: the Other

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la sculpture française était bien supérieure à la sculpture italienne", cf. AMMF, Proceedings of the Sous-Commission du Musée de Sculpture Comparée of 13 November 1880.

41   See the two catalogues of the Architectural Museum for the scope of its cast collection: Architectural Museum, *Catalogue* (London: Joseph Masters and Co, 1855); Royal Architectural Museum, *Catalogue of Collection* (London: Royal Architectural Museum, 1877).

42   Malcolm Baker, 'A Glory to the Museum: the Casting of the 'Portico de la Gloria' ', *V&A Album*, 1 (1982), pp. 101–108 and 'The Establishment of a Masterpiece: the Cast of the Portico de la Gloria in the South Kensington Museum, London, in the 1870s', in *Actas simposio international sobre o Pórtico da Gloria é a arte do seu tempo* (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1988), pp. 479–99. Maria Antonella Pelizzari, 'From Stone to Paper: Photographs of Architecture and the Traces of History', in *Traces of India: Photography, Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850–1900*, ed. by Maria Antonella Pelizzari (Montréal and New Haven: Canadian Centre for Architecture and Yale Center for British Art, 2003), pp. 22–57.

43   Tim Barringer, 'The South Kensington Museum and the Colonial Project', in *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850–1900*, ed. by Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), pp. 11–27 (p. 19).

was integrated in the narrative of British imperialism to glorify the dominating Self, whose role was symbolically and implicitly embodied by the museum itself.

At the Museum of Comparative Sculpture another form of imperialism would appear and would not try to integrate the Other in its conception of the Empire. The main character of the imperial narrative in France would be the colonizer rather than the colonized. This conception of the Self once more found justifications in the history of art, as was written in France. The museum would gradually exclude all the foreign casts in the early 20th century. In 1937, the metamorphosis of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture into the new Museum of French Monuments (Musée des Monuments Français) made this latent orientation more manifest.[44] In the course of this reorganisation, the great majority of antique and foreign casts was evicted from the permanent display. However, some of the foreign casts were kept, but only those that exemplified the influence of French art abroad. This was the climax of an acquisition policy that had begun three decades ago, with purchases of casts in Sweden, Cyprus, Italy, Syria, etc., which were identified by the museum curators as 'French' and were justified historically either by transfers of religious communities or by the Crusades. Paul Deschamps, the curator that had visited the Frankish castles in Syria and Palestine, had even taken part in the Colonial Exhibition of 1931: he wrote an essay on these castles for the Exhibition catalogue and a model he had ordered for the Museum was also exhibited in the Colonial Exhibition.[45] This was part of a historical narrative on the continuity of the French colonization since the Middle Ages. In the museum, alongside the exhibition of a separate room devoted to the Crusades, Deschamps had also deployed his vision of a grand national art throughout the centuries, by displaying a full set of maps showing the expansion of French art beyond the usual boundaries of France.[46] His vision of the 'grande France', which was based on the exclusion of the Other, and focused on the expansion of the Self, was therefore totally opposed to the universalistic imperialism of the South Kensington.

Narratives of the nation were divergent and rooted in particular native historical contexts: while it would not be justified to carry on opposing French nationalism to British imperialism, it could be stated that British imperial narratives integrated the Other to glorify the Self, while French imperial narratives excluded the Other to define the dominating Self.

Conclusion

The concept of the national museum of architecture emerged in the 19th century as the result of concerns arising within the architectural profession and the field of heritage preservation.

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44 On the significance of the reorganisation of the Museum of Comparative Sculpture into the Museum of French Monuments, see Isabelle Flour, 'Style, Nation, Patrimoine: du Musée de Sculpture Comparée au Musée des Monuments Français, 1879–1937', in *Stratégies identitaires de conservation et de valorisation du patrimoine*, ed. by Jean-Claude Nemery, Michel Rautenberg and Fabrice Thuriot (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 33–41, and 'Style, Heritage, Nation: from the Musée de Sculpture Comparée to the Musée des Monuments Français, 1879–1937', in *Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, forthcoming), Proceedings of the Conference held in Durham, 15–17 September 2006.

45 Paul Deschamps, 'Les Croisades et l'expansion française dans le bassin de la Méditerranée', in *Les colonies et la vie française pendant huit siècles* (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1933), pp. 1–51. On the Colonial Exhibition of 1931, see in particular Catherine Hodeir, 'Un musée permanent pour une exposition éphémère?', in *Le Palais des Colonies. Histoire du Musée des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2002) pp. 23–41.

46 Isabelle Flour, 'Style, Nation, Patrimoine: du Musée de Sculpture Comparée au Musée des Monuments Français, 1879–1937', in *Stratégies identitaires de conservation et de valorisation du patrimoine*, ed. Jean-Claude Nemery, Michel Rautenberg and Fabrice Thuriot (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2008), pp. 33–41 and 'Style, Heritage, Nation: from the Musée de Sculpture Comparée to the Musée des Monuments Français, 1879–1937', in *Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, forthcoming), Proceedings of the Conference held in Durham, 15–17 September 2006.

Architects and preservationists first responded to the demands of their professional activities, and sought governmental funding on the grounds of general interest. But in order that national institutions be established, there remained to find a kind of display that could be attractive to the general public, and not only useful to specialists. The nationalisation of architectural museums was made possible by adapting the mode of exhibition of architecture, in a monumental and impressive scale. While some of the missions (education, publicization, vulgarization of knowledge) assigned to these architectural museums can be applied to other architectural museums and even to other types of museums, the representation of national identity is always the result of a native alchemy that adapts to the disciplinary field to which it belongs. That is one of the interests of comparing not only national museums from different countries, but also their representation of national identity. As narratives of the Self and the Other often find in the past justification for present action, the alleged continuity of an 'imagined community' is founded on historical facts specific to each nation, and therefore while nationalism has been a widely shared ideology, it has always taken varied shapes in order to adapt to native historical and disciplinary contexts.

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Reading the Official and the Unofficial:
On the Practice of a Historical Investigation
of "Folk-Memory" in Scandinavian Folk Museums
and Open-Air Museums During the Late 19th Century

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Official documents of the folk museums and open-air museums in Scandinavia demonstrate in many respects a history of similarities between themselves, while the unofficial documents contain a history of different local strategies to maintain the joint visions of the museum. Therefore, it is necessary for the historian to keep his gaze fixed on the texts, on the differences of the contents, but also to be aware of all distractions that originate in one's self, distractions that creates imaginary meanings, which in their turn threaten the otherness of the documents. Thus, the task of a historian, I argue, is to maintain the otherness of the documents, and to dig out their different and presumed unessential contents, i.e. to uphold the straggly shape of the "folk-memory".

This article gives some examples of the official and the unofficial sides of "folk-memory" in late 19th century Scandinavia, which a broader reading of the documents has unveiled. A study of the documents in filing cabinets and in cellar vaults of museums makes it possible to describe different similarities and differences than those which occur in a more limited reading of the published texts. Not until such an expanded and text-focused historical investigation has been carried out, is it possible to see the cracks in the "folk-memory", and its other and more secret boundaries.

Introduction

Do historians need to read both official and unofficial documents when investigating folk museums, or museums of cultural history, at the turn of the century, and their focus, i.e. "folk-memory"? This question can probably be thought of as quite trivial, but I will try to answer it by showing some consequences of a more limited reading. Therefore, I will place a reading of official documents, for example scholarly texts, programmatic texts, and handbooks for visitors, against a broader reading of different documents, i.e. both official compilations and unofficial letters, diaries and memoranda. My interest in this field is due to my archival studies at folk museums in Scandinavia in which it became apparent that "folk-memory" of the late 19th century is not only complex but also consists of contradictory parts.[1]

Another danger for me as a scholar, who is trying to understand texts, is my preparedness for them to tell me something, and that I, because I am not sensitive to their alterity, create an imaginary meaning to them. This much desired sensitivity involves, however, neither "neutrality" with respect to content nor the extinction of one's self. Instead, I must foreground and appropriate my own prejudices, or, as Hans-Georg Gadamer writes: "The important thing is to be aware of one's own bias, so that the text can present itself in all its otherness and thus assert its own truth against one's own fore-meanings."[2] It is thus necessary for me to keep my gaze fixed on the texts throughout all the distractions that originate in my self – to maintain the otherness of the documents, to preserve the differences in them, and dig out their presumed unessential lines, i.e. to uphold the straggly shape of the "folk-memory".

The Concept of "Folk-Memory", in the Context of Scandinavian Folk Museums

I use the word "folk-memory" which is a direct translation of the Danish "folkeminde", the Norwegian "folkeminne" and the Swedish "folkminne". In late 19th century Scandinavia, the word incorporated a material side, also specified as Scandinavian or historical-ethno-graphica, as well as an immaterial side. It included, in other words, both physical features of Danes, Finns, Lapps, Norwegians and Swedes, their folk-costumes and folk-belief, dwelling-houses and folk-traditions, folk-art, folk-epic and folk-speech.

In a letter from January 17, 1879, Bernhard Olsen, the future founder of the Danish Folk Museum, invited Artur Hazelius at the Nordic Museum in Stockholm to participate in his historical-ethnographic section of The Exhibition of Art and Industry in Copenhagen with collections of old "folk-memories" [*Folkeminder*], i.e. material artefacts describing the historical Danish culture in the provinces of Scania, Halland, and Blekinge in Sweden.[3] Hazelius himself described the "folkly memories" [*folkliga minnen*] in the 25th anniversary book *From the History of the Nordic Museum*, from 1898, as both immaterial folk-customs and material expressions, the latter as "means of research, which still presented itself in these old cottages, which were torn down, or in these household goods, which were despised, and in these folk costumes, which were put away."[4] He also subtitled the volume of prints *Reproductions of*

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1   Archival research at The Norwegian Museum of Cultural History, Oslo, during August and September 2005, at The Nordic Museum and The Open-Air Museum Skansen, Stockholm, during April and May 2006, and at The National Museum, Copenhagen, during June and July 2006.

2   Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, Joel Weinsheimer and Donald G. Marshall (transl.), Second, Revised Edition, London and New York: Continuum, 2004 (1960), p. 271f.

3   The Nordic Museum Archive in Stockholm, The Early Archive of Artur Hazelius, The Nordic Museum and Skansen, E2B:21/617 Incoming Documents, Bernhard Olsen, 1879-1897.

4   Artur Hazelius, "Ur Nordiska museets historia" (From the History of the Nordic Museum), *Meddelanden från Nordiska museet 1898*, (Announcements of the Nordic Museum 1898), Stockholm: The Nordic Museum, 1900, p 271.

Artefacts in the Nordic Museum, published 1888-1899, "also of Nordic Face Features, Folk Costumes, and Buildings."[5]

These are just two examples, of many others, which allow me to argue that in this context the boundary between human beings and material things was not central, but rather, as will be shown, between uniqueness and representativity.

The material and immaterial connotations of the "folk-memory" were, however, both expressions of a metaphysical dimension, i.e. they represented both the national character and the universal progress of civilisation – the thought and feeling of a folk, the transmission by and embodiment in artefacts, features, traditions, beliefs, dialects, etcetera, of certain distinctive ways of thinking and acting from generation to generation. Thus the concept of "folk-memory" consists of these dimensions, which all were important for the Scandinavian museum curators, folklorists and ethnologists in the late 19th century. In their scholarly and curatorial texts about "folk-memories", reasoning about the development of culture as content in the forms of the peculiar nation was very common.

The Straggly Shape of the "Folk-Memory", and Some of Its Sides

Some of the parts of the "folk-memory", which I noticed during my archival studies, become evident already in a reading of official documents. Thus, it is possible to give an interesting description of the visionary history of the folk museums and the "folk-memory". It is, however, important to remember that these descriptions are only one part of the history of memory and museum. Other areas of the "folk-memory" do not appear until the historian decides to increase his field of interest and incorporate documents on unofficial and in many cases secret discussions. The aim of a historical investigation is then to let lost events swarm at the side of the already proudly affirmed phenomenon, i.e. to dig out the suppressed histories and to describe them on the stages where they once did make a difference.[6]

In my study, these events are allowed to stand out in the uniqueness and straggling shapes which they still incorporate after having been preserved in textual and material documents. It may then be of some interest to explain what the idea of uniqueness, straggliness, and representativity mean in my study. Firstly, I argue that uniqueness was not a relevant category in folklore research and the practices of folk museums at the turn of the century. That is to say, that the diverse and unique history of a peasant's life, his own testimony of his life and livelihood together with his family, friends and neighbours, was not of interest to scholars and curators in late 19th century Scandinavia.[7]

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5   Artur Hazelius, *Afbildningar af föremål i Nordiska museet äfvensom af nordiska ansiktstyper, klädedräkter och byggnader, af hvilka teckningar förvaras i Nordiska museets arkiv* (Reproductions of Artefacts in the Nordic Museum, also of Nordic Face Features, Folk Costumes, and Buildings), Stockholm: Nordic Museum 1888-1899.

6   This approach is inspired by Michel Foucault's essay from 1971, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History", in *Essential Works of Foucault, 1954-1984, Volume 2*, New York: The New Press 1998.

7   Compare my notion that the curators of late 19th century Scandinavia were uninterested in the unique object, and fascinated by the representativeness of "folk-memory", with Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, from 1960, about historical research in the 19th century: "The individual case does not serve only to confirm a law from which practical predictions can be made. Its ideal is rather to understand the phenomenon itself in its unique and historical concreteness. However much experiential universals are involved, the aim is not to confirm and extend these universalized experiences in order to attain knowledge of a law – e.g., how men, peoples, and states evolve – but to understand how this man, this people, and this state is what it has become or, more generally, how it happened that it is so." The concept "folk-memory", I argue, includes both the universal progress of man, and the particularity of how men had evolved in a nation. At the museums of cultural history in Scandinavia in the late 19th century, the representativeness of the "folk-memory" was all about the universal (Western) progress and the nation's standpoint in relation to that, but never about the uniqueness of a personal testimony of life and livelihood.

It is true that these voices from living persons and their milieux were a part of the "folk-memory", but only in the constitutive phase, and then only to prove their historical point of departure, which was done by pointing out the setting from where the collection had been made. For instance, The Ostenfeld Farmstead at the open-air museum in Sorgenfri, Denmark, had been moved from the Ostenfeld village in Schleswig, The Rauland House, at the open-air museum in Bygdøy, Christiania, was taken from the Rauland farmstead in the county of Numedal, Norway. Apart from this first pointing out, the uniqueness was considered as a worthless curiosity, and was therefore not included in the discussions on the representative "folk-memory".

Secondly, in this latter discussion there were certain areas which were judged as irrelevant to "folk-memory", and as such were omitted from official documents, while the more chatty unofficial documents were forgotten in the archives of the museums. In this discussion, the straggling shape of the "folk-memory" was streamlined by the notion that certain areas, which were actually expressed, were considered as unimportant.[8] However, at the same time "folk-memory" was expanded, beyond the specific discussions in Christiania, Copenhagen and Stockholm, to the general types and the ideal expressions of science, politics and art.

The defence of the straggling shape of the "folk-memory" is of utmost importance in my historical investigation, since an important part of it concerns the mapping of the inter-connectivities, between these partly forgotten events and circumstances, to be able to decipher which patterns they form.[9] My doctoral thesis concerns, among other things, the patterns of events, and more specifically the shaping and reshaping, and the credit and discredit of the "folk-memory" by different persons and institutions in Denmark, Norway and Sweden during the late 19th century.

How did they produce theories, strategies, models, programmes, and reports to describe this reality and to set their new initiative in motion, i.e. the incorporation of historic buildings in "folk-memory" and their institutionalisation in the open-air museums? Which strategies were used to patch up the threatening cracks between the more and the less illuminated areas of the "folk-memory"?

The Tension between the Official and Unofficial Sides of the "Folk-Memory"

The case study in this presentation is an exchange of letters between Bernhard Olsen curator at The Danish Folk Museum in Copenhagen and the folklore scholar and collector Ulrich Jahn in Berlin.[10] In this exchange of letters, 1897-1899, I will be able to investigate some suppressed and extinct sides of the "folk-memory" in Denmark, but also some affirmed and

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8   Cf. Magdalena Hillström, *Ansvaret för kulturarvet: Studier i det kulturhistoriska museiväsendets formering med särskild inriktning på Nordiska museets etablering 1872-1919* (diss.) (The Public responsibility for cultural heritage: A study in the formation of cultural history museums in Sweden, with a focus on the establishment of the Nordic Museum 1872-1919), Linköping University 2006, pp. 16f, 264-274. Her interesting notion about the professionalisation as a grand narrative and a limitation of the supposed deformations and hybridities of the museums of cultural history in Sweden around 1900, can in my terms be thought of as a reduction of the already quite moderate straggliness of the official "folk-memory" of the late 19th century. In a professional folk museum of the 20th century, Hillström writes, the objects should only have a scientific part, which related only to a systematic order, thus the aesthetic and social parts, for example, were cut out of the official side of the "folk-memory". Did these parts find their places in the unofficial side of the "folk-memory" and museum practice of the 20th century?

9   Michel Foucault 1969, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Transl. into Swedish by C. G. Bjurström and Sven-Erik Torhell, Lund: Arkiv förlag 2002, pp. 40, 146-149.

10 The National Museum in Copenhagen, Archives of the Younger Eras of Denmark, The Danish Folk Museum, Dr. Ulrich Jahn, letters 1897-1899.

living sides, and, last but not least, its spread to other, in many cases contradictory, discussions on politics and art, moral and science in Europe.

By isolating two analytical positions in the discussion which formed this object, i.e. the *visions* in the programmatic texts of the museums and the *practices* in the official and unofficial documents, as the above letters, it becomes possible to open up an analytical field which renders it feasible to investigate the strategies of the museum curators for limiting the "folk-memory" to its official side – partly relative to their own unofficial practices, i.e. the straggling shape of the "folk-memory", and partly compared with the diverse uniqueness of, for example, the Sámi people, the maids from Dalecarlia, and the museum assistants, all of them employed at the Skansen open-air museum in the 1890s.

The strategies of these museum curators, formulated on slips of paper, in letters and diaries, do not only show the official political, scholarly and artistic sides of "folk-memory", but also the more silent commercial and collegial sides. This enables me, on the one hand, to follow how the museum curator included social-political arguments in the "folk-memory" and limited it to a national discourse, and geographically within the national border. And on the other hand, it is possible to notice how the same museum curator in unofficial connections crossed this limit to expand the "folk-memory" to a collegial discourse which included both museum curators and antiquity dealers in Scandinavia and Germany.

Politics, Science, and Pedagogy, Some Official Sides of the "Folk-Memory"

On August 16, 1885, the article *The Danish Folk Museum* by Bernhard Olsen was published in the pictorial magazine Illustreret Tidende (Illustrated News). The article was written because of the public opening of his new museum. Therefore he felt that he, as the founder, had to give an overview of the history of the creation and the future prospects of the museum. The idea behind the folk museums, Olsen started his article, had been thought out by the museum curator Artur Hazelius in Stockholm. Olsen had had the opportunity to view the Swede's new method at the 1878 World Fair in Paris.[11]

It was with a feeling of watching something of a permanent value, in opposition to the uselessness of the surrounding objects of the art-industry, that Olsen had stopped in front of the museum interiors showing Lapland and Sweden with their costume dolls and utility articles: "One felt, that one was standing right opposite something new, a breakthrough for a new museum idea concerning layers of society, whose life and behaviour had been unnoticed up to now by the traditional and official concept of, what in a scholarly and cultural-historically respect is of importance. One could also trace an artistic hand in the arrangement – the theatre decorator Ahlgrenson was the professional arranger –, a modern understanding of, how one should capture the attention of the masses and clear the way to an understanding of the purpose."[12]

Olsen thought that the museum interior was a novelty in many dimensions. In it, there was a newly discovered national treasure of "memories from the even lives of old days". There was also a new object of knowledge, the "folk-memory", and a new way to reach the masses, i.e. the application of drama and decorative art to create the right feeling in the exhibitions. Already in these lines, a historian of today can discover the vast and well lit areas of the "folk-memory", that is, their political significance as memorials of the development of the Danish nation over the centuries, their scholarly value as objects of knowledge for the new

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11 Bernhard Olsen, "Dansk Folkemuseum" (The Danish Folk Museum), *Illustreret Tidende*, August 16th, 1885.

12 Bernhard Olsen, August 16th, 1885.

folklore and ethnographic research, and their didactic relevance as good examples for the upbringing of the soulless masses in the cities.

Politics, science, and pedagogy, these areas were common to the Danish, Norwegian and Swedish "folk-memory". And also the discussions in the different countries about these areas of the "folk-memory" were very similar. It is a duty, Hazelius wrote in Stockholm 1872, Olsen in Copenhagen 1879, and Hans Aall in Trondheim and Christiania 1894, for a modern and civilized nation to collect and preserve their "folk-memories" from the destruction caused by the foolishness of the novelty-sick peasants, the systematic looting by the antiquity dealers, the hunting for souvenirs by the tourists, and the collecting expeditions by the foreign museum curators.[13]

The curators of the folk museums in Scandinavia regarded themselves as acting at the eleventh hour; save all that could be saved of the disappearing "memories" to the benefit of science, the nation and the masses. These official sides of the "folk-memory" united themselves in an almost monolithic figure, *the peasant*, who became a mirror of the supposed harmonious order of the nation before the new and ambivalent age, a reflection which would be examined and exhibited by the curators in the new didactic museum interiors. In these places, one could not retrieve any cracks, neither on the body of the peasant nor on the body of the nation.

Across the Borders of Nation States, Foreign Trade as An Unofficial Side of the "Folk-Memory"

On April 29, 1897, Olsen received the first letter from Jahn. He offered in this letter an impressing collection: "It concerns, whether the Folk Museum, which you are leading, or other museums in Copenhagen have an interest to acquire my folklore collection from Schleswig and the Northern Frisian Islands, which was exhibited firstly in the year 1890 in the so called German Exhibition in London and then later on in The Museum for German Folk Costumes Berlin C Klosterstrasse."[14]

Already the day after, April 30, Olsen sent a letter to the Chairman of the museum's board in which he expressed his duty to the Danish nation to acquire the collection, freed as it was from the foreign museum. It was a collection, Olsen stated, which could demonstrate the historic spread of the Danish folk in "the lost lands", i.e. in this case Schleswig in Germany, but also the counties of Scania, Halland and Blekinge in Sweden. And it could also show ancient and pure types of evolution, which were extinct within the present border of Denmark. With his national appeal, Olsen caught the ear of the Culture Minister of Denmark, the acquisition of the collection was granted public funding and within a few months 439 items had been listed in the museum catalogue of The Danish Folk Museum.[15]

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13   The Nordic Museum Archive in Stockholm, The Early Archive of Artur Hazelius, The Nordic Museum and Skansen, 2A:1, Literary Work, Private Literary Work of Artur Hazelius, 1868-1901; Letters from A. Hazelius to O. Dickson, 1872. Bernhard Olsen, "Stuen fra Magleby paa Amager paa Konst- og Industriudstillingen" (The Cottage from Magleby in Amager at The Exhibition of Art and Industry), *Illustretet Tidende*, July 29th, 1879. The Norwegian Folk Museum in Oslo, Private Archives of Hans Aall, Travel Diary, 1894.

14   The National Museum in Copenhagen, Archives of the Younger Eras of Denmark, The Danish Folk Museum, Dr. Ulrich Jahn, letters 1897-1899; Salg og Overdragelse af og Fortegnelse over Den Jahnske Samling, 1897. "Es handelt sich darum, ob das von Ihnen dirigierte Folkemuseum oder ein anderes Museums-Institut in Kjøbenhavn daran interessiert ist, meine volkskundliche Sammlung aus Schleswig und den nordfriesischen Inseln, die zuerst im Jahre 1890 auf der sogen. German Exhibition in London und dann später im Museum für deutsche Volkstrachten Berlin C Klosterstrasse ausgestellt war, zu erwerben."

15   The National Museum in Copenhagen, Archives of the Younger Eras of Denmark, Archive of Mollerup, Letters from Olsen, The Jahn Collection, 1897-1898.

The correspondence between Olsen and Jahn also demonstrates the more hidden parts of the "folk-memory", and thereby the cracks between the moral duties of collecting, which limited it to the border of Denmark, and the collegial competition of collecting, which transferred it to the bounder less market of antiquities and "memories". The contents of these letters were about the international market, about constant negotiations, barter transactions, cash transactions, and instalment purchases.

Thus, the folk museum in Berlin could lose their collections to the folk museum in Copenhagen, which in turn, contradictory to the official duty discourse, could sell certain items to The Nordic Museum in Stockholm, and trade for other objects with antiquity dealers in Denmark, Sweden and Germany.

In a letter from Olsen to Hazelius on July 13, 1898, that is, at the same time as he was filling his official writing to, among others, the Culture Minister with explanations about the national value of the collection, he offered some of the artefacts to his Swedish colleague: "I would also be grateful to have your response on my offer on the woman's dress from Ostenfeld, which is a superb piece."[16]

In other words, the new folk museums in Scandinavia and Germany were unofficially an important part of the reshaping of the "folk-memory" as a commodity in a commercial market with such players as antiquity collectors, antiquity dealers and museum curators. But since these parts threatened to blow up the political-moral side of the "folk-memory", and thereby a cornerstone for the existence of the museum, they were kept outside the official and visionary documents of The Danish Folk Museum.

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16 The National Museum in Copenhagen, Archives of the Younger Eras of Denmark, Archives of Bernhard Olsen, The Nordic Museum, 1880-1899. The National Museum in Copenhagen, Copy Book, Letters, Incoming and Outgoing, 1893-1902.

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Museum Narration and the Collection Machine:
Or how Collections Make Collectors

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The article deals with the role played by collections and collection work in museums. It argues that collection needs to be seen as communicative and structuring in very important ways. Collecting is in fact thoroughly creative work, not primarily a question of managing and conserving which many people tend to think.

"Museums exhibit things, as can be seen by everyone, but that is illusory.
There is stuff in the showcases, sure, but what audiences see and experience
are feelings, values, concepts and ideas. Museums collect and care for
artefacts but exhibit imaginations."

Billy Ehn (1986, p. 83, translated by the author)

Imagineering

Nothing is ever natural in museums. A specific building houses exhibitions that tell specific stories and relate to audiences in specific ways. Behind the scenes, in most cases, extensive collections of which only a tiny proportion is on display, are accessioned, classified and handled in very specific, even ritualized, ways.

Cultural analysts and critics are often content with taking a look at exhibitions and judging ideological positions and the narration of museums based on that. While this is perfectly justified, and while exhibitions are certainly the main communicative interface of museums, I will argue that it is at the same time crucial to understand the inner machineries of major collection-based museums. The collector makes the collection, but when it comes to museums the opposite also holds true to a surprisingly high extent. In sociological terms, it may be said that *actors* on the inside of museums, such as curators, exhibition producers, collection specialists and even managements, are not as free to act in relation to *structures*, or rather traditions of structure, as is commonly assumed. The *practices* of collecting, or "the collection machine", are the kind of structures I wish to give specific emphasis here. These practices, like all practices, are not just the result of ideas and strategies – not the least since many people working in old museums often only have rather selective knowledge of the histories of ideas and decisions that have resulted in the practices they follow. These practices are also by nature creative in themselves and often embedded in misrecognition of what they actually do to the world.

This is becoming even more true since (some) museums are gradually opening up their inner sanctums for audience work and web publication in line with the nice idea of the open and responsive museum (Lang, Reeves & Wollard 2006). That means that collection classifications, practices and so on are *communicated themselves* directly to audiences and so becomes part of the overall range of communication of museums, along with exhibitions.

In this paper I will try to very briefly outline some of the ways in which collections make collectors. It is true (the initial quotation) that museums exhibit and communicate imaginations, but these are not just based on the fancy of exhibition producers or indeed so separated from the "caring and collecting of objects" that the same quote seems to indicate. The imaginations exhibited by museums are to a high degree engineered by practices and most important collection practices. This "imagineering" is thus important to understand for anyone seeking to address the major questions posed by the NaMu project, such as those concerning representation, the making of us and them, whether museums are creating or disrupting social order, and so on. If museums are to be compared, it is not enough to compare their histories of ideas and what they communicate in exhibitions; their inner machineries and the different ways in which these machineries structure their surroundings and communicate themselves deserve comparative scrutiny as well.

Selectivity, Classification and Organization

Collections are by definition selective. That is the difference between collecting and accumulating or hoarding. To start on a very basic level, this obvious selectivity of collections must work to structure what is exhibited and narrated. For example, the collection of the Museum of National Antiquities in which I work is mainly made up of archaeological objects

from within the present borders of Sweden. It thus represents those borders, though these are completely irrelevant for the prehistoric times to which the vast majority of objects date. The museum cannot exhibit geographical contexts outside these borders based on own collections (except to an insignificant degree based on random things collected from abroad). The more specific geographical organization of the collection is based on modern regions and parishes. This present geography (or early 20th century geography, since parishes are of neglectable importance today) is constantly reaffirmed by the classification of these prehistoric artefacts that did not have anything to do with it before arriving at the museum. Though not impossible, it takes some effort to use the collection to represent other geographical systems or indeed those many other human groups with different identities inhabiting this part of the world before the time of a modern Swedish identity group.

Since the collection replaces origin and context with classification, its very existence is dependent on principles of categorization and organization. Susan Stewart perceptively notes that "in contrast to the souvenir, the collection offers example rather than sample, metaphor rather than metonymy. The collection does not displace attention to the past; rather, the past is at the service of the collection, for whereas the souvenir lends authenticity to the past, the past lends authenticity to the collection" (Stewart 1993, chapter 5, quote p. 151). This authenticity of the past is thus given the principles of selection, organization and categorization of the collection. To ask which principles are used in articulating the collection is to begin discerning what it is all about, or, more specifically, which was the dispositions of those who decided on the principles. To give authenticity to and to represent the modern nation, its geography and borders (established in 1809) was, for example, a very conscious choice of the mid 19th century founders of the Museum of National Antiquities (Svanberg 2003, pp 36ff).

The classification and organization of major museum collections, furthermore, are not mindgames, to be sure. They are practices taking place in the very real physical world. New curators have to be trained and socialized into these practices. The ideas that constructed such practices are actually "lived out" in the structured environments of museum archives. Those working with collections are only making the collections to the extent that they are in fact conscious about the ideas guiding collection selectivity and order, and exercise an active reflection and control over those ideas. Otherwise it may easily be argued that it is more a question of the collections making them, since such "uncontrolled" collections certainly structure the actions and ways of life of their caretakers (and museums). Either way, these practices of collection classification and organization will affect other parts of the museums.

For example, classification systems – which unarguably must be made up based on the overall specific ideas and selectivity of the collection – will guide what is documented about objects and classifications will construct the identities of objects in their new museum context. These classifications will probably locate objects in series of categories and types and the associated documentation will typically include a geographical find spot, the year of acquisition and so on. Now, this information, this new identity of the object – one which is clearly entirely made up and structured by the knowledge system of the collection and has next to nothing to do with the original context of the object – will inevitably find its way into all kinds of documentation and communication, public and non public, information signs on showcases being the typical main communication output. This documentation will inevitably also find its way into databases and hey, now when we have this nice database, why don't we make it public? That must mean to increase the public availability of our collections! That is true, but it will also mean that the collection system becomes the narrative. Hmm, we wanted a post evolutionary, post nationalist museum but it seems that crude modern chronology and national geography are the frames and contexts here…

The collection of my museum is not classified ethnically. This possibility appears far-fetched and unattractive to most curators and no attempt has been made to organize the bulk

of artefacts according to historically known identity groups, which would have been possible to a certain extent (but of course questionable in many respects). At the same time, and as a consequence of this seemingly neutral outlook, it all very easily becomes "Swedish", the cultural heritage of the Swedes, though, as pointed out above, these modern concepts have nothing to do with prehistory (or, that is rather precisely what they have, since the concept of prehistory is a modern phenomenon associated with nationalism, but let's not go there now). This may seem of slight importance, but how does it relate to people immigrating to Sweden from other parts of the world and becoming Swedish citizens? Due to the geographical definition of the collection and its "Swedishness" lurking due to a lack of other categorizations, these people may hardly apprehend it as their heritage – since they have a different geographical background. While absurd due to the non-existing continuity in identities, culture or indeed genetics, people born in Sweden and thinking of themselves as ethnic Swedes may on the contrary well understand the collection as their heritage due to its principles of selectivity. In this way the principles of this collection has a definite bearing on integration and the making of us and them in society. This is rarely taken to its points today, while it certainly was in 1943 when the first major exhibition in the present building was inaugurated (Svanberg & Wahlgren 2007, pp 78ff). In present exhibitions it is made perfectly clear that there were no Swedes or Sweden a thousand years ago, but the selectivity and order of the collection, which is simultaneously communicated in ways such as those outlined above, does not tell that story and its old principles may surface and structure museum narration in unexpected circumstances and to unexpected degrees.

To an interesting extent, then, collection selectivity and classifications, and specifically the ways in which these are *practiced* in museum work, may easily be shown to structure what is communicated. Representation, the overall making of us and them, whether museums are creating or disrupting social order, and so on – are partly generated behind the scenes by the collection machine.

Limits of the Open Museum: Audience Work and Collection Practices

Many museums of today wish to engage in new kinds of audience work. They take on a more interactive approach. The archaeological museums have to relate to relatively new, and increasingly influential archaeological directions dealing with the contemporary past (Buchli & Lucas 2001) and the public dimensions of archaeology (Merriman 2004). These directions have great potential for functioning as catalysts for new collection practices (cf Merriman 2007). The area of archaeologies of the contemporary inevitably brings new kinds of artefacts to the collections and raises ethical and political questions, since it must interact with the world of the living. Public archaeology, on the other hand, strives to involve people in the making of history, with an aim towards more inclusive, and even democratic, pasts and collections. A series of recent projects at the Swedish Museum of National Antiquities have dealt with these issues (the following after Wahlgren & Svanberg, in print).

In the collection and exhibition project *Future memories* the public decided what was to be exhibited and collected. Their descriptions and ideas about the chosen artefacts were registered in the museum database. As it turned out, these personal reflections over memories, chosen for the future, influenced the perception of other exhibited objects and their histories in the museum. In addition, the project shed light on current collection practices. The setup allowed people to deposit their chosen future memories in a case in the museum entrance hall during the spring of 2007. The objects were tagged with notes with the stories the audience chose to tell and left on display until the end of the summer, when they were finally incavated in a pit in the museum courtyard. Each future memory was photographed and registered in the museum database.

The concept of future memories plays with the established idea of memorabilia from ancient times, turning the concept on its head. This twist becomes a work of contrast, which focuses on issues such as the significance of things, the assembling of the collection and the stories that are put forward. The museum contributed with the framework, consisting of an exhibition form, and the public created the content by choosing the objects and stories that were to be sent on to the future. This worked at several different levels. The museum was enriched by new stories and knowledge about the public comprehension of artefacts and their choices of historical focus.

Future memories started processes in which the museum was forced to reflect upon collection and exhibition practices. Due to the rules governing the treatment of accessioned objects, it was not possible to give the future memories real inventory numbers and they were only given an identity code in the database. This clearly illustrated the current limit for which objects are acceptable in the collection and what kind of preservation conditions current policies force the museum to offer accessioned objects. The greatest stumbling block was the question of how the incavated objects, without preparation or conservation against decay in the ground, could be accounted for from the perspective of collecting. This offered interesting insights, as the collecting practices and the regulatory framework for the retention of collected objects were revealed to have major implications for the possible uses of, and public interaction with, the collections.

Another project, *Archaeologist for a day*, consisted of a public archaeological excavation of the museum itself. The summer audience of 2007 was invited to take part in the excavation of the central courtyard of the museum. A great number of artefacts from the last 350 years, relating to the history of the area as well as of the museum, were found and collected. The project demonstrated the learning possibilities of involving people in the archaeological process as well as the limits to availability and public use of the collection database system.

Professional archaeologists led the excavation, but the museum audience was invited to take part in it and interpret their finds. The artefacts were accessioned and the interpretations registered in the museum database (inventory nr 34 759). The aim of the excavation was to investigate the history of the museum itself as reflected in the material remains in the courtyard, and to catalyse an internal discussion on the museum's own history and collection practices. Another important aim was to study the situation itself, and to make the museum more competent at handling an interactive audience in an excavation context. As it turned out, thousands of objects from the time when the complex was built, and from some 300 previous years of neighbourhood activities and history, had been deposited in the few cubic meters of excavated courtyard soil.

This work with public involvement clearly outlined the possibilities and limits for public work/public availability of various dimensions of the museum's collection and registration system. It turned out that this system, and primarily the database, was very much made from the viewpoint of museum specialists, making it hard for audiences to access and use it. This was indeed true for the "public" search application, although the finds from the courtyard held, and are still holding, high rankings in the search statistics. The database is otherwise, more or less only accessed by researchers.

During a test excavation in the courtyard, in the autumn of 2006, a reconstructed Viking Age cremation burial was found and investigated. The (previously employed) educational staff, having made it in the 1980s, or possibly 1990s, had deposited some replicas of cremated bones, a large mosaic bead, an object made from iron thread and a copy of an oval brooch. The oval brooch was accessioned and registered as a regular object, an act that stirred some controversy among staff, was it in fact "a real object" or "just a copy"?

The questions raised by this discussion, as well as the discovered limits to public access and use of the database mentioned above, relate to and may illustrate more or less

unconscious museum positions on bigger issues of classification, authenticity and the unspoken values behind (and generated by) the collection practices of the museum. These positions, and the competence to actively make choices in this context, will become more and more important as public interaction increases and the area of archaeologies of the more or less contemporary becomes interesting to more archaeologists (which will in turn generate more such material in the collection).

In a global context, the idea of fixed criteria for authenticity and the value of cultural objects are gradually being abandoned. UNESCO sponsored major research work in the 1990s in order to try to find a globally acceptable definition of authenticity. One of the most important results, *the Nara Document on Authenticity* states that all judgements on the value of cultural heritage vary between cultures, and may also vary within the same culture. Thus it is not possible to base judgements of authenticity on defined universal criteria (Larsen 1995; compare Holtorf 2005). This means that a view on authenticity is dependent on the context of the viewer. The status of the oval brooch mentioned above depends entirely on the dispositions of its collector. However, if this is true, the converse is also true – that the position of the collector is constructed by the status and classification system of the collection. The question of the authenticity or non-authenticity of the oval brooch is not a question as to whether it has some essential qualities or not. The question of where the borderline between public interaction possibilities and professional collection practices should be drawn is not a question of finding a "natural" system. These questions can only be answered by making decisions about what the museum wants to be – that is to say, its identity and value system. The oval brooch can be seen as authentic and valuable or as a worthless copy, which makes two different museums.

To deal more intensively with the public relations of archaeology, and to get more engaged in the contemporary, has definite consequences for the collections and collection practices of archaeological museums such as ours. As it turns out, the converse also holds true. The way museums work with collections will structure and limit the ways in which they may engage with audiences. These limits and structures may only become visible if actively explored.

Reconsidering Narration: The Example of Fred Wilson

Many interesting challenges to and reconsiderations of collection practices of museums come from the art world. Of the more famous ones are those of Marc Dion who has questioned collection practices of museums of natural history and archaeology. Dion wants to exhibit the collection process itself in order to be able to question the selectivity and practices that lay behind what museums tell (Coles & Dion 1999).

The American artist Fred Wilson, on the other hand, has taken a specific interest in museums as social arenas. He has been called a "Foucauldian archaeologist", unearthing hidden histories from within the collection machines of museums. His special focus has been the scrutiny of collection practices and ideological paradigms invisible on the surface or to the untrained eye viewing exhibitions. A Foucauldian archaeology of discourses sees them as "archive systems" that can be "dug". In addition to questioning the "already-said" in discourse, such a method supplies that which is not coherent, not general and not part of a totalizing theory or seamless historical narrative (Foucault 1972). As a museum archaeologist, Wilson has a special eye for social injustices of the past and how they were unconsciously supported by museum practices. He wants to find and focus attention to what does not fit in collections or what can question collection and exhibition practices. He demonstrates what institutions have chosen *not* to talk about and exhibit. He also finds new and unexpected connections between museum objects, which may tell new stories (González 2001; Berger & Wilson 2001).

Wilsons methods include preparations of going through exhibited and archived collections, staff interviews and reflections on how present exhibitions look, what they contain, what they tell and not. Afterwards, he makes new exhibition projects. Questioning how exhibitions are *framed* by signs and texts, and what is exhibited together and not are favourite devices. His most famous project was *Mining the museum*, which addressed the creation of cultural diversity and the containment of such difference in public institutions. He reinstalled a major part of the permanent exhibitions of the Maryland Historical Society. Visitors were invited to pose questions rather than to seek answers by posters in the elevators asking: What is it? Where is it? Why? What is it saying? How is it used? For whom was it created? Who is represented? Who is doing the telling? Where are you? The most poignant installations was perhaps "Cabinet making" in which he had grouped four Victorian chairs around a 19th century whipping pole. The contrast between these museum objects, which had never before been put together and which would otherwise never share the same page in historical narrative – the elaborate chairs and the crude pole, pleasure of the gentility "high" culture vs. suffering and violation of the lower classes – was most telling. Another installation, "Metalwork 1793–1880", exhibited exclusive silver vessels in Baltimore Repousse style together with a pair of contemporary slave shackles, further text comments were not needed.

Wilson has exhibited alternative world maps and pointed out unconscious differences between how one and the same museum may exhibit for example African and European objects differently. He has put blind folds made of British and French flags on African masks brought to museums in colonial circumstances. He has made "x-ray-images" showing "over-painted" scenes of violence in beautiful and harmless Australian landscape paintings from the same colonial period as the great violations of the aborigines. Many of these installations serve to put the seemingly innocent, natural and objective collection practices of colonialism in direct relation to its contemporary social circumstances and thus demonstrate its limited historical and representational value and true selective character (Berger 2001).

The strengths and convincing power of Wilson's work all depend on his detailed knowledge and understanding of the internal collection machinery of museums. He uses their own means of narration and representation to tell new stories. My point, of course, is that if museum narrations are to be changed, they will need to be accompanied by revisions of collection practices.

Summing up

I have tried to demonstrate some of the different aspects of how collections make collectors. This occurs through the practices of selectivity, classification systems, and the organisation of collections. New forms of audience engagement and new interests in social or even post colonial perspectives will depend not only on new ideas about how to make exhibitions, but also on revisions of collection practices. Such practices cannot, then, be understood as a "special" sphere within museums, but must be considered in relation to museum narration and as communicative in themselves. If there is no active reflection and control over these practices, there can be no coherent narration or change of museums.

The ultimate point I want to make, is that collection principles and practices need to be known and actively analysed and reflected up on if museums are in fact to be able to exercise control of what they say and do. A mere shift in ideology is not enough to change. Strategies for change need to take the museum deep structures into account and revision, all the way into the core of the collection machine.

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The Hidden Narrative of Manor Houses and Their Cultural History in Norwegian Museums

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My comparative outlook in this paper is related to a specific category of combined museums and cultural heritage monuments; a rather small group of manor houses, mansions, villas and residences in urban and rural environments. The majority can be dated back to between 1665 and 1850. Some were protected as monuments and museums in the early twentieth century; however the majority were institutionalised during the period 1950-1990 and function today as historic houses, museums and even national monuments. Early nineteenth century political incidents gave rise to a romantic cultural movement as Norwegians sought to define and express a distinct national character. It was as a result of this movement the long union period with Denmark was referred to as "the Danish era" or "the 400-year night". Collection of immaterial and material cultural heritage was followed by academic work, and folk tradition was mediated in new ways and with new explanations, contributing to the notion of nationality. Museums were important institutions in the nation-building, as vehicles for the encouraging of national values and identity in the aftermath of 1814. Institutions like the National museum for art, architecture and design, The Norwegian Museum of Cultural history and The Museum of Cultural History lead the way. How might the study of the noble and elegant, but disregarded group of mansions and manor houses contribute to the lager picture and understanding of national museums, or rather the decentralised Norwegian national museum structure? There are more reasons: Historically they belong to the last centuries of the union with Denmark, and many were protected when the opinions towards the "400 years night" were at their strongest. This makes them particularly interesting from a cultural history perspective. Secondly, some of them are among the exclusive group of national heritage monuments, and thirdly – in a subtle way the majority seems to have close connections to the ramification of the folk- and open-air oriented museum movement and its strong national overtones.

Introduction

The birth of the museum in Norway was strongly related to a complex set of factors in the late nineteenth century society; the modernisation of industry, transports, science, urbanisation and notions of patriotic feelings. The most important issue on the public agenda was political independence, and at the turn of the century a strong national mentality gained firmly foothold. It was above all politically based, but also culturally. As such it was rooted primarily in the rural society with its traditions and heritage as opponent to urban Norway and its Danish-Norwegian culture.[1] The coupling of nation-building and cultural heritage[2] was common for many European countries; however Norway's situation had its distinctive features. In 1814 Norway was forced into a union with Sweden after being taken away from Denmark in the wake of the Napoleonic wars. The Norwegians revolted against the imposition of another union, establishing the Norwegian Constitution on the 17th of May 1814. Although this gained Norway some degree of internal self-rule, the Norwegian state was nonetheless compelled to enter a new – albeit loose – union comprising two nations under the same monarch. The union with Denmark lasted for 434 years[3], from 1536 to 1814, and the secession from Sweden took place in 1905 as a peaceful dissolution.

In Norway the unitary and long-term function of 1814 as a key year for the growth of the nation has no parallel in other Nordic countries.[4] The early nineteenth century political incidents gave rise to a romantic 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 Danish era" or "the 400-year night".

Collection of immaterial and material cultural heritage was followed by academic work, and interpretation of the national treasure was orientated just as much towards the present and the future, as to the past. Folk tradition was mediated in a new way and with new explanations, contributing to the notion of identity and national fellowship. Museums were important institutions in the nation-building, as vehicles for the encouraging of national values and identity in the aftermath of 1814.

The series of articles and literature originating from "Prosjekt 1905" [5] give interesting perspectives on nation and nation-building in general, and as such an inspiration to look further into the Danish-Norwegian issue. In his article Peter Aronsson says that:

> In stead of building monuments after the dissolution of the union, Norwegians developed a monumental cultural nationalistic environment in the capital Christiania (Oslo). Like other open-air museums in Scandinavia, the Bygdøy area with the Norwegian Museum of Cultural History established in 1894 represented national folk culture. (…) The Gokstad and Oseberg ships excavated in the 1880's and 1890's were exhibited in purpose built museums with an almost sacred architectural expression.[6]

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1   Rogan 1999:11.
2   Pedersen 2003:32.
3   Se my article for NaMu I: http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/022/023/index.html.
4   Aronsson 2005:217.
5   This is a Swedish-Norwegian research program on the dissolution of the union and Swedish-Norwegian relationships during 200 years. http://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/forskning/forskningsprosjekter/1905/english.php.
6   Aronsson 2005:219. My translation.

It seems as the Norwegian folk culture was re-connected backwards to the pre-Reformation rural society and the era of the Vikings in one strategic move. The museums founded during the second part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, were national in terms of representing and reflecting the constructed image of national politics, knowledge, culture and economics. Their mission was triple: a) to play an important role in the lives of ordinary people, b) as vehicles to shape national identity and c) to democratise access to information and knowledge.[7]

The Study of Manor House Museums as an Approach to National Issues

In Norway it was an urgent task to demonstrate that the country was a nation through history. History was given the role of shaping identity, besides its traditional scientific function. 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. The decentralised structure was a hallmark for Norwegian museums at a very early stage. The local and public-minded foundation of the cultural history museums made the shaping of local identity just as important as support to a common national identity.[8]

My comparative outlook in this paper is related to a specific category of combined museums and cultural heritage monuments; a rather small group of manor houses, mansions, villas and residences in urban and rural environments. The majority can be dated back to between 1665 and 1850. Some were protected as monuments and museums in the early twentieth century; however the majority were institutionalized during the period 1950-1990 and function today as historic houses, museums and even national monuments.[9]

How might the study of the noble and elegant, but disregarded group of mansions and manor houses contribute to the lager picture and understanding of national museums, or rather the decentralised Norwegian national museum structure? - For example as a vehicle to define Norway's identity and its place in the world? There are more reasons: Most belong historically to the last centuries of the union with Denmark, and many were protected when the opinions about the "400 years night" were at their strongest[10]. This makes them particularly interesting from a cultural history perspective. Secondly, some of them are among the group of national heritage monuments, and thirdly – in a subtle way the majority seems to have close connections to the ramification of the folk- and open-air oriented museum movement and its strong national overtones.

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7   St.meld.nr. 22 (1999-2000) 74.

8   With reference to articles in the key-work of Norwegian museology; Amundsen, Rogan, Stang. 2003.

9   The Eidsvoll site was purchased for the purpose of cultural heritage monument and museum in 1837.

10   Introductions to the subject can be found on the internet sites: http://www.norway.org/history/upto1814/.

Figure 1. Fossum Manor 2008.

The paper is an outline and meant to be included as part of the Master plan for Herregården (the Princely Residence/Manor House Museum) in Larvik. The building was protected by the Cultural Heritage Act in 1923 and plans were made for the museum some years ahead of this.

My intention is to establish a framework for the purpose analysing individual "framing" processes – like for example the Manor House Museum in Larvik – and compare them in order to understand how narratives are selected, promoted and mediated within the decentralised Norwegian museum structure. An introduction is presented below, based on the actual members and potential members of the newly established network.[11]

The Situation of Today: The Norwegian National Museum Network

The newly established museum network is one of the results of the Norwegian Museum Reform programme[12], and participating museums are intended to cooperate in order to develop their subject specialist field on a national level .

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11 The national networks are presented on the website of the Norwegian Archive, Library and Museum Authority (ABM-utvikling), unfortunately not available in English. http://www.abm-utvikling.no/museum/nasjonale-museumsnettverk.

12 The reform was first discussed in the Report to the Storting no. 22 (1999-2000) Sources of Knowledge and Experience and further developed in the Report to the Storting no. 48 (2002-2003), Cultural Policy up to 2014.

Table 1. Manor House Museums in Norway

Site	Founded	Place	Heritage/ Museum	Institution/Owner
Oslo county				
Bogstad	1760-80	Oslo	1956	Norsk folkemuseum/Oslo kommune
Oslo ladegård	1720	Oslo	1950	Oslo kommune
Linderud gård	1713	Oslo	1954	Linderud stiftelse/Oslo kommune
Frogner hovedgård	1791/92	Oslo	1909	Oslo Museum/Oslo kommune
Østfold county				
Rød herregård	1790-årene	Halden	1961	Halden historiske samlinger
Elingaard herregård	1749	Onsøy	1923/76	Fredrikstad Museum
Buskerud county				
Austad gård	1808-13	Drammen	1963	Drammens Museum
Gulskogen gård	1806	Drammen	1961	Gulskogen stiftelse/Drammens Museum
Marienlyst	1770	Drammen	1911	Drammens Museum
Fossesholm	1763	Eiker	1973	Kongsberg, Øvre Eker, Numedal kulturhistoriske museum
Hedmark county				
Gjøvik gård	Tidl.1800	Gjøvik	1956	Mjøsmuseet
Akershus county				
Eidsvoll	1770	Eidsvoll	1837	Staten/Stiftelsen Eidsvoll 1814
Vestfold county				
Herregården	1677	Larvik	1921	Larvik Museum/Larvik kommune
Eidsfoss verk	1697	Eidsfoss	1922/1990	Nord Jarlsbergmuseene/foundation
Telemark county				
Ulefos Hovedgård	1807	Ulefoss	1943	Stiftelsen "Statsråd Niels Aalls Minde"/Telemark Museum
Søndre Brekke	Tidl. 1800	Skien	1909	Telemark Museum
Vest-Agder county				
Gimle gård	1790-årene	Kristiansand	1982	Vest-Agder-museet
Næs verk	1665	Tvedestrand	1967	Næs jernverksmuseum/private/foundation
Hordaland county				
Damsgård hovedgård	Ca. 1770	Bergen	1983 1993	Vestlandske kunstindustrimuseum/ Bymuseet i Bergen
Alvøen	1790 (1830)	Laksevåg	1923 1983	Vestlandske kunstindustrimuseum/ Bymuseet i Bergen
Baroniet Rosendal	1665	Sunnhord.	1927	Baroniet Rosendal
Trøndelag county				
Ringve gård	1860-årene	Lade	1960	Ringve museum
Austråttborgen	1656	Ørlandet	1923	Staten/Nordenfjeldske Kunstindustrimuseum

I 1999 the Norwegian museum structure counted for 800 museums and collections distributed on 700 administrative units in Norway, underlining the decentralised and democratic pattern already mentioned.   Manor house museums and the like belong to the many-sided and complex category of cultural history museums which accounts for 83 % of the institutions and 95% of built heritage in museums, 23 % of objects and 85% photography. The majority of the built heritage is open-air museums focusing the peasant, traditional craftsmanship and building.

By means of appropriate restructuring and financial stimulus, a national Museum Reform was launched in 2002. In order to make the sector stronger and more efficient, an important goal is to re-structure the museum sector on a local level into larger regional units. Regional units will form the basis for a gathering of the museums in a national network in order to secure national division of labour and coordination, counteract overlapping, and thereby secure professional coherence and resource utilization. Today 21 fields of subjects are selected as national, and among them is the network for manor houses and mansions – called Herregårds-nettverket. The term "national" is applied as "nationwide" and is more about structure and organization and role, than actually content.

As a result of the reform the monuments and museums within Herregårdsnettverket are either part of a larger administrative unit (regional museum or municipal administration) or have been accepted as individual institutions. The fact that are organised in a national network simplifies further research, at the same time it legitimizes their existence as a theme of national interest or meaning.

Framing

A common trait for the actual buildings and sites is the decision taken at a certain point of time "to frame" them as cultural heritage:

> For the simple act of extracting a site from a continuing history of use and development means that a frame is put around it, separating that site from what was prior to the moment of its preservation. Dedicated to a new use as, precisely, a historic site, it becomes a facsimile of what it once was by virtue of the frame – which may be as simple as a notice or as elaborate as piece of legislation – which encloses it and separates it off from the present.[13]

The list above gives information which year the cultural monuments were legitimised by the Cultural Heritage Act, or became public responsibility either through local or national initiative. The majority were documented and researched by art historians and/or historians and presented to the public in articles and writings during the first decades of the twentieth century. Below is proposed some preliminary premises or criteria for the analysis of the process of turning buildings into heritage resources:

Time: Age and Style
The history of manor houses and mansions in Norway 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. None of the buildings in the network goes behind 1665,

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13   Bennet 1995:129.

and most of them belong to the second half of the eighteenth century or first decades of the nineteenth century. Some, mostly mansions with continuity in ownership, are still surrounded by gardens, parks and drives and have valuable collections of furniture, arts and books. The founding of the Fortidsminnforeningen[14] was an important premise for the preservation of built heritage and later on as well for the growth of local and regional Folk museums which generally had an open-air museum profile.[15]

The years before and after the turn of the century a new set of values and criteria based on age and style was introduced to the heritage sector. This can easily be spotted in literature, museum guidebooks and brochures from the early decades of the twentieth century. The manor houses and mansions importance to Norwegian architectural history style is strongly argued because they represented continental baroque, rococo and neoclassical and exemplified a foreign culture brought to the country by the owner, the architect and/or the master builder.[16]

Origin

The aspect of origin is related to "age" in terms of contextualisation; information about owners and his (or her) social and cultural background, architect or builder, function and so on. Looking into the origin the manor houses on the list, many were re-erected on older sites, and/or renovated several times. The cultural site may have a history as estate or manor owned by noble families during the Danish era. However, at the time of erection (or complete renovation) the owners were either representatives from a small but influential elite group within the farming society or ambitious, innovative representatives form the upper level of the Norwegian bourgeoisie. Some descended from Danish noble families, others were married to descendants, some were actually ennobled in the second half of the eighteenth century and the better part generally had close relations to Denmark, England and other parts of the continent through relatives and/or business and education. Among them were individuals closely connected to the nation-building process in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[17]

Place

Cultural monuments can almost pass through as "history". In other words; their potential to communicate history, commemorate historical events and persons legitimize them.[18] Another aspect of cultural heritage as resource is their ability to make us think and commemorate *where* history happened rather than *when* it happened.[19] One example within the network is the Eidsvoll building – strongly associated with the events in 1814 and regarded by the nation as a monument over the Constitutional work in 1814.[20] The place contains a concentrate of national history which makes chronology less important and verifies the notion that "temporal

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14 The Society for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments 1844-49.
15 Ågotnes 2000:69-91 His article present the specific form of national way of thinking dominating the protection of historic monuments in Norway.
16 See for example guide books for Herregården in Larvik, Linderud hovedgård, Elingaard herregård, Eidsvoll, Fossesholm.
17 See Schnitler C.W. 1911 and Coldevin A. 1950.
18 Eriksen 2000:5.
19 Ibid. 15.
20 Risåsen 2004:7.

and topographical memory sites emerge at those times and in those places where there is a perceived or constructed break with the past".[21]

To sum up: An interesting scope would be to look further into these aspects and how the narrative potential was interpreted and institutionalised into a museum context. It should be taken into consideration then, that the institutionalisation process in itself probably influenced on interpretation and how the national narrative was mad attractive to the general public.

Figure 2. Eidsvoll, 2008

Institutionalisation

On one hand cultural monuments "are" or represent history, on the other they also tell about the historical period that once pointed them out as "heritage resources".[22] The early museum institutions in Norway follow to major lines; formation of encyclopaedic museums in the major cities with natural history objects, antiquities, ethnographic material and medieval collections. A parallel movement was the construction of museums focusing national identity, common culture and communication. The Norwegian Museum of Cultural history formed a prototype to the Folk museum, characterised "as an open-air museum joined together with systematically culture history collections".[23]

> The Norwegian Museum of Cultural History – formerly translated as the Norwegian Folk Museum – was founded in 1894. According to the Museum's Articles of Association, its objective was to bring together "everything that can elucidate the cultural life of the Norwegian people". The Museum's early organization and the classification of its collections can be regarded as an expression of scientific approach to culture, but also an expression of cultural political ideology. During the first years the principle organization of the Museum comprised "the National department" which mainly encompassed the peasant culture and the "the Department of towns and the lives of the upper classes". Here the Norwegian national question concerning the strong contrast between the

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21 Gillis 1994:8.

22 Eriksen 2000:5.

23 Ågotnes 2000:82.

immigrants and the governments officials in the towns compared to the genuine Norwegian rural classes is clearly illustrated. (..)

In the long run the division or polarising of collections, inspired by the nineteenth century Romantic Movement, was unacceptable and criticized for more reasons. There were for example more opinions on national culture, or rather what was the most national. Another issue was the contradiction between the ordinary people and the elite for example between folk culture and elite culture emphasized by the organization of the collections.

> (..) An attempt was quickly made to bridge the gap in a new department in which items were categorized according to their purpose and application. When the museum was reopened at Bygdøy in 1902 the old cultural and political contrasts no longer existed due to an objective and scientific organisation of the collection." The contradiction between the national and rural Norway and the foreign European in the towns was dissolved to the favour of a harmonious, homogenous and unambiguous picture of rural cultural life and the elite culture in the towns, mutually dependent of each other.[24]

The museum had an important impact on the development of regional museums and cultural history museums in general from the beginning of the century until after World War 2. Dag Vestheim[25] 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.[26] Before the end of 1930 more than 100 museums inspired by the folk museum were established in Norway and more were to come. The responsibility of the regional museums was to collect and exhibit regional and local cultural tradition. It seems like they also had an obligation to represent national identity and nation-building ideology.

Conflicting Representations from the Past?

Is it possible to trace how aspects of time, origin, place and institutionalisation contributed to the framing and shaping of cultural heritage and museums? They all had the historical and narrative potential; but did concepts and exhibitions try to vary, discuss or even oppose the harmonious and perhaps rather national ideal? Three examples are chosen to illustrate some perspectives to be followed up in further research:

Søndre Brekke

The mansion is located outside Skien town and was owned and run by prominent families since late seventeenth century. The farm property was bought by Niels Aall, one of Norway's largest and most successful proprietors and ship owners, in 1810. He was also the town's chief administrative officer. Within few years he carried through a complete renovation of the buildings and cultivation of the farming area. The property was bought for museum purpose in 1909. "The beautiful neoclassical mansion provided the most exquisite and suitable rooms

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24 Bjorli 2002:41.
25 Vestheim 1994:48.
26 This is according to Lise Emilie Fossmo Talleraas and her forthcoming thesis on Norwegian museums.

for exhibitions."[27] All together 20 rooms were carefully restored and fitted out for displays of the museums collections of rural items, folk art together with elegant furniture, paintings and other items from urban environments. The museum opened in 1913 and is currently the administrative seat for the county museum of Telemark.

Figure3. Søndre Brekke, 2008.

Marienlyst

The beautiful "villa suburbana" is situated just outside the city centre of Drammen. In the eighteenth century a country residence was erected on the property for the pleasure of prominent bourgeois families until 1820. The farmland supplied the town household with agricultural products and fodder for the farm animals. The area was urbanized in the latter decades of the nineteenth century and. In 1909 the site and the buildings came on municipal hands and the building was restored for museum purpose in 1911. The ambitious plans for an open air museum on the site were never realized. In 1928 a new museum building was erected, and Marienlyst almost disappeared into oblivion. Today Drammen Museum is a regional museum, and the building is under restoration.

Figure 4. Marienlyst, 1911.

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27   Brænne and Winness 1999:35.

The Princely Residence/the Manor House Museum in Larvik.

Ulrik Frederik Gyldenløve, the Governor of Norway, was ennobled as earl of Larvik in 1671.[28] His high position among the aristocracy in Denmark was reflected in his representational mansion in Copenhagen. His residence in Larvik was erected 1674-77 surrounded by a magnificent formal garden.[29] The last earl, Frederik Ludvig Ahlefeldt-Laurvig kept the Residence as private property until 1813. Some years after, the town decided to purchase the building for various purposes. One hundred years later the Magistrat and Chief Constable in Larvik, appealed to his good citizens for the founding of a museum in the former Residence. 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 towns. Today the residence is owned by Larvik municipality and administered by Larvik Museum.

Figure 5. The Princely Residence/The Manor House Museum of Larvik

Conclusion

Anders Sandvig[30], a marked early twentieth century museum character, visited Søndre Brekke in 1909. He suggested that the site and the buildings should be restored in order to illustrate the life and culture at "our old manors and mansions and larger farms, a new and unique part of our museums".[31] Perhaps he had in mind something more authentic than the actual result, which turned out to be a "traditional" open-air museum with old timber buildings from the valley arranged in the outskirts of an English garden, a mixture of systematically arranged exhibitions of rural and urban objects in the main buildings and wings.

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28 All together two earldoms and one barony were erected in Norway during the Absolute monarchy.
29 Presentation of the "old regime" and its representational culture in e.g. Blanning T.W.C (2002) *The Culture of Power and the Power of Culture.* Oxford.
30 Anders Sandvig was the founder and first director of the second largest open-air museum in Norway.
31 Livland 1987:99

Both Brekke and Marienlyst represent late eighteenth century elements of foreign, urban and continental culture, characteristic for the upper middle class and upper class Norway. The buildings were bought and planned for as museums on initiatives from the town's honourable and trusted citizens. The sites just outside the town centre were ideal locations for ambitious museums providing space for gardens and parks and not at least premises for open air museum-ambitions. The buildings themselves were spacious and provided enough place to house collections – and exhibitions which seemed to be downscaled copies of the folk museum ideal. Both museums even contained the "compulsory" displays of ecclesiastical treasures. Besides, it seems like practical reasons – like the proper housing of collections, were just as or even more important than the elitist architecture and narrative potential.

The residence in Larvik bring into the picture representation of noble and aristocratic culture and lifestyle, not unfamiliar to the others – however subdued.
But even here what was originally meant to appear as authentic seventeenth and eighteenth century interiors turned out more like a mix of bourgeois home with rural elements banished to the dark corridors and remote rooms.

The notion of the Danish era as "a conflicting representation from the past"[32] seemed to be easily solved at for example Søndre Brekke and Marienlyst with the rescue provided by the folk museum model in terms of focus on style and the harmonious, homogenous and unambiguous picture of rural cultural life and the elite culture in the towns. It seems like the Princely Residence in Larvik was less suited for the big picture as a legitimate part of the national narrative. It could not easily be modified and democratized into the narrative of important families, individuals and their activities to the prosperity and progress of the Norwegian nation. The alternative; commemoration of a Danish aristocrat and the Danish Monarchy was controversial and not to be elaborated here.

This group of monuments and museums – with Eidsvoll on the one side of the scale and the residence in Larvik on the other, were framed and institutionalised as parts of the national narrative in various ways and more or less successful. The narrative of the noblemen, the Danish-Norwegian elite and the upper class is hidden within the structure of the regionalised national museums structure. Their bonds to continental culture, their influence on the Norwegian society, their architecture in relation to the egalitarian and democratic concept of post-colonial Norway and its narratives offer an interesting field for further research. It seems like both local ambitions and national ideology and ideals – presented by for example the folk museum and other national museums – are aspects that need to be further looked into.

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The Cabinet of Naturalia of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences at the End of the 18th Century

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The theme of this conference is to compare and take an explicit historical outlook. In this paper I would like use the cabinet of naturalia of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences during the latter half of the 18th century as a case study. It outlines the prehistory of two national museums: the Swedish museum of natural history and the Museum of Ethnography. I will put the cabinet in a European context and describe it as something in between the older curiosity cabinet, but moving towards the more specialized collections of museums of later date. I will also argue that the combination of an astronomical observatory and cabinet of naturalia was made on purpose, and corresponded to the contemporary understanding of what a building of learning and an academy ought to contain.

The paper will also discuss contents, the accessibility of the cabinet as well as the display and order of the objects, and how and why objects were acquired. During past years, an attempt to retrieve the original objects has been made. Some of the original objects are to be found at various Swedish museums. Their way from one meaningful context to another shows the changing values of scientists and curators.

The Cabinet at the Observatory in Stockholm

The observatory of Stockholm was inaugurated in 1753 and was built by the rather newly founded Royal Swedish academy of Sciences. It was mainly designed as an astronomical observatory, but the building also housed a workshop for an instrument-maker, archives, library, a cabinet of naturalia and living quarters for the permanent secretary, the instrument maker as well as other staff. It was later, at the end of the 18th century and especially during the 19th century that the activities more and more specialized towards pure astronomy.

The cabinet of naturalia was housed in the building for some 25 years. Already when the academy was founded, in 1739, the collection of naturalia was begun through donations. The first gifts were a mushroom, fossils, shells from Constantinople, ovaries from a rayfish, a Sumach, a pot with human remains found in a burial mound and a Thor's hammer. The variety of these objects rather well represents the contents of the cabinet, which rapidly grew. It contained a combination of natural and manmade objects.

The existing written histories and the present display in the museum, could neither explain in a satisfactory manner why the cabinet was placed at the observatory nor the mixture of ethnographic and natural objects.[1] The studies of the history of the observatory stressed the astronomical activities, which later became dominant, whereas the histories of the Museum of natural history were more concerned with later developments as well as rectifying recent developments within the institution. The present study was undertaken in order to clarify the early history, especially at the observatory, as a contribution to Swedish museum history, the cabinet constituting the prehistory of two national museums: the museum of natural history and the Museum of Ethnography, as well as a means to produce a new exhibit at the observatory.

Unfortunately the original drawings of the observatory are missing.[2] From other descriptions we know that the cabinet of naturalia was located on the ground floor to the right from the main entrance. However, in the library, located as the second room at the left, there were also naturalia, and it is probable that naturalia were preserved in several rooms on this floor.

Going through accounts and inventory lists, it is evident that the collection was substantial. Many gifts were exotic objects from China and the West Indies, as symbols of Sweden's successful trade and the Swedish East Indian Company. But there were also exotic and rare objects in another sense: human, animal or plant deformations from Sweden and elsewhere. Medical doctors sent their samples with written accounts to the academy, in hope of being published. This also suggests that the cabinet was used for teaching medicine.[3]

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1   Sten Lindroth, *Kungl. Svenska Vetenskapsakademiens historia 1739–1818,* 1967; Yngve Löwegren, *Naturaliekabinett i Sverige under 1700-talet*, 1952; Ed Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien, *Naturhistoriska Riksmuseets historia: Dess uppkomst och utveckling*; 1916; Jenny Beckman, *Naturens palats : nybyggnad, vetenskap och utställning vid Naturhistoriska riksmuseet 1866–1925*, 1999; Further refereces to the history of the observatory are found in Ed Ceclila Bergström & Inga Elmqvist, *Huset närmast himlen,* 2003.

2   In the Swedish Nationalmuseum some concepts by Hårleman are preserved, but they are not very detailed and do not give any indications of how the rooms were to be used. We know that drawings originally existed; at least they were mentioned in a letter by Simon Louis de Ry, who later designed the Museum Fridericanum in Kassel. As an apprentice to the responsible architect Karl Hårleman in Stockholm, he had been given the task to finish the drawings for an observatory in Stockholm. If these drawings specified the use of the different rooms is not known.

3   Information about the objects are found in: The accounts of the Royal Swedish academy of Sciences, The protocols and Printed transactions of the academy, Inventory lists of 1778 (Wargentin), 1788 (Hornstedt), 1798 (Wilcke), 1800–1806 (Qvensel) at the archives, Centre for History of Science. See also, Inga Elmqvist Söderlund, "Spåren av Linné i Kungl. Vetenskapsakademiens samlingar", *Linne & Vetenskapsakademien,* 2007, p 25–45.

It is not possible from inventory lists to find any information about how the content was ordered and displayed. The donations are only listed after donor and year of their arrival. Which room the individual objects were placed in was not specified. In 1784, after the cabinet moved, an instruction for the Curator was written. It said that the Linnaean system should be used, and the specimen should be ordered after this system, but probably this would have been the aim also before since Linnaeus was the first caretaker of the cabinet and his students had been employed as demonstrators.

If the academy had a special policy to acquire things is difficult to know – and also whether they really wanted the gifts they received. But a rather odd strategy is found in one protocol – to choose as members a few rich unmarried males with no heirs, so that money and objects should be donated when they died. The success of this strategy was limited. When the academy itself paid: it was for the systematic collection of Swedish plants and insects. As to which gifts the academy appreciated, at least some substantial gifts were also acknowledged with gold medals to the donor – whereas other donated items suddenly seem to disappear and are never mentioned again (such as the thumb of a sea monster who tried to pull a farmer from his boat on a lake). Here it is possible to discern a dichotomy between the understandings of what a cabinet should contain as understood by the academy and the donors, but it was also a result of the rather meagre financial means that was at the academy's disposal. The academy herself could not have been able to buy costly rarities.

We have not yet found any visitors' book, or records of visits. But a wish to have an accessible cabinet must have been the idea already when the academy started collecting specimen. Linnaeus wrote that anyone who is interested in observing the real specimen of a goldfish he described could come and have a look at it with his own eyes at the academy.[4] From accounts we know that the academy employed a "demonstrator", who was on the payroll for several years, but we have not yet found a specification of his tasks or activities.[5] His title indicates that he was involved with the display of the cabinet.

The Royal gifts to the academy during the years of constructing the observatory show that naturalia was an integrated part of the research and public activities to be performed there. The Queen Louisa Ulrika, gave the academy an unusually large wasp's nest on the occasion of the foundation of the observatory. As a gift for the inaugurations she presented silk made by silkworms in Sweden. The King Adolph Fredrik presented the year before the inauguration some ostrich eggs and mother of pearl. Notable is that none of these gifts were related to astronomy. Obviously it seemed proper to present naturalia also on the occasion of an astronomical observatory. At the inauguration the King, was shown instruments and rarities in the observatory[6], rarities to be understood as rare objects and especially naturalia.

If the information is scant concerning the cabinet during those first years, more material is extant from the 1780ies due to the complaints towards the curator, Anders Sparrman. He received a written instruction. It specified that the museum should be open on either Wednesdays or Saturdays from 10 am to 1 pm, anyone should be allowed to enter, free of charge. The demonstrator was not allowed leave the city for more than two weeks, and when he left he had to put a sign on the door with information about his return. Sparrman was charged with not fulfilling his duties. Therefore he wrote a defence. In it he specified that he had not denied anyone to enter except for some young men bringing ladies of suspicious

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4   Carl Linnaeus, "Beskrifning om Guld-fisken och Silfwer-fisken", *Kungl. Vetenskapsakademiens handlingar* I 1740 p 410.
5   Eric Tuvén, who had been one of Linnaeus students, was employed as demonstrator in 1757. The Linnean disciple Osbeck applied for a position, but was not employed. In 1778 Anders Sparrman, also disciple of Linnaeus, was employed. Yngve Löwegren, *Naturaliekabinett i Sverige under 1700-talet,* 1952, p. 278.
6   Henrik Alm, "Stockholms observatorium: en byggnadshistorisk undersökning", *Samfundet St Eriks årsbok,* 1930.

appearance wanting to see foetuses.[7] Where inventories show an unsentimental attitude towards human remains, this statement proves showing them was another matter. The academy also ordered a wooden coffin as well as a lock from a locksmith for an embalmed child.[8] A lock would only have been ordered if intended to be used, so I presume it would have been shown by special permission only – or as another alternative, as an exclusive and dramatic culmination during a demonstration of the cabinet.

Even if the objects I have mentioned seem very disparate, the collection and their display was still moving towards the specialization of more modern standards. There was one specific piece of furniture for insects, one for minerals and one for coins, where similar objects were placed next to each other instead of dissimilarities juxtaposed.[9] The idea was no longer to have one piece of furniture comprising everything, like the Kunstshrank of Gustavus Adolphus by Philip Hainhofer preserved at museum Gustavianum in Uppsala. However, mankind, his biology, as well as his cultural activities were all considered appropriate as a subject of study in the cabinet of naturalia. In the transactions of the academy, the financial gain that could benefit the Swedish nation, by learning the customs of other cultures, their fauna, flora and minerals, and learning to apply it to Swedish use, is described as the goal. All this work was motivated to serve the good of the nation.

The European Context

I would like to put the cabinet in a brief historical and European perspective. I would like to do this in order to elucidate which other activities – besides observing with a telescope – were understood to be performed at an 18th century observatory.

Building an observatory in Sweden, it is not probable that the Tycho's Uraniborg at Vhen (which became Swedish during the 17th century) was unknown to the architect. Even if Uraniborg was already a ruin, it was an observatory, which was famous due to the fact that it had been published extensively. Tycho had named his main building Uraniborg after the muse of astronomy. So actually we could call the whole building a museum in its' classical meaning, dedicated to the arts.[10] More specifically, the southern rotunda Tycho called his museum, where he kept his most precious devices, artworks and books. Tycho's building was a building of multiple purposes: an astronomical observatory, an alchemical laboratory, for collections, for entertaining and teaching as well as living quarters. To combine the keeping of collections in an observatory was however not a peculiarity to Uraniborg, but was normal to 17th century observatories, which were most often built in a learned context, where astronomy was not isolated, but studied in connection to other sciences.[11]

Important role models for the observatory in Stockholm were the already existing observatories and other buildings erected by academies in other countries. The observatories in Paris, London and Berlin were specifically important. Geographically closer was the Kunstkamera in St Petersburg. It was constructed on the initiative of Peter the Great for the academy of sciences and was to contain museum collections, a library, anatomical theatre and an observatory. Unfortunately it was partially destroyed by fire in 1747, just as the observatory in Stockholm was prepared. The design was however well known through

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7   "några unga herrar som med natural cabinettets visande velar obligera sina bekanta fruntimmer af mycken misstänkt frägd, vilka de proponerat bese foetus."

8   KVA Verifikation No 120 1759: "Et magcin af eketrä med låss och beslag till et litet balsamerat barn a 42 Dkmt"

9   For the collection of coins, see Ed Cecilia Bergström, *För Efterkommande: Vetenskapsakademiens medaljer 1747–2003,* Atlantis 2008 (in publishing). On the display of dissimilar objects next to each other, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the order of nature 1150–1750*, 1998 p 267 f.

10 John Robert Christianson, *On Tycho's island: Tycho Brahe and his assistants, 1570–1601,* 2000 p. 99 ff.

11 More often existing rooftops or towers were used as observatories.

published drawings. The building can as best be described as a palace for the arts and sciences.

Although the observatory in Stockholm shows no direct architectural likeness to either Uraniborg or Kunstkamera, a different style being fashionable, there is another likeness that I would like to point out. It is the multifunctionality. These buildings represent the ideal buildings of learning, where the disciplines of different sciences and arts co-exist.

If we look at some other observatories, which were constructed at about the same time as the Stockholm observatory, we will see that multifunctionality was common. The mathematical tower of Kremsmünster in Austria was planned as an astronomical observatory, museum of naturalia and artifacts as well as a place of religious cult, as it was constructed by the Benedictine order and part of a monastery.[12] The Museum Fridericanum in Kassel should also be mentioned. The observatory was included by building a tower on top of an already existing medieval tower. There were also extensive collections of the arts and sciences, a library, anatomical theatre, laboratories, workshops and rooms for meetings. The architect Simon Louis du Ry had actually been involved in the conception of the observatory of Stockholm.[13]

Other combined museum/observatories from this period are the observatory in Richmond, England, the Palazzo della Specola in Florence, Italy, Teylers Stichting in the Netherlands, the observatory of Armagh, Ireland.[14] These examples show that the combination of a museum/observatory was in no sense singular or peculiar at the time. On the contrary collections of different objects, naturalia or artifacts, were expected to be found in a contemporary astronomical observatory. To include a collection of natural history would not have been a consideration of saving space or money. In an observatory, as an expression of contemporary collected scientific knowledge, you could expect to perform studies of as well as receiving information about objects from distant countries as well as distant celestial bodies.

During the 18th century, Swedish natural scientists were trying to keep up with the development of the rest of Europe. The observatory became an important architectural feature in Stockholm. It was the first scientific building to be seen from afar. Its' prominent appearance on contemporary maps and drawings might be somewhat exaggerated. But the activities taking place there were of interest to the inhabitants. Now Sweden and Swedes – here to say the middle aged Swedish educated male as the norm for normal – were no longer exotic objects to study by foreigners. Now Swedes themselves were studying other natures and cultures – on a par with the rest of the educated world.

Towards a Swedish Museum of Natural History and the Dispersion of the Collections

Soon the premises at the observatory were too small for the growing collection. The need for new premises was voiced. It is also possible that the observatory, located on a steep hill, was considered inaccessible. Already in 1769 an account states that the cabinet had become cramped and unorganised. One of the members described it, due to the difficulty to show the objects, as a "buried treasure". The permanent secretary, the astronomer Pehr Wargentin, did

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12 Johann-Christian Klamt, *Sternwarte und Museum im Zeitalter der Aufklärung:der Mathematische Turm zu Kremsmünster (174 1758)*, 1999. This book also contains useful information about many of the other observatories mentioned here.

13 Henrik Alm, "Stockholms observatorium: en byggnadshistorisk undersökning", *Samfundet St Eriks årsbok,* 1930, p 120.

14 I would like to thank Jim Bennett and Jane Wess for useful advice. Eg the observatory of Armagh was initially described as build as a museum and observatory. What specifically is meant by museum not quite clear, but it probably meant naturalia and curiosities, see Bennett p 17 ff.

not seem to value the naturalia much. This could indicate that the he was either afraid that he would be held economically liable for any missing specimen or that the activities of the cabinet disturbed the astronomical work.[15] Whatever the reason for his disinterest in the naturalia, the academy refurbished more spacious rooms for exhibitions as well as living quarters for the demonstrator Anders Sparrman at new premises, centrally located in Gamla Stan at Stora Nygatan after 1778. [16]

In 1819 the Swedish Museum of Natural History was established, and state financing secured. The museum was still under the auspices of the academy. At the end of the 18th and especially at the beginning of the 19th century it was no longer fashionable to house collections of such universal claims. Instead collections were specialized and museums for different disciplines were conceived. To construct and define the borders of disciplines became increasingly important. The ongoing development of specialization is evident in the history of the museum of natural history, where more and more departments developed, with specified fields of research and collecting.

Most of the objects in the collections of the academy were transferred to the Museum of natural history. What was once a small and united collection is now vast: about 9 million objects and divided between several departments. Some departments, such as the department of mineralogy has very good knowledge of its' history, we have with their help traced 200 specimen, which were once preserved at the observatory.[17] Other departments have problems in identifying the provenance of their specimen. Although some specimen have been identified, the large part of the inventory lists of the cabinet of the academy remains unidentified[18] This is probably the result of the fact that the provenance of the collection was not the kind of information that was considered important. What did matter was to have as many, and if possible as complete range of species as possible. Therefore doublets of specimen were exchanged, or if a newer and better looking specimen was found, it was replaced. The kind of objects, which has been identified, are those related to famous persons such as Linneaus or types of species.

The collections also contained anatomical models and instruments. These objects did not become part of the museum of natural history. In the academy's collections several models and instruments that correspond to the descriptions are preserved. It is highly probable that some of these models and instruments are those that were once in the cabinet at the observatory. However a record of provenance is missing, and further research is needed to find out the history the individual objects. In 1759, a teacher called Wilcke was employed. He used the demonstration instruments to teach science. It is probable that he took instruments from the cabinet and library of the academy to fulfil his teaching duties. These models and

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15   Since long, Linnaeus was the authority of natural history within the academy. Wargentin seems to have left all considerations of such matters to him. His comment in the inventory of 1778 that the naturalia were worthless: "En hop i Glas-flaskor och Spiritu vini förvarade Naturalier samt andra curiositeter, uti et eget skåp. Alla skänkta, på olika tider och af differenta personer. Af intet invärtes värde." Several herbals and insects were also noted as eaten by moth. This inventory is odd because it lists only part of the objects that were in the academy's possession (e.g. the coffin for the embalmed child, but not the child, and the shelf for the magnet, but not the magnet etc). It was probably made to make an inventory of all expenses that the academy had had before the move to Stora Nygatan. Hence the value of the donated objects was not considered. If they were really of no economical or scientific value the decision to employ a demonstrator and to refurbish new and larger premises makes no sense.

16   In 1778 the academy bought the "Feburska huset" at Stora Nygatan. New representative rooms for meetings, cabinet of naturalia, cabinet of physics, library, office of almanacs and living quarters for staff were decorated. The cabinet remained there until larger premises were bought, "Westmanska palatset" at Drottninggatan. The museum moved to its' present location in Frescati in 1915.

17   I would like to thank Jörgen Langhof for his assistance.

18   I would like to thank Erik Åhlander and Torbjörn Kronestedt for their assistance.

demonstration instruments were probably later transferred to "The cabinet of physics", which became a separate collection of instruments used for teaching and demonstration.

The collection contained many artefacts from foreign countries. These objects are often peculiar in that they are so well described in inventories. Therefore they are easier to identify. Most of these objects have ended up in the Museum of Ethnography. In 1841 a vertebrate department of the Museum of natural history was established. The main part of what was considered ethnographic collections were consigned to this department. At the end of the 1860ies a need for a separate ethnographic museum was discussed in public. The idea, brought forth by B.E. Hildebrand and Hjalmar Stolpe, was to combine the collections of the academy of sciences and the academy of letters. The aim was to create a source for the studies of the cultural development of mankind. The process was slow. In 1900, an own ethnographic department within the museum of natural history was created. The ethnographic material was not exhibited together with the rest of the museum of natural history, and in 1935 the Museum of Ethnography (Statens etnografiska museum) was created, still under the supervision of the academy of sciences, and affiliated to the university. The relationship with the academy and the museum of natural history was finally terminated in 1966, it was finally decided that it should constitute a separate institution.[19] In 1999 the Museum of Ethnography was reorganized, and put together with some other museums into a new organisation, the National Museums of World Culture. These objects now have their place within this organization due to their foreign origin as well as bearers of foreign cultural history, since this organization deals with "cultural history that has its source outside Sweden". The goal is stated as part of a democratisation process: "to contribute to a societal progress marked by equality, respect and tolerance, one where variety is seen and utilised as a positive force".[20] These objects are still used to define the other. But from defining the other as not being the educated middle-aged Swede, now the outright other is the immigrant.[21]

Already before the final separation of the museum of Ethnography and the academy, the dispersion of items that were not considered to be within the purview of the natural sciences begun. During the 19th century books in literature and the arts were donated to the Royal library, paintings with motives that were not related to science were donated to Gripsholms castle and antique Egyptian objects were given to the Royal coin cabinet. To trace these objects is tedious work and many objects remain to be identified.[22]

What is the Lure of the Early Cabinets?

The curiosity cabinet, Kunstkammer and the early cabinet of naturalia have inspired many exhibitions and retrieving projects during recent years. Contemporary artist have also shown considerable interest in the subject.[23] What is the lure of this phenomenon?

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19 I would like to thank Anne Murray, who let me read an article under publishing. For the history of the Museum of Ethnography, see also Etnografiska museet: *Med världen i kappsäcken: Samlingarnas väg till Etnografiska museet,* 2002. I would also like to thank Anita Utter for help in identifying objects in the collections.

20 http://www.smvk.se/smvk/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=148&a=116 (Assignment and responsibility)

21 "Internationalisation has increased, creating for us a more globalised world. At the same time the once so culturally and ethnically rather homogenous Sweden has become more diverse culturally through immigration. Our task is to use this international cultural heritage to debate and provide perspective on the world in order to assist peoples orientation during this transition" quoted from http://www.smvk.se/smvk/jsp/polopoly.jsp?d=148&a=120 (Background)

22 One of the mummies, which belonged to the academy, has been identified at the museum of the Mediterranean in Stockholm. I would like to thank Fredrik Helander and Geoffrey Metz for helping to identify the mummy.

23 A thread that might be fruitful is to follow the subject of the Venice biennale of 1986 "Wunderkammer". A more recent example is the reconstruction of Ole Worms museum made by Rosamond Purcell in the

In the exhibition catalogue of the Getty museums exhibition "Devices of wonder" Barbara Maria Stafford makes an analogy between the curiosity cabinet and our modern computers where we can access all kinds of information in different ways, which offers a multitude of interpretations, as well as in the contemporary "goal of embracing the cosmos in one big picture" such as in the realm of the ultrasmall, in research in molecular chemistry or the DNA-strand. [24] In that sense perhaps we could say that the curiosity cabinet as an attempt to explain everything is modern.

These cabinets seem to bridge the gap between art, sciences and technology that the specialization of the sciences has created. This specialization leaves many people with the sense that present scientific explanations are so fragmentized that it does not make comprehensible explanations.

The interest in early cabinets could also be a longing to be allowed to express feelings of wonder, horror, amazement or even a laugh in front of nature's diverse forms and extraordinary artifacts produced by man.[25] I cannot provide a definite answer, only suggest some possible readings.

exhibition "Two Rooms", the Santa Monica Museum of Art 2003. This exhibition was also shown in another context, "Bringing nature inside", Science Center Harvard University Cambridge, 2005.

24 Barbara Maria Stafford, *Devices of wonder: from the world in a box to images on a screen*, 2002 p 3.

25 Compare Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the order of nature 1150–1750*, 1998.

Appropriations of Antiquity – A Diachronic Comparison of Museums and Scholarship

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Sculpture from ancient Greece and Rome is an emblematic category of high art in the western museum tradition. Accordingly, displays of ancient sculpture in museums form an instructive case study for a wide-reaching, comparative analysis of museological developments from the 18th century and onwards. Isolating a category of exhibited objects like ancient sculptures is fruitful for a comparative approach because it transcends national traditions. It is hard to pinpoint differences in displays of ancient sculptures that can be attributed to, or explained by, national traditions. The appropriation of the classical legacy in various national traditions should not be viewed as an excluding facet of a unique national identity, but is often better understood as an inclusive part of the national identity since it signals that the specific nation belongs within a wide cultural sphere. In contrast, our empirical examples suggest that there are closer similarities between the theoretical developments in academia and museums. In this paper, therefore, we aim to elaborate on the chronological development of sculpture exhibitions and identify the discursive foundations that scholarship and museum exhibitions share. Drawing on this, it can tentatively be concluded the development of displays of ancient sculpture is associated closer to the development in academia than to national museological traditions. From our perspective, museums can be viewed as an integrated part of the institutions of knowledge.

Introduction

Museum displays of ancient sculptures are potentially an instructive case study for a wide-reaching, comparative analysis of museological developments from the 18th century onwards. To focus on one specific category of museum object has its merits since it provides us with an empirical foundation for comparisons between different national traditions and different types of museums. Adopting an explicit historical and comparative approach we aim to relate the paper to the specific questions raised in the call to NaMu IV, in particular, the issue of how museums were and are part of institutions of knowledge. A point of departure for this study is that vestiges of previous, and assumingly obsolete, discourses tend to linger on in museum spaces. In other words, it is possible to detect and identify remnants of earlier discourses in contemporary settings which can be used for diachronic comparisons.

Initially, we would like to make a brief remark concerning national traditions and museums. The very idea of a public museum is intimately connected with the emergence of the modern nation state in the 19th century. Nationalism was one of the foundational ideologies for museums. Associating and relating museums to the structural transformation of the public sphere in 19th century Europe is both fruitful and relevant. The emergence of museums has also been associated with Foucault's epistemic scheme, although the exact place of the museum in this scheme remains open to dispute.[1] One way or another, museums are viewed as institutions participating in the articulation of power schemes and mediation of the notions and ideologies of the nation states.

Certainly, national aspects also influence the displays of ancient sculptures. Antiquity has been cast as an ideal high culture more than once in European/Western history. Although different parts of the classical legacy have been appropriated in different settings, the obsession with antiquity has been propelled by a tendency to portray one's own culture as the teleological inheritor of antiquity. In *universal* museums, antiquity, represented by default by ancient sculptures, has been cast as an origin in a development that ends with, and is fulfilled through, contemporary high art of the particular nation. The universal claims undermine exclusive national appropriations, i.e. *local* claims, of the classical legacy.[2]

Although it is possible to identify features in displays of ancient sculpture that can be attributed to national traditions, national explanations cannot be ascribed with a primary role since there are also patterns of international similarities. This suggests that we need to search for the causes for the development elsewhere. It seems that the development of ancient sculpture displays is associated closer to the development of classical studies. Before we turn to museum exhibitions, we will therefore give a brief outline of the history of research on ancient sculpture.

Ancient sculpture in academia

The establishment of the academic discipline Classics in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century had a major impact on the study of ancient Greece and Rome on an international level.[3] As an emblematic material category from Antiquity, ancient sculpture attained a defining role for the discipline. At the center of this tradition stands the work of the 18th-

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1   Bennett 1995, e.g. 45, 47, 96; Bennett 1995, 93, contra Crimp 1987; Preziosi 1989, 69-70, 73-74; Hooper-Greenhill, 1989.
2   See Siapkas and Sjögren 2007.
3   Morris 2000, 37-76.

century-scholar Johann Joachim Winckelmann.[4] He categorized the development of ancient art according to four stylistic phases. Through this taxonomy, he envisioned the rise, peak, and decline of ancient art. Examples of ancient statues were used to illustrate the characteristics of each phase. Of these phases, the *high* and the *beautiful* styles became synonymous with the Greek pursuit for ideal beauty and something that modern art should emulate. Ideal beauty, canalized through the naked body of a few sculptural masterpieces, formed the essence in Winckelmann's aesthetics. As a result of Winckelmann's influence on research, the analytical focus was placed on inherent artistic qualities of sculptures, especially Greek masterpieces from the Classical 5th and 4th centuries BC.

Winckelmann's work had an immediate and long-standing effect on our relation to ancient Greece and Rome since sculpture came to be regarded as the highest form of ancient art.[5] His chronological systematization became a fundamental notion that dictated studies on stylistic developments of sculptures. It put emphasis on a perspective where sculptures were treated as isolated objects of art, decontextualized of their functions in original ancient settings. In such an analytical framework, two major research interests were crystallized; the study of masterpieces with attributions to famous sculptors and the identification of lost Greek statues through Roman copies. The German terms *Meisterforschung* and *Kopienkritik* are often used to denote these traditions that have come to dominate modern research on ancient sculpture. The two tenets amalgamated in the influential study *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* by the German scholar Adolf Furtwängler at the end of the 19th century.[6] The masterpiece discourse is strongly connected with the concept of the individual artistic genius as a formative force for the development of art. Likewise, the search for absent original Greek sculptures can be associated with a modernist praise for authenticity and originality.[7] Thus, these interests are conceptually firmly rooted in art historical research of the 19th century and were part of a more scientific approach that characterized the professionalization of the field. Implicitly, the idealized rather pretentious language of Winckelmann had to be refuted in order to adopt a more positivistic attitude toward the empirical material. In other words, the advance of formal analyses on stylistic elements of sculptures was prompted by a threefold aim; to modify Winckelmann's stylistic scheme, to study the *oeuvre* of individual sculptors, and/or schools, and to reconstruct original Greek masterpieces of the Classical epoch.

The 20th century has seen an endless number of variations on these themes. Introductory monographs on ancient art and sculpture are often organized according to Winckelmann's scheme.[8] Several studies confine the analytical scope to an investigation of stylistic characteristics of a particular chronological phase.[9] In these studies, the role of masterpieces as exemplary statues and stylistic prototypes is emphasized. It encourages a continuous focus on famous Greek sculptors, since analyses like these mostly concern stylistic developments of

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4 His publication *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* from 1764 (Winckelmann 2006) is especially important to this tradition.

5 On the idea that a kind of art historical hierarchization was created at this time, see Marchand 1996, 15. Ridgway 1986, 8, is one of many contemporary scholars that continue to emphasize the primacy of sculpture in the study of ancient art. For Winckelmann's immediate impact during the 18th and 19th centuries, see Potts 1994, 18-33, Potts 2006, 29-31, and Marchand 1996, 13-16.

6 Furtwängler 1893.

7 Gazda 2002, 6.

8 For instance, Robertson 1975, and Stewart 1990.

9 The recent most explicit examples are Brunhilde Sismondo Ridgway's many monographs that each treat a specific style in Greek sculpture: the Archaic style, Ridgway 1993; the early 5th century or severe style, Ridgway 1970; the high classical 5th-century style, Ridgway 1981; the later classical style of the 4th century, Ridgway 1997; and finally, the Hellenistic period, Ridgway 1990-2002.

Classical sculpture.[10] The superior position of the Classical style is perpetuated. To concentrate on Classical masterpieces also implies that the use of Roman copies to study Greek masterpieces remains a topical research interest. Recalling ideas formulated in the 19th century, these kinds of studies share a decontextualized view on ancient sculptures as objects of art.

Although the above-described perspectives are still commonly applied in research, a parallel development takes historical and archaeological aspects of ancient sculpture into account. For instance, a trend in the study of Roman copies of Greek statues deals with function in Roman society. In these studies, the primary aim is not to reconstruct the lost Greek masterpiece but rather to understand how Roman culture reformulated Greek artistic traits in response to Roman taste and ideals.[11] Such a perspective complies with a general shift in art history away from formal analysis toward social interpretations of works of art.[12] When sculptures are treated as images of ancient history, there is a greater sensitivity for the exploration of different types of contexts beyond artistic concerns. It also means that archaeological issues become important in order to understand the original contexts of the sculptures. This has since the 1970s been a particular vibrant trend in Roman research, where a major concern is the political propaganda language conveyed through imperial sculpture.[13] Individual sculptures and sculptural assemblages in architectural settings are often interpreted as part of a programmatic display of Roman ideology. With a perspective like this, there is a change of analytical focus from the sculptures and sculptors to producers (patrons, commissioners, and customers) and consumers of images.[14] The historical and functional drive has been greater in the study of Roman than Greek art history. This situation could perhaps be ascribed the persistence of classical aesthetic ideals that still characterize research on Greek sculpture. The inherent artistic and aesthetic qualities of Greek sculpture imply that the sculptures are in themselves valid research subjects.[15]

Antiquity as an Aesthetic Ideal

Private collections were often the nucleus of public museums.[16] In different ways, many private collections became increasingly accessible to the public during the "long" 19th century – i.e. from the French Revolution to World War I. Public museums were often founded in order to house and display the collections. The re-definition of collections from private to

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10 Studies concerning the artistry of individual Greek sculptors are continuously being published: Stewart 1977; Kreikenbom 1990; Höcker and Schneider 1993; Beck and Bol 1993; Todisco 1993; Palagia and Pollitt 1996; Corso 2004.

11 E.g. Zanker 1974; Vermeule 1977; Gazda 2002; Perry 2005.

12 This shift is often referred to as "new art history" and had a wider impact in the 1980s, Rees and Borzello 1986; Harris 2001.

13 Two leading authorities, Zanker 1988 and Hölscher 2003, have had a great impact on recent studies on Roman art.

14 For instance, such a theme as the role of patrons in the shaping of sculptures and their display implicitly means an emphasis on sociological aspects of the material (for example Tanner 2000 on portraits and patronage in the Late Roman Republic). Another aspect concerns the response of the viewer, which is in the case of portraits investigated by Gregory 1994 and Dillon 2000.

15 As an example, recent studies, e.g. Boardman and Finn 1985, Neils 2001, and Symeonoglou 2004, on an exemplary piece of classical sculpture like the Parthenon frieze are to a high degree governed by an aesthetic outlook.

16 A few examples: the Royal collections in France formed the nucleus for the Louvre (McClellan 1994), the Sloane collection was the foundation for the British Museum in 1753 (Jenkins 1992, 16), the Bavarian royal collection for the Glyptothek in München (Hamdorf 1992). Pomian 1990, 42, mentions for instance the Papal donation which opened as the Museo Capitoline in 1734, and the donation in 1743 of the Medici collection to Tuscany. See, Bjurström 1993, for the Swedish development.

public property did however not result in a complete rupture with previous notions and discourses. From 16th century Renaissance Italy until the coalescence of archaeology as a systematic and scientific field practice in the second half of the 19th century ancient sculptures were retrieved as isolated objects. That is, excavation practices were rudimentary with a focus on specific architectural structures and/or the retrieval of unique and eye-catching objects. Minor or no consideration was given to stratigraphic archaeological contexts. Aesthetic evaluations of the retrieved objects were determinative for the further fate of the ancient sculptures. Sculptures considered as worthy representatives of the aesthetic norms of high classical art found eventually their way to collections and museums. The rudimentary practices of field archaeology contributed to a discourse which placed the aesthetic qualities first. Mediations of the classical legacy in museums during the 19th century were characterized by the attention they placed on the aesthetic dimensions. The exhibited objects were conceptualized and presented as the aesthetic ideals which the visitors should venerate in order to be imbued with moral values.

Private collecting emerged as a widespread activity of the European nobility in 16th century Renaissance Italy. Ancient sculptures were one of many categories of objects that were collected. Although ancient sculptures were considered as a prestigious category, we should keep in mind that in the larger picture sculptures were of a secondary importance in the collecting discourse of early modern Europe.[17] The cabinets of curiosities reflected a world-view which perceived the world as infinitely diverse. A reality without regular laws can only be represented by rare, unusual, and exotic objects. The conceptualisation of ancient sculptures as unique objects influenced the arrangement of them. In these displays, ancient sculptures were contrasted and related to other objects perceived as unique. Chronology and cultural origins were not classificatory notions. It was rather aesthetic dimensions, and particularly the represented motif/person, that functioned as the criteria for the display. The fragmentary state of the ancient sculptures was, furthermore, a crucial notion in the aesthetic scheme of the Renaissance. The display of the *Belvedere Torso* in the Vatican Museums is perhaps the best example of the presence of Renaissance aesthetics in contemporary milieus.[18]

The aesthetic regime during the Baroque can in some respects be viewed as a continuation of earlier Renaissance concerns since the aesthetic qualities of the ancient sculptures continued to be the primary aspect. A fundamental difference was, however, that the fragments were held in high esteem during the Renaissance, whereas, in contrast, fragmentary sculptures were restored during the Baroque. Many of these reconstructions come through as peculiar in our eyes, not necessarily because they are wrong in some sense, but because they indicate that ancient sculptures were regarded as part of lavish ornamental schemes. A present-day example of a museum setting which mirrors the aesthetic schemes of the Baroque is the Palazzo Nuovo in the Capitoline Museums in Rome. The architectural ornamentation in the Cabinet of Venus and the Great Hall, the separation of busts representing real persons in the Hall of the Emperors and the Hall of the Philosophers from mythological gods and heroes, are some of the features that indicate this (fig. 1).[19] Another example is the *Salle du Manège* in the Louvre in which several ancient sculptures restored in accordance with Baroque

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17   See Barkan 1999; Pomian 1990; Vickers 1985; Haskell and Penny 1981.

18   Barkan 1999, 189. The *Belvedere Torso* has been displayed in different settings throughout the centuries. The present-day arrangement dates to 1973, Spinola 1996, 8. Also Pietrangeli 1993, for the history of the Vatican Museums more generally. Barkan 1999, 119-207, explores the discursive appreciation of fragmentary ancient sculptures.

19   Albertoni and al. 2006, 18, explicitly states: "The Capitoline Museum represents a remarkable testimony of eighteenth century museum display whose original context has remained intact." Clark 1966-67, spec. 141.

Figure 1. Capitoline Museums, Palazzo Nuovo, Cabinet of Venus.

Photo: The Authors.

aesthetics are displayed, and the previous private provenience is carefully mentioned. The *Death of Seneca* (aka the *Louvre Fisherman*) is perhaps the most well known example. Sculpture galleries are yet another kind of display which is indicative of Renaissance and Baroque aesthetic schemes. The display of ancient sculptures in galleries highlights the aesthetic values of the ancient sculptures. The arrangement of the sculptures is often thematic,

and they are often reduced to an integral part of an ornamental scheme. The sculpture gallery, built between 1817 and 1822, in the Braccio Nuovo in the Vatican Museums is a case in point. The Braccio Nuovo gallery has served as an inspiration for many other exhibitions. The aesthetic scheme with characteristic features such as reliefs and busts above and between the sculpture niches has not been altered since it was opened (fig. 2).[20] In addition to the elaborate architectural ornamentation, also the thematic ordering of the sculptures testifies to the preservation of a 19th century aesthetic scheme.

Figure 2. Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo.

Photo: The Authors.

Academies emerged a little earlier than the public museum and had a profound influence on the development of museums. The education of artists in academies was conducted through repetitive and endless hours of "copying" masterpieces, most often ancient sculptures. With the emergence of museums, artistic education had a new venue for their education. Practicing artists was a common sight in the galleries and spaces where ancient sculptures were displayed. This practice provides us also with a partial explanation for the widespread practice to display plaster casts of famous sculptures during the long 19th century.[21] Displays of plaster casts are one of the strongest signs that aesthetic concerns determine the perceptions of ancient sculptures. Plaster casts were an indispensable part of the 19th century classical discourse. Agreements regulating archaeological excavations included occasionally also regulations about the possibilities to make plaster casts of the finds. The German excavations in Olympia from 1875 negotiated a right to make plaster casts of every find within five years

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20 Pietrangeli 1993; De Angelis 1994, spec. 240-251. Compare fig. 2 with Potts 1980, 273, fig. 16.
21 Fitzpatrick Nichols 2006, 116-119. See also Gazi 1998; Wallach 1998.

of the retrieval.[22] Another testimony of the importance of plaster casts during the 19th century is the "Paris 1867 Convention for Promoting Universally Reproductions of Works of Art for the Benefit of Museums of All Countries". This international convention was signed by the heads of states of 15 European countries.[23]

The Neoclassical discourse, which permeated much of 19th century Europe and the aesthetic appreciation of the classical legacy, influenced also museums. The increasing attention paid to the history of museums makes it possible to establish some of the hallmarks of the 19th century aesthetic display of ancient sculptures. The origins and developments of such influential museums as the Louvre, the British Museum, and others, have received considerable attention by now.[24] Although aspects of the display techniques, for instance the placement of the objects, coloring on walls and ceilings, and lightning, may pass unnoticed, they are nevertheless indicative of the prevailing discourses and ideologies in the museums.[25]

The lightning of the museums spaces is a determining aspect which influences the appreciation of the museum objects. The lightning arrangement in several museums was discussed during the 19th century. Two main options were discussed. One was top-lighted spaces, using large windows high up on walls or skylights, which gave an evenly distributed lightning of the objects. The even light did not cast any sharp shadows on the objects. This facilitated a close scrutiny of the entire object from all possible angles, and was considered as a scientific or archaeological arrangement. The second scheme, conceptualized as antithetical to the first, was side lightning. Large windows in one or several walls result in bright exhibitions spaces but they also create sharp shadows on the objects. The distinct and sharp contrasts on the exhibited objects were perceived as aesthetic. This lightning arrangement was more suitable for artistic practices since it created a more dramatic environment for the ancient sculptures.[26] The large windows, facing an inner courtyard, in the Glyptothek in München is one of the best examples of aesthetic lightning arrangements that we have been able to identify (see below for references). Considering the more explicit educational aims of plaster cast collections and museums it should not come as a surprise that plaster cast museums also have aesthetic lightning arrangements. The Akademisches Kunstmuseum: Antikensammlung der Universität Bonn, founded 1819, is a telling example (fig. 3).[27]

The coloring and ornamentation of the walls and the ceilings in the museums space is another technique that influences our museum experience. From the mid-19th century onwards, museums tended to have elaborate ornamentations on the ceilings, and wall-colors that stood in sharp contrast to the exhibited objects. A preferred color was deep red. The red color was perceived as aesthetic since it enhanced the contrast between the marble-white sculptures and the background. Another argument used in favor of an aesthetic scheme in displays of ancient sculptures was that this setting veiled dust, dirt, and stains on the marble-white sculptures. The contrast between the object and the surrounding setting was desired since it facilitated aesthetic appreciation of the objects. Color schemes and architectural ornamentation, like lightning arrangements, in museum spaces were conceptualized along the lines of a division between the aesthetic and the scientific.[28] Examples of aesthetic color

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22   Connor 1998, 190.
23   Fitzpatrick Nichols 2006, 117-118.
24   E.g. McClellan 1994; Jenkins 1992.
25   See Newhouse 2005 for an intriguing elaboration on the complex effects of display techniques.
26   Jenkins 1992, 41-42. The debate between J.M. von Wagner and Leo Klenze concerning the lightning in the Glyptothek in München is famous, see Potts 1980, 269-275.
27   Ehrhardt 1982.
28   Jenkins 1992, 44-48.

scheme with red wall colors are found in the *Pompejanum* in Aschaffenburg.[29] In other museums, this kind of setting has been confined to one or a few rooms, for instance room 21 (housing the famous *Jockey of Artemision*) in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. The Palazzo Nuovo (mentioned above) and the 19th century arrangements in the Glyptothek (see below) are other examples.

Figure 3. Akademisches Kunstmuseum: Antikensammlung der Universität Bonn.

Photo: The Authors.

Furthermore, although an origin of the idea of a chronological arrangement of the objects can be traced back to the early years of the Louvre this was not an arrangement of ancient sculptures adopted immediately. The re-arrangement of aesthetic displays into scientific displays, in effect chronologically based taxonomies, was in many cases a slow process. For instance, in the British Museum voices were raised favoring a scientific display already in the early 19th century, but this had only been realized partly when the museum was dismantled during World War II.[30] The prevailing arrangement of ancient sculptures during the 19th century was thematic. Sculptures of gods were grouped together, minor deities and heroes were a second category, and lastly portraits of humans as a third. The present-day arrangement in the Palazzo Nuovo exemplifies thematic arrangements (see above).

The end of the long 19th century marks a shift in the aesthetics of museum displays of ancient objects. With the advent of modernism, i.e. the art historical term and not modernity in a wider historical sense denoting a period from the Renaissance onwards, the classical legacy was not viewed as the undisputed artistic ideal anymore. The dethronement of the

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29 Helmberger and Wünsche 2006. See in particular the figures on p. 54 and 57.

30 Jenkins 1992, 57.

aesthetic ideals of Neoclassicism was articulated in various ways. The number of art students in the hallways of museums spending hours in front of ancient sculptures decreased considerably during the 20th century. Artistic training did not consist of endless hours of copying of ancient masterpieces anymore. Another contributing factor to the demise of the plaster casts was the emergence and widespread use of photography. Photographic archives of art works, and the "slide show"-lectures, emerged as fundamental educational techniques for art historians.[31] They facilitated easy access to reproductions of art works; a role which earlier had been played by plaster casts. Plaster casts were removed from the exhibition spaces in the early 20th century. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, removed their plaster casts from the display when they moved into a new building in 1909.[32] Ironically, the British Museum opened up their plaster cast display the same year. It proved to be short-lived and was dismantled in 1935.[33] The removal of plaster casts was not restricted to a few museums. Art school students were ceremonially smashing plaster casts during the 1920s and 1930s in the US.[34]

Archaeological concerns became more important and determinative for the display of ancient sculptures during the 20th century. In addition to the questioning of the universally valid aesthetic dimensions of the ancient sculptures, the gradual coalescence of archaeology as an academic discipline during the late 19th century contributed to the development of a different, but still, aesthetic display and appreciation of ancient sculptures. In the new aesthetic regime the distinction between authentic and copy emerged as a fundamental concern.[35] Copies and plaster casts, however skilful, were not interesting as museum objects any more. This signals a historization of ancient sculptures since their origins became a crucial notion. Their aesthetic qualities were not viewed as universal aesthetic ideals that artists should emulate. However, ancient sculptures continued to be studied as art objects by the scholarly community. Scholarly elaborations concerning ancient sculptures evolved around stylistic issues and other traditional art historical concerns. Identification of masterpieces, attributions of sculptures to individual sculptors or schools, and the discourse of *Kopienkritik*, has dominated scholarly elaborations on ancient sculptures during the 20th century (see above).

The acute concern with authenticity and a turn towards a more scientific conceptualization of ancient sculptures influenced museum displays. Red, and other dark, wall colors and elaborate ornamentations of the interior spaces were abandoned in favor of more neutral bright colors and ornamentations were dismantled or kept to a minimum. White, in different shades, emerged as the new preferred color in the interior of museums. Lightning arrangements were also re-organized. Aesthetic lightning, which cast sharp shadows on the exhibited sculptures, was replaced by scientific lightning, which gave an even flow of light with minimal shadows on each sculpture. Generally, the new aesthetic regime can be characterized as minimalistic, since the main concern seems to be to present the sculptures as clean and neutral as possible. The common denominator in these displays is the enhancement of the objects, and their intrinsic aesthetic qualities. Compared to Neoclassical tastes where an aesthetic effect was achieved through contrasts the aim now was to eliminate as much as possible of anything that could disturb the visual field of the visitor. Yet another change was that thematic taxonomies, organized according to represented motifs, were re-arranged to displays founded on the notions of chronology and/or cultural provenience. In effect, these

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31 Nelson 2000; Preziosi 1989, 72-73.
32 Whitehill 1970, 172-217, spec. 199 and 202; Fitzpatrick Nichols 2006, 119.
33 Jenkins 1992, 214-215.
34 Lowenthal 1985, 380.
35 Beard 2000, 161.

displays contributed to a historicizing of the ancient sculptures since they emphasized the ancient origin and not universal aesthetic values.

The re-organization of the display of the ancient sculptures in the Glyptothek in München in the 1960s is one telling example of the implementation of the new aesthetic regime. The most renowned pieces in the Glyptothek, the pedimental sculptures from the Temple of Aphaia, Aegina, were restored by the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen between 1816 and 1818 according to the aesthetic tastes of the time. When the Glyptothek opened to the public in 1830, these restored sculptures were an integrated part of the *Gesamtkunstverk* ("total work of art") which the elaborate interior space of the Glyptothek formed.[36] The aesthetic regime of the Neoclassicism did not exclude chronological considerations altogether. The general order of the ancient sculptures in the 1830 display was founded on the stylistic taxonomy of Winckelmann.[37] Furthermore, the architectural sculpture from the temple of Aphaia was also presented in a way were the original architectural context was considered, which still is the case. The changing aesthetic regimes have not affected the architectural contextualization of these sculptures but rather the attitude towards the restorations and the degree of ornamentation in the museum spaces. The criticism of the 1830-arrangement that Furtwängler, the Glyptothek's director, expressed in 1901 concerned the incorrectness of Thorvaldsen's restoration in the light of the new archaeological finds. The realization of a minimalistic modern display of the Aphaia sculptures, where the acute concern of the authenticity precluded the incorporation of restorations and plaster casts, was delayed until the 1960s when Thorvaldsen's restoration were removed for the re-opening of the Glyptothek in 1972 (fig. 4).[38]

Figure 4. The Aphaia sculptures, Glyptothek, München.

Photo: The Authors. **Permission:** *Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München.*

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36   Diebold 1995, 60.

37   Potts 1980, 262-267.

38   Diebold 1995, 60. See also Knell and Kruft 1972, Maass 1984. Compare fig. 4 with Gropplero di Troppenburg 1980, 200, fig. 3, and 201, fig. 4.

Another telling example is the changing display of the Elgin marbles in the British Museum. Being the yardstick for the British Museum, it is not surprising that the display of the Elgin marbles was re-arranged several times during the 19th century. These arrangements evolved around the central issue of whether these sculptures should be presented as art or as archaeological parts of an architectural whole. Displays of them as art objects, meant that the arrangement did not regard the relative architectural relation between each piece as primary. In contrast, displays of them as architectural elements meant that the relative position of each object was dictated by the original architectural placement. Interestingly, the arguments to display the Elgin marbles according to architectural contextualization favored also the display of plaster casts of the missing parts.[39] Both these positions, however, were embedded within a wider Neoclassical aesthetic regime, which means that the exhibition space was crowded with objects. The change towards a minimalistic modern display for the Elgin marbles was discussed from 1928, and accepted in 1934. It was realized in 1962.[40]

This is perhaps the place for a remark about the slow pace of change. The shift in taste and attitude towards the classical legacy and ancient sculptures occurred during the first decades of the 20th century. It reached wider proportions in the 1920s and 1930s. In many cases, however a minimalist modern display aesthetic was not realized in museums until the 1960s.[41] There are certainly both external and internal reasons for this slow development, not the least World War II, suffice perhaps to conclude that this testifies to the slow pace of change that we find in museums.

Contextualizing Antiquity in Museums

Appropriating material culture in academics for archaeological ends often means taking various contexts into consideration. Context has been regarded as the *tour de force* that brought material culture out of antiquarianism, or art history, and into archaeology.[42] It does not entirely comply with the idea of the museum and its architectural realization since objects on display have been torn out of their original setting both in time and space. Thus, the moment ancient sculptures are put on display in museums they obtain new cultural and ideological signification that mainly emphasize intrinsic artistic values associated with the aesthetic appraisal of sculpture as objects of high art. It may be one reason why archaeology and history rarely appear as overarching perspectives in museums but rather as fragmentary glimpses. In many exhibitions, the production processes of sculptures (i.e. the actual craftsmanship), which can be viewed as an archaeological concern, is only mentioned briefly.

Throughout the 20th century, formal stylistic descriptions of sculptures have dictated arrangements in museums, indicating the late introduction of archaeological perspectives connected with contexts in sculpture studies. The increasing focus on historical, social, and religious contexts of ancient sculpture in recent research has started to have an impact on contemporary museum exhibitions. For instance, the trend to treat Roman copies of famous

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39 Ironically, a similar idea is intended for the display in the new Acropolis Museum in Athens. In order to make an architectural contextualization as accurate as possible, representations/copies of the missing parts of the Parthenon will be displayed. The dichotomy between authentic and copy will be a guiding principle since the copies will be displayed in a gloomy way obscuring a clear view of them and reminding the visitor of their captivated state in foreign museums, according to the museum's director D. Pantermalis, Kontrarou-Rassia 2007.

40 Jenkins 1992, 225-228. See Jenkins, 1992, 222-228, figs. 83-89, for the exhibitions of the Elgin marbles.

41 The shift towards a minimalistic display aesthetics is by no means confined to ancient sculptures Maleuvre 1999, 92, 288 n. 84, mentions that this scheme was realized in its full extent in the Louvre and that it has prevailed from the 1930s onwards. This shift was also identified by Bazin 1967.

42 Crowther 1989, 40.

Greek statues in their Roman cultural and social setting is reflected in a recently re-opened museum in Rome with a renowned collection of ancient sculpture. In Palazzo dei Conservatori of the Capitoline Museums statues are presented in their capacity as decorations in affluent *hortii*, large residential gardens that in ancient times occupied the hills of Rome (fig. 5). Sculptures are displayed in front of matte-black metal panels in consecutive small galleries representing individual *horti*. The panels form an evocative contrast to the white marble of the sculpture, emphasizing aesthetic aspects, but also recalling slate walls that were observed while excavating the underground gallery in one of the *horti*.[43] The exhibition appeals to archaeological and historical perspectives. It is organized after archaeological find contexts and the information texts discuss the various families that owned the *hortii*.

Figure 5. Capitoline Museums, Palazzo dei Conservatori.

Photo: The Authors.

The relation between ancient sculpture and the Roman villa environment is taken one step further in the Getty Villa in Los Angeles. In an attempt to architecturally reconstruct the *Villa dei Papiri* outside Herculaneum the museum has created an impression of how a wealthy Roman villa owner may have decorated his residence. The museum's collection of antiquities, including sculpture, is displayed in an environment that seeks to emulate various decorative schemes from Roman interiors.[44] Thus, visitors to the museum are supposed to obtain a sense of how arts may have functioned in the setting of a Roman villa. This feeling can in particularly be conceived on the ground floor with the garden areas, where copies of bronze statues from the *Villa dei Papiri* have been placed at presumed original locations (fig. 6, next

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43   Fentress 2007.
44   The present exhibition opened in January 2006 after extensive rebuilding of the villa.

page). In terms of display techniques, it forms a conspicuous contrast to the exhibition of the original bronzes from the villa on the second floor of the National Archaeological Museum in Naples.

Figure 6. Inner Peristyle at the Getty Villa in Malibu.

Photo: Julius Shulman and Juergen Nogai. © 2006 J. Paul Getty Trust.

Devoid of their original contexts and functions, the original bronzes are displayed as individual pieces of art in two large rooms with anonymous white walls and marble floors, far from the appearance of the original environment of the sculptures. This exhibition rather

conforms to the desolate, assumed neutral, aesthetics that developed in 20th century-displays of art.[45]

The recent trend to view Roman sculpture as instruments of Imperial political propaganda has to a certain degree influenced installations in museums. There are still a fair amount of exhibitions that emphasize stylistic developments of Imperial portraiture. One example is the organization of the archaeological site museum on the Palatine Hill of Rome that re-opened in 1997, where portraits are used to illustrate the stylistic development of Roman art from Augustus to the fourth century AD. Even though the museum is located in the middle of the ancient palaces of Roman emperors there are no references to this context in the exhibition. In other words, context and function of the sculptures beyond art is subdued. But we also have more recent examples where political aspects of Roman sculpture are indeed taken into account. On the ground floor in Palazzo Massimo of the National Museum in Rome a full-size statue of a veiled Augustus as *Pontifex Maximus* (highest priest position in Rome) is presented as an example of official Roman Imperial propaganda. The entire exhibition room (no. V), with this statue from Via Labicana in Rome, an altar from Ostia and a frieze from the *Basilica Aemilia* in Rome, shows how the Imperial family through iconography consolidated its claim to power by making references to Rome's legendary past.[46]

The most consistent realization of an archaeological display of ancient sculpture can be found in the recently re-opened exhibition of the archaeological museum in Thessaloniki.[47] The extensively refurbished museum differs from the old exhibition, where materials including sculptures were arranged according to chronological criteria, i.e. the organization followed some kind of traditional art historical development. The museum now aims at transmitting the history and lives of the people living in the region Macedonia and the city of Thessaloniki from prehistoric to late antique times. In this way, the museum connects to the present-day inhabitants of this region and city. The exhibition as a whole is organized thematically with emphasis on people rather than on the objects. Themes like public life (administration, laws, and institutions), social classes, economy and communication, family and private life, burial customs, and myths and worship evolve around peoples' activities in the area of ancient Thessaloniki. As one material category among many, sculpture is used to illustrate different aspects within these themes. How and where sculptures are arranged in the exhibition rooms determines to a great extent what messages they carry. Sculpture rarely appears as a separately displayed museum category and is instead integrated with other ancient artifacts. In this way the artistic qualities of the sculpture never becomes the primary focus of the presentation. It is here sufficient to mention a few examples. In the section concerning private life marble female heads are used to exemplify changing hairstyles. A tombstone depicting a man holding a kithara is displayed as an illustration of the ancient practice of music in a section about the arts. Family-related tombstones represent ancient family structures, rather than private art. A version of the so-called *Venus Genetrix* is not displayed as a singular masterpiece. Instead, it is shown as one of several sculptures that adorned the *Sarapeion*, a Roman sanctuary where different gods were worshipped.[48] This

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45 Interestingly, in its 1860s-display the museum setting of the original bronzes from *Villa dei Papiri* emulated a Pompeian-style decor, thus creating a sense of the Roman villa-environment of the statues. The 1973-refurbishment of the exhibition was called a "recontextualisation" of the statues. However, the contextualization included only a large-scale reproduction of the 18th century-excavator Karl Weber's plan with find locations of the statues. As a whole the current set-up conveys a decontextualized appreciation of the statues as objects of art, Newhouse 2005, 98, see also figs. 88-89 on pp. 100-101.

46 La Regina 2005, 15-18.

47 The description of the exhibition is based on a visit to the museum on 12/11-2006. The new exhibition was inaugurated in September 2006.

48 A photograph of this exhibition is published in Siapkas and Sjögren 2007, 158.

sculpture represents the worship to Aphrodite at the sanctuary rather than a Roman copy of a famous classical statue. Here we have an attempt of recreating the sculpture's function in its original religious context.

The exhibition in Thessaloniki is an exception that proves the rule. In most contemporary museum displays of ancient sculpture the most obvious contextualization is the diachronic art historical trajectory that has been defining for sculpture studies since the 19th century. When contexts associated with archaeological perspectives are present in exhibitions they often appear as shorthand additional information that may pass unnoticed to most museum visitors. Once again, it exemplifies the inertia that has characterized the development of studies and displays of ancient sculpture.

Conclusion

By way of concluding, then, a diachronic comparison of displays of ancient sculptures in museums from different states suggests that the development of museums is more international than we might suspect. The perception of the classical legacy as a universal exemplary ideal dictated the museum displays in the 19th century. The Neoclassical appreciation of ancient art, coupled with un-developed field techniques in archaeology of that time, resulted in displays emphasizing aesthetic aspects of the classical legacy. Lightning casting distinct shadows, wall colors creating visual contrast to the ancient sculptures, plaster casts ensuring familiarity with compulsory masterpieces, are some of the characteristic features of 19th century sculpture displays. The modernistic turn in the early 20th century, with the aesthetic dethronement of the classical legacy, resulted in an aesthetic regime which is characterized by displays governed by the concern not to overload the exhibition space. Visual disturbances where kept to a minimum in these displays. Another telling feature is the contrasting attitudes to plaster casts. Whereas they were an integrated part of 19th century classical discourse, they were dismissed during the 20th century. In a discourse acutely concerned with the notion of authenticity, plaster casts lost their purpose.

Aesthetic concerns governed the display of ancient sculptures also after the museological shift in the early 20th century. However, in contrast to the previous aesthetic regime, ancient sculptures were increasingly displayed according to art historical, formalistic, schemes of development. The aesthetic qualities of ancient sculptures were historicized. The turn towards minimalistic exhibitions with the enhanced focus on the intrinsic qualities of the objects can be associated with the development in classical studies. The theoretical foundation of classics in the early 20th century was positivism. That is, scholarship concerned with the material record from antiquity primarily dealt with the description of the objects and securing the identity and origins of the retrieved objects. The physical isolation of the exhibited sculptures mirrors the isolated conceptual treatment of the objects in classical studies. In many respects, this remains the dominating regime in current exhibitions of ancient sculpture. Lately, research emphasizing archaeological and historical contexts, in particular the role of sculpture in Roman society, has started to find its way into museums. The fact that these kinds of contextualizations are only visible on a small scale, usually not implemented to the full in exhibitions, reveals the longevity of traditional perspectives on ancient sculpture.

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Illustrations

All photographs, except figure 6, are taken by the authors. Every effort has been made to inform each museum of the use of these photographs in this publication.

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Comparing Strategic Approaches between National and Private Museums in Athens

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A qualitative research was carried out among people who work in the major national and private museums in the city of Athens. The empirical research and the literature review revealed that there are not only structural differences between public and private museums, but marketing strategies as well. This research study made an attempt to investigate whether museum managers consider modern tools as an implement to fulfil their mission and magnify up-to-date visitors' satisfaction. Most of the museums seem not to adapt contemporary approaches in their operation, although most of the directors believe that those strategies could lead museum institutions into a more desirable level.

Introduction

A qualitative research was carried out among managers and museum staff in the most important public-national (state museums) and private museums in the city of Athens, with a special focus on the National Archaeological Museum since it is the most significant museum in Greece. The research efforts were to find out what kind of strategies the museums follow, how do they communicate and attract their audiences and which media and new technologies they embrace. Also an attempt was done to investigate their operation in our contemporary and globalized word and whether they fulfil their mission as museum institutions concerning the visitor's satisfaction. Since, in Greece most of the museums are public and national museums (state museums), the research findings represent mainly the narratives of National Museums and reflect a comparison between the most important national and private museums. Further research is recommended in museum strategies concept and in the structures of national museums in order to understand and utilize the modern role of national museums in the new era of globalisation.

Literature Review

An extensive literature review was conducted for identifying some critical issues, since in contemporary societies, museums have changed, trying to be more visitors oriented than traditional institutions that mainly gather and exhibit objects. "*Marketing approaches have been used to increase visitor numbers and to encourage, change and expand the museum role from one of custodial emphasis to one of marketing. Hence, museums are developing marketing techniques to help them to become more successful.* ", (Gilmore and Rentschler, 2002: 745). Visitors' needs and demands have become too complicated and difficult to be satisfied by an old-fashioned institution and the requirement for modern marketing strategies has become more important than ever in the competitive world of leisure and tourist attractions. Museums nowadays, need to focus sharply on visitor's satisfaction, as Rowley (1999) mentioned; "*satisfied customers are returning customers*", (Rowley, 1999: 303).

Museums compete in a leisure market place where funding for existence and providing new programs are a major objective. A successful museum should be the place that attracts people who want to learn and enjoy recreational activities and well-designated museum websites can be alternative pathways to museum experiences beyond museum walls, (N. Kotler, 2001). Museums now operate in a completely different environment compared to the past, there is no doubt about that and that is the reason why they should not be afraid of using entertainment, but embrace it as an implementation for learning and attracting a wider and more variable audience, (McPherson, 2006). Because of the increasing competition for visitors, many museums have invested in improving the visitor's experience and satisfaction and it has become essential for museums to broaden their audience base by reaching out for people who are not frequent visitors.

Although, the use of museum marketing has emerged in order to enlarge audiences and as visitor services have become more important than ever, for many museums there still seems to be only fragmentary knowledge on visitors and visits. This knowledge is one of the most important resources available to museum managers and can help them to understand visitors' needs and fulfill them. A better understanding of visitor profiles and the design of a more analytical research are needed. If curators are too few or too committed to other tasks, like art history, archaeology, and science then marketing researchers may make some contribution towards enlarging the audience, (Kawashima, 1998).

The need of using contemporary and marketing techniques in museums seems to be inevitable. As it was very well mentioned by Goulding (2000), museums have faced increasing pressure to attract wider audiences. Public museums have mainly concentrated

their research on obtaining statistical data, which can be measured and provide demographical profiles, ignoring the nature of the experience itself, (Goulding, 2000). Museums, by educating their staff, must try to imbue their personnel with the idea that they are there to serve the visitors and they must continuously improve the quality of the services offered, (Tobelem, 1998). Only a few museums have persons to be responsible for marketing. Tobelem (1998) mentioned that, most museums do not have a department or even an individual with a special responsibility on marketing and their activity is mainly limited to issuing press releases and making public relations. However, the complicated task for those responsible for marketing lies in combining two basic components, the institution's objectives to be attained and the consumer to be satisfied.

In a number of countries (France, England, and the United States of America) governments have encouraged museums to develop their own resources and to attract sponsors, (Tobelem, 1998). In Greece, only the last years some sponsors appeared in museums. The Greek Ministry of Culture now is trying to allow sponsorships in public museums. However, those in charge of institutions do not always realize the importance of adapting a commercial policy, which policy can be developed according to museums needs thus enhancing their incomes. Digital images and online products with the help of marketing approaches can also help museums to raise their incomes. Interactive websites that offer virtual guide in the museum could improve their image and support their income. However a few museums, have given much thought to the marketing of online images and they might as well raise income from their digital images using a mix of marketing strategies, (Maier, 1999).

The seven elements in the marketing mix for services are: *Product*, *Price*, *Place*, *Promotion*, *People*, *Physical Evidence* and *Process* (7P). These elements should be on the marketing program of all services institutions. "*Ignoring any of them could influence the success or failure of the overall program*", (Cowell, 1984: 71). The Product for museum marketing managers is the exhibitions, the antiquated or contemporary items, everything that attracts visitors to come for and the quality level of the offered service. Price, are the tickets, discounts, allowances and all payment terms that museums have. The Place relates to the distribution channel that the museum has, like the various annexes of Benaki Museum (private museum) and as well as their location and accessibility to the public. Promotion includes the various methods of communicating with the public, advertising, public relations, websites and other direct forms of marketing. People relate to the personnel that contribute to the service of visitors and to the operation of the institution. Their training, their appearance and their behavior are very important. Also, People refer to visitors of the museum, to their behavior and to their satisfaction. It is important to be mentioned that museum managers should embody in their strategy visitor's needs and wants. Physical Evidence includes elements like the physical environment, the tangible cues, the publicity material, the books, the guides, the signs, the maps, the tickets and all the facilitating goods. Finally, the Process relates to the overall museum operation and which policies and procedures adapts. It refers also, to the employee and visitor's involvement and to the flow of activities in the museum.

An attractive museum shop can support financially the institution and besides that can service successfully its visitors. Tobelem (1998) claims that, a number of big museums still lack an attractive museum shop capable of raising museum's income. Marketing activities in museum stores offer momentous opportunities of generating meaningful revenue and whereas the museum store was originally intended only to provide financial support to the institution, it now provides an educational and mission-related opportunity as well, (Mottner and Ford, 2005). In order to increase visitor numbers, some museums tend to adapt an approach defined by the special requirements of cultural tourism. This requires a complete change in the way of operating, better relations with mass media and the development of innovated programmes.

Foreign tourists are an essential factor because they consist a significant proportion of visitor numbers and museum managers should study their specific needs, (Tobelem, 1998).

Until recently, marketing was only associated with the world of private enterprise and the quest for profit, then extended to the sector of non-profit organizations before being applied to the world of culture and today it has widen its field of operations to museums. The enforcement of marketing strategies is justified in the current economical situation of museums as well as in the commands of contemporary communications, (Tobelem, 1998). *"Marketing, however, is broader than simply promotion. Marketing is best able to facilitates a museum's goals and strategy when marketing staff can participate in and lend their expertise to all museum tasks, including programs and education, facility and interior design, as well as membership and development"*, (Kotler N. and Kotler P, 2000: 286). And as it is very successfully underlined by Kotler N. and Kotler P, (2000), many museum managers are concerned about the competition from the entertainment and cultural sections in cities, cyberspace, restaurants, history and science centers as well as from the growing number of new museums. The challenge for museum managers is to safeguard the museum mission while reaching out to a larger public and offering a richer museum-going experience for visitors. *"Museum managers struggle with the issues of maintaining their museums integrity as a distinctive collecting, conserving, research, exhibiting and educational institution, and, at the same time, making their museums more popular and competitive"*, (Kotler N. and Kotler P, 2000: 271).

Methodology

The qualitative survey was carried out at the beginning of 2007, in the most important museums in the city of Athens. The museums are both public-national (state museums) and private museums (not-for-profit institutions), which they have a director on staff, are wholly or partly funded by the government, have a permanent collection and are open to the public. As departments of the Greek Ministry of Culture, the Greek public museums are state museums and thus represent the state's cultural policies. Data have been collected through personal interviews and the questions that were asked were the same to public and private museums. Interviews with staff members helped to identify the ways that working practices, discussions, norms and constraints affect the strategies that are followed.

The empirical research involved in-depth interviews with key staff and directors in a-non-directive manner. Semi-constructed, broad, open-ended questions were used and discussion centred on the experiences and opinions of directors. All interviews were hand-written and transcripts of each in-depth interview were prepared. Most of the museums were archaeological since public museums are mainly archaeological. The public-national museums that were examined are: The National Archaeological Museum, the Byzantine and Christian Museum, the New Acropolis Museum, the Acropolis Museum and the Archaeological Site of Acropolis, the Ancient Agora Museum and the Archaeological Site of Ancient Agora, the Numismatic Museum and the Hellenic Maritime Museum. The private museums that were examined are: The Benaki Museum, the Museum of Islamic Art, the Benaki Pireos st. Annex, the Foundation of the Hellenic World and the Museum of Cycladic Art. It was interesting identifying whether or not museum directors attempt to make museums more contemporary places, according to the modern multicultural environment, whilst the public-national museums are obligated to follow strictly the same state policies implied by the Greek Ministry of Culture.

Results and Discussions

The empirical research and the literature review revealed that most of the national museums and archaeological sites do not adapt contemporary approaches in their operation.

Synchronous strategies could help museums to fulfil their mission in a better way and to magnify up-to-date visitors' satisfaction and expectations. The qualitative interviews revealed that despite the number of museums in Greece, most of them operate under the public sector following the same obsolete strategies more or less. Even the most important national museums in Greece, try to fulfil their mission under the bureaucratic management of the Greek Ministry of Culture, following the state's approaches, with a few chances of innovation or functioning under new modern strategies and ideas.

All public-national and private museums in Athens collect only a few plain quantitative and not qualitative characteristics for the visitors. They just know the visitors number (of adults and children) from the tickets. They are not used to conduct surveys among visitors. Museum directors have mostly empirical knowledge for their audience. Public museums promote their institutions and their exhibitions with the help of the mass media, with press releases, leaflets and posters but without the use of paid commercials. The Ministry of Culture does not provide money for commercials. A few public museums are having sponsorships, which is something new in Greek museum society. There is not a special department for marketing in the public museums, but there are in some museums one or two persons who are responsible for the educational programs and also for public relations. The Ministry of Culture does not provide special funding for marketing purposes and archaeologists are mainly engaged in marketing issues. Public relations and generally the image making of the public museum depend on the personal interest and care of each director. That is why since all public museums follow the same policies implied by the ministry of culture; some of them are much better organized and more famous compared to others.

The same website is provided by the Ministry of Culture to all public museums in Athens (and in the region). Most of the managers were disappointed by this website-platform, which does not provide chances for virtual guide and interactive approaches to visitors and does not have interesting links. The use of new technologies in public museums finds most of the staff positive, although some elderly directors disagree with touch-screen, multimedia technologies and virtual reality in the rooms of the museum. They believe that: "New technologies are going to degrade the status and beauty of ancient exhibitions", as characteristically was said. It is very encouraging that in the new Acropolis Museum, a multimedia lounge is going to be opened to the public. Also, the Ministry of Culture is going to provide public museums with audio guide, which is essential for museum development and progress.

The public museums follow exactly the same policies implied by the Greek Ministry of Culture. The private museums have the opportunity to make their own strategic plan. That is the main difference between the public and private museums. The private museums are following marketing strategies, so as to enlarge their audiences and they target to the difficult and vital young group of twenty to forty. They have commercials to the mass media and many sponsors. Private museums try to cover and fulfill all visitors' different needs and some of them have separate marketing and human resources department. It is remarkable that in a very important private museum in Athens was said: "We follow word-of-mouth marketing and very good public relations. Our motto is to combine modern technology and culture". It has also club for children members. Private museums have good marketing approaches and they are more sensitive to visitor's need for new technologies and interactive techniques. Their websites are contemporary compared to the publics and they mainly communicate and interact with their visitors through websites. Some offer virtual guide of the exhibitions in their websites and have very interesting links. Printed materials, leaflets and guides are well printed in an interesting and attractive way and they offer many educational programs mostly for children and some of them for adults.

Public museums are interested in being mainly educational and scientific institutions. "Museums role is to exhibit, to educate and to inform visitors," as most of the interviewees

mentioned. Only a few public museums managers underlined their contemporary role to entertain their visitors. It is essential to be mentioned that only two public museums emphasized the visitor's needs to spend leisure in museums. Those museums organize not only educational programs, but also happenings, musical and art events. Most of the public museums do not carry out recreative events and museum staff was negative to such events. Hopefully, in the new public Acropolis Museum events and happenings are planned to be held. Museum's directors from public museums, who try to offer not only education but also recreational and inspiring opportunities to their visitors, are the ones who operate in a competitive way to other museums, theatres, cinemas and cultural places. However, most of the public museum directors believe that they do not face any kind of competition since they consider their exhibitions to be unique in the world.

On the other hand, private museums seem to consider their role closer to society. As a manager of a private museum noticed: "We want visitors leaving our place to feel happy and to have learned about our culture and history in a pleasant way." They carry out many entertainment and musical events, including fashion shows. They dare to adapt a competitive attitude towards other museums and cultural institutions. "We do like antagonism because it helps us to improve." Only one manager of a private museum stated: "We do not want competition in culture." The rest of them try to satisfy visitor's needs for education and also for entertainment according to contemporary and competitive environment. They underlined also the need museums to treat in an antagonistic way not only the other museums and cultural institutions, but also all the places where people of today tend to spend their leisure.

The café-restaurants and the gift shops in private museums, play a significant role in the whole function of the museum. They contribute not just as services, but they also offer serious financial support as a "profit centre" to the museum and in certain cases they operate autonomically at their own time schedule. They give the visitor the chance to spend quality time in an attractive place and to purchase interesting and unique commemorative objects, if he wishes to. At the same time, café and gift shops in public museums belong to the Ministry of Culture and they support financially the museum in an indirect way. The souvenirs that are sold are usually not modern or attractive. Unfortunately in Greece, most of famous public museums do not have a decent café and a challenging museum store. Many museum managers claimed the need for more synchronous souvenirs, games for children and new technological objects to be sold.

Greek Museums and the Idea of Diversity and Multi-Cultural Society

The idea of diversity and of the threats (past and present) is confronted in the Greek public-national museums only as "a victory against the others". The Greek state became independent, in 1821 and since then the national museums supported the Greek nation to develop its ethnical awareness and national identity. In particular, the National Archaeological Museum, the most significant museum in Greece, it was founded by presidential decree on August 9, 1893 to house and safeguard antiquities from all over Greece and to promote their historical, academic and artistic value to the visitors. The National Archaeological Museum in Athens is also an institution of knowledge, providing the venue for research and study to students, archaeologists, historians and eminent researchers from Greece and all over the world. Since today, our national museum looms the lordliness and the pomp of Greek nation.

From ancient Greece up to the struggle for the Greek independence, the victorious nation is shown mainly in our museums. The Greek national history is the main subject that the Greek National Archaeological Museum, deals with. The "us" and the "others", who used to live in our territory are not confronted in our national museums. My research revealed that the national museums, that were examined, used to play and still play a significant role in the overall history, forming the Greek nation and integration. Our national museum presents a

coherent approach to memory politics and supported the Greek nation to obtain its sovereignty.

The public opinion is still sensitive and to some extend conservative about the ethnical, religious and national issues. Interviewing the managerial staff in many museums mentioned that they want to attract people, who live and visit Greece. Only a director, responsible for the new Acropolis Museum, which is not ready yet, underlined the issue of multi-cultural society and globalisation and the need of the museum to attract visitors not only Greeks and tourists, but also immigrants and all the other nationalities, who live and work in Greece. The private museums are likely more to evolve exhibitions concerning the role of the "others" in the Greek society, like the Benaki Museum of Islamic Art (private museum), than the public ones. This is a contemporary challenge to national museums to combine to their concept the idea of the Greek-nation dimension and the diversity. The interplay between the national museum and evolutional approach of new era is something that might not be embraced so easily from the Greek society yet.

Conclusions

The contemporary role of museums in our era has changed dramatically and a museum is no longer only a stately function of municipal prides, but could be also a generator of ideas. National museums should try to be more discursive and interactive and to use more communicative and participative formats negotiating the idea of diversity, European values and human rights. Although museum directors are sceptical and worry whether attracting a greater number of visitors, works against the quality of the institution services, it can be replied that marketing can be an implement at the operation of the public-national and private museums, intended to allow the institutions to attain their defined mission efficiently. "Marketing is one branch of administration among others and it is the responsibility of the leaders of the institution to determine in which area or areas it is to be applied", (Tobelem, 1998: 351).

Reputation is very important in the non-profit sector and ethical practices that enhance institutional reputation should put in place, (Wood and Rentschler, 2003). The survey conducted, addressed the issue of the need for contemporary techniques in museums. A well-defined mission can probably prevent any risk of uncontrolled marketing technique and marketing will be a valuable implementation for the museum, (Tobelem, 1998). The use of marketing strategies in museums meets almost every interviewee, from the public and the private sector, together. "Museums engage in goal setting and strategic planning and marketing to achieve greater visibility, enlarge their offerings, develop a broader audience, and raise income", (Kotler N. and Kotler P, 2000: 272).

A growing number of museums in Europe and North America are hiring marketing experts so as to help them accomplish their goals, which are related to external factors, audiences and the environment. "Having ambitious though realistic goals, relating these to the mission and the desired audience mix, knowing the audience and how to lead it, and finding the strategies and tools most effective in reaching the goals, is the best recipe to put forward for museums grappling with issues of change, innovation, and preserving integrity", (Kotler N. and Kotler P, 2000: 287). Different ways of pedagogy and of entertaining visitors are essential. Visitors should get more actively involved during their visit to the museum and bring more actively their interests and knowledge in.

Studies of archaeology and museum visits could help not only students but also visitors generally, to comprehend their relation to the past, to conceive the diversity among cultures and apprehend that there are not superior and inferior civilizations. Through that process, people could become more conscious, with tolerance and respect to the difference. The main problem that Greek museum directors worry about is, if the introduction of a modern

evolutional concept jeopardizes their professional standards, their scientific, historic, artistic programs and menaces their national identity. Greek museums, public-national and private, should adapt contemporary strategies in order to fulfill their mission in a more effective way and to become institutions that can inspire their synchronous visitors in the challenging era of globalization and European integration.

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A Tale of Two Nations-A Comparative Study into the Evolution of National Museums in the UK and Taiwan

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It goes without saying that national museums lead a nation's cultural life. They contribute not only to preserve national collections but also to buildnational identity and to provide life-long learning opportunities. The significance of national museums has gained more and more attention in recent years.

National museums in the UK have the longest history in the world while national museums in Taiwan are still growing in number. This research uses a historical review to investigate the development of national museums in the UK and Taiwan. A product life cycle (PLC) method helps to explain the situation of their evolution. Several influential factors provide some more insights of how these national museums were created and transformed.

Some similarities and differences between national museums in the two nations are depicted for further understanding of the present situation. Consequently, the result has shown that national museums are deeply embedded in the outside environment and need to observe changes and respond to challenges. It is the key point for their sustainability for the future.

The Significance of National Museums

National museums are the symbol of a nation, particularly in its culture and power. They enrich, educate and entertain the public. It is important that they have led the development of other museums in the nation. What is even more significant is that they usually help to build the nation, shape national identity and uplift cultural life for the public. As a result, each nation has several national museums of its own.

Many of the most famous and popular museums in the world are easily recognised as national museums, for example, the British Museum in London, the Louvre in Paris, the Prado in Madrid and the National Palace Museum in Taipei. National museums have played a key role in society, contributing to the political, economic, social and cultural developments in the lives of citizens (AEA, 2004).

National museums, both in the UK and Taiwan, obtain their national status by the passing of a regulation or an act of Parliament. They are the custodians of the collections of national and international significance. They are also the gatekeepers of the information delivered through exhibitions and educational programmes.

However, what is a 'national museum'? According to a research report published in the UK in 1988, a national museum 'has national collections' and 'always has its funding provide by the Exchequer' (MGC, 1988). Four characteristics of national museums listed in the report were: their collections being of national importance, being held in Trust on the nation's behalf, being funded directly by the Government, and able to provide the Government with expert advice. In Taiwan, any museum with the term 'national' in its name and funded by the central government is a national museum. They traditionally have most resources required and perform much better than other museums.

Basic Background

The historical development of national museums is deeply embedded in its context, intertwined with its political, economic, social and cultural backgrounds. How a national museum evolves has mirrored the changes of its environment, from the museum building to different functions added. The political devolution both in the UK and Taiwan for the last two decades has marked a new age for shaping national identity while economic liberalisation in both countries has diversified and increased cultural growth. It is therefore meaningful to compare their development in the two nations.

Museum development in both the UK and Taiwan has similarities in several aspects. In both countries the government has been the major sponsor in the forming museums during the early stages, and after experiencing a great economic growth, museums became more popular, many of them being privately founded. In the last two decades of the twentieth century, they faced challenges from the outside, because both their governments started to reduce their sponsorship of museums. The United Kingdom has the first national museum and the longest museum history in the world. The British Museum, founded in 1753, has witnessed many changes for more 250 years. Since then, there have been more than twenty national museums established and now there are eighteen of them in the UK after some amalgamations. The number reaches sixty-seven if their branch museums are included. The situation in Taiwan is somewhat different. Its history of national museums is shorter of only 100 years and there are sixteen of them being established so far. Almost all of them have no branches except one. The latest development is that two national museums are still under planning and they are estimated to open in 2008.

However, there is a basic difference of national museums in both counties: their governance system. In the UK, national museums are governed by boards of trustees and at "arm's length principle". This board governance means that the board has the power in

making decision and also has the advantage of keeping its autonomous status. In Taiwan, on the contrary, national museums are governed directly by the government. In many occasions, they are influenced easily by the central government or political climate changes. For example, the appointment of directors could be affected by the results of political election. Another difference of them is that the admission of museums in the UK, particularly national ones, are free of charge. In Taiwan, based on 'use and pay' concept, people are used to pay their admission fee, but could exclude some minority and their usage. The tradition of collecting as the core function in national museums in the UK is not common in Taiwan. Most national museums in Taiwan had no or few collections when they were founded.

Research Method and Design

This research aims to understand how the evolution of national museums is influenced by the outside environment and how significant these museums play their role in society. There are eighteen in the UK and sixteen in Taiwan. According to the purpose of this research, a historic review is therefore adopted.

Through literature reviews, an investigation of their developments both in the UK and Taiwan is conducted to gain a historical holistic insight. By establishing a timeframe of development of national museums in both countries, some influential events are pointed out for marking their importance, for example, the Great Exhibition 1851 in London and the Twelve Achievements in the 1980s in Taiwan.

Another analysis is by setting up the product life cycle (PLC) to see how the development changes with time. Product life cycle is a concept borrowed from marketing, usually illustrates different stages of the product/service to assist to find strategies (Hannagan, 1992). This is particularly helpful for national museums to understand which strategies they should adapt in the present stage. The last strand of result is to compare different type of national museums through the time frame to find out why certain type of national museums was set up in certain periods of time.

National Museums and their Development in the UK

Table1 shows these eighteen national museums in the UK and their founding years in a chronicle order. Only two of them were established before the 19th century, nine of them in the 19th century and seven in the 20th century. They are mainly located in the capital cities except the National Museums Liverpool in Liverpool.

Table 1. List of National Museums in the UK

Name of Museum	Year Founded
Royal Armouries	1680
British Museum	1753
National Gallery	1824
National Galleries of Scotland	1850
Victoria & Albert Museum	1852
National Museums Scotland	1854
National Portrait Gallery	1856
National Museum of Science and Industry	1857
Natural History Museum	1881
Tate	1897
Wallace Collection	1897
National Museum Wales	1907
Imperial War Museum	1917
National Maritime Museum	1934
National Army Museum	1960
National Museums and Galleries of Northern Ireland	1961
Royal Air Force Museum	1963
National Museums Liverpool	1986

Why were these national museums established? There are several explanations for their establishment:

1. government initiative to preserve and make public important collections, e.g. the British Museum, the National Gallery;
2. the influence of the Great Exhibition of 1851, e.g. the Victoria and Albert Museum and the National Museum of Science and Industry;
3. the commemoration of military history, e.g. the National Army Museum and the Royal Air Force Museum;
4. the fruit of political devolution in the UK, e.g. the National Museums Liverpool and the National Museums Scotland.

Some were established from the outset with national status, e.g. the British Museum and the National Gallery; others were granted that status much later, e.g. the National Museums Liverpool. Many of them have changed their names as they have evolved and developed over time, e.g. the National Museum of Science and Industry was named the Science Museum for almost a century, the National Museums and Galleries of Northern Ireland was the amalgamation of the Ulster Museum and Ulster Folk & Transport Museum in 1998.

The oldest collection is that of the Royal Armouries founded in 1680, but the British Museum is the oldest public museum organisation (Wilson, 2002). The last one to gain its national status was the National Museums Liverpool in the 1980s. Most of the organisations, thirteen, are located in the capital, London. Outside London, there is one in Liverpool, two in Scotland, one in Wales and one in Northern Ireland.

The size and scope of national museums varies greatly. They cover a wide variety of subjects and areas: universal human creativity, art, craft, science, natural history, the armed forces, and special subjects such as armouries and maritime history. The history of the national museums in the UK extends over a very long period (see Figure 1). Figure 1 demonstrates how the number of national museums in the UK has increased, and, with branch

museums, the total number rises to sixty-four and is distributed nationwide. Some national museums only has one site, e.g. the British Museum, Wallace Collection and the National Gallery, others have many branches up to seven, e.g. the National Museum Wales and the National Museums Liverpool.

From the blue line in Figure 1, it is noticeable that there are three peaks in the establishment of national museums in the UK: 1840-1860, 1880-1900 and 1960-1980. The first peak was motivated by the Great Exhibition in 1851 in London, as a result of which four new museums were built to house the exhibits and further the principles of the exhibition. The second peak resulted from private bequests to the nation to build art galleries for Tate and the Wallace Collection, it was also exemplified the economic power of the British Empire in the 19th century. The third peak was due to the building of museums to preserve the country's military legacy, with the two examples of the National Army Museum and the Royal Air Force Museum in the 1960s. In addition, the political climate was also affecting the growth in national museums, for example, the promotion of the local authority museum service in Liverpool to national museum status in the 1980s, as well as the amalgamation of two national museums in Scotland the mid-1980s.

Figure **1.** Development of National Museums in the UK.
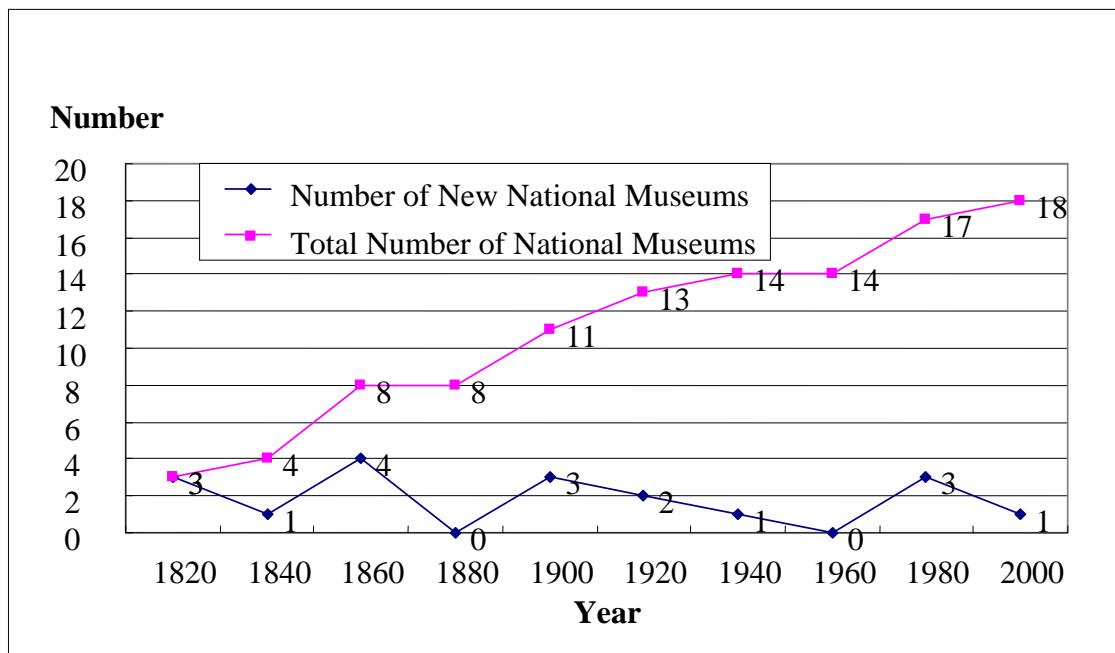
If we look to the future of national museums, according to Figure 1, the growth of national museums was slowing down at the turn of century. There are two factors influencing this: the first is the political devolution with amalgamation of two national museums in Northern Ireland on 1st April, 1998. The second factor is economical influence with a decline in the founding of new branch museums1. This may be an indication that national museums are turning away from setting up their own branch museums, to establishing partnerships with local authority and independent museums (AEA, 2004). It is expected that there will be more competition in the cultural heritage industry in the new century, from other museums, cultural institutions, educational organisations and leisure activities (Kotler & Kotler, 1998).

National Museums and their Development in Taiwan

In 2007 there are sixteen national museums in Taiwan, two of which are still under construction and aim to open in 2008. Table 2 shows the founding years of these national institutions. Seven among the sixteen national museums in Taiwan are concentrated and located in the capital city, Taipei, and were established in the early stage before the 1980s. The other nine were spread into different regions around Taiwan, including several in rural places, such as the National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium in Pintung. It reflects the political influence and the need to balance the gap between cities and rural counties.

Table 2. List of National Museums in Taiwan.

Name of Museum	Founded Year
National Taiwan Museum	1899, 1908
National Palace Museum	1925, 1965
National Museum of History	1955
National Taiwan Art Education Centre	1956
National Science Education Centre	1956
National Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall	1972
National Feng Huang Ku Bird Park	1975
National Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall	1980
National Museum of Natural Science	1986
National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art	1988
National Science and Industry Museum	1997
National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium	2000
National Museum of Prehistory	2002
National Museum of Taiwan Literature	2003
National Museum of Marine Science & Technology -Provisional Office	2008
National Museum of Taiwan History -Provisional Office	2008

All their budgets come from the central government: one from the Executive Yuan, ten from the Ministry of Education and five from the Council for Cultural Affairs. In Taiwan it is not unusual for a new museum to start its operation without any collection (Ken, 2004). One explanation is that museums, especially the national ones, are traditionally regarded as social educational institutions.

The discussion of the foundation of the national museums can be summarised under their various purposes.

1. The first purpose is for the preservation of the collections from the previous regime. For example, the National Taiwan Museum owns the most important collections of natural history and anthropology from more than one hundred years ago. Another two examples include the National Palace Museum and the National Museum of History, both of which have significant collections transported from Mainland China and the Nationalist Government moved to Taiwan.
2. The second purpose is for public education, to enhance citizens' rights for the pursuit of knowledge and to supplement the formal education in schools. Museums in this category were created mainly in the 1950s. The National Taiwan Art Education Centre and the National Science Education Centre are two outstanding examples.

3. The third purpose is for political reasons, in remembrance of political leaders, for example, the Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall and the Chiang Kai-sek Memorial Hall. Both have collections relevant to political leaders but also become a cultural complex providing exhibitions, theatre and music performance.

4. The fourth purpose relates to the policy of the Twelve Achievements, which planned to set up four national museums and ended with five. They are also supposed to promote scientific education. The museums are the National Museum of Natural Science, the National Museum of Science and Technology, the National Museum of Prehistory, the National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium, and the National Museum of Marine Science and Technology.

5. The fifth purpose is that under the influence of the political climate, some museums gained national status from regional roles. For instance, the National Taiwan Museum, National Feng Huang Ku Bird Park, and the National Taiwan Museum of Fine Art were provincial before the 1990s and uplifted to gain national status later. Another political influence is because new government agencies have been established and want to show some form of achievement, like the National Museum of Taiwan Literature and the National Museum of Taiwan History. These are the latest museums, with new emphasis on the identity of 'Taiwan'.

With the beginning of the new century, the number of national museums in Taiwan is still increasing. This is due to the economic boom and political influences since the 1980s. The burgeoning of economic in Taiwan has not only increased people's income but also living standard. Cultural activities have been promoted since the 1980s, resulting in emergence of exhibitions, performance and cultural awareness. New national museums have been an index of government achievement since then. Figure 2 shows the development of national museums chronologically. The blue line shows the establishment of new national museums and three peaks can be identified in this Figure: in the 1950s, the period 1970-1990 and after 2000.

The first peak in the 1950s relates to rationalisation of social education. Educational programmes and exhibitions have been two long traditions in these museums since their foundations. After 1970 the number of new national museums kept growing, partly because of the economic boom and partly because of the democratic political climate. The government found that museums can educate, entertain and enrich the life of the people (Pao, 1964) and as a result created five of them in two decades. They are all on a huge scale with spectacular buildings and space for exhibitions, but without any or with few collections at their inceptions. This signifies the second peak in the 1980s. In the first decade of the 21st century, there will be at least five more national museums opening to the public; in the meantime, the National Palace Museum is expanding to set up a new branch museum in the south of Taiwan. The third peak is in the 2000s.

However, the economy of the government is not as strong as it was in the 1980s, which explains the attitude of government in adjusting its policy towards decreasing the direct funding of museums. Instead, there is consideration of the privatisation of national museums; alternatively, museums are being requested to seek more partnership and sponsorship from the private or third sectors. The likely outcome of this may be either complete success, or absolute failure for the museums. The National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium has proved to be a great success after it adopted the BOT model (Build, Operate and Transfer).

Figure 2. Development of National Museums in Taiwan.
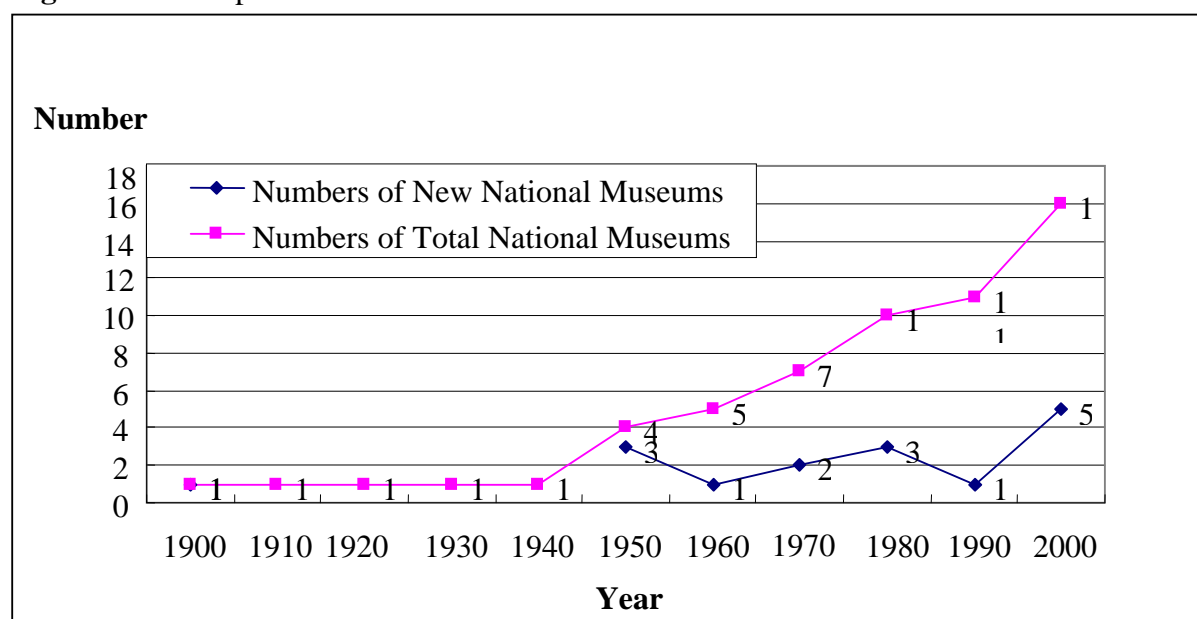
It contracts out its operation to a private company and the company has to make the profit not only to keep its operation, but also to invest for further building and exhibitions (Fang, 2002). On the other hand, the National Museum of Prehistory has tried to follow the same route, to contract out its operation twice, but without success. The differing fortune of these two examples may result from the location and the attractiveness of the museums. The National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium is possibly perceived as being more attractive than the archaeological exhibitions in the National Museum of Prehistory because it exhibits both live marine animals and specimen. Also, the former is on the main route to Kenting, the most popular resort in Taiwan; while the latter is in a remote location.

Perspective of Product Life Cycle

Product life cycle is usually used in the profit making sector, particularly in marketing. It divides life cycles of a product or service into four or five stages: the product development, introduction, growth, maturity and decline (Kotler & Armstrong, 1991). Hannagan proposed different five stages: introduction, growth, maturity, saturation and decline (Hannagan, 1992). This research uses a simplified concept, with the four stages mentioned in both books to explain the situations in national museums in both countries. The introduction stage is when the idea of national museum was introduced and somewhat unfamiliar to most people. The growth stage describes the period of time museums were burgeoning and caught more attention from the public. The maturity stage explains the situation that more museums being set up to form the competition and to provide homogeneous services. The decline stage would be the result of some museums being closed due to the competition and lack of support.

From Figure 1 and Figure 2, as the pink line illustrating the number total of national museums in the UK and Taiwan, they have both reached to the maturity stage. It means that there are more competitors in the sector to seek for similar support, for example, the visitors, funding bodies, donors and sponsors. They even have to face the competition from other sectors for the attention and time of the visitors, such as the sports games and theme parks. Another issue is that when more and more museums join the market, the later and new museums often imitate the old and existing institutions for developing their product and services. It causes the problem because services provided are normally homogeneous and

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sometimes confuses customer's awareness. Also, as the market becomes mature, it is getting more difficult to attract new visitors. Therefore, the most important strategy in this stage is to establish the distinctiveness of the product/service and find the niche in the market. In this way, the museum can distinguish itself from others and to retain its visitors and supporters. Cultivation of customer loyalty is commonly used in the private sector. Once the institution can not cope with the challenge from its environment, it might go to the decline stage very soon.

Findings and Further Suggestions

By comparing the evolution of national museums in two nations, this research has found that the shaping of national museums is heavily influenced by the outside environment, particularly the political and economic climates. Planning a new museum or a branch requires more efforts on understanding how these environments interact to find more support and resources. For example, the success of the National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium in Taiwan is based on its strategy in creating the BOT model and its advantage of location.

Another new trend in recent year is that national museums help to shape the national identity. The new branding strategies of national museums in the UK and Taiwan have witnessed the change of political ideology, such as the National Museums Liverpool. It is remarkably strong in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland; it is also similar in these newly established museums in Taiwan. For instance, the National Museum of Taiwan History was proposed for even though there was a museum called the National Museum of History; the former emphasises 'Taiwanese identity' while the latter is based on 'Chinese identity'.

As the developments of national museums in both countries both reach to their maturity stage, it is important for them to set up their strategy for further their sustainability. One key aspect is to find its uniqueness of its services and reinforce it, in order to increase its competitiveness and to retain customer loyalty. It will also help to attract more resources and support for the long term survival.

Does a nation need a museum policy? When national museums were mainly sponsored by the government, it seems that any policy is unnecessary. However, as museums enter the maturation period, they have to face more and more competition. A museum policy is therefore urgently required to set a clear direction and create a better future. It will help national museums to seek sustainability, to shape their national identity, to attract more visitors and to better contribute to the society. In the knowledge era, national museums are able to input their information into the knowledge economy.

Museums in the twenty-first century are facing a multitude of changes. How museums could respond to the changing world depends heavily on their ability to understand their environments and their resources. From the historical review of museum development in both countries, it is easy to recognise that museums in a modern society have to develop a plurality of supports from the government, the private sector, and from the public as well. National museums in both countries have confronted the decrease of funding from their governments during the last decade, and the increase of competition in the second half of last century up to the present day. It is clear that any national museum has to prepare for these challenges and to create their future.

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The Processes of Contemporary Museum Constructions: Designing Public Space and Engaging Audiences

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New museum buildings in CEE are monuments that relate to negotiating new narratives of identity and statehood. Our aim in this article is to close-study the processes related to three museum constructions in Central Eastern Europe – Estonia, Hungary and Croatia. We examine the three public museums in the context of their locations, ranging from the suburbs to the city centres and study their establishment in the context of privatization, urbanisation, and reaching out for the audiences. The architecture of new museum buildings is seen as an outcome of historical and social processes growing out from the recent past of the three countries. In the contemporary arena the museum represents the reinterpreted relationships between private and public, as well as culture and money. All three new museum constructions have been driven by interests of different public authorities, neoliberal market actors, and to a lesser degree, by the local citizen society.

Keywords: Central Eastern Europe, museum boom, museum architecture, spatial politics, audience engagement

Cultural infrastructure provides a means for the legitimisation of contemporary nation states. It also provides marketing visibility to the springing companies, and acts as a diplomatic tool in fostering international relations. New venues established for art act as houses for collections and negotiators of reality through series of representations. On the local level art reflects the aspirations of minority communities within a society, and has a potential to engage the audiences further with their environment, through creating new communities and bringing together interest-groups. Contemporary art has a potential to shape urban fabric in various ways also through architecture and urban design, which can trigger important changes for the neighbourhood, for the city and the country.

The urban geography of CEE capitals has been influenced by rapid changes during the past two decades. This study focuses on the urban context of the new museum buildings and some of the difficulties that have been faced by the museum institutions due to the lack of consideration of spatial planning and engagement of audiences along the process. In our analysis, we take into account the various interests surrounding the processes of new museum constructions in the transforming societies.

Built environment is deeply intervened with the cultural, social and political webs of the society, which enables to understand the power positions in the society better. Talking about the CEE countries as *transitioning societies* proves to be relevant, although this has become contested after joining the EU. When it comes to studying national institutions and new framework for designing spaces, in order to celebrate the sovereignty shape the public space according to the new principles, the common elements become difficult to be neglected. Despite the fact that state-building processes have continued throughout the past 20 years, the negotiation of private and public interests, visualized in the contests over public space and its usage are still in active process.

Suzanne Keene has seen national museums as symbols of national culture, knowledge and pride[1], which may be contested and negotiated but for CEE countries also represent a necessity, for legitimating the new governance. This contest and negotiation over interests is also embodied in the museums architecture and in the processes of coming to have these museums in their present form and location. Museum architecture as a topic, following the museum boom of the 1990s, is relatively new field of study. Although several researches have focused on the regenerative impacts of cultural projects and many pages have been dedicated to analysing the Guggenheim Bilbao building, other new museum buildings figure much more seldom in these studies. Our study aims to give a contribution to filling this gap, through focusing three new museum constructions in CEE region. Museum buildings through being of symbolic value to the societies stand out being one of the most expensive public buildings in the newly independent states or societies which have established the national sovereignty.

What are the necessities for and driving focuses behind the new museums constructions in the transitioning societies? What are the power positions that the museum constructions have revealed? And how can these questions be conceptualised within the framework of the museums architectural and urban environment? In this paper we will not provide answers to all these questions but rather discuss the related impacts of new, recently opened national museums to three societies in the Central Eastern European region.

Background and Analysis MKaterial

This article forms a part of research project on new contemporary art museums "Contemporary Art Museums in the Central and Eastern Europe. Art and the Social, Political, Economic development of the region" carried out by Margaret Tali and Laura Pierantoni from

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1   Keene, Suzanne (2005). *Fragments of the World. Uses of Museum Collections*. London: Elsevier, p 7.

March 2007 to October 2008, which studies three national museums in the context of political, social, economical and cultural changes of the turbulent times in the 1990s and 2000s. The three case studies that we have been taken under focus are: KUMU - the Estonian Modern and Contemporary Art Museum in Tallinn, LUMU - the Hungarian Contemporary Art Museum in Budapest, and the MSU - Croatian Contemporary Art Museum in Zagreb. All three new museums constructions are located in the capital cities, they cover different regions in the heterogeneous territory of Central Eastern Europe, north, central and southern regions respectively. Whereas Budapest and Tallinn are the capital cities historically, Zagreb has become a capital city fairly recently, following the Yugoslavian War in the 1990s and Croatia's gaining of national sovereignty in 1991. The same year signifies gaining of national independence for all three countries, and remains therefore an important signifier of changes.

The aim of this study is to analyse the museums´ architectural settings, focusing on the impacts they have had to the process of designing urban space in the particular districts, where they are located. We also try to offer insights into ways of engaging the audiences in the process by museums, in order later to better adapt the public with the new location of the venue, which will provide a context for our further study on the museums changing relationship with the audiences through engaging further with education. KUMU and LUMU new museum buildings have been opened for public in 2005 and 2006 respectively, MSU new building is currently still under construction, and due to the economical hardships met in the course of construction works the exact time of opening the museum to the audiences remains open.[2] For the latter we can only take into account the architectural design and current stages of construction, indicating some of the criticism and political hardships related to the funding on the way to the transformation. Several other aspects of the museums are particular for the societies, having developed from the context of their establishing: the foundation their collections and births of the institutions are very different. Indeed so different that it almost seems impossible to compare them.

Whereas Art Museum of Estonia's collection dates back to 1919 (nowadays, contemporary art forms only a part of the collection); and the Zagreb MSU museum collection is based on a City owned Gallery, which was started in 1954; the Budapest LUMU museum collection is based on the German art collectors Peter and Irene Ludwig´s collection, a large part of which was donated to the Hungarian Government in 1989, and has been later completed by other public and private acquisitions. The locations chosen for the new museum buildings in the city are likewise notably different, their impacts on the regeneration of the districts can only be compared taking these distinct differences and historical developments related to decisions of museums moving into the particular urban districts into account.

In this paper we see museums as platforms where different interests come together. This proposes the inevitably an on-going project, driven by political, economical interests, but just as well through changes in the museums top administrations and governance models. It is particularly the multifunctional character of contemporary museum institutions combining different venues and activities, that makes them so vulnerable to these various changes in the context of transition societies.

We focus on three aspects in the new museum developments: firstly, the process related to the museums architectural design and facts on the process of their construction will be studied. Secondly, the impacts of the transformation of space to the museum institutions are outlined, introducing some of the problems related to the process of moving from one building that has been adapted as a museum into another new building designed particularly

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2   Interview with Snjezana Pintaric, MSU Museum Director, Zagreb, 7.03.2008.

for the institution. And finally, the the museum names as symbolical indicators for their international mindedness will be analysed.

The research material used in the present study is gathered mostly from first hand sources, interviews with museum directors, collection keepers, architects and cultural policy makers. We are grateful for their cooperation and this article would not have been made possible without their kind support and interest in our study. Various media sources and academic articles have been used for completing the study. Studies on museum architecture, cultural policy and city regeneration have offered our analysis a sustainable theoretical context for this article.

Theoretical Framework and Context for Analysis

Museum Institution and Cultural and Political Transition in the CEE

The cultural and economic sphere of CEE countries has gone through extensive changes following the early 1990s political transformations and the fall of the Communist Regime, which broke down the physical and intellectual barriers that had left the region culturally and economically isolated for decades. The mechanisms of this isolation varied throughout the single countries. After many years influenced by state socialism, the aim of the countries has been to recover from the backwardness, through strengthening collaboration with EU countries in order to eventually join the union as member states. It is important to keep in mind that this aim for Croatia is still remains to be reached, and many of the current reforms target the standards.[3] In the cultural sector several changes have affected the way culture is governed, organized, produced and perceived by the larger public. Above all:

- *privatisation*: during the Real Socialist regime the state was the main financier and organizer of all cultural activities, as well as the body who set standards and mechanisms of control for the cultural life. Nowadays, local as well as international private investors have become crucial to the development of the cultural sector.
- *the introducing of free market economy*: the liberal economic system has enabled the cultural sector to take advantage of international know-how and skills, cultural exchange and new technical facilities to facilitate collaboration and mutual cultural exchange, but also caused a tendency of scepticism towards globalisation and related phenomena;
- *decentralization of cultural life*: the end of the Real Socialism allowed the sovereign countries to take decisions independently and to develop their own cultural policies;
- *urban development and pos-socialist city-planning*: internationalisation of architectural landscape and lack of thorough urban planning policies has reshaped the image and functions of urban areas particularly in CEE capitals.

Certainly, none of these changes have not been as rosy as they may seem, the least for national museums. Some of the recessions related to cultural life can be exemplified in the fact that cultural participation in CEE has gone through a decrease, the situation of the

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3   In the process of enlargement of the EU eight countries from the CEE region joined in 2004, incl. Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Czech Republic, Poland, Slovenia, Slovakia. In 2007, Bulgaria and Romania, joined the European Community.

creative people in the labour market has become growingly uncertain.[4] The state support for museums under the conditions of market economy is also no longer as evident as earlier, setting museums under rising pressure of constantly attesting their requirements and relevant costs. In 1992 Zbynek Z. Stransky has foreseen many of the problems facing post-Soviet museums observing that museums need to overcome the feeling of aversion of the audiences on the way from one society to another, which to a smaller or greater degree served the totalitarian regime. He suggested to review the outdated ways of responding to the interests of the public in order to address important social issues.[5]

The concept of re-publicizing the public sphere proposed by Dutch urban researchers Elma van Boxel and Kristian Koreman[6] seems best to characterize some of these developments, if we consider the museums in the public realm, and furthermore as parts of public space. Despite the quick economic transitions to market economy, the changes in post socialist museums have often proved to be rather gradual, both on the level of cultural policy reform considerations and in what concerns the institutional culture within museum as large-scale cultural institutions. Ben Dibley has argued the identity shift for museums to be related with the bond linking the individual with the state. From this suppressed type of individualisation, museums find themselves confronted with the demands of minorities and the marginalized, and consequently it follows that museums are to be reformed and made more reflexive in their institutional practices and dialogic in their exchanges with communities that form their constituencies.[7] Reinventing their roles and status within the society with the burden of dealing with the communities bitter experiences from the recent past, has therefore made the identity transformation for post socialist museums a particularly painful experience, although, little of this may be seen from outside.

Another post-socialist concern, in relation to the broader re-organization of the cultural scene has been the enabling of the development of bottom-up initiatives in the arts sector and their functioning along the principles of civil society under social democracy. The coming of neo-liberal market and growing tourism industry has set its restrictions to these developments and one of its outcomes has been the focus of fundraisers on large-scale institutions, encouraged by both cultural policies as well as the international corporations. The question whether these new public monuments facilitate the development of art scenes and enable transparent governance for arts remains contested by the young civil society and fairly often by the institutions themselves. The developments of architecture as the new wonder-field of 1990s capture many important hardships on the way of reconstructing economies and redesigning the public life, in the sense of engagement of different interest groups and viewpoints. Moving to a new building may be seen as a motivator on the way to reinventing the museum's institutional roles and reviewing its objectives. New museum buildings as highly symbolical structures have often been one of the most expensive buildings constructed by the governments after the 1990s. The processes bring together the widespread corruption, intransparency of political decision-making, they reveal absence of experiences in international cooperation and furthermore the indapted changes in people's mindset.

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4   Compendium of European Cultural Policies, www.culturalpolicies.net.
5   Stransky, Zbynek Z (1992). Museums in Post-Communist countries. *Museums and Europe 1992*. Susan Pearce (ed). London, NY: The Athlone Press, pp 183-185.
6   Van Boxel, Elma; Koreman, Kristian (2007*). Re-public. Towards a new spatial politics*. Rotterdam: Nai Publishers.
7   Dibley, Ben (2005). The Museum`s redemption. Contact zones, government and the limits of reform. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, Vol 8, (1), p 7.

New Museum Institutions

Our mapping of the recently established contemporary art museums or constructions that are planned to be established in CEE countries has indicated that there is a tendency of building new nation-wide venues for contemporary art. In this chapter we have briefly mapped the new museums constructions in order to indicate the growing boom of contemporary art museums in CEE.

Investing in new art infrastructure may seem questionable, in terms of justifying the high expenditure for the audiences. Is it really in search of the legitimisation of recent reign that CEE countries governments have decided to invest so extensively into building new contemporary art museums? Close-studying some of these projects reveal that the completing of these buildings has often taken much more time than originally planned, fairly often they have continued to be postponed or brought about numerous debates about the needs of these investments on the local level. They have also caused much of public discontent and misunderstanding. We will later analyse further some of the reasons for the latter. Nevertheless, next to public investments, public private partnerships have recently become more common facilitator in the cultural sector and collaborations with international corporative foundations such as Guggenheim or Ludwig Foundation have enabled the establishment of several recent art institutions in CEE.

Public investments are primarily used in the case of Warsaw Modern Art Museum, MoMA, which is planned to be opened in 2012, in the new cultural district in the Polish capital, Warsaw, and Art Museum of Estonia (AME), Kumu[8] that opened in the beginning of 2006 in the prestigious Tallinn suburb called Kadriorg. The Warsaw MoMa is situated in the Świętokrzyski Park and the regenerative potential of the complex of public buildings has been taken into account, since the museum is planned as a part of the new science and cultural district, to become a new city square.[9] On the both cases the competitions held for the building have been international, and the museums are completed by relatively young foreigner architects in the beginning of their career, respectively the Swiss architect Christian Kerez (b.1962) and Finnish architect Pekka Vapavuori (b.1962).

On the urban level, a new museum building also embodies a potential of becoming a key element in the regeneration of an area, bringing along positive investments and redesigning for the landscape in collaboration with the city (infrastructure and lightening the area, promoting safety, new transportation), therefore the city governments may be as important parties for investments as the national governments are.

The building of a new museum is a response of the societies needs to meet the interests of its communities better. Here the interests related to these buildings, erected in the capital cities fighting for further visibility, come together with the interests of the states. For instance, the Zagreb City Government has funded the construction the national museum building, Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb, MSU covering 50% of the costs in collaboration with the Government[10]. Here the new museum is a political signifier, which is able to contribute to both, strengthen the fairly recent capital city status of Zagreb (since 1991) in the Balkan region and promote Croatia's candidateship for the European Union.

New model for national art museum housed in the same building with numerous small-scale cultural industries, has been proposed to be established in the Latvian capital Riga, where the plan engages numerous private investors and donors, who share the interest for a new multifunctional centre next to the Latvian Government. The building design for the former power plant in the banks of the River Daugava was completed by the two Dutch

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8   Art Museum of Estonia, http://www.ekm.ee.
9   See further Warsaw Museum of Modern Art, http://artmuseum.pl/.
10   Museum of Contemporary Art Zagreb, http://www.msu.hr/index_e.htm.

architects Rem Koolhas and Reinier de Graaf, who won the design competition in 2006. The museum building in the port area is currently planned to be completed by 2012.[11]

On the other hand, it can be argued that the CEE countries are influenced by the Western model of a white cube and cultural mall, which is not only being implemented by the governments but also international museum corporations, paying little if any importance to acting as a facilitator for the local art scene, and whose interests maybe controversial or have little in common with the particular local needs of local the audiences. In 2008 the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture confirmed the establishment of a new museum institution called Guggenheim Hermitage Museum, to be completed through collaboration of the Guggenheim Foundation and Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg. The architectural design competition for a building to be established in new business centre in the capital Vilnius was won in spring 2008 by Zaha Hadid Architects.[12] The collaboration between the two museum institutions, Guggenheim Foundation and State Hermitage Museum started in the 1990s as they started organizing mutual exchange exhibitions curated in the venues of Guggenheim museums and Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg. The collaboration was developed further as the Guggenheim Hermitage Museum was opened in Los Angeles, USA in 2001. The building was designed by Rem Koolhaas and his company OMA, based in Rotterdam and has been later celebrated for its architectural design.

There are also countries where the debates on the need of having a venue dedicated to contemporary art have been lively during the recent years and enliven by artist communities, involving various audiences. An interesting example, is Ivan Moudov´s art performance in Sofia, Bulgaria, which brought the absence of contemporary art museum in the country into the limelight of international media. In 2005, Moudov gathered an honourable audience to the abandoned train station in Sofia. In the press release he announced the former train station to be newly opened as MUSIZ, the Museum of Contemporary Art. Through the opening of a "phantom museum", he attracted international and local media attention and gather numerous important political figures, ambassadors, to the decaying train station. The political importance of the artist's venture, has been proved by the fact that following Moudov's performance the establishment of a new contemporary art museum has become more seriously debated in the Bulgarian government.[13]

The *museum race*[14] which seems best to characterize the recent developments in CEE, growing out from the processes of nation state building and identity formation, may not be unique, but remains yet fairly particular in the regional and temporary context of the process. Many of the design competitions for new museum buildings have won considerable media attention, attracting internationally star architects, and proposing new monumental structures to be established in the CEE capitals.

Three New Venues for Contemporary Art: Tallinn, Budapest and Zagreb

The stories behind the construction of the three museums are long and complex, reflecting the economical and political difficulties that Estonia, Hungary and Croatia have been going through in the 1990s and 2000s. In the cultural scene all three processes of constructing new

11 Riga Contemporary Art Museum, http://www.camriga.lv/index.php.
12 *First steps to Guggenheim museum in Vilnius*. 07.10.2007.
    http://www.culturelive.lt/en/news/guggenheim_museum.
13 Sevova, Dimitrina (2007) *Back to reality, or Micro-approaches for handling institutional matrices in the local art context the 21st century*. Available at: http://www.code-flow.net/e-texts/2006-vector-03/vector-museums-en.html.
14 Szantos, Andreas (2001) Art/Architecture; museum building in Budapest style. *The New York Times*, Aug 26.

museums have involved overcoming the decentralization in arts, the non-transparent and bureaucratic culture of decision making inherited from the recent socialist past, as well as challenges related to the recent internationalization of cultural life and arts market.

Planning for a Building

The museums architecture is one of the crucial frameworks in constructing identity for a museum. It has a considerable role to play in defining the relationships between the museum and its audiences. It shapes the museum experience for the audiences, and the ways they are reached; for the museum institution the architectural framework also considerably dictates on the programming and curating activities, as well as the possibilities for engaging the public space. Therefore, the active public debates over the question whether the city needs a new venue for contemporary art and what should be location for it is natural to engage people. The debates lasted several decades for the KUMU and are still continuing in Zagreb, as the MSU museum is being constructed. Art Museum of Estonia (AME) was established in 1919 as a part of national movement following the official declaration independence of the country in February 1918. AME grew out of the special part of the collection dedicated to art in the Estonian National Museum. The first project was postponed due to the simultaneous and expensive construction-works of the Tallinn Art Hall (1934), the second project was elaborated until 1938, the construction-works were supposed to start in 1939, but due to the World War II and following Soviet occupation of Estonia the construction was never started and the museum remained housed in a "temporary building" for the next 50 years.

The institution for Museum of Contemporary Art in Zagreb (MSU) grew out from the City Gallery of Contemporary Art established in 1954 by the artist Vesna Barbic, whereas its scope of activities was initially set on international art. The establishing of a gallery also related to the Zagreb Fair, which being launched in 1948, due to its highly international character continued to be of great political importance throughout the Cold War. The Fair also acted as an instrument for urbanization and modernization of Zagreb throughout 1960s and 1970s.[15]

In both of these cases, the museum institutions preceded the existence of the new building for a long time period and have a history of being developed during the socialist period. The museums were located in (temporary) buildings in Tallinn and Zagreb old towns. Lack of space and proper storage conditions for art in these historical buildings, which had been accommodated to house museums, under the centralized Government of USSR and Titoist Yugoslavian Government, respectively remained one of the most important argument introduced for public, leaving the other arguments to the background. Despite this or perhaps particularly due to this, the collections were still due to remain displayed and stored in inappropriate venues for another decade. In Zagreb, despite for the fact that the museum was planned to be opened in September 2007, the construction is currently still continuing and the time of inauguration remains unclear.

Despite the present situation, for both museums, KUMU and MSU the stories of having a new building for the museum go back further in history. The discussion on establishing a new museum building for MSU started already in the 1960s although no architectural competitions were organized at the time, and the spot for the museum in the city remained contested by the different parties of interest throughout the 1970s and 1980s. In 1983 a plan for a museum network was initiated, which saw the New Museum building for Contemporary Art to become a centre for museum organization, for all other museums and galleries in

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15 Vukic, Fedja (2007) The Zagreb Fair: Urban Laboratory. *Project Zagreb. Transition as a Condition, Strategy, Practice*. Blau, Eve; Rupik, Ivan (eds.). Barcelona, New York: Actar D, p 214

Croatia.[16] In the end of the 1980s a building of Steam Mill in the centre of Zagreb in close neighbourhood of the Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall (1973)[17] and future National and University Library (1995). Nevertheless, the plan was disclaimed after an extensive fire that took place in the Mill in 1988 and the institution had to wait until 1996 when the spot for the museum was finally decided by the Zagreb City Government and the Ministry of Culture.[18]

In Estonia, likewise discussions over the establishment of a building started in the 1930s. In this case, two architectural competitions were held, first in 1932-33 and the second international invited competition in 1936 for a spot situated between the medieval Tallinn old town and port area, in the heart of the city. In the latter case the architectural unions of Estonia, Finland, Sweden and Hungary proposed candidates for the competitions. Both competitions were won by two local architects, Erich Jacoby and Edgar Kuusik, whose project in 1936 was preferred for Alvar Aalto´s museum design. The first project was postponed due to the simultaneous and expensive construction-works of the Tallinn Art Hall (1934), the second project was elaborated until 1938, the construction-works were supposed to start in 1939, but due to the World War II and following Soviet occupation of Estonia the construction was never started and the museum remained housed in a "temporary building" for the next 50 years.

The establishing of the new building for the Ludwig Museum was related to the ambitious plans of the Budapest City government, which were launched in the end of 1980s and involved the organizing of a joint World Fair, EXPO in Budapest and Vienna in 1995. Establishing the new cultural infrastructure in Budapest was planned hand in hand with the large-scale collaborative project of great political importance. The event was seen as a symbol that would arch over the Iron Curtain[19], and enable to restore further collaboration between the two European historical capitals, both adjacent to the River of Danube.

Despite the fact that following the fall of Soviet Union Austria became an important investor in Hungarian economy, the EXPO project that was proposed under the circumstances of 1980s world economy of division, in 1991 the costs for the project were reviewed and the project that would have undoubtedly boosted the Austrian investors entry to the Hungarian markets and establish the long-term collaboration between the two cities was given up. One of the concerns of Vienna may have also been the pollution of the common waters of Danube. The joint World Fair EXPO 1995 was never held, instead the World Fair 1996 took place in the Web, under the name *World Fair for Internet Age*, to celebrate the coming of internet and borderless communications.[20]

As a part of developing infrastructure for the EXPO the holding of which was still uncertain in the beginning of 1990s, Budapest City saw the establishment of new cultural infrastructure as a good way to regenerate and bring new liveliness to the formerly abandoned district by Danube River. This was also seen as a way of further involvement for other investors interest in the area.[21] An international art museum certainly also provided a tool to compete with other major European capital cities, to establish the reputation of Budapest internationally. Several cultural institutions were planned in the area of IX District as a part of

16   Pintaric, Snjezana (2007) On *the way to the new building: the museum of contemporary art Zagreb*. Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary art, pp 15-17.

17   The Vatroslav Lisinski Concert Hall, built in 1973, was reconstructed for Eurovision Song Contest held in Zagreb 1990, which shortly following the fall of the Berlin Wall was an event of great political importance. Later on the venue has been reconstructed, following the Yugoslavian War.

18   Pintaric, Snjezana (2007) *On the way to the new building: the museum of contemporary art Zagreb*. Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary art, p 20.

19   Bohlen, Celestine (1991). Budapest Gets Cold Feet On Big Fair With Vienna, *The New York Times*, 22 Jan

20   For further see: http://parallel.park.org/About/Fair/.

21   Interview with Ivan Ronai, Museums Expert, Hunagrian Ministry of Culture, 25.02.3007.

the project. One of the most important infrastructural changes in the IX District was the construction of a new bridge, Lágymányosi, connecting Buda and Pest along the Danube. The 200m bridge was completed in October 1995, and enabled to further development of the plans for the National Theatre and Palace of Arts, a combination Concert Hall and Contemporary Art Museum. After the plan for EXPO was abandoned the City of Budapest and Hungarian Government nevertheless continued the developing of the regenerative urban design project for the District IX, engaging the private sector and local real estate developers into its accomplishments. As a result in four years, 2001-2004, the Palace of Art building was completed in partnership of the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian based Trigranit Development Corporation.

The Geographical Location of the Museums
In all the three cases the previous venues that hosted the national contemporary art collections were located in the heart of the cities, particularly in the old towns. The new museum buildings, on the other hand in case of KUMU and MSU are located in the edge of the cities, and adjacent to residential areas from the 1970s. All three museums are away from the traditional tourists' routes, the particular areas and plots even remain relatively poorly accessible by public transportation.

The location for the new building for Estonian Art Museum was chosen in 1991 by the local intellectuals out of 11 potential spots in collaboration with the Tallinn City Government. On one hand, the choice for the current location for the museum, when accessed from the city side may seem relatively safe and traditional for a museum. The well-designed Kadriorg park offers French landscape views, with flower gardens, ponds and remains surrounded by historical palace buildings such as the Presidential Palace, and Palace of Catherinenthal, which used to locate the museum until 1991. On the other hand, KUMU has been criticized widely for the closing away from the neighbouring residential Lasnamäe district.[22] The character of the building indeed refuses to relate to the rest of the urban surroundings, particularly with Lasnamäe, which is inhabited primarily by the Russian-speaking minority groups. As a consequence the architectural form continues to reinforce the urban gap and lack of governmental and municipal interest in investing into social cohesion.

In case of LUMU and MSU museums, the plans for regeneration which is expected to result from the construction of the museum building in the particular areas is more visible. Both museums act as facilitators, and play a crucial role in the strategical planning of the districts – District IX in Budapest and Novi Zagreb residential area in Zagreb. At the same time, through these ambitious plans, the cultural institutions are set into the position, where they have to cope with a reality characterized by the low offer of all other facilities and services in their close surroundings. The absence of restaurants and shops, is especially visible in the case of Novi Zagreb area, known as the city dormitory.[23] This sets the new museums in search for an identity under additional pressure adding new responsibilities, especially in order to meet the various needs of their audiences. The possibilities of the museums to deal with these questions, that were hardly in the scope of their activities in the previous location, depend on their generally tight budgets and ways of involving the corporations in their activities. During the first years following its opening LUMU museum (2005) has had to struggle in order to find ways to attract visitors even among the local

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22 Lehtovuori, Panu (2006). A Secret Art Passage. New Estonian Art Museum KUMU. *Maja. Estonian Architectural Review,* Tallinn: Maja Publishing House, No 2.

23 Pintaric, Snjezana (2007), *On the way to the new building: the museum of contemporary art Zagreb*, Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary art, p.28.

people, and make them feel confident about the new location of the museum.[24] The importance of marketing has therefore become notably more crucial in order to sustain the activities and find ways to engage investors and guarantee the income from the tickets sales.

The story of LUMU museums new location is one of the most particular of the three. As a public museum, LUMU was founded in 1989 on the basis of the agreement signed between the German art-collectors Peter and Irene Ludwig and the Hungarian Ministry of Culture, as part of the collection was donated to the Hungary. The new museum was located in one of the wings of Royal Palace in Buda. In 1996 the museum collections went through an extensive and the need for a new building became further discussed. Consequently, the institution moved to the new venue built in the District IX in 2005. What is striking about the museum relocation to the building of Palace of Arts, is that the decision was made during the time that the construction works had already started. The museum spaces were built, with little consultation with museum curators, and collection keepers on the distribution of needed space and other special conditions required for the museum facilities.[25] The Palace of Art building currently remains an isolated cluster of construction works: the new business and residential area to be. From the initial plan to concentrate several cultural venues in the area as a part of planning for EXPO, only the National Theatre (architect Maria Siklos, 2004) has been completed.

The Architectural and Urban Design
The outcome of the architecture often depends on who the real client is architectural critic Martin Filler has written on the museum constructions, reflecting on the corporate interests and prospects of the city for heightening its prestige through the spectacularness of its public buildings. According to him the architectural Maecenas may well vary depending on the personality as much as on the authority of the involved parties.[26] Important iconic buildings have often played a crucial role for the young architects desiring to establish a name and build recognizable monuments for their further career. The architects of the three museums, being born in the 1960s: Igor Franic (Croatia, MSU), Pekka Vapaavuori (Estonia, KUMU), Gabor Zaboki and Nora Demeter (Hungary, LUMU) have been all relatively young at the time when the designs have been chosen.[27] Finnish architect Vapaavuori even got the assignment shortly after graduating from his studies as an architect. Most outspokenly among the three museums architects, Vapaavuori has most pretentiously named the New York Guggenheim Museum, and Louisiana Museum in Copenhagen as his main sources for inspiration in the museum design.[28] Nevertheless, the influences of the Kiasma museum (Steven Holl, 1998) visible especially at the entrance of Kumu. Architectural design competitions for Kiasma and KUMU were indeed carried out simultaneously, both in 1994. Whereas Kiasma was completed in four years, Kumu was open 12 years following the design competition. All winning architectural designs at the competition for Art Museum of Estonia were done by Finnish architects, which naturally caused great discontent among the Estonian community of architects and other intellectuals. The criticism involved particularly the size of the museum building, which was considered too big among the general audience as the functions of museum in the society

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24   Interview with Anna Balvanyos, Head of the Program Department, LUMU Museum, 3.01.2008.
25   Ibid.
26   Filler, Martin (2005). Museums and the Maecenas Touch. *Architectural Record*, Vol 11, Nov, p 99.
27   Either during the national museum design competition, or shortly after all the winning architects have established their architectural offices, Studio za Arhitekturu (based in Zagreb), Arkva OY (based in Turku), and Zaboki&Demeter Associates (based in Budapest), respectively.
28   Valme, Valner; Hein, Inna-Katrin (2005). Eeskujuks New Yorgi Guggenheim. Interview with Pekka Vapaavuori, *Postimees,* Jan 8

remained largely incomprehensible in the early 1990s.[29] Through the involvement of several Finnish architectural and consultation companies (Finnish Foundation for Architecture Engel OY et al.) in the further works on the architectural design of the museum, Kiasma remained a model for Kumu not only in technical sense, but also in the sense of providing know-how about the contemporary museum institution through several education courses.[30]

The KUMU museum design following the arch shape submited as "CIRCULOS" for the international architectural competition (1992) gives an ageless form to the building. It is well fitted into the landscape and takes into consideration the local materials and surrounding environment: limestone is used in the exterior and interior spaces of the building. Despite the large courtyard the space has remained little used, following the moving of the museum and primarily serves as a venue for local companies summer parties who lease it from KUMU. The main entrance in the courtyard serves as a main entrance only for school groups approaching the museum through the Lasnamäe tunnel, the majority of visitors incl tourists prefer use the side entrance from the Kadriorg park. Likewise, the main parking lot ajdecent to the tunnel has proved to be used less than the small corner in the park accomodated for car parking.

Even though the architects of LUMU and MSU, are both from local origin, the respect given for the heritage traditions of Hungary and Croatia remains in existent even for the gaze of an outsider. Little reference in design of two venues is paid also to the genius loci of the district. Both architects' aim seems to be either constructing a liberally distinct differentiation from the surroundings, or instead promoting the creation of a new canon in the context of the city structure. Palace of Art design reveals little of its purpose, the building may just as well house office spaces, and its freestanding character nevertheless reveals the embodiment of a power structure. Is it a ministry, or municipality that we are dealing with? On the other hand, the building plays with the past in a peculiar way – the massive facade colonnade and wide stairways recall the public buildings in the Soviet era, particularly those erected in the 1950s and 60s.

The KUMU exhibition spaces distributed on five floors stand out for the wideness of halls, created by their spatial form overlooking each other. Although, the open structure of museum spaces may add width to the measurements, it complicates the exhibiting of contemporary art projects, particularly for their sound and video projections. Next to the exhibiting spaces, there are also other deficiencies to the distribution of spaces in the museum, which are caused by the fact that most of the work on planning was completed in the 1990s, when the growth of museum collections and size of the staff could not be predicted in detail, but which nevertheless does not justify the disfunctionality of the distribution of space that is often criticized by the audiences who find the arch form confusing for orientating oneself in the museum and the museum staff who suffer from the closed space of organization side and lack spaces for gatherings and occasional meetings.[31]

In the design of LUMU museum, very little usage of natural light and poor facilities for storing art works can be seen as a disadvantage as compared to the relatively large exhibition spaces (3300m²).[32] For the building design and interiors, LUMU is also the most complex of the three case studies, especially due to the particular story related to the moving of

29   Ajakirja „Maja" küsitlus Eesti Kunstimuuseumi konkursi tulemuste kohta (1994). *Maja. Estonian Architectural Review*, No 2, 1994; Soomre, Maria-Kristiina (2002). *Modern Museum and the National Gallery Tradition. Possibilities of Self-Identification of the Art Museum of Estonia*. Estonian Academy of Arts, Institute of Art History, Tallinn. BA Research.

30   Interview with Marika Valk, Art Museum of Estonia Director, Tallinn, 9.04.2008.

31   Interview with Piret Kullerkupp, Head of Collections, KUMU Museum 10.12.2007.

32   Interview with Anna Balvanyos, Head of the Program Department, LUMU Museum, 3.01.2008.

collections and housing the existing institution into the new building. The museum spaces present several other spatial limitations, for instance, there is no project-space within the museum, which has complicated the involvement of younger artists for accomplishing temporary projects and created a sense of elitist reputation for the museum among the local artistic community.[33] Also the storing possibilities for art are reported to remain too scarce, and already now the museum is set into a position where it has started to look for other spaces for this purpose in the surrounding area.[34]

MSU building is a free-standing monument by the big cross-roads, surrounded by several other single monuments built as pavilions for the Zagreb Fair in the 1970s. The shiny transparent surface and large concrete spaces surrounding the cubic form of the museum look for attention. Although, for MSU the actual use of the museum building can be further analyzed only after the museum has been opened for public some of the initial conclusions can be drawn taking the examples of KUMU and LUMU into account. The architect Igor Franic has insisted the importance of ensuring accessibility of the building to the public in the design of the surrounding – vast park of concrete, which as it is hoped by the museum director, will find active use by the visitors.[35] Accessibility and functionality have won against more aesthetic values that sometimes risk to compromise the usability of the building. However, it is impossible to offer any further insights since the museum exhibition spaces have not been opened for the public yet. The large halls bringing the purposes of audience recreation and museums` economic activities together, which is a common characteristic for all three museums, are especially spacious in MSU new building and through the large glass facades extend further to the concrete fields surrounding the museum construction.

Signs of Globalisation: The Museums Names

The names of new museums reflect best their recent identity shift, which much often than earlier are short and easy-to-remember catch words. One of the biggest changes for the CEE museums capturing their recent identity shift, have been the changes of names. Historically, the changes in museums names began to occur in the beginning of last century, we recall here MoMA Museum, that excluded the reference to being a "national" i.e. American museum in the early 1930s, and decided instead of Museum of Modern Art to use the name "MoMA" as its official name in reaching for audiences.[36] Another example from recent past is the name Kiasma proposed for the contemporary art museum in Helsinki, Finland, by the architect Steven Holl through the name of design entry (1993). In the 1990s Kiasma museum next to Moderna museum of contemporary art in Stockholm, has become one of the models of museum architecture in Nothern Europe, as well as internationally. Holl´s idea of **„chiasma"** signifying „a crossing point", or „a point of intersection" for the museum building at the absolute heart of the city was later taken over by the museum institution and started to be used as the official name of the new museum.

Nowadays, a truly contemporary museum institution seems to be the more contemporary, the shorter is its name. LUMU, KUMU and MSU are as if shaped along the same model set by MoMA. Is that a modernist burden? The stories behind the names, nevertheless, prove to be notably different. Moving to the new building has been the main motivation and reason to

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33   Interview with Barnabas Benscik, Director of Agency for Contemporary Art Exchange, ACAX, Budapest 25.02.2008.
34   Interview with Anna Balvanyos, Head of the Program Department, LUMU Museum, 3.01.2008.
35   Pintaric, Snjezana (2007) *On the way to the new building: the museum of contemporary art Zagreb*. Zagreb: Museum of Contemporary art.
36   We are greatful for Kylie Message and Monika Flacke for their comments on this part of our analysis, which has enabled to develop this arguement.

introduce a new name for all three museums that we analyse. Certainly, the age of internet which has influenced the museum constructions from the start, has set its own requirements for introducing shorter names, on the other hand the catch words reveal easier ways of getting the audience to remember the museum. However the fact that name National is excluded seems to refer to the desire to be part of the international contemporary art scene, rather than deal with local issues. The name KUMU for new museum building in Tallinn represents the inclusion of the public voice: the museum received its name through a public call for proposals, which was held during the construction period, two years before opening of the new museum. The name shift was notably promoted through an advertising campaign at the opening of the museum in February 2006, through which the identity of the new building was reintroduced and popularized within the public.

On the other hand, Ludwig Museum has been struggling to introduce the new name for the museum, LUMU, which was proposed by the museum staff in 2005. The difficulties may also relate to the ongoing difficulties of the institution in reaching out the broader public and little investments in marketing activities throughout its first years of its activities after moving to the new building.[37] Although the name LUMU was started to be used by the Museum, instead of the longer version „Ludwig Museum of Contemporary Art", it has remained largely unknown, even in January 2008 it is difficult to make realize the local people in Budapest, that asking for LUMU Museum, the Ludwig Museum is kept in mind…

The museum architecture may also involve the web, as one of the important extensions of the museum experience provided to the potential or already existing audiences. As a part of marketing campaign in 2007 MSU museum introduced a new logo with the slogan "MSUSEUM", and launched a new website www.msu.hr in order to engage with audiences due to the lack for a permanent exhibition space in a new way. The website gives detailed information on the history and museum collections and introduces the various opportunities that will be provided after the opening of the new building.

From One Space to Another: The Museum Organization in Transition

Museums embody on one hand the rules, norms, and beliefs of the society reflected in their collections, and on the other hand the mindset of people and the existing organizational culture through their institutions. Institutional settings in the framework of architecture are, therefore, crucial for understanding museums ambitions and their actual functioning in the society. This relationship for museums in transitioning society represents a conflict.

The museums may lack staff for financial reasons, often the moving exhausts the museum budget and building a new permanent exhibition may cause a lot of additional resources from the institution. The need to review partnerships, outsourcing the activities and importantly also the means of permanent and temporary funding sets the museums in the state of constant stress, which cannot remain unnoticed in their relationship to their audiences. We make an attempt to conceptualize these relationships further through the societal and architectural arrangements of museums in context.

In all the three case studies, the evolution of thinking about museums roles and functions in relation to the audiences can be recognized. This becomes visible particularly through their locations: *the museums have moved downtown* from up the hill. They have literally come closer to their audiences, from their former Arcadian environments which are often also the concentration of different power structures, such as parliament buildings, cathedrals, and

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37 Interview with Zsuzsanna Feher Head of Communications Department, LUMU Museum, Budapest, 30.07.2007.

other important institutions.[38] MSU as the newest of the buildings is an example where these considerations may be recognized the clearest, situating the museum in the urban fabric, aims to enliven the Novi Zagreb residential area, and facilitate the overcoming of modernist urban planning which characterises all the state socialist societies. According to this the various functions in the city structure were distinctly separated from one another, dividing the cities into clusters designed for specific functional purposes.

It should be also stressed that none of the buildings used previously to host the collections, were designed to be museums. Therefore, special attention to the purposes of housing museums (perhaps the least visible in LUMU) have notably shifted the identity of the three museums institutions in need for reinventing themselves following the postsoviet transition. Although, the LUMU Museum previously located in the Palace may not have been appropriate for storing and exhibiting contemporary art. Nevertheless, the previously the museum was located in a tourist epicentre, easily accessible for the local audiences as well as tourists. In fact the tourists formed the majority, about 60% among the museum's audiences.

In institutional theory, opinions vary about the actual role of institutions in the contemporary society, as the relationships between the state and individual, institutions and the citizen society have been revisited in post-socialist region, also contemporary architectural design can be seen to seek for ways to promote to the firmer collaboration between the two and bring transparency into the ways of communicating between the two. Nevertheless, the deconstructivist and/or monumental museum architecture seeking for attention and re-establishing new iconography for the cities, which until remains a widespread practice throughout CEE, does little to promote to neither of the two characteristics.

The three art museum buildings have a symbolical as well as practical importance of being the trendsetters within the three countries, this involve positive and negative impacts that need to be studied further in order to be better articulated. They have acted as test zones, for finding various solutions to overcome the postsocialist gaps in knowhow, funding and experiences related to networking and marketing. This involves particularly holding international architectural competitions for the museums building design, finding schemes for funding the construction works and best-suited institutional frameworks for these processes, and most importantly in finding ways for engaging the audiences further in the processes of construction and moving of the institution in order to better overcome the transition. For instance, the model set by KUMU museum to the new National Museum to be established in the second biggest city, Tartu, has already been visible in various ways. Possibly, the three construction works can provide the governments and other related parties in the relatively small postsoviet countries an opportunity to learn from the mistakes made in the processes on the way and whilst enable to avoid them in the further future.

Reaching Out for the Audiences after the Moving
The building of a new museum implies diverse consequences to the museums relationship to the audiences. In our three case studies, in Tallinn, Budapest and Zagreb, in particular due to the peripheral location of the new buildings, the museum organization has been set in a position where negotiations with the city governments are required in order to provide reorganized infrastructure to enable the access to the museum infrastructure. Although enabling better transportation facilities is planned in Budapest through construction of a new metro line, M4, and Tallinn is planning to establish a new tram line connecting the Town centre with the residential area Lasnamäe, the museums relationship with the communities requires more than physical access in the face of transportation.

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38   Giebelhause, Michela (2006). Architecture is the Museum. In New Museum Theory and Practice. Ed. Janet Marstine. Blackwell Publishing, p. 47.

One of the crucial changes that has influenced the museums' programs and policies in the recent past, has been the idea of setting the audience at the heart of their functioning. This has urged the museums to find diverse ways of engaging, learning and offering the audiences a variety of means through which to participate in the museum activities, such as organising lectures, performances, online exhibitions, developing TV-programs dedicated to contemporary art, arranging painting and theatre workshops to mention just a few. This has also set the educators and art facilitators in a more important role, than previously creating new challenges as well as new costs. Also architecture shapes the museum experience for the audiences, and the ways they are reached; for the museum institution the architectural framework dictates its programming and curating activities. Next to these activities it is important to keep in mind that museum is also an economic body, which acts as a signifier for the development and welfare of a society. In order to meet these diverse expectations, museums are organized into different departments: offices for funding, programming, technical and maintenance facilities, negotiation for collaborations, etc. Janet Marstine has observed that the decision-making in museums give very little or no voice to education departments, and make little effort to better understand their audiences.[39] This is especially true for the three museums where the education departments are recently established.

The new building is a new space and place that needs to be accepted by the community, in order to fulfil its function, and require a meaningful role in the society. Research has shown that whilst people may not know what urban design elements are required to make a place like a museum special, they are very articulate about the places they feel good about[40]. The aim of public architectural and urban design is to make people feel confident about the space and provide freedom for its convenient usages, in a museum this could mean visiting an exhibition or just going for a cup of coffee. In the cases of LUMU and MSU it is still too early to say whether the hopes set on the transitioning institutions can be justified, whereas the areas are still under important regeneration plans that do not make the place welcome yet. A social museum in case of KUMU, might mean reaching out to its audiences in the surrounding residential area and reinventing its relationship to Lasnamäe, despite for the fact that it is not encouraged by architectural design.

Following the moving to the new building there are several new activities that KUMU and LUMU museums have started to promote, seen from the architectural design and website for the opening, this promises to be the case also for MSU. This can be seen in new architectural particularities, lighting design, audio-tour headsets, museum cafeteria which are all framing devices, and participate tightly in the experience of facilitating the museum going for the audience. All the three museums, provide various ways for the audiences to spend a day in the venue, including facilities for dining, shopping, guided tours and leisure. Along these changes education has become notably more important, for KUMU and LUMU museums after their moving. In KUMU a new education centre was established in 2005, which provides tours for children, publishes materials and offers special creative courses for various age groups.[41] As LUMU faces difficulties in promoting the museum among tourists who previously formed over 60% of their audience, the focus has been shifted to young audiences, which has lead to tightening of the cooperation between the museum and schools.[42] Numerous new job positions related to education and guiding are created in LUMU and KUMU in order to better reach the needs of the young audiences and introduce them to the variety of museum programs.

39   Marstine, Janet (2006). Introduction. *New Museum Theory and Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 24-26.
40   Brecknock, Richard (2006) *More than just a bridge. Planning and designing culturally*. Stroud: Comedia
41   Interview with Sirje Helme, Director, KUMU Museum, 4.07.2007.
42   Interview with Zsuzsanna Feher, Head of Communication Department, LUMU Museum, 30.07.2007.

The MSU museum's activities, before the moving comprise a great deal of networking. While waiting for the opening of the new venue, since 2005 the museum has no permanent exhibition space, the museum staff and part of the collection is in the building located in the Old City Centre. The activities and exhibitions take place in other venues and various spaces throughout Zagreb (cultural centres, exhibition halls, other museums), which are to be found by the museum staff.[43] Although, this may enable good way for a museum to engage with various audience groups, nevertheless, this also notably obstructs the possibilities to deal with museum education and address the special needs of the different audience groups.

Conclusions

The museum institution embodies various aspects and characteristics of the society. Architectural and urban framework of new museum institutions is particularly important as it shapes the functioning of the new museum institutions in the societies, and is tightly linked to the (re-)establishing of the relationship between the museum and its audiences. In the form of public architecture all three museum buildings one hand visualise the power of the individual in designing architectural framework of the memory of a community and constructing important milestones in the landscape. On the other hand, they are products of complex social and economical processes, involving privatization, entering of foreign capital and corporative investments.

This study on the impacts of museum architecture has been carried out through analyzing three museums functioning in the present framework in order to indicate some of the crucial changes that have influenced the interventions of the cultural sector into urban landscape through buildings of art infrastructure in Estonia, Hungary and Croatia. We may well see Art Museum of Estonia, Kumu building (2006) as a monument to the Estonian-Finnish economical and political relations, and Croatian Museum of Contemporary Art, MSU (2008/2009?) tightly linked to the ending of Yugoslavian War and Palace of Art (2005) as an outcome of the rapid economical developments Central Europe and growing of public private partnerships in the art field.

Just as the rapid transformations in CEE markets encouraged the entering of international corporations, the design competitions for public buildings which have been made more and more international have urged the entering of internationally renowned architects to design the symbolical buildings and sometimes entire hearts of the urban landscapes in CEE. This has lead to the development of real estate companies and architectural offices in major cities, who next to many other activities started to organize international design competitions for public buildings.

The impacts of large scale privatisations, decentralization of cultural life and changes in the urban settings have had notable influences on the construction of new cultural institutions throughout CEE. We have discussed further the complex process of establishing a three new contemporary art museums in Central Eastern Europe focusing on issues related the architectural design of the building and its peculiarities, the changes in the organization system of the museum, the impacts of the building in the city space and its symbolic meaning. There are strengths and weaknesses to be indicated in all the three museums cases, KUMU, LUMU and MSU, many of them raise from the context, others have been created by the stakeholders.

The long process of establishment of the three museums also seem to refer to some of the particular weakness in the transitioning societies developments, which are characteristic to all the three countries. Despite the need for new infrastructure for public buildings the prolonged

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43   Interview with Marija Gattin, Head of the MSU Archive, 18.05.2007.

processes of constructing new museums refer to the absence of strong culture of collaboration on the level of Cities and Governments where they are built, as compared to the democratic countries with stronger roots. The projects also lack of further involvement of the weak local citizen society, in the three countries, which has enabled to grow further only since the beginning of 1990s. The common nominator for all of the three organisations, ultimately, also is their status of being in a willingly or unwillingly designed form symbolical monuments for the new social order, which sets a framework on the ongoing processes of nation state building.

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Thinking through the 'Other':
Comparing Representations of Cultural
Alterity at the British Museum and the
Shanghai Museum

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In this paper, I wish to analyse and compare the process through which cultural diversity is constructed and represented in national museums in the UK and in China.

I contend that the museum representation of alterity reflects not only specific culturally and historically determined configurations of the political, social and economic spheres, but also, and more to the point, contemporary processes of change in the perception of the past, the organisation of knowledge and systems of value. As case studies, I will consider the British Museum and the Shanghai Museum.

I want to ask: who is the 'Other'? What forces, *ratio* and intellectual stances implicitly inform its museum representation? What is the role of the colonial experience (as a colonizer in one case and as a colonized in the other) in shaping the representation of alterity?

I show that the Shanghai Museum and the British Museum offer two quite different paradigms of representation of the 'Other'. In the case of the Shanghai Museum, I maintain that the 'Other' is represented by Chinese ethnic minorities. Conversely, I argue that in the British Museum the category of 'Other' is multiple and open – indeed, the 'Other' is everywhere, scattered in the different museum sections in a confusion of museological and disciplinary approaches. Aiming at making explicit and discussing the curatorial decisions informing the representation of alterity, the comparison will focus on the organisation of the collections, the selection of objects, the display techniques, as well as the amount and quality of information supplied by exhibitions.

The investigation confirms that the differences between the two paradigms are the result of different historical and cultural trajectories. Yet, I want to argue that these two differing approaches may also be understood as responses to different

challenges: of inclusion and national cohesion in the case of Shanghai Museum, and of distancing from the colonial past in the case of the British Museum. In this sense, the representations of alterity in the two museums share a major feature: a generalized emphasis on the past and on aesthetics. I hold that the historicisation and aesthetisation of the 'Other' are strategies to elude engagement with politically or socially delicate issues that might threaten domestic social cohesion and/or the harmony of international relations.

"The challenge now is to reinvent the museum as an institution that can orchestrate new relations and perceptions of difference that both break free from the hierarchically organized forms of stigmatic othering that characterized the exhibitionary complex and provide more socially invigorating and, from a civic perspective, more beneficial interfaces between different cultures" (Bennett, 2006:59)

Introduction

In this paper, I wish to analyse and compare the representations of cultural diversity[1] in two major national museums, the British Museum and the Shanghai Museum.

Through the comparative analysis of these case studies, I aim at showing how the museum representation of alterity reflects not only specific culturally and historically determined configurations of the political, social and economic spheres, but also, and more to the point, contemporary processes of transformation affecting the perception of cultural and national identities, the organisation of knowledge and the underlying systems of value.

We are used to think that colonialism plays a key role in shaping the approaches to the cultural Other, and I subscribe to this vision. Yet, through my analysis I wish to show that the future challenges facing the nation, and by extension national museums, are at least as important as the nation's past in conceptualizing and representing the Other. I contend that increasingly, museums – even when presenting divergent historical trajectories and attending to different domestic agendas, as in the case studies below – are faced by the same kind of challenges (to mention but a few, satisfaction of the public, response to contentious issues such as questions of repatriation, social inclusion and legitimacy of representation). To these, I argue, they are responding with a similar museological strategy that I define as 'aesthetization', which emphasises the aesthetics of objects in their museum presentation.

The comparison between the displays of the Other in the British Museum and the Shanghai Museum appears of particular interest at the light of the unique features of these institutions as well as of the specific historical itineraries of the two countries. On the one hand, the British Museum, a key institution of the British colonial apparatus, since its inception in 1753 and for at least a century and a half operated as a showcase of colonial trophies. On the other, the Shanghai Museum, created at the end of the 19th century by the British, was the very manifestation of the colonial presence in China, and as such it became, to the eyes of the Chinese, and for the first half of the 20th century, an emblem of colonization.

Such diverse historical backgrounds cast light on different museological approaches, and more relevantly for this discussion, on different representations of alterity.

Who is the 'Other'? What logics inform its museum representation? What is the role of the colonial experience in shaping the representation of alterity? What other factors concur to this

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1   Throughout the text I use interchangeably the terms 'cultural diversity', 'alterity', 'Other' and 'Otherness'. The multifaceted, blurred and fluid character of the notion of Other (and of identity for that matter) amplified by the constantly shifting references to the local, regional, national, transnational and global realms, challenges the very operativeness of this concept. Indeed, to account for the heterogeneity of cultural forms in both time and space, it would be more appropriate to refer to a plural 'Others'. The use of the singular throughout this paper, is not meant to subscribe to a linguistic form of essentialization, but responds to a concern for simplicity.

process? In a nutshell, how can we 'read' what we see today in these two museums and how are we to make sense of the different approaches to alterity?

I will show that the Shanghai Museum and the British Museum offer two quite different paradigms of representation of the Other. In the case of the Shanghai Museum, I maintain that the Other is represented by Chinese ethnic minorities, whilst in the British Museum the category of 'Other' is multiple and open. Indeed, the 'Other' is literally everywhere, scattered in the different museum sections in a confusion of museological and disciplinary categories.

Aiming at making explicit and discussing the curatorial decisions informing the representation of alterity, the comparison between the Shanghai Museum and the British Museum will focus on the organisation of the collections, the selection of objects, the display techniques, as well as the amount and quality of information supplied by exhibitions. The fieldwork observations conducted at the Shanghai Museum in the context of my doctoral research will allow me to put into perspective the data collected at the British Museum.

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My reflection takes as departing point a provocative question: (why) do museums need to represent the Other? Before embarking in the discussion of how the Other is represented, I pause a moment to attempt to sketch the elements of an answer to this difficult question. I then turn to the consideration of China's relation to the Other at the light of the colonial experience, as a prologue to the first case study, the Shanghai Museum. A brief historical excursus introduces the discussion of the Museum's approach to the ethnic Other through the analysis of the 'Kadoorie gallery of Chinese minority and nationalities arts'. The focus moves then to the British Museum. Building on a critical examination of the Asian, North American and African Galleries, I discuss the internal coherence of the galleries and their articulation in relation to the broader issue of the representation of cultural diversity. Finally, setting the two case studies one against the other, I draw the conclusive remarks.

Museums and the Making of the Other

Material culture helps us to create images and narratives for intangible, abstract concepts such as nation and national identity, culture and civilisation. National museums have since their inception used the authority, trust and credibility of which they are endowed to validate such images and narratives as 'true' and 'authentic'. What I am most concerned with, here, is attempting to decode the subtle, complex and mostly hidden processes through which such narratives and images are shaped and presented to museum audiences. I will concentrate on the creation and display not so much of images and narratives of national identity but of their counterpart, the Other.

My analysis of the museum representation of cultural diversity is informed by the idea that museums, precisely as the images they project, are cultural artefacts in their own right. The fact that, regardless the claims to 'objectivity', 'scientism', 'rationality' and 'neutrality' of museum displays, these remain the outcome of specific historical, cultural, political and personal imprints, cannot be emphasised enough. Brian Wallis reminds us: "through the engineered overproduction of certain types of images or the censorship or suppression of others, and through controlling the way images are viewed or by determining which are preserved, cultural representations can also be used to produce a certain view of a nation's history"(Wallis, 1991:86). I hold that such considerations may be extended to the nation's Other, to the extent the self and the Other are ultimately mutually constituting categories. Daniel Miller corroborates this argument when he writes "since meaning is often defined through oppositions, dominant groups may often be found not only to construct material representations of their own interests, but also to project models of those which they define themselves in opposition"(Miller, 1991:58).

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In the colonial context, the depiction of the Other as uncivilized, barbarian and primitive was instrumental to the legitimation of the colonizer authority, often framed in terms of 'civilizing mission'. Today, the demarcation line between 'us' and 'them' has become blurred: the Other is no longer far, distant, absent. As James Clifford aptly reminds us "'cultural' difference is no longer a stable, exotic 'otherness'; self-other relations are matters of power and rhetoric rather than of essence" (Clifford, 1988:14).

As a result of migration, integration and globalisation, 'us' and 'them' as subject categories have fully blended. One of the consequences of this is that curatorial accountability is heightened and displays are increasingly subject to scrutiny (to some extent, this very paper testifies to that). In a process of internalization of these changes, museum depictions of cultural alterity no longer radicalise differences, but tend to normalize them as 'cultural variants'. Displays of Otherness are thus inevitably caught in the tension between the requirement to interpret, adapt and simplify the Other in order to make it intelligible (and palatable?) and the necessity to preserve a margin of difference to satisfy the sustained demand for the exotic; complexities, nuances and inconsistencies are hence ironed out to the benefit of an unproblematic cultural consumption. Gone is the taste for the unusual, the anomalous, the deformed, and the grotesque: the alterity that museums present us with is no longer menacing, troubling, disturbing or disconcerting. Rather, the approach to the Other is increasingly framed as a benevolent, philanthropic gaze onto human condition. Cultural differences no longer divide but connect peoples *because* they are being transcended and transfigured into the 'universal' values of Beauty, Truth and Authenticity. Only once domesticated, cultural difference finds its way into the museum, where it continues to fulfil a basic human need: it seems to me that portraying cultural alterity, crystallizing, perpetuating, thus assuring cultural variety, museums counter the spectre of the dullness of a world without diversity – a world of standards and of countless imitations of standards.

China and Its 'Others'

It seems worth prefixing the discussion of the representation of the cultural Other in the Shanghai Museum with a note on the Chinese colonial experience, if only because as relatively few other countries, China has been almost simultaneously a victim of colonialism and a colonial power itself. It has to be noted though that China has experienced quite a peculiar form of colonialism, whereby the foreign administration of resources did not extend to the whole Chinese territory, but concentrated geographically (on important harbours such as Tianjin, Shanghai, Hong-Kong and Macau) and thematically (the colonial presence mainly focused on the control of trade and trade-related institutions – banks, markets and stock exchange). Without underestimating the traumatic consequences of the forced opening of Chinese ports (sanctioned by the Nanjing Treaty in 1842), the colonial presence in China remained contained in time and space. As a result, it did not lead to a radical, overall disruption of the country's traditions, nor to the annihilation of its cultural coordinates.

Conversely, as a colonizer, China has mainly a history of contiguous colonization, understood not so much in terms of physical extension of the empire's geo-political frontiers (which throughout China's millenarian history have remained remarkably stable) but as a gradual process of cultural assimilation of the peoples inhabiting its peripheral regions. On these bases, China is defined as a "unified, multinational state" (*duominzu guojia*) (Fei, 1979:3), this formulation conflating the themes of continuity and unity, on the one hand, and cultural diversity, on the other.[2] Ethnic minorities are hence caught in what some scholars

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2   To this day, 56 nationalities have been officially recognized, the Han representing the large majority of the population (over 90%). See WANG Can, 2004, *Ethnic groups in China*, China Intercontinental Press, Beijing, p.6.

have called 'internal colonialism'(Jonsson, 2000:74), a combination of the 'civilizing mission' that Chinese central authorities claim to carry on to the benefit of minorities, and of 'Chinese Orientalism', implying varying amounts of exoticisation (Gladney, 1994:92-123) and essentialisation (Dahl, Stade, 2000:159) of the ethnic Other.

These considerations cast light on the position of cultural strength that China enjoyed vis-à-vis the foreign and the 'domestic' Other – an element that we should bear in mind in considering the approach to the cultural Other in the Shanghai Museum.

The Development of the Shanghai Museum

Before proceeding with the analysis of the museum representation of alterity in the Shanghai Museum, I wish to briefly outline the origins and the development of this institution in view to compare its historical itinerary to that of the British Museum. In so doing, I aim at bringing to the fore the impact that the respective socio-political frameworks exerted on the development of these institutions and on their approaches to cultural diversity.

In 1871, the North China section of the Asian Royal Society[3] initiated collection activities that were to constitute the core of the collections of the future Shanghai Museum (Wei, Kolbas, 2007:79). We know little of the first decades of existence of this institution, except that its collections were severely damaged and mostly got dispersed following the war against Japan (1937). With the creation of the People's Republic in 1949, the museum became a Chinese institution; under the leadership of the then mayor of Shanghai, general Chen Yi, the Museum was reconstituted, and its collections refurbished.[4] The 'new' Shanghai Museum opened its doors in 1952, in a symbolically charged location: the horse racing club, an emblem of (British) colonial rule. The gesture was an unmistakable political statement: the Shanghai local government was determined to erase any trace of colonial presence by re-appropriating the very symbols of the foreigner's rule. The same rationale lies behind move, in 1959, to a building previously occupied by a Western bank.

With an "awkward design and increasingly dilapidate infrastructure" (Doran, 1997:26), the bank building was far from an appropriate museum location. What's more, the museum endured the upheavals and the dramatic events of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), when, as the former director Ma Chenyuan recalls, it was necessary to protect cultural relics from the devastation of the Red Guards[5] (Doran, 1997:30).

Until well into the 1980s, despite the value of the relics and the efforts of the museum staff, the Shanghai Museum was largely unknown to Chinese audiences and mostly ignored by the scant tourists. In spite of the need for refurbishment, it was hard to persuade the Shanghai government to fund the construction of a new building for the museum. It was thanks to the initiative, the efficiency, the originality and the managerial capacities of the curatorial staff – in particular of the director Ma Chenyuan and vice director Wang Qingtheng – that, towards the end of the 1980s the first steps were taken to gather the necessary funds. Exploiting all their connections and professional expertise, the two directors succeeded in tapping into the reservoir of overseas private collections of ancient Chinese art that had fled the country at time of the establishment of the Communist government in 1949 and later,

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3   The North China section of the Asian Royal Society was founded in 1857 as a branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, a scholarly society devoted to the study of Asian culture.

4   Prof. Qian Zonghao, director of the Department of Research, Shanghai History Museum. Personal communication, August 2004.

5   Indeed, Mr. Ma put his own life at stake in attempting to protect the Museum cultural relics from the destruction frenzy of the Red Guards. He was tortured and later sent to work in a re-education camp in Hubei Province for five years, only to be recalled by the government in the early 1970s, when his expertise in ancient bronze relics was needed to set up an exhibition of Chinese ancient bronzes destined to tour the United States, as a follow up of the visit to China of the US president Richard Nixon.

during the Cultural Revolution. Many masterpieces thought to have been lost to China for ever, made their return to the mainland as donations to the Museum.[6] Through an unprecedented (by Chinese standards at least) combination of public and private funds (mainly coming from private benefactors of the Chinese diaspora in Hong Kong, Taiwan and North America), the necessary capital was collected and the new Shanghai Museum, now located on the central People's square, was inaugurated in October 1996.

Considered by many experts as the finest museum of Chinese art in the world, the collections of the Shanghai Museum include some 120,000 objects ranging from the Neolithic (5000-1500 BC) to the twentieth century. Once more, the location of the new Shanghai Museum is charged with meaning. The erection of the majestic building, on the People's Square, right at the core of Shanghai, is a firm (re-)assertion of the centrality of Chinese culture in the national project.

As we can see, over the history of the Shanghai Museum, the support provided by the Chinese government has been discontinuous and conditioned. The State was at best un-supportive (and at worst accomplice) in the partial destruction of the collections during the Cultural Revolution. Conversely, it was thanks to the initiative of individuals that the Museum flourished – I refer here to mayor Chen Yi who re-opened the Museum in 1952, director Ma Chenyuan who orchestrated its revamp and the many overseas private donors who made it possible. Yet, in spite of the central government's reluctance to support it, the institution has definitely played a role in the post-colonial transition: through its symbolically pregnant relocations, the Shanghai Museum has been a locus of expression of the process of nation building pursued *via* the re-appropriation of Chinese cultural heritage and the celebration of the artistic achievements of this millenarian civilisation.

The Other at the Shanghai Museum

The presence of a gallery devoted to Chinese national minorities' arts in an art-history institution such as the Shanghai Museum might be somewhat surprising. One might expect that the 'Kadoorie gallery of Chinese minority and nationalities arts' constitute a separate (for instance anthropological or ethnographic) section of the Museum. This is precisely not the case. Drawing from the analysis of the representation of ethnic minorities in other Chinese museums, I argue that minority cultures are not so much framed by the gaze that is purported on them (anthropological rather than historical, artistic or scientific) as by their very materiality: minorities' costumes and implements are solely items of Chinese material culture. In this logic, the Shanghai Museum's choice to introduce a gallery of ethnic minorities' arts next to the other galleries devoted respectively to bronzes, sculpture, calligraphy, furniture, painting, coins, jade and ceramic works, is meant to inscribe ethnic minorities, or better, *their materiality*, within the framework of the Chinese nation.

This approach is clearly stated in the opening (and main) text of the Gallery – an introduction that unmistakably sets the tone of the exhibition, underpinning the discourses on unity and diversity of the Chinese nation:

> our splendid and glorious Chinese civilization is the result of the assimilation of various nationalities that have lived in China. Due to varying social conditions and means of livelihood, the different nationalities in China have developed quite diverse cultures. The unique features of each culture are best expressed through their decorative arts. The

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6   Not surprising, donors are quite extensively mentioned throughout the museum: the ten galleries, the exhibition halls and the library are all named after donors, and a complete list of benefactors' names is engraved on the marble walls of the Museum entrance hall. In some special cases, the Museum has even embarked in the publication of a brochure (on sale in the Museum's bookshop) introducing the donor and the content of his/her donation.

numerous different artifacts, often magnificently coloured, exhibit diverse skills and reflect the flavour of each culture's rich and varied lifestyle. The unusual and original arts and crafts of minority cultures have made great contribution to the culture and art of the Chinese nation.[7]

Here, in tune with the Marxist-Leninist theory of evolution, the cultural variations of ethnic minorities are causally linked to their different stage of development, of which material culture (notably decorative arts) are the evidence.

The Kadoorie gallery exhibits mainly textiles (including clothes, embroideries, batik, weaving, woollens and prints) and a small number of decorative items (hats and masks) and everyday tools (smoke pipes, tea sets and food containers). Most costumes are exhibited in glass cases lining the walls, though some are worn by mannequins – almost all female – displayed in individual glass boxes (below).

Figure 1. Ethnic minorities' costumes in the Kadoorie gallery of Chinese minority and nationalities arts, Shanghai Museum.

Photo: The Author.

Interestingly, the depiction of the minority differs from an ethnic group to the other. Whilst most of the 56 officially recognized ethnic groups are not represented, others, notably the Miao of Guizhou Province, are given great prominence (possibly by reason of their spectacular costumes). Similarly, some minorities are represented by relatively recent (20th century) or even contemporary objects, while others, as in the case of the Manchu, are

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7   Shanghai Museum. Last visited in May 2006.

represented exclusively by more ancient relics (dating of the late Qing dynasty). This suggests an implicit association with the (Manchu) Qing Imperial dynasty – a link that no doubt exists in the collective imagery, although this representation hinders a full acknowledgement of change over time, denying the Manchu the right to a present (and a future) as a self-standing cultural community.

Museum texts assert that "each nationality has distinct costumes and adornments with different styles and patterns (...) These differences are useful in distinguishing the different cultures". This text echoed in my mind when I stood in front of the two mannequins portraying Tibetan nationals. 'Tibetans' are presented barefoot, with outfits composed of fur garments, ancient swords, spears and 'necklaces' made of animal teeth. I sensed that the whole image was constructed to suggest ideas of roughness, hostility and archaism. When I further read that "Tibetan designs are strong and robust, manifesting the esoteric nature of the Buddhist images. The Dai silverware are elegant, exquisite and elegantly carved (...)"[8], I felt tempted to think that the characteristics attributed to the material culture are being extended to the ethnic group.

The exhibition in the Kadoorie Gallery also presents an intriguing attempt to group objects according to similarity. For instance, headdresses of Tibetan and Mongol origin – similar in colour and shape – are exhibited together. One might wonder whether this association of objects of material culture is implicitly meant to pinpoint the common traits among the various minorities, reinforcing the rhetoric of continuity and unity, and the ideas of 'belonging' to the Chinese nation.

Display methods do not re-create the contexts of production and use of the artifacts – for instance with photos, videos or detailed labels. The visitor is denied the possibility of a greater depth into the cultural individuality of the group depicted. No reference is made to the political, hierarchic, ritual, religious, or social meaning of the objects. Nor to the fact, for instance, that a rigid hierarchy informs the relations among minority groups, resulting in at times harsh conflicts. All this information is evacuated to the benefit of a uniform, smooth picture where minorities simply co-exist harmoniously. As a result, the visitor is not allowed to imagine, lest to understand, the society from which the objects on display originate. Rather, the public is invited to take them at face value, as artworks that one appreciates for their formal properties, their beauty, the skills involved in their creation – elements that are presented as ultimately reverberating the splendour of Chinese civilisation.

My reading of the representation of the ethnic Other in the galleries of the Shanghai Museum develops along the following considerations.

Firstly, the narratives on cultural diversity underscore a selective incorporation of cultural features to the idea of Chinese nation. Customs and traditions of minorities are at times emphasized as evidence of the variety and richness of Chinese culture, and at other times, in the case for instance of marital or funerary rites, described as marks of backwardness. Whilst some features are strained, preserved and 'folkloricized' as 'traditional' (*chuantongde*), others are dismissed as 'feudal superstitions'. Secondly, ethnic minorities' identities are constructed as spatially anchored. The displays of the Shanghai Museum attribute to each ethnic group a precise, unique geographic area of settlement. The cultural homogeneity over the territory thus artificially constructed rules out migration, overlapping and cohabitation of various groups. Thirdly, ethnic groups are depicted as ethnically homogeneous and stable. Exchanges among groups, hybrid cultural forms and blurred boundaries are strategically underplayed. Fourthly, ethnic groups are represented as entertaining harmonious relations, no reference is made to hierarchies among groups or conflicts. Discriminations based on political power, cultural or religious systems for the access to educational, professional and other social

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8   Both quotes from the Shanghai Museum, last visited May 2006.

benefits, are flattened or completely edited out. Fifthly, and finally, minorities are pictured in a time-less dimension, as if impermeable to change. They are thought as not only isolated in space (they live at the 'borders') but also in time.

Thus constructed, aestheticized and crystallized in time and space, the image of the ethnic Other is made manageable, domesticated, therefore instrumental to the processes of homogenization, generalization, comparison and ultimately assimilation to the Chinese national identity. From this angle, the display of ethnic minorities in the Shanghai Museum subscribes to governmental discursive practices aiming at constructing the alterity of the ethnic group *in reference to* (rather than *versus*) the Chinese nation. In other words, the identity of the ethnic group is inscribed within the cultural, historic and institutional framework of the Chinese nation (Jonsson, 2000:60). In this way, the Chinese government factually annihilates the potential of minorities' cultural reproduction, whilst 'authenticating' their identity as part of the Chinese nation.

The Historico-Political Background of the British Museum

If we now turn to the consideration of the British Museum and the historical conditions of its origins and development, we are faced with an extraordinary instance of an institution at the service of colonial ideology. Needless to say, the political, economic, and cultural dimensions of colonialism deeply affected the British Museum's approaches to cultural alterity. Yet it would be myopic to confine the analysis to the colonial paradigm. It is my contention that the representation of the Other at the British Museum suggests that the institution is actually coming to terms with its colonial past, endeavouring to transcend national taxonomies and construct a platform where global identities may find expression.

Founded in 1753 on the collections that Sir Hans Sloane bequeathed to the British nation, since its inception the British Museum asserted its nature of public institution, open to everyone and with no admission fee. Its 'national' character may also be found in its collections, firmly grounded in a concept of national heritage, including natural history specimen (transferred to the Natural History Museum in the 1880s) as well as books and manuscripts (disincorporated from the main collections to constitute the British Library in 1973). Its donors were not private collectors as in the case of the Shanghai Museum, but diplomats, explorers, missionaries and anthropologists at the service of Her Majesty. The British government played a crucial role in providing the Museum with appropriate spaces for its collections, from the original site of the Montagu House (purchased through the income of a national lottery) to the transfer of Ethnographic collections to the former Senate House of London University in 1970, from the creation of a new separate building for the British Library in 1998 to the spectacular re-development of the Great Court in 2000, marking also the return of the Ethnographic collections to Bloomsbury.

Already from these concise notes we can see how, historically, the relationship State-museum has taken different configurations in the two case studies: weak, discontinuous and conditioned in the case of the Shanghai Museum, and uninterrupted and strong in the case of the British Museum. If this contributes to explain the differences in the identification of the Other (who the Other is), it nevertheless leaves open the question of the similarity in the two museums' approach to alterity (how the Other is represented).

I will return to this point in the conclusion.

The Other in the British Museum

Who is the Other in the British Museum? To begin with, it is difficult to say who is the 'us' in the British Museum. Narratives of British national identity shun the Museum's exhibition rooms. Craig Clunas acutely noted: "[*in the*] museums of imperial and post-imperial Britain [...] the refusal to privilege the presentation of distinctively 'British' material (and if anything

rather the reverse) within the collections is constitutive of an identity that eschews national definition in favour of a claim of universal hegemony, as a transcendent fixed point which observes all other 'cultures'. The British Museum could never be restricted to British things, for to do so would set a limit to the reach of British power"(1997:414). In the same vein, Magnus Fiskesjö asserts that the nation (referring here to Sweden) uses foreign collections to "capture the image of its intrepid self in the world" (Fiskesjö 2007:7).

It seems to me that the exhibitions at the British Museum point at a plurality of Others. Indeed, as the Museum defines itself an history rather than an art institution (Wilson, 2001:13), the main Other would be an historical entity. However, given the purpose of comparison with the Shanghai Museum, where the Other is an actualised, contemporary entity, I will be mainly concerned with the displays of living cultures.

Taking as a starting point the Museum's plan, one can notice that, set aside ancient civilisation, the remaining 'living cultures' have been grouped into three geographic areas: Asian cultures (including the Joseph Hotung gallery for China, India, South Asia and South-East Asia, as well as the Korean and Japanese galleries), the Americas (the JP Morgan Chase Gallery of North America) the Middle East (the John Addis Gallery entitled "The Islamic World") and Africa (in the Sainsbury Galleries). For reasons of space, I will confine the analysis to the Asian, the North American and African galleries.[9]

The Asian Galleries

Elsewhere I have discussed the museological approach adopted in the Joseph Hotung Gallery of Oriental Antiquities with reference to the Chinese collections.[10] Here, I wish to focus on the other artifacts exhibited in that room (from India, South and South-East Asia), as well as on the Korean and Japanese Galleries. Together, they constitute the Asian[11] section of the Museum.

The organisation of exhibits in the Indian and South East Asian section of the Joseph Hotung Gallery mainly follows a chronological criterion. The display here privileges religious sculpture. Roughly half of the exhibition space is occupied by Indian artifacts, the remaining space being shared among several other South Asian countries including Nepal, Thailand, Cambodia and Java. The display presents a mainly didactic art-historical concern; objects are grouped by function and sequences of variations of the same object show the development of techniques and styles.

Museum texts illustrate the chronological development of the various sculptural styles, but no reference is made to the conditions of accession of such artifacts or, for instance, to the context of production and exhibition of the sculptures: were they destined to a public gaze or to private enjoyment? What do they tell us about the societies they portray? And what can we say about the technical achievements and the craft skills of their makers? These are just examples of questions that the exhibition might have raised, although it might legitimately be countered that these aspects simply go beyond the angle of presentation chosen by the curators.

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9   For the same reason, I cannot discuss here the permanent ethnographic exhibition "Living and Dying" in the Wellcome Trust Gallery, though relevant elements for the analysis could be found in that context too.

10   I discussed the display of Chinese art in the Joseph Hotung Gallery in a conference paper entitled "Representing and 'consuming' the Chinese Other at the British Museum" presented at *NaMu III: National Museums in a Global World*, Department of Culture Studies and Oriental languages, University of Oslo, Norway, 19-21 November 2007.

11   I adopt here the denomination used in the British Museum museum map.

Figure 2. The glass cases in the Joseph Hotung Gallery of Oriental Antiquities, Indian section, British Museum.

Photo: The Author.

All in all, it seems to me that the 'South Asian Other', as it appears from the Joseph Hotung Gallery, is refined, seductive and mysterious. But it is also a silent Other, an entity that seems to come to us from a distant past, and with seemingly no present, almost as if South Asia, likewise the Assyrian or the Romans, were an ancient civilisation forever lost to the world.

Leaving the South Asian galleries and heading upstairs, one finds the Korean Foundation Gallery. In a soft and intimate atmosphere, the relatively small and airy exhibition room presents ceramics, prints, paintings, decorative and utilitarian items, including the reconstruction of a traditional scholars' study and a temporary exhibition of contemporary Korean art in the lobby. It is difficult to define the exhibitionary mode: this is a mixture of aesthetics (objects have clearly been selected for their formal characteristics, which are maximized by the rarefied layout and the precise lighting, inviting a close examination), historical (a chronological order is respected), and thematic approaches (objects are organised in clusters of materials: ceramics, prints, paintings and so on). The predictable prominence of ceramics is counterbalanced by the less predictable exhibition of contemporary art. Similarly, the scholars' study has been constructed according to traditional rules but by contemporary craftsmen. Decorative and literati items are juxtaposed to everyday objects in a dialogue between past and present, tradition and creativity, formality and spontaneity. The ensuing image of Korea (one might rightly infer that we are talking more precisely of South Korea) is one of evolution within tradition – the Korean Other, seems to tell us the exhibition, is conscious of its past but also well grounded into its present.

Just as the Korean Gallery bathes in a soft light, the Japanese Gallery is immersed in a dark, essential and solemn atmosphere. Objects are exhibited in uncluttered glass cases, illustrated by unobtrusive, essential texts. The effect of visual purity and essentiality is further reinforced by the widespread use of all-glass exhibition cases, which create an optic effect of objects seemingly 'floating' in the space. This layout contributes to create an impression of lightness that reverberates on the overall encounter with Japanese artifacts. The introductory panels promise to explore "how continuity and change have shaped Japan's past and present and its relationship with the rest of the world".[12] The exhibition structure follows a chronological order coupled with a thematic criteria – each section is introduced by a key object. The result is a story-telling effect, where each temporal section is 'narrated' through the objects on display. The fact that most of the artifacts chosen for the exhibition are decorative items mirrors the image of a civilisation with a sharp aesthetic sense.

In this regard, the exhibition on Japan rejoins those of the other Asian galleries (Indian, South East Asian, Chinese and Korean) in shaping a consistent image of the Asian Other. Although the Indian and South Asian Gallery stress an art historical dimension, the Asian galleries share an emphasis on the exquisite craftsmanship of artifacts, depicted as expression of an epistemology of art and material culture imbued of the philosophical ideals of beauty, purity, balance and harmony. It follows that – we are told – Asian cultures are best appreciated under the angle of their sense of aesthetics. I feel that underlying this proposition rests a key assumption: Asian culture is here equated to Asian civilisation[13], understood (and constructed) as an abstract entity divorced from the contemporary socio-political and economic realities of Asian countries. In turn, Asian civilisation is indexed by its artistic production, thus being itself objectified and reduced to a 'beautiful object'. In this sense, I share Antony Shelton's concern, "if essentialising discourses have largely retreated from ethnographic exhibitions, they have re-grouped in a dangerous, new exhibition genre which treats culture as heritage, and objects as the embodiment of the cultural genius and identity of a distinct group or peoples"(Shelton 2001:48).

The JP Morgan Chase North American Gallery

In contrast with the art historical approach of the Indian and South East Asian Gallery, and the aesthetic angle of the Korean and Japanese Galleries, upon entering the JP Morgan Chase gallery of North America, one finds oneself in the presence of the familiar museological style of ethnographic exhibitions.

Visually, the first impact is one of abundance of both objects and text. Objects include some 'classic' ethnographic categories: masks, everyday tools (knives, fishing equipment, pottery), handicrafts (basketry, wood carvings), skins and furs, ethnic costumes and textiles. They are mainly grouped according to a combination of geographical and functional criteria. Exhibits are interspersed with panels bearing a wealth of information: texts, maps and photos explore aspects of local lifestyle, production methods and consumption/use of artifacts. Particularly revelatory of the ethnographic approach is the normative tone of the texts illustrating, for instance, what people inhabiting the North West Coast do, where they live, what they eat, what their kinship structures are and so on. The North American Other is then museologically framed as relatively a more 'primitive' Other, seemingly frozen at the moment of the European encounter, and upon which the Museum purports an ethnographic gaze set on the 'we-explain-it-to-you' mode.

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12   Japan Gallery, British Museum. Last visited in December 2007.

13   I use the term civilisation here as meaning "a relatively high level of cultural and technological development; *specifically***:** the stage of cultural development at which writing and the keeping of written records is attained". Definition provided by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary.

The Sainsbury African Gallery

Opened in March 2001 with funds from the Sainsbury Trust and the Henry Moore Foundation, the African Gallery presents itself as a mixture of artistic and ethnographic approaches to African culture. In the words of the curators "the installation itself is highly aesthetic (...) The information panels and labels, on the other hand, are strongly ethnographic so that the exhibition can work at both levels"(Spring, Barley, Hudson, 2001:37).

As on a white canvas, the objects of the African Gallery seem to emerge from a candid background in all their communicative strength. Indeed, one is taken aback by the range, quality and originality of the objects chosen to represent the African continent. Exhibits are organised in different sections according to the double logic of their material (textiles, pottery, woodcarving, metal, brass casting) and topic (masquerade, personal adornment). An aesthetic concern is clear from the characteristics of the items selected and their measured, balanced, studied juxtaposition.

Figure 3. The entrance of the Sainsbury African Gallery, British Museum.

Photo: The Author.

But the exhibition aims at reaching far beyond an aesthetic appraisal of African art. Objects are in fact complemented by a wealth of information in the form of texts and video documentaries exploring specific issues from an ethnographic angle.

The iconographic wooden sculptures of human heads and figures are relatively scarce in this exhibition, displaced by the works of contemporary African artists. To the extent that these works elude categorizations and defy the canons of what is considered African art in the west,

their selection for this exhibition does not fail to surprise the visitor, shaking and displacing pre-existing stereotypes, whilst refreshing one's ideas of African art.

But again, it is African art, more than African culture, that is at stake here. The African Other has finally dismissed its 'primitive', 'savage', 'traditional', 'authentic' aura, and is finally apprehended in its multifaceted, dynamic and creative dimensions. Yet, pondering the Sainsbury African Gallery, one wonders to what extent the image of the continent that emerges from the exhibition is filtered through Western eyes. What we witness is an Africa seen from the west, the Africa of the contemporary African-born artists living in London who, among others, contributed the objects in the contemporary art section, the Africa we know through the exotic restaurants in our towns, through independent movies, ethnic music and fair trade shops – are we facing an African Other ultimately modelled for our own consumption?

That said, the African Gallery is a large and complex exhibition, bearing various layers of interpretation (ethnographic, artistic, technico-material, historical and geo-political to mention a few) and I cannot discount that these few notes certainly do not render justice to this complexity.

* * *

Drawing from what precedes, I am lead to conclude that the British Museum addresses a plurality of 'Others', and does so in a plurality of ways.

There is obviously an inconsistency in the museological approaches of the various galleries. In part, this is to ascribe to the tensions deriving from the juxtaposition of galleries bearing different museological rationales – I refer namely to the binomial fine art *versus* ethnographic approach. In this respect, it is relevant to note that the ethnographic collections (the American, African and Oceanic collections that we see today in the North American and African Galleries) were separated from the rest of the Museum's collections in 1970, whilst the curatorship of Asian artifacts remained under the competence of the Department of Oriental Antiquities. The displaced ethnographic collections developed and operated for thirty years under an independent (ethnographic) logic and as a distinct entity (the Museum of Mankind). They were re-incorporated in the British Museum in 2000 and juxtaposed to pre-existing galleries imprinted by a clear fine art approach (still manifest in the Mexican Gallery and the Asian Galleries). The result, oversimplifying only a bit, is that the Other is framed through the lenses of art history in the case of Asia, of ethnography in the case of North America, and through a mixture of ethnography and art in the case of Africa. The 'difference' of (and among) the Other(s) is acknowledged but forced into disciplinary and museological moulds.

This confusion of registers nevertheless suggests an attempt to disfranchise museum representations from the historico-colonial perspective bringing together the wealth of information of anthropological exhibitions and the emphasis on aesthetics proper to fine art displays. It must be said that the most challenging and engaging gallery, the African Gallery, is a clear attempt to reshuffle classification criteria and transcend disciplinary categories. I have the feeling that faced with the limits of both the 'universal survey' museum formula and the rigid taxonomies imposed by academic disciplines, and struggling with the impossibility to truly render the complexity of world cultures, the British Museum is experimenting with new ways to depict and narrate other cultures.

Closing Remarks

Through this comparative analysis of the representation of the cultural Other at the British Museum and the Shanghai Museum, I hope I have shed light over the logics underlying different paradigms of museum representation of cultural diversity.

On an incidental note, it is interesting to note that both the British Museum and the Shanghai Museum underwent a process of considerable refurbishment during the 1990s (with stunning architectural results). These interventions testify to the position of iconic cultural institutions that they are determined to maintain within their respective cultural, economic and socio-political contexts. Both museums boast collections of exceptional value, and as a result, both aspire today to a status of excellence in the museum field, aiming at addressing a global audience.

Sure enough, the two institutions simply *cannot afford* not to address the question of the Other. As we have seen, in the case of the Shanghai Museum, the Other is instrumental to the process of nation building, since the narrative on the Chinese national identity is constructed through the double movement of differentiation and assimilation of the Other-ethnic minority. Conversely, as mentioned, in the British Museum it is difficult to locate narratives of national identity. Indeed it is the very aspiration of the Museum to transcend nations and locate itself on a global arena: for the British Museum it is crucial to sustain its image of global, universal institution, '*the* Museum of museums'. As a result, in depicting Otherness, the nation (of the viewer or of the viewed) is no longer the basic referent. In their polyphony, the multiple narratives of Otherness in the British Museum map a 'global identity' that eschews definitions.

Whilst in the case of the Shanghai Museum the exhibitions unfold along a discourse of inclusion – the Other is integrated, assimilated and ultimately annihilated, forced to merge with the majority 'us' – in the exhibitions of the British Museum it is the idea of nation that evaporates, making room for multiple, global identities, and contextually securing a place for the British Museum in this new globalized landscape.

The divergences between the two museums representations that the comparison has brought to the fore are undoubtedly the result of different historical and cultural trajectories combined with different domestic agendas: of inclusion and national cohesion in the case of the Shanghai Museum, and of distancing from the colonial past in the case of the British Museum.

Yet, even in geographically and culturally distant countries with different past itineraries and different contemporary national agendas, museums are confronted with similar challenges – among the most important, the satisfaction of their increasingly informed, demanding and cosmopolitan audiences. I argue that 'aesthetization' is one of the strategies that museums deploy to meet such challenges.

It is not accidental that in both museums the objects appear severed from the living cultures they represent, and there is no reflexive conceptualisation of the biography of objects, on how they entered the museum collections and what they mean today for the people they represent. Crucially, this evasion of the responsibility for objects' meanings, stories, associations and references is in both cases attained through an emphasis on aesthetics. It may be argued that as a 'universal' category, the appreciation of Beauty bears the advantage of appeasing contentious issues of appropriation, interpretation or legitimacy. But I rather tend to think that the aesthetisation of the 'Other' is a strategy to elude engagement with politically or socially delicate issues that might threaten domestic social cohesion and/or the harmony of international relations. Recast in this light, the representation of cultural diversity configures as one of the tools through which nations, *via* national museums, negotiate their past and their ideological positions in a global context where these are increasingly scrutinised by a closer, informed, cosmopolitan and multicultural Other.

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National Museums and the Legacies of Exclusion. Issues and Challenges Around Change in the 21st Century

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The perpetual crisis of national museums is directly related to the character of the nation that has been considered – since the latter half of the 20th century – as elusive, fluid, constructed and difficult to grasp. How have national museums reacted, supported, resisted or rejected political changes of the nation? What were the privileged representations of the Nation-state? And what are the ways in which these institutions are trying to come to grips with multicultural and multiethnic societies? In an attempt to shed light on these questions, this essay is constructed around the tensions and challenges that face national museums as they aim to represent both a fragmented and united community with the pressures to overcompensate past exclusions.

In order to look at how national museums have responded to their contexts, and the role they are playing today, the paper will examine the case of the Museo Nacional de Colombia. This Latin American country has, in the last fifteen years, advanced greatly in terms of developing a legislation that recognizes the existence of multiple ethnicities and cultures in opposition of the well-known project of homogenization that characterized the Nation-state. Nevertheless, the reality of the communities is complex and though symbolically the 1991 Constitution has had great impact, there has been a backlash in terms of overcoming discrimination, poverty and improvement of the living conditions of marginalized groups. What then, is the role of the museum in this changed setting?

Introduction

If a nation is discourse, narrative, or, in other words, a form of representing a cultural community, then national museums are on a second level of representation tied to the imperatives of the societies they aim to interpret. In this sense, museums can act as micro-mirrors of a macro-reality. The perpetual crisis of national museums is directly related to the character of the nation, a concept that has been considered – since the latter half of the 20th century – elusive, fluid, constructed and difficult to grasp. According to Hobsbawn, individuals give meaning to the nation through discourse and, because discourse can change (González 2007), a nation as a historical product is a process that is never truly finished (Gómez 2004: 97)1. If we consider this particularity of the nation, the museum that aims to represent it is never truly completed either. These theories are relatively new, as they reject "essentialist" or "primordialist" accounts that view nations as objective, durable phenomena, the origins of which typically can be traced back to remote antiquity" (Kohl 1998: 225).

The reshaping of what is considered *national* has yielded a pluralist space of a series of overlapping "imagined communities" (Hall 1999: 41) following the theory proposed by Benedict Anderson in the 1980s. This new conception stands in opposition to the unitary program that intended to legitimize the nation-state of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Culture in the nation-state communicates the idea of a homogeneous imagined community and creates a political identity that distracts from contradictions and fractures (Bolívar 2002). The nation-state is thought to exclude because the action of one principal group tends to organize common life for all other groups to reflect its own history and culture. This single identity propagates itself by both imposing and creating consensus around its own image through the use of the discourse of patriotism, festivities, education and symbols (Walzer 1997).

In the context of the nation-state, national museums were seen as a means of spreading the cultural ideals of unity and homogeneity. Their role in the creation of a collective memory makes them essential in the definition of both individual and communal identities. Museums, therefore, were, and still are, an integral part of the process of nation-making. The problem arises when shared cultural meanings are partial: there are those who cannot see themselves as part of a shared heritage and who feel excluded from the national narrative (Hall 2005).

In this setting, how have national museums responded to new conceptions of *nation*? How are they coping with new groups that are sometimes seen as "threatening" national identity or old exclusions that demand compensation? These questions are the basis for this essay, which is constructed around the tensions and challenges that face national museums as they aim to represent both a fragmented and united community while feeling the pressures of compensating past exclusions. The juxtaposition between representing universalism and the particular is one of the problems that Dean and Rider describe when they list the pressures that are placed on museums today: "to uplift and not to offend, to offer a vision of unity while respecting diversity and to entertain and educate simultaneously bears with it a host of management challenges any one of which can plunge the museum into hot water" (2005: 44).

The questions and objectives outlined above will be discussed by means of examining the case of the Museo Nacional de Colombia. In this case study we can determine that there have been great advancements in legislature that have moved the country away from the nation-state model into a multicultural and pluriethnic nation. Nevertheless, the reality of the communities is complex and although legislation has had great impact symbolically, there has been a backlash against the government in terms of not overcoming discrimination or poverty

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1   The author has translated all texts in Spanish. The number of the page has been kept when relevant.

and in failing to improve the living conditions of marginalized groups. The specificity of the case will unveil the problems that arise not only when trying to overcome exclusions but also when the interests of diverse groups (including the museum itself) have to be negotiated. This emphasis in legislation is by no means the only possible framework in which to operate, but it has been chosen in the particular case of Colombia as a way to measure the stakes that the museum faces[2].

In order to map out the problems and possibilities of the Museo's representation of the Colombian nation, the first part of the essay will present the political context of the appearance, strengthening and demise of the nation-state and the major change implemented by the Constitution of 1991 in Colombia. Also of importance are the unfinished ideals that the new Constitution has left, especially in the particular case of the Afrodescendant communities.[3] This context will set the stage for the Museo Nacional as the second part of the essay presents the current dilemmas faced by the institution as active pieces in the national puzzle. The third part of the essay will bring the local issues into the international scene to look at challenges and questions that remain unanswered around topics such as inclusion, disruption of grand narratives, the territory of the nation in the space of the museum, creating positive difference, and the dangers of fixing identities. In the final part of the essay, the focus will be on suggesting possible solutions to local problems that might also prove useful to the wider museum community.

Colombia. The Mestizo Nation

The Mestizo Project

In Latin America, the major project imagined for nations that gained their independence from the Spanish or Portuguese empires in the 19th century was based on the concept of miscegenation or the mixing of races. The project was patriarchic and elitist and excluded not only women but indigenous peoples, Blacks, enslaved people, illiterates, and in most cases, people without property (Achugar 2002: 78). In Colombia, such a project followed, more or less, the same lines with an additional ingredient: regional fragmentation due to a difficult geography.

In retrospect, the particular moment of Independence can be seen as a promising moment in the history of Colombia because it was a chance to give form to a wider democratic project. But analysts show that the exclusionary nature of political representation is an integral part of the founding narrations of the national (Martín-Barbero 2002b). The white Creoles formed their identity by excluding and "othering" different social groups. The possible exploitation of rich natural resources became one of the elements to invigorate that particular group identity (González 2007: 23). A *citizen* was then the person who adhered to their ideological project and a means to exclude any reference to ethnicity (Melo 1992) and citizenship was tied to national identity. Merging contradictory memories was necessary to create an official memory, because recognizing contesting memories would constitute a threat to the survival of the young and frail nation (Roldán 2000:104).

Black and indigenous populations, principally, were considered barbaric; with miscegenation it was thought possible to improve these "lower" races (Arocha & Moreno 2007: 596). Those of mixed origin (mestizos, mulattos and zambos) were still inferior to whites but superior to Blacks and indigenous people (Helg 2004: 24). So "uncomfortable"

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2   The Museo Nacional de Colombia is an administrative unit of the Ministry of Culture and therefore follows the legislation that concerns public cultural institutions.

3   The Afrodescendant communities are diverse. The term Afrocolombian will be privileged here to make reference to them.

was race in the 19th century that the Constitutional texts created inclusions and exclusions either by not mentioning race or by creating "special" legislation for indigenous and enslaved people, many times to their detriment (Helg 2004: 27).

Miscegenation appears as the discourse of democratization that produces one class of citizens (Arocha & Moreno 2007: 597) but in reality wishes to eradicate or hide difference, diverse ethnicities, and the realities of the population. The myth of the mestizo contributed to hide the historical and cultural specificities of the Afrocolombians and in legacy the present continues to support the negation of their ethnic rights, as contemplated in international legislation (Arocha 2004: 165). For some historians, miscegenation permitted a more flexible social structure that allowed upward social mobility. Melo gives a realistic account and characterizes Colombian culture as mestiza, for better or worse, differentiated regionally (1992: 124).

The Multicultural and Pluriethnic Nation

As a result of the process of homogenization, what emerged well into the 20th century was an apparent sense of a uniform society but also a deep conflict with those considered different, outside the margins of the nation (i.e. the "uncivilized masses"). The situation changed due to a multiplicity of factors. Globalization, adherence to neoliberalism, the democratic imperative, and the rise of indigenous organizations as alternative forms of development start breaking the spectrum of homogeneity. Economic treaties and "deals" with multilateral institutions are not solely about commerce but include exigencies of political and social compromises, human rights and political legitimacy. This relationship with the rest of the world both debilitates the homogeneous State and gives it a new geography.

During the 1990s, several countries in Latin America acknowledged in their constitutions their multiethnic and pluricultural character (Gros 2004: 205). The end of the mestizo nation in Colombia, at least on paper, would be signed by the drafting of a new constitution in 1991. For the first time in the history of Colombia, voters chose the composition of the Assembly that would rewrite the country's Constitution. The 74 members were representative not only of the traditional parties (that by now included women), but also most notoriously – and perhaps symbolically – of indigenous people, former guerrilla members, evangelicals and leftist parties. Groups of women and Afrocolombians participated in processes of discussion prior to the Assembly (Wills 2000: 399–400).

Not only was the process an interesting case of exercising citizenship and participation, but also the content of the document changed the terms by which the nation was described. In its 7th article, the Constitution declares: "The State recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Colombian Nation." Recognition of diversity meant the end of the Catholic religion as the country's official religion, as well as of Spanish as the sole recognized official language. The Constitution and laws that stemmed from it permitted the construction of a new national imaginary that acknowledges a sociological reality not contemplated before (Gros 2000: 353). For Zambrano, the Constitution constructs a model not of an existing society but of one to be built (2006: 62) and its effects on redefining the national have not been measured. For Wills (2000), the Constitution of 1991 represented a real rupture of democratic significance; even though the changes were of importance, she characterizes Colombia as culturally heterogeneous and socially unequal, the former seen as desirable and the latter as unjust, both causing fear and fragmentation.

Marginalization Continues… The case of Afrocolombians

The 1991 rewriting of the Constitution did not automatically result in the recognition of past exclusions or in the improvement in the situation of marginalized sectors of the population. Multiculturalism has not improved the quality of life of the indigenous and Black

communities nor has it really changed the political representation of these communities on a national level (Almario 2007: 200) in general, though, it was a big step in recognizing a diverse nation.

Colombia has the third largest Afrodescendant population in the Americas (Lao-Montes 2007), but the group's presence is poor in the text of the Constitution. The 55th article provides that a law should be sanctioned in the following 2 years, as it was in 1993 (Law 70, 1993). Some academics have interpreted this as the continuation of certain forms of discrimination. Helg (2004), for instance, criticizes the definitions of Black communities in this law, as it homogenizes their culture, excludes zambos, mulattos and populations of certain regions, as well as Black urban communities, and makes no mention of the African Diaspora.

In comparison with the prerogatives that indigenous communities have (81 indigenous groups with judicial jurisdiction, administrative autonomy, ownership of land, self-government and seats in the Senate by special circumscription), the Black communities have won ground but are still behind. They are also the populations most affected by the country's internal conflict and by economic liberalization. The right to hold land collectively was legalized in the 1990s and has had a sinister result, as legal and illegal armed groups entered the scene to dispute the control of their territories (Arocha & Moreno 2007: 593).

Amid an internal conflict, the concept of reparations has become problematic, aggravated by the historical circumstances that touch the Black communities. For Almario, there is a need to revisit the past in order to see how the damages to the communities in the present are a result of the repression of former events (2007). He agrees with the idea that a lack of acknowledgment and hiding the memories of slavery cause continuities of inequality, exploitation and discrimination generated by the politics of imperialism (Ibid). The claims for historical reparations have become more widespread since the Durban Conference in South Africa declared the transatlantic slave trade a crime against humanity in 2001. A group of activist-scholars demands that public institutions rewrite the history of a Black presence (Mosquera, Barcelos & Arévalo 2007: 16). Their invitation is meant for those Blacks who perceive themselves as integrated into the nation, to remember the pain of the past, and to see how slavery has had repercussions on the inequalities of the present as a constitutive determinant of a social identity. The principal fight is against racism and discrimination, seen through the lens of history to find its original causes.

This movement is not isolated. Around the globe, there are other groups that claim reparations and actions that are visible in the public sphere. "Colonialism, slavery, and racial injustice have been prominent in these attempts to bring the past into the present" (Schwarz 2005: 225). Schwarz argues that history and heritage institutions have to explore the continuation of past mentalities into the present. To recognize the wrongs done in the past has consequences that are judicial, therapeutic and historical, but he states that history can be in conflict with the way these events are remembered. There is no formula and there are no predictable positive results, but recognition of the past is a way to make visible the undesirable forms of the former times that continue to exist in the present.

Representing the Colombian Nation in the National Museum

Origins and Current Narrative

The thread that sews the argument of this essay is that the Museo Nacional is a micro-stage that serves to look at the Colombian nation. What follows is a description of the origins of the Museo and a brief explanation of the Museo's present script, which will show the criticisms, the challenges and the pressures that are presently placed on the institution.

Shortly after Independence, the new government founded the Museo Nacional de Colombia (1823) in an effort to contribute to the nation-making process and as a means of breaking with the colonial past. It responded to a belief in progress and in the advantages of science in a region that was considered rich in natural resources but poorly administered by the Spanish crown. A French commission of scientists was hired to found and install a school, which developed into what is now the Museo. The school's first director was a Peruvian man educated in Europe. Shortly after his stay in Colombia, he returned to Perú to found a museum there. Originally, the Museo was meant to complement a school of mineralogy where lessons concerning geology, chemistry, anatomy, zoology, entomology, botany, drawing, and other sciences would be held (Segura 1995).

Natural science museums were instrumental in creating a national identity in other Latin American countries as well. One such country is Brazil (Sepúlveda dos Santos 2003). For Sepúlveda dos Santos, while European museums constructed a narrative that included ancient civilizations, Brazil created its nationhood based on nature. She states: "Museums of natural history had served as instruments for nation-states as they gathered and classified samples of the entire world. Later they served their nations by ordering objects from the past to the present, from antiquity to modernity, from indigenous populations to civilized ones, and from fossils to skeletons of the human species, and presenting them to an increasing and massive public" (Ibid.: 195).

Along these lines of thought, one finds that the collections of the Museo Nacional rapidly became very diverse. It was foreign travelers in Colombia who chronicled the early presence of paintings in the Museo. Visitors would find minerals, weapons, ethnographic objects of the Indigenous communities, archaeological artifacts, religious paintings, testimonial objects, and trophies from independence in the same space. Ironically, the present-day collections divided into art, history, and archaeology and ethnography hold little evidence that can attest to the origins of the institution, except for the instruments brought by the French Scientific Mission and a meteorite that was bought as the school's first piece.

The story of the collections is not only one of constant increase; it is also one of fragmentation and loss. The fact that the Museo only had a definite site when it moved into a 19th century prison building in 1948 attests to the difficulty of maintaining the collections. In the middle of the 20th century, the natural history collections were moved to other museums in the National University; objects that belonged to Simón Bolívar were used to found a historic house museum in 1925; objects from the colonial period were used to create the Museo de Arte Colonial in 1942; in 1960, a museum dedicated to Independence was also born of the Museo´s collections. For Sánchez, "The fragmented memory of the Museo may reflect the memory of the Colombian nation, and this museum might be one in spite of itself (as is the nation) and the Colombian State" (2000: 27).

Presently, the Museo´s script has a chronological narration that encompasses the four collections it holds. The first floor starts with the vestiges of early human presence in the Colombian territory and the script ends in the third floor with the death in 1948 of the Liberal Presidential candidate Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, which spurred acts of violence and contributed to a national crisis known as The Violence (1946–1957). The 17 permanent exhibition galleries also hold small spaces for temporary shows and galleries that do not strictly follow the chronology. There are differences in the language employed across the floors due to their varying "ownership." The first floor is "dominated" by the Curatorship of Ethnography and Archaeology and the second and third by the Curatorship of Art and History. Temporary exhibitions are usually held in their own gallery located close to the entrance of the Museo.

The present narrative was initiated and developed almost single-handedly by the artist and art historian Beatriz González, who headed the Curatorship of Art and History from 1989 to 2004. Since replacing González at that point, I have introduced changes that have not

modified the basic structure of that narrative. González´s intention was to have a script that would have a unifying concept and that would include the contemporary period. For the most part, history in the Museo had not covered periods after Independence. Therefore, the intention was to create a sense of the history of culture that would involve scientists, writers, artists, and the most relevant political events.

Criticizing the narrative, Sánchez notes that "The Museo gives objects-document-monuments an imagined unity: a national narrative…The museum-nation is a *mise-en-scène* of a memory that defines who the great men are; what the great events are; what is valued: talent, fortune, heroism; what is privileged: the artistic, the scientific or the political. It is the tension between a museum-gallery and a museum-society" (2000: 28). The narrative was developed out of the collections. But what did the collections hold? In essence, it is what Achugar describes as "poems, visual images, anthems, currency, prints, and monuments [that] made part of the labor of constructing a series of symbols necessary to establish this 'ritual order' that operated as one of the central elements in the foundational effort to constitute a national imaginary that would, in time, end up being the object of remembrance and be objectified in the official national memory" (2002: 79). These symbols of identity-for the most part- obeyed the logic of an elitist minority.

We can safely say that the discourse of nation that has predominated in the Museo has privileged the victorious, the political and economical elites, and (predominantly) heterosexual white men. Notwithstanding some exceptions, museum exhibitions privilege hegemonic memories. Until now, our excuse for absences and silences has been the lack of objects with which to represent other communities and other realities. In this sense, the Museo still reflects the traditional notion of identity and the fact of Colombia as the nation-state. Our weakness is precisely the difficulty of rescuing from the past the testimonial objects belonging to subaltern groups. The story of the museum is not heterogeneous and several directors made efforts to represent the country's various regions, for instance, but in reality the collections are not truly representative of the richness of the people who comprise the nation.

With these limitations in mind, the Museo initiated a series of discussion panels at the end of the 1990s that challenged its mission and took into consideration the Constitution of 1991. The results were documented and implemented in a *Strategic Plan 2001–2010. A Foundation for the Museo Nacional of the Future*. A general diagnosis and a critical view of the collections state: "the collections and permanent exhibition galleries register enormous voids in happenings, social processes and other key themes of the history of Colombian culture and are distant from reflecting the multiethnic and pluricultural character of the nation…" To remedy the situation, the Plan stipulated the creation of working projects that would follow an area of "Construction of multiple narratives of the history of cultural processes." In theory, the process welcomes the participation of different sectors of society and regions and tries to build bridges between the Museo and the academic community. In practice, the Plan does not take into account the Museo´s lack of human resources, budget, infrastructure and negotiation with communities, a situation that slows down reaching such goals.

Criticizing discourse

The suggestions and questions raised by the academic community can be added to a series of criticisms that appear in theses or analyses developed by students. Concerning the subordinate population, Ana María Calderón, a history student, analyzed the discourse the museum builds as it relates to Afrocolombians. She criticizes what she sees as a reproduction of stereotypes related to the slave trade, music, and exotic instruments and the conformation of rebellious groups in search of liberty. For her, these elements give a sense of picturesque, servile and exotic beings. She supports a deeper regard that includes aspects that permit a better understanding of the African past and how it survives in the present.

These critical views on the representation of the Colombian population have been reaffirmed by the results of visitor studies the museum has held in its permanent exhibition galleries. A general survey has been conducted in all of the galleries and more specialized ones were held in 2005 in two rooms. The first was held in the gallery "Emancipation and Republic" (1810–1830) and the second was held in "New Kingdom of Granada," the gallery that covers the colonial period (1554–1810). One hundred polls were taken in each room. In addition, selected semi-structured interviews and observations were conducted. In both studies, people were asked to select from a series of categories, themes that they though should be included in the galleries. For "Emancipation and Republic," 34% of the visitors polled chose "arts (music and literature)," 16% "participation of minorities," and 13% "quotidian life (celebrations and labour)." Other visitors chose multiple categories. In the second study, when asked about the themes that visitors wanted the museum to enhance, 26% answered positively in the category of "participation of minorities," 10% "quotidian life," and 46% combined both topics. The profile of visitors had its higher rate in young students (less than 25 years of age). Interviews suggest that there is an interest in seeing how common people participated in their country's history and in exploring other aspects of cultural and quotidian life.

The results contrast with the vast majority of comments left by people in the "Book of visitors," where reactions attest to a pride and gratitude for the way the museum preserves national identity. Visitors to the museum can be characterized by a higher percentage of students from the middle class, roughly divided in half between men and women. There is also a high number of private and public schools that attend both temporary and permanent exhibitions. The vast number of students that visit the Museo to do their homework attests to the fact that the institution is seen as a complement to formal education. The results do not show a significant presence amongst visitors of Indigenous or Afrocolombian origins, as well as people from other regions who seldom visit the institution. In short, the museum caters to an audience that excludes the lower (and upper) classes as well as ethnic minorities. Presently, the institution is working on a project of accessibility that involves making the museum available to people with physical disabilities and incorporating their views to the plan the museum is developing.

Afrocolombians

In 2005 actions were taken to contact Jaime Arocha, a scholar who has worked and dedicated the last 30 years to the Afrocolombian communities. He had previously been in touch with the Ministry of Culture and in the company of Claudia Mosquera advocated the need for the Museo Nacional to have a separate pavilion for Afro communities, and called for the inclusion of Afro communities in the Museo´s narration. These demands are put forward as part of the claim for reparation from the State. Claudia Mosquera argues: "Why not demand the State to rewrite the history of the Black presence in the country since the transatlantic slave trade?"(Mosquera, Barcelos & Arévalo 2007: 16). Mosquera directly refers to the urgent need for institutions such as the Museo Nacional de Colombia to rewrite the narrative of the contributions that diverse Afro communities have made to the construction of the nation. The strength of this claim is supported by the subrepresentation of these communities both in the collections and in the permanent exhibitions.

The members of the museum team, including myself, are hesitant of the results of creating a separate space as a means of reparation. Won't this solution create further alienation? The pros and cons of both integration and separation will be looked at in detail in the next section. In the meantime, we shall mention that at a recent two-day meeting (September 13 and 14, 2007) with 13 representatives of different Afro communities, the idea of a separate space was much supported. In an earlier meeting held with 13 academics on the issue of representation of the Afro communities on February 22 and 23, 2007, two positions were held. The more

radical stance, supported by Mosquera and Arocha, supports the necessity for a pavilion, while the other expresses its adherence to a temporary exhibition room that would explore both issues concerning the Afro communities and the relationship between them and other groups. Both academics and community representatives were appalled by the absence and misrepresentation of Afro communities and made claims that directly checkmate the current narrative structure.

Apart from these two groups that consigned highly critical views of the museum in ways that can only be transformed in the long term, we have begun to work on a short- term action. As Arocha has written in the current joint project, the working group reached a consensus: to reach the principal goal – i.e. the pavilion for the scholars, the representation of Afro communities in the collections and exhibitions for the museum team – it is necessary to take intermediate steps, such as a temporary exhibition. In this sense, the professors emphasized that the cult to the ancestors constitutes a fundamental axis for both Afrocolombian cultures as well as the cultures in West and Central Africa. In consequence, the Museum and the Ministry have developed a permanent team of Afrocolombian intellectuals, as well as members of the communities that will be represented in the exhibition, who have been invited to participate in the process of the researching and representing of funerary rituals of Afro communities in San Andrés, Providencia and Santa Catalina islands in the Caribbean that have a distinct history from the other Afrocommunities-, Palenque de San Basilio, a site of early resistance, Norte del Cauca, Chocó, and Nariño.

Exclusionary Narrative

The diagnosis is clear. Without having consulted additional misrepresented groups, we can apply the words of Uberoi to the narrative of the *national* currently supported by the Museo. He states: "national identities that possess elements repugnant to certain minority groups are also likely to only reflect the values, traditions and history of the cultural majority. The national identity will still be unable to foster security or belonging amongst many of the individuals and groups that comprise the polity because it is still not a reflection of the diverse cultural groups that comprise the polity as a whole" (2007: 149). With the absence of the representation of cultural or ethnic groups such as the Afrocolombian communities, there can be no place for the recognition of the self, individual or collective, in the construction of the polity.

A sense of exclusion transcends the cultural sphere to other economic and political spheres. If the national does not include me, why should I have an attachment to this particular identity? Why should I not have a higher alliance to my own cultural group above all others? Uberoi adds, "little attachment could be developed to the shared political life that all groups possess because, at least from the perspective of the minority cultural group, no shared political life exists" (Ibid.: 144). In terms of the political body, this adherence is important to foster citizenship, social justice, resolution of conflicts and in order to have working democratic institutions (Ibid.).

Several participants in the two meetings held on the topic of representation of Afrocommunities in the Museum expressed that the Museo is just as excluding as the nation is. Why expect the museum to be different to the reality of the communities? However, the museum not only mirrors a reality but, when it invokes a reality of the national, it is actually producing it as such (Bolívar 2002: 27). The Constitution challenges the script of the Museo by promoting diversity, political participation, inclusion, but it does not make explicit how to make these objectives possible. The Museo´s task involves not only these changes but confronting the maladies that taking on this task would entail because the national script is well embedded in society. Roldán suggests that in rewriting the Museo´s own script it might

risk discovering that its own disappearance or radical change in power structure might be the price to pay in the exercise of re-imagining the nation (2000: 114).

Exclusion does not only entail Afrocolombian groups. Representation of the third major group that comprises Colombian identity, the indigenous population, is reduced almost exclusively to archaeology. This is problematic because as Kohl has stated, "archaeological cultures and ethnic groups are not synonymous, and modern constructivist perspectives on ethnicity and nationality preclude the possibility of a perfect correlation between material remains and ethnicity" (Kohl 1998: 239). In this list, we might include as well the history of women, children, youth, groups of migrants, disabled people, popular sectors, and the elderly. In light of these exclusions we can ask whether the rights of one group impose on the others. Should each group have its own pavilion or does the right of reparation only belong to the Afrodescendent community?

We cannot say that the Museo has stood still in light of these results. Measures have been taken to collect research around themes such as the abolition of slavery, women's political rights, and the displacement of communities, but these investigations have not made their way into the permanent exhibition galleries or transformed the collections. The changes that have been put into place in the galleries were unnoticed or misinterpreted by participants of both meetings described above, which certainly problematizes our views of "solutions." The Afro community has placed great expectative on the future museum. Confronting these dreams with reality is one of the challenges.

To summarize, the problems of overcoming a vastly excluding narrative have to be added to the challenge of including diversity without creating a homogenous identity and responding to claims of historical reparation. The solution to these problems also has to embrace a narrative that is in tune with postmodern and post colonial transformations. The main concern here is the path to approach the conformation of a public sphere, a space of dialogue, and a space where differences can coexist. The specific demand, until now, of a separate pavilion for the Afrocolombian population imposes further requirements that the Museo has been asked to respond to in the short term. Consultation with other groups such as the indigenous populations will also create a new scenario that will either reinforce or challenge what the Afrocolombian representatives have demanded.

National Museums, Representing Unity and Difference

Abandoning Grand Narratives and Inclusion

We could venture the hypothesis that the all-encompassing nation-state has had its equivalence in the permanent exhibitions that aim to create a grand narrative with an authoritative voice that homogenizes representations. If national museums are micro-cosms of a macro-reality, what are the necessary changes in the narrative that will allow an articulation of an inclusive script? "Grand narrative" exhibitions have, as is the case of the Museo Nacional, the tendency to claim universalism and totalizing accounts, but in this attempt to create a notion of a cohesive community they leave out the diverse expressions and histories of the subcommunities that make up the national. There is a parallel that can be drawn with the way history, as a discipline, has been challenged from micro-instances in order to take into account the local and the regional.

To break down these totalizing account, one should be able to place the question, in the words of Hall: "Where, one asks, is this deeply ruptured and fractured history, with its interweaving of stability and conflict, in the Heritage´s version of the dominant national narrative?" (2005: 27). The purpose of abandoning the ambitious grand narrative is to give way to the different experiences of the national and open up the possibilities of diversifying readings of the collections to tell unheard stories. This point is made clear in Hooper-

Greenhill's account of the resignification of paintings and decorative art objects set in the context of the story of the slave-servant Ignatious Sancho (2000). She theorizes, "In the post-museum, histories that have been hidden away are being brought to light, and in this, modernist master narratives are being challenged" (Ibid: 145).

In the process of acknowledging particular microcosms, the institution becomes accessible for "sharing private memories and stories – a multiplicity of versions of history offered in the public sphere with the intent of community building" (Ashley 2005: 11). This openness is used, in the case of Northern Ireland, to build exhibits with those stories as a point of departure. In this scenario, taking distance from the grand narrative is also a way to avoid touching "'the troubles' and conflicting imaginings of Northern Ireland's history," as Crooke has established (Ashley 2005). Crooke also points to the transition museums have made between being the space of the state to being the space of the communities: museums are inviting groups previously excluded and groups themselves are self-representing. For Crooke (2005) museums are now at the intersection between the national, the personal and the local.

Gardner also advocates for a broad history that allows a multiplicity of stories told from many points of view: "We should see difference and contest as a strength, not something to be plastered over with an idealized story of shared values and goals" (2004: 17). Referring to the National Museum of American History (Smithsonian), he adds, "Different voices give us a fuller picture of American history, each story telling us something about all the others. We have a responsibility to help our visitors understand that our history is diverse –we have an obligation to interpret history, not present the past as we wish it had been" (Ibid). Nevertheless, Ashley and Gardner point to the complexities of opening up the process and diversifying representation. Ashley asks "[w]hether non-white minorities will be invited to share this space…" (2005: 11). She also makes her ideas about participation more complex by signaling that

Some critics see the abandonment of the grand narrative and its replacement by multiple narratives of minorities or populist representations of ordinary people as another form of tyranny. Instead of the public depicted as uniform citizens, it becomes individuals and communities of difference that are isolated, depoliticized and made digestible for mass consumption (Hodgins, 2004). Others voice the danger that in favouring new or minority perspectives museums might trade 'one set of exclusionary practices for another' (Phillips, 2003:165), as old audiences and practitioners are cut out of the process of communication in an effort to overcompensate for past domination (Ibid.: 14).

Gardner, on the other hand, synthesizes in his concerns the bulk of the issue that this paper attempts to grapple with, i.e., how to create narratives that include voices but that are not exclusionary:

> But what is the right mix of exhibits to explore the diversity of the American experience? The political reality is that every group wants visibility and wants and deserves an exhibit. But even as big a museum as NMAH has limited space and can´t accommodate every group. How do we set priorities? And in any case, do we really want to deal with difference by setting apart, segregating those who are different? At NMAH, our priority is integrating diverse experiences throughout the museum. But is that really the right way to go? […] How do we avoid dividing the museum up by racial or ethnic group and yet not end up with only tokenism? And how do you explore difference in a broader sense- not just race and ethnicity but age, abilities (and disabilities), class, gender, language, nativity, religion, sexuality? (2004: 17).

The theme that Gardner and Ashley point to is the difficulty of embracing inclusion without creating a pastiche of uniformed voices, but especially without creating a new form of keeping communities at a distance. In this respect, Stevens asks whether "In satisfying

demands for recognition on the part of minority groups do museums contribute to social cohesion or do they generate competition between groups that may heighten existing tensions?" (2007: 29). What we can conclude from these arguments is that the space of the museum is part of the battlefield of memories that are in competition.

Museum as Contact Zone or Zone of Conflict?

The possibility of thinking about the museum as a democratic space where different voices, narratives, and communities can meet and can be heard is best understood under the conception of "contact zone" developed by James Clifford. He uses the notion to explain how people traditionally separated by conditions of conflict, inequality, coercion, and asymmetrical relations of power come into contact in a "safe," democratic space. In contact zones there is a continuous negotiation of borders and centers where interaction takes place. Clifford explains: "…the multiplication of contexts becomes less about discovery and more about negotiation, less a matter of creative curators having good ideas, doing research, consulting indigenous experts, and more a matter of responding to actual pressures and calls for representation in a culturally complex civil society" (1999: 450). If museums are able to become such spaces, the notion of education changes and, instead, museums will be grappling with issues such as dialogue, alliances, inequality, and translation (Ibid).

This notion feeds the perspective of creating a forum out of a national museum, where exchange occurs. In this scenario the museum works to undermine fragmentation, though it is not interested in creating unity but rather something such as a market for ideas. Though the "contact zone" has been widely embraced, Dibley (2005) has questioned Clifford´s arguments. His critique is centered on the notion of redeeming the museum from its exclusionary practices. For this author, dialogue and participation of communities "is insufficiently acute to the ways in which prior techniques subjectivized those that are now the loci of resistance to, and reform by, museological operations" (2005: 7). How this plays out in this argument is that the museum does not have a natural democratic ethos, especially as it pertains to the legacies of colonialism. It is clear that not all subjects have access to the egalitarian ideal that the museum-as-democracy suggests. For Dibley, "relations of reciprocity look more like those in which the marginal and dispossessed are to be reconciled to the historical structures of their marginalization and dispossession" (Ibid: 17).

There are additional queries. Stevens´s argument is centered on museums as "zones of conflict" that may actually cause or exacerbate rivalry rather than dialogue. According to her study, there is little research on how working with one group might deprive another to equal access to the museum. In the particular case she explores, different cultural groups made demands about inclusion, which resulted in exhibitions at the Musée Dauphinois, in Grenoble, France, but also involved aggression in acts of racism against the members of groups included. Working with minority groups was not only about narration but also about recognition and self-empowerment. Therefore, processes involve a wide scope of emotions and participants that might not be prepared to come into contact with each other. She proposes that the museum space be looked at as a kaleidoscope, "in which a play of perspectives generates complex responses that perhaps begin to break the cycle of recognition's restrictive binaries" (2007: 37) as the model of one community and the museum is further complicated by other communities and visitors.

Realistically, the action of embracing and inclusion can never be all-encompassing. The museum as democracy, in the words of Dibley, "creates a space of representation that, at least in principle, has been democratized in that the occupancy of the position of Man – based on 'his' universality – is openly and freely available to all. But it also creates an insatiable politics in which any museum display can always be held accountable for representational inadequacies on the grounds of any particular social exclusion – be it gendered, classed, racial or some other pattern of marginalization – and thus in need of supplementation" (2005: 11).

Indeed, national museums have to deal with their own limitations. In this sense, though the institution may strive to be more democratic and representative, an ideal state of affairs is utopian. But perhaps, this is the strength of such institutions. The museum is a field in which to play out the soundness and the inadequacies of the public sphere. In this sense, Littler recognizes that "consensus will always be provisional and conflictual" (2005: 18) in a space where disagreeing experiences are brought together, and, I might add, a space that is never truly finished.

The Nation as Territory, the Museum as Space

How might the museum as a democratic and including space play out physically? And what might be the value of place in "promot[ing] equality through the combating of prejudices, the reversal process of othering and the engendering of pluralist, democratic values"? (Sandell 2005: 185). In order to approach possible strategies, we will first briefly recognize how space has been used to develop barriers of "othering." Clifford acknowledges that there are insiders and outsiders in the representation of the nation that might be read in terms of symbolic but also real space. He states: "The message of identity is directed differently to members and to outsiders –the former invited to share in the symbolic wealth, the latter maintained as onlookers, or partially integrated, whether connoisseurs or tourists" (1999: 454).

Museums in general developed classificatory systems –especially in the 19th century- to promote a division of labour, which produced exclusion. This division of space according to disciplines (art vs. ethnography, for instance, or history vs. archaeology) helps to accentuate the difference between the cultures on display and visitors, promoting exoticism (Sandell 2005). Space and collections organized in different disciplines "represent power/knowledge relations through the delineation of familiar hierarchies and exclusions: men over women, European over non-European, modern over pre-modern, high art over traditional crafts" (Dyson 2005: 119). These separations naturalized or objectified the way national identities were perceived. For Macdonald, the creation of racial or gendered differences were a means to invite "people to conceptualise a sense of national or racial difference from others; and to experience their own worlds as relatively and reassuringly governed ones […] They helped to think identities as bounded and coherent" (2003: 4).

Sandell describes three ways by which space can be used to promote inequality. First, "differentiated spaces (dioramas, exhibition cases or entire galleries) that separate, demarcate and distinguish between different groups" (2005: 188). These spaces described by Sandell are characterized by the exaggeration of difference and may lead to the opposition of an apparent superiority of a group over another. The second strategy he explains is "displaying cultural difference within physically shared spaces but within an interpretative framework that reproduces and reinforces (rather than challenges) social inequalities" (Ibid: 188). The third strategy is marked by the absence of representation of certain groups from museum space and narratives.

As counter-strategies, or new strategies that are more in tune with the transformation of museums, Sandell describes three possibilities: compensatory, celebratory and pluralist. The first is characterized by temporary, small, peripheral displays that are "attached" to the permanent exhibitions without causing much to change. The second one, though still temporary, has a place in the main exhibition galleries and focuses on a particular group. The temporal nature of both of these strategies, Sandell points out, might undermine their impact and might be interpreted as less important. The last category integrates "cultural difference within a unifying interpretative framework, designed to suggest both similarities and also (positive) differences between groups and in ways that aim to challenge rather that reproduce the inequalities of power" (Ibid: 191).

Different necessities might require a combination of integration and differentiation, as is the case described by Sandell in the St Mungo´s Museum of Religious life and Art where each

of the six most practiced religions has a space, and where there is also a space where they are compared to emphasize shared themes. The intention defines the spatial tactic utilized. What we might describe as a "second version" of the pluralist display that has been demanded by a sector of the Afrocolombian community is a place within the national narrative but also a differentiated space, completely separate from others, where what they perceive, as a distinct identity, can be on display. The "possession" of their own space has been defined in terms of historical reparation, as was described earlier in this essay. The questions that this separatist option raises have already been highlighted by Gardner and Stevens above and will be discussed below. Recent national museums have opted for different strategies for creating not only inclusion, but also difference. For instance, the National Museum of Australia integrated Indigenous and non-Indigenous histories, while the Canadian Museum of Civilization opted to keep them separate (Dean & Rider 2005).

Creating Positive Difference

Another possibility of creating an including space is to take the opposite road: i.e., instead of putting identities in a space of dialogue, creating a separate space for each so that there is recognition of their intrinsic value. This strategy we might call "positive discrimination," which has had a visible and debatable place in education quotas and in assigning budgets.

In the context of the specific case study, the Colombian Constitution makes the State responsible for promoting access and distribution in equality of opportunities for the population. But the State must also guarantee ethnic and linguistic groups, Black and indigenous communities, the right to preserve, enrich, and diffuse their identity and cultural patrimony. What becomes problematic is the situation where both communities and individuals hold rights, because there is no consensus of what to privilege and where the line divides the right to difference and the regulations that apply to the majority (Wills 2000). Diversity, participation, and symmetry have to be articulated in what Wills calls *cultural equality*: "the effort to create, amongst groups and individuals that recognize themselves as distinct symmetric relationships of power" (2000: 402).

Nowadays, there are communities throughout the world that want to be recognized because of their dissimilarities. Such is the case of the Afrocolombian groups that have been mentioned. In favour of their claim, we can ask: "Does the preference for projects which address easily visible, apparently bounded and unified communities play on a particular binary, with the state representing all that is best about the liberal tradition and the `ethnic community´ representing a manifestation of `traditional culture´?" (Naidoo 2005: 44). As put forth by Pieterse, a pluralist view does not necessary acknowledge underlying inequalities. Creating a more egalitarian narrative would not necessarily address the original asymmetries of power, as was explained by Dibley, and we might end up exhibiting ethnicity to uphold a specter of diversity.

The eagerness to create an embracing script might neglect the particular contributions of specific communities. We have to take into account the notion of different communities that are not "saturated by tradition; they are actively involved with every aspect of life around them, without the illusion of assimilation and identity. This is a new kind of difference – the difference which is not binary (either-or) but whose `differances´ will not be erased, or traded" (Hall 2005: 30). In the previous passage, Hall is writing about communities referred to as "minorities" in the U.K. that have been shaped by traditions different from the Judeo-Christian, western culture. Though the comparison cannot be strictly made, Afrocolombian (and indigenous) communities have also been shaped by their relationship with very distinct non-western civilizations and this peculiarity is what cannot be "erased or traded".

Disregarding how we can make a community more like ours can also allow the development of an in-depth view of a particular group. Recognizing diversity amongst the Black population would avoid essentialisms and the recognition of different historical

experiences and cultural particularities of the different sub-communities (Lozano & Peñaranda 2007). This might also lead to the recognition that on the inside there are also discriminations or subordination like that of women (Ibid.). Narratives centered on particular communities prevent homogenization that in turn allows us to understand that the museum is limited in representing a whole community.

Fixing Identities

The question of how national museums give way to previously excluded identities entails dangers of closing these up. Gros outlines the issue for indigenous communities that ultimately applies to other groups:

That the indigenous communities lock themselves up in their own communities, entrenched in an obsessive identity that refuses the other and excludes it. These communities have to open themselves up if the want to subsist and avoid internal fractures between those that appeal to tradition as an unquestionable order and those who want to take their place as individuals in a wider society.

That the states, with the pretext of recognizing difference, adhere to cultural relativism that negates the possibility of organizing the nation with central and universal values, i.e. shared by all- values without which it is impossible for citizenship and democracy to be prosperous. These values cannot come from only one side. In order to make this possible, two variables have to be taken into account: a will to be a part of a wider community, the nation, and second, imagination, because everyone has to change to create a new public sphere (2000: 361).

Further dangers in isolating identities are signaled by Macdonald (2003). She points to the unwanted result of fixing identities, something that, as we have seen, goes against the current in the way identities are conceived off as fluid and multiple. Macdonald points to the need of exploring cultural difference in depth so that oversimplifications are avoided. Static notions of culture also serve to create essentialist and purist views. For Pieterse inert notions of multiculturalism can lead to a coexistence of communities that are "a form of `pillarization´, a series of cohabiting ghettoes, in fact, a form of neo-apartheid" (1997: 128). In fact, multiculturalism cannot be viewed as a collection of communities, but rather under an interculturalist model that allows new identities to be formed as well (Ibid.).

Martín-Barbero makes his case for having to choose between integration or isolation and defends a politics that extends universal rights and values to all those sectors of the population which have previously lived outside the application of those rights, be they women or ethnic minorities, evangelists or homosexuals. Michel Wiewiorka (1997) thus refuses to have to choose between the universalism inherited from the Enlightenment, which excludes whole sectors of the population, and the tribal differentiation affirmed in racist, xenophobic segregation – a choice that is fatal for democracy (2002b: 629).

Are we fastened to having to choose between universalism and the particularities of individuals or communities? Leaving a radical position behind would mean the negotiation of formulas that incorporate both similarities and difference in an effort to both overcome and take advantage of fragmentation. Discussing the Parekh Report, *The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain*, McGuigan proposes a "community of communities" based on pluralism. He defends the idea that it is mistaken to portray ethnic groups as separate, "Instead, they interact quite routinely in various ways, setting up channels of mutuality as well as hostility. There is a constant play of similarity and difference" (2005: 188).

Conclusions

The purpose of this final section is to draw from the preceding text possible implications for national museums. The intention is to look at possible steps to be taken into account in matters of inclusion, equity, and respect for difference.

National museums have been called to take a stand in nation-making processes of newly independent States or as symbols of reconciliation in spite of, or perhaps *because of* the fact that there has been a demise in the belief that the nation still stands as a way of organizing a political and cultural community – or communities –. In 2001, Australia opened its National Museum, 10 years after the creation of the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (Sculthorpe 2001). The role of museums in historical reparation is key for groups that demand that the State take an active role in reformulating historical narratives. Accepting that challenge is much more complicated than showing the "happy" and harmonic side of diversity that governments so often find appealing. Sculthorpe shows, in the case of Australia, that Aboriginal art exhibits are very popular to take abroad, "yet accepting past treatment of Indigenous Australians as part of Australian history remains problematic for many" (2001: 81).

To the notion of reparation we must add the complex task national museums have in post-colonial, post nation-state and even post-museum times in articulating their narratives around collective projects of nation based on multicultural models. The nation then becomes something that is not so easily mapped as it transcends its own frontiers and creates new ones inside its political limits. A nation that is thus hard to grasp does not lead us to an easily defined national identity. We argue against the desirability of having one mould that all citizens have to conform to and defend the notion of different ways of belonging to the nation. For Thompson (2001), national identity is not a given. Not all people can locate themselves comfortably in a national identity and many even have difficulties in finding a sense of belonging. Also, not everyone defines their relationship to the nation in the same way, nor understands the nation in the same manner. For the author, it is important to take into account how individuals, and communities, make national identities. Following a more flexible model of identity can be a way for national museums to include the diversity of their constituencies.

The need for inclusion was argued using the case of the Museo Nacional de Colombia and the country's Afrodescendant communities. The absences of representation of cultural or ethnic groups automatically "disqualify" them as members of the polity. The lack of representation was interpreted by members of the Afrocolombian communities as yet another sign of the way the nation has excluded them from acknowledging their contributions to the nation-making processes. An additional consequence of this invisibility is that the museum is also hiding these communities from other groups that make up the nation, perhaps contributing in an indirect way to pervasive forms of discrimination. But we also noted how other groups are missing. The many absences further complicate solutions as many groups might end up competing for their separate enclaves inside the museum. The responsibilities placed on Colombian cultural institutions by the Constitution of 1991 clearly reflect the situation of other countries worldwide that are facing legislation that obliges them to incorporate the discourse of the multicultural nation.

Diversity and multiculturalism create challenges that the Museo can come to grips with in many ways, but it will never be a finished product; the necessities and the communities represented will multiply. Once the door is open to participation and inclusion, there is no set limit to reach; rather, the institution is responsible for deciding and negotiating with communities how far it can go. Littler points to the "ethical commitment to social change for a more equal society [that] has to be accompanied by a strategic sense of what is possible to be done and when" (2005: 13). The wishes and ideas of the communities – for instance a separate pavilion for the culture of Afrodescendents in Colombia – will inevitably crash with

the reality of the institution – lack of collections or research, budgets, and acceptance of the idea of creating a separate gallery. A sense of realism is important to be able to make promises that can be kept. Hall recognizes the complexity of such an enterprise:

> No single program or agenda could adequately represent [Britain´s] cultural complexity, especially the `impossible´ desire to be treated and represented with justice (that is, as `the same´) simultaneously with the demand for the recognitions of `difference´. The agenda will itself have to be open and diverse, representing a situation which is already cross-cut by new and old lateral connections and reciprocal global influences and which refuses to stand still or stabilize (Hall 2005: 31).

The enterprise of this agenda has to keep in mind the negotiation with the communities represented. Groups of participants in meetings held in February and September of 2007 on the issue of representation of Afrodescendant communities in the Museo Nacional were merciless about their critiques but were also eager to elaborate a bilateral policy on inclusion with plans, tasks and goals. The Museo's first step, which was listening to participants and accepting their criticism of the Museo (whether rightfully earned or not), was taken very positively and participants expressed gratitude and relief that they had been invited to be heard, though it had taken the institution far too long to ask them to participate. Recognition of past and present exclusions starts with listening carefully to the people that have been left out of historical discourse and its representation in museums.

Allowing groups that have previously been excluded to have their own space responds positively to what Jordan and Weedon have highlighted as aspects of the cultural politics of marginalized groups that need attention: "1) the need for recognition; 2) the need for cultural agency" (1995: 551). The first includes both the need to speak and the need to be heard as empowering exercises, and the second recognizes that racism and sexism constrain the possibilities of creating new representations. For Sandell (2007), representation of difference in museums is both determined and generative. Framing this claim in the present study means that inclusion in discourses of the national is a significant contribution to the political agency of groups; in the case of Colombia, it might lead to the combat of racism and discrimination. For Sandell equality of rights does not mean obliging groups to integrate to a definite model. He states "…I contend that museums can offer understandings of difference that are complex and nuanced, which attempt to establish an expanded view of rights, one which incorporated the right for groups to assert and maintain their cultural specificity" (2007: 183).

Can museums redefine consensus on difference? (Sandell 2007). The requirement to emphasize difference must be met with the obligation to create dialogue. Jesús Martín-Barbero (2002: 17) has made a special emphasis on the need to overcome the fragmented character of the Colombian nation. For him, it is necessary to construct a national narrative with common memory woven into it. The conflictive elements of this memory would not be silenced but ultimately it would be a memory that binds the nation together. For him it is necessary that institutions in Colombia transcend the multicultural and construct interculturality because if we only affirm differences and diversity in a time when society is being torn apart and intolerance reigns, we can end up promoting ghettoes, new selfishness, and other divisions (2002: 27). What we need is to affirm divergence but also assert reciprocity and solidarity.

We have a responsibility to avoid further fragmentation by balancing the stories of individuals and excluded communities with the contributions of other groups and also by looking at identities cross-culturally. How to utilize mini-narratives of individual groups and communities as building blocks in a broader story of nation? Naidoo reinforces the place of particular heritage in the broader story as he points to positive experiences of "uncovering" Black heritage in a way that destabilizes our notions of national heritage (2005: 46). The

stories of minorities are the stories of the nation (Ibid). In the particular case of the Afrocolombian communities, looking at their heritage will allow us to incorporate the legacies of African culture that survived the Diaspora and were transformed in America, into the discourse of nation. But microcosms do not exist in a vacuum. Identities always exist in relation to others. The question here becomes: can Black communities tell their story without the presence of White and mestizo, or mixed-race, communities?

A combination of strategies has to be articulated. Hall describes basic elements of changing representations: first, it involves the re-writing of the narratives in an inclusive manner, in ways that permit us to see how the stories of the "others" intersect with ours in the national narrative. The second step is to acknowledge and support creative output of minority groups; the third, a recording of the Black Diaspora and its documentation; fourth, an overcoming of the representation "of minority communities as immured in their `ethnicity´ or differentiated into another species altogether by their `racialised difference´" (2005: 33). Fifth and last is the recognition of hybrid artistic forms that feed on multiple cultural traditions. The change in paradigm might also mean not only a support of processes of creation but also a broadening of what gets funded as Khan points out in the case of Britain in the 1980s.

There is an underlying need to support research processes undertaken by communities themselves and to open up possibilities for training. In this manner we might widen the group responsible for history-making. Crooke points out how in order to make collections and exhibitions more representative, museums are coming in contact with local stories (Crooke 2005: 73). One possible initiative is to support local groups that undertake collecting oral histories: "Public display, in books, exhibitions and monuments is not limited to the official academic, museum or heritage sectors" (Crooke 2005: 80). In the case of the Afrocolombian communities, various participants expressed concern about losing valuable knowledge with the death of several wise elders. Budgets can become available to secure the recovery and documentation of tradition in order for new generations to appropriate it.

By incorporating different communities we are not only widening the groups included in a national memory but also incorporating collectivities in a project of reparation of the past. Sánchez (2000) notes how this enterprise is not only the business of the museum, but that the museum has to be reconstructed by the whole of society. In this manner the museum may work on a policy of inclusion drafted by the institution with the communities it wishes to address in a reciprocal relationship. Museums are already required to have collections, conservation, and exhibition policies, but very few have policies on inclusion.

These steps can lead museums in the direction of creating equity in representation. Nevertheless, there can never be a truly balanced representation in any national museum, because there is a different starting point for each different group that makes up a nation. The fact that no objects survive, in Colombia, to tell the story of enslaved people can never be undone. In a recent visit by the representatives of Colombian Afrocommunities, they were displeased to see that a mulatto leader in the country's independence was represented by including his biography inside a picture frame, rather than by his (non-existent) portrait. Lowenthal points to this difficulty when he describes representation of elites of whom objects and inventories survive while no material testimonials of slaves in Colonial Williamsburg were available and replicas had to be constructed. He explains that "The elite appear in actual, contextual, explicit detail; the faceless, unprovenanced slaves are generalized and undifferentiated. The former come across to visitors as memorably authentic individuals, the latter as depersonalized simulacra in counterfeit (because reconstructed rather than `genuine´) milieus" (2001: 166).

The questions a national museum might ask itself are whether it is taking cultures seriously and understanding them in their context; acknowledging asymmetries of power; taking into account the need to have differentiated spaces but also the need to promote equality and

inclusion; whether it is ready to negotiate and take some blows from potentially numerous fronts; whether it wants to be a space to reaffirm uncontested notions of identity or whether it is apt for becoming a space for dialogue and debate. Additional questions that remain open are how to make explicit the limits, the constructed character of nation, and identity and narration so that visitors also change the responsibilities attributed to the museum. How to metamorphize the image of the museum from the temple of national identity to the place where there are inevitable conflicting stories and no "true" answers?

Finally, we return to the first image that I suggested in this text: the national museum as the micro-mirror of a macro-reality. In the following excerpt by Martín-Barbero I suggest the exercise of replacing the word "democracy" for the word "national museum(s)":

The impossibility of conceiving of a totally conflict-free human order makes the most crucial challenge facing democracy today one of how to transform itself into a 'pluralist democracy': it must be capable of taking on the us/them distinction so that 'they' are also recognized as legitimate. This, in turn, implies that the passions are not relegated to the private sphere but rather kept in play through argument: that is, by struggles which do not seek to annihilate the other, since the other also has a right to recognition and, therefore, to life. When democracy requires us to maintain the tension between our identity as individuals and as citizens it becomes the site of emancipation, since only out of this tension will it be possible to sustain collectively the other tension between difference and equivalence (equality). And then we will abandon the illusory search for the reabsorption of otherness in a unified totality. Just as otherness is irreducible, so must 'pluralist democracy' regard itself as an 'impossible good' – a regulative idea that exists only insofar as it cannot be perfectly realized (2002b: 630).

If the challenges of democracy are the challenges of national museums, then the democratic ethos of the museum is an "impossible good" but something to aspire to.

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Institutionalizing Photography: Cultural Pluralism and National Institutions

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Founded in 1997 the Museum of Photography in Thessaloniki constitutes the first "national" institution in Greece dedicated to the medium of photography. Being the result of a conference initiated by the Greek Ministry of Culture in 1994 defining Greece's "national policy for art photography", the new museum seems to summarize the way contemporary Greek photography is institutionalized through the last three decades.

The paper focuses on the way in which this institutionalization is correlated with the photographic production of the mid-1970s and 1980s, as well as with how this was received and interpreted by the contemporary critique.

On a second level, the Greek paradigm is compared to photographic trends on an international scene, and more specifically with what is called as "The New British Document", a photographic movement that emerged during the 1970s and 1980s and was directly connected with the cultural policy followed by a number of art institutions in the U.K.

Towards a New Museum: Thessaloniki's Museum of Photography

Until the mid-1970s Greek photography followed certain predetermined norms, ranging from the exotic orientalism of the late 19th century and the pre-War pictorialist views of the Greek countryside to the stereotypical images of the islands produced by the National Tourist Board during the emergence of mass tourism in the 1960s. The main institution supporting this photographic production was the Greek Photographic Society (Elliniki Fotografiki Eteria, EFE); its members, traditionalist in their aesthetic choices, were in their great majority amateurs.

It is only in the late 1970s and early 1980s that this cliché iconography was replaced by new modes of recording and interpreting the Greek environment, which largely explored the contemporary urban landscape. The change in iconography coincided with the emergence of a generation of young photographers trained abroad (mainly in the UK and in France). The amateurism of the previous decades was abandoned in favour of a more professional approach of the photographic medium. The appearance of this young generation of photographers came along with the establishment of photographic publications, magazines and galleries exclusively dedicated to the promotion of the photographic medium. During the 1980s photography studies were introduced in Greek technical universities, while at the same decade the first photography festivals were established (International Photography Month in Athens in 1987 and Photo-synkyria in Thessaloniki in1989).

By the mid-1990s the need to support Greek photography was realized by the state cultural policy. This is clearly indicated by the conference organized by the Greek Ministry of Culture in 1994, aiming to define Greece's "national policy for art photography". Having represented almost every tendency of Greek photography, the conference was considered as highly successful. As a result, a working group was constituted; it proposed the establishment of several state institutions that would be charged with the production, study, promotion, conservation of Greek photography.

Thessaloniki's Museum of Photography was founded in 1997 within the framework of the events surrounding the celebration of the city as the Cultural Capital of Europe for 1997. Hosting the international photography festival "Photo-synkyria" since 1989 and being the homeland of numerous photographers that were active during the last decades, Thessaloniki appeared as the ideal city to place this first national institution exclusively dedicated to photography.

Stathatos' "New Greek Photography"

The establishment of this new museum should be seen as symptomatic of a general tendency to institutionalize contemporary Greek photography. The museum came to house and promote the photographic activity produced during the last decades, namely since the mid-1970s.

The work of these young photographers was labeled as "New Greek Photography" by John Stathatos, one of the most famous Greek photographers and critics. Having lived and worked for several years in the United Kingdom, he became acquainted with international trends in photography theory and practice. During the 1990s John Stathatos emerged as the key theoretical advocate of contemporary Greek photography, curating three major shows presented in Greece and abroad[1] and writing catalogue entries and critiques.

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1   "A Post-Classical Landscape: The Greek Photography in the 1980s" (1988), "The Invention of the Landscape: Greek Photography and Landscape" (1996) and "The Image and the Icon: The New Greek Photography" (1997).

By labeling this production as "New Greek Photography", Stathatos introduces a new "movement" or even "genre" within contemporary Greek art. In this paper I will attempt to analyze the movement's characteristics as these were raised by its theoretical advocate, seeking to trace the procedure by which this new photographic representation was "invented" and legitimized as a national photographic school.

Examining all three survey exhibitions, one discerns that several ideas recur in Stathatos' writings. To begin with, the majority of the photographers, as well as the largest part of the photos included in the displays are repeated. Making long and detailed references to the photographic events since the mid-1970s, Stathatos seems convinced of the path-breaking work of these young Greek photographers, believing that they launched a new movement in the photographic history of Greece. He attributes the emergence of the movement to the professional orientation of these young photographers, who in their majority studied abroad, as well as to their aspiration to establish new institutions for the promotion of the photographic medium (journals, publications, galleries etc).

On a second level, the curator strives to locate and accentuate the common intentions that appear in contemporary Greek photography. Irrespective of the wide range of styles employed, he distinguishes several recurrent themes in these photographers' works. As he argues, they seek to investigate aspects of contemporary Greek urban society and culture, "dealing with what in America came to be known as "social landscape photography".[2] For Stathatos, among contemporary Greek photographers there is a conscious attempt to explore Greece's "post-classical landscape"; in their images he recognizes an effort to subvert earlier stereotypes of sublime classical landscapes and/or picturesque islands promoted by organisms like the National Tourist Board.

Although striving to reject previous models, Stathatos cannot escape the contextualization of these works within a sub-narrative of Greekness. However, his way of defining Greekness is differentiated from the previous norms. In the "Invention of the Landscape", he employs a discourse quoting Simon Schama's "Landscape and Memory".[3] Contextualized within the broader framework of postmodernism, and more specifically within the movement of New Historicism, Schama's views put emphasis on interpretive strategies, cultural contexts, or even on singular stories and places, namely what it is called as microhistory.[4] Pondering multiple interpretations over a single truth, Stathatos argues that the representation of the Greek landscape has moved away from a "monolithic" national scene to become a palimpsest that awaits the reader-researcher to explore it. [5]

Selecting and pointing out everything that could link specific photographic works, Stathatos seeks to consolidate a photographic production under a common label. Thus, he claims that these photographers share a common imaging, namely that of social landscape, and devise a counter-discourse to combat preconceptions of Greekness. But most of all, the unifying link between them is found in their conviction and awareness that their work is launching a new beginning in Greek photographic history.

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2   John Stathatos (ed.), *Post-Classical Landscape: Greek Photography in the 1980s* (Athens: Hellenic Center of Photography 1988) without page numbers. The term "social landscape photography" was used by Lee Friedlander to characterize his own imaging of American society.

3   Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, (New York : A.A. Knopf, 1995).

4   Catherine Gallagher , Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (University of Chicago Press 2000) pp. 49–74 and *passim*. Quoted by Patrick Brantlinger, 'A Response to Beyond the Cultural Turn', *The American Historical Review*, December 2002, Vol. 107, No 5, http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/107.5/ah0502001500.html, last accessed on May 1st 2008.

5   John Stathatos (ed.), *The Invention of the Landscape*, (Thessaloniki: Camera Obscura 1996).

"The New British Document"

One cannot examine the emergence of New Greek Photography as a genre as well as Stathatos' attempts to legitimize it as a national school outside his own formation. As mentioned previously, Stathatos had for many years lived and worked in the U.K.. There he became familiar with several practices popular in the late 1970s and early 1980s, like Victor Burgin's post-marxist critique of representation, John Tagg's critique of photography's institutions based on Foucault or Jo Spence's radical photographic feminism.[6] A comparison with the British photographic situation during the 1970s and 1980s will significantly shed light on the way Stathatos seeks to conceptualize contemporary Greek photography.

Starting from the institutional framework, during the 1970s several developments related to photography took place in Britain. Numerous galleries exclusively devoted to photography opened at the same period; the Photographers' Gallery in London in 1971, the Impressions Gallery, in York in 1972, Stills Gallery in Edinburgh, in 1977, and the Association of Welsh Photographers, later Ffotogallery Cardiff in 1978. Furthermore, in 1982 the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television, as a branch of the Science Museum was established in Bradford, while the Royal Photographic Society (RPS) moved its library and archive from London to Bath in 1980. In 1998 the Victoria and Albert Museum opened the Canon Photography Gallery dedicated to exhibitions of photographic art. Thus, the 1970s and 1980s were characterized not only by the extension of provision for photography collections and exhibitions, but also by an increase in major institutions located away from London.[7]

Since the 1970s there have been significant developments in art practices founded in the new centrality of critical ideas to the visual arts. Within this framework photography was radically reevaluated, accommodating art discourses like the critique of representation, institutional critique or identity politics. Photography works were utilized to raise issues of cultural identity, multiculturalism, tolerance of cultural, sexual, religious, racial otherness.

In an attempt to take account of ethnic diversity, institutions like the Greater London Council took a lead in supporting multicultural initiatives. An example can be the formation of the association of Black Photographers, which was later renamed to Autograph. Racism, the post-colonial context and desire to explore ethnic difference, figure centrally in these photographers' practices. Exhibitions which have explored these themes include "Disrupted Borders"[8], which connected work from widespread parts of the world –all of which in some way treated questions of cultural integration and marginality.

Informed by the theoretical outline of multiculturalism, the way Britishness is portrayed was subsequently altered. Organized in 1986 at the Chicago Museum of Photography the exhibition "The New British Document" gave its name to a group of photographic works that were produced in Britain during the so called Thatcher years. Best exemplified in the work of Paul Graham and of Martin Parr, this trend operated in the territory traditionally reserved for documentary photography, reinterpreting, nonetheless, that genre through new approaches to photographic representation.

With his *A1—The Great North Road*, (1981–1982) and *Beyond Caring* (1984–1985) series Paul Graham sought to document social fractures of the British society, collecting everyday images from the motorway or the unemployment offices. Martin Parr, on the other hand, approached modern British society with a satirical and witty look, criticizing consumerism, foreign travel and tourism, family and relationships within a petty-bourgeois context. Taking

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6   Simon Watney, 'Tunnel Vision: Photographic Education in Britain in the 1980s', *Afterimage*, Jan/Feb2006, Vol. 33, Issue 4.

7   Liz Wells, 'Photography as Art' in Liz Wells (ed.), *Photography: A Critical Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge 1997) p. 288.

8   Sunil Gupta (ed.), *Disrupted Borders* (London: Rivers Oram Press 1993).

distances from the colonial legacy, the image of Britishness that both Graham and Parr project is based on the representation of the other, whether s/he is an immigrant, an unemployed or a member of working or petty-bourgeois classes. Britain appears as a country of tolerance, while cultural diversity is mobilized to bridge every difference inherent in British society. Founded in the late 1980s, this trend was to reach its apogee during the 1990s, when the New Labour elevated Young British Artists into the major British cultural product that, functioning as a brand[9], secured the integration of any alterity and smoothening of every political antagonism.

Legitimizing New Greek Photography

Promoting an aestheticized version of documentary photography, New Greek Photography works coincide with international tendencies resulting from the circumscription of photography's informational role as well as from the rising of its exhibition value. As his curated exhibitions manifest, Stathatos has a firm and clear view of contemporary Greek photography, as firm and clear as his intention to promote this specific photographic "genre".

Through Stathatos' survey exhibitions the documentary photography of the1980s is signified anew, and is further aesthiticized within its new context. It becomes one of the dominant tendencies in Greek art, with its commercial value increasing. Having worked for many years in U.K., Stathatos seems quite familiar with the popularity the works of the New British Document enjoyed. It was exactly this successful recipe that Stathatos wished to apply in contemporary Greek photography. Apparently, organizing survey exhibitions of contemporary Greek photography seems to fall into this same conceptual outline.

As previously mentioned, two of his three exhibitions were organized just a few years after the conference regarding the "national policy for art photography", held in October 1994 under the auspices of the Greek Ministry of Culture.[10] The conference highlighted the insignificant presence of collectors interested in Greek photography and especially in contemporary Greek photography. Most of the representatives concluded that the lack of museums and institutions failed to raise the market's interest in this photographic production.[11] Aspiring to develop an art market for Greek photography, they proposed the organization of survey exhibitions that would examine and promote the tendencies and the character of contemporary Greek photography. [12]

One of the basic objectives the conference set was "the promotion of Greek photography abroad".[13] The conference's outcome can be traced in the establishment of Thessaloniki's Museum of Photography, as well as in the organization of exhibitions like "The Invention of the Landscape" and "The Image and the Icon". Both the museum's founding and the exhibitions were part of the celebration of Thessaloniki as Cultural Capital of Europe for 1997. It is not by chance that, within this framework, the city is presented promoting "the

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9   Simon Anholt introduced the notion of "nation branding". He is an advisor to the governments of many countries (U.K apparently), cities and regions on nation branding, public diplomacy, economic development, public affairs, cultural relations and trade, tourism and export promotion. See www.earthspeak.com

10   *Imerida yia tin Kallitechniki Fotografia, [Conference for Art Photography]* (Greek Ministry of Culture, National Cultural Cities Network, Athens 1994).

11   Alkis Xanthakis, 'I agora tis fotografias', ['Photography's market'], in *Imerida yia tin Kallitechniki Fotografia, [Conference for Art Photography]*, Ibid, pp. 22–26.

12   Yannis Demou, 'Dynatotites ypostiriksis tis fotografikis dimiourgias', ['Potentials for supporting photographic creation', in *Imerida yia tin Kallitechniki Fotografia, [Conference for Art Photography]*, Ibid, p. 30.

13   Thanos Mikroutsikos, in *Imerida yia tin Kallitechniki Fotografia, [Conference for Art Photography]*, Ibid, pp. 15–17.

European spirit" as well as "a vision for a united Europe".[14] Greece's cultural policy in the 1990s is identified with the dominant model of Europeanism, a model that it is based on the "respect for cultural identities, tolerance for cultural differences in a framework of plural democratic values".[15]

The "New" and the "Ethnic"

Two are the aspects promoted in both New Greek Photography and New British Document. First, its "new" character: adding the prefix "new" not only distinguishes contemporary Greek photography from previous practices; it also alludes to youth, namely the young age of the artists, a quality that recurs in Stathatos' writings. As Julian Stallabrass argues, there is a much wider trend in commodity culture to favour youth, or at least its appearance. As a marketing quality, youthfulness becomes an appealing tactic even for those art events that attract older audiences, which like to think of themselves as sprightly.[16] For both the Greek and the British paradigm, youth constitutes an advantage that could be traded in various ways. Artists can remain young for a while, or even be labeled as "young", responding to demands of the art market.

Secondly, both photographic trends are described in their national contexts. When examining contemporary urban landscape, apparently ubiquitous as a theme in both photographic productions, one may wonder how Greek or British this can be. In reality, Graham's unemployed, Parr's industrial workers, Maligkoura's immigrants in Omonoia square, or Alkidis' passer-by are typical images of the global city.[17] Greece's representation is not based on its sublime classical past, neither on the picturesque model promoted by the National Tourist Board; similarly, Britain is not displayed as the inheritor of its colonial legacy. Instead, what is represented as genuine Greek or British is the environment of socially marginalized groups living in a contemporary global city.

Arguing in favour of a social landscape photography, these photographers could be linked to Hal Foster's "artist as ethnographer" model. Foster recasts Benjamin's "Author as Producer" 1934 model, according to which progressive artists should try to transform social relations, by intervening in the modes of production. In the ethnographer paradigm, the artist is an observant – participant working on behalf of the cultural or ethnic other and recording a cultural event.[18] Descending from the humanistic photography of the mid-20th century, these photographic practices or "concerned photography" according to Cornell Capa, seems to get contextualized, in their larger part at least, within what is called as art's ethnographic turn.

Examined through an ethnographic prism, recording a social landscape is transformed into a forced "othering" of the photographed subjects. Issues of cultural or ethnic identity are introduced into the works as "exotic additions" by the artist-ethnographer. Thus, the Greekness or Britishness promoted in these photographic works is apparently reduced to this supplement, to this "flavour" that transforms the represented subjects into a domestic alterity.

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14   See http://www.hri.org/culture97/welcome_gr.html, last accessed on May 1st 2008.

15   "Pro Cultura" Charter adopted at Thessaloniki (1997). See 'Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development',http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.phpURL_ID=18719&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html last accessed on May 1st 2008.

16   Julian Stallabrass, *Art Incorporated* (Oxford University Press 2004) p. 84.

17   Saskia Sassen, *Global City, New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton University Press 2001).

18   Hal Foster, *The Return of the Real* (Cambridge, Massachusetts- London, England: The MIT Press 1996) p. 171–173.

Photography's Ethical Turn

The discourse developed on New Greek Photography and New British Document singles out and emphasizes the notion of the documentation of everyday life. Despite their more than obvious aestheticization, their value is exclusively determined in the context of their capacity of documenting life. As Boris Groys puts it, today's art aspires to become life itself.[19] Appropriating the common world, this art-becoming-life alters art's own status. Its validity is treated in terms of morality, putting art itself into crisis. Aesthetic judgment is equated with an ethicopolitical one, hinting at a general tendency in art, described by Jacques Rancière as an ethical turn.[20]

As Rancière argues, this contemporary disparagement of the aesthetic seems to disregard the "aesthetic regime of art", as this was expressed by Enlightenment and is still operative today. According to the French philosopher, contemporary art practices seem to misapprehend one vital aspect inherent in the aesthetic: its ability to treat contradiction. It is a fruitful contradiction discerned in art's relation with social change, as this is exemplified in the conflict between art's autonomy and the belief in art's mission to fulfill the promise of a better world.[21]

Overlooking the aesthetic, contemporary art practices seem to accomplish their social engagement with translating art into terms of life, blurring the borders between art and non-art. The emphasis on socially concerned photography is symptomatic of a broader transformation that art is undergoing during the last decades. Its ethical orientation, smoothening any contradiction inherent in the aesthetic, should be linked with contemporary art's attempt to endorse a consensual view of society. Rancière explains this trend as the aesthetical configuration of the post-utopian condition, namely the undoing of the Revolution's alliance between political and aesthetic radicalism, which followed the fall of Communism in the early 1990s.[22]

In the Greek and British paradigms artists seek to shake away previous stereotypes in their "national" photographic representations. In reality, however, they conclude in creating a new fixed image: mobilizing a discourse of cultural pluralism, they attempt to present a "politically correct" image on contemporary Greek/British culture. Despite the social issues raised, these images are seemingly apolitical. Enforcing an aestheticized ethical discourse on cultural identity aims at achieving political consensus and eradicating every conflict and antagonism from the political field.

Cultural pluralism constitutes one of the dominant models of the cultural policy that the European Union promotes. Greece in the 1990s is a country striving to prove that it can support the vision of modernization and of the European Union. As a fertile field for Greece to improve its image, culture has a significant role to play. By promoting "the principles of multiculturalism and the respect of the expression of cultural identities", Greek state seeks to broaden "its role and presence in the broader international scene, the institutions and the international organizations".[23] This cultural framework, besides approaching to the official cultural policy of the European Union, recalls the practices that were successfully

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19 Boris Groys, 'Art in the Age of Biopolitics: From Artwork to Art Documentation', from the Catalogue to *Documenta 11* (Ostfildern-Ruit: Hatje Cantz, 2002) pp 108–109.

20 Jacques Rancière, *Malaise dans l'esthétique* (Paris : Editions Galilée 2004) pp. 143–173.

21 Ibid, pp. 60–64.

22 Ibid, p. 169.

23 Costas Simitis, 'Parousiasi ton theseon tou PA.SO.K' ['Presentation of the PA.SO.K (Greek Socialist Party) positions'], Athens, March 29th, 2000, http://www.costas-simitis.gr/content/76, last accessed on May 1st 2008.

implemented in countries presenting a higher rate of multiethnic population, like United Kingdom under Blair's New Labour. [24]

Adopting the ideological construction of cultural pluralism, both Greek and British cultural policies achieve to promote the model of a tolerant and modern country, an image that fits perfectly within contemporary neoliberal capitalism. Taking advantage of the postmodernist discourse of cultural pluralism, they tend to permeate the social groups and pacify them. By distinguishing concrete groups with specific interests, objectives, values and "culture", these policies manage to absorb several social tensions. The image of alterity that is promoted trivializes the essential differences between social, ethnic or cultural groups. Dismantled by its true identity and "trapped" within its picturesque representation, this alterity presents no danger for the social order.[25]

New Greek Photography and the New British Document are invented as new "genres" and become institutionalized. By being supported by state institutions, they are a posteriori legitimated as national schools. They are, however, "national schools", made to fit to the needs of a global art market. Mobilizing an essentialist "difference" or a desirable "otherness", they create a convenient "brand" for their own cultural product, succumbing, thus, to the demands of late consumer capitalism, which operates, as Mari Karmen Ramirez argues, through the marketing of the appearance of "difference" and "particularity".[26]

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24 See Julian Stallabrass, *High Art Lite: British Art in the 1990s*, (London and New York: Verso 1999) pp. 170– 195. Louiza Avgita 'Kataskevazontas ti "Nea Vretania": I "Nea Vretaniki Techni" tis dekatias tou '90' ['Constructing "New Britain": The "New British Art" of the 1990s'], in *3rd Panhellenic Conference of Art History*, Thessaloniki 2–4 November 2007, proceedings forthcoming.

25 Slavoj Zizek, 'Multiculturalism, or The Cultural Logic of Multinational Capitalism', *New Left Review*, I n. 225, Sep- Oct 1997, p. 37. Slavoj Zizek, 'From Politics to Biopolitics…and Back', *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 103, n. 2/3, Spring/Summer 2004, p. 508.

26 Maria Carmen Ramirez, 1996, 'Brokering Identities: Art curators and the politics of cultural representation', in Reesa Greenberg, Bruce W. Ferguson, Sandy Nairne, (ed.) *Thinking About Exhibitions* (London and New York: Routledge 1996) p. 25.

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Staging the Sami – Narrative and Display
at the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm

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This paper deals with the question of how the Sami, an indigenous people in northern Scandinavia and Russia, over a period of more than 130 years have been presented in permanent exhibitions at the Nordiska Museet, the Swedish national museum of cultural history. It is a topic that can be used to analyse the construction of the national museum as well as the narratives about the Sami, but also to understand the role of museums in shaping social and ethnic categories and their situation in society.

The paper has the character of being an overview of a work in progress, and it touches upon a series of aspects that will be researched more closely further on. It is divided into four sections, representing how the Sami issue has been managed in the contexts of nation building, modernity, contemporary representation, and globalisation.

Managing Nation Building

The Nordiska Museet was created in 1873 under the name *Skandinavisk-Etnografiska samlingen* (The Scandinavian-Ethnographic Collection), which was changed in 1880 to the Nordiska Museet.[1] It moved in 1907 to its present building at Djurgården in central Stockholm. The founder, Artur Hazelius, has a prominent role in the museum's history. He was a well-known person in his time and his ambitions have been interpreted in a number of ways in different contexts.[2] Hazelius also founded the open-air museum Skansen in 1891 with the aim of forming and expressing a national Swedish identity.[3] Until 1965, the two museums were parts of the same organisation.

Originally in private hands, the museum was transformed at an early stage into a foundation and was therefore able to take its place among the other public institutions which, at the end of the 1800s, helped create the nation of Sweden by forming a Swedish natural and cultural history. In the Nordiska Museet this was materialised through the acquisition of artefacts and the staging of exhibitions, in Skansen through the transfer of buildings to its site and the arrangement of various natural environments. In the idea of the nation and the new national consciousness, space and place played important roles as different landscapes formed the nation's territory as a part of a whole. Geographic provenance was a central classification category in the museum's collections and exhibition arrangements, as it was for Skansen's houses and farms.

An extensive collection of objects, documents, photographs and buildings were quickly brought together via specific field trips. Despite the name, the museum had no particular Nordic or Scandinavian profile in its collections and activities, rather a national Swedish parallel to a more undefined northern European profile. Until 1905, Sweden still formed a union with Norway, which led to extensive Norwegian acquisitions. The Finnish inheritance had dwindled (until 1809 Finland was part of Sweden) except for an interest in older Finnish settlements in western central Sweden and in the Finnish-speaking areas far in the north *(Tornedalen).* Among the Baltic countries, Estonia in particular was featured, due to the historic migration patterns. After the first decades, however, the museum gradually became more nationally oriented with a focus on Sweden and Swedish conditions. In recent years there has been a "transfer" of Norwegian and Icelandic objects to their original countries – not, however, as a "repatriation" in today's indigenous-political sense.

Initially the ethnic category that was given special attention was the Sami.[4] The history of the Nordiska Museet, Skansen, and the Sami is still being researched but it is clear that Artur Hazelius' interest in the Sami as a cultural-historical phenomenon was similar to that of other

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1   For non-Nordic readers: the name Nordiska Museet translates literally as "The Nordic Museum" but has the status of the Swedish national museum of cultural history. The early names of the museum reflect the Nordic and Scandinavian current of ideas of the late 1800s.

2   Most recently in Hillström, M. (2006) *Ansvaret för kulturarvet. Studier i det kulturhistoriska museiväsendets formering med särskild inriktning på Nordiska museets etablering 1872–1919.* Linköping: Linköpings universitet.

3   For the early history of the Nordiska Museet and Skansen, *see* also Biörnstad, A. (ed.) (1991) *Skansen under hundra år.* Höganäs: Wiken; Hammarlund-Larsson, C. (1998) "Samlingarna och samlandet". In Medelius, H., Nyström, B. and Stavenow-Hidemark, E. (eds) *Nordiska museet under 125 år.* Stockholm: Nordiska Museet; Hammarlund-Larsson, C. (2004) " 'I denna tid af slapp nationalkänsla.' Om Artur Hazelius, vetenskapen och nationen". In Hammarlund-Larsson, C., Nilsson, B. G. and Silvén, E. *Samhällsideal och framtidsbilder. Perspektiv på Nordiska museets dokumentation och forskning.* Stockholm: Carlssons; Nyström, B. (1998) "Att göra det förflutna levande". In Medelius, Nyström, and Stavenow-Hidemark (1998) *op. cit.*; Sörlin, S. (1998) "Artur Hazelius och det nationella arvet". In Medelius, Nyström, and Stavenow-Hidemark (1998) *op. cit.*; Jönses, L. (2005) "Den patriotiska promenaden. Skansen och Svenska turist-föreningen i konstruktionen av det svenska territoriet". In Aronsson, P. and Hillström, M. (eds) *Kulturarvens dynamik. Det institutionaliserade kulturarvets förändringar.* Norrköping: Linköpings universitet; Hillström (2006) *op. cit.*

4   Could also be spelt Saami or Sami in English. In the various Scandinavian and Sami languages, the spelling also differs. Up to the 1960s the common name used by outsiders was "Lapps" or "Laplanders", until it became a pejorative term.

Europeans at the end of the 1800s. The exotic people of the north fascinated many, and both Sami families and reindeer were exhibited at World Expositions and in Zoological Parks.[5] For the World Exposition in Paris in 1878, for example, Hazelius contributed various ethnic tableaux including a Sami motif,[6] and from 1874 the *Höstflyttning i Lule Lappmark* (Autumn Migration in Lule Lappmark) was on display in his own museum. When Skansen opened, there were several tents and sod huts with Sami families as live installations. They looked after the reindeer and were said to live as they would at home to give the visitors a true picture of their conditions.[7]

Hazelius' interest in collecting has been described as manic, and his exhortations to his "gatherers" on collecting trips to Lapland certainly seem to support that interpretation. The Nordiska Museet's Sami collection today includes around 6,300 entries in the accessions register, which implies an even larger amount of individual objects, of which approximately half were received by the museum before 1910.

Researchers have characterised this somewhat romantic interest in the Sami as a result of a colonial perspective – which also influenced ethnographic museums' collections and the World Exposition's non-European sections. In this perspective the Sami were given the role of "The Other", living their lives in a timeless, ethnographic present in contrast to developing, civilised western industrial societies.[8] This point of view was reinforced by the anatomic research which, under the auspices of physical anthropology during the 1800s and race biology in the 1900s, attempted to categorise people into lower and higher ranked races, mainly on the basis of the form of their crania.[9] Among others the Sami were considered suitable objects of study.

If this cultural and scientific interest in the Sami can be seen as part of the hierarchical organisation of modern society, it is also possible to apply a geopolitical slant to the Sami representation in museums and exhibitions. The reindeer-herding Sami had since time immemorial moved over territories that were not definitively divided between the four nation-states – Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Russia – until the beginning of the 1900s. Since the 1500s, the historian Lars Elenius notes, the Sami had been included in the Swedish nation-state's mythology by a number of cultural-historical works.[10] But to retain control over an area, a state had to show that it was in use, and in this way the nomadic Sami were excellent "territory-markers", following the argument of historian Lars Jönses.[11] Thus it was good for the Swedish state to keep a large group of active reindeer-herders. To a certain extent this explains the strict distinction policy which, at the beginning of the 1900s, went under the name "Lapps should be Lapps" and which barred the reindeer-herding Sami entry into the

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5 *See*, for example, Broberg, G. (1981–1982) "Lappkaravaner på villovägar. Antropologin och synen på samerna fram mot sekelskiftet 1900". *Lychnos*; Ekström, A. (1994) *Den utställda världen. Stockholmsutställningen 1897 och 1800-talets världsutställningar*. Stockholm: Nordiska Museet; Mathisen, S. R. (2000) "Travels and narratives. Itinerant constructions of a homogenous Sami heritage". In Anttonen, P. et al. (eds.) (2000) *Folklore, heritage politics and ethnic diversity. A Festschrift for Barbro Klein*. Tumba: Mångkulturellt centrum; Baglo, C. (2006) "Samer på ville veger? Om 'levende utstillinger', antropologi og vitenskapelige praksiser". *Nordisk Museologi* 1.

6 Ekström (1994) *op. cit.*, pp. 44 and 136.

7 Upmark, G. (1916) "Skansen 25 år", p. 151. *Fataburen*.

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10 Elenius, L. (2006) *Nationalstat och minoritetspolitik. Samer och finskspråkiga minoriteter i ett jämförande nordiskt perspektiv*. Lund: Studentlitteratur, p. 54.

11 Jönses (2005) *op. cit.*, p. 70.

growing industrial and welfare society.[12] At the same time it was important to strengthen the Sami's attachment to Sweden, for example through the educational system, so as to prevent its becoming a nation within a nation. Including the Sami in the Swedish cultural history can then be interpreted as a part of defending the national territory in the northern regions.

Managing Modernity

In 1907 the present building of the Nordiska Museet was finished, but when the new exhibitions were planned a conflict arose concerning their design. The archaeologically inspired researchers won over those who wanted to carry on the scenic legacy of Artur Hazelius.[13] Two rooms on the ground floor of the museum, *Lappska afdelningen* (The Lapp Department), were devoted to the Sami collections, with systematically displayed artefacts.[14] But in the same way as Hazelius had supplemented his sceneries with typologically arranged objects, there were also mannequins with costumes together with the last remains of one of Hazelius' early dioramas: *Den åkande lulelappen* (The travelling Lule Lapp).[15]

During the first decades of the 1900s some fieldwork was conducted in the northern regions, whereby traditional Sami life was documented with or without the acquisition of objects. A definitive change took place in 1939, however, when the Nordiska Museet appointed a special curator for Sami culture and the Sami collections, the ethnographer Ernst Manker.[16] Manker initiated a period of extensive fieldwork and collection of objects, taking various settlements and lifestyles as his starting points. Spiritual sites, burial rituals and even the images on the Sami shaman drums were among the topics that interested him. In connection with work on the Stora Lule River before the construction of the power station in Porjus, various scientific explorations were made of the Sami areas that were to be submerged from 1919. In 1939 and 1940 Manker carried out a larger study that was concluded with the documentation of "what the Lapps' adaptation looked like now that the water had reached its highpoint".[17] His writing about the place and the fieldwork became a lament for the flooded cultural area and a previously protected national park, though it simultaneously expressed an enthusiastic belief in the project's necessity in the interests of modern society's need for electric energy – for mining, railroads and, not least, to supply the northern towns and farms.[18]

Manker published his research widely in popular as well as scientific form. He started the scholarly series *Acta Lapponica* and he separated all Sami materials from the museum's general archives and gathered it in *Lapska arkivet* (The Lapp Archive).[19] Manker also directed

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12 Vitalis Karnell, vicar and school inspector in Karesuando, 1906: "When the Lapps start building organisations and have their own journal, when they go to folk high schools, then they are totally finished as Lapps, and they will become the most miserable people you can imagine. (...) Favour the Lapps in every possible way in their occupation, make them moral, sober people with just as much education as they need, but don't let them taste civilisation in other respects (...) it has never brought and will never bring a blessing. Lapps should be Lapps." Lundmark (2002) *op. cit.,* p. 70.

13 Lindberg, E.-F. (1957) "Gunnar Hazelius och Nordiska museets installationsfråga". *Rig*; Hillström (2006) *op. cit.,* p. 259 ff.

14 Hammarstedt, N. E. (1911) *Lappska afdelningen.* Stockholm: Nordiska Museet.

15 Ambrosiani, S. (1912) *Bilder af utställda föremål.* Stockholm: Nordiska Museet; Ambrosiani, S. (1912) *Guide to the collections of The Northern Museum.* Stockholm: Nordiska Museet.

16 Kjellström, R. (1998) "Nordiska museets sameforskning". In Medelius, Nyström and Stavenow-Hidemark (1998) *op. cit.* Manker's position was financed by a special grant from the government after a debate concerning whether or not the Sami curator should belong to the Museum of Ethnography or to the Nordiska Museet.

17 Manker, E. (1941a) "Lapparna kring Suorvasjöarna. Forskningar i övre Lule älvdal", p. 28. *Ymer.*

18 *Ibid.*; Manker, E. (1941b) *Det nya fjällvattnet. Forskningar och upplevelser bland lapparna kring Akkajaure.* Stockholm: Medéns.

19 This separating out of Sami research and Sami material also took place at other museums and archives at the same time, actions that are still to be analysed in their contemporary contexts.

the installation of a new permanent exhibition, *Lapparna* (The Lapps), which opened in 1947.[20]

In the 1930s a radical renovation of the museum's permanent exhibitions had begun. The displays from the early 20th century were taken down and replaced by new ones, characterised by visuality, experience and functionality instead of the former study collections with typological series of objects. *Lapparna* was one of these exhibitions, and Manker expressed his aims concerning the design this way:

> A showroom which conveys in an evocative manner the core of the culture in question, although not romanticism, but realism. The old way of covering the walls with type series etc. does not belong to the showroom but to the study store. The objects are displayed as far as possible in their organic, functional context. Away with messy pictures and labels; only some large, sweeping images. Let in the artist with brush and pencil. It's also a matter of creating air and space around the scene – as it should be with a culture under the open sky.[21]

From the exhibition a wall painting by Folke Ricklund is still in place, showing a mountain Sami summer dwelling. Besides Ricklund Helmer Osslund, Ossian Elgström and Nils Nilsson Skum were represented with paintings and drawings, and Runo Johanson with portrait sculptures of "prominent representatives of the Sami people", including Johan Turi, Nils Nilsson Skum and Anta Pirak.

In different sections the exhibition described the reindeer herding and its products, the hard male and the soft female handicraft, and the spiritual world, with sacred objects as *seitar* (sieidis) and shaman drums. A low platform ran along the wall, with summer and winter *rajder* (sledge caravans). Parts of the work were undertaken in collaboration with representatives of the Sami community, whose acquaintance Manker presumably had made through his field trips and other research. Among others, Mattias and Sigga Kuoljok were engaged to get all details correctly arranged. The press made quite a show of Mattias Kuoljok coming to Stockholm by reindeer sledge, air and train to talk at the opening, when he "stressed the Lapps' delight that their culture and customs had got such an excellent permanent expo on the museum's ground floor".[22]

Another example of Manker's relations to the Sami community was his collaboration with the famous Sami artist Nils Nilsson Skum.[23] Skum grew up in a reindeer-owning family and began to draw as a child. In the 1930s he developed his talents as an artist, mainly by painting and drawing, but also through traditional Sami handicraft. He came into contact with Manker, who edited a couple of books in which Skum drew from his memories of keeping reindeer.[24] Skum's pictures became popular and were distributed through the art markets and in the press. He became famous and his art was shown in numerous exhibitions, not only in Sweden but also in Paris and New York.

In these ways the museum and the market became structures that formed a narrative about the Sami during a period when the atmosphere between them and the mainstream society wasn't too friendly. With the growth of industrial society, pressure to exploit the natural resources in northern Sweden increased, at the same time as the view of Sami formed by perspectives of race biology and the "Lapps should be Lapps" policy persisted in many

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20 Medelius, H. (1998) "Utställningarna", p. 295. In Medelius, Nyström and Stavenow-Hidemark (1998) *op. cit.*

21 These and other data about the exhibition come from Manker's working material in the archives of the Nordiska Museet.

22   *Svenska Morgonbladet* May 30, 1947.

23 Manker, E. (1956) *Boken om Skum.* Stockholm: LT.

24 Skum, N. N. (1938) *Same sita – Lappbyn.* Stockholm: Thule; Skum, N. N. (1955) *Valla renar. Olika sätt att sköta renar i ord och bilder.* Stockholm: Gebers.

people's minds.[25] The demand for assimilation and homogenisation was strong in the postwar Swedish welfare state when the Sami began to mobilise at a new level. There had been a number of waves of ethno-political movements since the turn of the century (1900), but the first national organisation was constituted in 1950: *Svenska Samernas Riksförbund* (The National Association of Swedish Sami), SSR.

There are several examples of researchers working during the first half of the 1900s who were studying controversial contemporary topics such as the "Lapp Issue" and the "Gypsy Issue" while they carried out their own cultural-history research. They were considered "experts" at a time when the groups in question were not seen as being able to speak for themselves, though this does not diminish the fact that they were often driven by a desire to engage with marginalised sections of the Swedish population.

Managing Contemporary Representation

In the end of the 1970s Manker's exhibition was dismantled and in 1981 replaced by *Samerna* (The Sami), a descriptive and comprehensive cultural historical exhibition with themes such as: dwellings, reindeer herding, hunting, fishing, skin dressing, handicraft, costumes, food, religion, music, school teaching, folklore, visual arts, customs, organisations... At the same time the present knocked on the door and was represented by a snowmobile and a contemporary reindeer herder's cabin. During the preparation of the exhibition, the museum began collaboration with representatives of the SSR and the Sami Association in Stockholm, but it didn't turn out too well.[26]

The opening of the exhibition was supposed to take place in October 1980, but it was postponed almost half a year. One reason was the Sami's disapproval of the planned entrance display, a tableau showing an encounter between a Sami and a bear, pleading that it might strengthen false conceptions about the Sami wanting to extinguish wild species. The scene was replaced by a male Sami in a *kolt,* a traditional dress, with a *lasso* in his right hand. In spite of that, the chairman of the SSR, Nikolaus Stenberg, gave a critical speech at the inauguration:

> The exhibition we see today has many valuable features. Yet, according to our opinion it doesn't give a complete and fair picture of the Sami's situation today, for example the effects of the exploitations in the Sami area. I believe and hope that the museum is prepared to supplement the exhibition on this point. In that way the Sami exhibition will become a living part of the museum.

From the documents one can see that, besides the entrance scene, the disagreements were mainly about the lack of contemporary Sami life along with different opinions on facts and data, including the maps. More generally I get the impression that the Sami representatives felt that they were not respected and represented and that they did not have any real influence on an exhibition about themselves.

This was a period when the Sami began to organise in new ways and to speak for themselves, while the Nordiska Museet still was an influential channel for knowledge about Sami issues in society – not as today when the museum, in spite of its particular position and history, is only one voice among others, not at least the Sami's. It was a period when the researchers began to be confronted with claims that their projects should be carried out with

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25 Samis were also measured, registered, and photographed in the name of race biology. Data from the studies were published as late as 1941 in *The race biology of the Swedish lapps. P. 2. Anthropometrical survey.* Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell. Cf. note 10.

26 Data about the exhibition come from working material in the Nordiska Museet. The exhibition work was conducted by Rolf Kjellström, the then Sami curator at the museum.

the direct involvement of Sami. It was no longer acceptable for them to go out in the field to bring back knowledge and materials in the classical ethnographic manner.[27]

During the 1970s and 80s the Swedish museum network for contemporary studies and collecting, *Samdok,* was launched. The participants were divided into working groups – "pools" – initially ten concerned with production, public and commercial environments, and one with domestic issues. But it was not until 1990 that Sami questions were included in the organisation, through the creation of *Samiska poolen* (The Sami Pool). This is so far the only working group to be formed on the basis of ethnicity, and that happened after pressure by the SSR.[28] The group functions as a network for the members and arranges seminars, study trips and field studies. The aim is, through documentation and collection, to create an understanding of how Sami culture changes and develops in the traditional settlement areas, in the urban environments and in the wider world.

In 1989, just before the Sami Pool was formed, a new museum was created in Jokkmokk: *Ájtte, Svenskt fjäll- och samemuseum* (The Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum). Today Ájtte is the main Swedish museum for Sami culture, a special museum for mountain nature and culture as well as an information centre for mountain tourism. At Ájtte there are cultural as well as natural history collections, archives (with documents and photographs), a library and exhibitions.[29] Ájtte is a national institution that aspires to be a Sami voice and present Sami perspectives.

Two conclusions can be drawn concerning the period around 1970–2000. First, when the Swedish cultural history museums, under the direction of the Nordiska Museet, expressly wanted to include contemporary life in their documentation and collections, it was the Swedish modern mainstream society with a focus on industrial production that was given the definition "contemporary". Both new and old ethnic minorities' conditions and lifestyles came in second place. International migration moved more quickly to the contemporary agenda than the national domestic minorities.

Second, during that period the study of Sami issues was shifted northwards, through increased resources to the regional museums, the creation of Ájtte as well as the establishment of Sami research at the University of Umeå. At the newly started *Nordisk Samisk Institutt* (Nordic Sami Institute) in Kautokeino, Norway, Sami-dedicated research activity was taken up. This formed radically new conditions for the national museums to address Sami questions, at first in relation to the material cultural heritage. At the Nordiska Museet, the accession of Sami objects slowed dramatically while the Museum of Ethnography chose to deposit its Sami collections at Ájtte. In many ways the basis for today's postcolonial heritage situation was founded during these decades.

Managing Globalisation

During spring 2000, Sweden's new national minority policy came into effect after Sweden ratified the European Council's "Framework convention for the protection of national minorities" and the "European charter for regional or minority languages". The Swedish national minorities are: Sami (who are also considered an indigenous people) Swedish-Finns, Tornedalians, Roma, and Jews. The goal of the minority policy is, in Sweden as in other

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27 Ågren, K. (1974) "Dräktforskning", p. 8 f. In Kjellström, R. (ed.) (1974) *Sameforskning i dag och i morgon. Rapport från symposium rörande den samiska kulturen 19–20 november 1973 i Nordiska museet.* Stockholm: Nordiska Museet.

28 The first members were the Nordiska Museet, the regional museums in Umeå and Luleå as well as Ájtte, The Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum in Jokkmokk and The National Association of Swedish Sami. Later the Department of Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research in Umeå joined, together with the Multicultural Centre in Botkyrka as well as the Museum of Ethnography in Stockholm.

29 www.ajtte.com.

countries, to protect national minorities, strengthen their influence and support their language, culture, religion, and identity.[30]

In 2003 the Nordiska Museet responded to the new policy by reallocating resources to a curator for minority and diversity issues – a position I hold. One of my tasks has been to work out the concept for a new Sami permanent exhibition. The former one, *Samer,* was closed in 2004, and the new one, *Sápmi,* opened in November 2007.[31] A Sami focus group with representatives from seven organisations and institutions has been attached to this project. Even Skansen has, during recent years and with the collaboration of a Sami focus group, updated its Sami camp with two new dwellings and an information area. In spring 2007 a collaborative network was formed to exchange experiences and information between Sami organisations and the museums whose activities have some Sami connection.

As a general starting point for my position I took up a pressing and difficult question: do museum representations add to frozen identities, locked into expectations of tradition and authenticity, or can they embrace the dynamic and border-crossing realities that minorities are a part of, both historically and in our times? Do the collections constitute a positive continuity through recognisable symbols, which confirm Sami history? Or do they become impediments that constantly reduce the Sami to a historic phenomenon? These reflections have also driven the ideas behind the *Sápmi* exhibition, which aims to contribute to today's debate about indigenous and minority rights, representation, and identity. By applying a historical perspective to our contemporary questions, we hoped to show how the Sami and the Swedish have been formed in relation to each other, not least in a power and conflict perspective in which even the Nordiska Museet has played a role.

At the base of the exhibition is a multi-perspective and process-oriented point of view: How has knowledge been created, how has identity been constructed? The idea was to allow the visitor to encounter various aspects related to objects and images – as both beautiful and useful, unique and ethically problematic. Even though the exhibition's main theme is the Sami, the idea was also to include mainstream society in the representation, for example by bringing the Nordiska Museet into the narrative. To some extent that decision goes back to the commission for the exhibition, namely to deal with identity issues in general and at the same time display the museum's old and extensive Sami collections.

The underlying idea is therefore built on five themes of general scope relevant not only to the Sami but also to other ethnic groups in Sweden and internationally. That means that they can include equivalent relations between other majorities, minorities, and indigenous peoples and can be used both for the visitors' own reflections and in the educational activities of the museum: How do these questions look for you? For us? What similarities and differences are there?

The five themes refer to both historical and contemporary conditions. The first one, *Origin,* deals with issues of history, kinship, perceptions of identity and ethnicity. How have the Sami been described and discriminated against by outsiders? What was the impact of the legacy of race biology? How have the Sami identified themselves? What does it mean to different individuals to say: I am Sami. The second theme is about *Justice and injustice,* in this case aiming at land rights, legal processes, and political movements. Who has the right to land resources, to traditional knowledge, to the reindeer, and to the borders and names on the maps? The third theme focuses on the museum's material collections under the heading

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30 For a further discussion of these questions, *see* Silvén, E. (2006) "Museer och minoritetspolitik – inlåsning eller gränsöverskridande?" In Aronsson, P. and Alzén, A. (eds.) *Demokratiskt kulturarv? Nationella institutioner, universella värden, lokala praktiker.* Norrköping: Linköpings universitet.

31 Sápmi is the Sami term for the traditional Sami areas in Finland, Norway, Russia, and Sweden, but it also denotes the Sami society as a whole, including the people per se.

Brought home, taken away, brought back – with the questions of collecting, repatriation and indigenous knowledge in mind. The fourth theme is labelled *Whose view, whose voice, whose story* and deals with documents and images from the museum's archives, not least the many photographs. Who is looking at whom – the foreign observer or the depicted Sami? The fifth theme is *The third space,* a postcolonial concept including cultural encounters and hybrid identities in a globalised world. In the exhibition this theme was visualised by material expressions of Sami identities (different categories of objects) as mixtures of a wide range of varying influences. Through time the original themes have been reordered and renamed, but the main topics remain the same. And, finally, since the exhibition has two entrances, there are two ways to experience it: either from the perspective of *The Sami – one people in four countries* or *The Sami – one of the world's indigenous peoples.*[32]

Conclusions

During the last 15 years, politics conducted by international indigenous people has led to a paradigm shift, while Sápmi has turned from being an outpost in the north to a part of a growing, global indigenous network. The Swedish territory has been the same since 1905 but the projection has changed, the frame is altered and the content is pervaded by other ideas. That gives a new set of challenges and a new position to the Nordiska Museet and other national museums.

All exhibitions are children of their time concerning contents, perspectives, cooperation, design, and educational aspects. All have also had a contemporary impact. When Lars-Anders Baer, chairman of the board of the Swedish Sami Parliament, spoke at the inauguration of the new exhibition, he wanted to understand it as a link in a decolonisation process, hoping that it would contribute to a fruitful dialogue, confidence and reconciliation between the Sami and the Swedish.[33]

Today the museums face a somewhat different dialogue with the outside world than before. There is increasing scope today for collaborative exchanges between museums and their users, especially in cases where the objects come from indigenous people and ethnic minorities.[34] As the practice in many museums shows, repatriation of artefacts is not the only way to create better relations with indigenous people and minorities. There are also other roads to try such as "shared custody", creating a different and more inclusive history and allowing more people to make an impression in the collective memory. Despite this, the demand for repatriation should not be treated lightly. *Where* the objects are physically kept has great symbolic significance, just as it had when once they were removed. Real things in real places play a role in a social and cultural system. When they were taken away, they became markers of power and influence, centre and periphery. A return can therefore mean an acknowledgement of an alternative order of power, significant for creating new identities for all those involved. In this way the museums' collections can be reused to start a process of reconciliation and revision of previous asymmetrical power relations between countries and within countries. Here the national museums have a particular opportunity and responsibility.

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32 Cf. the exhibition catalogue: Silvén, E. et al. (2007) *Sápmi – att vara same i Sverige/ Sápmi – makkár lea leahkit sápmelaš Ruoŧas/ Sápmi – on being Sami in Sweden.* Stockholm: Nordiska Museet.

33 www.sametinget.se/3183

34 Clifford, J. (1999) "Museums as contact zones". In Boswell, D. and Evans, J. (eds.) *Representing a nation: A Reader. Histories, heritage and museums.* London: Routledge; Smith, L. T. (1999/2004) *Decolonizing methodologies. Research and indigenous Peoples.* London: Zed; Peers, L. and Brown, A. K. (eds.) (2003) *Source communities. A Routledge Reader.* London: Routledge.