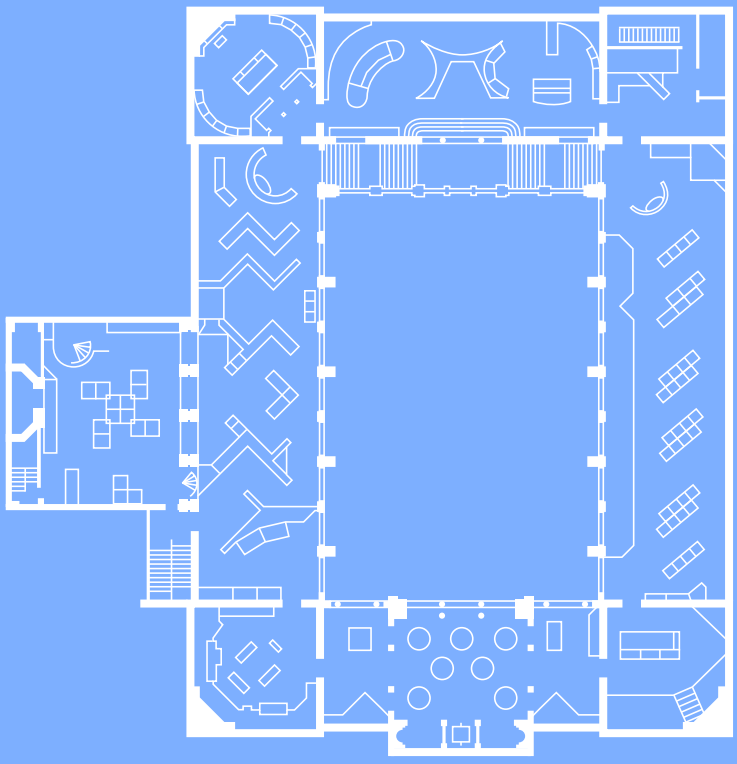
LARISSA FÖRSTER (ED.)

TRANSFORMING KNOWLEDGE ORDERS:

Museums, Collections and Exhibitions



MORPHOMATA

The history of museums is closely connected not only with the history of collecting and collections, but also with the history of science and the humanities. Collections and exhibitions reflect scientific theory and scholarly practice, and in turn shape them. Hence, museums transmit and disseminate, yet also produce knowledge. On the one hand, they visualise and stabilise orders of knowledge through assembling, classifying and fixing objects in exhibitions; on the other hand, new academic paradigms and political changes lead to rearrangements of facts and artefacts in museum storerooms and displays.

This volume brings together case studies from various historical and cultural contexts that illuminate such dynamics. Its point of departure is transcultural collections and exhibitions such as cabinets of curiosities and ethnographic collections, whose attempts to inventorise and display the world testify to the desire for, but also the difficulties in establishing and maintaining orders of knowledge. A particular focus is on transformative moments in the history of museums, in particular on the early 1900s, when science and technology museums were established, and on more recent times, which have seen the refurbishment of numerous art and ethnographic museums.

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LARISSA FÖRSTER

INTRODUCTION

MUSEUMS AND KNOWLEDGE

The history of museums is closely connected not only with the history of collecting and collections, but also with the history of science and the humanities. Hence museums have always been sites of both production and transmission of knowledge. In many cases objects, artifacts and specimens were originally collected and classified in order to gain empirical insights and so to acquire or produce knowledge.[1] After entering the museum, collections were put to use in its exhibitions for related purposes: to document earlier research, to illustrate the current state of scientific knowledge or to communicate new academic findings to a broader public. Collections have been key to generating scientific knowledge orders as well as to circulating, popularising and consolidating them. Not least, museums have served to canonise knowledge and value systems.

The conference 'Museums and exhibitions as materialisations of knowledge orders',[2] in which this volume originated, had a twofold goal. Firstly, it aimed to investigate how the order of things created in museum collections and exhibitions can be seen as drawing on and representing broader knowledge orders, i.e. how museums and collections can be understood as manifestations of specific, historically and culturally shaped popular or academic orders of knowledge. The second objective was to understand how museums can also reconfigure and thereby alter established orders of knowledge.

1 See te Heesen and Spary 2001.

2 The conference took place at the Centre for Advanced Studies Morphomata, University of Cologne, April 13–15, 2011; it was conceptualised and organised by Larissa Förster and Jörn Lang.

The conference was prompted by a question that has been key to the work of Morphomata in its first three years: the question of how orders of knowledge are concretised, materialised, stabilised and transmitted in and through artifacts. Our interest is in how knowledge thus becomes perceptible to the senses, memorisable and materially transmittable.[3] At this particular conference, however, our focus was not on single artifacts, but on assemblages or collections of objects. In fact, the aim was to consider the museum itself as artifact—"a cultural artifact made up of other cultural artifacts", as Donald Preziosi and Claire Farago have phrased it.[4] As highly idiosyncratic institutions, museums—each with its own historically shaped configuration of spaces and buildings and its at times purposefully, at times contingently assembled collections—are complex, multi-layered, palimpsest-like cultural artifacts. They have been moulded by diverse ideas, fashions and forces and, in turn, they themselves have shaped perceptions, preferences and visions of the world, and continue to do so. The Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford or the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren may serve as a case in point: both have maintained parts of their original 19th or early 20th century displays and so continue to embody—albeit not without ruptures—the ideas and epistemic horizons of the time of their foundation.

The idea and the institution of the museum is often regarded as a product of the Enlightenment, which brings to mind Foucault's understanding of the 18th century as the dawning of an "age of the catalogue", in which the classificatory table became the exemplary way of structuring knowledge.[5] However one chooses to trace the genealogy of the modern museum, Foucault's interpretation highlights two things that seem fundamental to museums, viz. classifications, and spatial layouts in which these classifications are set out visibly and tangibly. It is by differentiating, then by separating and/or juxtaposing, and finally by assigning a particular space and place on their premises that museums keep track of their often overflowing holdings and try to ensure that no object gets lost. By ordering and categorising objects—be it in the depots or in the galleries—museums create and establish a particular order of things, but also a particular configuration of knowledge. Museums translate knowledge orders into space and vice versa. Museum professionals and visitors navigating through museum spaces thus re-enact the structures and narratives laid out in museums.

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3 See Blamberger and Boschung 2011 as well as Boschung 2013.

4 Preziosi and Farago 2004, p. 4.

5 Foucault 1970, p. 131.

There are various different scales at which spatial orders correlate with epistemic orders in museums. Firstly, a bird-eye's view of the urban landscape in which a museum is embedded reveals the significance attributed to it and its collection and to the pertinent discipline. The 'museumscape' of a city indicates the areas of knowledge and interest that are valued and hence made accessible in the urban space. Here, of course, not only disciplinary diversification but also the politics of representation are in play. One particularly telling example of this is the boulevard of the National Mall in Washington, whose nine museums and fourteen monuments lined up between the Lincoln Memorial and the US Capitol deal with those aspects of US American history, culture and society that are considered representative of national history and culture.[6] A second level at which space and epistemic orders correlate is within the museum itself, where knowledge is structured through architecture and design. Analogies and hierarchies are created by grouping collections and subcollections by time, place of origin, material, size, and so on. The size, composition and succession of galleries hierarchises, valorises and in- and excludes items and bodies of knowledge. A striking historical example of how museums simultaneously spatialise and hierarchise knowledge is the 1908 floorplan of the Ethnographic Museum in Cologne: galleries on specific cultures were installed along the central staircase, with the supposedly less developed cultures at the bottom, i.e. in the basement, and the most developed ones at the top, i. e. on the second floor.[7] Visitors literally climbed the 'evolutionary ladder' in what was both a bodily experience and an affirmation of scientifically constructed hierarchies.[8] Thirdly, at an even smaller scale, space is used to structure and visualise orders of knowledge at the level of single exhibits and displays. The anthropologist Ira Jacknis has shown how Franz Boas (1858–1942), the founding father of anthropology in the USA, who worked at the American

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6 The most recently erected building on the Mall is the much-debated National Museum of the American Indian; currently under construction is the National Museum of African American History and Culture. Both these fields—American Indian and African American history and culture—were late to be adopted into the 'hall of fame' of American heritage. In the meantime, a museum of Latino American history has also been proposed.

7 See Foy 1908.

8 In his famous 'Birth of the Museum' (1995) Tony Bennett gives various other examples of "organised walking as evolutionary practice" (pp. 178–186).

Museum of Natural History from 1896, rejected the typological displays popular at that time. He did not consider them capable of conveying a holistic approach to culture, so he introduced and refined diorama-like displays instead.[9] In recent times the Te Papa Museum of New Zealand, with its bicultural displays in which *pakeha*[10] and Maori views on the same subject are juxtaposed, is an example of how knowledge orders are spelt out in and through museum space.[11] By considering museums as artifacts we can open up new avenues in the analysis of their spatial, material and sensual properties.[12]

PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE

In their seminal volume 'Museum Revolutions' Simon Knell, Suzanne MacLeod and Sheila Watson point out a paradox that underlies the museum: on the one hand museums, by definition, show a "commitment to stasis"; on the other hand, many of them "were established to capture and concretise progress".[13] In the current museum landscape there are institutions that epitomise each of these aspects: some old-established museums still exude the atmosphere of their founding era, often the late 19th and early 20th century, and hence appear increasingly outdated and neglected; at the same time, in the context of a veritable museum boom, brand new futuristic buildings spring up with forward-looking concepts and technologies, and are successfully turned into prime tourist attractions that get incorporated into city branding strategies.

At first sight, these differences might be attributed simply to the different age of individual museums and of their collections and exhibitions. Museums deal with a huge quantum of sometimes fragile physical matter and this makes it difficult to reorganise them spatially. They therefore often let exhibits, displays and installations stand for decades. However, a different, historical explanation seems plausible too. As collections—often originally the personal creation of an individual—become more institutionalised and tied to permanent structures, they become ever more firmly

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9 Jacknis 1985.

10 New Zealanders of European descent.

11 See Henare 2004.

12 For a detailed discussion of methods of analysing museums see Baur 2010; for a spatial analysis of museums see Hillier and Tzortzi 2006.

13 Knell, MacLeod and Watson 2007, p. xix.

incorporated into the regimes and politics of preservation. In the second half of the 20th century UNESCO and ICOM programmes and declarations emphasised the importance of museums as preservers of heritage, which made the de-accession of objects increasingly difficult. In contrast, in the early years of cultural and natural history museums, around 1900, their objects circulated quite frequently.[14] Existing collections were continuously rearranged to accommodate incoming items. With the example of Carl Linnaeus' herbarium cabinet, the historian Staffan Müller-Wille has underscored the initial mobility of specimens within collections.[15] When norms and scientific 'truths' about objects became established in what had formerly been an emerging field of research, the order of things, too, stabilised. Museums took on the task of preserving and reproducing these orders: natural history museums, for example, kept—and still do keep—type specimens and index fossils as material referents of the scientific knowledge systems based on them. In this way, collections form part of the "scientific memory" of a discipline.[16]

Where museums are more research-driven, they are more likely to appear part of an intellectual contest in which competing knowledge orders are set against each other, so that some configurations of knowledge are passed on while others are reshaped or abandoned over time. In this process objects, too, need to be re-evaluated and re-allocated within the museum. For example, anthropological collections that were originally assembled under the now discounted paradigm of race research have undergone critical revision.[17] The fact that the same object can be classified and contextualised differently at different times, in different places and, particularly, in different types of museum illuminates just how site- and time-specific classification systems are and how powerfully they operate. However, incongruences may also be found *within* museums. In her attempt to understand the relationship between stability and change in museums, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill argues for an "effective history" of museums in a Foucauldian sense: by foregrounding concrete practices —rather than theories and ideologies—we can produce a historiography that deviates from a progressive, linear, continuous narrative and makes

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14 For case studies from German museum history see Hoffmann 2012 and Schindlbeck 2011.

15 See Müller-Wille 2006.

16 Daston 2004.

17 See Berner et al. 2011, van Duuren 2007.

visible blind spots, ruptures and unintended changes.[18] In the words of museum theorist Sharon Macdonald, the "messiness" of the process of collecting and exhibition-making needs to be considered when analysing museums.[19]

Nevertheless, it is precisely because of their sometimes real, sometimes rather alleged or proclaimed stability and objectiveness and their long-term impact on perceptions that museums have time and again been restructured and rearranged with the specific purpose of overthrowing outdated or unwelcome interpretative patterns, values and practices. From the emergence of the modern museum up to the present, museums have regularly been used by those in power to install and support new regimes of knowledge and knowledge production. Museums make certain ways of seeing and knowing the world not just plausible but also authoritative and so they reinforce existing or envisaged power relations.

Nevertheless museums do not merely transmit or disseminate knowledge that has been produced and packaged elsewhere, whether in academia or in the political arena. The notion of the museum as a 'container' or 'store' of fixed sets of knowledge has been challenged by constructionist approaches in general and by New Museology in particular. Museums have instead been understood as epistemic machines that construct their own systems of knowledge, based on the logics and logistics of their often rather intractable collections. As Sharon Macdonald has remarked, museums are "theorisers in the concrete"[20]: they place objects in space in order to make arguments comprehensible visually and sensually.

Finally, as diffusionist and hierarchical models of communication have been rejected in academic thought, the analysis of museums has made room for the interpretive agency of museum visitors.[21] To understand whether and how knowledge is transmitted, we need to ask how visitors appropriate the systematisations and diversifications of knowledge that museum curators propose.

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18 Hooper-Greenhill 1992, p. 9

19 Macdonald and Fyfe 1996, p. 5, cited after Hoffmann 2013, p. 96.

20 Paper 'Authenticity', presented by Sharon Macdonald at the conference 'wissen & museum: Archiv – Exponat – Evidenz', University of Tübingen, April 7–8, 2011.

21 See Gesser et al. 2012 and Simon 2010 from the point of view of museum studies, and Kretschmann 2003 from the point of view of the history of science.

THE BOOK

An underlying hypothesis of the conference and the book was that ethnographic collections and museums, when compared with other museum types, epitomise the contest over knowledge and knowledge orders in a particularly palpable way. There is a series of reasons for this. The establishment of ethnographic museums went hand in hand with the institutionalisation of anthropology as an academic discipline. At the same time, ethnographic museums benefited greatly from colonial expansion and many of their collections originated in asymmetrical cultural encounters. This explains a number of biases in their selection of items for collection and makes the provenance of some collections a matter of dispute. Moreover, ethnographic collections are extremely heterogeneous and fragmentary, sometimes even arbitrary—a characteristic that holds for all museums to a certain degree. Curators of ethnographic collections find themselves addressing highly contested issues as well as artifacts, and have to balance the points of view of the presenting culture with those of the societies represented. In short, ethnographic collections are all about "entangled knowledge"[22] and are by definition subject to contestation. For all these reasons, in this volume ethnographic collections have been taken as a point of departure for investigating the production and circulation of knowledge in museums in general. The book starts by taking a critical look at transcultural collecting in a historical perspective (Part I), before the range of museum types is broadened to include science museums as well as art, historical and archaeological collections (Parts II and III). Part II details change against the background of the relative stability of museums and focuses on particularly decisive and transformative moments in the history of science and history museums. Part III provides insights into the complex changes that have been taking place in museums in more recent times.

Opening the essays *Alain Schnapp* reminds us that the practice of excavating, preserving and passing down objects to posterity may be seen as the origin of museological strategies. He therefore explores the parallels, but also the differences, between antiquarian attitudes in Mesopotamia, Ancient Greece and Rome and Classical China. In Classical China, for

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22 Hock and Mackenthun 2012.

example, bronze vases bearing inscriptions about the rulers' deeds and personalities became central to the preservation and transmission of historical knowledge and were handed down from one ruler to the next. At the origin of this tradition stand the nine tripods of the Zhou dynasty, which can be considered monuments in their own right. They represented the political order of the day and their continued existence implied the legitimacy of rule across generations. Searching out, collecting and preserving bronze vases from earlier periods as records of past reigns and integrating them into contemporary ritual practices meant 're-collecting' the past and linking it to the present. Historiographical debates and poetic visions sparked by the discovery of old artifacts contributed further to this process of connecting past and present. In Classical China, as elsewhere, antiquarian practices served to harmonise and stabilise collective memory.

With *Dominik Collet* the volume turns to early modern times in Europe. Taking the current vogue for the Kunstkammer (cabinet of curiosities) in art and museum circles as his starting point, Collet explores the orders of knowledge that underlay the historical Kunstkammer. He scrutinises the curatorial work of Adam Olearius (1599–1671), Caspar Schmalkalden (1616–1673) and Johann Michael Wansleben (1635–1679), three German collectors who left their imprint on Kunstkammer collections of German rulers. Collet's study shows that on their journeys in foreign countries all three had complex experiences and observations on cultural entanglements and cultural change, but these were not translated into the collections they formed, administered or exhibited. On the contrary, they stuck with the long-standing stereotyped and exoticising canon of overseas collectables and perpetuated old-established dichotomies of Christian Europe versus the non-European pagan world. Collet calls this practice "projective ethnography" because it reproduced inherited projections and stereotypes. Against the backdrop of this heathen 'Other', war-torn Europe of the early 17th century made itself appear more homogeneous and inclusive than it was in reality. Collet concludes that Kunstkammer collections mainly served to materialise, naturalise and thereby reinforce established knowledge orders and the inclusions and exclusions that resulted from them. In this process taxonomies worked "as silent referents structuring practices and perceptions over a long period" (Dipesh Chakrabarty). For this reason, ethnographic collections that have inherited the Kunstkammer inventories today struggle to counter exoticist perceptions and to re-interpret their collections under new paradigms. Collet's reading of the history of cabinets of curiosity is in stark contrast to some currently fashionable interpretations of such cabinets as sites of transcultural appreciation.

European collections of non-European artifacts have been studied extensively, but the converse has rarely been investigated, namely non-Western collections of Western artifacts. *Timon Screech* investigates one such alternative gaze by detailing the collection of European artifacts and books by Japanese officials in the era of the shoguns, when Japan restricted migration to and from Japan. His case study, too, is set in the early 17th century, when the shogun's commissioner for 'religious rectification', Inoue Masashige (1585–1661), supervised the dealings of the (Christian) VOC (Dutch East India Company) in Nagasaki. At that time no import duties were asked of European traders and companies like the VOC, so trade networks were fostered and consolidated instead by gifts to the shogun and his commissioners. Drawing on archival material produced by the VOC, Screech reconstructs year by year the various objects that Masashige was given by the company, sometimes at his very explicit demand. Fabrics, optical devices, medical goods, anatomical books and painted battle scenes were among the 'European curios' he tried or managed to assemble over the years, either for himself or for the shogun. Some of them were appreciated just as they were, some were commented on critically or selected carefully according to Japanese taste and fashion, and some were rejected. Masashige's collection was lost when Edo (modern Tokyo) burnt down in 1657, which limited the artifacts' long-term impact on Japanese perceptions of Europe. But his interest foreshadows what was later termed *rangaku* (the study of Holland, or of Europe), that is, Japan's increasing engagement with European Enlightenment thought and its material manifestations in art, science and technology up to the mid-eighteenth century.

While Collet and Screech discuss early modern collecting, *Rainer Hatoum's* case study is situated in the late 19th century heyday of ethnographic collecting. Hatoum analyses a particular sub-collection of the Berlin Ethnological Museum that was assembled for the museum by the founding father of American cultural anthropology, Franz Boas (1858–1942): items in the Kwakwaka'wakw (also known as Kwakiutl) collection from the American North West Coast. Linking the collection with archival material, museum documentation and the various publications by Boas in which its pieces feature, Hatoum demonstrates two points. Firstly, the collection should be acknowledged as a reflection of indigenous knowledge orders of the Kwakwaka'wakw, though a partial, fragmentary and perhaps even tainted one. At the same time, it is a manifestation of scientific theories and narratives of Boas' time, to which it was adapted in order to attract the museum's interest. The

collection can be read as the materialisation of an early idea or hypothesis by Boas, which he later revised and finally rejected in favour of historical particularism, abandoning the earlier diffusionist conclusions he had drawn from or projected onto this collection. The collection analysed by Hatoum therefore cannot be said to represent any 'stringent' or consistent order of knowledge, but rather hints at the competing, sometimes even contradictory narratives put forward by the different individuals (sellers, buyers, researchers, informants, translators etc.) who were involved in the formation and interpretation of the collection at different moments or over a longer period of time.

Helmuth Trischler, who opens the second part of the book, looks at the bigger picture of how the European museum landscape developed around 1900, explaining the emergence of museums of science and technology in this era within the broader context of industrialisation. Museums recorded, canonised, visualised and popularised the ever expanding and diversifying systems and bodies of knowledge that were generated in new scientific and technological fields around 1900. Focusing on the collecting activities of the Deutsches Museum, Munich (founded in 1903), he details the acquisition strategies of the time, in which experts from 45 scientific disciplines were asked to assemble representative collections, selecting only "technological masterpieces". At the same time, more contingent donations from industry eventually undermined these collection policies. Nevertheless, the roster of 45 fields, supplemented by some new ones in more recent times, has remained in place to this day, a testimony to the longevity of classifications once they have been established, such as the hierarchies of "pure and applied sciences". Further, Trischler's comparison of the Deutsches Museum in Munich, with the Technisches Museum in Vienna, and the Science Museum, London, reveals how science museums looked to and consulted each other on the questions of how to acquire and classify items and how to arrange them in the museum space. Transnational dialogue and transfers—sparked among other things by the World Exhibitions of 1889 and 1900—account for parallels in the histories of these museums' collections.

An important issue raised by Trischler is explored in detail by *Petra Lutz* in her study of the history of the Hygiene-Museum, Dresden, viz. the question of how museums popularise knowledge. Lutz shows how the Dresden museum was concerned with the distribution of knowledge that was not only descriptive, but also highly normative. This knowledge was produced by the new discipline of hygiene, which claimed it was fundamental to the evolution of society and civilisation. Originally the

DHMD did not collect artifacts, but produced and circulated them; it developed new types of objects or refined old ones (wax models, microscopic devices, diagrams, transparent figures). It thus did not merely visualise scientific findings, but actively shaped a particular understanding of the human body and human society as measurable, controllable, correctable and improvable—a highly suggestive gaze that lent itself to totalitarian, exclusionist and, in particular, racist ideologies in the years to come. Lutz' case study is a very telling example of how museums, up to the 1970s, were seen as institutions that had to disseminate 'objective' expert knowledge to a lay audience in need of education. Since the political transformations in 1990, at the latest, this gaze has been called into question, and a new generation of curators has begun to investigate the history of the DHMD itself. In the meantime, contemporary exhibition-making is no longer treated as a reliable instrument for conveying discrete bodies of knowledge, but rather as an experimental way of raising questions.

In order to dig deeper into issues of how museums, museum practice and museum theory are re-invented in times of political change, *Roland Cvetkovski* turns our attention to the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 and its bearing on the Soviet museum landscape. He explores how Marxist theory, i.e. dialectical materialism, provided a new foundation for theorising the role that materials and objects play in documenting, but also driving, historical processes. The potential of museums to bear testimony to the revolutionary process was explored and exploited in conferences and publications. The Bolsheviks sought to make museum work rational and scientific, but they also strove to institutionalise museology. There were intense discussions on how to arrange different media such as art works, everyday objects, charts, photographs, diagrams and textual explanations into a meaningful, instructive display that would educate the masses about the socialist way forward. A revolutionary "language of objects" was sought, which would reflect and substantiate the new order of history and of society. The Museum of the Revolution in Moscow, with branches all over the country, was a pioneer in this field. It mounted exemplary displays that aimed to demonstrate the power of objects to describe and explain historical change. The result appears somewhat ambivalent: while the Bolsheviks revived and very much enhanced the museum's capacity to generate and promulgate historical concepts and interpretations, the linear historical narrative to which the objects were subordinated eventually overrode the material and visual complexities of the artifacts themselves.

Thus far, all the authors deal with case studies from Europe, where the museum idea and museum practices are usually said to have originated.

However, comparative museology, of which *Christina Kreps* is a proponent, argues that both the idea of curatorship and curatorial practices, i.e. ways of safeguarding (in)tangible heritage and transmitting historical knowledge, have been developed and established in cultures and societies all around the globe. Even if the museum has become a global form and museums in other continents have been modelled on European examples, museums nonetheless differ greatly. Local curatorial ideas and practices have modified European museum ideas and practices and have instigated new forms of museums. The latter often deviate significantly from a Western object-based epistemology, where the object is part of an "information package" (Sandra Dudley) which is to be conveyed to the visitor. Instead, they may favour a "subject-object interaction approach", which foregrounds sensory, emotional and spiritual experiences and the visitors' engagements with artifacts. This is the case, for example, in monastery museums in Thailand, in which artifacts such as Buddha images can still be worshipped. Kreps proposes that such museums help us to think about artifacts as having agency, as was proposed by Alfred Gell. Kreps' summary of the history and typology of monastery museums in Thailand reveals that they can be seen as hybrid forms that reconcile global and local museum ideas and practices in different ways. While ancient Buddhist monasteries, with their collections of sacred objects, may be understood as museum "proto-types", monastery museums of the 1970s and 1980s have their roots in more recent political and social developments. In consequence, many of them—like the Ton Kaew Monastery Museum—function as community museums which help to preserve local cultural traditions. The comparison of such different museological traditions demonstrates that there is no single universal museology, but, in Kreps' words, "a world full of museologies".

While Kreps' essay offers an example of the many transformations that the museum idea and museum practice have recently undergone in non-European or -American contexts, *Susan Walker's* contribution points out that museums in Europe, too, are currently being reinvented and redeveloped in great numbers. Permanent displays have become obsolete in the face of new challenges, such as new scientific approaches and findings, broader public debates on globalisation, migration or social inclusion and new media technologies. One result is that visitor numbers have dropped considerably in some museums. Consequently, collections have been regrouped, buildings have been renovated or newly built, and displays have been redeveloped completely. Walker presents the example of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, an archaeological museum that

has put forward a new exhibition concept in which cross-cultural displays feature prominently. Its emphasis on links between European and Asian cultures, for example, is in line with more recent academic debates on cultural entanglements, as is the Ashmolean's attempt to reconcile aesthetic with contextual approaches in displays. At the same time, the new exhibition concept was developed in order to explicitly address a more diverse audience. Walker lets us look behind the scenes at how the new galleries were conceptualised and realised by the curatorial team. Her example shows from a practitioner's perspective the complexity of the process of selecting, ordering and arranging items and information in museum displays. The Ashmolean Museum is a very interesting example, as academic criticism of one of the new galleries led to its revision by the curatorial team. Such willingness by a museum to question and revise its own production of knowledge is rare. But testifies to the potential of the museum to be an interface where knowledge orders are not only constructed and disseminated but also contested and negotiated.

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ALAIN SCHNAPP

THE ART OF RUINS IN ANCIENT CHINA[1]

It is common knowledge that the Ancient Chinese had a great curiosity about the past. The discovery of a tomb dating from the 12th century BC at Anyang gives us ample evidence of this. The deceased woman, Fu Hao, was interred with a collection of jade objects, some dating back to the remote Hongshan and Liangzhu cultures.[2] The excavators were able to establish that these funerary depositions had involved a ritual ceremonial which made a sophisticated use of references to both past and present. The re-adaptation of ancient rituals and the imitation of traditional objects from the ancient Xia, Shang and Zhou dynasties are part of the classic transmission processes which have characterised Chinese culture since earliest antiquity.[3]

Such a utilisation of the past can be recognised at the very heart of classical Chinese culture. Thus, writing in the 5th century BC, Mo Zi cites an alleged inscription in bronze:

> Princes have attacked their neighbouring states killing their peoples and seizing their oxen, horses, grain and goods and thereupon have written these facts on bamboo tablets and silken (scrolls) and have engraved them in bronze and stone; in making inscriptions in Zhong-bells and Ding-cauldrons they have transmitted these records to posterity of later ages stating: "None possesses so much as I".[4]

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1 This paper was translated by Mark Weir to whom I am indebted for several suggestions. I would also thank Lothar von Falkenhausen and Viviane Regnot for help.

2 On these discoveries see Rawson 2010, pp. 54–55.

3 See von Falkenhausen 2010, pp. 77–102.

4 As cited in Barnard 1973, p. 460, N°6; Chang 1986, p. 296.

In this passage Mo Zi is criticising the rapacity of sovereigns and their generals and their addiction to "conspicuous consumption". In so doing he emphasises the need for memory and the transmission of the essential traits of rulers' policy. Memory of their exploits must be conserved, and this strategy of remembrance involved recording on tablets and scrolls prior to inscriptions in stone and bronze. Here Mo Zi is dealing in particular with an antiquarian approach to the past which relies on material data: inscriptions on bamboo and silk, which are intrinsically fragile, but also on such durable materials as stone and metal.[5] This represents a very specific historiographic position. The sage does not consider the past as a world to be explored by compiling a sophisticated questionnaire, in the manner of Herodotus. He wonders about the longevity of the sources, about what is passed on to future generations: "[A]ccording to the philosopher Mo Zi, the reason why inscriptions were engraved on bronze vases and in metal and stone reflected the fear that if fragile materials should disintegrate and disappear, descendants could not show respect and receive benefits".[6] In this sense, the Chinese doctrine has much in common with the concern for remembrance shown by Mesopotamian scribes and sovereigns.

Mo Zi lived in the same period as Thucydides, and we know that in the royal court of the Zhou dynasty scribes and archivists had the task of recording political and military events for posterity. From ancient times in China, sovereigns and princes took care to control the transmission of their actions. They employed scholars to compile and verify the account of the events in their reign in the same manner as the pharaohs and the rulers in Mesopotamia. But while the latter exercised a rigid control over the work of the scribes, their Chinese counterparts had more independence on account of the nation's culture. As in the Greek tradition, the "sages" could dialogue with those in power and call their behaviour into question. Not without running a risk of retribution, the scholars could discuss the principles underlying their work and assemble the documents, but what was it they had to record? How did they take the necessary decisions and relate the events that were worthy of being recorded?

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5 See Chang 1983, p. 91; Tsien 2004, p. 4.

6 Chang 1983, p. 91.

POETRY AND BRONZE VASES

A passage from the 'Zuoshuan', a historical anthology dating from the 4th century BC, gives us an idea of the sort of discussion that went on concerning what it was legitimate to inscribe on bronze vases:

> Ji Wuzi had a bell, toned to the second note of the chromatic scale, cast from the weapons he had acquired in Qi, and had the services performed by Lu engraved upon it. Zhang Wuzhong said to him: "This is contrary to the rule. What should be engraved in such articles is, for the Son of Heaven, his admirable virtue; for the Prince of a State, a record of his services estimated according to the season in which they have been performed; for a great officer, his deeds worthy of being mentioned. And such deeds are the lowest degree (of merit so commemorated). If we speak of the time (of this expedition), it very much interfered (with the husbandry of) the people; what was then worthy of it being engraved? Moreover, when a Great State attacks a small one, and takes the spoils to make an article, the regular furniture (of the Ancestral Temple), it engraves upon it its successful achievements to show them to posterity, at once to manifest its own bright virtue, and to hold up to condemnation the offences of the other. But how should anything be made of our getting the help of others to save ourselves from death? A small State, we were fortunate against a Great one; but to display our spoils in this manner, so as to excite its rage, is the way to ruin".[7]

Keeping a record of the glorious events from the past to be passed down to posterity was a political imperative. Chinese sovereigns did not set the same store by erecting monuments and entrusting the records of their achievements to brick edifices or to tablets buried in the ground as their Mesopotamian counterparts. Although they shared the same concern for posterity, they used a different medium. The bronze sacrificial vases and ritual objects like bells, also in bronze, which appeared during the second millennium were the means for this transmission because they embodied the rarest and most precious artefacts known to man. As we shall

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7 As cited in Barnard 1973, pp. 462–463, N°10.

see, they were charged with an extraordinary symbolic value. In order to make proper use of them, the sovereigns and their chief collaborators had to respect certain precise rules. In fact, as Zhang Wuzhong stated, not everything is worth being remembered. The inscription is destined for the future: it has to conform to what is required for the proper administration of memory.

We have numerous inscriptions etched on vases from the archaic era attesting to the distinction of their owners, referring to ritual customs and also commemorating historical events. In fact they constitute sources of information which do not only interest scholars of antiquity. Like the *temenu* of the Mesopotamian sovereigns, they were a major communication tool linking one generation to the next. The composition of the texts denoted a very specific knowledge allied to a strong sense of necessity. However precious the vases and however rare their shapes, the fact that they bore inscriptions gave them a specific value. Each king, prince or high official could hope that his great deeds, his *erga*, would be placed on record by means of these attestations, which could be counted on to outlast the wooden monuments of traditional architecture. Conserved in the temples or the residences of the leading families, these objects were passed on from one generation to the next. If necessary they could be moved and concealed and, if they fell into enemy hands, in view of their outstanding value they might escape being destroyed. True, the enemy could decide to efface the previous inscriptions and engrave new ones, but such behaviour actually embodied a certain continuity: the medium itself, an exquisitely decorated vase, was a symbol of distinction, and could even be an instrument of power. Making an inscription on a vase was not a private matter: to be legitimate it had to be approved by the authorities or by the sovereign himself. Transmitting such objects from one generation to another, offering them to rulers when they unexpectedly came to light, and seizing the treasures of defeated sovereigns or families, were all means to assert one's role, to maintain one's standing and indeed to acquire lustre. This is why there was a code concerning what could be legitimately engraved on the bronze objects. From emperor to princes and from princes to high officials, each social order had to abide by implicit rules. In Mesopotamia and Egypt, the sovereign wielded absolute power over what was engraved on temple and palace walls and written on clay tablets and papyrus scrolls. Such inscriptions were undoubtedly controlled also in Ancient China, but by a whole series of people: the sages and scribes often had their say about the process, figuring by name in many of the inscriptions and in the narratives—of fundamental importance—which

accompanied the actions of emperors and rulers. Thus in Ancient China the relationship with the past was very different to what it was elsewhere in the oriental world. For in Ancient China, as in archaic and classical Greece, the figure of the sage, of he who is proficient in knowledge and can advise and criticise the Prince, played a fundamental role. He did not simply propose norms and a code of behaviour: he was responsible for harmonising the past with the present. As Confucius stated categorically: "I am not one who was born in the possession of knowledge; I am one who is fond of antiquity, and earnest in seeking it there".[8]

While for rulers the past is a necessity, for the sage it is also a curiosity. As was customary, Akousilaos, regarded as the first Greek historian, claimed to have come across engraved tablets as he was digging in his father's garden. Chinese scholars were proud when they were able to refer to inscriptions engraved in bronze or in stone, for this enabled them to go further back in antiquity by comparing such information with what derived from the textual tradition. Thus the conservation of bronze vases in temples and their collection by princes and sovereigns were part of standard administration at least from Han times onwards. The wholescale persecution of scholars in the wake of the decision by the first Qin emperor to burn all the books of previous generations compromised the transmission of the 'classics'. In fact the Zhou bronzes discovered in the first century BC represented a source of outstanding importance for Han scholars. A text dating from this period raises possible questions of interpretation and identification: was the document reliable and worthy of inclusion in the imperial collections?

> At this time a Ding-cauldron was obtained from Mei-yang and presented to the Emperor, the Officers debated before the Throne and there were many who regarded it as suitable to be placed on view in the Ancestral Temple as was done in the case of the Yuanding reign period find. Zhang Chang was fond of the study of ancient characters and taking into account the inscription incised in the Ding-cauldrons headed the deliberations stating: "[...] Now this Ding cauldron was uncovered east of Ji and inside is the inscription incised which reads: The King commanded Shichen to govern the towns of Cixun. (I) award you a Liian-bird standard, an embroidered robe, and a curved Ko-dagger-axe. Shichen made obeisance with his hands, bowed low

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8 Confucius VII, 19 (transl. A.S.).

> his head to the ground and said: (I) presume to respond and extol the Son of Heaven's great and illustrious grace and command". Your Servant, foolish and insufficiently versed though he be in the interpretation of ancient writing, humbly ventures to speak forth in commentary upon it: This Ding-cauldron is probably a gift bestowed on a high officer of Zhou; the high officer's descendants engraved a record of his outstanding merit in the vessel and lodged it in their Temple [...,] this vessel is small and moreover has an inscription which is not suitable to be placed on view in the Ancestral Temple.[9]

As a recognised authority, Zhang Chang could point to two details of the cauldron which disqualified it from entering the imperial collections. "[T]his vessel is small", compared to others which had been discovered and were exceptionally large, and the inscription, which being written in an archaic style dating back to the Eastern Zhou (8th–3rd century BC), was very difficult to interpret for Han scholars in the first century BC. Above all the episode recorded did not actually concern either a king or a prince, but the delegation of authority to a high-ranking official. It was an event of little importance engraved on a vase coming from quite a remote district, and which was in contrast with an enormous vase discovered in the ancient Zhou capital in the Yuanding era, i.e. at the very end of the second century BC.[10]

Such academic discussions reveal just how much store was set by these discoveries and how vases and inscriptions constituted the stimuli for never-ending debates between the scholars and those in power. For the scholars it was a question of completing and verifying the traditional literary sources, while for the court authorities it meant affirming the prince's interests and adding to his lustre. In the same period in the West Varron was writing his 'Antiquitates' and the predilection for erudition and collecting was spreading in scholarly circles prior to Augustus's exaltation of Rome's lofty past. But in the West the vogue for antiquities, even though it was current in the highest society, remained a pastime: ruins and other traces of the past were the object of philosophical reflections on the effects of time passing and the impermanence of all things human. In China certain classes of objects, notably bronze vases, embodied something more significant: they symbolised power and the continuity which was fundamental to imperial authority.

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9 As cited in Barnard 1973, p. 465, N°12.

10 See Barnard 1973, pp. 465–475.

K.C. Chang[11] and Wu Hung have drawn attention to the legend of the "nine tripods" in the Xia dynasty which incarnated a certain vision of the identity of China and the power invested in the sovereign. In both Mesopotamia and Egypt power was embodied in monuments and in the control exercised over certain places and sites. This power was certified by the inscriptions that scribes were charged with copying and deciphering with all due reverence. For the Mesopotamians the *temenu*, an engraved tablet relating the act of foundation (or a substitute for it), stood as a guarantee against future destructions, a sort of insurance policy taken out by the king and his scribes. The authority of kings and pharaohs was reinforced by the signs they could derive from the past. They were led to the places where the great sovereigns had buried their majestic relics by the gods, who also guided the interpretation of the inscriptions, so that antiquarianism was a powerful ally of the secular and religious authorities. Such a tradition was not entirely absent from the Chinese mentality, but the signs of the past were of a different kind: they were embodied in the engraved bronze vases which were the object of passionate searches by scholars and court officials prior to being carefully set up in sanctuaries or the private residences of people of consequence. Ritual bronze vases belonged to a class of immemorial objects: as old as the oldest dynasties, as majestic as the greatest monuments, and as precious as the most magnificent treasures.

The origin of these "nine tripods" is related in the account of a rather complex intrigue that took place in 605 BC. It occurred in the context of a quarrel over the demarcation of the frontier between the state of Chu and the state of Zhou. The king of Zhou, disturbed by a raid on his frontier, sent a delegation to the lord of Chu who was behind the assault. As soon as the ambassador appeared before him, the lord asked him a strange question: "Can you tell me the size and the weight of the nine tripods?" To which Zhou replied: "The tripods are of no importance; it is the virtue which matters".

> In the past when the Xia dynasty was distinguished for its virtue, the distant regions put into pictures their distinctive *wu* and the nine pastors sent in the metal of their provinces. The *Ding*-tripods where cast, with representations of them of those *wu* [...]. Hereby harmony was secured between the high and the low, and all enjoyed the blessings of Heaven. When the virtue of Jie was all obscured, the tripods

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11 See Chang 1983, pp. 95–96; Wu Hung 1995, pp. 4–5.

> where transferred to Shang, for 600 years. Zhou of Shang proved cruel and oppressive, and they were transferred to Zhou. When the virtue is commendable and brilliant, the tripods, though they were small, would be heavy; when it give place to its reverse, to darkness and disorder, though they were large, they would be light. Heaven blesses intelligent virtue; on that its favour rests. King Cheng fixed the tripod in Jiaru, and divined that the dynasty should extend through 30 reigns, over 700 years. Though the virtue of Zhou is decayed, the decree of Heaven is not yet changed. The weight of the tripods may not yet be inquired about.[12]

Clearly it was not an innocent query: the lord of Chu was posing a political question. Is the king of Zhou still a worthy ruler if he does not enjoy the confidence of Heaven? And is not this connected to the bronze cauldrons? The ambassador gives an ethical explanation: the virtue of individuals is not linked to the weight or the size of things. And yet according to history exactly the contrary is true. The tripods were manufactured by the Xia dynasty, who received the metal required to cast these precious objects from nine "pastors" representing the nine regions of China. The tripods embody China in all its diversity: each one bears an image of the beings associated with the different regions, called "wu". These images have been variously interpreted as emblems, totems or symbols. and in fact it is difficult to say what they are. But the cauldrons are much more than simply precious objects: they embody both the unity of China in the diversity of its traditions and the power of the sovereign in his omnipotence. Their mystery does not merely derive from the dark ages in which they were created but also from the indissoluble relationship that is established between them and their possessors. A magical bond is formed between the sovereign and these objects. Wu Hung suggests that they are the expression of a typically Chinese monumentality, the manifestation of a ritual art. Together with the capital cities and palaces, the tombs and the funerary objects, the cauldrons embody a singular religious and political tradition, and Wu Hung attributes three different levels of meaning to them. The first concerns the unity of the kingdom: the vases represent the provinces which accept the unified power of the Xia dynasty, and are thus the manifestation of a unity which lies at the

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12 As cited in Chang 1983, pp. 95–96 (Wade-Giles transcription of Chinese words and names).

heart of the Chinese sense of religious and political community. Secondly they represent an identity inscribed in images which enable the populace to distinguish what is "of god and [what] of the devil".[13] And thirdly the tripods are intentional identity markers, in the sense that Riegl gives to the notion of intention.

However, this symbolism comes to include another one in which the cauldrons are not linked to just one emperor or dynasty. In view of the transience of human life and the fragility of empires, they materialise the quintessence of power, which passes, as time goes by, from one empire to another, the Xia to the Shang and the Shang to the Zhou. The architectural creations erected in wood by the ancient kingdoms were only fragile monuments, liable to disappear as quickly as they had been put up. Whereas there is something resistant and impervious to attack about the cauldrons; they are a sort of monument to eternity, conserving their innate vigour for as long as the successive emperors are able to possess them. For as Wu Hung recognised with admirable clarity, as well as being the consequence of a historical event, they are the necessary prelude to it. To all men of ambition they proclaim that their possession means power, and that their size and weight are proportionate to the virtues or vices of their possessors: in order to achieve power they have to be secured.

But the tripods also possess one other rare and improbable quality: like the cauldrons belonging to Hephaistos, they are capable of moving by themselves. When they pass from one dynasty to another they symbolise a *translatio imperii* which appears to spring as much from their own motion as from the vicissitudes of history. Another legend recounted in the 'Mozi' tells that when a divinatory sacrifice was carried out before the tripods were cast, a message was observed on the shell of the tortoise: "Let the tripods, when completed, have a square body and four legs. Let them be able to boil without kindling, to hide themselves without being lifted, and to move themselves without being carried so that they will be used for the sacrifice at the field of Kunwu".[14]

The bronze cauldrons that belonged to past emperors were, like those of Hephaistos, capable of moving by themselves and also of preparing the sacrificial meat without any need for building a fire. Were the tripods automatons? If we turn to the Greek definition of this term as it appears in a famous passage from Canto XVIII of the 'Iliad', "automatons" were

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13 As cited in Wu Hung 1995, p. 5.

14 As cited in ibid., p. 7 ('Mozi', 256).

at the service of their master: "For he was fashioning tripods, twenty in all, to stand around the wall of his well-built hall, and golden wheels he had set beneath the base of each so that of themselves they might enter the assembly of the gods at his wish and again return to his house".[15]

The magical tripods of Hephaistos were the animated extensions of the know how of their designer. They were destined to perform certain very specific services. However, this capacity for "animation" did not merely transform the objects into subjects. Aristotle provided this commentary to the celebrated passage:

> [F]or if every tool could perform its own work when ordered, or by seeing what to do in advance, like the statues of Daedalus in the story, or the tripods of Hephaestus which the poet says 'enter self-moved the company divine',—if thus shuttles wove and quills played harps of themselves, master-craftsmen would have no need of assistants and masters no need of slaves.[16]

It is true that the tripods of the Xia had something in common with automatons, but this reference to the Greek tradition highlights the fact that they also possessed very different qualities. They did not act "when ordered, or by seeing what to do in advance," involving a third party. They existed as the guarantee of an unchangeable order, an equilibrium between heaven and the sovereign. They were not admired so much for their autonomous mobility as for a sort of will of their own. They diminished in size and weight when a bad sovereign was on the throne, only to grow again and regain their original splendour when the ruler was virtuous. And it was not difficult to go on to believe that they were the vectors for a change in dynasty. An author writing prior to the Han times gave the following explanation of the magic nature of the tripods:

> The tripods are the essence of both substance (*zhi*) and refinement (*wen*). They know the auspicious and the inauspicious and what continues and what perishes. They can be heavy or light, they can be at rest or in motion. Without fire they cook, and without drawing water they are naturally full [...]. The divine tripods appear when a ruler rises and disappear when a rulers falls.[17]

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15 Homer XVIII, 373–376.
16 Aristotle I, IV, 3 (1253b).
17 As cited in Wu Hung 1995, p. 8.

Thus the tripods were not automatons which moved according to the wishes or order of a master. They were their own masters, incarnating the permanence of power when confronted with the instability of human things and the passage of time: they were immemorial objects, at once things and beings, which transcended time and possessed a formidable faculty for divination. They sent a message to those kings who wished to acquire them in order to accede to supreme power: as long as these kings possessed the necessary qualities, they would stand as the devoted symbols of their virtues, but if the kings began to lose their virtue they would inevitably dwindle, and eventually leave to grace more virtuous sovereigns. The tripods were monuments in the true etymological sense of the word; they warn (*monere*), or to use Saint Augustine's expression, they remind and warn us (*monumentum eo quod moneat mentem, id est admoneat, nuncupatur* [a monument is so called because it warns the mind—that is, it reminds]). The bronze vases reminded their fortunate owners of the unification of China, symbolised by the acceptance of the sovereign's pre-eminent power. They were the tangible memory of a decisive moment in the history of Ancient China, but also of the sacrificial instruments which only the king or the member of ruling families could use to honour the memory of the ancestors. The unique character of their power lay in these multiple levels of symbolism, with roots going back to a distant past that was renewed by the repetition of sacrifice, while their ubiquity projected them, through the avatars of the present, into a future of which whoever possessed them was the master.

If a monument is erected in order to commemorate something, then the cauldrons are monuments *par excellence*; nonetheless, to go on following Wu Hung's exposition, we must take into account another particular trait. While by definition a monument has to be visible, the ritual bronze vases were kept hidden away in the treasury of the imperial temple. These objects, like the other sacrificial vases, were *paraphernalia* which only the male members of the ruling clan could handle. Each clan or great family had their own sacrificial vases, different from the original nine tripods but which were necessary for carrying out the cult rituals. Mystical, cryptic emblems of absolute power, the nine tripods were carefully conserved in temples possessing "deep, dark" chambers. They were kept well away from the sight of any onlooker, rather like the treasures that were so carefully guarded in the palaces of Mesopotamia. They only left their hiding place to be exposed to the sun of history when the last of the three great dynasties, the Zhou, began to decline during first the "Spring and Autumn period" and then the "Warring Kingdoms period".

When the empire was quaking at its very foundations kings and princes felt themselves summoned to assume the supreme mantle and began to ponder the significance of the bronze tripods. Another intrigue, coming after the one involving the lord of Chu, involved a certain Zhang Yi, chief minister of the state of Qin. In 290 BC he set out to besiege the capital of Zhou to force the king to surrender the famous tripods to his king. Finding himself in dire straits, the king of Zhou once again owed his survival to a clever stroke of diplomacy, persuading his adversaries of the foolishness of their project. He formed an alliance with the king of Qi, a rival of the king of Qin, and gave him this account:

> The Tripods are not something like a vinegar bottle or a bean-paste jar, which you can bring home in your hand [...]. In the past when the Zhou king conquered the Shang and obtained the Nine Tripods, he ordered 90,000 people to draw each of them (to the Zhou capital). Altogether 810,000 people, including officials, soldiers, master workers, and apprentices, were involved, and all kinds of tools and instruments were employed. People thus take this event as a most thoughtful and well-prepared undertaking. Now even assuming that Your Majesty could gather enough men to pull the Tripods, which route could you take to bring them home? (The country is divided and all the kingdoms located between the Zhou and the Qi are eager to possess the Tripods; their lords would certainly not allow you to ship the Tripods through their land). I worry that your desire will only bring trouble.[18]

In the first story in which the kingdom of Zhou was threatened by the lord of Chu, the ambassador of Zhou referred to the supernatural, almost magical character of the vases to convince his adversary of the futility of seizing them. Endowed with an almost supernatural force, the tripods could not be forced to lend themselves to the delusions of grandeur of those who longed for the central power. Their very autonomy meant that nothing could oblige them to serve a sovereign who did not follow the path of virtue. If the king of Chu was convinced of his own qualities, then the nine tripods would come to him without him having to demand them. In the second episode, which occurred three centuries later at a moment when in practice the kingdom of Zhou no longer existed, the envoy of

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18 As cited in ibid., p. 9.

Zhou referred instead to the aspect of monumentality. The tripods are very different to the standard cult objects: they irradiate such force that in order to move them one has to assemble huge cohorts of men, for things of such bulk can only be moved by great numbers.

Endowed with a unique identity, more than objects, the tripods were polysemantic principles. They underwent changes not only in appearance but also in their powers, according to the specific intrigue or story. Nonetheless, over the course of time they maintained their fascination and appeal at the cost of radical transformations. Compared to the monumentality of palaces and tombs, they represented a different order of memory, more discreet (because they were kept hidden) but also more powerful, because they were the unalterable symbol of supreme power. If the faith that the people and the princes alike showed in them began to fade, then they only had one resource remaining: to become in their turn monuments which were as imposing as the most impressive architectural achievements. Wu Hung points out that this final transformation came about shortly before their disappearance. As new, more solid and permanent styles of architecture were coming into existence, the alternative forms of monumentality symbolised by the tripods were no longer of any use. With the fall of the Zhou dynasty they disappeared into a river, even though they were retrieved by the Qin dynasty following victory over the Zhou in 256.[19] According to Sima Qian, one of the tripods was lost in the river "Se", and the first Qin emperor set a thousand men to dredge the river to retrieve it, but in vain. This scene is also represented in a funerary chapel of the Eastern Han (second half of the 2nd century AD). In the image one sees the emperor watching the operations to retrieve the vase, with a cohort of workmen pulling with all their might, but it defeats their efforts and also those of the emperor's collaborators who have taken to the river in boats.[20] Thus the last of the tripods eluded the will of the most ferocious of sovereigns, as well as the pursuit of hundreds of men charged with retrieving it. Moreover, the bronze tripods did not simply disappear; these objects which were so heavy that it took thousands of men to carry them, symbols of a power that was as absolute as was inaccessible, somehow dematerialised.

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19 Ibid., p. 288, note 20.

20 See Chavannes 1895–1905, Tome II, p. 153.

THE PURSUIT AND USE OF ANCIENT BRONZE VASES IN CHINA UNDER THE HAN AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

Even though the nine symbolic tripods vanished, the acquisition and possession of ancient bronze vases continued to be a means of asserting power, rank and virtue, from Ancient China through to the last Qing dynasty. Accordingly the pursuit of bronze vases was a *topos* in the Chinese historical tradition. They could be procured from a collector or discovered during excavations. Bronze vases were what we might call *spolia*, vestiges of the past which owe their efficacy to their indisputable authenticity, but also fragments which are precious simply for the ineluctable imprint they bear of the passage of time. Mo Zi referred to what is "engraved in bronze and stone,"[21] and for the Shang and the Eastern Chu we have a large number of inscriptions adorning ritual bronze vases. As we have seen, these inscriptions had to correspond to events and personages worthy of being commemorated, or whose actions deserved to be related. As Noël Barnard has expertly shown, the 'Li-chi' sets out with great clarity the rules for such commemorative inscriptions:

> The Ding-cauldrons at the sacrifices had inscriptions on them. The maker of an inscription named himself and took occasion to praise and set forth the excellent qualities of his ancestors, and clearly exhibit them to future generations. Those ancestors must have good qualities and also bad. But the idea of an inscription is to make mention of the good qualities and not of the bad: such is the heart of a filial descendant; and it is only the man of ability and virtue who can attain to it.
> The inscriber discourses about and panegyrizes the virtues and goodness of his ancestors, their merit and zeal, their services and toils, the congratulations and reward given to them, their fame recognized by all under Heaven; and in the discussion of these things on his spiritual vessels, he makes himself famous, and thus he sacrifices to his ancestors. In the celebration of his ancestors he exalts his filial piety. Thus that he himself appears after them is natural. And in the clear showing of all this to future generations, he is giving instruction.

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21 See also the beginning of this article.

> By the one panegyric of an inscription benefit accrues to the ancestors, to their descendants and to others of them. Hence where a superior man looks at an inscription, while he admires whom it praises, he also admires him who made it. That maker had intelligence to see the excellences of his ancestors, virtue to associate himself with them, and wisdom to take advantage of his position; he may be pronounced a man of ability and virtue. Such worth without boasting may be pronounced courteous respect.[22]

It is clear that the practice of making inscriptions on bronze cauldrons was subject to very precise rules which indicate a highly elaborate memorial strategy. Like the funerary inscriptions in the Greek and Roman world, the practice imposed a specific code of conduct. There were obligations for the emperor and kings just as there were for their vassals and the high ranking officials; with the bronze vases as a medium they addressed themselves to posterity and left their mark on both past and future. What distinguished the practice in China was that, rather than objects shut away below ground as in the Mesopotamian tradition or texts engraved on funerary stelae as in the Greek and Roman world, here they were cult objects which guaranteed the ritual tradition and, at the same time, the memory of illustrious men and their lineage. Not everything is worth conserving, not all men are of the same standing, nor are all inscriptions worth reading, but the bronze vases offered men of ambition and patriarchs the means to ensure themselves a posterity, to avoid their memory being effaced. I know of no text, whether in the Middle East or in the Greek and Roman world, comparable to the 'Li-shi', nor of any tradition which explains the strategies of remembrance with such precision or awareness of the social ramifications.

The bronze vases are memorial objects which form part of a long chain of tradition. The message engraved on the vase is destined for posterity, but it can only be received if a series of rules are respected. It relies on the transmission of a shared knowledge which links the originators and their scribes in a continuity that is beyond disputation. The singular role of the bronze vases in the culture of Ancient China sets them apart from any previous memorial objects. The Egyptians commemorated their past by means of monumental inscriptions, the Mesopotamians relied on tablets, the Greeks and Romans on funerary stelae. The Ancient Chinese

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22 Barnard 1973, p. 464 (11); see Legge 1885, pp. 251–252.

also had recourse to a particular type of monumental inscription, but they entrusted part of their repository of memories to these cult objects, conserved in the temple treasuries and which had to be sought for using all possible expedients, including excavations. Noël Barnard has drawn up a long list of them, dating from the most ancient times down to the Tang. New vases often came to light as a result of chance discoveries, or else thanks to systematic explorations associated with the pillaging of ancient tombs, like the one described in an anthology dated to the Han dynasty.[23] Whether fortuitous or planned, these discoveries were linked to the value, both symbolic and historical, of the nine Xia bronze vases. The prestige of these vases continued to supersede all other material traces of antiquity because they were at the origin of the tradition of the "nine divine tripods". Their symbolic force was such that their fame reflected on all subsequent discoveries of ancient bronze objects. This did not mean that the objects could ever be confused with one another. The doctrine concerning the interpretation of the vases was, as we have seen, very clear on this point. In the collective imagination the divine cauldrons were the highest symbol of the continuity of power in Ancient China, and their disappearance coincided with the seizure of power by the Qin dynasty, with the foundation of the unified empire.

K.C. Chang has given an excellent summary of the role and extraordinary function of bronze vessels in relation to the original nine bronze vases:

> *Jiu ding* means literally "the nine Ding vases," but the number nine was a common metaphor in ancient texts indicating a multitude. Only people who were extremely rich could own and exhibit a large number of bronze ritual vases, and their mass deposition in tombs with their owner on his or her death has to be considered a deliberate act of destruction, a sort of potlatch, as well as a religious practice designed to authorise the deceased to keep them in the afterlife.[24]

It was the Shang and above all Zhou periods which marked the apex of this type of ritual behaviour, and these practices contributed to making bronze vases highly sought after commodities. In the Greek and Roman

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23 See Barnard 1973, p. 493 (59) and Heeren-Dieckhoff 1981.

24 Chang 1983, p. 97.

tradition, bronze and ceramic vessels dating back to the 7th century BC, like those discovered by Caesar's legionaries in the "necro-corinthia" or archaic necropolises at Corinth,[25] provoked curiosity and even infatuation, but nothing to compare with the Chinese obsession with ritual vases. As Noël Barnard's painstaking work of verification has shown, the discovery of bronze vases and associated objects played a fundamental role in the Chinese sense of the past. They were tangible signs of the link uniting past and present, while the inscriptions were both presages for the future and tools for reconstructing past history. The Egyptians, Mesopotamians, Greeks and Romans all subscribed to the same procedure, for the discovery of ancient objects added to the *aura* of princes and rulers and contributed to the prestige of the priests and scholars who were able to interpret them. But these objects belonged to very different categories which varied according to both time and place. Even if, as we shall see, the Chinese also took an interest in other types of relics, the bronze ritual vases have continued to exert their fascination from antiquity right through to the modern era. This permanence surely explains the particular features of antiquarianism in China, for this comprises a mentality which has been common to the educated class throughout all the periods of history.

In order to gain a clearer idea of the practices and traditions of this type of antiquarian approach we first have to understand the strategies used to identify and rescue the vases. The prime transmission channel was the royal or aristocratic treasuries, for these vases were very carefully conserved in the secret recesses of temples. In times of political and military vicissitudes they were retrieved by the victors and frequently reinscribed, a bit like the objects in Mesopotamian or Greek temples.[26] But such direct transmission would not have been sufficient: the historical annals of Ancient China are full of tales of discoveries due to chance or guided by sages. Once the discovery had been made it became, like the relics in medieval times in the West, the subject of debate in order to establish its authenticity in terms of a certain number of criteria. And once this had been agreed, according to the wisdom of the day, a new debate began, as we have seen, concerning the object's qualities and testimony.

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25 See Strabo 1917, VIII, 382.

26 On this subject see Karmel Thomason 2005; Bournia 2004.

EXCAVATIONS AND THE OBSERVATION OF THE GROUND

Just as in Ancient Egypt, the riches of grave goods were a lure to tomb raiders. A narrative attributed to the Han period tells of the achievements of a prince from the region of Hebei in Northern China, who set about excavating the funerary monuments in his zone.[27] Ten quite accurate excavation diaries were compiled, each giving details of the discoveries in the form of an impersonal report. Here is the description of one of the operations:

> In the tomb of king Xiang of Wei (318–295 BC) the funerary chamber comprised a single hewn stone. It was 4 feet tall and large enough to contain forty people. To the touch it felt so smooth and damp that it seemed new. In the middle there was a stone bed and a screen in the same material, perfectly sculpted on every side. Yet there was no trace of a body or funerary offerings to be seen. On the bed there were only a spitoon made of nephrite, two bronze swords and several objects in metal and jade, all as good as new. The king appropriated it.[28]

It is quite rare to have a description of this kind of excavation; it shows how the raiders were perfectly capable of interpreting the remains and collocating them in a long sequence of accounts of discoveries of precious objects which went to create a sense of continuity between past and present. An even more remarkable example is cited by Stephen Owen in the magnificent work he has dedicated to the poetry of memory in Ancient China. He highlights the archaeological and poetic qualities of a narrative left by a poet from the 5th century AD, Xie Hui Lian, containing an extraordinary description of the discovery of an ancient tomb at Jinling. After giving a minute account of the context of the discovery, using a rational vocabulary which bears a striking resemblance to the style of an archaeological report, the narrator addresses a prayer to the spirits of the dead:

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27 See Heeren-Diekhoff 1981, pp. 222–223.
28 Ibid., p. 223.

When excavating a moat north of the wall of the Eastern Precinct, we had gone down to a depth of several yards when we found an ancient tomb. There had been no marker of a burial ground above, and for the sarcophagus were two coffins, exactly square, with no headpieces. As for the spirit vessels, we found twenty or so different kinds of ceramic, bronze, and lacquer; most of these were of unusual form, and we were not able to identify them all. There were also more than twenty human figures made of wood, each of them three feet long. When the grave was first opened, we could see that these were all human figures, but when we tapped them or poked them with something, they disintegrated into dust under our arms. On top of the coffin were more than a hundred "five-penny-weights" and coins. In the water were joints of sugarcane along with some plum pits and melon seeds, all of which floated up, none of them very rotten. The grave inscription had not survived, so we were unable to ascertain the date or age of the tomb. My lord commanded that those working on the wall rebury them on the eastern hill. And there, with pork and wine, we conducted a ceremony for the dead. Not knowing their names, whether they were near to us or far, we gave them the provisional title "the obscure master and mistress". In the seventh year of the Yuanjia reign (430) on the fourteenth day of the ninth month, Baron Zhou Lin, Instructional Director and Clerk of the Censorate, charged as General Administrator of the Arsenal, General Register, Magistrate of Linzhang, prepared ceremonial pork and wine and respectfully presented them to the spirits of the "obscure master and mistress":

I gathered this laboring multitude,
To build earthen ramparts was my charge,
I went to the depth of springs to make the moat,
Massed soil for the walls' base.
The single sarcophagus was open
Two coffins lay therein.
Hods were set aside in sorrow,
Spades cast down with streaming tears.
Straw spirit-figures were decayed,
The carts of clay were broken,
The banquet tables had rotted,
Its vessels for service fallen in.
On the platter were still some plums,
In the crocks were still some pickles,

And of sugarcane, some joints were left,
Of melon there remained some rind.
Thinking back on you, good people,
What was the age in which you lived,
How long were you in the resplendent body,
At what date did the soul sink away?
Was it ripe old age or early death?
Were you eminent or obscure?
The tomb inscription has perished,
No part of your names comes down to us.
Who now are your descendants?
And who were your forebears long ago?
Were your name and deeds foul or fair?
How is it they have been utterly lost?
A hundred-league wall made all at once,
Ten cubits high all around.[29]

In his commentary Stephen Owen points out the moral and philosophical dimension of this poem. Once the tomb has been described and the archaeological context properly defined, the analysis required of an antiquarian is complete. But although all due attention has been paid to the details, in the absence of an inscription the votive objects cannot be identified in order to establish a precise chronology. Thus the religious ceremony comes as a sort of moral conclusion to the discovery. In addressing this unknown couple, the poet establishes a relationship between the dead and the living, between past and present. The *memento mori* of this antiquarian-philosopher is very close to the antiquarian poetry of the Renaissance and the age of reason. Thus Petrarca: "Passan vostre grandezze e vostre pompe / Passan le signorie, passano i regni / Ogni cosa mortal, tempo interrompe" [Your grandeur and your pomp pass away, / Pass away the mighty men, pass away the kings; / Every mortal thing Time breaks].[30]

What is truly distinctive about this Chinese approach to the past is the quality and rationalism displayed in the antiquarian description which legitimises the poetical dialogue between the living and the dead. Being governed by reason, Chinese antiquarians could put poetical

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29 As cited in Owen 1986, pp. 38–39.

30 Petrarca, p. 42 ('Triumphus Temporis', verses 112–114).

expression at the service of their thirst for knowledge, in the same way as the antiquarians in 17th century Europe. We can compare the account given by Xie Hui Lien to a poem attributed to Zhang Heng dating from the end of the 1st century AD:

> Suddenly I looked and by the roadside
> I saw a man's bones lying in the squelchy earth
> Black rime-frost over him; and I in sorrow spoke
> And asked him, saying "Dead man, how was it?
> Fled you with your friend from famine and for the last grains
> Gambled and lost? Was this earth your tomb,
> Or did floods carry you from afar? Were you mighty,
> Were you wise,
> Were you foolish and poor? A warrior or a girl?["][31]

The dead man responds to this appeal with a tranquilising message, without revealing who he is. He explains to the poet that he prefers his current condition of a shade in nature to the vicissitudes of a human existence. As Stephen Owen remarks, this poem is in turn an echo or reprise of a more ancient tale attributed to Zhuangzi, a philosopher from the 4th century BC, who composed a dialogue between a scholar and a skull he encountered at the roadside. When the philosopher asked whether he wished to come back to this life, the skull "frowned deeply, knitting his brows": he compared his state of detachment from all things human to the "happiness of a king on his throne". The dead are in a definitive elsewhere, completely out of reach. The fleshless skull which sighs (and knits its brows) transmits a message which is as ironic as it is definitive. There is nothing to explain beyond the irreversible succession of the cycles of life and death. In a certain manner the theme of the happiness of no longer being alive responds to the anguish of the living as evoked by Baudelaire:

> The dead, poor things, what valid grievances they have!
> And, when October comes, stripping the wood of leaves,
> And round their marble slabs the wind of autumn grieves,
> Surely, a living man must seem to the cold dead
> Somewhat unfeeling, sound asleep in his warm bed[.][32]

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31 As cited in Owen 1986, pp. 35–36.
32 Baudelaire 1936, p. 93.

> [Les morts, les pauvres morts, ont de grandes douleurs,
> Et quand octobre souffle, emondeur des vieux arbres,
> Son vent melancolique à l'entour de leurs marbres,
> Certes, ils doivent trouver les vivants bien ingrats,
> A dormir, comme ils font, chaudement dans leurs draps.]

The philosophical and poetic dialogue of the Ancient Chinese philosopher stands as a sort of mirror image to these lines of Baudelaire. The dead are made to speak as a way of having more impact on the living, the role of tradition is exalted and the philosopher expresses a melancholy sense of what cannot be changed, testifying to a very particular attitude to the past:

> [A] civilisation of steles, tomb inscriptions and a funerary culture feeds and reveres the dead, seeking to keep them with us, to maintain contact. In such a civilisation the truth of Chang-tzu's parable, not the speaking skull, but the truth emerging from the self-destruction of the parable, represents a threat to be overcome. Human bones are very much at the core of that threat, something surviving from the past that both is and is not the former person. Bones without a commemorative marker represent a loss of identity, of one's place in time, and of the family whose purpose was to preserve the memory.[33]

There are some notable differences between the parable of the philosopher and the elegy, as Stephen Owen most ably points out. But they also have something in common. In Zhang Heng's poem the bones identify themselves: the skull that replies to the traveller is none other than the mortal remains of the philosopher whose parable inspired the poem. Zhuangzi in his turn has become a pile of bones lying in the dankness of autumn, and he consents to reveal his name to the passer-by who is questioning him: "I was a man of Song, of the clan Zhong; Zhou was my name [...] / I have no passion, no desire / Wash me and I shall be no whiter / Foul me and I shall yet be clean".[34]

The poet takes the philosophical parable to the extreme: the dead are indeed present, but they no longer feel anything, they merely point to the future condition of the living, an ineluctable destiny for everything

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33 Owen 1986, p. 34.

34 As cited in ibid., pp. 34–35.

that lives, which provides further reinforcement for the identity of the deceased. Zhuangzi, who in his lifetime was able to hold forth on the dead with such philosophical accomplishment, has become a corpse himself; he has taken the place of the subject he was interrogating. Of course it was not only the Chinese who meditated on the relationship between death and its materialisation. The Ancient Egyptians were tormented by the prospect of inexorable ruin that haunted even the highest pyramids and the most securely erected funerary stelae, while the Mesopotamians called down a definitive execration on any who dared destroy the commemorative texts interred in the depths of the foundations. And the Greeks had these lines by Simonides engraved on the monument to the Thermopylae:

> Their grave's an altar, ceaseless memory's theirs
> Instead of lamentations, and their fate
> Is chant of praise. Such winding-sheet as this
> Nor mould nor all-consuming time shall waste.
> This sepulchre of valiant men has taken
> The fair renown of Hellas for its inmate.[35]

These strategies of remembrance serve to combat the anguish provoked by the risk of a loss of continuity. They seek to remedy the erosion of things due to the passage of time but they do not really engage with the phenomenology of memory, the confrontation with its very substance, with the most disconcerting relics of all, human bones. The bones which are turned up during excavations have to be returned to the earth. As Horace intimated, it is a menace for the city to leave the remains of heroes exposed. If they are left out in the light of the sun it means that something is not right. In a Rome torn by civil war the barbarians called the tune: "A barbaric conqueror [...] will scatter in his arrogance the bones of Romulus that are now sheltered from wind and sun".[36] Such an approach is very different from the philosophy and poetry of Ancient China, which sought to set up a dialogue with the dead in order to obtain a clearer separation between their world and that of the living. For the Chinese the ancient dead, dating back to remote periods, who cannot be commemorated because the funerary inscriptions have been destroyed or never existed, are entitled to the same respect as those who have died recently. They

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35 Diodorus of Sicily 11.11.6.

36 Horace, 'Epodes', XVI.

have to be given a place of repose, and the task of mourning has to be carried out. In a certain sense antiquarianism and the respect for the past spring from a common attitude: honouring the dead means giving them a name, situating them in the long chain linking beings and things. There was no place in these rites of memory and remembrance for deploring past splendours or expatiating on the elegance of what had been; it was rather a question of distancing and recognising the ineluctable nature of the cycles of life and death. For the Chinese, antiquarian knowledge and celebration in poetry corresponded to the attitudes of Petrarca and, later on, Thomas Browne and Martin Opitz. What was typically Chinese was the belief in a continuity which, from the first emperors through to the Qing, was the mark of a shared, unified culture.

Translation from French by Mark Weir

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I HISTORIES OF TRANSCULTURAL COLLECTING

DOMINIK COLLET

STAGING SEPARATION

Distant Worlds in Early Museums

The recent boom in research on early museums has led to a remarkable realignment: while modern museums have become the target of fundamental criticism, their historical predecessors, the "cabinets of curiosities" or in German "Kunst- und Wunderkammern", have acquired the status of universally admired role models. While modern institutions are increasingly cast as passive, static and out of touch with their visitors, the Kunstkammer embodies a playful space of investigation and interaction. It is applauded for speaking to all the senses, involving the visitor, transgressing disciplinary boundaries, fostering new ways of knowing and for acting as a powerful "contact zone" (James Clifford).[1]

This repositioning of the old over the new is particularly prominent in the field of cultural encounter. Here, the curiosity cabinet is credited with abilities patently lacking in modern institutions: the encouragement of respectful, open-minded and equitable portrayal of different cultures. Early museums seem to offer a model untainted by later colonial, national and disciplinary constraints.

Museum curators have been eager to capitalise on this turn. A large number of institutions have staged Kunstkammer-style exhibitions, sometimes as a visual experiment or a revaluation of their historical objects, sometimes to deflect criticism from more controversial parts of their collection. In the German context the most prominent example is the Humboldt-Forum in Berlin which will eventually occupy the reconstructed Prussian Stadtschloß (City Palace). If built according to plan, a carefully recreated Kunstkammer will form the centre of the largest German museum project of our time. As a space of "wonder and gazing"

1 See Bredekamp 1995; Bredekamp 2000; Schramm 2003.

it is hoped that it will detoxify the contentious objects of Berlin's former colonial collections, which will be transferred there (the former Museum für Völkerkunde and the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst). Its inventor, Horst Bredekamp, envisions the Kunstkammer as a chance to replace the display of colonial booty with "commemorative collecting" ("ehrendes sammeln").[2] As an institution it is expected to transform colonial collections into a 'world museum' and act as an antidote to the nationalistic and militaristic associations of the Prussian Stadtschloß. The Kunstkammer, it seems, has taken on the role of a 'cure-all' for the challenges that modern museums face.

The historical record is, of course, rather more ambiguous. The contact of amateurs and scholars, of art and science, often went hand in hand with ostentatious segregation from the barbarian other. In fact, the exclusion of the non-European 'savage' paved the way for the inclusion of a civil, 'European' public. The instrumentalisation of early museums for contemporary concerns therefore does not only mask historical continuities between pre- and post-colonial collecting. It also obscures the degree to which the museum itself structures and disciplines our ways of knowing.

To highlight the challenges which the museum environment adds to the representation of distant cultures, I will focus on several early practitioners of collecting. I will analyse their delicate work as cultural mediators between colonial fringe and European collectors. The displays that resulted from their work show remarkable uniformity and resilience towards change. In a second step, I will therefore try to read early museums not just as a medium but as an actor. Museums did not just store information, they also structured and disciplined the way that knowledge was shaped, staged and disseminated. Their traditions transformed active knowledge into sub-conscious sediments. As "silent referents" (Dipesh Chakrabarty) these traditions continue to influence museum practice today.[3]

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2 Fuhr 2010.

3 See Stagl 1998; Chakrabarty 1992.

A 'WORLD MUSEUM' IN 17TH-CENTURY GOTTORF?

Collecting is a social process. Gathering material from the expanding cosmos of early modern Europeans required a large body of agents, travellers, mediators and traders. The wish to assemble the world and the increasing accessibility of collections went hand in hand. A new set of self-made experts entered the first 'museums' to act as cultural brokers between the New World and the Old, between trade and tradition, between scholars and amateurs.

Adam Olearius (1599–1671) was one of those arbiters. In spite of his modest background, he managed to study theology and mathematics in Leipzig before starting out as a private tutor. In 1633 he entered the service of Frederick III, ruler of the small duchy of Holstein-Gottorp on the border of the Holy Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Denmark. Frederick immediately sent Olearius on a long journey first across Russia and then on to Tartary and Persia. He travelled as a member of the duke's large delegation to Shah Safi I (1611–1642). It was hoped that this ambitious enterprise would open up a lucrative trade route for the debt-ridden duke while simultaneously providing exotic collectibles and international renown. After Olearius' return in 1639 he was appointed curator of Frederick's Kunstkammer due to his first-hand experience of foreign cultures. Such a career became increasingly common in the 1600s as the growing popularity of exotica increased the demand for expert advice.

Olearius could base his curatorship on a rich reservoir of personal experience. He had spent the better part of a year in Persia, living mostly in the cosmopolitan capital Isfahan. There he had met Armenians, Indians, Turks, Kyrgyz, Cossacks, Circassians and people from countless other ethnicities and backgrounds. Even though he travelled as part of an entourage of more than 100 people—an embassy that constituted a transcultural microcosm of its own—his privileged position had allowed him plenty of chances to interact with locals and even to learn the Persian language. As a result, his perception of non-European peoples, customs and religions went far beyond the confines of contemporary stereotypes.

Much of this is apparent in his travelogue, the 'Muscowitisch[e] und Persisch[e] Reyse'.[4] Olearius did of course 'travel with the Ancients'.

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4 Olearius 1656. An unauthorised and abridged English translation appeared in 1662.

Like Columbus he saw much of the foreign world through the eyes of Herodotus or the texts of the Bible. His work also reflected the wishes and aspirations of his noble patron Frederick III as well as the traditions of the literary genre. However, its long narrative also allowed for complex meditations on the different strands of Islam or the dynamics of cultural contact. Olearius' perceptions benefited substantially from the dubious talent of the expedition's leader, the Hamburg merchant Otto Brüggemann, to provoke cultural clashes. His frequent blunders would later cost Brüggemann his life, but gave Olearius the opportunity to observe the foreigners outside the corset of genteel diplomacy. His supervisor's erratic behaviour also encouraged Olearius to question the supposedly superior civility of Europeans.[5] The expedition's logistical mishaps, including two major shipwrecks, shifted the route off the main path and allowed Olearius to witness the unexpected dynamism of what many Europeans regarded as a static and 'timeless' backwater. The group also included several 'cultural renegades' who acted as translators and gave Olearius an impression of living in-between ethnicities and identities. The expedition's Persian translator, for example, was a Russian convert to Islam. The Turkish interpreter had been born a Tartar. He was later abducted, baptised and sold to Muscowy as a child. In a dramatic episode of Olearius' travelogue, he is recognised by his family during the journey but refuses to give up his new Russian identity.[6] Finally, a Persian delegation made a return visit to Gottorf in 1639, crossing the cultural divide in the other direction. Six men of this entourage decided to stay permanently in Holstein, allowing Olearius long-term observations of cultural adaptation and transgression. One of these people, an Armenian Wesir at Shah Safi's court, left a son, who worked in close contact with Olearius for several decades.[7]

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5 See ibid., pp. 707–710. The most remarkable of the numerous conflicts initiated by Brüggemann consisted in a violent confrontation with an Indian embassy to Isfahan, resulting in the loss of several lives, most of their baggage (with severe consequences for the museum) and serious political fallout. Olearius blamed the incident on Brüggemann's preconceptions, which did not allow him to understand Oriental society as diversified and culturally heterogeneous. As a result his entourage mistook the highly respected Indian ambassadors for mere 'coolies' (ibid., pp. 499–504). Because of Brüggemann's temper, Olearius himself ("the secretary") had to seek refuge with Spanish monks in Isfahan and mused about travelling back alone (ibid., p. 518).

6 See ibid., p. 751.

7 See ibid., [Vorrede] and pp. 763–765. Olearius also witnessed the visit of a company of Greenland Inuit to Gottorf. See "Von den Grünländern", ibid.,

Looking at Olearius' curatorial work, it is striking how little of this rich first-hand experience actually transferred into the museum environment. The duke was certainly eager to make the most of his costly expedition by turning the lost monetary capital into cultural capital. Although many objects were lost in the shipwrecks, the Shah's princely gifts and Olearius' souvenirs provided a rich and rare material basis. Visitors did indeed praise the Gottorf collection for its many exotic curiosities. For decades the Gottorfische Kunstkammer ranked amongst the most famous collections of its time (Fig. 1). Remarkably, however, its presentation of the foreign world was based less on personal contacts or observations, but on the established narratives of otherness.

As the reports of visitors show, guests to the museum were greeted by an "Indian Priest dressed in a feather cape that looks like a clergyman's cope, along with a collar and a knee-band, all of red feathers".[8] As the delighted visitors noted, Olearius had constructed this "artificial beggary" ["künstlich Betteley"] himself. The "carved Moor [sic], dressed in parrot feathers in the Indian style, stood in a cabinet that opened on his [Olearius; D.C.] command, undoubtedly by the help of some hidden strings, opened its hand with an alms box on which was written 'give to the poor' and, once he had received something, withdrew and closed the door".[9] Visitors noted with satisfaction that the whole ensemble was carefully fashioned "according to the customs of those countries".[10]

Once the guests proceeded, they faced another pedestal that hosted even more life-size figures: A Ceylonese, a "West-Indian Woman from

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pp. 163–179. There were also several members of the Gottorf expedition who decided to stay behind in Isfahan, presumably with the intention of entering the service of the Shah and converting to Islam (see ibid., p. 690).

8 "[E]in indianischer Priester mit rotem Federumhang, der fast wie ein Chormantel aussieht, sowie Kranzkragen und Knieband, alles aus roten Federn". Report of the tutor Nils Rubenius, who visited the collection in 1662, as cited in Drees 1997, p. 17.

9 "[E]inen geschnitzten Mohren, auf Indianische Arth mit Papegey federn bekleidet, welcher in einem schranck stunde denselben auf sein Zureden, ohne Zweifel durch verborgene Züge öfnete, die hand mit einer armenbüchse, an welcher geschrieben Date pauperibus austreckte, und nachdem Er etwas empfangen, wieder zurückzog und die thür Zumachte" (transl. D.C.). Diary of the Princes Frederick and Albert of Saxe-Gotha, who visited in 1661 (Thüringisches Staats-Archiv Gotha, Geheimes Archiv (ThStA Gotha, GA), E IV [Sonne], Nr. 2a, fol. 583).

10 Drees 1997, p. 17.

1 Frontispiece. Olearius 1674

Mexico" and a Muscovite man and woman (Fig. 2).[11] They were flanked by a podium with heathen idols (Fig. 3) and a cabinet with foreign weapons "such as Persian ones with devils heads, Indian and Japanese".[12] The subtleties that characterised Olearius' travel-report had disappeared. A group from Gotha noted simply "many foreign nations in their dress, a

11 The ensemble is described in detail in Olearius 1674, p. 4.

12 Drees 1997, p. 17. This assemblage is also depicted on the illustration of the museum at the front of the catalogue, Olearius 1674.

2 Tab. II. Olearius 1674

3 Tab. IV. Olearius 1674

cabinet with foreign weapons".[13] As in other contemporary collections, visitors generally read these displays as illustrations of a heathen, primitive 'other'.[14]

This essentialist reduction resulted not just from misunderstandings or inattentive guests. Olearius actively encouraged such an interpretation. He purged all European or hybrid material from his exotic assemblages.[15] The cultural interplay and exchange that figured strongly in Olearius' travel report disappeared from the collection. His text had included frequent remarks on the mutual fascination with and exchange of European and Persian music, dance and painting as well as the tentative adaption of gestures, symbols and rituals. In a prominent episode Olearius even described the material dimension of such contacts, noting how he entered a Persian madrasah to discuss his globes and astrolabes with the local professors—a re-tracing of the objects' original journey from the Arab world.[16] In his curatorial work, however, Olearius dropped these notions and opted for separation instead. In place of entanglement he focused on objects that visualised the supposedly heathen religion of the foreigners. This practice extended to objects that originally carried no such spiritual connotations (such as the garments worn by his "Indian Priest"). He concentrated on brutal (yet inferior) weaponry and skillful but visibly "primitive" artefacts, such as the rattle-chain of Brazilian Ahovai nuts worn by the "Mexican" woman (Fig. 4). In the printed catalogue of the collection Olearius informed the visitors that these nuts "are found in the wild woods and the fruit is kept secret from Europeans, because husband and wife, when they grow tired of each other, use them in powdered form to mix into tobacco or food and drink [to kill their spouse]. The shells [...] are bound on arms and legs when they dance and jump merrily"[17]—a classic and popular account of a world turned upside down,

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13 See note 9.

14 See Collet 2007, pp. 332–348.

15 Along with his contemporaries, Olearius did not regard Russia as part of Europe, irrespective of her Orthodox Christian background. See Collet 2007, p. 338. The placement of the orthodox icon above the other idols (Fig. 2) does, however, suggest a religious hierarchy of foreignness.

16 Olearius 1656, pp. 424, 427, 432–433, 471.

17 "Und soll der baum in den wüsten Wäldern gefunden / und die Frucht von den Einwohnern für den Ausländern in geheim gehalten werden. Dann Mann und Weib / wannn sie einander gram werden / sollen die Frucht pulverisiret entweder in Toback oder Speiß und Tranck vermischet

with violent rather than docile women poisoning rather than loving their husbands and performing wild dances in the woods rather than attending to household chores.

4 Necklaces and girdles of plant fibre, Ahovai nuts and shells. Brazil around 1600. Nationalmuseet Copenhagen

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beybringen. Die Schalen [...] binden die Wilden umb die Arme und Beine / wenn sie tantzen und lustig springen wollen" (transl. D.C.). Olearius 1674, p. 27. The deadly 'cannibal nut' was an immensely popular collector's item (see Collet 2003).

Olearius also blurred the geographical provenance of the exotic exhibits. The objects on the "Mexican" figurine came neither from the "West Indies" nor from central America but from Brazil.[18] Most material was simply labelled as "Indian" even when Olearius had precise information about its origin. This opaque geography left its traces in the five inventories of the collection from 1617 to 1824. An Indonesian shadow puppet (*wayang kulit*) was identified as the devilish "American idol Vitzliputzli" in 1710 before jumping to yet another continent in 1775 when it was described as "an African fetish" (Fig. 5). A Persian flag was later listed as "Chinese",[19] an "Amazonian" trumpet reappeared simply as "Indian", the "American" feather cape of 1710 is described as an "old apron" in 1725, then as an "old masquerade cape" in 1747 before making a spectacular come-back as the "clothes of the King of Brazil" in 1750.[20] Accordingly, in the reports of visitors a Norse idol is placed in the "West Indies", the Brazilian cape is described as coming from Greenland and the figure of an American priest is confounded with an African. Most visitors simply listed the exotica as representatives of a homogeneous 'Indian' world.[21]

The disparity between Olearius' rich and complex personal experiences and his museum displays is striking, but while his collection may seem early by the standards of modern museums, Olearius was already acting in a museum environment that was framed by well-established traditions. Even in the mid-17th century he had to conform to a canon of what was deemed collectible as well as an established market for exotic curiosities. As a result, most exhibits in the Gottorf Kunstkammer did not originate in the highly publicised expedition but in the salesroom of a professional dealer of curiosities, Bernhard Paludanus (1550–1633). Paludanus, a physician by training, had lived in Enkhuizen after returning from travels to Egypt and Syria. His proximity to the Dutch ports had placed him in an ideal situation to build a famous cabinet of exotic rarities. Paludanus' museum quickly attracted the attention of many

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18 Bencard 1997, pp. 319–321. These objects are now held by the Nationalmuseet Copenhagen alongside most of the remaining Gottorf collection.

19 Ibid., p. 340.

20 Ibid., pp. 318, 354—the trumpet's "devil" ornamentation mentioned in the earliest inventory actually depicts the head of a jaguar.

21 See Drees 1997, pp. 17–18 and ThStA Gotha, GA, E IV [Sonne], Nr. 2a, fol. 583. On the religious rather than geographical denotation of the term "Indian" see Collet 2007, p. 338.

5 Javanese shadow puppet, 17th century. Nationalmuseet Copenhagen

wealthy collectors, encouraging him to start a flourishing trade in material from the Dutch colonies. When his descendants sold his collection to Gottorf, it contained a wealth of highly marketable curiosities. In his inventories Paludanus credited many of them with popular cannibalistic associations. His material flooded the Gottorf Kunstkammer with objects such as "pipes made from human bones, eaten by man-eaters in America" or maracas "that they dance to, when they go to war and have captured

enemies that they want to eat, after which they put them [the maracas, D.C.] on pikes to worship them as idols"[22]—objects that visualised popular literary tropes of the non-European world.

These narratives were consolidated by the expectations of visitors. The Gotha princes who visited the Gottorf collection were quick to note (and criticise) the absence of popular exotic exhibits in the collections they saw. They were equally quick to acquire exotica they encountered in several collections for their own museum.[23] These exchanges and expectations established a narrow canon of collectibles that left Olearius little leeway when it came to the selection of exhibits.

More importantly, early collections constituted important spaces of sociability. Their visitors came from different social, religious and national backgrounds—a rare and fragile phenomenon in an otherwise highly segregated early modern 'society of estates'. Such a broad public required the careful elimination of contentious material.[24] Visitors expected objects that would allow easy and innocuous conversation. While material from the Persian expedition was certainly appreciated, this did not extend to exhibits questioning established narratives of otherness or religious demarcations. In fact, it was precisely the exclusion of the savage 'other' that prepared the inclusion of the many visitors. The separation of the distant barbarian allowed the heterogeneous guests to imagine themselves—across all religious, social and regional divides—as civilised 'Europeans'.

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22 Bencard 1997, pp. 303–304, 330.

23 See Collet 2007, pp. 73–77.

24 See Feest 1995 on the notable absence of material from complex non-Western societies in early European collections and Collet 2007, pp. 268, 334–335, on the careful de-selection of hybrid material illustrating Indo-European entanglement, even in cases where such contact constituted part of the collector's family tradition. As a result early collections contained almost no material associated with colonial trade or the rapidly developing mestizo societies. Objects that were too alien for the European mindset, such as non-figurative religious objects, totems, fetishes or shrunken heads remained similarly excluded. The limited scope of early collections becomes painfully obvious when compared for example with accounts of the rich material culture of pre-conquest American societies such as the Florentine Codex (ibid.).

STAGING SEPARATION

Olearius was not the only eye-witness whose intercultural knowledge did not transfer into the collection he curated. Seasoned travellers regularly played an important role in building up early collections. Their access to rare material and their status as first-hand observer was obviously in high demand—their personal experiences, however, were not.

Duke Ernest I of Saxe-Gotha, for example, employed Caspar Schmalkalden (1616–1673) to oversee the acquisition of exotic material for his collection. Schmalkalden had travelled even further than Olearius, visiting America, Africa, the East Indies and even the isolated Japan from 1643 to 1653. Even though his influence on the selection and ordering of the collection's exotica was substantial, Schmalkalden painstakingly eliminated his own nuanced observations from the displays. His surviving manuscripts and drawings show that he carefully purged his contact narrative by drawing on reputed encyclopaedias and natural histories. His curatorial work mirrored that of Olearius. Schmalkalden reduced the diverse non-European world to a homogeneous land of heathens. He selected exotic material for its visible difference, presented it on a separate table and closely associated it with the natural world. His drawings illustrate some of the stories that contextualised these exotic assemblages. Schmalkalden's figure of a naked Brazilian Indian (Fig. 6), carrying objects that were prominently displayed in the Gotha collection, is accompanied by a caption that reads: "We go naked and know nothing of money. With bow and arrow alone, we march to war. We love the taste of human flesh, be it arm or leg, as long as it is cooked, we will devour it instantly". Tellingly, the model for Schmalkalden's illustration came from a series of paintings by Albert Eckout that was immensely popular in early collections. Along with his curatorial colleagues, Schmalkalden immediately settled on the figure of the naked 'Tapoyar', ignoring and effectively excluding other paintings in the series that threatened to transcend imaginary boundaries and demarcations—such as an African notable pictured in Brazil dressed in European clothes (Fig. 7). Drawing instead on the visual tradition of the 'wild man' as well as objects that were familiar but obsolete in Europe, Schmalkalden chose to project established markers of alterity into the distant world.[25]

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25 See Collet 2007, pp. 94–131 for a detailed study of Schmalkalden's travels and his involvement with the Kunstkammer in Gotha.

6 Caspar Schmalkaden, 'Tapoyar', based on a painting by Albert Eckout, ca. 1659–1672

The experience of another expert from the Gotha court illustrates that Olearius and Schmalkalden had good reasons not to challenge the established museological order of things. In 1663 their colleague Johann Michael Wansleben (1635–1679) was sent on a mission to the distant and inaccessible Ethiopia, home of the legendary Christian ruler 'Prester John'. As in Olearius' case, Wansleben was supposed to acquire exotic marvels for the duke's collection while simultaneously forging an alliance with the Christians of Africa against the Turkish enemy. As Wansleben travelled alone in hostile territory, he had to adapt his preconceptions quickly in order to survive. He realised almost immediately that the European conception of Ethiopians as exemplary pious Christians fell far

7 Albert Eckout, 'Don Miguel de Castro, Emissary of Congo' to Brazil, ca. 1643–1650

short of the complex cultural mix he encountered. In his diary he noted his surprise at finding Christian Ethiopian monks living harmoniously alongside their Muslim neighbours. When Wansleben failed to deliver objects that illustrated clear oppositions between the opposing faiths, sending instead a long text questioning established religious demarcations, he was instantly dismissed and banned from court. He only managed to pick up his career when he started collecting well-established rarities during his second trip to Egypt in 1672. Focusing on mummies and 'idols', he established himself as an agent for several collectors, including the King of France.[26]

The canon of collectible exotica, their presentation and place in the 'order of things' was firmly in place by the mid-17th century. Museums

26 See ibid., pp. 132–165.

naturalised and materialised the separation of the non-European world. Through the selection, arrangement and presentation of exotic objects Olearius and his colleagues transformed simple differences into fundamental 'otherness'.

These traditions proved exceptionally resilient. Even institutions founded explicitly with an agenda of reform were quickly assimilated. In London, the Royal Society attempted unsuccessfully to set up a new type of museum in 1663. It was hoped that its objects would provide the empirical basis to challenge the miraculous stories of travel reports. As its curator, Robert Hooke, proudly proclaimed: "The use of such a collection is not for Divertisment, and Wonder, and Gazing, as 'tis for the most part thought and esteemed, and like Pictures for Children to admire and be pleased with, but for the most serious and diligent study".[27] In spite of the curator's highly publicised break with the Kunstkammer tradition, the collection was quickly flooded with miraculous rarities and established exotica. It soon sported numerous examples of the popular Indonesian bird's nests supposedly used by "lecherous Chinamen" as an aphrodisiac, many samples of the pleasingly gruesome poisons used by treacherous natives on the Europeans, as well as countless objects illustrating their heathen practices, such as "a very odde piece of wood, naturally smelling like human Excrement, used by the Natives against evil Spirits and Incantations".[28] Generous donors and traditionalist visitors managed to turn the Society's "musaeum" into a cabinet of curiosities that served as a salon rather than a laboratory.[29]

The Kunstkammer canon was still in place over a hundred years later. When the University of Göttingen attempted a comparable museological realignment in 1773 it encountered the same barriers. The local "Academic Museum" founded by dedicated enlightenment thinkers was planned to reform research, particularly in the new field of 'ethnography', which was being conceptualised as an academic discipline by Göttingen academics at this time.[30] Again, its supporters proclaimed a clear break with older traditions:

Earlier collections made the mistake of gathering rarities rather than what is worthy of note in nature [...]. Our academic cabinet, however, is

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27 Waller 1705, p. 365.

28 Royal Society Archive, London: CP XIX, Nr. 9 and Collet 2007, pp. 279–283.

29 See Collet 2010.

30 See Bödeker 2008.

not designed for pomp but for utility, it is destined for research and teaching [...]. Göttingen is the first university in Germany, perhaps in Europe, which has been provided with a genuinely academic museum, and we already find ourselves obliged to speak of it as an epochal phenomenon.[31]

After just a few years, however, visitors reported that the collection contained: "a great number of heathen idols displaying abominable contortions of the body and greatest tastelessness. Many amphibians and human embryos of negroes etc. [...] a well-preserved mummy [...] the things you find in more or less any Kunstkammer".[32] Another guest complained in 1797: "Here I was again met by great piles of clothes and rags from the South Seas [...]. It is rather a nuisance to see these things again and again, as the custodians fail to comprehend why one is passing them by so quickly".[33] Gifts from devoted visitors and alumni, as well as the wish to appeal to wealthy students familiar with established collections, had encouraged conformity. Even high-profile donations, such as the well-known James Cook collection, were mediated through established channels of collecting. When the material from the famous voyages was acquired in 1782, its objects were selected by George Humphrey, a London dealer in curiosities, who assembled the material piecemeal at auctions or on the London docks. Most of the objects therefore reflected the taste of the professional merchants and seamen involved in their assemblage, rather than the interests of the famous captain or the official donor, the British King George III. The curator of the museum, Johann Friedrich

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31 "Diese älteren Sammlungen hatten doch den Fehler, daß man mehr Seltenheiten als Merkwürdigkeiten der Natur zusammenraffte. [In Göttingen dient] das akademische Cabinett dagegen nicht zum Prunck, sondern lediglich zum Gebrauch, zur Untersuchung und zum Unterricht [...]. Göttingen ist die erste Universität in Deutschland, vielleicht in Europa, die mit einem eigentlich akademischen Museum versehen worden, und wir halten uns verpflichtet, von ihm, auch schon als epochemachendem Phänomen [zu sprechen]" (Lichtenberg 1778, p. 47–48; transl. D.C.).

32 "Eine Menge Götzen von abscheulichen Verzerrungen des Körpers und der größten Geschmacklosigkeit. Viele Amphibien, eine Menge menschlicher Embryonen, von Negern etc. [...,] eine wohlbehaltene Mumie [...] was man in jeder Kunstsammlung etwa findet" (transl. D.C.). As cited in Gresky 1982, pp. 197–198.

33 "Auch hier stieß ich wieder auf einen Vorrath von Kleidern und Lumpen des Südmeeres [...] Fast ist es mir lästig, Dinge der nehmlichen Art immer wieder und wieder zu sehen, weil die Aufseher nicht begreifen können, warum man so vorüber eilt" (transl. D.C.). As cited in Plesker 2006, p. 482.

Blumenbach, had to admit that the greater part of the objects on display could "well have been taken from a Kunstkammer".[34]

In fact, the early modern canon of collectible exotica continued to dominate acquisition policies well into the 19th century and beyond. Masks, figurative 'idols' or primitive weapons remained valued markers of difference. Even the luminary Alexander von Humboldt owned a coconut carved with a copy of Schmalkalden's naked 'Tapoyar', an object he counted amongst his most treasured possessions.[35] The taxonomical separation of the exotic was similarly continued and even expanded in later collections. When Olearius' Gottorf collection was transferred to the Royal Collections in Copenhagen in 1750, his separate podiums and tables for exotic material prepared the way for an 'Indian Hall' (Indianisk Saal). In 1845 this division was taken even further, when the objects were moved to an institution of their own: the new Royal Ethnographic Museum.[36]

This tradition of early museums was not one of intercultural contact. Agents such as Olearius or Schmalkalden chose not to draw on their experiences as 'practitioners of encounter' during their museum work. Instead their displays followed the established alterity-narratives of travel literature which dominated contemporary thought and the expectations of visitors and patrons. Through the careful selection of objects the curators portrayed the non-European world as the primitive, homogeneous and heathen 'other' of Europe. In their presentations Europe's internal divisions moved overseas, as did acts of violence, superstition and gluttony. Projecting internal conflicts abroad provided museum visitors with a framework that made the distant world intelligible. It also allowed them to imagine the war-ridden, religiously, politically and socially divided Old World as a civilised and unified 'Europe'. Once established, the displays took on a life of their own. They established a canon that was vigorously upheld by visitors and merchants and proved exceptionally resilient. As a result early European museums displayed increasingly anachronistic images of distant worlds. Instead of cultural contact they staged separation.

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34 Collet 2010, 2012. On the genesis of Göttingen's renowned Cook-Forster Collection see Hauser-Schäublin and Krüger 1998 as well as Frings 2009.

35 On the 'Humboldt Cup' see Spenlé 2011.

36 See Dam-Mikkelsen 1980.

MUSEUM TRADITIONS

Some characteristics of these presentations are decidedly early modern. The division of the world into Christians and heathens reflected a Europe equally segregated along religious denominations. The portrayal of the Indians as violent, wild dancers mirrored the views that Europe's social elite held on the Old World's popular culture, on Europe's 'Inner Indians'.[37] Early museums therefore constitute cultural archives that materialise specific historical ways of knowing. They mirror a stratified society where truth is tied to social standing, evidence to prestigious witnesses and identity to religious affiliation and rank.

Many other mechanics are, however, part of any museum environment and reflect the logic of the museum as an institutional structure and a cultural mindset: all collecting is inherently conservative. Its main motivation is to preserve, not to create knowledge. Museums are also intrinsically inert. Not only are the physical objects hard to move and to reorganise, the immaterial order of things, the taxonomies and topologies, are equally resilient. The decision to collect one type of object instead of another creates path-dependencies that discourage change. Ethnographical museums are filled with spears and masks, which continue to reflect the tastes of bygone princely collectors but have become too prominent to be quickly superseded by new acquisitions.[38]

All museums have to reduce complexity in order to create an exhibition. Curators therefore face substantial pressure to continue constructing homogeneous 'ethnicities' along the 'one tribe, one style' paradigm. In order to simplify they typify; they transform individual objects into representatives and marginalise material 'tainted' by European influences.[39]

Hence, museums frequently prefer old, supposedly traditional material, considered to be free from foreign influences. The objects of early collections and the long Kunstkammer-tradition therefore remain in high demand. Reservations about their dubious documentation and primitivistic bias are often set aside because of their high visual appeal, their association with famous collectors, their high market value and their

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37 See Mason 1987.

38 See Schade 1999 for the *longue durée* of exoticist acquisition policies at the ethnographical collections in Berlin.

39 See Ivanow 2001.

popularity with visitors. These objects have become so prominent in modern museums that even descendants of those portrayed now identify with this primitivist and partial selection of their ancestor's material culture.[40]

Finally, the expectations of visitors always affect a museum's composition and arrangement. Visitors frequently expect an ethnographical museum to visualise or at least debate the supposed differences between 'us' and 'them'. In fact the concept is now so firmly established that it has resulted in the physical separation of museums presenting European and non-European material. Not only is this dichotomy so deeply entrenched that it will survive even the most delicate museological tricks and dodges.[41] It is apparently so persuasive that even an entirely new museum, such as the Humboldt-Forum, cannot afford to transgress it.[42]

'WORLD MUSEUMS'

The critique of recent years has encouraged a few privileged institutions to change. These museums have engaged with questions of participation, agency, the repatriation of patrimony and the selection, labelling and taxonomy of exhibits. Some institutions have decided to become virtual museums, shedding their inflexible permanent collections. Others have become museums of themselves, exhibiting their own history rather than their objects. By far the most popular approach for ethnographical museums, however, has been to rebrand themselves as 'world museums' and/or to reclassify their exhibits as 'art'.

The Musée du Quay Branly in Paris, opened in 2006, is one of the most prominent institutions to embrace this approach. Just like the Humboldt-Forum, its collections reassemble material taken from two older museums of the colonial era. The exhibits are now displayed as

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40 See Dellmann 2007 on the identitary conflicts surrounding a 'feather crown' now in Vienna—a 16th-century Kunstkammer piece that once visualised Indian inferiority (see fig. 4), but which has now been re-appropriated as cultural patrimony by Mexican pressure groups on account of its (incorrect) attribution to Montezuma.

41 See Ivanow 2001 on visitor resilience towards museological arrangements that challenge established dichotomies.

42 Berlin's collections on European ethnography are currently housed next to the non-European material, but are not scheduled for transfer to the Humboldt-Forum.

aesthetically charged, individual specimens spotlighted in a manner usually reserved for European art. This move has undoubtedly managed to question the dichotomy between 'Natur-' and 'Kulturvölker' and has addressed prejudices about the alleged inability of supposedly 'primitive' societies to produce works of art. However, this aestheticising approach has also veiled the colonial history of the exhibits and their cultural background, as well as the people behind them. Instead, the objects are again classified according to a fundamentally European concept: that of aesthetic 'quality'. As in older ethnographic museums this has privileged supposedly 'pure' styles and figurative exhibits at the expense of performative art, intangible heritage, objects that blend cultural influences and—crucially—the people living in what have always been 'entangled' societies.[43]

Other museums, such as the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, have tried to focus on heritage rather than aestheticisation. These institutions promote the participation of the people they portray through 'community curators'. They aim to present diversity instead of artificial homogeneity and they carefully document their selection process. Occasionally they experiment with new museological methods, such as the multiple labelling of objects. At the same time they have become foci for identity politics, sometimes to the point that they confirm rather than criticise established narratives and stereotypes of 'Indianness'.[44]

While these new approaches address some of the problems modern institutions have inherited, they are open to only a small number of privileged museums—most of them new rather than reformed institutions. The majority of older museums, in contrast, are unable to perform such a break. They struggle with biased and highly selective collections, loopholes in the documentation of their objects, and the historical exclusion of the non-European voice—traditions that do not merely date back to the beginning of the museum, but were constitutive for its development. Considering this history, it is striking that a new foundation such as Berlin's new Humboldt-Forum should chose to actively associate itself with the Kunstkammer. Such a turn to the past not only underestimates the *longue durée* of what I call 'projective ethnography',[45] it disregards the museum's crucial role in stabilising and naturalising exclusion.

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43 See Price 2010.

44 See Zittlau 2007 for a critical account of the National Museum of the American Indian's failure to extend its reflexive museology to the presentation of its collection history.

45 See Collet 2007, pp. 332–348.

PRACTICES OF EXCLUSION

As we have seen, early museums are increasingly reinterpreted as playful spaces of encounter and exchange. As a result, they have become role models for modern museums struggling to reinvent themselves as 'contact zones' or 'world museums'.[46] Once we look back at the actual practices of historical actors, a different picture emerges. 17th-century curators such as Adam Olearius chose to corroborate narratives of otherness. While first-hand knowledge of distant worlds was often desirable and bestowed credibility to the new and fragile position of the 'curator', their rich personal experience did not transfer into their museum displays. Instead they based their displays on popular accounts of alterity. Contact and entanglement were replaced by separation. They did so not just out of careerism or to please the expectations of visitors and patrons. The exclusion of the 'savage' was also a prerequisite for the inclusion of the 'savant'. Looking at the foreign barbarian turned the spectators into civilised 'Europeans'. It allowed noble patrons to mingle with a wide range of visitors irrespective of their religious, national and social background—a constitutive move for the transformation of the private collection into an open museum. The development of the museum and exclusion of the 'other' went hand in hand.

Taxonomies of knowledge therefore constitute not just disinterested mental figurations. They are purposefully created and upheld by individual actors and delineate hierarchies that allocate objects not just a place but a rank in the order of things. Once a taxonomy is established it tends to transform into a "sediment" (Jan Assmann) which, even when it has slipped from an individual's power of disposal, continues to shape the way knowledge is organised.[47] Sedimented taxonomies act as "silent

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46 See Boast 2011 for a review of the impact of James Clifford's 'contact zone' concept on modern museums.

47 See Stagl 1995, p. 48. Drawing on Jan Assmann's theory of cultural memory and the creative dynamic of forgetting, Stagl compares the 'sediment' to a misplaced library book and the sedimented collection to a cancer. It remains an integral part of the collector's identity even though it is no longer in his control. Stagl's approach, though essentially psychoanalytical, is well suited to reflect the crucial but increasingly fragile link between collector and collection on the one hand and the growing agency of the museum's objects, traditions and canons on the other.

referents" structuring practices and perceptions over long periods.[48] In the museum environment this process results in extraordinarily resilient acquisition policies, in the preferential selection of certain exhibits, in strategies to distil 'types' out of individual objects, in display techniques that assign status according to stylistic purity and in the prominent role of curatorial 'experts'. A look back at early museums illuminates the historical links between these practices of exclusion and the continuing social success of the museum.

PHOTO CREDITS

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4 Bencard 1997, p. 321
5 Dam/Mikkelsen and Lundbæk 1980, p. 140
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48 Chakrabarty used this expression in his seminal essay (1992) to highlight the fact that "Europe remains the sovereign theoretical subject of all histories, including the ones we call 'Indian', 'Chinese', 'Kenyan'". As a "silent referent" it structures and permeates Indo-European relations, transfixing the non-European in a subaltern position (ibid., p. 2). While Chakrabarty initially linked his observations to the writing of history, the unselfconscious dominance of European points of reference applies to the museum environment as well. Rather than simply extending European concepts such as historical discourse (or the museum), Chakrabarty advocates a radical rethink that "deliberately makes visible, within the very structure of its narrative forms, its own repressive strategies and practices [...], so that the world may once again be imagined as radically heterogeneous" (ibid., p. 23).

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TIMON SCREECH

A 17TH-CENTURY JAPANESE MINISTER'S ACQUISITION OF WESTERN PICTURES

Inoue Masashige (1585–1661) and His European Objects

This paper will consider some interests and purchases of Inoue Masashige, a key official of the mid-17th century shogunate.[1] Masashige's case is certainly not typical, owing to the post he occupied, but he is indicative of a wider trend, and is abnormally well documented thanks to the records of the Dutch East India Company, which worked closely with him over many years, not least on his collection. I will introduce what he saw, and what he acquired, and will set this in the context of the wider networks of owning that existed in the period.

It is often supposed that after the banning of Christian missions in the early 17th century, there was scant interest in European culture in Japan, and little interaction with it. This is presumed to have continued right up into the mid-18th century, when engagement with Enlightenment thought is accepted as having become important in Japanese history under the designation of Dutch Studies (*rangaku*).[2] That narrative can now be seen to be much too reductive. Masashige's collecting is a case study from what is taken as the blank period. There would have been many more owners during the so-called "Christian Century" in Japan (1542–1636), and would be again in the latter part of the 18th century. Masashige is therefore unique,

1 I would like to thank Cynthia Viallé for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this paper.

2 This refers to the so-called *rangaku* (Dutch, or European Studies) movement, from the 1760s. There is copious writing on this, but one classic study is Keene 1952; for the artistic and visual dimension, see Screech 2000.

and was collecting at a time when to engage with European things was suspect, even dangerous. Although we cannot know how he defined and described what he owned, and how he set his European acquisitions within his much larger group of Asian items (Japanese, Chinese and Korean), it is clear that he regarded European items as offering some special insights. He would not have been alone in this, though he was in a special position to acquire, and again, records survive, as they do not for others. His may be the only group of items owned by a Japanese person of the period that we can reasonably call a collection, and analyse as such. Throughout, his European objects (also a few non-European things imported on European ships) were parts of an Other—an external categorisational system—that appealed, but did not necessarily always convince.

INOUE MASASHIGE

Although his early biography has many gaps, Masashige was born in 1585 into a minor military family.[3] The country was still at war, but in 1603, the Tokugawa family established the new shogunate, and Masashige's talents were recognised by the second ruler, Tokugawa Hidetada, who appointed him to office some time around 1610. Masashige became close to the shogun Hidetada's son, Iemitsu, born in 1604 so twenty years his junior; he may have had some supervisory role in the boy's education. It seems that Masashige was a Christian at this point, which would be unusual for a close Tokugawa retainer, though not impossible. This matter cannot be settled, but if Masashige indeed moved in convert circles, he would have had access to a wide range of European goods and religious art, specifically painting, since the missions to Japan made great use of it.[4] This could have been the foundation of Masashige's subsequent interests. Again, if Masashige remained a Christian, he would have come to find this a growing bar to promotion, and records suggest that he apostacised about the age of 40, which would be just as Iemitsu inherited from his father, as third shogun, in 1623.[5]

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3 The official facts appear in Kimura Motoi 1988–90, vol. 2, p. 445. See also Blussé 2003, pp. 23–43, and Screech 2012.

4 Bailey 2000, p. 53, proposes that the Jesuit painting school in Japan was the largest established anywhere outside Europe. However, the school was disbanded in 1614.

5 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 147.

Masashige's rise to importance, and access to influence and, with it, rare imported objects began in earnest 1625 when Iemitsu nominated him to the post of *metsuke*, generally rendered "commissioner", though sometimes, and perhaps better, "inquisitor".[6] There were twenty-four *metsuke* responsible for aspects of information-gathering, and retained on an income that reflected the sensitivity of their work, at a generous 1,000 *koku*.[7] A new state was carved out for his benefit, and he was installed as hereditary ruler (*daimyô*) of Takaoka, with lands yielding 10,000 *koku*.[8] Two years later, Masashige was awarded the honorary marshalcy of Chikugo (*Chikugo-no-kami*), which carried with it 5th court rank. In 1632, he was promoted to "grand" (*ô*) *metsuke*, with an increment of 2,000 *koku*. This put Masashige at the top of the shogunal inner circle, though there were much more powerful regional lords (*tozama daimyô*).

Three *ô-metsuke* held office at any time, each with specific responsibilities, and Masashige's was "religious rectification" (*shûmon aratame-yaku*), in essence, de-Christianisation: the faith was now banned, and Masashige was required to extirpate it, which he did with vigour, and in which capacity he had many dealings with Europeans.[9] This senior role allowed him the rare privilege of residing permanently in Edo (modern Tokyo), rather than commuting annually between there and his state, as most *daimyo* did.

That Masashige was talented was never disputed, though some said he had slept his way into office, as not just mentor, but lover of Iemitsu.[10] Certainly Masashige was much attracted to younger men and kept catamites throughout his life. Under prevailing social conditions, this was not especially remarkable, though sleeping with the shogun (or shogunal heir) was.[11] Masashige had just one child of his own, which was strikingly few, and gossips said this was because he paid so little attention to his wife.[12] More openly, other than one brief falling out, Masashige was close to the shogun until the latter's death, in office, in 1651.[13] He was looked up

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6 See Blussé 2003.

7 See Sasama 1974, p. 253.

8 See Kimura Motoi 1988–90, vol. 2, p. 445.

9 The other two *ô-metsuke* dealt with Highways and the Official Diary (i.e. policing movement and recording).

10 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol 12.

11 For Masashige's sexuality, see Screech 2012.

12 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12.

13 See ibid.

to by the other officials. Masashige was also an impressively built man, tall and in later life stout.[14]

Iemitsu was succeeded by his son, Ietsuna, under whose rule Masashige made his most important artistic moves, at least as the record stands. In 1659, about to turn 75, he was released from his duties, and Masashige died exactly a decade after Iemitsu, in 1661. Masashige's period therefore spans the formation, then settling-in, of the Tokugawa shogunate, which mutated from a warrior authority to a cultivated civil government. His role in this transformation was crucial.

Masashige never set out to build a collection. While Masashige was interested in pictures, and in fine painting, and acquired it, he did not have an 'art collection' in any modern sense, nor even in the sense in which the term would have been understood in Europe at the time. He had a range of objects of all kinds, exhibiting various aspects of worth, excellence and rarity, for admiration, utilitarian purposes, or for consumption. The vast majority of objects that came into Masashige's possession, as with his peers, would have been Japanese in make, or else Chinese and Korean, such as screen paintings, lacquerware, ceramics and costly cloth. This paper will, however, look only at his Western objects, which are the best (though still imperfectly) documented. I am also mostly concerned with his visual items. His position at the heart of government, and his friendship links, ensured he received many gifts, or bribes. He would also have acquired items to give away to others. Gift-giving was a core social lubricant. But presents and acquisitions were not necessarily distinct, for it was the practice to notify persons obliged to make presents what objects would be happily received.

Masashige's role as Grand Commissioner put him in closer contact with foreigners than any other official. At the outset, he would have encountered Iberians and Italians, and throughout his life he retained a Portuguese-speaking translator.[15] But the missionaries and their associates were definitely expelled in 1639, and thereafter Masashige's work, when not mopping up secret Roman Catholic communities, related to overseeing the northern Europeans, that is, members of the United (or Dutch) East India Company, the VOC. The VOC had been in Japan since early in the century, but from 1639 became the sole trading outfit. In 1640, it moved operations to an island in Nagasaki Bay, previously

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14 See ibid., p. 290.

15 Known only (from the Dutch record) as "Guinemon" (perhaps Gin'emon).

used by the Portuguese, known as Moon Island (Tsukishima) from its crescent shape; later it came to be referred to as Dejima (meaning any small off-shore islet), which is what it is called in modern scholarship. This Dejima served as merchant station, or 'factory', for some two centuries. Masashige, though mostly in Edo, visited three times, and he had been responsible for planning and executing the relocation. Nagasaki was under direct shogunal rule (i.e., it had no *daimyo*), and was managed by governors (*bugyô*), via whom Masahige also worked.[16]

It was in Nagasaki, in 1641, that Masashige had his first seemingly-documented encounter with European painting. A senior Dutch merchant, Carel Hartzinck, seems to have brought a portrait of his wife—confusion arises however, as it may be his real wife, not her picture, that the merchant brought. Hartzinck had a rather adventurous life, and also traded in Tonkin, where he was known as Captain Hentongoo.[17] The work, whose type and dimensions are not known, is referred to just as 'Mme Hartzinck', and Masashige came to see it (or was it 'her'), together with the Nagasaki governor, Tsuge Masatoki.[18] The VOC factory chiefs were required to keep diaries, called 'Dagregisters', and Maximiliaen la Maire, the incumbent, duly noted that the two Japanese notables looked at this "Mme Hartzinck", and "were very curious about the Dutch furnishings, touching everything, while emitting strange loud groans," understandable as Japanese of signs of appreciation.[19]

FINANCES

The financial specifics of Masashige's acquisitions are largely elusive, but some figures may be adduced. Cost of purchases are sometimes noted, and presents demanded a reciprocal gift, and so their monetary value had to be clear, even if not always so today.

The VOC used Dutch guilders (*f*) and also the international accounting unit of taels, which fluctuated, but at this point were set at *f* 2.85 for 1 tael. For clarity, this paper will give both units, with that figuring in the original text first. To provide some context, the rent for Dejima, for

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16 For a study, see Toyama 1988, or in English, Earns 1998.

17 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 31.

18 See ibid., p. 12.

19 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 36.

example, had initially been demanded at 8,000 taels (*f* 22,800), but was negotiated down to 5,500 taels (*f* 15,675).[20] In passing it is right to emphasise that the island was assigned to the VOC by the shogunate, not seized, much less was it colonised land.

Japanese rulers had no concept of import duties, or customs, so the VOC gave presents, which it regarded as *in lieu* of same. At the extreme end, a present for the shogun himself might be some *f* 15,000 (5,263 taels), that is, about as much as the annual rent of the island.[21] Something in the low 1,000s was more standard. We will deal at the end of this paper with one specific shogunal gift, since it was proposed and channelled through Masashige, although mostly such items fall outside the scope of this paper. Masashige vetted all shogunal gifts, stipulating additions or deletions, with items to be fetched from Batavia (Jakarta), or further afield. There were some thirty other Japanese potentates to whom presents also had to be given, though Masashige was not among them, as we shall see.[22]

The total value of gifts was set at 4% of trading profit.[23] The value of ships' cargoes depended entirely on what they were carrying, and there was wide variation. There are, however, records of a large ship of the period carrying over *f* 0.5 m (175,500 taels) of goods, with smaller vessel half that, and note that several ships arrived *per annum*. Although it is very rough, one could propose a yearly trade capacity as in the region of 1 million taels (*f* 2.85 m), though of course not all was profit. The Chinese also imported goods, and there too, the figure 1 m taels is sometimes recorded.[24]

Prices of individual objects are interspersed in the records, and, for example, in 1653, a senior shogunal official purchased a suit of European armour for *f* 87.5 (31 taels). A copy of the old, but still standard pharmacopæa of Rembertus Dodonaeus, the 'Cryudt-boek' of 1554, a massive

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20 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 20 and 41.

21 The famous lantern, now at Nikkô, arrived as a present for Iemitsu in 1641, and cost 16,000 guilders. The present was particularly valuable as there had been friction in the trade before, see Viallé 2006, p. 61.

22 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, pp. 55–56. For an example of a full present list, see ibid., vol. 12, pp. 64–65.

23 See Viallé 2006, p. 62; see also p. 75, n. 39. However, this figure is for the early 17th century, and was not necessarily the same in later years.

24 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol 12, pp. 37, 38 and 88. The exchange rate in this period was 2.85 guilders to the tael.

compilation with 714 illustrations of herbal remedies that was used across north-Europe for generations, cost *f* 120 (42 taels).[25]

This paper is about interest in Western things, but it must not be imagined that the Japanese were agog or naïve in their interests. The best Japanese products of the period were at least equal in sophistication and quality to the best that the Dutch could offer, and it was not often the best Dutch objects that came. On the whole, presents were appreciated because they were rare and exotic, and they may not have retained much interest for owners in the longer term. There were also differences between Japanese and European taste. That Japanese had their own likes and dislikes was commented on by Europeans from the first. For example, Alessandro Valignano S.J., wrote in the late 16th century, that the Japanese:

> [H]ave the opposite taste to ours in every manner, that they abhor and despite the things which we commonly think are tasty. On the other hand, we could not put in our mouths the things which they esteem greatly. The same goes for colours, and for the objects which appeal very much to our eyes. Ordinarily they do not like them at all. And we attribute the least value to those things which are pleasing to their gaze.[26]

Textiles were a major commodity, as well as a gift item, and colour was often an issue. In 1647, the VOC chief, Willem Versteeghen, spelled this out:

> Scarlet cloth is liked, as are crimson and black. Yellow, green, blue and purple are also suitable, but sometimes they prefer liver colour or muskrat and other such grey colours veering towards darker shades. Yellow is the least popular colour.[27]

In 1651, thrum blankets were offered to the shogun, and Masashige accepted them, but let it be known that in future, "the length and breadth should be the same as those brought this year, but the colours should be different, namely a red one, a dark one and a sky-blue;" fabrics also

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25 See ibid., p. 99 (the purchaser was Inaba Masanori); Viallé 2006, p. 77, n. 63. For Dodonaeus more generally, see Vande Walle 2001.

26 As cited in Bailey 2000, p. 65.

27 As cited in Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 275.

have textures, and Masashige wanted "two pieces of plush like the ones he received this year, but with a somewhat deeper pile".

Such negotiations were at arm's length unless a trip to Nagasaki was undertaken by Masashige, or by his important subordinate and secretary, Inoue Umanojô (they share a family name). But the top members of the VOC in Japan made yearly trips to Edo too, to pay respects to the shogun, and they would lodge for a period of weeks at a special hostel in the city called the Nagasaki House (*Nagasaki-ya*). Generally about five Europeans went, including the chief and the factory surgeon. The round trip cost them a great deal (some *f* 1,800; 632 taels) just for hiring the barge and paying the interpreters, never mind lodging and subsistence but the VOC was under strict instructions not to use the visit as a trading opportunity, and to restrict themselves to ritual.[28] Gifts were given, but items could not generally be sold—though in practice, they were, so long as the presents were handed out first and the sale items construed as extras; outright sale was permitted.

In Edo, officials might stipulate what they wanted to receive the next year, and these would be noted down as *eis* (special requests). The VOC went to some lengths to secure requested items of the right colour, shape and quantity, though it might take years if an order had to go all the way to Amsterdam. Sadly, the lists of *eisen* are very incomplete.[29] Items given or sold can also be pieced together from the chief's diary, the 'Dagregister', which is the primary source for this paper.[30]

There was an annual flow: ships docked in summer, and were unloaded and reloaded until late autumn, and then sailed out. The VOC trip to Edo initially took place in winter, but from 1657 was moved (mostly) to the more favourable spring. New European acquisitions therefore entered the shogun's Masashige's, and other people's collections, early each New Year, or later, in about April.

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28 Times taken to complete the trip varied, but this is the sum (given as 635 taels) recorded for 1651, see Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 35.

29 Three useful works are Omori 1991; Chaiklin 2003 and Viallé 2006.

30 This paper would not have been possible without the edition of the 'Dagregister' by Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010. The information on Masashige contained in the 'Dagregister' is also collated in Nagazumi 1975.

MASASHIGE'S COLLECTION

One significant factor affected Masashige's collecting. Owing to the fiduciary nature of his position, as noted above, uniquely, he was not on the present list and was not permitted to accept gifts. None are recorded for him on the first three VOC trips after the move to Nagasaki, in 1641, '42 and '43. Successive factory chiefs were aware of the regulation, and one recorded that Masashige received "a large sum of money" from the shogun, in recompense for the loss.[31] However, Masashige did accept gifts, if they were modest, and if they were more significant, he paid for them, though well below market value, often many hundreds of guilders less.[32] Versteeghen concluded, "one should therefore not heed the fact that he [Masashige] does not accept gifts, which seems very absurd, but try to oblige him as much as possible," as, "all that we bring him he accepts, against payment, but not for the full value".[33] For example, Masashige bought a copy of Dodonaeus's 'Cruydt-boek', cited before, for just 3 taels (*f* 8.55), or less than 10% of its value.[34] When hints or open requests were not forthcoming, Masashige could grow angry.

Furthermore, people had families. There was protocol to be observed, and insinuating oneself into the favour of sons or siblings could backfire. But Masashige's offspring were highly active in acquisition of objects, though not always with their powerful relative's knowledge. Masashige's only child, a son, Masatsugu, seems to have died young about 1650, but not before he had fathered seven children, and though the eldest, Masakiyo, appears only once, three of Masashige's grandchildren often feature in the 'Dagregister'.[35] Two of them, Masakatsu and Masanori, extracted many items, and even more rapacious was the husband of Masatsugu's

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31 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, pp. 261 and 393.

32 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 98 gives the example of Masashige being undercharged by more than *f* 790 and ibid., p. 141, undercharged by *f* 600.

33 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 261.

34 See Viallé 2006, p. 77, n. 63. For another copy of the same book see Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 261 and 383.

35 Masatsugu's death is not recorded in the Japanese sources, but he is last mentioned in the 'Dagregister' in January 1650; see Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 30. For Masakiyo see below.

(unnamed) daughter, Uneme, Masashige's grandson-in-law, himself the son of Inoue Umanojô. The family link was all the stronger since before becoming Masashige's secretary, Umanojô, had been his catamite.[36] Overtly-assigned gifts, even if coupled with recorded purchases are, therefore, only part of the story.

From 1643, items begin to be recorded as given or sold to Masashige. As always, cloth was a significant proportion, but also prominent is lensed equipment, telescopes and the like. But Masashige's repeated acquisition seems to represent a deeper interest in issues of seeing, optics and visuality. In 1643, the first recorded year, he received two pairs of crystal spectacles.[37] Two years later, he received burning glasses, magnifying glasses and, most intriguingly, at least one lens for a *camera obscura*, the only reference to that fashionable instrument in Japan in the whole 17th century.[38] Unfortunately, Masashige returned them, stating tartly "he was not pleased with them". This is likely to be because of a political problem with the VOC then festering, rather than to any deficiency in the items.[39] He went on receiving lensed items. In 1648, for example, while visiting Nagasaki, he received some burning glasses, as well as samples of brazilwood, and he expressed "how exceptionally pleased he was about the care taken every year to bring him the small things he asked for" (and he added he would be shortly sending a list of requests for the following season).[40] Again, in Edo in 1650, he acquired "all the reading-glasses, spectacles and spyglasses" that the VOC had brought;[41] he was also given five gold gauzes, three English damasts, ten ginghams and three bezoar stones. Such examples could be multiplied.

Masashige had a second interest: *materia medica*, hence the bezoar stones, lumps that accumulate and become trapped in the intestine (often of goats), thought to be cures against poison and other woeful ingestions. Masashige often received them, and he may have feared poison, but as he suffered greatly from gravel (kidney stones), he may have felt some affinity too (the VOC physician often spent time treating his stones).

Masashige received other medical goods. In 1647, for example, Versteeghen gave him, "a full medicine chest and a Macassar cloth, sheets of

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36 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 198.

37 See ibid., p. 118.

38 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 229.

39 This was the 'Breskens Incident'; see Hesselink 2002.

40 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 325.

41 Ibid., p. 380.

parchment, tortoiseshell and some other curios". Masashige returned the cloth as "old and unsuitable", though he liked the rest. When he asked the price of the chest, he was told he could have it for 3 taels (*f* 8.55), at which he laughed, knowing it was worth much more. The interpreter unnecessarily elaborated that the cost was set low "just to show him they valued his favour and that we knew that he did not accept any gifts;" Masashige delicately said he would be ready to pay more, but was not required to.[42] We will see below that his visual and medical interests came to overlap.

AFTER 1651

The death of Iemitsu, in 1651, changed the situation. His successor Ietsuna was a child of ten, so placed under a council of regency. There were considerable initial fears for the stability of the regime. When the VOC arrived in Edo the next January, the chief, Adriaen van der Burgh, noted with pleasure that the Japanese side was holding back, "quite different from previous years".[43] It did not last, and in fact Japanese officials plied the VOC more than before. Van der Burgh's comment was made just days after the group had arrived in Edo, but already Masashige had commandeered a Dutch feather bed. That year Masashige received another medicine chest. Nine birds-of-paradise had been imported for the shogun, and Masashige sent for them, so he could enjoy looking at the birds; he also borrowed them a second time a few days later.[44] It is clear that Masashige found the post-Iemitsu situation more propitious for making demands, as did his grandchildren and grandchildren-in-law.

PICTURES

It was over the next few years that Masashige began to develop his enthusiasm for pictures. Before analysing this, it is necessary to take a step back and look at an event from a few years before, which would have been Masashige's second direct exposure to Western art.

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42 Ibid., p. 269.
43 Viallé and Blussé, 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 41.
44 See ibid., pp. 42 and 43.

In 1646 a special set of presents had been sent to Iemitsu to make amends for another political upset.[45] Notwithstanding the poor reception of the *camera obscura*, the VOC decided to send another fashionable viewing construction—a perspective box. It was taken to Edo in 1647, along with two camels, cassowaries and many other things. All arrived safely, though guards tried to open the perspective box, fearing it contained weapons.[46] Masashige cleared the items, as he always did, and they were taken to his mansion for viewing the day before presentation to the shogun. Some other notables also viewed them at the Nagasaki House, declaring, as Versteeghen reported, that "of all the rarities they liked the peep-box most".[47] There being no Japanese name for such a thing, they called it a "paradise box" (*gokuraku-bako*), referring to the legend of a vast world contained in a tiny space, or "heaven within a gourd" (*kyôchû no ten*). It was indeed similar: a person peeped into a gourd and through the lensed openings in the perspective box in exactly the same way. Inside the box, through paintings and mirrors, a fabulous interior full of perspective effects was seen, perhaps different ones, depending on which peephole was used.

The box is lost, but an extant one, datable to c. 1655–1660, shows a Dutch domestic scene, with a good housekeeper and a slattern, one or other viewable through the holes at the opposing ends (Fig. 1). When such a box—perhaps this one—was shown in London in 1656, it is recorded that "all the Artists and Painters in Towne came flocking to admire it". This box is the work of Samuel van Hoogstraten, the best maker.[48] Hoogstraten would later write that, though some might think of such devices as mere toys, such "artful deceptions [...] are marvelled at by the whole world".[49] In order to arrive in Japan in summer 1646, the box would have had to leave Amsterdam in early 1645, so van Hoogstraten himself may not be a contender for the shogun's box, as he was only 18 years old at the time. However, there are no earlier named makers.

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45 After the 'Breskens Incident', the VOC has promised to send a full ambassador to Japan, which they had failed to do.

46 This occurred at Maizaka on way to Edo; see Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 258.

47 Ibid., p. 262.

48 See, Brusati 1995, pp. 169–217. The citation is from John Evelyn: Diary, p. 169. Brusati states that only six such boxes are extant today, and just one is dated, to 1663. For the later Edo-Period history of peep-boxes in Japan see Screech 2000, pp. 106–32.

49 Samuel van Hoogstraten: Inleyding (1678), quoted in Brusati 1995, p. 169.

1 Samuel van Hoogstraten: Peepbox, c. 1656–60 (stand modern), oil on wood with mirrors. National Gallery, London

Masashige was in charge when these presents were offered in Edo Castle, and Versteeghen recorded the excitement: "The whole castle seemed to be running wild [...]. [T]hey were crowning around, it was a sight to behold how they were getting in each other's way and totally out of proportion". There were several presents, but Versteeghen noted "the perspective case drew the most spectators and the most admiration".[50] Sadly Masashige's

50 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 264.

own opinion of this box is not recorded, though he had evidently thought it intriguing enough to be offered. This brings us to his concerns with painting. As mentioned above, in 1652 Masashige had twice borrowed the birds-of-paradise. The second time was not just to look at them, but to have them painted onto folding screens. The VOC chief Van der Burgh was intrigued by this, as such a thing had never happened before, and he was told the screens were commissioned by Masashige, "just for his own pleasure".[51] The results would have been startling. Though undertaken by a Japanese artist, probably from the official Kano School, and so not done in the Western style, they suggest an interest in novel modes of depiction. No such screens are extant.

About a month later, in late February, Van der Burgh was preparing to lead the VOC back to Nagasaki, when he was summoned to Masashige's mansion. He was thanked for the objects Masashige had received (medicines, a timepiece, and a walking stick with concealed gun, of a type which Masashige had seen in Nagasaki five years before, and always wanted).[52] Van der Burgh took a few illustrated books along to the meeting, perhaps to aid conversation, hoping that Masashige would like them. He did. The next day Masashige had to leave for Nikkô, where Iemitsu's mausoleum had just been completed, and en route he sent word back to the Nagasaki House asking Van der Burgh to leave the two books he had shown him, and not remove them. Umanojô was due to go to Nagasaki some months later, he could return them then.

These two books are referred to recognisably. One was "Pliny's history of the animals", meaning, of course, his 'Natural History' of the 1st century AD, widely read across Europe (Fig. 2). The other was Jacob Cats' 'Spiegl vanden ouden ended nieuwen tijt', a contemporary work, published in 1632, and Jacob Cats was even alive at the time. The purpose, Van der Burgh was informed, was because Masashige "wished to have a few screens painted with these images".[53] Van der Burgh spent an afternoon going through the names in Pliny, helping Masashige's translator to put them into Japanese—Cats's emblem book would have defied the translation skills available.[54] We do not know what edition of Pliny was used, and the standard Dutch translation used throughout the 17th

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51 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 41.

52 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 302. The gun-stick is discussed in Screech 2012.

53 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 11, p. 51.

54 See ibid., p. 52.

Von den Menschen. 75

Babylonier die kunst von des Nimmels lauff vor siebenhundert vnnd zwannzig Jaren/auff gebachne stein/sey geschrieben worden. Die jenige aber/so die weniger zall vermelden/als der Berosus vnd Critodomus sprechen/es seien vierhundert vnnd achtzig Jare/daß die Babylonier schrifft gebraucht. Darauß man wol abnemmen kan/daß die Büchstaben vast alle zeit im brauch gewesen/Aber die Pelasger habens anfenglich in Welschland bracht.

gen/aber die Geometrei am allerletsten den Phrygiern.

Stumpffs schreibt die Sekadier welche nach Pe

Die zwen Brüder Eurialus vnd Hyperbius fiengen am ersten zu Athen an Steinere Newser zůbawen/vorhin wohnete man in Hölen. Gellius wil der Dovius/Celtiß Sō/habe die Letthen gebew erdacht/vnd solche nach der Schwalben nester Exempel lernen zürichten.

Cecrops bawete die erste Statt in Grecia vnd nennete sie nach seinem namen Cecropiam/die jetzt das Schloß zů Athen ist. Etliche meinen der König Phoronens habe vor der zeit Argis auffgerichtet/vnd wie andere sagen/auch die Statt Sicyon/da die Egypter lange zůvor die Statt Diospolin hatten gebauwen.

Die Zigeln ergründete Cinyra des Agriope Son/Item die Metall/in der Insel Cypro/dazů die Zangen/Hämmer/starcke Nägel vnnd die Ampōß.

Die Ziechbrunnen erfand Donaus/den man drumb auß E-

G ij gypten

laß gegen auffkommen haben die Büchstabē in Welschland bracht.

Häuser/

Item

Diser dig erst erfindig möchte mā wol warhafftiger dem Cain/des Seths sinen vnd dem Nemroth zůzeignen nach Mosi vnd Josephi zeugnis.

2 Jost Amman: Illustration to Pliny, 'Historia Naturalis', 1565, woodcut. The British Museum, London

3 Anon.: Illustration to Rembertus Dodonaeus, 'Cruydt-boek', 1584, woodcut. The British Library, London

century, was unillustrated;[55] Van der Burgh may therefore have lent the celebrated German translation with woodcuts by Jost Amman—though this was from 1565 (reprinted in 1584) so rather old, though no more so than Dodonaeus (Fig. 3). But Cats's book was only published once, with pictures by Adriaen van de Venne (Fig. 4). With these two works, Masashige had at his disposal a good overview of both realistic and symbolic European representation.

Van der Burgh took word of this back to Batavia when he left Japan that autumn, but Masashige had in any case already asked for more pictures some years before. Nothing was immediately to hand, and no imagery was sent to Japan in 1653. In 1654, however, "a case with various prints" arrived for Masashige, as well as some earthenware he had

55 'Caii Plinii Secundi Des Wijtberoernden, Philisophi, Boecken ende Schriften, in drie deelen', was first published in 1610 in Arnhem by Jan Janzsen and reissued many times, but the widest circulating illustrated volume was the Frankfurt edition reproduced here.

4 Adriaen van de Venne: Illustration to Jacob Cats, 'Spiegl vanden ouden ended nieuwen tijt', 1632, copperplate etching. The British Library, London

asked for.[56] These were inspected by the Nagasaki governor, Kurokawa Masanao, who decided to remove several for himself, proclaiming he would pay for them. In annoyance, the chief, Gabriel Happart jotted down, "this is the way these gentlemen dispose of the Company's rarities as they please". Word was sent to tell Masashige his effects had come and would be conveyed to Edo on the next trip. Word came back expressing "satisfaction that several rarities, such as spectacles, spyglasses, prints and earthenware, which he had ordered several years ago, had now arrived".[57] A month later, Masashige wrote to Masanao, unaware that

56 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 173.
57 Ibid., p. 181.

he had effectively stolen some of his goods, enjoining special care be taken with his items, "to see to it that they do not sustain the slightest damage".[58] Happart left Japan that autumn, so it was the new chief, Leonard Winnincx, who took the objects to Edo, arriving on 1 February 1655, and notifying Masashige the next day, who said he wanted the presents at once. Winnincx, to his horror, then found that most of the earthenware was broken, but the prints were in order, and Masashige was "tickled pink" with what he received. "With many fine words [he] had expressed his amazement about something," Winnincx blithely continued, "I cannot remember what".[59] The next year, Oeffioije, Masashige's new mignon, asked Boucheljon, the then chief of the VOC, to import for his master "some fine artist's paints".[60]

ANATOMICAL IMAGERY

In 1652, Masashige requested a series of medical-based representations. The 'Dagregister' records that he wanted:

> Four wrought iron hands with screws artificially made like natural ones, in which one can place and use a sword to fight and a pen to write, namely two right-handed and two left-handed, the one pair costlier and more curiously wrought than the other; two left similarly made, to be used after the loss of the natural ones or as a curiosity.[61]

The original *eis* also exists, not identical, and it continues:

> A complete anatomy [i.e. anatomical model, T.S.] of the human body being fashioned in copper, wood or other material, so that one can perfectly see all the details of the human parts, limbs and intestines, if possible, a book dealing with the dissection of human bodies, containing illustrations, in Portuguese.[62]

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58 Ibid., p. 184.
59 Ibid., p. 191.
60 Ibid., p. 243.
61 Ibid., p. 64.
62 Viallé 2006, p. 68. The document also appears there as fig. 5.

The request was sent to Batavia that autumn, but nothing came in 1653. In 1654, Masashige received the anatomical treatise, with the "case of various prints". Happart wrote that Masashige had been asking for such a book "for seven or eight years now," which places his original request about 1646 or '47, exactly when he had seen the peepbox.[63] The treatise was not in Portuguese, as none could be found in the Dutch East Indies, but was "'a curious anatomy book in Latin". Portuguese was readable by Masashige's personal interpreter, but Latin was better than Dutch, and Masashige was pleased. No title is recorded, but this book may well have been Johannes Remmelinus' 'Pinax Microcosmographicus', of 1615 (Fig. 5). That work was in Latin and was 'curious', having pop-up illustrations (*fliegende Blätter*), and as the book was specifically requested by another lord a few years later (who must therefore have seen it before) it is a likely candidate, and no other book fits.[64] The 'Pinax' was admired in Japan and partially translated in c. 1681, and, being still extant, is the earliest surviving translation (albeit very fragmentary) of a European anatomical text (Fig. 6).[65]

This book was evidently available in Batavia, but the prosthetics had to be procured in Amsterdam, though they arrived with remarkable speed, and were taken to Edo by the chief, Johannes Boucheljon, in 1656, along with two surgeon's dressing cases, asked for by Masashige in the same *eis*.[66] They had cost *f* 500 (175 taels). However, there was some misunderstanding, and the Company suffered the galling experience of finding the limbs rejected, as "it seems they had something else in mind".[67] There is no record of an "anatomy" arriving, though such things would be taken to Japan later, where they became known as "copper dolls" (*dô-ningyô*).[68]

In Edo that winter, there is a reference to another anatomy book, more famous that the 'Pinax', that the Dutch brought. This was Vesalius's 'De humanis corporis fabrica', of 1543 (Fig. 7). The 'Dagregister' refers to it as "Anatomie Vesali", making it unclear whether it was in the original

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63 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 131.

64 A copy was given to Inaba Mino no kami Masanori in 1660; see Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 407.

65 Sakai 1977–1979, vol. 2, pp. 148–56 defines it as such. This manuscript was published in 1772, by Suzuki Sôden under the title of 'Aran zentai naigai bungô-zu', illustrated in ibid.

66 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 238.

67 Ibid., p. 243.

68 One appears in the important encyclopaedia 'Wakan sansai zue', see Teramoto 1970, vol. 1, p. 157. See also Screech 2001, pp. 83–140.

5 Anon.: Illustration to Johannes Remmelinus, 'Pinax Microcosmographicus', 1615, copperplate etching. The British Library, London

6 Anon.: Motoki Shôdayû, 'Oranda keikaku kinmyaku sôfu zukai', c. 1681, manuscript

7 Jan van Kalkar: Illustration to Andreas Vesalius,
'De humanis corporis fabrica', 1543, copperplate etching

Latin or in a Dutch translation. It was less 'curious' than the 'Pinax', having only regular, non-moving plates, but these illustrations were of exceptional quality, made by Jan van Kalkar, a student of Titian, and copied and pirated throughout Europe for over two centuries. The VOC surgeon, Hans Juriaen Hancko, went through the 'Fabrica' with one of Masashige's own doctors explaining it to him. The record is unclear whether the book was then given to Masashige, or not.[69]

In late February, the VOC returned to Nagasaki, Masashige then sent orders for a Japanese physician there to begin working on translations of two European medical books, regrettably unnamed, though perhaps including the 'Fabrica', with Hancko's assistance. The Japanese doctor had some success, and largely completed the project in time for the next trip to Edo, the governor, Masanao, surely pressing him to make that deadline. The translations would then be taken to Edo by the VOC and presented to Masashige, and Masano was most earnest that the book be looked after with particular attention.[70] This Japanese work was apparently bound into a single volume. It was probably translated into Chinese, not the vernacular, as that was more academic. It would have been assigned a title, though this is unrecorded. Masashige had determined to give the book to the shogun Ietsuna for his 18th birthday, as a New Year's gift.[71]

The Dutch chief was now Zacharias Wagenaer, and he arrived on 16 February, 1657, which was 4th of the 1st month by the Japanese calendar. The chief would himself meet Ietsuna on 27th. Three days later, on 2 March (18th of the 1st month in Japan), Edo burned down in its entirety. This was the terrible Meireki Fire. Luckily, the shogunal presents had been handed over (Ietsuna received two beautiful globes, another cassowary—very large and violent—a Dutch sword and two pistols). But all the Dutch goods taken to Edo for their own use and for showing off, including books, were lost. During the fire, Masashige's two mansions burned down and all his possessions were destroyed.[72] The rapacious Uneme's mansion was one of the few

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69 Omori 1991 refers to Masashige ordering a copy of Vesalius in 1650 and receiving it in 1654, but he offers no evidence for this, and it seems he makes the conclusion based on the 'Dagregister', which we can see, however, is not conclusive.

70 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, pp. 282 and 183.

71 See ibid., p. 283. Everyone's age changed on 1st day of 1st month, not on the day of their birth, and Ietsuna would have turned 18 this year, by the inclusive East-Asian count.

72 See ibid., p. 298.

in Edo left standing.[73] Edo Castle was also burned to the ground, and with it, the whole shogunal collection, and that Japanese doctor's translation.

Once the VOC group was back in Nagasaki, Masanao enquired if any medical books had escaped the fire, and was told none had. He said it was a pity as he would have had them translated, at which Wagenaer, noted, the interpreters looked rather relieved to be spared this task.[74]

It was ironic that the in-coming ships that summer brought a fire engine as a gift for Ietsuna. It was brought to Edo in 1658, and as with many valuable VOC goods, was stored in Masashige's mansion, which had been rebuilt. Again fire broke out, and destroyed Masashige's home again with all his collection not lost before. The fire engine was thrown into a pond to protect it, since, as a gift to the shogun, no one would dare use it, nor had anyone probably been instructed in its use.[75]

It may be because of this string of losses, as well as age, that Masashige was now permitted to retire. There had also been a major outbreak of Christian recidivism for which he had to take the blame.[76] On the next VOC trip, in 1659, Masashige was therefore freer. He had the surgeon, Stephanus de la Tombe, visit him at his again-rebuilt mansion, where De la Tombe was shown a Western anatomy book, saved from the fires, or borrowed, or acquired from a Japanese source that already possessed it. He was asked to explain some of the plates. Masashige then asked De la Tombe to return the next day and dissect a pig in his presence.[77] This was supposed to be polite—a gentleman would not dissect a human body, nor be present at a human autopsy. But to a European doctor, the request was insulting. Interestingly, Vesalius's 'Fabrica' is the only European anatomy book that included the illustration of the dissection of a pig, which suggests that may well have been the book De la Tombe was shown (Fig. 8). There is no record of whether De la Tombe performed the dissection, but when the VOC were back next time, in 1660, Masashige sent a servant to the Nagasaki House, his name is garbled as Senoosje, with the present of a pig, which, Boucheljon, chief again, surmised was done so that Senoosje could watch the pig being cut up, and Senoosje had brought another spared anatomical book. This time

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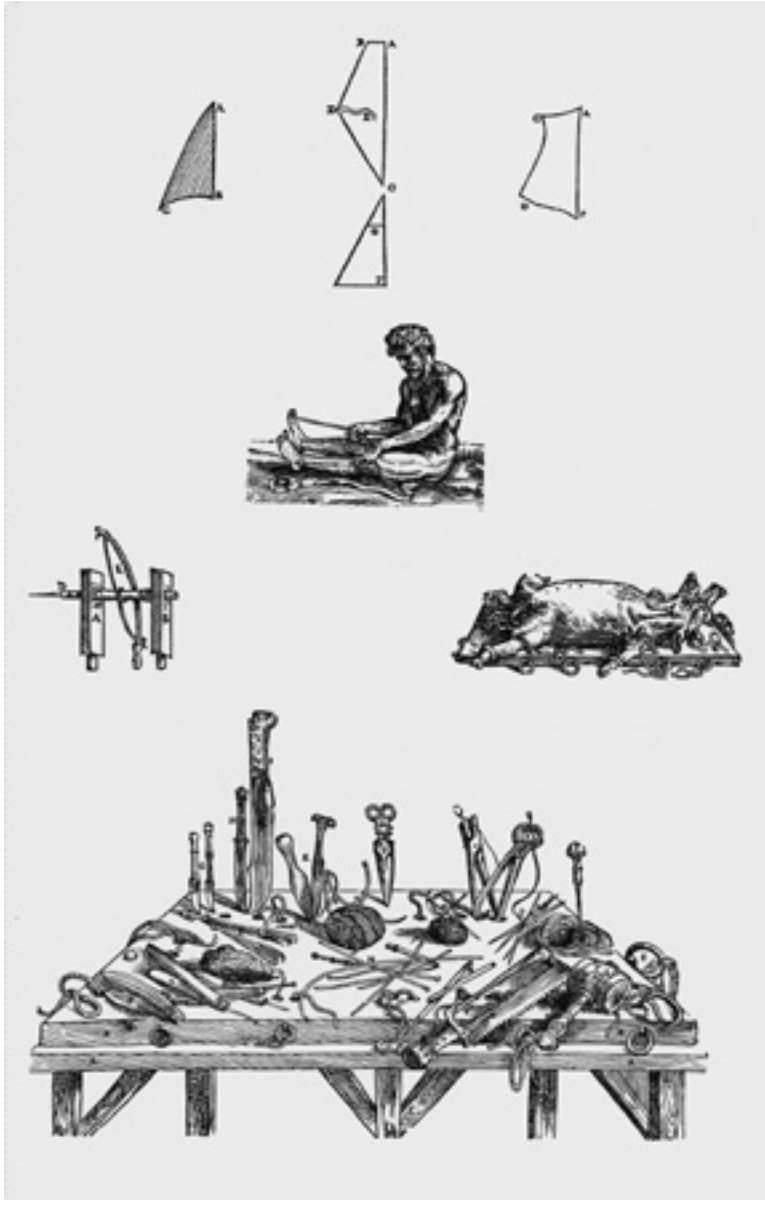
73 See ibid., p. 336.

74 See ibid., p. 305.

75 See ibid., p. 338.

76 This was the last such event and took place in Omura (Nagasaki), when over 600 people were arrested and 411 executed; see Boxer 1974, p. 395.

77 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 383.



8 Jan van Kalkar: Illustration to Andreas Vesalius,
'De humanis corporis fabrica', 1543, copperplate etching

9 Anon.: Illustration to Ambrois Paré, 'Chirurgie', late 16th-century, woodcut

De la Tombe certainly did undertake the dissection (no Japanese would know how). The book is identified as Ambrois Paré's late 16th-century 'Chirurgie' (Fig. 9). De la Tombe pointed out all the details shown in Paré via the carcass of the pig.[78] Paré was translated into Dutch in 1627 and reissued in 1649, and there are partial Japanese translations dating from 1706 (Fig. 10);[79] the shogunal library also had a copy of the book, though dismembered, and with only 128 of its 900 pages left.[80] Ironically, Paré was one of the first doctors to argue against the effectiveness of bezoar stones.

10 Anon.: Illustration to Narabayashi Chinzan (transl.) and Kaibara Ekiken (pref.), 'Kôi geka shûden', 1706, manuscript

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78 See ibid., p. 411.

79 The Japanese translation, made by Narabayashi Chinzan, as 'Kôi geka shûden', with a preface is by the famous scholar Kaibara Ekiken (or Ekken), is identified as taken from the Dutch edition of 1649, 'De Chirurgie, ende alle de opera', brought to Japan by the VOC physician Willem Hoffman, who was resident there 1671–75, and with whom Chinzan studied; the book then entered the collection of the Matsura family, daimyos of Hirado; see Sakai 1977–1979, vol. 2, p. 219. It was published in 1761 by Irayo Kôken as 'Genka junmô zui'.

80 See Goodman 1986, p. 59.

PAINTING

In 1658, the year that he lost his home for the second time, Masashige conceived an idea. It is the shogunal gift referred to at the outset of this paper. Not only had he no collection left, but the shogun's too, built up over several generations, was ruined. Masashige decided to take a step in the direction of remedying this. He advised Boucheljon, before he left Edo, to bring "a beautiful map of the world, some paintings of battles on land and sea and such other items for the shogun next time;" they were needed, "because the ones that have been brought in the past and the other rarities in the castle had been destroyed in the fire".[81] This implies that the shogun previously possessed a collection of European paintings, though nothing is known of this. Boucheljon could not, of course, obtain such items in Batavia, so the commission was sent to Amsterdam. It would not arrive "next time", and more likely would take several years. Next time, as we have seen, Masashige had retired, and was no longer in charge of shogunal gifts, that duty having passed to the Nagasaki magistrate, Masanao.[82]

No map or painting came in 1660 either, but Boucheljon was able to advise Senoosje in Edo that, "some of the things his master had ordered two or three years ago from the Netherlands had been shipped on the Bul". This must refer to the map and paintings leaving Amsterdam, although it sounds exceptionally swift, so may refer to another, lost, *eis*. Alarmingly, Boucheljon added, "if the ship had been saved, they would be brought here next year", that is, Boucheljon estimated that the items might arrive in Nagasaki in summer 1661, to be taken to Edo in 1662.[83] The next Edo trip was led by Hendrick Indijk and arrived on 28 March 1661, to be told that Masashige had died just two days before.

The map and paintings did not come in 1662. On the last of these years Indijk received a visit from Inoue Masakiyo, Masashige's eldest grandson and successor as *daimyo* of Takaoka and Marshall of Chikugo, who came to the Nagasaki House "for old affection's sake", bringing his little son, Toranojô; Indijk gave the two-year old "a small deer mechanically propelled"—Indijk was fond of children and had brought his own half-Thai

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81 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 12, p. 343.

82 See ibid., p. 381.

83 Ibid., p. 407.

son, Gerrit, to Japan on his first stint as chief, two years before (the boy had attracted much attention, including from the shogun himself).[84]

The paintings finally arrived that summer, 1663, five years after the order had been placed. The VOC would, therefore, expect to shift them to Edo in 1664. The chief, Wilhem Volger, was rather elated about having such outstanding items. There is no mention of a map, and rather than "some" paintings, as requested, they had brought just two, though both important pieces, described as "two large paintings" with "heavy frames", and they had cost over *f* 300 (105 taels) in Amsterdam.[85] As ordered, they represented a land and a sea battle, and the 'Dagregister' records them as "The Battle of Flanders" and "the sea battle between the Dutch and the English". The first is the engagement otherwise known as the Battle of Newport, fought between the Dutch and Spanish in 1600.[86] The other is more vague, but can be identified as referring to a battle in the First Dutch War (or Anglo-Dutch War), waged in 1652–53. Perhaps it showed the Battle of Leghorn (aka Livorno), the most important Dutch victory (though the English would claim victory in the war as a whole).[87]

Although these two works were never seen by Masashige, and were not intended for his own end use anyway, it is worth investigating them a little further. It is not stated whether the paintings were envisaged as a pair, or matched in size, and likely they did not, as there would be no precedent for such a diptych in Dutch art. In Japanese painting, however, joining land and sea battles, as in a pair of screens for example, was quite standard.[88] The land painting might have shown the Prince of Orange, Maurice of Nassau, on horseback before the Flanders town of Newport

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84 Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 13, p. 9 and 11. The 'Dagregister' does not name Masakiyo's boy and there are two contenders: Masakiyo's first son, whose name and date of birth are not recorded, is one; however, he died young, seemingly in infancy, in 1674. The second is Toranojô, his second son, born in 1661, and who would take the adult name Masaakira, and inherit in 1676; see Kimura Motoi 1988–90, vol. 2, p. 445.

85 The Dutch Trade Journal gives the cost of *f* 607 14 stuivers for the two (20 stuivers = *f* 1). I am grateful to Cynthia Viallé for this information.

86 Of course, there is no connection to the famous Battle of Newport (Rhode Island), also known as the Battle of Quaker Hill, fought between the British and the American States in 1778.

87 For a history see Jones 1996, pp. 107–144.

88 The medieval Genpei Wars (1180–1185) were often painted on paired screens during the Edo Period, with a land-based encounter of one side and a water-based one on the other.

(modern Nieuwpoort in Belgium), from which, with British help, he had driven the Spanish, commanded by the Archduke Albert of Austria. It was a famous battle, and to the Dutch of the mid-century it remained totemic, painted over the decades. The painting sent to Japan might have been either specifically commissioned, or an existing work, bought on the retail market. No artists' names are assigned to the paintings, but at *f* 300 apiece, they were astonishingly expensive, even allowing for part of the cost being the monumental frames. The run of Dutch art of the period sold for *f* 10. Only 0.1% of paintings fetched in region of *f* 300.[89] It seems likely that the Company was taking advantage of the disaster of the fire in 1657 and loss of the shogunal collection to demonstrate its loyalty to the regime.

The best extant painting of 'The Battle of Flanders' is Pauwels van Hillegeart's canvas of c. 1621–1630, though at 32 × 46 cm, it is not 'large', and its period price is not recorded; Hillegaert died in 1640, so was still painting when the VOC made its purchase (Fig. 11). Pictures of the First Dutch War stand at the beginning of the tradition of naval battle pictures, and the artist to make his mark there was Willem van de Velde the Elder. He would attain further celebrity with his paintings of the Second Dutch War (1665–1667), and would later emigrate to London, with his perhaps-more famous son, Willem van de Velde the Younger, in 1672.[90] Willem the Elder's paintings of the First War, of which some ten survive, are all executed in his trade-mark *grisaille*, allowing more detail than oil, and are critical works in the history of Dutch art (Fig. 12). Most were made in several versions, and so could have been exported. Van de Velde was collected abroad, and crucially, the only record of his prices comes from his sale of a 'Dutch Flag Ships at Sea in a Moderate Breeze under Easy Sail', in 1674, to Cardinal de Medici. Van de Velde's minute work was very expensive, and the Cardinal spent *f* 325, almost exactly the same amount as the paintings sent to Japan, the discrepancy being easily attributable to one being larger or having a more sumptuous frame.[91]

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89 Montias 1996, p. 89, notes that in 1620–1638, 14.9% of paintings went for under *f* 1, 0.1% 200–299, and 0% above. Note however, that these paintings may have been unframed.

90 See Robinson 1990, pp. 7–21.

91 See ibid., pp. 72–74. The cardinal visited Van de Velde's studio, with his nephew, later Cosmo III of Tuscany, and saw the work, completed two years before. The initial price was *f* 400. It is still in the Pitti Palace, and is also known by the short title of 'Dutch Fleet under Sail'.

11 Pauwels van Hillegaert: 'The Battle of Flanders', c. 1621–1630. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

12 Willem van de Velde, the Elder, 'The Battle of Scheveningen, 31 July, 1653', 1655, oil on panel. Caird Collection, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

In Nagasaki, on 7 January 1664, as he began to prepare for the trip to Edo, Volger sent the paintings to Masanao for his opinion. The Masanao was overwhelmed, and said he was sure that Ietsuna would admire them equally. He expressed a wish to borrow the pair to hang in the governorate, but resisted out of fear of what would happen should they sustain damaged in his possession. He returned the pictures to the Company the same day, but with the request that they not be packed yet, as he would want to view them again.[92] Volger had four beautiful stands made, on which to set the paintings for when they were presented to the shogun.[93]

A month later, on 6 February, when departure for Edo was drawing close, Masanao recalled the paintings, and this time did keep them. On 9th, he had an unrelated tantrum, for no good reason that anyone could find; Volger was afraid "heads would roll". On 10th, Volger asked the interpreters to retrieve the paintings, which they did on the morning of 11th. Masanao then dropped a bombshell: the paintings would not do for Ietsuna. His argument was that they showed "sad scenes" such as sinking ships and dead people, which ruled them out.[94] It is true that Japanese war paintings do not depict hurt bodies, and so these works would be regarded as most inauspicious as gifts. Volger tried to argue that the paintings had been specifically asked for in Edo, but to no avail, for after the tantrum of 9th, none of the interpreters would agree to convey the message. Volger thought this a ruse and that Masanao might try to buy the paintings himself, and personally give them to the shogun, but he did not. The disqualification seems genuine. The paintings were shipped out of Japan, and are not referred to again. It is one of the 'what ifs' of the history of collecting and of early-modern Japanese art. Had the paintings gone to Edo, they might have been seen by painters, and had an affect on them. They might also have been extant, as remarkable material testimonies to cultural exchange.

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92 See Viallé and Blussé 1982–2010, vol. 13, p. 93.

93 See ibid., p. 98. It is unclear why two paintings would require four stands, or how this would make them displayable in the manner of Japanese screens.

94 Ibid., p. 97. The Dutch disbelieved this reason. It is also possible that the inauspiciousness related to Masashige's death. Interestingly, it was also stressed by Van de Velde's agent that the painting desired by the cardinal was not a battle but showed only ships in a line-up; see Keyes 1990, cat. 32.

CONCLUSION

Inoue Masashige is a famous person in Japanese history, but he has not previously been considered in the context of the history of collecting. His relation to Europe can be thought of, rather, as rejection, as someone who in all probability has been a Christian, but who finally renounced it and returned to the Buddhist faith, devoting much of his life to rooting out the Christian legacy. While he did indeed do those things, at the same time, he was amassing items of Western manufacture, also European books, and items from other countries brought in on VOC ships. Masashige's objects did not represent a concerted effort to learn about Europe. He had some specific interests (mostly medical and artistic) that he followed, and for which he solicited more items. Europe remained an Other that offered a challenge to Japanese thought, in places, but which by no means overrode Japan's own inherited structures of understanding. The entire collection was lost in 1657. Though by then old, Masashige may have replaced some objects, but the bulk of his assets did not survive to interest and provoke later generations. Indeed, the very fact of his having collected was forgotten. What would have been his greatest prize—a pair of superb paintings that he intended to give to the shogun—did not make it into his hands, as he was, by then already dead, and the works were returned to Europe.

Masashige's collecting is nevertheless worth considering for several reasons. Firstly this paper restores a forgotten dimension to the life of a historically important figure. Secondly it allows us to think how non-Western cultures might use, or not use, items from Europe: we are prone to assume they had a degree of interest that was not always the case, or even when they had an interest, the systems of thought they embodied might be alien enough to relegate them to some interstitial space. Finally, the history of collecting is based on objects, whereas here we can see that the loss or rejection of objects also has its place in the narrative.

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RAINER HATOUM

THE MATERIALISATION OF A SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE ORDER?

Reflections on the Berlin Boas Northwest Coast Collection

'Museums and their Exhibitions as Materialisations of Knowledge Orders'—this central topic of our publication marks two quite different poles of a suggested unit that is embodied by the institution museum itself: one pole being the original mission statement as the definition of its core purpose (which in turn is assumed to be an expression of a state of mind of a certain social body), and the other pole being museum exhibitions that supposedly reflect this central idea. Even though I basically agree that there is some merit to this picture, I would still like to voice my uneasiness with the term "knowledge order" itself, as I consider it in many ways misleading. To me the combination of notions of "knowledge" and "order" (themselves terms that actually need thorough reflection and definition) suggests the existence of definable, closed and somewhat stable intellectual essences existing both on individual and supra-individual levels. Whether such essences exist outside very clearly defined 'artificial' contexts at all is a topic of its own, but I know myself in complete agreement with the editor of this volume when I state that such an all-dominating reality will hardly be found in any museum. There, realities are characterised by complexities, which are determined by different coexisting, competing and even contradicting sets of mind, and not by stringent knowledge orders. Despite my uneasiness with the term "knowledge order" itself, I will nevertheless use it without quotation marks to ease reading and to highlight my points with regard to the discussion of the underlying central subject of this publication, which I principally do consider an important one.

Saying that, I would like to stress that a discussion about issues of knowledge orders in a museum context needs to reckon with their existence on different levels, and that knowledge orders are characterised by varying degrees of flexibility on the different levels. While mission statements tend to be inherently rigid and narrowly defined, being long-term expressions of core ideas and concepts, we find exhibitions to be the materialisations of much more individualised expressions or interpretations of a curator's or a curatorial team's set of mind, which may even venture quite far from a museum's core purpose. As well as the fact that exhibitions tend to lead a much more independent life within the framework of a given institution, they are usually designed to be rather temporal expressions, even though circumstances quite often turn them into almost timeless expressions of knowledge orders when they remain up for years—sometimes even decades—beyond their originally intended timeframe.

If we say that mission statements and exhibitions may readily be defined as materialisations of knowledge orders, if indeed one wishes to use that expression, we will have to mention another intermediary level as well: the collection-base. It came to be part of a museum's life because it obviously reflected or fitted within the framework set by a given museum's main purpose. Less rigid and abstract than mission statements, but nevertheless much more stable and timeless than exhibitions, the collection-base constitutes a museum's most basic tangible vocabulary to express its very purpose. Yet, a museum's collection-base is, as we all know, not a uniform body, even though it tends to be viewed as part of a larger whole, as in the case of museums of anthropology, where it may be considered to be—among other things—part of an archive of and for humanity. Even though these collection-bases are quite often used as a sort of warehouse from which a given curator or exhibition designer may choose single objects to convey a larger story, these artifacts actually belong also to sub-collections, that is, the original collections, which in turn exhibit their own individuality and differ in quality (with regard to the original mission statement of an institution).

Being well acquainted with Ethnological Museum in Berlin, I could have approached the topic of this publication by starting with this museum's initial mission statement and more recent attempts to reformulate it. I could have then reflected on the regionally defined structure that determines its collection-base, illuminated the complexities of knowledge orders on the basis of its quite diverse sub-collections and discussed the choices, interpretations and presentations of the objects which feature as its exhibits. But as I do not want to lose myself dealing with all these different,

themselves quite complex layers simultaneously, I have chosen to deal with issues of the materialisation of knowledge orders on a much more specific and less abstract level instead—that of a single sub-collection.

For the purpose of this essay, I picked one of about 70 quite diverse sources of objects which made the Berlin museum's regional collection from the American Northwest Coast what it is today. I came to analyse this regional collection quite intensively as part of my work in the research project 'One History—Two Perspectives: Culturally specific modes of representation of the 'exotic Other' on the Pacific Northwest Coast'. This project was generously financed by the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research, to which I would herewith like to extend my most sincere gratitude.[1] The goals of my work within the project included the digitisation of the Berlin Northwest Coast Collection, making it available online, and upon this basis to develop new research and exhibition schemes. The interest I took in the particular sub-collection that I shall focus on here was part of that quest. It could not be better suited to the discussion of the central topic of this publication, as it was put together by the founding father of American cultural anthropology: Franz Boas.

FRANZ BOAS AS PART OF THE MISSION OF THE ROYAL MUSEUM OF ANTHROPOLOGY IN BERLIN

In order to contextualise Franz Boas' Berlin collection and what may be read from it appropriately, some light should be shed on how he came to work and collect objects on the American Northwest Coast. It is a story that may be begun with Boas' move to Berlin in 1882 with the intention of pursuing his *Habilitation* in geography and preparing himself for the related research trip to Baffinland in Canada. At that time he first met Adolf Bastian, the director of the Royal Anthropological Museum in Berlin (today's Ethnological Museum). Upon Boas' return from Baffinland, where he worked from October 1882 until June 1883, Bastian provided

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1 My project partners included Prof. Andreas Etges (head of the History Department at the John-F.-Kennedy-Institut, Berlin); Prof. Viola König (Director of the Ethnological Museum); Dr. Peter Bolz (Curator of the North American collections at the Ethnological Museum) and anthropologist Tina Brüderlin. With regard to my work in this project, I would like to express my thanks to William Wasden Jr., Aaron Glass and Karen Duffek for their continuous inspiration, support and hospitality.

Boas with a temporary assistantship at the museum.[2] Founded in 1873 and built between 1880 and 1886, the museum was the first such institution that was solely dedicated to anthropology and ethnology.

As to the history of the Berlin museums' early focus on the material culture from the American Northwest Coast, it may be noted that it was Bastian himself whose attention was drawn to that region. After a brief stay in Portland, Oregon, in 1880, he returned to Berlin under the impression of an urgent need for immediate action in order to preserve the material culture of the native peoples of that region. This urgent call to collect and preserve endangered material expressions of indigenous cultures around the world came to be the trademark mission statement of Bastian's museum. And so, not long after his return from Portland, Bastian came to organise a "Hilfskomitee" (Aid Committee) of the Royal Museum of Anthropology the first task of which was to hire the young Norwegian Captain Johan Adrian Jacobsen, supply him with substantial funds and send him on a collecting trip to the Northwest Coast (1881–1883). Jacobsen returned with a collection that to this day constitutes the bulk of the Berlin museum's material culture from that region. When Boas came to work for Bastian in 1884, he was put to work on the Jacobsen Collection.

These early experiences with anthropology as an emerging discipline in the setting of the Royal Anthropological Museum in Berlin came to have a lasting imprint on Boas' academic orientation. Yet it was another incident that finally attached Boas to the Northwest Coast: a travelling group of nine Bella Coolas on tour in Germany in 1885. Organised and accompanied by Captain Adrian Jacobsen and his brother Fillip Jacobsen, Boas twice briefly worked with them. He took the opportunity to record, study and publish some of their performances, songs and legends and to experience an initial encounter with the languages of that area (including Chinook Jargon, the *lingua franca*). These early experiences during his time in Berlin turned out to be the by now almost iconic first steps on Franz Boas' long road to becoming the best known Northwest Coast expert and the father of American cultural anthropology.

Unsettled by ill feelings arising from anti-Semitism in German academia, a summer vacation trip to New York in 1886 eventually changed the course of Boas' life altogether, for he would never return to Germany thereafter, except for sporadic brief visits. After meeting with his fiancée in New York, Boas was able to secure a loan of five hundred dollars from his

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2 See Cole 1985, pp. 103–104.

uncle and embarked upon his first three-month-long research trip to the Northwest Coast, where he would stay from September through December 1886. His mode of inquiry included the use of photographs and drawings of objects in the Jacobsen Collection in Berlin, but Boas would soon come to condemn Jacobsen's ignorance as regards recording information on the villages, families, lineages and secret societies from which these pieces originated. He soon realised that this kind of vital cultural information could be secured afterwards only in very rare cases. For Boas, Jacobsen had admittedly collected a large number of very interesting objects, but he had failed to provide the crucial pieces of information that would make them scientifically valuable. And so Boas came to stress a collecting policy that might be labelled 'quality not quantity', in which 'quality' was equated with the existence of recorded, culturally relevant, associated information.

Boas regarded language as key to understanding the mental worlds behind all cultural phenomena. It is particularly interesting to note that he held this position even before he became an anthropologist. Obviously under the strong influence of the Humboldt brothers, he came to include linguistic studies while conducting his research for his *Habilitation* in geography in Baffinland, Canada, as early as 1882–1883. Hence it is not too surprising to learn from his travel diary that he spent most of his time during his first research trip to the Northwest Coast in 1886 trying to track down people who were able to dictate to him mythical accounts, word lists and linguistic information. From the evidence of the same source, the attention he directed towards collecting artifacts clearly lagged far behind. Actually, about half of his collection (ca. 65 out of ca. 140 pieces) was acquired essentially during a mere five days in one single village, Nuwitti. These are the most comprehensively documented pieces in his collection. The rest consists of less well commented artifacts, which he sporadically acquired and gathered throughout his three-month stay. No wonder that Boas would mostly deal with objects of the first group in his later writings.

There can be no doubt about Boas' major motivation for putting together his collection. His intention was to sell it in order to pay back his debts—that is, to reimburse his travel costs—and to secure himself a job at the American Museum of Natural History in New York. For that reason he tried to enhance his chances by first offering the collection to this museum. Only after it became clear that things would not work out as envisioned did he offer his collection to Berlin. But things did not go smoothly there either. Only after a very unpleasant exchange of letters with Bastian, and much delay, was Boas able to get the price of 500 dollars that they had agreed upon. Ultimately, ninety-four pieces are said

to have been sent, while some another twenty were held back by Boas to be used in a deal that he had negotiated between Berlin and the United States National Museum, for which he received another $100 from Berlin.[3]

Today the Boas Northwest Coast Collection in Berlin contains some 88 object-numbers (58 Kwakwaka'wakw; 13 Bella Coola; 2 Salish; 15 gypsum casts of objects in museums in the United States). Altogether some 205 object-numbers are directly associated with the name Franz Boas in the Berlin Ethnological Museum. Besides his Northwest Coast Collection this includes ca. 117 object-numbers collected during his earlier work in Baffinland. To these should be added two independently listed collections, which are attributed to Boas in the Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv: 'Boas-Kwakiutl' (156 wax cylinders) and 'Boas-Thompson-River' (44 wax cylinders). Five more collections are closely connected to Boas' name, as he was instrumental in facilitating their acquisition by the Berlin Museum between 1888 und 1906. With the exception of a first agreement with the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C., all of the other collections came to Berlin through the mediation of the American Museum of Natural History in New York.[4]

Considering the fact that the Boas collection comprises only 88 out of the 2486 object-numbers that constitute the entire Berlin collection from the Northwest Coast (about 1900 numbers alone are associated with the name Jacobsen), its overall importance is hard to credit. But then one should remember that Boas' impact cannot be reduced to a matter of object-numbers.

TRACKING NATIVE KNOWLEDGE ORDERS— BOAS AND THE MENTAL WORLDS BEHIND MATERIAL CULTURE

Boas had early come to view myths as a key to access the mental worlds behind much of the material culture of the Northwest Coast, so they formed an important point in his critique of the Jacobsen collection. The lack of clues to the sources of the objects in that collection also meant that he himself would for the most part not be able to secure additional information about objects that had been collected by Jacobsen. Nowhere did Boas feel the lack of this kind of information so directly as with regard to the masks in the Jacobsen collection. As a result of his critique of Jacobsen's lack of documentation, Boas tried to do things markedly better

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3 See Jonaitis 1988, pp. 122–126; Cole 1985, pp. 104–109; Jacknis 2002, pp. 23–26.

4 See Bolz and Sanner 1999, pp. 62, 92, 210, 211.

and, thus, increase the scientific quality of his collection. This attitude becomes evident when looking at what appears to be Boas' handwritten sales catalogue, which is preserved in the archival records of the Berlin museum. This catalogue may actually be regarded as the collection's main body of documentation. The discussion of the topic of knowledge orders is clearly more meaningful in connection with specifics. Therefore, I shall now turn to what may probably be regarded as one—if not *the*—focal point of Boas' research and collecting agenda while working on the Northwest Coast in 1886: the interrelation between myths and material culture, and here in particular masks. As this essay is on the materialisation of knowledge orders in museums, I will approach the topic by starting with a look at the masks that Boas collected.

One cannot help but notice that 13 of the 16 Kwakwaka'wakw masks that Boas collected—among them the body of masks that he documented best—are actually to be associated with one particular dance complex (*Nunłem*), even though masked performances are by no means limited to this particular one. Nevertheless, this concentration of masks is not too surprising. In contrast to other dance complexes that feature masked dances and are associated with secret societies, this one encompasses dances that represent mythical beings responsible for supernatural family treasures, that is 'gifts'—e.g. in form of masked and other dances and songs—that were given to ancestors of families by supernatural beings in mythical times. Obviously, it was easier for Boas to acquire objects from and information about this less sacred and secret category of dances. Being aware of Boas' general focus and his attempts to link the world of myth with the material culture that he collected, it is indeed quite sobering to find only one mythical account for a single mask in the archive of the Ethnological Museum Berlin.[5] Nevertheless, this disconcerting picture is somewhat eased by further research. The surviving handwritten Berlin manuscript tells the story of "Omeatl" (U'meł),[6] the raven-trickster, and his daughter "Hataqa" (Hā'daga),[7] whom he expels and who eventually marries the son of the ruler of the undersea world,

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5 Archive of the Ethnological Museum Berlin: Acta Boas, Sammlung Dr. Boas 134/87: Omeatl und Hataga. Undated manuscript by Boas on the story of Omeatl.

6 Other versions of this name include Omeatl, Ō'meatl, Ō'ɛmeatl, Ō'ɛmeät̵, Ō'ɛmät̵.

7 Among the published versions of this name are Hā'tāqa, Hā'tak·a and Hā'tag.a.

1 The Aika'a'yolisana mask (Ethnological Museum Berlin, no. IV A 6889)

"K'umugwe'". The associated mask in the Berlin collection is said to represent this son, "Aika'a'yolisana" (Fig. 1). Research shows that this particular myth surfaces time and again throughout Boas' work. This makes the Berlin example a particularly valuable treasure. Unfortunately, no date or name of the narrator is preserved on the Berlin manuscript,

which is written in German and not in Boas' handwriting. Nevertheless, there are strong hints, when the particular story line is compared with other published ones, that make this version on the Berlin manuscript a likely candidate for being closest to the earliest version recorded by Boas in Nuwitti in 1886.

One of the versions that are particularly close to the one in Berlin is the one that Boas published in his 1897 monograph 'The Social Organization' in connection with an illustration of the Berlin mask of Aika'a'yolisana.[8] Here it is identified as a legend of the third-ranking *numaym* (that is, an extended family unit often described as "clan", "lineage" or "house") of one of the component tribes of Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw (Kwakiutl) called T'łat'ła̲sikwa̲la. This is a crucial piece of information, which is missing from the Berlin manuscript.[9] Particularly noteworthy among the different versions of the Hā'daga story is its rendition in Boas' 'Indianische Mythen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas' of 1895, which is thought to reflect Boas' research of 1886 strongly. In that publication, the story (which is close to the one in the Berlin manuscript) is rendered less as an independent narrative, but rather as the 23rd in a total of 27 episodes in the "Raven and Mink" myth-cycle of the T'łat'ła̲sikwa̲la. In this form, it came to be part of Boas' theoretical excursions on the basis of the myth-material that he collected—a topic to which I will return later.

Research shows, too, that although the mask of Aika'a'yolisana is the only one directly connected to a particular legend, most of the other masks that Boas collected were in fact indirectly linked to the world of myths through short references in the catalogue. As it turns out, 11 of the 13 masks that Boas collected are thus related to the abovementioned figure of Omeatl/U'meł. Within that group of U'meł-related masks, eight masks form a set of their own (Fig. 2 and 3). In addition to the eight masks, there are three other masks that are independently associated with U'meł: the aforementioned Aika'a'yolisana mask, which is related to the Hā'daga story; a mask representing one of U'meł's countless brothers (*numas*); and a chief's mask depicting an ancestor of one of the *numayms*, who had a close encounter with U'meł in mythical times.

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8 See Boas 1897, pp. 374–375.

9 Another notable difference is a slightly divergent ending to the published version, which lacks some of the graphic language found in the Berlin version. This supports the view that the Berlin copy is quite close to the originally recorded version.

The group of eight masks that form a set of their own among the U'meł-related masks can easily be identified in Boas' early publications as the jewel and pride of his 1886 collection. Boas reports the following in his essay of 1890, 'The Use of Masks', on this set:

> In the village of Qumta'spē [= X̲wa̲mdasbe'; R.H.], which is commonly called Newetti by English traders, I collected a whole set of these masks, representing "the feast of the raven". This collection has been deposited in the Royal Ethnological Museum at Berlin. The central figure is the raven, to whose face two movable wings are attached. The other figures represent animals which took part in the feast. The first part of the dance represents the raven catching the salmon, which is later on fried. The animals are invited to partake in the meal, and the events of this feast are represented in the dance. It was on that occasion that they received their present form, while before they had been half-human beings.[10]

2 The mask of Raven/Omeatl (Ethnological Museum Berlin, no. IV A 6881)

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10 Boas 1890, p. 11. The Berlin catalogue entry to this mask reads: "Omeatl, the raven, and the salmon. Double mask. It belongs to the legend of the feast of the Naxnēmiš ['half-humans']".

3 The remaining masks of the feast of raven mask set (Ethnological Museum Berlin, no. IV A 6882–6888)

CHANGING VIEWS AND AN EXPANDING KNOWLEDGE-BASE

A closer look at Boas' 1897 monograph, 'The Social Organization', reveals one striking feature: while the Hā'daga story and the mask associated with it in the Berlin collection remain part of Boas' discussion on Kwakwaka'wakw culture, the "raven's feast" set of masks no longer appears as such, even though the masks themselves are still included as illustrations.[11] Hence the question arises: what happened between 1890

11 See Boas 1897, pp. 490, 627.

and 1897? This question takes us back to the Chicago World's Fair of 1893. It played a major role in Boas' career, as he was in charge of bringing a group of Kwakwaka'wakw to Chicago to participate in this fair. Boas' field notes from that time suggest that it was on this occasion that he changed his mind. Yet what or who could have been the most likely source or cause of his change of mind?

ADDITIONS—THE SONG ON THE WAX-CYLINDER RECORDING

A look at the list of Kwakwaka'wakw participants in the Chicago World Fair yields a number of likely individuals who could have influenced Boas' perspective on things, in particular a man named Hämsitaq. He was one of probably four individuals in this group who came from Nuwitti.[12] His name can be directly linked to information given to Boas about the central mask of the "the feast of the raven" set: the so-called "Omeatl [raven] mask". More precisely, Hämsitaq can be identified as the singer of the songs that were recorded for this mask during the Chicago fair of 1893.[13]

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12 The year of the recording of this song is given as 1894 in the Chicago field Notes. Hämsitaq is also known by the names "Tom Haima'selas" (Jacknis 2002, p. 100) and "King Tom" (Raibmon 2000, p. 176). His brother Qoyaootlelas, Johnny Drabble and his wife, Rachel, were the ones who reportedly came from Nuwitti (William Wasden questions this attribution for the Drabbles as he knows them to be integral parts of the Nimkish community in Alert Bay; see Wasden 2012). Due to his proficiency in English, Hämsitaq seems to have been a major link to the press and a speaker during the house-warming ceremony of the Big House used by the group during the Fair (see Raibmon 2000, p. 177).

13 Hämsitaq (T'łat'łasikwala) is one of five or six singers mentioned in the lists at the back of the Boas Chicago field notebook. The others are his brother Qoyooltlelas (Qlu'Lelas; T'łat'łasikwala), John Drabbel (Nakamgalisala) and George Hunt (Tlingit/English, adopted Kwagulth). Also mentioned is an individual by the name Malete (or Matele) of unknown origin and gender (most likely female). It still needs to be determined whether some versions of the name on the list may also stand for "Me'lid", Hunt's father in-law from Fort Rupert. Furthermore, there may have been another singer by the name of "Ewanuxtsee", though I have not been able yet to match this name with the list of names of the members of the group (see Boas 1893; Raibmon 2000, pp. 175–176, 179). Judging by the number of songs recorded, Hämsitaq was one of the main singers of the group.

To cut a long story short,[14] I was able to identify one of the Salmon songs which Boas recorded in connection with the Berlin raven mask in one of the Boas wax-cylinder collections at the Archive of Traditional Music in Bloomington (54-121-F; Track 2.19a). It seems to be one of the 37 recordings that have survived from Franz Boas' and John Fillmore's recording-sessions at the 1893 Chicago fair in which originally some 120 cylinders must have been filled, if one trusts the field notes from that time. It turned out that this song is the second of the two "Salmon songs" that Boas published in 1897. Though this song is not mentioned on the Berlin object card itself, its relation to the Berlin "raven (and salmon) mask" is indicated by the context of its presentation in 'The Social Organization'.[15] Hämsitaq is identified in the Chicago field notes as its singer.[16]

A review of the lyrics of this song seems to support the assumption. In Boas' free translation the lyrics of the song are rendered as follows:

> 1. The salmon came to search for a dancer.
> 2. He [the real salmon, R.H.] came and put his supernatural power into him.
> 3. You have supernatural power. Therefore the chief of the salmon came from beyond the ocean. The people praise you, for they cannot carry the weight of your wealth.[17]

In her discussion of this song, Berman points to the fact that each verse presents us with different manifestations of salmon and a succession of events describing the transformation of the novice salmon dancer: The first verse simply mentions "salmon" (*mēyōXuā'nE*)—or a multitude of spirits in salmon form—as they come searching for the novice. The second verse refers to the "true salmon" (*mē'yoXuānak.asdē*), that is, the transformed salmon that have already shed their masks and are bestowing their power onto the novice. And in the third verse it is "the chief of the salmon"—or rather the "true Salmon Maker" (*mē'aisilak.asdē*) as Berman translates the term—who comes into the dance house after the novice has already acquired salmon power, to bring to him and share with him his riches (salmon and associated treasures such

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14 See Hatoum forthcoming.
15 See Boas 1897, pp. 474, 475, 490, 709.
16 See ibid., p. 240.
17 Boas 1897, p. 475 (transl. and emph. R.H.).

as copper), for which the people will praise him.[18] Even though there are a number of male and female "Salmon Makers" to be found in Kwakwaka'wakw mythology,[19] it is probably not too speculative to assume that T'łat'łasikwala-singer Hämsitaq would most likely have had one particular "Salmon Maker" in mind if Boas actually prompted him to sing this song by showing him an image of the Berlin mask: U'meł the raven (or his wife "Mä'ēsila").[20]

If there really was any relation between the recorded song and the Berlin "raven's feast" mask(s), as suggested by the Chicago field notes of 1893 and Boas' most important monograph 'The Social Organization', then this song would support the original information given to Boas. This is crucial to note, given that this set of masks was to experience a notable shift in interpretation in the following years. This shift was marked by an increasing stress on the "salmon" association while eventually dropping the "raven" reference altogether. The title given in the Chicago field notes, "Mask of Salmon, raven face in middle", was a first step away from the original interpretation of the mask on the Berlin object-card as "Omeatl". It did not contradict the original interpretation of the mask, but it laid the foundation for subsequent titles such as "Mask of Salmon dancer",[21] which drop the "raven" reference altogether.[22] This is an important realisation as Boas' later, quite different interpretations of the "raven's feast" masks would be strongly influenced by his change of attitude towards his former main collaborator in Nuwitti: Q'omena'kula.

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18 See Berman 1999, p. 6.

19 See ibid., p. 7; Goldman 1975, p. 235.

20 See Boas 1895, pp. 174–175, episodes 11 and 12; Boas 1935b, p. 158.

21 Boas 1897, p. 490 (transl. R.H.).

22 It may be added that George Hunt 'corrected' these 1893 'corrections' in his unpublished remarks on 'The Social Organization' written between 1920 and 1924 (see Berman 2001). While the first shift in emphasis from raven to salmon may still be rationalised on the basis of the T'łat'łasikwala myths as rendered by Boas in 1895, this is not the case for Hunt's 1920s re-interpretation. Here, he ends up identifying the central face of the mask as a "sea grizzly bear", a claim that is not supported by any other piece of evidence.

REVISIONS—THE CASE OF Q'OMENA'KULA

Very much to his credit, Boas took it upon himself to update the information-base in Berlin. He seized the opportunity during his visit to Berlin in 1895[23] to add notes and 'corrections' on some forty object-cards. Twenty-six of these applied to the Jacobsen Collection (thirteen of these are quite long and include lyrics of songs and mythical accounts), and ten added insights on his own Berlin Collection (four of these are longer and include song lyrics). Among the notes meant to illuminate Boas own collection, the ones recorded for his former "raven's feast" mask set are the most notable. As well as the "Omeatl mask", the remaining masks of that set were assigned a new meaning too. After Boas came to interpret them as belonging to the "Tongass Dance" in the Chicago field notes in 1893 (a dance derived from another native tribe of the Northwest Coast), other related labels were attached to them in the following years.

But beyond that, the notes on the former "raven's feast" masks contain other quite interesting clues. For example, on the card of the "Omeatl/raven mask" we find the following remark: "This identification [of the mask as representing U'meł] had been made by Q'omena'kula, chief from Newitti, who has proven to be utterly inadequate". The notes on the remaining masks now called "Tongass dance" specify Q'omena'kula's identity as a T'łat'łasikwala chief with the nickname "Cheap". This piece of information is quite revealing if one takes the well-known 1881 Dossetter picture of "Nahwitti" into account (Fig. 4). Although these remarks, in combination with the pieces of information mentioned above seem to repeat insights that Boas gained during the Chicago World's Fair, as preserved in his field notes,[24] there is clear proof that Boas had

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23 Although Boas went to Germany in 1892 (see Dürr, Kasten and Renner 1992, p. 75), it is not clear whether he visited Berlin on that occasion. Considering the content of the 'corrections' that he made, it is most likely that they were made during his second visit to Germany in 1895. During this visit he reportedly read a paper on Northwest Coast mythology to the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie and Urgeschichte on the 20th of July of that year. This was on the occasion of the release of his book 'Indianische Mythen', and A. Bastian and R. Virchow were present (see Dürr 1992, p. 392).
24 Here one reads: "Ayê'lkoa (8 masks), not the raven's class as stated by Cheap (Q'omenakul)".

4 The Kwakwa̲ka̲’wakw village of “Nahwitti” with the houses of “Cheap” (left) and “Boston” (right), 1881

actually revised his attitude much earlier—at least towards the person of Q'omenakula. This is suggested by the following passage by Boas, which is from an essay published in 1888:

> I should advise future explorers not to trust the man 'Cheap' (a corruption of "Chief", as he is the 'greatest liar' on the whole coast). Formerly the Sisiutl [a supernatural two-headed serpent; R.H.] was painted on the front of the house [of Mr. Cheap; R.H.], but at the request of the Indian agent Mr. Cheap whose proper name is Komena'kulu whitewashed it, and unfortunately I could only see a few faint traces of the painting. In consideration of this action he was appointed constable and presented with an old uniform and a flag. It was made his special duty to prevent dances and feasts, and since that time he dances in this uniform and with the flag.[25]

Unfortunately, I have not so far been able to learn the cause of Boas' change in attitude towards his former, obviously most trusted and prominent informant, Q'omena'kula, who was very likely the person who sold Boas the set of raven's feast masks. However, the subsequent public denigration of this individual for almost a decade[26] is—in my opinion—clear proof of how important Q'omena'kula must have been to him as an informant/collaborator, considering Boas' disappointment. As Boas does not detail why he suddenly calls Q'omena'kula the "greatest liar on the whole coast", it remains unclear whether he already had doubts about the set of "raven's feast" masks in 1888. His essay of 1890 and the Chicago field notes of 1893 point to the contrary, in my opinion.

In dealing with the question of Boas' eventual rejection of the former highlight of his 1886 collection, the "raven's feast" masks, it is quite

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25 Boas 1888b, p. 206. With this piece of information in mind it is quite interesting to read Boas' diary entry for 8 October 1886. Here he reports the following on a dance that he paid for by giving his own little feast later on: "Loud screeching was heard outside and a wild horde entered dancing. In the lead was the chief, a man certainly over sixty. He had been given a uniform by the Indian agent so that he could serve as policeman and keep order, and, especially, prevent the holding of large festivals. In order to carry out this duty he wore the uniform and carried the British flag, which he declared with the greatest pride had been given him by the king. A second chief followed, carrying a large flag" (Boas as cited in Rohner 1969, p. 35).
26 See Boas 1888b; Boas 1893; Boas 1895; Boas (probably 1895).

intriguing to cast a look at this set of masks from a stylistic point of view. While the "Omeatl mask" actually represents a Kwakwaka'wakw style of carving, this is possibly not true for the rest of the masks in the set, which feature characteristics of at least one—potentially even two—other styles. Accordingly, five of the masks are most likely of Bella Coola/Nuxalk origin (they exemplify a style of masks worn for one-time use), while the remaining two may derive from the Nuu-chah-nulth ("Nootka"). Saying that, it becomes clear that if this set (or the core of it) had ever been used as such, it was a set that used masks from different sources, to which new layers of cultural meaning—new knowledge orders, to remain with the terminology of this publication—must have been assigned in the process.

INTERCONNECTIONS—OTHER LEADS FROM THE WORLD OF MYTHS AS PRESENTED BY BOAS

At this point, I would like to address the issue of the names that Boas recorded for the individual masks in the "raven's feast" set. The names he recorded are: "Memkolempis", "Tsentsenqetlexsh", "Taminas", "Tsamilas", "Henkyaxstal" and "Kitoxalis". While some of these names may actually be found in potential "raven's feast" episodes, others are not at all associated with U'meł and his exploits, but rather with markedly different mythical beings, if they are mentioned at all. For example, two of the names, "Memkolempis" and "Tsentsenqetlexsh", are identified in the catalogue as "Omeatl's" brothers. Of the two, "Memkolempis" is the only one who is also mentioned and verified as such in other secondary Boas sources; for example, he is mentioned in the Berlin Hā'daga-story. However, he does not appear in any of the potential "raven's feast" episodes. Two other masks are labelled "Taminas" and "Tsamila". Both are identified as "squirrels" in the Berlin catalogue. These are the only ones that are found in potential "raven's feast episodes", indeed, they are found in all such episodes known. We do not learn anything in the catalogue about the last two masks, with the names "Henkyaxtal" and "Kitoxalis". Other writings by Boas supply additional information only about "Kitoxalis". In this case, nothing points to any relationship to U'meł, let alone to any of the "raven's feast" episodes. This name is rooted in the mythical exploits of another cultural hero by the name of "K·'ānigyilak'" (K'anik̲i'lakw). As this duo—U'meł and K'anik̲i'lakw—takes quite a central role in the theoretical conclusions that Boas drew from his analysis of his 1886 Northwest Coast myth-material, I will now take a closer look at it.

Regarding Boas' study of the myth material that he collected in 1886 and the role of U'meł and K'anik'i'lakw in his early work, the monograph 'Indianische Sagen' is especially revealing. Here Boas presents the material that he collected in Nuwitti in a way that treats the myths of the T'łat'łasikwala and that of another ethnic group, not highlighted so far, that was living in Nuwitti—the Nakamgalisala—as separate entities. The Nakamgalisala themselves had been joined by a third group of people, the Yut'łinuxw, before they in turn started to join the T'łat'łasikwala sometime around the middle of the 19th century.[27] Although internally some distinctions apparently continued to exist, the remnants of these three tribes seem to have presented themselves as one group—as "Nuwitti" or "T'łat'łasikwala"—in external affairs since the 1870s.[28] This may be the reason why Boas came to label all pieces from Nuwitti as "Tlatlasikwala".

This reminds us of the fact that the village of Nuwitti (much like many other native communities along the Northwest Coast) was actually a product and site of very dramatic socio-cultural changes resulting from European contact since the late 1780s. This contact gave the ancestors of the Nuwitti villagers an initial central position in trade, yet made them subsequently prime targets in an escalating intertribal warfare (and twice the target of British naval bombardments in 1851), in addition to being victims of the devastating effects of epidemics. All of this resulted in dramatic population losses.

By 1885, about the time of Boas' visit, the population numbers had dwindled to 101 individuals for the descendants of these tribes altogether. In 1924 reportedly 36 were left, a number that had decreased by 1983 to 21. After that the situation changed for a number of reasons. In 2010 the "Tlatlasikwala Band/Nation" had 61 members listed.[29] Nevertheless, Nuwitti was finally given up in the 1950s. Today, most members of the "Tlatlasikwala Band" live in Alert Bay and Port Hardy, where the band office is situated.

Against this brief historical overview, it should be pointed out that Newitti itself did not become a permanent village until the 1860s, when it was founded by the descendants of the three tribes, of which only two were still recognised, the T'łat'łasikwala and Nakamgalisala. By the time

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27 See Rohner 1969, p. 37.

28 See Galois 1994, p. 283.

29 See ibid., pp. 284–285; Webster 1990, p. 387; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada 2010.

Boas visited this village, its inhabitants already had their experiences with missionaries (in the 1860s), the reserve system (since 1879), traders operating permanent stores (at least since the early 1880s), anthropologists (Adrian Jacobsen, 1881) and government officials attempting to enforce the potlatch ban issued in 1884.[30] Not surprisingly, the people of Nuwitti were quite suspicious when Boas appeared in their village.

ABSTRACTIONS—THE ROLE OF MYTH IN BOAS' THEORETICAL CONCLUSIONS

In the picture that Boas draws in 1895 in his analysis of myth, the U'me-trickster legends are supposedly indicative for the T'łat'łasikwala, just as those of K'anikli'lakw, the transformer, are for the Nakamgalisala. In this sense it is quite important to note that Boas' "raven's feast" mask set features names that may be linked to both these cultural heroes. Aside from the question of the extent to which this picture really reflects former realities and native knowledge orders and/or the particularities of Boas' field trip, this fact, of course, also raises some more questions as to what exactly Q'omena'kula sold to Boas as "raven's feast" masks.

When Boas conducted his research on Northwest Coast myths in 1886, he for the most part struggled to get an idea of their general content and how they were disseminated, with the help of translators, minimal language skills in Chinook jargon, and phonetically written Kwak'wala texts, for which he tried to get a translation at a later date. As a result we find entries such as the following in his diary: "At present I am quite confused to the amount of nonsense to which I must listen",[31] or "[t]he stories are in part completely senseless, and I became quite stupefied".[32] This fact, of course, raises many question-marks as to the value of the conclusions Boas drew on this basis. But whatever 'the actual truth' may have been back then, it is very interesting to see how Boas interpreted the material that he collected in theoretical terms—that is, what Boas made of what he perceived to be native knowledge orders, making them fit the larger knowledge order he was trying to enrich with his research and collection.

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30 See Galois 1994, pp. 295–296.

31 Boas as cited in Rohner 1969, p. 38.

32 Boas as cited in ibid., p. 25.

It is quite evident from his publications that for him the "raven myth" and the village of Nuwitti were of particular importance at that time. At one point, for example, we find Boas using them as an example for a one-way diffusionist scheme on the basis of this particular "legend-group":

> The chart presented shows that the myth of the raven was originally confined to the Tlingit and Tsimshian (and [...] Haida) and may only be found in fragments farther south. Here, the myth is most completely preserved in Newettee [...], while it is completely absent among the Kwakiutl [of Fort Rupert or even more generally the other Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw communities; R.H.]. The reason therefore is that one of the tribes of the Newettee group [the T'łat'ła̲sikwa̲la; R.H.] regards the raven as its ancestor. We find this myth always being told as a myth of this tribe, and it is only completely known to its members.[33]

It is important to note that Boas did not embrace the raven-figure because he regarded it as particularly representative of a vanishing generic Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw culture and mythology, which would have been a mainstream anthropological goal and specific knowledge order favoured in Bastian's Ethnological Museum. Instead, Boas used his analysis of it to elaborate his own diffusionist stance. And so we find the raven-trickster myth and the village of Nuwitti also included in an analysis in which Boas tries to demonstrate the inter-relational effects among three myth complexes (raven, mink and K̲'ani̲ki̲'lakw myth complexes, each featuring characteristic traits: "greed", "eroticism" and "creation").[34] In yet a third analytical excursion, Boas tries to treat single mythical episodes—for example, from the Raven myth—as part of a trans-North-American diffusionist picture. In this scenario these episodes—including the "raven's feast" episode, which is explicitly mentioned—are interpreted as local variations of mythical-trickster themes found throughout North America with interchangeable trickster figures.[35]

At this point, it is most important to add that Boas' thoughts were by no means confined to either the Northwest Coast or North America, or to the subject of myth for that matter. This becomes clear in Boas' résumé in 'Indianische Sagen':

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33 Boas 1895, p. 332 (transl. R.H.).
34 Ibid., pp. 336–338 (transl. R.H.).
35 See ibid., pp. 333–335.

> As a final result of this study it may be stated that we will have to regard the mythology of each tribe as the result of an amalgamation of material from different sources [...]. The specific manifestations that we encounter today are the result of a long historical development, behind which the elementary idea lies far back [... W]e should identify the changes which are the results of [locally specific; R.H.] historical, social and geographic factors, in order to get to these most basic and universal ideas. No one can question the existence of elementary ideas today [...]. The manifestation of elementary ideas in folk ideas [...] gives us the material for comparison—as Bastian has proved so often. This should give us the basis to prove the laws of the physical development of mankind.[36]

REFLECTIONS—'TRICKS OF THE TRADE' AND THE COMPOSITION OF THE BOAS COLLECTION

How strongly Boas' own mindset may have influenced the process of assembling the Berlin collection is indicated by the following quotation, which derives from a letter that Boas sent to the director of the Society for Geography in Berlin, part of which was published in the journal *Globus* in 1886:

> The study of the masks and dance regalia is very captivating, because I find that every single object represents a personality out of the mythology, and the dances are mostly performances of these myths [...]. The legends of the individual tribes differ far more from one another than I had first expected. For example, we do not find the raven playing the same role [among the tribes of the Northwest Coast; R.H.]. There must have been quite a peculiar exchange of legend-circles, as elements from legends of the Tlinkit and Haida have mixed into completely different legend-circles of the Kuakiult-, Bellacula-, Kauitschin- and West-Vancouver-tribes. The same is true with regard to certain customs, especially those pertaining to the "biters", the Hamats'a (the Cannibal Dancers), who are [also] found among the Tsimschian and the Komoks.[37]

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36 Ibid., p. 353 (transl. R.H.)
37 Boas 1886, p. 352.

This quotation seems to suggest that Boas' favourite topics to cite in support of his diffusionist position at that time—the Hamat'sa (a dance complex important regarding the Berlin Boas collection, but not dealt with here) and, particularly, the raven myth ("raven's feast" mask set)—had been essential elements of a thorough analysis of the findings of his field work, but a glance at the date of the letter comes as quite a shocking surprise. These lines were written on October 1st 1886, hardly 12 days into his three-month stay on the coast, while still in Victoria, and three days before he departed from Victoria for the destination of Nuwitti, where he arrived on October 6th. This leaves us wondering how far in advance Boas already had his chosen topics clear in mind, topics that had such a fundamental influence on the composition and interpretation of his Berlin collection.

There is also a further quite interesting set of questions related to issues of 'tricks of the trade'. This includes not only the question as to the extent to which Boas' stress on the Hamat'sa and raven were part of his strategy of salesmanship, to 'sell' his collection to the Berlin museum, as the letter quoted above suggests. It also includes the question of how much his preoccupation with certain topics influenced the way in which certain objects were presented and sold to him. While the research literature usually depicts Boas as the clever one in his interaction with the people of Nuwitti (staging a feast and waiting some seven days before he broke the news that he was also interested in buying objects), the Berlin collection and what we know about it today suggests that this is only part of the story. There are none too few clues that indicate that, particularly, Chief Q'omena'kula, alias Cheap, too, had used the duration of Boas' stay to gain a sense of what he was up to. Obviously, Q'omena'kula most likely used this knowledge to successfully sell Boas at least whatever is included in the "raven's feast" mask set. While we will probably never learn 'the truth', one thing seems quite certain: both Boas and Q'omena'kula departed from their interaction with one another with the conviction that they had most perfectly out-smarted the other and made a good deal—two quite different perspectives on one and the same moment of cross-cultural contact and exchange.

CONCLUSIONS

It should have become apparent that the Berlin Boas collection is neither an immediate materialisation of the mission statement (that is, knowledge order), which Adolf Bastian formulated and promoted for

the Berlin Museum (to save as much as possible of the old material culture of vanishing indigenous peoples), nor the product of a clearly defined knowledge order asserted by Boas himself. Although Boas tried to theorise on the basis of the findings of his research and the collecting activities that resulted from it, his Berlin collection may be best understood as the materialisation of an idea or hypothesis that he was exploring at that time (for example, cultural phenomena that promised new insights for his discussion of diffusionism), but quite certainly not a particular knowledge order.

In following the topic set by the title of this publication, we are naturally inclined to approach the issue of the materialisation of knowledge by focusing on museums, collectors and curators—the main protagonists, as it appears. Still, when one approaches the subject as an anthropologist critically reflecting on the role of museums for that discipline, I would also like to point out a very important issue, which cannot be dealt with here and which has been pushed aside: the knowledge orders of indigenous peoples. Have they not been the main reason why these museums were originally built, their collections gathered and their exhibits put up? Without venturing any further into that broad topic, this brief analysis shows (and I dare to say that this conclusion is more typical than not) that the Boas collection tends to reflect his own learning process about Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw culture more than Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw ways of knowing, even though the latter clearly shimmer through. This realisation has a long list of implications when discussing issues of knowledge orders with regard to collections.

Saying that, it also became apparent from this analysis that Boas was fully aware of the deficiencies of this learning process that he embarked upon, and that he quite obviously never considered his collection to be a final product. As a result, he kept adding knowledge and reflected critically on it throughout his career, which was characterised by his ongoing quest to understand Kwakwa̲ka̲'wakw culture even better than before. In his role as the most critical critic of his collection, Boas kept trying to double-check whatever information he had already gained, to discuss the reliability of his consultants and to add new pieces of information whenever they surfaced. Boas' critical dealing with his work eventually even prompted him to completely reject the results of his first decade of Northwest Coast research, of which his Berlin collection is a product. This had been made clear by his student Helen Codere who stated: "Because Boas did not consider that he had a sufficient amount of reliable data as a basis for clear conclusions and interpretations, he literally condemned

to oblivion the first decade of his Northwest Coast publications".[38] In that sense, Boas' remarks may even be seen as an attempt to reflect on his early research results from the vantage point of a new theoretical perspective—or knowledge order—that he pursued later on in his life and which came to be known as historical particularism.

Does this taint the Boas collection in Berlin? Rather not. It is this collection's particular value, for it constitutes the first step that Boas took on his long journey towards a better understanding of Kwakwaka'wakw culture. And it is important to note that this process did not stop with Boas, but was taken up by subsequent generations of researchers. As a result, further insights have been added ever since. These give us a vantage point when reflecting on Boas' early attempts to theorise on the basis of his early research results and to follow other interesting leads, such as the potentially important role that 'tricks of the trade' had on the very composition of Boas' Berlin collection.

Coming to an end, it might be stated in summary that the Boas Berlin collection actually had been—and still is—crafted and shaped by many different forces and thoughts, and not by one single master knowledge order. To employ the words of the title of this publication, we might, thus, say that the Berlin Boas Collection actually is the materialisation of a multitude of quite different non-native and native knowledge orders. The most important realisation to be gained from dealing with this collection may be, however, that we are not talking about a final product of a certain idea or knowledge system, but rather about an interface of an ongoing intellectual process. I would, therefore, like to underscore the fact in this connection that this collection has a multifaceted role in different, both non-native and native contexts. While this is an important point that I am unable to detail here, it should convey a notion of the ongoing relevance of the Berlin Boas' Northwest Coast collection for future generations.

PHOTO CREDITS

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4 Photograph: Edward Dossetter. © American Museum of Natural History (neg. no. 42298)

38 Codere 1966, p. xiii.

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II MUSEUM (TRANS-)FORMATIONS AROUND 1900

HELMUTH TRISCHLER

DIE KODIFIZIERUNG VON WISSENSORDNUNGEN

Das Wissenschafts- und Technikmuseum im langen 19. Jahrhundert

Das moderne Wissenschafts- und Technikmuseum ist eine Kreatur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts. Parallel zum Prozess der Industrialisierung bildeten sich in Europa Wissenschafts- und Technikmuseen heraus, die nicht nur zu Zentren naturwissenschaftlich-technischer Bildung wurden, sondern auch zu einer wichtigen Schnittstelle zwischen Wissenschaft und Technik, Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. An dieser Schnittstelle wurden Wissensordnungen von Naturwissenschaft und Technik verhandelt und festgeschrieben.

Freilich darf durch die Fokussierung auf das moderne Museum nicht völlig aus dem Blick geraten, dass bereits die Frühe Neuzeit in den Kunst- und Wunderkammern Orte des Wissens kannte, an denen wissenschaftliche Paradigmen gesucht und Wissensordnungen kodifiziert wurden. Samuel Quiccheberg verfasste als kunstwissenschaftlicher Berater des bayerischen Herzogs Albrecht V. bereits 1565 eine Systematisierungstheorie für die Münchner Kunstkammer. Quicceberg verband mnemotechnische, chronologische und materielle Ordnungssysteme mit hermetischen und christlichen Traditionen zu einem interdisziplinären Programm, das auf den Ordnungsprinzipien des damaligen Weltverständnisses basierte. Der „so genannte Makrokosmos im Mikrokosmos zeigt die Welt im Kleinen, nach räumlichen Gegebenheiten und finanziellen Mitteln", kommentiert Harriet Roth in ihrer meisterhaften Übersetzung und Interpretation des Werkes von Quiccheberg und setzt im Einklang mit zahlreichen Museologen Quicchebergs Ordnungstheorie mit dem Beginn des Museums als öffentliche Bildungseinrichtung gleich.[1]

1 Roth 2001, S. 1; vgl. Roth 2011; Parmentier 2007/2008, S. 11–26; Parmentier 2009, S. 45–63, und jüngst te Heesen 2012.

Die Vielzahl der Kunst- und Wunderkammern, die zwischen dem 16. und 18. Jahrhundert entstanden, fügt sich in den säkularen Prozesses der Herausbildung einer frühneuzeitlichen europäischen Wissenskultur ein, die um die Erzeugung, Systematisierung und Weitergabe wissenschaftlichen Wissens kreiste. Die Sammlungen und Kabinette entsprangen dem Bestreben der aristokratischen Eliten, Macht und Status zu manifestieren, indem sie sich mit Objekten der Kunst und Kultur, Natur und Medizin, Wissenschaft und Technik umgaben. Aber die Sammlungen gewannen auch ein Eigenleben und wurden zu Orten der Forschung, denn nichts anderes ist die Produktion und Systematisierung von Wissen, wie sich am Beispiel italienischer Sammlungen eindrucksvoll zeigen lässt.[2] Die frühneuzeitliche Wissensgesellschaft mit ihrem Drang zur Ordnung des Wissens hatte in den Kabinetten ein epistemisches Zentrum.

Damit sind bemerkenswerte Kontinuitäten zwischen Früher Neuzeit und Moderne angesprochen, die hier allerdings nicht im Mittelpunkt stehen werden. Vielmehr zielt der Beitrag darauf ab, in einem ersten Schritt den Prozess der institutionellen Ausdifferenzierung des wissenschaftlich-technischen Museums zu skizzieren, das an der langen Wende zum 20. Jahrhunderts als neuer Museumstypus schließlich deutliche Konturen gewann und sich besonders dynamisch entwickelte. Der zweite und zentrale Teil spürt der spezifischen Objekt- und Sammlungskultur dieses neuen Museumstypus nach und beleuchtet die Wissensordnungen von Wissenschaft und Technik, die sich im Museum als öffentlichem Raum konstituierten. Im Mittelpunkt steht das Fallbeispiel des Deutschen Museums in München, wobei vergleichende Blicke auf dessen Schwestermuseen in Österreich (Technisches Museum Wien) und Großbritannien (Science Museum, London) geworfen werden. Abschließend wird ein kurzes Fazit gezogen, das die Ergebnisse des ersten und zweiten Teils resümiert.

ZWISCHEN PARIS UND MÜNCHEN, WIEN UND LONDON: DIE FORMIERUNG UND AUSDIFFERENZIERUNG DES WISSENSCHAFTS- UND TECHNIKMUSEUMS

Im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert als „Sattelzeit der Moderne" (R. Koselleck) entstand das Museum als öffentliche Institution, und zugleich differenzierten sich die Natur-, Kunst- und Wunderkammern

2 Vgl. Findlen 1994; siehe auch Grote 1994; Dülmen 2004.

in eine breite Landschaft thematisch spezialisierter Museen aus. Das British Museum in London kann als Scharnier zwischen alter und neuer Ordnung gelten. Als der Arzt und Physiker Hans Sloane 1753 seine naturkundlichen, Literatur- und Kunstsammlungen dem Staat übereignete, entwickelte sich daraus das 1759 gegründete British Museum als Institution der sich formierenden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft.[3] Das Londoner Museum wurde einerseits zum vielfach nachgeahmten Vorbild einer Nationalisierung ehemals fürstlicher und privater Sammlungen und deren Repräsentation im öffentlichen Raum. Als enzyklopädisches Projekt, das bis zur Ausgliederung des Museum of Natural History in den 1880er Jahren wie selbstverständlich noch die naturkundlichen Sammlungen integrierte, verkörperte es andererseits noch das aufklärerische Konzept eines allumfassenden Wissenskanons. Der Prozess der disziplinären Aufteilung des Wissens machte freilich auch vor dem British Museum nicht halt. Das „Nebeneinander wissenschaftlich geführter Abteilungen" höhlte das enzyklopädische Programm allmählich aus.[4] Das Weltbild der Einheit der Natur löste sich allmählich auf und wich einer sektoral ausdifferenzierten Wissensordnung. Im Bereich der Technik wurde diese Wissensordnung mit der von dem Göttinger Staatwissenschaftler Johann Beckmann entwickelten Lehre von der Allgemeinen Technologie als Systematik „aller der verschiedenen Absichten, welche die Handwerker und Künstler bey ihren verschiedenen Arbeiten haben, und daneben ein Verzeichniß aller der Mittel, durch welche sie jede derselben zu erreichen wissen", wissenschaftlich fundiert.[5]

Die Französische Revolution verhalf der Nationalisierung der Sammlungen zum Durchbruch, als das revolutionäre Bürgertum sich der königlichen Objekte bemächtigte und den Louvre als öffentliches Museum neu begründete. Eine zweite Errungenschaft der Französischen Revolution, das 1794 als *dépôt public*, als Sammelstelle für wissenschaftliche Apparate und technische Erfindungen, gegründete Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, steht dabei für den neuen Typus des Wissenschafts- und Technikmuseums, der aus der Basis der systematischen Wissensordnung Beckmanns im langen 19. Jahrhundert an Konturen gewann.

Die Entstehung und Ausdifferenzierung des Wissenschafts- und Technikmuseums bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhundert lässt zwei unter-

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3 Vgl. Wilson 2002.

4 Möbius 2006, S. 14.

5 Beckmann 1806, S. 465; vgl. dazu Bayerl und Beckmann 1999, und Banse und Müller 2001.

schiedliche Lesarten zu. Die erste Lesart setzt perspektivisch um 1800 an und betont den evolutionären Charakter dieser Entwicklung, die allmähliche Etablierung dieses neuen Typus von Museum über rund ein Jahrhundert hinweg, auch wenn der Prozess an sich revolutionären Ursprungs war. Die zweite Lesart setzt dann rund hundert Jahre später, an der Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert, an und verknüpft die Herausbildung des Technikmuseums mit der Entstehung der modernen Wissensgesellschaft.

Zunächst zur ersten Lesart: Der Anfang der Koppelung von Industrialisierung und Herausbildung des Technikmuseums kann auf das Jahr 1794 gelegt werden. Im Sommer dieses Jahres, am Ende des *grande terreur*, beschloss der Pariser Convent auf Initiative des Abbé Henri Grégoire die Gründung des Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers. Dieser revolutionäre Gründungsakt holte für den Bereich von Wissenschaft, Technik und Handwerk nach, was der Louvre kurz zuvor für die Kunst vorexerziert hat: die Nationalisierung der königlichen Sammlungen im Rahmen der sich formierenden bürgerlichen Gesellschaft. Das Pariser Conservatoire lässt sich sowohl als Abschluss als auch als Beginn eines neuen Prozesses deuten. Einerseits blieb die Sammlungsstruktur des Conservatoire über das 19. Jahrhundert hinweg dem aufklärerischen Konzepts verpflichtet, das verfügbare wissenschaftlich-technische Wissen und seiner handwerklich-materiellen Kultur zu ordnen und zu klassifizieren, wie es Denis Diderot und Jean Baptiste le Rond d'Alembert in ihrer ‚Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers' angestrebt hatten.[6]

Andererseits stellte das Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers in mehrfacher Hinsicht die Weichen für die institutionelle Innovation des Technikmuseums. Es verklammerte die Aufgabenfelder der Sammlung und Bildung, der Bewahrung des materiellen Erbes und des schulischen Unterrichts, indem es Originalapparate und Modelle sammelte, die Demonstratoren im Rahmen eines polytechnischen Unterrichts vorführten. Hier gründet die unmittelbare Bildungsfunktion des Technikmuseums als quasi-schulischer Ort der Vermittlung nützlichen Wissens, die sich im weiteren Verlauf des 19. Jahrhunderts in zahlreichen Institutionen wiederfindet. Zudem initiierte das Conservatoire die Aufgabe des Technikmuseums, ein öffentliches und damit gleichsam staatstragendes Forum der Präsentation aktueller technischer und handwerklicher Entwicklungen

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6 Vgl. Mercier 1994; das Folgende nach Trischler 2006a, S. 81–84, und Lackner 2011, S. 7–14.

und Errungenschaften zu sein. Dabei stand nicht so sehr das Ziel im Vordergrund, die Einzigartigkeit der Maschinen und Erfindungen als historische Sachzeugnisse zu manifestieren, sondern ihr Vorbildcharakter: Die Sammlungen sollten zum Nachbau und zur Verbesserung der ausgestellten Objekte anregen. Bereits in der ersten Jahrhunderthälfte griffen die Mustersammlungen der Gewerbevereine diese Tradition auf, ein Prozess, an dessen Ende die Institutionalisierung von Kunstgewerbemuseen oder, wie am Fallbeispiel Wien noch zu zeigen sein wird, der Grundstock für die spätere Sammlung eines nationalen Technikmuseums stand. Museale Bildungsangebote entwickelten sich zu zentralen Instrumenten lokaler und regionaler Gewerbeförderung. So zeigt etwa ein vergleichender Blick auf Frankreich und Südwestdeutschland, wie sehr die kulturelle Verankerung von Geschmacksmustern im Medium des Museums die Herausbildung der modernen Konsumgesellschaft prägte.[7]

Die enge Koppelung der Herausbildung des Wissenschafts- und Technikmuseums mit dem Prozess der Industrialisierung lässt sich an einer Reihe weiterer Verknüpfungen aufzeigen:

1. Die Bedeutung der Weltausstellungen – und dann auch in rasch wachsendem Maße nationaler und regionaler Industrie- und Gewerbeausstellungen – als diskursives Forum der Industrialisierung ist mit Recht vielfach hervorgehoben worden.[8] Die Rolle der Welt- und Industrieausstellungen als institutioneller Impulsgeber und konzeptioneller Ideenspender für die sich formierende Landschaft der Wissenschafts- und Technikmuseen ist nicht weniger hoch einzuschätzen. Besonders prominent verdeutlicht dies das South Kensington Museum, das unmittelbar aus der Weltausstellung im Londoner Glaspalast 1851 hervorging. Als Science Museum gewann dieses Museum zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts institutionelle Eigenständigkeit, wobei wiederum, ebenso wie im Pariser Conservatoire, lange Zeit der Hybridcharakter der Verknüpfung von Sammlung und Schule das Profil der neuen Einrichtung bestimmte. Auch bei der analytischen Suche nach *turning point*s im Prozess der Entstehung und Ablösung von Wissensordnungen stechen die Weltausstellungen hervor. Die großen Expositionen waren gleichsam „flüchtige Städte", wie Alexander Geppert jüngst in seiner herausragenden Studie zu den Weltausstellungen als Projekte der industriellen Moderne herausgearbeitet

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7 Vgl. Cleve 1996, und Cleve 2000.

8 Siehe dazu den ausgezeichneten Forschungsüberblick von Geppert 2002, sowie Großbölting 2008.

hat.[9] Sie trugen das verdinglichte Wissen der Welt zusammen und präsentierten es der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit. Die Ordnungen der Ausstellungen selbst und deutlicher noch der publizierten Kataloge erlauben es, das zeitgenössische Verständnis von Wissenschaft und Technik zu rekonstruieren. Sie repräsentierten, und das gilt für die Weltausstellung von 1851 im Londoner Glaspalast ebenso wie für die Pariser Ausstellungen von 1889 und 1900, das Wissen der Welt in einer synthetischen Ordnung von Dingen, die weit über die Ausstellungen hinaus Bestand hatten.[10] Denn Wirtschaft und Staat zugleich nutzten die Ausstellungsverzeichnisse vielfach, um eine „Bestandaufnahme des ökonomischen Entwicklungsstandes" vorzunehmen und erwarben auf diese Weise wichtiges Wissen für die Orientierung im internationalen Wettbewerb.[11] Zudem gaben nicht wenige internationale Ausstellungen die Initiative für deren Verstetigung als dauerhafte Museen. Das South Kensington Museum, das unmittelbar aus der Weltausstellung im Londoner Glaspalast 1851 hervorging, ist das wichtigste Beispiel hierfür.

2. Im letzten Viertel des 19. und im frühen 20. Jahrhundert entstanden zahlreiche ‚Museen der Gefahren', die sich als Sozialmuseen, Hygienemuseen und Arbeitsschutzmuseen institutionalisierten.[12] Diese Museen, die exemplarisch durch das Gewerbe-hygienische Museum Wien, und das Deutsche Hygiene-Museum Dresden verkörpert werden, begleiteten den Ausbau des sich im Anschluss an die Bismarck'sche Sozialgesetzgebung rasch ausdifferenzierenden Sozialstaats. Sie lassen sich aber auch als kompensatorische Reparaturunternehmen für die von der Industrialisierung aufgeworfenen Probleme verstehen.

3. Parallel dazu etablierten sich auf zahlreichen Technikfeldern einzelne Spezialmuseen. Sie spiegeln die Dynamik der Industrialisierung, die Verdichtung der Verkehrs- und Kommunikationsnetze und den Aufstieg der wissenschaftsintensiven Industriezweige wie der Elektrotechnik und der Chemie wider. Vor allem in der Reichshauptstadt Berlin bildete sich innerhalb von wenigen Jahrzehnten eine Fülle von technischen Sammlungen und Museen heraus. Das Reichspostmuseum von 1872, das Verkehrs- und Baumuseum von 1906 und das Museum für Meereskunde von 1906/07 lassen sich zudem auch als Ressortmuseen interpretieren.[13]

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9 Geppert 2011.
10 Vgl. Benedict 1983, S. 2.
11 Größbölting 2008, S. 197.
12 Vgl. Poser 1998, und Poser 2000.
13 Vgl. Möbius 1983.

Der sich seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts entwickelnde Leistungs- und Interventionsstaat schuf einen rasch wachsenden Apparat von politisch-administrativen Steuerungs- und Regulierungsinstanzen, die je eigene Museen vorhielten. Diese Museen waren Repräsentationsbühnen, aber auch Wissensspeicher und Orte, an denen sich die Ordnungsschemata der industriellen Welt ausprägten. Parallel dazu unternahm auch das regionale Bildungs- und Wirtschaftsbürgertum vielfältige Anstrengungen, um sich auf der lokalen Ebene in Technik- und Industriemuseen zu repräsentieren.[14]

4. Die enge Verknüpfung mit der Industrialisierung verdeutlichen schließlich die großen, auf den Nationalstaat bezogenen Wissenschafts- und Technikmuseen, die an der langen Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert gegründet wurden. Sowohl für das Deutsche Museum in München als auch für das Technische Museum in Wien oder das 1923 gegründete Tekniska Museet in Stockholm ist mit Recht immer wieder darauf hingewiesen worden, wie sehr diese Einrichtungen als Ausdruck des kulturellen Emanzipationsstrebens der Technikwissenschaften zu interpretieren sind.[15] Hier schufen sich die Ingenieure ihre modernen Kathedralen. Hier verband sich die säkularisierte Heilsgewissheit der Naturwissenschaften mit der Fortschrittsgewissheit der Technik.[16]

Anstelle dieser ersten Lesart einer engen Koppelung von Museumsentwicklung und Industrialisierung wird im Folgenden eine zweite Lesart favorisiert, die perspektivisch nicht in der Frühen Neuzeit und der Französischen Revolution ansetzt, sondern an der Wende vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert. Diese Lesart verknüpft die Herausbildung des Technikmuseums mit der Entstehung der modernen Wissensgesellschaft, als deren Inkubationsphase für die fortgeschrittenen Industriegesellschaften Europas, insbesondere aber für Deutschland, mit überzeugenden

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14 Vgl. Rasch 2002.

15 Vgl. Füßl und Trischler 2003; Lackner, Jesswein und Zuna-Kratky 2010; Lackner 2011; Lindqvist 1993.

16 Neben den bereits thematisierten Museen lassen sich der Gründungswelle von nationalen Technikmuseen an der langen Wende vom 20. Jahrhundert folgende Museen zuordnen: Polytechnisches Museum Moskau (1872), Museum für Wissenschaft und Technik in Tokio (1877), Technisches Museum Prag (1909/1938), Technisches Museum Warschau (1929), Museum Boerhaave in Leiden (1931/1947), Museum of Science and Industry in Chicago (1933), sowie weitere Initiativen in Kairo, Amsterdam, Kopenhagen, San Francisco und Rio de Janeiro.

Argumenten die Periode zwischen etwa 1880 und dem Ersten Weltkrieg identifiziert worden ist.[17] Drei Prozesse sind hier vor allem zu nennen, die für diesen Ansatz einer Neuinterpretation der langen Jahrhundertwende als Scharnierphase der Wissensgesellschaft sprechen. Erstens formierte sich in dieser Phase das institutionelle Gefüge des nationalen Innovationssystems. Parallel dazu fand zweitens eine tief greifende Verwissenschaftlichung und Technisierung der Gesellschaft statt. Technische Museen leisteten nicht nur bei der Durchsetzung technischer Leitbilder in der Gesellschaft Vorschub, sondern auch bei der Durchdringung sämtlicher Lebensbereiche durch Technik und Wissenschaft. Drittens lässt sich eine außerordentliche Verdichtung der Verknüpfung von Wissenschaft und Öffentlichkeit beobachten. Die lange Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert kann, für Deutschland und Österreich ebenso wie für Frankreich und Großbritannien, als Hochphase der Popularisierung wissenschaftlichen und technischen Wissens gelten, in der allenthalben neue Institutionen und neue Instrumente der Wissensvermittlung für eine sich formierende Wissensgesellschaft geschaffen wurden.[18]

Die These der sich um die lange Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert herausbildenden Wissensgesellschaft taucht die sich verdichtende Gründungswelle von Technikmuseen um 1900 in ein neues Licht. Die Entstehung des Technikmuseums zeigt sich nicht so sehr als säkularer Institutionalisierungsprozess, der in der Frühen Neuzeit oder in Französischen Revolution begann und sich linear entwickelte, bis er mit den großen Nationalmuseen für Wissenschaft und Technik nach der Jahrhundertwende seinen vorläufigen Abschluss fand. Die Verdichtung der Museumsgründungen um 1900 manifestiert vielmehr die Formierung eines neuen Typus von Museum, der insbesondere aus den spezifischen Bedürfnissen der sich etablierenden Wissensgesellschaft resultierte, Institutionen vorzuhalten, die wissenschaftliches Wissen dinghaft popularisierten und dabei zugleich neue Ordnungssysteme des Wissens schufen.

Die auffällige Vielzahl an Neugründungen technischer Museen an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert ist nicht zuletzt vor dem Hintergrund eines sich verdichtenden museologischen Diskurses zu erklären, eines intensiven Austauschs von Erfahrungen und Informationen über die nationalen Grenzen hinweg. Für das Deutsche Museum etwa gilt, dass dessen Initiator Oskar von Millers sich – neben seinen eigenen Erfahrungen als

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17 Vgl. Szöllösi-Janze 2004.

18 Vgl. bes. Daum 1998; Schwarz 1999; Ash 2002; Raichvarg 1991; Lynn 2006.

Organisator der großen Elektrotechnischen Ausstellungen in München 1882 und Frankfurt 1891 – wesentliche Anregungen aus Frankreich und England, aber auch aus Skandinavien holte.[19] Umgekehrt wirkte das Münchner Museum weltweit als Vorbild zahlloser Neugründungen, etwa für das Technische Museum Wien, aber wiederum auch für das Londoner Science Museum bei dessen Herauslösung aus dem South Kensington Museum und ‚eigentlicher' Gründung als einer autonomen Institution im Jahr 1909.[20]

WISSENSORDNUNGEN IM TECHNIKMUSEUM AN DER WENDE ZUM 20. JAHRHUNDERT

Die Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert war für die Museen generell eine Modernisierungs- und Reformphase, in der allenthalben mit neuen Formen und Instrumenten des Ausstellens experimentiert wurde. Unter dem Druck der breiten Bewegung zur Popularisierung naturwissenschaftlich-technischen Wissens wurden neue Konzepte des Ausstellens realisiert und innovative Strategien der Wissensvermittlung erprobt.[21] In dieser Phase entstanden neben den klassischen Sammlungen historischer Originale Objektgruppen, die speziell für das Museum hergestellt wurden und deren doppelter Zielsetzung entsprachen, Fachwissen über die aktuellen Entwicklungen in Naturwissenschaft und Technik zu vermitteln und dieses Wissen in den historischen Zusammenhang einzuordnen. In den Ausstellungen standen Originale neben Modellen und Nachbildungen, Rekonstruktionen neben Demonstrationen und aufwändig gestalteten Dioramen, Texte neben Bildern und Grafiken. Diese neue, ausdifferenzierte Objektkultur überwölbte die dem Museum inhärente Spannung von dinglicher Authentizität und Rekonstruktion. Parallel dazu brach das neue museale Konzept der historischen Entwicklungsreihe, das aus dem Evolutionismus in der Ethnologie übernommen wurde, die traditionelle Rolle technisch-wissenschaftlicher Sammlungen als Lehrmittelsammlungen auf. Der Widerspruch zwischen synchroner Systematik und diachroner Entwicklungsreihe förderte die Suche nach neuen Lösungen im Aufbau der Ausstellungen und führte sowohl zu vielfältigen innovativen Inszenierungs- und Darstellungstechniken als auch zu

19 Vgl. Füßl 2005.
20 Vgl. Finn 2003; Scheinfeldt 2009, S. 296–308; Lackner 2011, S. 10–11.
21 Vgl. Joachimides 2001.

neuen Ordnungssystemen. Die Historisierung der Technik im Sinne des Fortschrittsgedankens ging mit den neuen Sammlungskonzepten sowie Ausstellungs- und Vermittlungstechniken Hand in Hand.

Allerdings bildet die Praxis des Sammelns, wie Nicholas Jardine jüngst in einem resümierenden Forschungsüberblick herausgearbeitet hat, nach wie vor „einen blinden Fleck" in der museums- und objekthistorischen Forschung – und dies gilt insbesondere auch für das Technikmuseum.[22] Umso wichtiger sind Fallstudien, die auf einer vergleichsweise dichten Quellenlage basieren. Im Folgenden werden drei Fallstudien präsentiert.

1. FALLBEISPIEL MÜNCHEN: DAS DEUTSCHE MUSEUM

Eine solche günstige Überlieferungssituation besteht für das Deutsche Museum, dessen Sammlungspolitik und Objektkultur in der Gründungsphase an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert jüngst intensiv untersucht worden ist.[23] Der Begriff der Sammlungspolitik beschreibt die spezifische Objektkultur des Deutschen Museums in seiner Gründungsphase jedoch nur partiell. Denn selbst in seiner unmittelbaren Aufbauphase zwischen der Gründung 1903 und der Eröffnung der provisorischen Ausstellungen 1906 und 1909 arbeitete das Deutsche Museum – in der schönen begrifflichen Dichotomie von Gottfried Korff formuliert – weniger im „Modus der Potentialität", indem es ein umfassendes Depot der wissenschaftlich-technischen Sachkultur aufbaute, sondern im „Modus der Aktualität". Das Museum machte den in den gezielt eingeworbenen Objekten eingeschriebenen Sinn für die zu konzipierenden Ausstellungen verfügbar und erschloss damit zugleich auf handfeste, dinghafte Weise der Öffentlichkeit die wissenschaftlich-technischen Moderne der Jahrhundertwende.[24] Die Kriterien der Auswahl für die zu sammelnden Objekte wurden auf deren Präsentabilität hin entwickelt. Der auffällige „Präsentabilismus" – um erneut an Korff anzuschließen – der die um die Jahrhundertwende entstehenden Technikmuseen als mediale Schnittstellen zwischen Wissenschaft, Technik und Öffentlichkeit im Allgemeinen charakterisiert, erweist sich von großer historischer Wirkungsmächtigkeit. Er unterscheidet diesen Museumstypus bis heute vom Typus des Naturkundemuseums ebenso wie vom Kunstmuseum, in denen die Funktionen des Sammelns

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22 Jardine 2001, S. 214.

23 Vgl. zum Folgenden die Beiträge in Hashagen, Blumtritt und Trischler 2003.

24 Korff 2002, S. 170.

und darüber vermittelt des objektbezogenen Forschens weit stärker verankert sind als im sich zuvorderst über seine Ausstellungen – über seine Funktion der Wissensvermittlung in der Wissensgesellschaft – definierenden Wissenschafts- und Technikmuseums. Zweifelsohne, auch Naturkundemuseen und Kunstmuseen adressierten und adressieren mit ihren Ausstellungen die Öffentlichkeit; die Ausstellungsfunktion ist meist aber der Sammlungsfunktion nachgelagert. Anders im Technikmuseum, in der die Genese der Sammlungen strukturell dem Kriterium der Ausstellungswürdigkeit folgt. Wer heute etwa auf die bundesdeutsche Landschaft der in der Leibniz-Gemeinschaft zusammengeschlossenen Forschungsmuseen blickt, dem wird diese Differenz zwischen Technikmuseen und Naturkundemuseen nicht verborgen bleiben, und dies gilt in noch stärkerem Maße für andere nationale Museumslandschaften Europas und Nordamerikas.[25]

Die Entstehung der Sammlung des Deutschen Museums lässt sich in jener formativen Phase zwischen der Museumsgründung 1903 und dem Aufbau provisorischer Ausstellungen 1906 und 1909, als innerhalb von wenigen Jahren mehr als ein Drittel des heutigen Objektbestands zusammengetragen wurde, in einem Spannungsfeld verorten. Die Pole dieses Spannungsfeldes werden von einem ausgeprägten Szientismus auf der einen Seite und hochgradiger Kontingenz auf der anderen Seite gebildet. Wissenschaftsbasiert war die Sammlungsentstehung in doppelter Weise: Erstens entwickelten Museumsgründer Oskar von Miller und seine Mitstreiter ein Sammlungskonzept, das ebenso enzyklopädisch wie lehrbuchartig das Gesamtgebiet der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik in einzelne Fachgebiete unterteilte. Dieser Masterplan, der allein die Medizin und die Lebenswissenschaften weitgehend aussparte, lehnte sich eng an den historisch gewachsenen Disziplinenkanon der Natur- und Technikwissenschaften an. Zweitens baute das Museum ein breites Netzwerk von Experten für sein in insgesamt 45 Fachgebiete unterteiltes Ordnungssystem auf. Diese Experten waren fast durchweg die exponiertesten Vertreter ihrer Fachrichtungen in Deutschland, auch wenn aus pragmatischen Gründen ein regionales Übergewicht Süddeutschlands und speziell Münchens erkennbar ist. Mit Walther von Dyck (Mathematik) und Wilhelm C. Röntgen (Wärme), Arthur Junghans (Uhren) und Rudolf Oldenbourg (Reproduktionstechnik und Papierfabrikation), Giovanni Ossanna (Elektrotechnik) und Alois Riedler (Pumpen und

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25 Siehe dazu Trischler 2006b, und Trischler 2008.

Druckluftanlagen), Walter Nernst und Wilhelm Ostwald (Chemie und Elektrochemie), Ludwig Prandtl und Wilhelm Wien (Physikalische und technische Mechanik), Leo Graetz (Magnestismus und Elektizitätslehre) und Hermann C. Vogel (Astronomie) – um nur einige wenige Referenten aufzuführen – gelang es Oskar von Miller, die Eliten aus Naturwissenschaft, Ingenieurwissenschaft und industrieller Technik, darunter nicht wenige Nobelpreisträger, für die zentrale Aufgabe zu mobilisieren, einen verbindlichen Objektkanon des wissenschaftlichen und technischen Wissens zu definieren.

Die Experten sollten, gestützt auf ihren souveränen Überblick über die jeweiligen Disziplinen, in sogenannten „Wunschlisten" die Grundstruktur der Sammlungsgebiete vorgeben. Diese Wunschlisten reichen in ihrem Charakter als äußerst instruktiver historischer Quellenbestand weit über die konkrete Bedeutung für die Analyse der Sammlungsentstehung des Deutschen Museums hinaus. Sie bilden in ihrer Gesamtheit eine Bestandsaufnahme der Eliten des Deutschen Kaiserreichs um die Jahrhundertwende über die wissenschaftlich-technische Entwicklung, insbesondere seit der Frühen Neuzeit, ab, soweit sie sich in Objekten manifestierte. Die Experten legten fest, welche Objekte museumswürdig waren und kodifizierten auf diese Weise einen Kanon materieller Kultur, der auf dem aktuell verfügbaren naturwissenschaftlichen und technischen Wissen basierte. Das versammelte Expertenwissen des Deutschen Kaiserreichs identifizierte insgesamt rund 7.000 Objekte, die als würdig für ein „Museum von Meisterwerken der Naturwissenschaft und Technik" – so der ursprüngliche Name der Münchner Einrichtung – gehalten wurden.[26]

Ein Teil der Sammlungen des Deutschen Museums fällt aus dem Bild der neu entwickelten Systematik heraus: der Grundstock der ersten 2.023 Objekte, die von der Bayerischen Akademie aus ihrem umfangreiche Bestand an mathematisch-physikalische Kollektionen gestiftet wurden. Die sogenannte „Akademiesammlung" enthielt Instrumente und Apparate zu Forschungszwecken ebenso wie Objekte zur akademischen Ausbildung und Lehre sowie zur Popularisierung von Wissenschaft.[27]

Jenseits der Zielsetzung, über die Wunschlisten den Aufbau der Bestände zu verwissenschaftlichen, war die Sammlungspraxis von den

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26 Museum von Meisterwerken der Naturwissenschaft und Technik. Verzeichnis der für die Ausgestaltung des provisorischen Museums in Aussicht genommenen Sammlungsgegenstände. München [1905]. In: Archiv des Deutschen Museums, Verwaltungsakten 4014; vgl. Füßl 2003, S. 83.

27 Vgl. Willoweit 2009.

Sachzwängen der begrenzten Ressourcen an Zeit, Geld und Personal geprägt. Millers nationalen Spendenaufruf aus dem Jahr 1903 interpretierten viele Unternehmen dahingehend, dem Museum ihre neuesten Produkte zu schicken. Schon Ende 1904 beklagte er sich beispielsweise über eine dem Museum angebotene umfangreiche Sammlung von Schienenprofilen, die zwar als „Zierde jeder industriellen Ausstellung" gelten könne, für ein „wissenschaftliches Museum" aber völlig unbrauchbar sei.[28] Diese Schenkung wurde jedoch, ebenso wie viele andere, nicht abgelehnt, denn es ging den Museumsgründern insbesondere auch darum, potentielle Stifter nicht vor den Kopf zu stoßen. Die zahlreichen Stiftungen der Industrie verurteilten den in den Wunschlisten angelegten Versuch eines kontrollierten und reflektierten Vorgehens auf der Basis wissenschaftlich fundierter Sammlungskriterien zum Scheitern. Das Ergebnis war eine kontingente Sammlung, die im sinnstiftenden Rekurs auf das Konzept der Meisterwerke, das die Museumsgründer aus der Welt der Kunstmuseen gezielt übernahmen, retrospektiv ‚rationalisiert' und kulturell überhöht wurde. Objekte, die Oskar von Miller und seinen Mitstreitern aus der Perspektive der Jahre um 1903 noch als unbrauchbar erschienen, wurden im weiteren Verlauf der Museumsentwicklung durch ihre bloße Verortung im nationalen Kanon der Meisterwerke gleichsam nobilitiert.[29]

Festzuhalten ist zudem, dass sich das zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts entwickelte Ordnungssystem als hochgradig persistent erwies. Das Klassifikationsschema blieb trotz der ständigen Anpassung des Museums an die Dynamik des Wandels von Naturwissenschaft und Technik weitestgehend stabil. Der in ein mehrstelliges Dezimalsystem ausdifferenzierte Katalog der Fachgebiete wurde in dem Jahrhundert seit der Museumsgründung hier und da nachjustiert. Während bisweilen weitere Fachgebieten wie

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28 Oskar von Miller an Wilhelm Hartmann, 22.12.1904, zit. nach Füßl 2003, S. 85.

29 Hier stellt sich die Frage nach dem spezifischen Institutionencharakter von Technikmuseen, der im Falle der Deutschen Museums zwischen einem hohen Grad an institutioneller Autonomie und einer ausgeprägten Definitionsmacht über seine Kernfunktionsfelder des Sammelns und Ausstellens auf der einen Seite und einem prekären Status als zur Gesellschaft hin weit geöffnetes Netzwerk von personalen und kollektiven Akteuren auf der anderen Seite oszillierte. Für letztere Deutung lassen sich u. a. zahlreiche instruktive Beispiele aus den Sammlungsgebieten Luftfahrt und Schifffahrt anführen; siehe Trischler 2003, S. 6–19; Füßl 2000, S. 167–175; Broelmann 2003, S. 219–253.

jüngst etwa die Gentechnologie und die Nanotechnologie dem Katalog hinzugefügt wurden, wurden nur einige wenige Gebiete wie etwa das „Theaterwesen" später wieder ausgesondert. Hält man sich aber vor Augen, wie sehr sich Naturwissenschaft und Technik im Verlauf des 20. Jahrhundert gewandelt haben, so lässt sich die Zwischenthese einer bemerkenswerten Konstanz der Ordnungssysteme formulieren, die sich an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert herausbildeten.

Wenn wir im Folgenden einen vergleichenden Blick auf die aus den jeweiligen Sammlungskulturen erwachsenden Wissensordnungen der Schwesterinstitutionen des Deutschen Museums in Wien und London werfen, fällt auch hier zuvorderst ein hohes Maß an Übereinstimmungen auf. Diese Parallelitäten können insofern nicht besonders verwundern, als sich die drei Museen wechselseitig intensiv beobachteten und die Museumsleitungen in ihren Handlungsbegründungen jeweils aufeinander rekurrierten.

2. FALLBEISPIEL WIEN: DAS TECHNISCHE MUSEUM WIEN

Im Technischen Museum für Industrie und Gewerbe, wie das Wiener Museum bei seiner Gründung im Jahr 1909 hieß, nahm der Sammlungsaufbau zunächst einen anderen Weg. Das Wiener Museum übernahm eine ganze Reihe von historisch gewachsenen Sammlungen und stand daher – anders als das Vorbild Deutsches Museum, das allein durch die bei seiner Gründung übernommene mathematisch-physikalische Sammlung der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaft mit der tradierten, bis in die Frühe Neuzeit zurückreichende Wissenssystematik verbunden war – in einer langen Kontinuität der Wissensordnung. Ein Schlüsselmoment für die Herausbildung dieser tradierten Wissensordnung lässt sich recht präzise datieren: In den Jahren 1748 bis 1751 schuf Franz Stephan von Lothringen, der Gemahl der Kaiserin Maria Theresia, ein weichenstellendes Sammlungskonzept, das die Einheit der Habsburger Kunst- und Wunderkammer in mehrere Kabinette auflöste. Das Naturalienkabinett ging später weitgehend in das Naturhistorische Museum über, das Münzkabinett und die Kunstkammer verschmolzen im Kunsthistorischen Museum, und ein Gutteil des Physikalischen Kabinetts gelangte über verwickelte Wege und Umwege schließlich in das Technische Museum.[30]

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30 Vgl. hierzu und zum Folgenden Lackner, Jesswein und Zuna-Kratky 2009, S. 27–89.

Wichtiger noch für die Herausbildung der Wissensordnung des Wiener Technikmuseums war das sogenannte „Fabriksprodukten-Kabinett", das auf eine Order von Kaiser Franz I. vom 11. September 1807 an die ‚Chefs' aller österreichischen, ungarischen und siebenbürgischen Landesteile zurückging: Franz teilte mit kaiserlichem Handschreiben seinen Beschluss mit,

> in Wien in einem eigenen Kabinete gesamte innländische Fabricks und Manufacturprodukte aufstellen zu laßen, um dadurch jedermann in den Stand zu setzen, sich eine allgemeine Uibersicht dessen, was in Meinen Erbstaaten in diesen Fächern erzeugt wird, zu verschaffen, und somit Absatz und Verkehr zu befördern, und die Industrie mehr und mehre anzueifern und zu beleben[.][31]

Weniger als zwei Jahrzehnte später unternahm der große Technologe und Systematisierer Karl Karmarsch einen ersten Versuch, die bereits auf rund 16.000 Objekte angewachsene Sammlung zu ordnen. Er gliederte den Bestand in elf Gruppen, die von Metallen und Gläsern bis zu Menschen- und Tierhaaren reichten.[32]

Die Kaiserliche Sammlungsinitiative und Karmarschs Ordnungsversuche stehen im doppelten Kontext der staatlichen Industrialisierungspolitik auf der einen Seite und der Herausbildung einer verwissenschaftlichten Technologie und Warenkunde auf der anderen Seite. Als das Technische Museum Wien gegründet wurde, trat es das Erbe dieser Bestrebungen an. Es inkorportierte nicht nur das Fabriksprodukten-Kabinett, sondern auch eine Vielzahl weiterer Sammlungen, die aus dem Bestreben resultierten, Ordnung in die dynamische Technikentwicklung des 19. Jahrhunderts zu bringen. Darunter befanden sich sowohl die Sammlungen des Gewerbe-hygienischen Museums, des Museums der Geschichte der österreichischen Arbeit, des Eisenbahnmuseums und des Postmuseums und damit Bestände, die bereits musealisiert worden waren, als auch die Modellsammlungen der „k.k Landwirthschafts-Gesellschaft", die Maschinenmodell- und die Werkzeugsammlung des Polytechnischen Instituts in Wien, die Bestände an Bergwerksmünzen und -medaillen des „k.& k. Montanverkaufsamtes" sowie private Kollektionen wie etwa die

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31 Zit. nach Technisches Museum Wien 2006, S. 10.

32 Vgl. Karmarsch 1823, S. 1–197.

Schlüssel- und Schlössersammlung des Salzburger Hoteliers Andreas Dillinger.[33]

Die bunt zusammengewürfelten Objektbestände entstammten teils komplementären, teils konkurrierenden Ordnungssystemen des 19. Jahrhunderts, die im neuen Museum zusammenflossen. Sie waren aber nur bedingt geeignet, das Ziel der Wiener Museumsgründer zu realisieren, „ein lückenloses Bild der gesamten industriellen und gewerblichen Tätigkeit sowie des Verkehrswesens" zu bieten und die „technischen Leistungen der neuesten Zeit" zu dokumentieren.[34] Nach dem Vorbild des Münchner Schwestermuseums wandte sich die Museumsleitung daher mit einem Aufruf an Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, die Sammlung mit Objektspenden zu bereichern. Die personale Grundlage dieser groß angelegten Aktion der Jahre 1914 bis 1917/18 war ein breit gespanntes Netzwerk von nicht weniger als 800 Experten. Sie waren als sogenannte „Fachkonsulenten" ehrenamtlich für das Museum unterwegs, um Objekte einzuwerben und den Stand von Wissenschaft und Technik in der Hochindustrialisierungsphase an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert zu dokumentieren und zu systematisieren.

Auffällig ist dabei, wie stark sich das Wiener Museum in seiner Sammlungspolitik an dem Vorbild des älteren Münchner Hauses orientierte. Nicht nur in der Strategie, sondern auch in der Systematik des Sammelns folgte das Wiener Museum dem Münchner Weg. Bisweilen entwickelte sich die Verknüpfung zwischen München und Wien aber auch zu einem wechselseitigen Dialog, etwa wenn das Deutsche Museum die Wiener Schwester um Erlaubnis ersuchte, den Luxuswagen „Hannibal", den einzig erhaltenen Wagen der berühmten Pferdeeisenbahn

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33 Ebenfalls in diesem Kontext ist die Warenkundesammlung zu sehen, die in ihren Ursprüngen aus den gescheiterten Bemühungen resultierte, die Exponate der Wiener Weltausstellung von 1873 in eine permanente Institution zu überführen. Mit über 20.000 Objekten zählt die Warenkundesammlung, die nach einer langen Odyssee erst 1985 im Technische Museum Wien landete, nicht nur zu den wichtigsten Beständen des Museums, sondern sie ist größte erhaltene Kollektion dieser Art in Europa. Sie „repräsentiert einen gigantischen Warenkorb der Welt um 1900, sowohl der importierten Kolonialwaren als auch der exportierten Rohstoffe und Produkte" der österreichischen Doppelmonarchie und Europas; Lackner Jesswein und Zuna-Kratky 2009, S. 59; zur Geschichte des Bestands siehe nun Gruber u. a. 2011, S. 34–43.

34 Lackner, Jesswein und Zuna-Kratky 2009, S. 152.

von Budweis nach Linz, nachbauen zu dürfen.[35] Auffällig ist zudem, dass beide Museen ihrerseits auf Objektensembles rekurrierten, welche die jeweiligen Museumsgründer auf den Pariser Weltausstellungen von 1889 und 1900 kennen gelernt hatten. Sie übernahmen die Pariser Idee, ein Alchemistenlabor und das chemische Labor Justus von Liebigs, eine barocke Apotheke, eine Sensenschmiede und eine historische Webstube zu rekonstruieren.[36] Zu einem Signum der Technikmuseen generell wurde zudem das Konzept, die Entwicklung des Montanwesens in einem Anschauungsbergwerk zu visualisieren, das erstmals im Deutschen Museum nach dem Vorbild der Pariser Weltausstellung von 1900 realisiert und dann vielfach nachgeahmt wurde.[37]

Die in der Phase der Museumsgründung gefundene systematische Ordnung der Bestände in Sammlungsgruppen erwies sich, ebenso wie in München, als bemerkenswert langlebig. Zwar wurden im Verlauf des 20. Jahrhunderts immer wieder neue Sammlungsbereiche additiv hinzugefügt, um die Dynamik des wissenschaftlich-technischen Wandels nachvollziehen zu können, auch in Wien zeigt sich jedoch die am Vorabend des Ersten Weltkriegs entwickelte Wissensordnung in ihren Grundstrukturen als überaus stabil. Noch heute bildet sie die Grundlage der Sammlungspolitik des Wiener Museums.

3. FALLBEISPIEL LONDON: DAS SCIENCE MUSEUM

Auch die Sammlungs- und Ausstellungspolitiken des Science Museum in London und des Deutschen Museums lassen sich als Dialog lesen. Für den Münchner Museumsgründer Oskar von Miller war das Londoner Museum neben dem Pariser Conservatoire des Art et Métiers Vorbild und Vexierbild gleichermaßen, und seine mehrfachen Besuche des South Kensington Museums ab 1883 inspirierten ihn in hohem Maße dazu, eine vergleichbare Einrichtung in seiner Heimatstadt München zu schaffen. In London kritisierte Miller neben der fehlenden internationalen Ausrichtung der Sammlungen und der „schlechte[n] Unterbringung der berühmten Denkmäler, die damals lediglich auf dem Hof in einem Bretterschuppen untergebracht waren“, die mangelnde didaktisch-pädagogische Qualität der Ausstellungen; ohne nähere Erläuterungen

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35 Vgl. ebd., S. 153.

36 Siehe dazu Vaupel 2002, und Vaupel 2003; vgl. allgemein Blumtritt, Hashagen und Trischler 2003.

37 Vgl. dazu Freymann 2003; Lackner 2011, S. 18.

und ohne eine historische Einordnung könne „nur der Eingeweihte" die Bedeutung der Objekte ermessen.[38] Wie stark im Gegenzug das Münchner Museum die Entwicklung des Londoner Museums beeinflusste, verdeutlicht eine bezeichnende Episode aus dem Jahr 1931. Henry Lyons, der seit der Herauslösung des Science Museum aus dem South Kensington Museum im Jahr 1909 als Direktor fungierte, besichtigte das Münchner Schwestermuseum, das in dieser Phase als weltweit führende Einrichtung galt.[39] Für Lyons war die in München gewählte räumliche Anordnung der Sammlungen vorbildhaft für die von ihm intendierte Neukonzeption des Science Museum als dreidimensionale Enzyklopädie der Naturwissenschaft und Technik. Die Wissensordnung des Münchner Museums inspirierte ihn dazu, einen Masterplan für eine räumlich klar strukturierte Taxonomie von Naturwissenschaft und Technik zu entwickeln, der in einem längerfristigen Prozess je nach Verfügbarkeit finanzieller Ressourcen umgesetzt werden sollte.

Die Ordnungsstrukturen des Münchner und des Wiener Museums wurden in ihren Grundzügen in den Jahren nach der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert kodifiziert, als die Ingenieure ihren epischen Kampf um die Gleichberechtigung der Technik neben den Naturwissenschaften bereits weitgehend erfolgreich ausgefochten und ihren Triumph mit der Gründung von nationalen Technikmuseen gekrönt hatten.[40] Die Wissensordnung des älteren Londoner Schwestermuseum wurde dagegen einige Jahrzehnte früher, im Wesentlichen in den 1870er und 1880er Jahren, ausgehandelt. In dieser Phase galten Technik und technisches Wissen als nachrangig gegenüber den Naturwissenschaften und konnten nur als Anwendungen von naturwissenschaftlichem Wissen Eigengeltung beanspruchen. Die Prärogative der Naturwissenschaften zeigte sich noch in der offiziellen Namensgebung des nun aus dem Verbund des South Kensington Museum herausgelösten und damit autonomen Science Museum, und erst die 1923 vollzogene Umbenennung in „National Museum of Science and Industry" signalisierte jenen Statusgewinn des Technischen, den die Promotoren der Münchner und Wiener Schwestermuseen bereits für sich verbucht hatten.

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38 Miller 1955, S. 65; vgl. allg. Füßl 2005, S. 251–253.

39 Vgl. Finn 2003, S. 397–402; Scheinfeldt 2010, S. 296–301; zum Folgenden Rooney 2010, S. 163–165.

40 Siehe dazu aus der Fülle der Literatur Staudenmaier 1989, und jüngst den provokativen Essay von Forman 2007; zur Debatte im Science Museum auch Bud 1997.

Die Dominanz der Naturwissenschaften zeigt sich in der taxonomischen Grundstruktur der Londoner Sammlungen, die 1889 in dem Bericht einer vom Committee of Council on Education eingesetzten Kommission, das den Privy Council der Monarchie in allen Fragen von Bildung und Erziehung beriet, festgelegt wurde. Vorausgegangen war ein jahrelanger Aushandlungsprozess, in dem sich prominente Naturwissenschaftler wie die Physiker Frederick Guthrie und James Clerk Maxwell oder der Biologe und Präsident der Royal Society Thomas Henry Huxley mit ihrem Konzept der „pure and applied sciences" gegenüber den Vertretern der Technik um den Textilindustriellen und Patentreformer Bennett Woodcroft weitgehend durchgesetzt hatten. Letztere hatten für die Fortführung eines eigenständigen Museums des Patent Office votiert. Diese Ordnung blieb, wie Robert Bud jüngst in einer detaillierten Untersuchung nachgewiesen hat, über mehr als ein Jahrhundert, ja im Grunde bis heute, *ceteris paribus* stabil und bildete die konzeptionelle Basis für die Sammlungstätigkeit von Generationen von Kuratorinnen und Kuratoren.[41] Vergleicht man die durchaus hierarchisch gedachten Struktur der sechs Sammlungsgebiete („a. Mechanics and Mathematics, b. Physics, c. Chemistry, Metallurgy and Principles of Agriculture, d. Biology, e. Geology, Mineralogy, and Mining, f. Navigation ‚Nautical Astronomy', and Physiography") der 1880er Jahre mit der Sammlungsstruktur der 1980er Jahre („1. Physics, 2. Chemistry, 3. Medicine, 4. Electrical Engineering and Telecommunication, 5. Transport, 6. Mechanical Engineering, 7. Earth and Space Sciences"), fällt ein bemerkenswert hohes Maß an Kontinuitäten jenseits der rasanten Dynamik der naturwissenschaftlich-technischen Entwicklung auf. Selbst die normative Hierarchie der Sammlungsgebiete blieb erhalten. Die auffällige Hinzunahme der Medizin resultierte vor allem aus der Übernahme der medizinhistorischen Sammlung des Wellcome Trust im Jahr 1976, die mit über 100.000 Objekten in etwa so umfangreich war wie der gesamte Objektbestand des Science Museum bis dato.[42]

Auch für London lässt sich resümieren, dass das an der langen Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert gefundene Ordnungsschema der Sammlungen außerordentlich persistent war und die Wirklichkeit im und außerhalb des Museums strukturierte.

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41 Vgl. hierzu und zum Folgenden Bud 2010, S. 256–271.

42 Vgl. dazu Skinner 1986.

KONTINUITÄTEN DER WISSENSORDNUNG: EIN FAZIT

Die zentralen Ergebnisse dieser Untersuchung der Wissensordnungen der Technikmuseen im langen 19. Jahrhundert lassen sich in vier Punkten kurz zusammenfassen:

1. Das 19. Jahrhundert erlebte den Aufstieg des modernen Technikmuseums. Eng verknüpft mit dem Prozess der Industrialisierung bildeten sich in Europa Wissenschafts- und Technikmuseen heraus, die sich zu Zentren naturwissenschaftlich-technischer Forschung und Bildung entwickelten. Trotz zahlreicher Kontinuitäten zu den Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Frühen Neuzeit markiert dieser Typus von Museum, der im auf dem Höhepunkt der Französischen Revolution gegründeten Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers seinen Durchbruch hatte, eine neue institutionelle und epistemische Qualität. Im öffentlichen Raum dieser Museen wurden Wissensordnungen von Naturwissenschaft und Technik verhandelt und kodifiziert.

2. Die Entstehung des Technikmuseums war mit der Industrialisierung verknüpft, aber erst im Kontext der Herausbildung der modernen Wissensgesellschaft lässt sich die auffällige Gründungswelle nationaler Technikmuseen an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert plausibel erklären. Die Museumsgründungen um 1900 reagierten auf die Bedürfnisse der sich in Europa etablierenden Wissensgesellschaften, Institutionen vorzuhalten, die wissenschaftliches Wissen durch den Verweis auf die materielle Kultur dieser Wissensgesellschaften popularisierten und dabei zugleich neue Ordnungssysteme etablierten.

3. Die nicht weniger auffälligen Ähnlichkeiten der Wissensordnungen der drei näher betrachteten Technikmuseen in München, Wien und London verdankten sich nicht zuletzt einem intensiven museologischen Diskurs über die nationalen Grenzen hinweg und dem Rekurs der jeweiligen Museumsführungen auf ihre internationalen Referenzinstitutionen. Der transnationale Rekurs half, das eigene Handeln zu begründen und die erforderlichen Ressourcen in Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft zu mobilisieren. Der Gleichklang der Entwicklungen in den nationalen Technikmuseen erklärt sich auch dadurch, dass diese sich vielfach an dem Vorbild der großen Weltausstellungen orientierten, wobei insbesondere die großen Expositionen in Paris der Jahre 1889 und 1900 den Erfahrungshorizont der Museumsinitiatoren strukturierten.

4. Am auffälligsten und im Kontext der zentralen Fragestellungen dieses Artikels am wichtigsten ist das hohe Maß an Persistenz der Wissensordnungen. In allen untersuchten Museen waren die an der Wende zum 20. Jahrhundert etablierten Sammlungssystematiken überaus langlebig. Die Klassifikationsschemata wurden an die Dynamik des Wandels von Naturwissenschaft und Technik angepasst, indem neue Sammlungsbereiche hinzugefügt wurden. In ihren Grundstrukturen aber blieben die Ordnungen weitgehend konstant und manifestierten gar noch ein Jahrhundert später die normativen Hierarchien des Systems von Naturwissenschaft und Technik, in dem sie entstanden waren.

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PETRA LUTZ

DIE POPULARISIERUNG DES MENSCHEN

Konstellationen von Objekten und Betrachtern im Deutschen Hygiene-Museum

WISSENS- UND BESUCHERORDNUNGEN

1911 war die Popularisierung von Wissen über den Menschen extrem populär. 5,5 Millionen Besucher besichtigten die erste Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung in Dresden. Besonders beliebt war die „Populäre Abteilung". Den Andrang zu ihrem zentralen Pavillon „Der Mensch" musste die Polizei regeln. Ein Erfolg, der ein Jahr später zur Gründung eines National-Hygiene-Museums führte, das als Deutsches Hygiene-Museum bis heute besteht.[1]

Dabei ging es dem Initiator Karl August Lingner, der sein Vermögen mit der Durchsetzung des Mundwassers Odol als Markenartikel gemacht hatte, ebenso wie den wissenschaftlichen Vertretern der Disziplin Hygiene von Anfang an um mehr als um das Kumulieren und Vermitteln von Wissen. Auch wenn Lingner seine Gründung 1912 „National-Hygiene-Museum" nannte – vermutlich nicht zuletzt, um maximale institutionelle Autorität zu generieren: adressiert wurde nicht etwa die Vergangenheit, sondern die Zukunft. Es ging um die Verbesserung des Menschen, und von dieser erwartete man sich eine Steigerung der Leistungsfähigkeit der Gesellschaft. „Menschenökonomie" war im Hygiene-Diskurs dieser Zeit ein wichtiger Begriff, in dem Menschen zur rationalisierbaren und manipulierbaren Ressource wurden.[2]

1 Vgl. Vogel 2003, S. 29.
2 Steller 2008, S. 33.

Bereits 1837 fragte der Hygieniker Josephe-Henri-Gabriel Réveillé-Paris: „[W]as vermag heute die Medizin? Sie ist die Wissenschaft des Menschen (*science de l'homme*) im weitesten Sinne. Ohne sie ist es auf immer unmöglich, die Lösung des berühmten Problems Erkenne Dich selbst zu finden".[3] Städtische bürgerliche Milieus hatten begonnen, auf neue Art nach den Bedingungen ihrer körperlichen Existenz zu fragen. „Im Kontext einer Kultur des Wissens, des populären Glaubens an die Erkennbarkeit der Welt und an den Fortschritt ihrer Beherrschbarkeit", so der Historiker Philipp Sarasin, bezogen sie das Gebot des Orakels von Delphi, sich selbst zu erkennen, auf das Wissen über den eigenen Körper. Genau dieses Wissen wollten die Hygieniker bereitstellen – und zwar dezidiert für alle: „Primarschüler, Gebildete, Arbeiter".[4] Zahlreiche Ausstellungsabteilungen wurden in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts unter den Titel „Erkenne Dich selbst" gestellt.[5] Für sie galt, wie für das Diktum von Réveillé-Paris: Diejenigen, die im Namen der Hygiene zur Selbsterkenntnis aufgefordert wurden, wurden nicht nur als Subjekte der Erkenntnis angesprochen, sondern auch als Objekte der Konsequenzen, die sie aus solcher Erkenntnis ableiten konnten – es waren ihre Körper, die sie durch die entsprechenden Anstrengungen den gezeigten gesunden, vorbildlichen Körpern ähnlich machen sollten. In das Programm der ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung schrieb Karl August Lingner 1908:

> Man kann fest davon überzeugt sein, daß die allgemeine Unzufriedenheit, die in den unteren Volksschichten herrscht, zum großen Teil ihre Ursache in dem schlechten Gesundheitszustand und in dem physischen Unbehagen der Leute hat. Auch hier kann die hygienische Belehrung ungeheuer viel Gutes schaffen.[6]

Es war kein Zufall, dass diese „Belehrung" vor allem über Ausstellungen erfolgen sollte, gehörten diese doch bis weit ins 20. Jahrhundert hinein – auch, aber nicht nur bei Walter Benjamin – zu den „vorgeschobensten Posten auf dem Terrain der Veranschaulichungsmethoden".[7] Dabei wurde die Annahme, dass wer über die richtigen Informationen verfügte, auch

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3 Zit. nach Sarasin 2001, S. 118.
4 Ebd., S. 118–120.
5 Vgl. Bethke 2011, S. 256.
6 Zit. nach Poser 1998, S. 153.
7 Zit. nach Nikolow 2006, S. 263.

richtig handeln würde, zumindest öffentlich selten angezweifelt. Um den Erwerb von „Kenntnissen" durch „Anschauung" ging es Lingner, und entsprechend entwickelte zuerst die erste Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung, dann das National-Hygiene-Museum, so Berit Bethke, „innovative Sichtbarmachungsstrategien, um den Körper umfassend darzustellen". Geschöpft wurde dabei aus einem Fundus von Traditionen, der die naturwissenschaftlichen Visualisierungsstrategien weit überschritt – etwa aus Reklame, Kunst oder statistischen Darstellungskonzepten.[8] Zunehmend wurden die entsprechenden Medien, Objekte und Darstellungsformen aber weiterentwickelt, die Popularisierung professionalisierte sich.

Die Exponate dieser Ausstellungen bildeten Wissen nicht einfach ab, sondern für diese Exponate und in diesen Exponaten (zumindest in ihrer Produktion) entstand Wissen. Welche Fragestellungen verhandelt wurden, das folgte nicht zuletzt den Anforderungen, die die Adressierung einer breiten Öffentlichkeit mit sich brachte. Auch die Visualisierungsmethoden, die adaptiert wurden, brachten ihre eigenen Logiken mit sich. Die Auftraggeber und Produzenten der Exponate hingegen verstanden sich als möglichst effektive Übermittler eines als objektiv und nicht zeitgebunden verstandenen Wissens. Wie sich die historische Wissensordnung der Hygiene in den Ausstellungsabteilungen und Exponaten der ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung und des Museums materialisierte, das wird beim Blick auf die mittlerweile in die Sammlung des Museums eingegangenen Medien dieses Wissens erkennbar.

PERSPEKTIVEN

Erst etliche Jahrzehnte und Regimewechsel nach seiner Gründung, in den späten 1980er, vor allem aber in den 1990er Jahren, wendete das Museum den Blick erstmals mit einem dezidiert historischen Erkenntnisinteresse in die eigene Vergangenheit, und damit auf die Geschichte des Körpers. In der gleichen Zeit wurden universitäre Sammlungen wieder entdeckt und ausgestellt. So zeigte sich, dass auch Repräsentationen des Wissens eine Geschichte haben. In den Blick gerieten dabei nicht zuletzt Objekte, die sich mit dem menschlichen Körper beschäftigten.[9] Die Selbsthistori-

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8 Bethke 2011, S. 252 f.

9 Vgl. te Heesen 2009, S. 487; Bethke 2011, S. 249 f. Auch Cornelius Borck hat am Beispiel des Medizinaufklärers Fritz Kahn ausgeführt, wie die von diesem eingesetzten Bildformen gerade in ihrem Aufklärungsanspruch

sierung hat für das Deutsche Hygiene-Museum Konsequenzen, die das Selbstverständnis und damit auch die aktuelle Ausstellungsarbeit grundlegend betreffen, und die Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Geschichte ist noch lange nicht abgeschlossen, wie die unten stehenden Ausführungen zu frühen Exponaten zeigen. Mittlerweile geht neben zahlreich entstandenen Einzeluntersuchungen und der systematisch erfolgenden Aufarbeitung von Sammlungsschwerpunkten ein an der Universität Bielefeld angesiedeltes Forschungsprojekt grundlegenden Fragen nach der Rolle des Deutschen Hygiene-Museums im Hygiene- und Gesundheits-Diskurs des 20. Jahrhunderts nach.[10]

Was das Deutsche Hygiene-Museum von 2012 mit dem National-Hygiene-Museum von 1912 teilt, ist nicht zuletzt sein Thema. Wie damals beschäftigt sich das Museum mit Menschen, was bedeutet, dass Menschen Wissen über Menschen an Menschen kommunizieren. Im Unterschied zu ethnologischen oder historischen Museen bezieht sich dieses Wissen vor allem auf Menschen vor Ort und in der Gegenwart. Das macht es gerade in diesem Museum besonders interessant, bei der Inspektion vergangener Wissensordnungen auch die jeweilige Perspektive auf die Besucher einzubeziehen. Denn diese Perspektive lässt sich schwerlich ganz von der entkoppeln, die über die Medien des Museums vermittelt werden soll. Das Deutsche Hygiene-Museum hat seinen Gegenstand, sein Selbstverständnis und, damit verbunden, die Rolle seines „Publikums" immer wieder neu interpretiert – manchmal bewusst, manchmal vielleicht auch ohne dies bewusst zu reflektieren und zu diskutieren. Wenn also der Gegenstand des Museums explizite Aussagen über den oder die Menschen sind, ist es erhellend, diesen expliziten Aussagen die impliziten Aussagen gegenüberzustellen, die man aus der Haltung

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immer auch die Grenzen der Modelle visualisierten, die sie veranschaulichten; vgl. Borck 2008, S. 22.

10 Zu diesem Projekt an der Universität Bielefeld unter der Leitung von Sybilla Nikolow siehe: http://www.uni-bielefeld.de/iwt/forschung/ag/dhmd/ (letzter Aufruf: 3.9.2013). In der Reihe Sammlungsschwerpunkte sind bislang erschienen: Roeßiger und Schwarz 2011; Lang, Mühlenberend und Roeßiger 2010; Stiftung Deutsches Hygiene-Museum 2006; Stiftung Deutsches Hygiene-Museum 2002. Zu den erwähnten Untersuchungen einzelner Fragen oder Zeiträumen gehören unter vielem anderen: Beier und Roth 1990; Hahn 1996; Poser 1998; Roeßiger 1999; Schrön 2003; Fässler 2006; Büchi 2006; König 2007; Steller 2008; Lutz 2012; Nikolow und Steller 2012.

ableiten kann, die gegenüber den Besuchern eingenommen wird, also zu fragen: Wie werden diese betrachtet, klassifiziert und adressiert? Als Rezipienten, die belehrt werden oder sich ändern, die unterhalten werden oder sich einbringen sollen, gehören die Besucher gewissermaßen zu den Objektkonstellationen des Museums.

DAS SETTING: DIE HYGIENE UND EIN NEUER TYPUS VON MUSEUM

Schon vor 1911 hatte es Hygiene-Ausstellungen gegeben, aber nicht in dieser Größe und nicht mit einer vergleichbaren Resonanz. In der ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung von 1908 und schließlich in Lingners National-Hygiene-Museum materialisierte sich nicht nur das Wissen der wissenschaftlichen Disziplin, sondern auch deren Anspruch auf gesellschaftliche Wirkmacht. Schon wegen dieses Anspruchs war die Hygiene „strukturell populärwissenschaftlich".[11] Das ist zentral, wenn man die Bedeutung dieser Ausstellungen und des späteren Museums verstehen will: Seit dem 19. Jahrhundert war die Hygiene, die Lehre von der Erhaltung der Gesundheit und der Vermeidung von Krankheit, immer deskriptive wie normative Wissenschaft zugleich, und dieser Doppelcharakter war maßgeblich für den Prozess ihrer Popularisierung.[12] Die Verbindung zwischen biologisch-naturwissenschaftlichem Forschen und dem Formulieren gesellschaftlicher Forderungen war integraler Bestandteil des Fachs.

Den Zeitgenossen schien die Hygiene Antworten auf die Herausforderungen zu geben, mit denen sie die „Vielzahl sich gegenseitig befeuernder Revolutionen auf den unterschiedlichsten Gebieten" um die Jahrhundertwende konfrontierte. Gegenüber dem imperialistischen Wettlauf der europäischen Nationen, gegenüber Industrialisierung, Urbanisierung und einem rasanten Bevölkerungswachstum, kurz: gegenüber einer mehr und mehr beschleunigenden Moderne schienen traditionelle Lösungsmodelle und Instanzen immer schon unzureichend.[13] Und so schien angesichts einer auf Dauer gestellten Krisendiagnostik einerseits und eines umfassenden Glaubens an die Wissenschaften andererseits die Hygiene Großlösungen zu bieten: für Individuen, für soziale Verhältnisse und – als Rassenhygiene – für den „Volkskörper".

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11 Sarasin 2001, S. 124.
12 Vgl. Schrön 2003, S. 311 f.
13 Vgl. Steller 2008, S. 2 f.

Entsprechend war das Deutsche Hygiene-Museum weit mehr Lernort als Musentempel oder gar Schatzkammer. Genau hier lag das Neue im Ansatz der Sozial- und Hygiene-Museen und -ausstellungen. Sie sollten pädagogisch für „alltägliche Belange" eingesetzt und zu Lernorten für „instrumentelles Wissen" werden.[14] Es ging um Anleitungen zum richtigen Leben.

Die expositorischen Großprojekte standen für eine tendenziell grenzenlose Expansion des disziplinären Zuständigkeitsbereichs der Hygiene im frühen 20. Jahrhundert. Heute würde man von ‚Leitwissenschaft' sprechen. Der präventive Ansatz der Hygiene zielte auf das Verhalten des Individuums (Individualhygiene), die Gestaltung seiner Umgebung (Sozialhygiene) und auf den sogenannten „Volkskörper" (Rassenhygiene), wobei sich die Gewichtungen im Laufe der Zeit verschoben. Das gilt für das Fach, aber auch für das Deutsche Hygiene-Museum. Vor allem wurde die bereits auf der ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung einschlägig vertretene Rassenhygiene zunehmend wichtiger. In den 1930er und 1940er Jahren, in denen das Museum mit seinen Medien und Wanderausstellungen möglicherweise ein größeres Publikum erreichte als je zuvor oder danach, stellten die Mitarbeiter, die nicht aus politischen oder rassistischen Gründen entlassen worden waren, die Arbeit ganz auf die Popularisierung der Rassenhygiene ab. Das Museum war ein eminent wichtiges Sprachrohr der NS-Rassen- und Gesundheitspolitik. Nach 1945 lag das Gewicht wieder auf Individual- und Sozialhygiene. Die Rassenhygiene als Disziplin wurde abgeschafft und entfiel damit auch als eigener Bereich des Museums. Aus den Köpfen bzw. aus der deutschen Gesellschaft waren die entsprechenden Auffassungen damit noch lange nicht verschwunden, wie zum Beispiel die Geschichte der „Wiedergutmachung" für Opfer der Zwangssterilisationen erwies.[15] Die Arbeit des Hygiene-Museums hatte dazu beigetragen, sie dort nachhaltig zu implementieren.

Als Vorbild für Lingners Nachdenken über ein Hygiene-Museum diente die Konzeption für das 1903 gegründete Deutsche Museum von „Meisterwerken der Naturwissenschaft und Technik",[16] das 1925 in München eröffnete, verfasst von seinem Begründer, dem Bauingenieur Oskar von Miller. Das Dritte im Bunde dieses neuen Typus des Gesellschaftsmuseums war das 1926 gegründete Reichsmuseum für Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftskunde in Düsseldorf. Alle drei hatten den Anspruch zu zeigen,

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14 Roth 1990, S. 44.
15 Vgl. Westermann 2010.
16 Roth 1990, S. 51.

dass sich Museen dazu eignen, Wissenschaft ‚unter das Volk' zu bringen. Es ging um Aktualität. Das allerdings hatte zur Folge, dass diese Museen sich programmatisch ausgesprochen flexibel an politische Entwicklungen anpassten. So wurde das Düsseldorfer Museum ab 1933 „grundlegend umkonzipiert", und auch die anderen Sozial- und Wirtschaftsmuseen richteten sich nationalsozialistisch aus.[17]

Oskar von Miller verband mit dem Bau eines Hygiene-Museums keine geringere Zielsetzung als die „Beachtung der hygienischen Forderungen in der ganzen zivilisierten Welt".[18] Diese Formulierung kann man – wie etliche andere, etwa von Lingner – als Hinweis darauf lesen, dass sich das Projekt auch in einem noch wesentlich weiter gefassten musealen Rahmen verorten lässt: Mit der Orientierung an Idealbildern und an Verbesserungsmöglichkeiten des Menschen waren die Ausstellungen des Museums Teil der evolutionistischen und hierarchisierenden Wissensordnungen, die Tony Bennett in den naturgeschichtlichen Museen der Jahrhundertwende hergestellt sieht. Die Orientierung an diesen Ordnungen lag den Vermittlungsintentionen des Museums ebenso zugrunde, wie ein vermeintliches Wissen um die Überlegenheit der eigenen Zivilisation. Deutlich wurde den einzelnen die Notwendigkeit vermittelt, ihren eigenen „Beitrag zum unablässigen Fortschreiten der Zivilisation leisten zu müssen und damit die Gefahr des sozialen Stillstands oder schlimmer noch des Niedergangs abzuwehren".[19]

SEHEN UND GESEHEN WERDEN: DAS AUGE DER HYGIENE

Sterne sprühend, strahlend, glänzend, farbenprächtig und phantastisch ausgestaltet nahm das weit geöffnete, leuchtende Auge des Plakats zur ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung den Betrachter direkt in den Blick – und erschien zugleich als kleiner Teil des als ‚Wunders' verstandenen menschlichen Körpers (Abb. 1).[20] Aus der Perspektive heutigen Markendesigns betrachtet, verweist das Auge darauf, dass keine trockene Belehrung in Sicht ist, sondern Faszination. Die Sterne kann man durchaus auch in ihrem Anklang an Zirkus, Zauber und Varieté lesen. Rückblickend erwies sich bereits die Offenheit des Motivs als gelungener

17 Vgl. ebd., S. 54.
18 Zit. nach ebd., S. 51
19 Bennett 2010, S. 60.
20 Vgl. KMS Team 1991, S. 6 f.

1 Das Auge der Hygiene 1: Franz von Stucks Plakatentwurf zur ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung in Dresden, 1911

Schachzug: Indem eben nicht, wie bei anderen zeitgenössischen Hygiene-Ausstellungen, ein ganzer Körper oder gar eine bestimmte Tätigkeit gewählt wurde, konnte das Motiv immer wieder neu adaptiert und interpretiert werden – und das gilt bis heute. Als Plakat erwies sich Franz von Stucks Entwurf als großer Wurf, als Signet war es auf längere Sicht zu kleinteilig.[21] Es wurde vermutlich aus diesem Grund 1930 durch ein Motiv des Dresdner Werbegrafikers Willi Petzold (Abb. 2) und seitdem immer wieder durch neue Varianten des Auges ersetzt.

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21 Vgl. ebd., S. 14.

Transparenz, Durchleuchten, das Aufspüren oder Offenbaren von Verborgenem, das Sichtbarmachen von Unsichtbaren – solche Metaphern und Verfahren bildeten lange ein zentrales Motiv in der Arbeit des Museums und in seinen Ausstellungen. Noch Kundi, die Figur, die zwischen den

2 Das Auge der Hygiene 2: Willi Petzolds Plakatentwurf zur zweiten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung in Dresden, 1930

frühen 1960er Jahren und 1990 als Identifikationsfigur für Kinder fungierte, verfügte als Kundschafter über ein Fernrohr, mit dem er durch Wände sehen konnte und so nicht nur Krankheiten aufspürte, sondern auch unterlassenes Zähneputzen (Abb. 3). Veranschaulichen, Bezaubern, Unterhalten von Besuchern, aber auch Beobachtung und Kontrolle – für alles konnte das Auge stehen. Wer es ansah, war immer schon zum Objekt der Betrachtung geworden. Insofern erscheint es heute fast zwingend, dass es ein Auge war, das sich nach der ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung zum Logo des Museums entwickelte. Für die Wahl des Motivs – das bis heute beibehalten wurde – dürfte Lingners Erfahrung

3 „Kundi“ (hier in einer Version von 1983) trat in Trickfilmen oder Comics auf, als Puppe und auf Spielkarten

als früher Pionier der Reklame eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt haben, wobei interessanterweise die Entstehung des Plakates und damit auch die Entscheidung für das Augen-Motiv nicht ganz durchsichtig ist. Für die erste Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung ließ Lingner einen freien internationalen Plakatwettbewerb ausschreiben, für den 552 Entwürfe eingingen, von denen keiner den Vorstellungen der Jury entsprach. Unstrittig ist, dass Lingner daraufhin den seinerzeit auch als Plakatmaler ausgesprochen populären Maler und Bildhauer Franz von Stuck mit einem Entwurf beauftragte. Einer vermutlich erst später entstandenen Legende nach folgte Lingner dabei einer Traumvision. Demzufolge wäre es allein seine Idee gewesen, das Auge als Symbol zu nehmen. Als wahrscheinlicher gilt heute die Version, dass Lingner dabei einem aufgrund der Ausführung nicht verwendbaren Entwurf des Dresdner Werbegrafikers Willi Petzold folgte.[22] Denn als der ‚Dresdner Anzeiger' über die Wettbewerbsbeiträge berichtete, hob er bereits „ein strahlendes Auge Gottes" hervor.[23]

In der Öffentlichkeit jedenfalls traf das Motiv des Jugendstilplakats auf sehr gute Resonanz, und das Auge fand auch auf anderen Werbeträgern seinerzeit eine schon fast globale Verbreitung, etwa als Motiv einer Reklame-Marke.[24] Unklar ist, ob Lingner das Plakat auch schon für das Museum gedacht hatte, jedenfalls wurde es 1920 komplett – wenn auch mit entsprechend verändertem Text und abgeänderter Raumaufteilung – als Signet für das Museum eingesetzt. Schließlich tauchte es auch auf dem Briefbogen des Museums auf und wurde als Warenzeichen eingetragen.[25] 1930, auf den Plakaten zur zweiten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung, wurde eine wesentlich stilisiertere Version Petzolds genutzt – während im Museum weiterhin das Stuck-Signet genutzt wurde.[26] Ab 1933 trat das Auge gegenüber der NS-Symbolik zumindest in den Hintergrund, scheint jedoch nicht komplett abgeschafft worden zu sein.[27] 1949 wurde das Auge erneut verändert, allerdings blieb das Signet in deutlicher Nähe zur Petzold-Version. In den Folgejahrzehnten entstanden unterschiedliche Varianten, die sich stilistisch nicht allzu sehr voneinander unterschieden,

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22 Vgl. ebd., S. 6.

23 Zit. nach Vogel 2003, S. 42.

24 Vgl. KMS Team 1991, S. 5 f. Reklame-Marken ähnelten Briefmarken, waren aber oft etwas größer als diese und mit einem Werbemotiv bedruckt.

25 Vgl. ebd., S. 7.

26 Vgl. ebd., S. 9.

27 Vgl. ebd.

ohne erkennbare Systematik.[28] Ob es in der DDR eine Diskussion über die Beibehaltung des Auges gab, ist nicht überliefert. Auffallend ist, dass selbst bei außereuropäischen Ausstellungspräsentationen mit dem Augenmotiv gearbeitet wurde, das den Betrachter in den Blick nahm, etwa bei einer Ausstellung der 1960er Jahre in Kambodscha.[29]

DER BLICK ZURÜCK

Prägend für die Arbeit des Nationalen Hygiene-Museums war bis in die 1980er Jahre nicht das Sammeln und Präsentieren historischer, ethnologischer oder künstlerischer Objekte, sondern die Produktion eigener Exponate und Lehrmittel. Deren Reproduzierbarkeit gehörte zum Konzept. Viele Objekte und Objektkategorien waren bereits für die erste Internationale Hygiene-Ausstellung angefertigt worden, vor allem die Sammlung der populären Abteilung „Der Mensch" ging in den Bestand des neu gegründeten Museums über.[30] Schon bevor dieses 1930 ein festes Haus bekam, produzierte das Museum weiter – für Wanderausstellungen, aber immer auch zum Verkauf: Die unterschiedlichen Modelle, Moulagen, Präparate, Lichtbildserien, Schaubilder oder Filme wurden in Zusammenarbeit mit Wissenschaftlern, Künstlern und Handwerkern entwickelt und produziert. So entstand durch das Kombinieren wie durch das Weiterentwickeln der unterschiedlichen Objektkategorien eine eigenständige Exponatsprache, die an vielfältige Traditionen anknüpfte. Körperabformungen aus Wachs etwa hatten – so wie sie in Dresden eingeführt wurden – ihre Vorläufer vor allem in den Lehrmitteln aus der medizinischen Forschung, aber auch in den zu dieser Zeit tourenden Wachsfigurenkabinetten.

Auch wirtschaftliche Erwägungen beeinflussten die Produktpolitik.[31] Aufwendige Exponate wurden, solange das Museum Exponate produzierte, nicht nur für die jeweilige Ausstellung gebaut, in der sie erstmals gezeigt wurden, sondern meist in kleiner Auflage für andere Ausstellungen

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28 Vgl. ebd., S. 10 f.

29 Vgl. Bethke 2011, S. 257 f.

30 Lingner setzte diese Sammlung als entscheidendes Pfand in den Verhandlungen mit der Stadt Dresden über ein Hygiene-Museum ein und drohte, sie andernfalls auf Wanderschaft zu schicken; vgl. Nikolow und Steller 2012, S. 20.

31 Vgl. Fässler 2006, S. 63–75.

oder für Wanderversionen nachgebaut. Auch andere Museen oder Ausstellungshäuser konnten sie bestellen. Exponate, deren Produktion bzw. Vervielfältigung mit geringerem Aufwand verbunden war, wurden in hoher Stückzahl produziert: Moulagen, Modelle, Lichtbildserien, Broschüren, Lehrtafeln usw. Es ging um die Distribution eines Wissens, das unbegrenzte Gültigkeit beanspruchte und weder als historisch noch an einen Ort oder ein Objekt gebunden verstanden wurde. Insofern spielten auch noch nach 1930 Wanderauftritte in den unterschiedlichsten Größen und Formen durchgehend eine zentrale Rolle. In immer wieder neuen Konstellationen konnten die Exponate zusammengestellt, ihre Anordnung jeweils dem Zweck und der Zeit angepasst werden. Ausschlaggebend war die jeweilige inhaltliche Intention, die Botschaft, nicht das einzelne Exponat.

In dieser Weise wurden auch historische und ethnologische Objekte eingesetzt. Wenn sie gezeigt wurden, dann nicht in offener Mehrdeutigkeit, sondern in einer didaktischen Konstellation. Es gab in der ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung eine historische Abteilung, zu der auch ethnologische Unterabteilungen gehörten. Und bis 1927 sammelte das Hygiene-Museum historische und ethnologische Objekte. Aber es ist vielleicht kein Zufall, dass die ethnologischen Objekte 1927 ans Völkerkundemuseum verkauft wurden. 1911 wurde die Geschichte der Hygiene vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart erzählt,[32] wobei der Schwerpunkt auf der als vorbildhaft dargestellten Römischen Antike lag.[33] So sollte, wie der offizielle Führer dekretierte, „an den kraftvollen Gestalten antiker Künstler [...] gezeigt [werden], wie unser Körper beschaffen sein soll".[34] Auch die Neuzeit wurde natürlich ausführlich analysiert, die ethnographische Unterabteilung präsentierte dabei Hygiene-Maßnahmen sogenannter „Naturvölker".[35]

Diese Abteilung war im Grunde nur unter einem Aspekt wichtig: als Beleg für die Auffassung, dass die Zukunft der Menschen und ihrer Gesellschaften zentral vom Umgang mit ihren Körpern abhinge, oder, wie es der offizielle Ausstellungsführer zusammenfasste: Den Menschen sollte ins Bewusstsein gebracht werden, „dass die Gesundheitspflege die Grundlage der persönlichen Wohlfahrt wie des Gedeihens der Völker ist, und dass es in der Macht eines jeden liegt, zur Erhaltung und Kräftigung seines körperlichen und geistigen Wohlbefindens beizutragen".[36]

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32 Vgl. Nikolow und Steller 2012, S. 20.
33 Vgl. Poser 1998, S. 146.
34 Zit. nach Schrön 2003, S. 320.
35 Poser 1998, S. 146
36 Zit. nach Schrön 2003, S. 310.

Man folgte gewissermaßen einem hygienischen roten Faden durch die Geschichte und durch eine exotische Schau europäischer Kolonialgebiete, und Hygiene wurde als Kulturtechnik präsentiert, die in sämtlichen Lebensbereichen eine zentrale Rolle spielte.[37]

DER BLICK NACH VORN: VERMITTLUNGSZIELE UND DIE FRAGE DER RICHTIGEN METHODEN

Zur ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung gehörte neben der historischen, der industriellen und der wissenschaftlichen Abteilung die bereits genannte „Populäre Halle".[38] Diese von Lingner selbst gestaltete, 6.000 Quadratmeter umfassende Abteilung mit dem Titel „Der Mensch" war der prominenteste Teil der Ausstellung, „die Sensation der Veranstaltung".[39] Sie sollte jedem verständlich sein. Die Besucher begegneten hier Objekten, die für sie völlig neu waren und überwiegend aus wissenschaftlichen Kontexten stammten, etwa den durchscheinenden Präparaten des Leipziger Anatomen Werner Spalteholz (Abb. 4).[40] Das inhaltliche und räumliche Zentrum der Abteilung bildete ein „in einzelne Organfunktionen zerlegter Körper", und es gab Modelle, welche die Besucher selbst in Gang setzen konnten, etwa einen Blutkreislauf, von Lingner in didaktischer (bzw. am Unterhaltungsauftrag gegenüber dem Besucher orientierter) Absicht eingeführt.[41] Diese Abteilung lag Lingner besonders am Herzen. Ihm ging es um den Gedanken, „der wie ein Notschrei durch alle sozialhygienischen Schriften hindurchhallt, der Gedanke, daß der Schwerpunkt aller sozialhygienischen Tätigkeiten in der Belehrung der Bevölkerung liegt. [...] Die stolzesten staatlichen Vorschriften scheitern, wenn sich die Unwissenheit der Bevölkerung ihnen entgegenstellt".[42]

Laut Martin Roth war das „in einer vergleichsweise tabulosen Form" präsentierte Wissen über den eigenen Körper „in jeglicher Hinsicht neu" und das Interesse der Bevölkerung an diesem Wissen „in unbeschreiblichem Maße vorhanden".[43] Dass der von Roth hervorgehobene

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37 Vgl. ebd., S. 314–316.
38 Ebd. 2003, 318 f.; Poser 1998, S. 142.
39 Büchi 2006, S. 208; Poser 1998, S. 144; Nikolow und Steller 2012, S. 20.
40 Vgl. Nikolow und Steller 2012, S. 20.
41 Vgl. Roth 1990, S. 56.
42 Zit. nach Poser 1998, S. 151.
43 Roth 1990, S. 53.

4 Spalteholz-Präparat eines Fetus in der sechzehnten Woche, 1946/1971

demokratische Charakter dieser Wissensvermittlung dem disziplinären Impetus und Geltungsanspruch der Hygiene ganz entsprach, kann man allerdings aus heutiger Perspektive in Frage stellen. Letztlich ging es um eine autoritative Vermittlung von Wissen und auch um dezidierte Aussagen über Richtig und Falsch. Des ungeachtet belegt nicht nur der Besucherandrang, wie groß der Bedarf an dem Wissen war, das die Hygieniker bieten konnten, sondern auch Daten zum Gesundheitszustand der Bevölkerung konnten zumindest so gelesen werden. So lag zu dieser Zeit die Säuglingssterblichkeit im Deutschen Reich bei 19,2 Prozent, was bedeutete, dass jährlich 400.000 Säuglinge starben. Mehr

als ein Drittel der Berliner Erstklässler litt an einer Mangelrachitis.[44] Ob man dies in erster Linie auf mangelnde Aufklärung zurückführte oder auf soziale Missstände – das war immer auch eine Frage der politischen Positionierung.

BOTSCHAFTEN

Seit seiner Gründung und durch Kaiserreich, Weimarer Republik, Nationalsozialismus und DDR hindurch war das Museum an den großen Kampagnen beteiligt, die den Menschen, seinen Körper und seine Gesundheit betrafen – stets mit dem Anspruch, handlungsrelevantes wissenschaftliches Wissen über den Menschen zu vermitteln.[45] Erst nach 1989 entfiel diese Funktion, da die westdeutsche Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung den Radius ihrer Zuständigkeit vergrößerte. Aber natürlich änderten sich mit den Regimes und Gesellschaftsformen immer wieder die inhaltlichen Richtungen grundlegend. Deutlich wird dies vor allem dort, wo übergeordnete Botschaften und Zielsetzungen formuliert wurden. So lautete das imperialistische Motto des Pavillons „Der Mensch" 1911: „Derjenigen Nation gehört die Zukunft, welche die gesündesten und widerstandsfähigsten Individuen besitzt". 1936 hingegen orientierte sich die Museumsleitung nicht mehr an der Nation, sondern dekretierte: „Der Zielpunkt [...] heißt ‚Gesundes Volk', nicht bloß gesunder Einzelmensch und ‚tüchtiges Volk'".[46] Für die DDR-Gründung wiederum gehörten „der Aufbau eines demokratischen Gesundheitswesens und der Bruch mit der rassenhygienischen Ausrichtung im Nationalsozialismus zum antifaschistischen Grundkonsens".[47]

Mit den Regimes und den Botschaften veränderten sich nicht nur die Repräsentationen des Menschen im Museum, sondern auch der Blick auf die anderen anwesenden Menschen, die Besucher. Allerdings blieben nicht nur viele einmal entwickelte Exponate lange in Betrieb; auch die Begrenzung der Besucher auf ihre Rolle als Rezipienten eines

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44 Vgl. Osten 2005, S. 308; Büchi 2006, S. 156.

45 Dabei folgte die Themensetzung oft auch zeitspezifischen Wellen, wie etwa bei Tuberkulose, Umgang mit Kriegsverletzungen, Geschlechtskrankheiten, Rassenhygiene und Eugenik, während andere Themen, wie Krebs- oder Suchtprävention, fast durchgehend eine Rolle spielten.

46 Zit. nach Nikolow und Steller 2012, S. 24.

47 Schwarz 2011, S. 50.

wissenschaftlich produzierten und anschließend popularisierten Wissens leitete offenbar bis in die 1980er Jahre die Museumsarbeit. Charakteristisch für das Selbstverständnis der Museumsmitarbeiter bzw. für ihr Verhältnis zur eigenen Geschichte war, dass ausgemusterte Exponate nicht systematisch gesammelt wurden (und oft auch nicht unsystematisch). Daraus kann man ableiten, dass man das in ihnen verkörperte Wissen nicht als historisch betrachtete, sondern lediglich als durch den Fortschritt überholt.

Popularisierung, darunter verstand man im 19. und noch bis in die 1970er Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts einen hierarchischen Wissenstransfer von einem homogenen Expertenkreis „an ein nicht näher zu spezifizierendes Laienpublikum". Von Fachleuten an Universitäten oder anderen wissenschaftlichen Instituten erarbeitetes Wissen wurde in eine vereinfachte Form gebracht, die für „Laien" verständlich war und von diesen konsumiert werden konnte. In diesem Modell – Andreas Daum bezeichnet es als „diffusionistisch" – gab es ein beträchtliches, nie zu überwindendes Wissensgefälle zwischen Experten und Laien, und der Vermittlungsvorgang hatte eine Richtung: vom Sender zu den Empfängern. Rück- oder Wechselwirkungen waren nicht vorgesehen.[48] Zu diesem Verständnis von wissenschaftlicher Popularisierung passt, dass die sicher oft konfliktträchtigen Prozesse bei der Erarbeitung und Produktion von Exponaten kaum dokumentiert sind. Was Sybilla Nikolow für die Vorbereitung der ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung konstatiert, galt vermutlich weitaus länger:

Es würde dem zeitgenössischen Popularisierungsverständnis entsprechen, „in einer derartigen Schau den Besuchern zwar das Türschild [zu den statistischen Werkstätten, P. L.] zu zeigen, aber nur fertige Arbeitsergebnisse zu präsentieren, d. h. ihnen nichts über die langwierigen und konfliktreichen Prozesse, die ihrer Produktion vorausgegangen sind, zu erzählen."[49]

Wissensverbreitung galt als Garant „für eine Rationalisierung vieler Lebensbereiche", die man als Bestandteil von Modernisierungsprozessen sah – ein durchweg fortschrittsoptimistisches Modell.[50] Viele verschiedene Medien waren daran beteiligt, aber Ausstellungen waren dafür lange Zeit zentral. In den 1920er Jahren gab es einen regelrechten Boom populärer Ausstellungen – nicht nur zur Hygiene, aber oft zur Vermittlung wissenschaftlicher

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48 Vgl. Kretschmann 2003, S. 9.
49 Nikolow 2001, S. 231.
50 Vgl. Kretschmann 2003, S. 13 f.

Themen. (Groß-)Ausstellungen entwickelten sich zu „beliebten Massenmedien", weil sie die Popularisierung von Wissenschaft mit Zerstreuungsangeboten verbanden.[51] Wie Walter Benjamin 1928 in einer Polemik über die große Ernährungsausstellung in Berlin befand, die er als „Jahrmarkt des Essens" bezeichnete,[52] war „Popularisierung" kein „bedenkliches Grenzland der Wissenschaft" mehr, sondern sie hatte sich, so Benjamin, „emanzipiert" – und zwar „mit der großen Hilfe der Ausstellungen".[53]

Schon parallel zu den großen Ausstellungen erwiesen sich auch Gesundheitsfilme als zentrale Bestandteile der „Wissens- und Medienordnung" dieser Zeit.[54] Aber erst in den 1950er Jahren verlagerte sich, was als modern betrachtet wurde, endgültig auf andere Medien, traten Filme, Fernsehspots oder Plakatkampagnen an die Seite oder auch an die Stelle von Ausstellungen über Körper- und Gesundheitsthemen. Allerdings spielten diese in der DDR weiterhin (und nicht zuletzt als Export-Artikel) eine wichtige Rolle. Zumindest im Westen aber scheint sich das Gewicht von traditionelleren Formen der Aufklärung und Belehrung stärker hin zu Methoden verlagert zu haben, die auch in Werbung und Marketing eine Rolle spielen, wie Plakatkampagnen und Fernsehspots. Des ungeachtet lässt die Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung auch heute noch Ausstellungen wandern.

HERGESTELLTE SICHTBARKEIT: FRÜHE OBJEKTE UND IHRE ENTWICKLUNG

Popularisierung ist immer mehr als ein Vereinfachungsvorgang – sie verwandelt das Wissen, „sie transformiert es und konstituiert es neu", wie Carsten Kretschmann hervorhebt.[55] Für die vom Museum produzierten Exponate und Exponat-Ensembles, Schautafeln und anderen Lehrmaterialien galt das wegen des Öffentlichkeitsbezugs und Wirksamkeitsanspruchs der Hygiene in ganz besonderem Maße. Um es mit Philipp Sarasin zu sagen: „Das Zauberwort ‚Hygiene' war nicht nur ein Kreuzungspunkt von alten und neuen Vorstellungen, was der Körper sei und wie man mit ihm umgehen solle, sondern zugleich eine Schnittfläche

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51 Roth 1990, S. 52.
52 Benjamin 1981, S. 528.
53 Roth 1990, S. 52.
54 Schwarz 2011, S. 14.
55 Kretschmann 2003, S. 15.

von wissenschaftlichen und populären Repräsentationsformen".[56] Sie bildeten keineswegs abgeschlossenes universitäres Wissen ab, sondern sie formten es selbst, wie etwa die Untersuchungen Sybilla Nikolows über graphisch-statistische Darstellungen zeigen (s. u.).

Unsichtbares sichtbar zu machen, indem man es vergrößerte oder Hüllen transparent machte; Einblicke zu erhalten, nicht nur in den Körper, sondern auch in neue Zusammenhänge – das war im Zeitalter der Entwicklung von Röntgengeräten, leistungsfähigen Mikroskopen und der Psychoanalyse ein starkes Motiv. Man könnte auch sagen: „Krankheitskeime sehen: das ist der Anfang der Hygiene".[57]

Als Kulminationspunkt in Sachen Transparenz, Technik, Normierung und erfolgreicher Besucheradressierung gilt das zentrale Objekt der 1930er Jahre, der Gläserne Mensch, der das Innenleben des Menschen technisch zur Anschauung brachte und zugleich zum Idealkörper in kunsthistorisch überlieferter Pose überhöht wurde. Aber den Blick auf und in den Körper formte nicht nur dieses Objekt. Die Objekte und ihre Konstellationen brachten die Besucher zum Aufsehen und zum Einsehen, zum Erschrecken, zur Unterscheidung von Gesund (oder „Normal") und Krank, von Falsch und Richtig. In ihnen verkörperte sich mit dem Wissen oft auch ein Erziehungsauftrag – bis hin zur Präsentation und Dekretierung von Merksätzen, vor allem in den rassenhygienischen Propaganda-Ausstellungen nach 1933.

Das Bedeutungsgeflecht der meisten Objekte und Objektkategorien – oder gar ganzer Ausstellungen – ist noch lange nicht vollständig geklärt. Welche Traditionen gingen bewusst, welche unbewusst in sie ein? Welche Überlegungen spielten für die Produzenten eine Rolle? Wie überprüfte man, was bei den Besuchern Erfolg hatte und was nicht? Warum und mit welchen Begründungen wurden Exponate ausgemustert, verändert oder beibehalten? Diese Fragen sind bisher nur in Ansätzen untersucht, und möglicherweise fallen die Antworten für unterschiedliche Kategorien von Objekten auch unterschiedlich aus – selbst bei solchen, die zeitgleich zum Einsatz kamen. Was heute zur Verfügung steht, sind in erster Linie die erhaltenen Objekte, aber kaum die Prozesse, in denen sie entstanden sind. Deren Rekonstruktion ist Sache umfangreicher Spurensuche. Dies soll hier daher nur an einigen Beispielen angerissen werden, vorwiegend an Objektkategorien, die bereits 1911 erstmals eingesetzt wurden.

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56 Sarasin 2001, S. 27.

57 Vogel 2003, S. 22.

STATISTIK

Eine zentrale Vermittlungsform bildeten bereits in der ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung Statistiken. Schon sieben Jahre vor deren Eröffnung hatte ein eigenes Statistisches Büro in Lingners Auftrag zu rechnen begonnen. 4.000 graphisch-statistische Darstellungen wurden schließlich in der Ausstellung präsentiert, 259 davon in der Sondergruppe „Statistik". Diese hatte in der Ausstellung eine eigene, herausgehobene Abteilung, die an einen „Altarraum" erinnerte.[58] Zentral ist in diesem Zusammenhang, dass die Mehrheit der Besucher erstmals mit diesem spezifischen Blick auf Gesundheit und Krankheit konfrontiert wurde. Wie Sybilla Nikolow analysiert, wurde in der ersten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung – und natürlich auch in anderen Hygiene-Ausstellungen – ein statistischer Blick auf Gesundheit und Krankheit eingeübt.[59] Was deren Besucher bisher als Einzelfälle kannten, Krankheiten, Heilungen, Sterbefälle, begegnete ihnen nun in „statistischen Kurvenlandschaften".[60] „Betroffenenkollektive" wurden vorgeführt.[61] Aus dem „Denken in statistischen Kurvenlandschaften" sollte eine „Kulturtechnik für alle" werden, und mit diesem statistischen Blick auf Gesundheit und Krankheit wurden letztere zu einem nationalen Phänomen, das „die Einführung kollektiver Maßnahmen" rechtfertigte.[62] Die eigens berechneten und veranschaulichten Statistiken stellten also einen kollektiven Körper überhaupt erst her (der zum Beispiel überaltern konnte), eine Bevölkerung, die es zu regulieren galt, wobei man die Erfolge dieser Regulierung wieder in neuen Statistiken darstellen konnte.[63] Die graphische Visualisierung von Daten erweist sich also, so Nikolow, „nicht nur als ein bildgebender, sondern auch ein blickbildender Vorgang". Lingners Chefstatistiker, der Arzt Erwin Eugen Roesle, sah in der graphischen Aufbereitung von Statistiken nicht nur ein Ausstellungsmedium, sondern auch eines für wissenschaftliche Debatten.[64]

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58 Nikolow 2001, S. 227, S. 229 f.
59 Ebd., S. 223.
60 Ebd., S. 224, S. 237.
61 Ebd., S. 237.
62 Ebd., S. 224 f.
63 Ebd., S. 237, S. 231, S. 235.
64 Vgl. ebd., S. 229.

Was für eine ganze Reihe von Objektkategorien festzustellen ist, betraf auch die Darstellung von Statistiken. Sie wurden im Lauf ihrer Ausstellungsgeschichte verändert, und zwar offenbar in Reaktion auf Publikumsreaktionen. 1911 orientierte man sich noch stark an den Standards der Fachwelt, während sich in den 1920er Jahren ein „gegenständlicher Stil durchgesetzt" hatte.[65] Nun ging es darum, Statistiken „anziehend, leicht verständlich und einprägsam" zu gestalten (als ein Beispiel s. Abb. 5), wobei sich der Übergang zu dieser Darstellungsweise keineswegs „plötzlich und konfliktfrei" vollzog.[66]

5 Statistikmodell „Voraussichtliche Bevölkerungszusammensetzung 1975?" aus der Ausstellung ‚Die Frau in Familie, Haus und Beruf', Berlin 1933

65 Ebd. 2001, S. 224.
66 Ebd. 2001, S. 235.

EINBLICKE IN KÖRPER

Nicht nur der Blick der Besucher auf Statistiken wurde geformt, auch der auf und in den menschlichen Körper. Was heute fester Bestandteil jeder schulischen Sozialisation ist, wie der Blick durch ein Mikroskop, hatte das Zeug zur expositorischen Sensation. Entsprechend spielten unterschiedliche Wege, Unsichtbares zur Anschauung zu bringen, eine wichtige Rolle, von Anfang an auch in Exponaten, die man heute als interaktiv bezeichnen würde. 1930, bei der zweiten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung, konnten Besucher selbst mikroskopieren, einige Jahre später war es sogar möglich, Mikroskopiervorgänge an Wände zu projizieren.[67] Und auch die heutige museumspädagogische Arbeit begibt sich noch auf die Suche nach dem Unsichtbaren – etwa im Gläsernen Labor.

Ein frühes Beispiel für die lange Reihe von präsentierten Körpereinblicken ist die Serie, die unter dem Titel „Der Körper des Kindes“ 1931 in der zweiten Hygiene-Ausstellung ausgestellt wurde und heute in der ständigen Ausstellung gezeigt wird (Abb. 6). Es handelt sich dabei um sechs Torsi, die unterschiedliche Schichten des Körpers eines Mädchens zur Anschauung bringen. Die Reihe wurde bereits vor 1904 von einem

6 „Der Körper des Kindes“ (Torso eines Mädchen). Die Vorlagen zu diesen 1931 ausgestellten Modellen entstanden vor 1904, die Modelle um 1930

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67 Vgl. Roth 1990, S. 57–59.

Präparator und einem Bildhauer in Zusammenarbeit entwickelt und zeigt so, welche enge Verbindung Naturforschung und Ästhetik bei der Produktion von Exponaten eingehen konnten.[68] Wie solche Verknüpfungen zustande kamen, wie Vorbilder gewählt und Entscheidungen getroffen wurden, ist kaum dokumentiert. ‚Handschriften' und Techniken einzelner Künstler bzw. Produzenten werden heute aufwendig recherchiert.[69] Hinter den Produkten sollte ihre Gemachtheit gerade verschwinden. Offenkundig ist, dass man sich an unterschiedlichen Traditionssträngen von (ausstellbaren) Körperrepräsentationen orientierte, und dazu gehörten natürlich neben medizinischen zentral künstlerische Darstellungen. Diese, aber auch frühe anatomische Modelle, etwa die bekannten Wachskörper in La Specola aus dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, zeigten oft schöne Körper, und vielleicht ist es nicht zuletzt eine Folge dieser Traditionsanbindung, das in den Körperrepräsentationen des Dresdner Museums der gesunde, der schöne und der makellose Körper oft in eins fielen.

Wachs-Moulagen, die laut dem Medizinhistoriker Thomas Schnalke in der Medizin zwischen 1850 und 1950 zum „Medienstar" reüssierten, vermittelten die Illusion, der Betrachter habe es mit wirklichen Körpern zu tun. Die Grenze zwischen Echtem und Nachbildung sollte verschwimmen. Auch wenn es sich bei Moulagen um Abdrücke handelt, die direkt vom Körper genommen wurden, heißt dies nicht, dass die Moulagen nicht aufwendig bearbeitet wurden. Der Eindruck, sie seien „vermeintlich ohne allzu große Nachhilfe durch die manipulierende Hand eines Bildkünstlers" entstanden, täuschte. Durch Moulagen-Konstellationen ließen sich Zusammenhänge herstellen. Gezeigt wurden sie – außer an den medizinischen Fakultäten – in Panoptiken und schließlich in Hygiene-Ausstellungen.[70] In den Dresdner Ausstellungen wandelte sich ihr Stil, und dies durchaus auch in Reaktion auf Publikumsreaktionen. 1911 wurden Moulagen präsentiert, die zeigten, was im medizinischen Kontext wichtig war: eine möglichst naturalistische, an individuellen Krankheitsschicksalen orientierte Darstellung. So sahen sich die Besucher „unmittelbar mit dem menschlichen Leid in personalisierter Form" konfrontiert (s. etwa Abb. 7).[71] Vor allem über die sprunghaft zunehmenden Geschlechtskrankheiten sollte aufgeklärt werden – die Besucher aber

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68 Vgl. König 2007, S. 251.

69 In Vorbereitung ist etwa eine entsprechende Dissertation von Johanna Lang über den Dresdner Wachsmodelleur Gustav Zeiller.

70 Schnalke 2010, S. 15 f.

71 Mühlenberend 2010, S. 36 f.

wähnten sich in einer „Schreckenskammer“.[72] Aus der späteren Versachlichung der Darstellung könnte man ableiten, dass ihr Schrecken nicht intendiert (wenn auch sicher in Kauf genommen) worden war, sondern schlicht aus der Konfrontation medizinischer Detaildarstellungen mit darauf nicht vorbereiteten Besuchern entstand. Andererseits war der Schauder angesichts von Wachsnachbildungen des Körpers erwart- und damit eigentlich auch kalkulierbar. Der ‚Brockhaus‘ beschrieb bereits 1820, dass das „Scheinleben“ der „Truggebilde“ aus Wachs „uns ihren wahren Tod, ihre Nichtigkeit, auf eine schauerliche Weise empfinden“

7 Moulage eines Säuglings mit gonorrhoischer Blennorhoe, abgeformt zwischen 1900 und 1912, 1907/1920

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72 Ebd., S. 35 f.

lasse.[73] Wie bereits für die Darstellung von Statistiken gezeigt wurde, wurden also auch hier die Objekte für künftige Präsentationen modifiziert, aber anders als bei den Statistiken bemühte man sich bei den Moulagen nun um mehr Distanz. Angestrebt wurden allgemeinverständlichere Texte und eine Kontextualisierung – etwa durch graphische Darstellungen –, außerdem wurden drastische Darstellungen entfernt und die Exponate sollten eher den Charakter von Modellen haben.[74] Nach 1945 wurde diese Tendenz verstärkt, es ging um Versachlichung. Künstlerische Intentionen wurden weiter zurückgedrängt.[75] Schließlich wurden Moulagen in der Medizin wie in Ausstellungen durch bildgebende Verfahren weitgehend ersetzt.

Der berühmteste Star des Museums war und ist bis heute der Gläserne Mensch (Abb. 8), der seinen ersten Auftritt 1930 hatte und dabei wie in einer Kathedrale inszeniert wurde. Die Besucher konnten in das Körperinnere sehen – aber sie sahen zu dem Gläsernen Menschen auf und nicht, wie im anatomischen Theater, auf ihn herab.[76] Fünf Jahre war an ihm gearbeitet worden, sein Konstrukteur, Franz Tschackert, experimentierte mit Knochen, Organmodellen, Elektroleitungen, Glühbirnchen und dem Kunststoff Cellon. Nacheinander leuchteten die Organe auf, eine Stimme von einer Grammophonplatte gab Erläuterungen. Die Präsentation des Gläsernen Menschen auf der zweiten Internationalen Hygiene-Ausstellung 1930 in Dresden, in Berlin auf der großen Propaganda-Ausstellung ‚Das Wunder des Lebens' 1935 oder in einem eigenen Pavillon auf der Weltausstellung 1937 in Paris war eine Sensation, über die in der internationalen Presse berichtet wurde. In Paris bildeten sich Schlangen, obwohl bis Mitternacht geöffnet war, und auch in den USA feierte der Gläserne Mensch Erfolge.[77]

Martin Roth bezeichnete ihn als janusköpfig – „halb Aufklärung, halb Norm-Mensch",[78] wobei man dies nicht zwingend als Gegensatz sehen muss. Auch als Protagonist von eugenischen Propaganda-Ausstellungen eignete er sich. 1934 tourte er als Teil der Wanderausstellung ‚Eugenics of New Germany' durch die USA,[79] welche die rassenhygienische Aus-

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73 Zit. nach Gerchow 2002, S. 15.
74 Vgl. Mühlenberend 2010, S. 37.
75 Vgl. ebd., S. 37 f.
76 Vgl. Beier 1990, S. 25.
77 Vgl. Roth 1990, S. 39–41.
78 Roth 1990, S. 41.
79 Vgl. ebd., S. 41–43.

8 Gläserne Frau, 1935

richtung des nationalsozialistischen Deutschlands propagierte. Als idealer Körper, bei dem scheinbar alles Individuelle weggelassen ist (wenngleich der Gläserne Mensch ein Gläserner Mann ist, während die Gläserne Frau eine Gläserne Frau ist),[80] war er per se edukativ, denn jeder Abgleich lenkte den Blick auf die individuellen Imperfektionen. Selbst diese kühle Repräsentation ließ Kuratoren und Direktoren gelegentlich sexuelle Konnotationen befürchten. Als das Buffalo Museum 1935 eine Gläsernen Mann bestellte, wurde ausdrücklich „without sex" betont, und als in den 1970er oder 1980er Jahren eine Frau auf einer Gesundheitsmesse in Libyen gezeigt wurde, wurden dort Brustwarzen und Schamgegend geschwärzt.[81] Der Gläserne Mensch war in der Weimarer Republik ein Faszinosum, er war es während des Nationalsozialismus, in der DDR, und er ist es zumindest in Spurenelementen bis heute. Das zeigt, dass die fesselndsten Exponate vielleicht gerade die waren, deren politisch-gesellschaftliche Implikationen weder ganz eindeutig noch sofort ersichtlich und die dadurch offen für unterschiedliche Kontextualisierungen waren. Im Zusammenhang mit dem Medizinpopularisierer Fritz Kahn und dem Gestalter Herbert Bayer hat Cornelius Borck festgestellt, dass deren „Bildsprache gewissermaßen von innen heraus ihre vielfache Adaptierbarkeit generierte".[82] Für Bayer galt dies auch im Nationalsozialismus, bevor er in die USA emigrierte und dort als Designer Furore machte. Die politische und funktionale Offenheit der in diesen Jahrzehnten entwickelten modernen Gestaltungsmethoden und -sprachen genauer in den Blick zu nehmen, und nicht von vornherein die Brüche zwischen moderner demokratischer Gestaltung und Darstellungsformen der NS-Propaganda zu fokussieren, sondern auch Verbindungslinien zu ziehen, scheint ein Desiderat, nicht zuletzt für die Geschichte von Ausstellungen.

Auch nach 1945 jedenfalls konnte der ‚Schlager' Gläserner Mensch wieder präsentiert werden – und auch in Stockholm 1949 wurde er von der Presse wieder als Weltwunder gepriesen. Noch 1990 fertigten die Werkstätten des Deutschen Hygiene-Museums wie die Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung durchsichtige Figuren an, wenn auch nicht mehr aus Cellon, sondern aus Plexiglas.[83]

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80 Vgl. Beier 1990, S. 28.
81 Vgl. ebd., S. 23 f., S. 35.
82 Borck 2008, S. 17 f.
83 Vgl. Roth 1990, S. 43 f.

Lichtbildreihen waren ein besonders flexibles Instrument der Gesundheitsaufklärung. Je nach Anlass – meist handelte es sich dabei um Vorträge – konnten sie passend zusammengestellt werden. Für das Museum spielte ihre Produktion ab 1919 eine große Rolle, als am Museum eine Lichtbildstelle geschaffen wurde. Ab 1923 wurde zunehmend für den Verkauf produziert.[84] Aus heutiger Sicht ist besonders die Entstehung derjenigen Serien aussagekräftig, in denen Menschen mit Behinderungen oder Krankheiten abgebildet und vorgeführt wurden. Entsprechend der Logik von Richtig versus Falsch, Gesund versus Krank sowie Aufklärung und Abschreckung wurden die Abgebildeten zum Anschauungsmaterial für Krankheitsklassifikationen gemacht – etwa in der Lichtbildreihe 59,

9 Eines von 70 Bildern der Lichtbildserie „Geisteskrankheiten und abnormes Seelenleben", 1924/25

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84 Vgl. Roeßiger 1999, S. 25.

die 1924/25 entstand und für Vorträge verkauft wurde, und zwar unter dem Titel „Geisteskrankheiten und abnormes Seelenleben". Beschrieben wurden die Abgebildeten zum Beispiel durch Kategorisierungen wie „Verschrobenheit bei einer Frau mit Katatonie (Zopf vorn geflochten)" (Abb. 9). Verstand sich diese Serie in der Weimarer Republik möglicherweise noch als fortschrittlicher Auftritt einer zukunftsgewissen Psychiatrie, so wurden einige ihrer Bilder nach 1933 für die neu zu erstellenden Lichtbildserien verwendet, mit denen die nationalsozialistische „Erbgesundheitspolitik", insbesondere die Zwangssterilisationen propagiert wurden.[85] Die Produktion von Lichtbildreihen wurde bis 1990 fortgesetzt.[86]

EXKLUSION UND INKLUSION: DIE ADRESSIERUNG DER BESUCHER

Karl August Lingner, dem in Reklame- und Popularisierungsstrategien versierten Gründer des Museums, ging es 1911 nicht zuletzt um „Schnellanschauungsunterricht", den auch „die einfache Denkweise des Durchschnittsmenschen" erfassen können sollte. Auch der offizielle Führer durch die Ausstellung verwies auf die Notwendigkeit, den Stoff „möglichst nach dem Auffassungsvermögen der einzelnen Besucherschichten anzuordnen".[87] Klassifiziert wurden so auch die Besucher. Sie waren es, deren Aufnahmefähigkeit bewertet wurde, und sie waren es auch, die Durchschnitte, Normen und Ideale auf sich beziehen konnten und sollten. Gerade mit Rücksicht auf die „einfachen Gehirne" baute Lingner gezielt „interessante Kuriosis" in die Ausstellung von 1911 ein, um den Laien das „an und für sich spröde Thema [...] schmackhafter zu machen".[88] Lingner unterschied damit nicht nur, wie Nikolow hervorhebt, wissenschaftliche Objekte von spektakulären, welche die Neugier wecken sollten,[89] sondern auch unterschiedliche Kategorien von Besuchern.

Die Besucher der Ausstellungen wurden im Laufe der Zeit mehr oder weniger autoritativ, mehr oder weniger belehrend adressiert. „Gesundsein" konnte dabei als „Pflicht" vermittelt werden. So gab das Museum 1939 für den Rundgang durch die Sondergruppe „Erkenne dich selbst"

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85 Zur Lichtbildreihe 65a, „Rassenhygiene und Bevölkerungspolitik", vgl. ebd., S. 25.
86 Vgl. ebd., S. 27.
87 Zit. nach Schrön 2003, S. 313.
88 Zit. nach Nikolow 2001, S. 238.
89 Ebd.

Pässe mit dem Titel „Was leistet Dein Körper“ aus, in die Größe, Gewicht, Puls u. ä. eingetragen wurden. Mit dem Pass konnten Besucher später ihren Hausarzt aufsuchen, auch konnten sie sich in der Ausstellung röntgen lassen.[90] Interaktive Exponate standen hier nicht im Dienst selbstständigen Entdeckertums oder gar von Partizipation, sondern sie ermöglichten es, durch die gelenkten Aktivitäten mit der Arbeit an der eigenen Verbesserung noch in der Ausstellung zu beginnen. Schon fast 100 Jahre bevor Frank Oppenheimer in seinem 1969 eröffneten Exploratorium San Francisco das aktive Einbeziehen der Besucher wieder als zentrale Forderung in den Ausstellungsdiskurs einführte, konnten Besucher der International Health Exhibition in London 1884 im Anthropometric Laboratory des Naturforschers und Begründers der Eugenik Francis Galton ihre geistigen Fähigkeiten testen lassen, was Tausende begeistert wahrnahmen.[91] Es ging um Eigeninitiative, aber bewertet wurden deren Ergebnisse von anderen. Sich selbst zu sehen und von anderen gesehen zu werden lag nahe beieinander.

Eines war fast immer gegeben: Die Ausstellungen und ihre Exponate richteten sich, zumindest dem Anspruch nach, an die gesamte Bevölkerung. Anders war dies in den Ausstellungen des Hygiene-Museums zwischen 1933 und 1945. Nun wurden die Sätze auf den Ausstellungstafeln zunächst kürzer und apodiktischer. Das kann man als Hinweis auf eine veränderte, nämlich mit gesteigertem Autoritätsanspruch erfolgende, Adressierung der Besucher lesen. Es lässt sich aber zugleich einfach darauf zurückführen, dass der Fundus noch nicht genügend ausgearbeitete Exponate zur „Erbgesundheitspolitik“ enthielt und die entsprechenden Erweiterungen ihre Zeit brauchten. Kurze Sätze auf Tafeln zu schreiben ging einfach schneller. Neu war auch, dass nun weniger die Einzelnen adressiert wurden als die jeweilige „Sippe“.[92] Vor allem aber richteten sich die Ausstellungen, ihre Abbildungen und Texte nun nur noch an die vermeintlich „Erbgesunden“. Wer als „minderwertig“ klassifiziert wurde, erschien zwar permanent auf den Bildern der Rassenhygiene – aber nur noch als Objekt, nicht mehr als Subjekt der Körperpolitik. Wie schon zuvor ergab sich die Handlungsanweisung an die Besucher häufig aus der Abbildung eines imaginären, als ideal betrachteten Zustandes, dem als Gegenbild Darstellungen von Krankheiten, ihren Ursachen oder von vermeintlich oder tatsächlich Kranken gegenübergestellt wurden. Im rassenhygienischen Zusammenhang bedeutete

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90 Vgl. Hahn 1996, S. 188.

91 Vgl. Borck 2008, S. 8.

92 Lutz 2012, S. 152 f.

Prävention aber nun nicht mehr individuelle oder auch kollektive Vorsorge, sondern vielmehr, vermeintlich „Minderwertige" zu identifizieren und aus der „Volksgemeinschaft" zu entfernen. Ausstellungsmedien entwickelten sich so zu Medien der Exklusion.[93] Manche Konsequenzen dieser Exklusion sprachen die Ausstellungen direkt an – etwa die Einführung von Zwangssterilisationen und die geplante Umverteilung von Ressourcen. Aber natürlich wurden in den Ausstellungen so wenig wie in anderen Medien die lebensbedrohlichen Konsequenzen für die Exkludierten angesprochen. Diese gehörten nicht mehr zum Publikum.

Demgegenüber sprach das Hygiene-Museum der DDR, nicht zuletzt in den rund 30 Ausstellungen, die zwischen 1950 und 1980 in sogenannten Entwicklungsländern gezeigt wurden,[94] dem eigenen Anspruch nach dezidiert „ALLE Menschen" an.[95] Das Wissen, das „über den menschlichen Körper und über eine gesundheitsförderliche Lebensweise" vermittelt wurde, betrachtete man weiterhin als „universelles Wissen",[96] wobei man diese Position natürlich als kulturimperialistisch bezeichnen kann. Allerdings wurden kultur- und länderspezifische Adaptionen vorgenommen,[97] wozu etwa die Anpassung der Hautfarbe gehören konnte. So hob ein Arbeitsbericht des Museums für die Jahre 1977–1980 hervor, dass einige Torsi für den afrikanischen Markt „jetzt in dunkler Hautfarbe angeboten werden".[98] Bei diesem „Torsomodell (Afrikaner)" aber ging es laut dem Wissenschaftshistoriker Staffan Müller-Wille nicht darum, „rassische" Differenz zu markieren, sondern die Farbe funktionierte „als eine Art Markenzeichen, das Käufer und Verkäufer zusammenbringen" sollte.[99]

SAMMELN: DER BLICK ZURÜCK

Körper haben eine Geschichte – mit dieser Behauptung fiel eine lange „als grundlegend empfundene Schranke zwischen Kultur und Natur".[100] Erst in den 1980er Jahren wagte die Geschichtswissenschaft diesen Schritt und

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93 Vgl. ebd., S. 156–159.
94 Vgl. Bethke 2011, S. 254.
95 Ebd., S. 253.
96 Ebd., S. 251.
97 Ebd.
98 Zit. nach Müller-Wille 2005, S. 169.
99 Ebd., S. 169.
100 Sarasin 2001, S. 11.

begann, „den Körper grundsätzlich als historische und soziale Tatsache zu begreifen". Anstöße dafür waren etwa aus der Ethnologie gekommen.[101] Bereits in den 1990er Jahren nahmen gerade Ausstellungen diese Perspektive auf – vielleicht weil die in den Sammlungen überlieferten Objekte, die sich auf den Körper beziehen, diese Annahme besonders schlagend belegen. Sie sind unverändert da, aber wie sie den Körper zur Anschauung bringen, erscheint uns keineswegs mehr selbstverständlich. Dies ist der zweite Wissensumbruch, der sich im Dresdner Hygiene-Museum abspielte. Er schlug sich nicht in neuen Objektkategorien nieder, sondern in einem neuen Blick auf die alten Objekte. „Körpergeschichte ist [...] auch Mediengeschichte – das heißt die Geschichte von Medien, ihrer Materialität und ihrer diskursiven Strukturen, die den Körper zugleich zur Darstellung bringen und ihn konstruieren".[102] Vor allem die großen Ausstellungsprojekte des Kurators Jean Clair waren bahnbrechend (‚L'Âme au corps. Arts et sciences 1793–1993', Pairs 1993, und ‚Identity and Alterity: Figures of the Body 1895/1995', Venedig 1995) und inspirierten die weitere Beschäftigung mit dem Thema, welche nicht zuletzt die wissenschafts- und kulturhistorischen Dimensionen der Humanwissenschaften neu auslotete.[103]

Im Deutschen Hygiene-Museum geschah dies etwa in den Sonderausstellungen ‚Darwin und Darwinismus' (1994), ‚Der Neue Mensch' (1999) und ‚Der (im-)perfekte Mensch' (2000/2002),[104] aber die Auseinandersetzung mit der Vergangenheit hatte dort schon früher begonnen, was vielleicht auch eine Folge sinkender Zukunftsgewissheit war. Bereits 1990, also sehr kurz nach der ‚Wende', öffnete die in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Deutschen Historischen Museum erarbeitete Ausstellung „Leibesvisitationen", die „das spezifische Körperverständnis der Hersteller des Gläsernen Menschen zum Ausgangspunkt nahm, um dem historisch sich wandelnden Umgang mit dem Körper nachzuspüren".[105] „Fossilien" nannte der damalige Direktor des Deutschen Hygiene-Museums die Figuren.[106]

Dieser Blick zurück wurde auch durch einen Umbruch nahegelegt, den die Wiedervereinigung für das Museum mit sich brachte, da nun die Zuständigkeit für Aufklärungskampagnen an die Bundeszentrale für

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101 Ebd., S. 13 f.
102 Ebd., S. 26.
103 Vgl. Gerchow 2002, S. 24.
104 Vgl. ebd.
105 Beier und Roth 1990, S. 10.
106 Ebd.

gesundheitliche Aufklärung überging. Dieser Arbeitsbereich und damit die Notwendigkeit, am Stand aktueller medizinischer Forschung orientiertes Wissen zu vermitteln, entfiel. Eine historisch und kulturwissenschaftlich ausgerichtete Generation von Museums- und Ausstellungsmachern übernahm die Leitung des Museums und brachte ihre eigene Ordnung des Wissens ein. Seitdem bildet das Sammeln und Analysieren der inzwischen historischen Objekte, die vom Museum gefertigt wurden, einen wichtigen Teil der Arbeit. Sie schafft die Grundlage, um sich wissenschaftlich, aber auch in Ausstellungen mit der Rolle des Museums für die Konstruktion von Bildern des Menschen und seines Körpers im 20. Jahrhundert auseinanderzusetzen. Auch der erste Raum der 2004 eröffnete Dauerausstellung des Museums befasst sich mit den Repräsentationen des menschlichen Körpers. Der Gläserne Mensch spielt dort eine zentrale Rolle.

In seinen Ausstellungen befasst sich das Museum auch heute noch mit Menschen, ihren Körpern und ihren Beziehungen. Allerdings ist die Zukunft ebenso prekär geworden wie Aussagen über ‚den' Menschen. Und so gewinnt in den Ausstellungen und in anderen Formaten das Reden im Plural an Bedeutung. Angestrebt werden Mehrstimmigkeit und Polyperspektivität, die Verbindung von wissenschaftlichem Wissen mit Erfahrungswissen. Das Museum will Ort für Debatten und „Kontaktzone" für Begegnungen werden. Es geht nicht mehr um die Präsentation fertigen, scheinbar abgeschlossenen und unhintergehbaren Wissens, sondern um die Offenlegung der Produktionsbedingungen und Voraussetzungen solchen Wissens und um die Inklusion unterschiedlicher Formen von Expertentum.

Karl August Lingner nannte die von ihm avisierte moderne Aufklärungsinstitution, auch ohne über eine gewachsene Sammlung zu verfügen, „Museum" – wohl nicht zuletzt, um die dieser Institution zugeschriebene Autorität beanspruchen zu können. Inzwischen hat das Museum eine Sammlung, die für das Selbstverständnis wichtig ist.[107] Aber gerade die Auseinandersetzung mit dieser Sammlung und damit die eigene Historisierung stellt die Möglichkeit des Museums in Frage, autoritative Aussagen zu treffen und die Besucher zu belehren. Stattdessen werden aus Objekten und Medien immer neue Versuchsanordnungen gebildet, denen Macher und Besucher Fragen über Vergangenheit und Gegenwart nachgehen. In Frage steht auch, wie sich das Museum verändern kann,

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107 Gesammelt werden Objekte zur Geschichte des Körpers in der Moderne. Die historischen Eigenproduktionen des Museums sind davon nur ein Teilbereich.

soll oder vielleicht sogar muss, um ein Ort der Begegnung zu werden, der von Polyperspektivität, Partizipationsmöglichkeiten und Offenheit geprägt ist und für Kommunikation anstelle von Verkündigung steht.

Damit ist die Popularisierung des Menschen vorläufig abgeschlossen bzw. das, was damit einmal gemeint war, hat eine grundlegende Wende genommen. Es kann nicht mehr darum gehen, ein bestimmtes (Ideal-) Bild vom Menschen zu implementieren und zu vermitteln, wie man diesem Bild möglichst nahe kommen kann. Vielmehr ist das Nachdenken über Menschen und die Frage, wie man leben soll, selbst ‚popularisiert' und damit zur Sache von allen geworden. Das Museum kann die Anlässe für ein solches Nachdenken und Raum für die entsprechenden Debatten schaffen.

ABBILDUNGSNACHWEISE

1, 3 Volker Kreidler, © Deutsches Hygiene-Museum
2, 4, 7 David Brandt, © Deutsches Hygiene-Museum
5, 9 © Deutsches Hygiene-Museum
6 Herbert Boswank, © Deutsches Hygiene-Museum
8 Werner Lieberknecht, © Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, Deutsches Hygiene-Museum

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ROLAND CVETKOVSKI

OBJECT IDEOLOGY

The Formation of Museology in Early Soviet Russia

> Le 'déterminisme' est la seule manière
> de se représenter le monde.
> Et l'indéterminisme, la seule manière d'y exister.
> – Paul Valéry

The Russian revolutionaries were obsessed with the desire to create a universalistic view of nature and society. Ceaseless activism, ideological coercion, tyranny and finally murderous violence were the commonly known methods for radical change, which the Bolsheviks applied to the renewal of a whole society's self-image in the first years of their regime. The revolutionary elite also generated a particular need for the advancement of the sciences, just as was the case in the American, French and Chinese revolutions. Unique, however, was that by refining the Marxist idea of dialectical materialism they implemented a systematic and persistent ideology that affected the whole social, biological and political nature of the Soviet world.[1] Along with the Bolsheviks' general attempts to substantiate reality through theory, it was in particular the notion of practice which was thought to be indissolubly tied to this ideology. "Practice", as one could read in a textbook of Marxist philosophy expounding dialectical materialism, "as a basis of knowledge is the interaction of the subject (man) and the object (material object), the immediate result of

1 See Graham 1987, esp. pp. 1–67; Ignatow 1991. For the sciences in the Soviet context in general see Medvedev 1978, Graham 1993, Krementsov 1997, Andrews 2003, Schwartz et al. 2008.

which is the transformation of the object".[2] On the one hand, according to the Soviet understanding, human practice was obviously embedded in, as well as justified by, the very presence of material things. On the other, by continuously generating knowledge in its relation to objects it could not be other than creative. Thus, as is common in all anti-religious ideologies that reject any metaphysical preconditions to existence, human action necessarily encroached upon the history of creation itself.

So it was certainly no coincidence that museology, too, was getting off the ground in the aftermath of 1917. Inasmuch as the October Revolution aimed generally at subverting the old tsarist order all at once, the museum, as refuge and empire of material objects, was all the more the target of the revolutionaries' reforming zeal. Here materialism could significantly coalesce with practice on several levels, producing and aligning specific knowledge structures simultaneously. Yet the initial steps the Bolsheviks took to organise museum affairs in general had themselves been characterised by a pragmatic policy of first consolidating power. Vaguely presuming that the new always originates in the old, they had preventively decreed the preservation of Russian antiquities already in November 1917, immediately after their seizure of power. Even in times of bloody civil war they did not fail to appeal incessantly to the public to search for, collect and register historic monuments worthy of preservation, whilst at the same time they initiated a wave of museum foundations that flooded the country: in the period between 1918 and 1920 nearly 250 new museums were established, and up to 1922 more than 500 estates, 1,500 churches and 200 monasteries had been transformed into museum sites. In so doing the Bolsheviks complied with the call of Petrograd's "First museum conference", which was held by museologists-to-be in 1919 and which elaborated some principal museological conceptions, establishing the museum as a major transmitter of knowledge. These first official and authoritative guidelines were soon followed by organisational and political consequences that manifested themselves most visibly in the installation in 1921 of a separate administrative unit in the Commissariat of Enlightenment that was exclusively concerned with museum affairs (*Glavmuzei*).[3] Yet the actual importance that had been ascribed to museums was basically signaled by the immediate scientific systematisation of museum matters through the formation of Soviet museology

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2 Quotation: Osnovy 1958, p. 333. A brief philosophical summary can be found in Lektorskii 1977; on Soviet epistemology in general see Blakeley 1964.

3 See Grabar' 1919; Kuzina 1991, pp. 123–24.

(*muzeevedenie*). Along with the practical efforts to incorporate the museum as a substantial cultural institution in the new Russian society, soon after 1917 the future Soviet museologists, who were all recruited from the old intelligentsia and had received their training, knowledge and experience in the late tsarist period, commenced to distinguish themselves especially by outlining their profession as an autonomous scientific field. On the one hand, this specific move to scientification was founded on the wish finally to systematise museum affairs, which had been treated negligently for such a long time; on the other it clearly revealed the Bolsheviks' explicitly rational conception of society, which aimed to "put life back on its scientific feet".[4] Unsurprisingly, dialectical materialism was pervasive in this process and decisively helped to develop and even innovate in the fledgling Russian "museum studies" by ultimately establishing the museum as a powerful cultural, political and societal agent which required an exact and formalised science.

The following sections contend that the formation of Soviet museology needs to be comprehended as a specific science of the revolutionary order that referred largely to dialectical materialism and to materiality. Obviously, museology's implementation as a modern instrument of organising a genuinely Soviet narrative was utterly dependent on ideology, but, as will be argued, this strong political bias also facilitated the blossoming of the museum's potentials.[5] To capture both the consistency and contradictions connected with Soviet museology, this article elaborates several implications entailed by the materialist approach. The stories that emanated from these implications did not occur consecutively, however; on the contrary, they ran parallel, intersected, pervaded each other and, given the ubiquitous ideological imperative, in the end they all made up a set of frames through which to forge a true Soviet narration, in which the Bolsheviks tried to visualise ideology materially. For this purpose it seems most appropriate not to follow a strict chronological order, but rather to delineate three plots which could tell a probable story of materialist museology, at least to my mind. After some short general deliberations on Soviet museology in the introductory section, the second, to begin with, addresses the importance of the connection between materialism and museum objects in Soviet Russia and attempts briefly to portray the success story of the object in Soviet culture. The third

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4 Mansurov 1931, p. 33.

5 For problems of ideology see e.g. Kalnins 1956; Kenez 1985; Robinson 1995; Lenoe 2004; Brandenberger 2011.

section turns to the specific epistemic conditions of museology and to the evolution of Russian and of Soviet museological thinking. This setting throws into sharp relief both the scientification and the objectivation of objects. The fourth part then considers the practical side, and considers the ideal realisation of the established Soviet museological standards by focusing on the concrete practice of the Museum of the Revolution in Moscow. This section will reveal what ideology could and did actually do with museum objects. Finally, the conclusion concisely sums up the revolutionary new museology.

THE BLESSING OF THE THINGS: THE POWER OF THE MUSEUM

The Bolsheviks were not the first to detect the far-reaching consequences of museums. Given St. Petersburg's and Moscow's internationally recognised museums of art, natural history and history, already in late tsarist Russia the imperial elite had pinned its reforming hopes particularly on regional, and mostly historical, museums. Within the scope of their ambitious project to promote public enlightenment generally, it was especially the provincial museums that were considered the true places for raising the level of education. Due to the haptic presence and concrete visibility of the displayed objects, the imperial protagonists ascribed to the exhibits a unique pedagogical agency and they thus had a quite optimistic outlook about successfully imparting regional knowledge to the local population. At this specific place, it was presumed, the volatility of memory as well as the transitoriness of local traditions should be moulded into the iron cage of profound knowledge. But most importantly, the museum as such was regarded as serving as an establishment for moral improvement, since the visitor, as was claimed by Nikolai M. Mogilianskii, ethnographer and head of the Russian Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg from 1910 to 1918, could here virtually experience his general human condition. The confrontation with exhibits both from his present environments and from his historical origins, Mogilianskii went on, should ideally enable the local visitor to realise the specific setting of his cultural and political contexts. Accordingly, the late tsarist museum was conceived as a site of local as well as imperial identity.[6] Notwithstanding that such conceptualisations were certainly quite bold, the actual number of institutions established

6 See Kokhovskii 1886; Orshanskii 1914; Lamanskii 1916; Mogilianskii 1916.

left much to be desired: only some dozens of museums were situated in the vastness of the Russian provinces and, as might have been expected, only in the two capitals could a higher concentration and a significant differentiation in various collections be found. Additionally, their administrative organisation did not underlie a wider state policy, which is why an efficient body of museum professionals was also lacking. Therefore, to resolve these insufficiencies, in 1912 70 museum practitioners from all over the empire convened at a so-called "preparatory conference" in St. Petersburg to develop an integrative profile for Russian museums and, what is more, to outline the general mission of the museums for Russian society.[7] The outbreak of the First World War thwarted the implementation of first steps to harmonise Russian museum activities. But even though the revolutionary storm of 1917 was to undo the tsarist past, for the Bolsheviks these museum plans, especially, retained their substance.

So after 1917 the museum's wide-ranging implications were beyond question. The definite plan of the Bolsheviks to root another form of life in Russian society on a larger scale could hardly be realised more clearly and accessibly than in a museum exhibition—here everything could be shown to anyone. Moreover, the revolutionary situation had given birth to the radical idea of the new, which in turn created a space in which the museum could activate all its capacities: where it had previously been considered a place of education and study, of sociability as well as of historical reassurance, now the revolution additionally transformed it into a site of utopia. Naturally, the ideological bias all cultural institutions had to adopt in order to correspond to the new concept of life indisputably poses a serious problem to historiography.[8] Yet from the museum's point of view, political ideology does not appear as a troublemaker at all, but rather, as is argued here, as a catalyst that made the museum flourish in all its functions and actually helped to make all these functions become publicly effective. Of course, this certainly does not mean that the museum's political instrumentalisation should be regarded as negligible in its effects; this would be closing one's eyes to its deep moral implications in the context of an authoritarian state. But it was precisely the materialist dogma imposed on Soviet culture which, after all, made visible the general epistemic significance both of the museum and its underlying science. And what is more, this political exploitation

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7 Predvaritel'nyi s"ezd 1913; Razgon 1991.

8 For museum history see Ocherki istorii muzeinogo dela 1957–1972.

even helped explicate another mechanism that was at the heart of not only revolutionary museum culture: the transformation of mute things into speaking objects.

Through the exhibits the museum was able to organise the world and, moreover, it had the power to arrange it anew: it marshalled the past and the present just as it affected the future. The "new man" (*novyi chelovek*) rose from the ruins of tsarism and could be visibly raised up within the new museum's walls. Thus, the rapid Bolshevik scientification of museum matters was not only due to the already mentioned failings of the imperial museum policy or to the wish to catch up with western developments, but aimed rather to justify materially the logics of the new ideology by properly channelling Russia's present and future. So if materialism was now literally to materialise, things and objects, in particular, gained in importance, since they constituted the empirical facticity in which the Soviet world was grounded. As it were, the museum with its exhibits provided the sensory evidence of the new society, and its scientification functioned as an objective ideology that confirmed the real existence of the new. The rapid institutionalisation of museology thus aimed to substantiate the newly established political and social reality, so that Soviet museology became object as well as subject of politics at the same time. Accordingly, in the 1920s and 1930s the early Soviet museologists, who strove to make a genuine Soviet science out of a previously fluid and nebulous field of knowledge, instantly tackled questions such as the aesthetics of reception, the visitor's participation in the museum context or the generation of certain narratives, particularly *because* they were working under a specific ideological pressure. The scientific definition of the Soviet museum and its effect on Soviet society was a matter of objects, and the Soviet museology that emerged from this ideologically shaped process took up the task of ordering Soviet material reality scientifically.

THE MATTER OF THINGS: THE IDEOLOGY OF OBJECTS

At the abovementioned first museum conference in Petrograd's Winter Palace in 1919, the participants led fundamental discussions about both the outline of a general museum policy and the new cultural mission the museums were supposed to accomplish. According to their general spirit of optimism, the conference's majority argued in favour of a comprehensive museum reform. In his opening speech on 11th February, the

People's Commissar of Enlightenment, Anatolyi V. Lunacharskii, already put the subsequent arguments on the right track. First and foremost, he explained, in pursuing educational, aesthetic, practical and particularly scientific targets, the new museum was essentially connected with "mankind". Such an all-embracing and, as it were, existential approach to the museum was not uncommon. The head of the Tretyakov Gallery, and recognised artist, Igor' E. Grabar' even regarded the museum as a "living organism".[9] This quasi-Bergsonian conception of the museum actually referred, among other things, to the works of tsarist ethnographers and museum practitioners of the late 19th and early 20th century, particularly Nikolai M. Mogilianskii and Dmitrii A. Klements, for whom objects and their materiality had loomed large in capturing the general scope of the museum's abilities. Their deliberations on that topic had already labelled the museums the unrivalled keepers of "factual knowledge" and had equally insisted on the idea that the exhibited objects that were carrying this knowledge had even to be considered "alive".[10] Understandably enough, such an affirmative attitude towards the virtually organic impact emanating from the material object kept its positive implications after the October Revolution and was even intensified.

According to Lunacharskii the museum had, to begin with, to adapt to the requirements of the masses and had to serve them; by that it was unmistakably incorporated into the process of general social transformation. But the Bolsheviks went still farther. To them the new ideological foundation provided a reality that subjected culture to the absolute will of an active society, to which they duly ascribed energetic traits like dynamism and agitation. In grounding culture in the laws of dialectical materialism, reality was now primarily determined materially, so that in the end activism as the essence of the Bolshevik political ideology even infected the objects themselves. As objects displayed in a museum unavoidably acted upon everyday life through their reception by visitors, the new museologists concluded that the exhibits had to be in continuous motion, or, to put it again in Lunacharskii's words, the "museum's pride has to consist in the circulation of its exhibits". If Soviet man was considered the enforcer of reality, then from a materialist point of view objects appear, as it were, as a decisive generator of transformation, because they equally provoke and impinge on human deeds.

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9 See Zaks 1977; Zaks 1979.

10 Klements 1893, pp. 2–9; Mogilianskii 1916.

Now emphasising the object's active role in human practice, the early Soviet museologists increasingly focused on the scientific description and methodical treatment of the exhibits. In picking up plans developed already in the late tsarist period, the Bolshevik professionals also championed the foundation of regional and local museums to disseminate their ideological message effectively. Against the backdrop of their general goal of rationalising life entirely, it was a logical consequence that the Bolsheviks aimed to transform these local museums, ideally, into local scientific centres.[11] Useful knowledge had to materialise in the museum's exhibited objects and their immediate apparentness, it was claimed, made them the most powerful extracurricular educational vehicles serving the education of the ignorant masses. Objects, as Nikolai Ashukin put it in an article in 1918 about the interconnection between museums and schools, provided the local population with "descriptive materials for the broad study of life". To him the true value of an exhibited collection could not come into its own by a merely historical arrangement of the single objects, but rather it depended strongly on the "method of their vivid combination", and this meant that the exhibits should be set out in a condition which "comes as close to reality as possible".[12] Objects were not only to represent and to inform about reality; on the contrary, displayed things were supposed to *become* reality. So objects virtually turned into the true instructors of the Soviet people, telling them authentic and useful stories both about nature and about life in their home region. This specific approach not only stabilised the discourses about the general scientification of the museum, but moreover called for the particular scientification of the objects themselves by calibrating them entirely with Marxist ideology. Thus, at the "First Siberian scientific conference" (*I Sibirskii nauchno-issledovatel'skii s"ezd*) in December 1926 it could not only be heard that a museum acquired its true *raison d'être* only by strictly "leading a scientific life"—this had in the meantime become a commonplace—but furthermore that the museum had "to fight emphatically for the scientific, historical-revolutionary idea", particularly inasmuch as the museum objects "disclosed the revolutionary facts".[13] This resolution was approved again one year later at the "Third all-Russian conference of local history" (*III Vserossiiskaia konferentsiia po kraevedeniiu*). Due to ideological necessity the objects now had to take on an active role, and apparently they were made to tell stories which

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11 See Rol' muzeev 1966; Maksimenko 1997.

12 Quotations after Vedernikova 1984, pp. 98–99.

13 Quotations after Rafienko 1987, p. 89.

justified both reality and their own new revolutionary being. As it were, objects were pressed into a revolutionary agency. So things enshrined in a Soviet museum seemed to dispose of an independent and, equally, a scientifically validated existence, and at the same time they obviously spoke a political language.

This specific language of things ultimately received its official orders at the latest in 1930, as the participants of the "First all-Russian museum congress" (*I Vserossiiskii muzeinyi s"ezd*) in Moscow explicitly included the so-called "museum front" in the cultural revolution that had begun to penetrate all spheres of public life since the late 1920s.[14] Now the museums had to contribute their real share to the socialist construction of the country, and likewise a genuine Soviet museology had to be profiled more explicitly, to distinguish itself clearly from its western bourgeois counterpart.[15] However, significant changes could be noticed. On the one hand, the discussions held at the congress about the correct treatment of exhibits did consolidate the ideological pillars of materialism, but, on the other, one could also recognise a remarkable shift of emphasis, which was closely connected to the large political upheavals that had been shaking Soviet society since the late 1920s. Generally, the argument went that the justification of the increasing political pressure that was erupting most violently in the collectivisation of the Russian peasantry required an ideological concentration on the revolution itself, on its origins, its well-intentioned purposes and on its efficient dissemination. According to the Bolsheviks, the Soviet people had to understand the inescapability as well as the consequentiality of the course of history that had led to the revolution and to the developments thereafter, so that the burdens of the current fast and violent transformation had to be considered a necessary interim stage before the ultimate attainment of true happiness and wealth in the near future. Thus, the appeal of Aleksei Federov-Davydov, curator at the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, to his fellow campaigners at the congress to capture, in particular, the narrative of the revolution in their home museums was simply complying with the contemporary cultural-ideological requirements. But by additionally claiming that the museum was now no longer a location to display things in their mere material appearance, but instead to show (r)evolutionary processes, Federov-Davydov all of a

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14 Akinsha and Jolles 2009; David-Fox 1999; Fitzpatrick 1992; Fitzpatrick 1984.

15 See Berezin 1932.

sudden altered the objects' destiny considerably.[16] As one might expect, this position was not left unchallenged and provoked a storm of indignation amongst some participants, of whom the most renowned was certainly Nadezhda Krupskaia, Lenin's widow, member of the Central Committee and deputy of the People's Commissar of Education. Interestingly, the protest was not actually directed against Federov-Davydov's assertion that a museum had to represent processes; rather, the participants' disapproval was particularly incurred by the evident depreciation of the object itself. In her paper given at the congress, Krupskaia concisely encapsulated these criticisms. She did first concede that political slogans and mottos (*losungy*) were principally to be considered necessary as auxiliary means to support the creation of an intelligible (r)evolutionary narration in the museums, even though their prevalent use had assumed alarming proportions in the meantime. But still, she explained, it was the mere material existence of the object itself that was alone significant and that had sole persuasive power. In showing, for example, a church converted to a mill, to a canteen or kindergarten, every slogan inevitably had to pale beside the impressiveness and clearness of this material and implicitly symbolic transformation. Merely material facts were able to convince, for they were the real products of deeds, and in turn it was precisely these which had to be reflected by the museum exhibits.[17]

After all, beyond the ideological distortion enforced upon the objects by the resolutions of the congress in 1930, which would retain their relevance until mid-century, it is obvious that eventually things had become crucial for understanding and expressing Soviet culture as such, and the rise of the Soviet museum, in particular, as an assiduous keeper as well as rational arranger of these objects was, as it were, a firm manifestation of their ubiquitous and scientifically confirmed power.

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16 Federov-Davydov's conceptual shift to transferring the logics of the revolutionary process to the exhibited objects would remain valid for a short period of time. Dismissed by a few Soviet museologists already in the 1940s, it was branded as erroneous and harmful officially only in the 1950s, once more on the argument that this move had alienated the museum from the objects' genuine materiality, which still (or again) was considered central for the functioning of a Soviet museum; see Osnovy 1955, pp. 21–23. For a late Soviet as well as post-Soviet recapitulation of this short-lived but fundamental change of direction in the debates see Razgon 1986 and Gazalova 1999.

17 See Luppol 1931, vol. 1, pp. 75–82, 133–41.

THE SCIENCE OF THINGS: THE INSTITUTIONALISATION OF SOVIET MUSEOLOGY

Soviet museology had explicitly emerged from the concept of things, but here too the Bolsheviks had merely taken up and continued previous developments. Scientifically conceptualising both things and museum matters was certainly no invention of theirs. Already in the mid-19th century the Ethnographic Department of the Russian Geographical Society was to some extent concerned with methodical questions of display, and in the 1870s the Historical Museum in Moscow had even established an autonomous section to deal with theoretical and virtually proto-museological problems, although it operated only for a short period of time. Particularly active in this respect, however, was the Archaeological Society in Moscow. Being responsible for preserving and exploring Russia's historical heritage in general, it had increasingly directed its attention to the appropriate treatment of her cultural legacy in the museums. There was lively debate on this issue first in several of the society's journals, and in 1887 at the 7th archaeological congress in Iaroslavl' the participants had finally elaborated a catalogue of 17 articles formulating a consistent general museum policy, which for the first time had not been tailored to specific regional settings but embraced all Russia. It was here where, among others, the claim was first made that each museum had to evolve into "a scientific centre for each region".[18] But, obviously, this was wishful thinking rather than displaying any sense of reality. When looking even at the prestigious museums in the two capitals at that time, such as the Hermitage, the Academy Museum, the Russian Museum, the Rumiantsev Museum or the Polytechnical Museum, which all despite their international significance were unable to maintain scientific research properly, largely due to financial reasons and due to the general shortage of professionals, it was self-evident that a transformation of regional museums, in particular, into scientific institutions was quite difficult, if not impossible. It is not surprising, then, that the provincial museums, aside from a few exceptions, led a more or less miserable existence. Given that in pre-revolutionary Russia museology was neither officially established

18 Apart from the demand that all museums had to be a "public institution", the articles mostly referred to financial and organisational issues; see Uvarova 1891, pp. 282–284.

nor institutionalised, the contribution of the Archaeological Society of Moscow to its formalisation cannot be overestimated. It was precisely in this milieu that museological tasks were reflected on and elaborated, providing the bedrock for the future debates about founding a genuine Soviet museology. Therefore it appears downright cynical that after nearly 60 years of its existence the Bolsheviks disbanded the society in June 1923 for reasons of "scientific inactivity".[19]

Already at the very beginning of the Bolshevik regime, several centres were set up that ultimately institutionalised museology. The rapid establishment of museological pivots such as, for example, in the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment or in the secondary schools of the two capitals, visibly underpinned the seriousness of the Bolshevik enterprise. Yet the true hub of early Soviet museology was the Museological Department of the Historical Museum in Moscow, which re-opened on 1st September 1918. It focused on practical questions of display on the one hand, and on general theoretical problems on the other. The challenges that this section had taken up were obviously considered significant, to such a degree that it was renamed "Department for Theoretical Museology" (*Otdel teoreticheskogo muzeevedeniia*) already in 1921, clearly signaling that now museum work had to be formalised, theorised and organised according to the strict principles of scientific rationality. But, three years after the first all-Russian museum congress of 1930, which compelled all museums to construct socialism actively, this museological department was disbanded, to rise again only in 1937, but this time within the People's Commissariat of Enlightenment as the "Research Institute of Regional and Museum Affairs" (*Nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut kraevedcheskoi i muzeinoi raboty*). Again, this institute was instructed to carry on elaborating and establishing an explicitly Soviet museology, and in the further course of its development this section was renamed twice: in 1955 it was redefined as the "Research Institute of Museum Affairs" (*Nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut muzeevedeniia*), and in 1966 finally as the "Research Institute of Museum Affairs and of the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments" (*Nauchno-issledovatel'skii institut muzeevedeniia i okhrany pamiatnikov istorii i kul'tury*), a title it retained until the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. Only in 1992 did museology become an academic discipline at Moscow State University.[20]

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19 Frolov 1991, p. 68–70.

20 For a short historical introduction to and update on present Russian museology see Muzeinoe delo Rossii 2003, pp. 211–252; for the detailed

Particularly during the 1910s and 1920s, Russian museological thought evolved decisively. Initiated by the preparatory museum conference in 1912 in Petersburg, the subsequent period spawned a number of publications which left their marks on Soviet museology visibly. As already mentioned, the early museologists primarily addressed the regional and local museums that mushroomed especially after 1917 and in this way carried knowledge into the peripheries. Combining research and instruction, these educational institutions-to-be advanced to become a major constituent of Soviet cultural policy. Against this backdrop, Soviet museology, albeit still many-voiced and not consistent at this early stage, principally developed in two directions and manifested itself in two differing scientific foci. The first path approached the museum more generally, as a cultural and political agent which was endowed with specific societal functions and which, given the general Soviet pretentions to rationalise life entirely, was therefore in need of a comprehensive theory. The representatives of this approach were heading for a central organisation of museology, which in turn was charged with the rather abstract elaboration of a theory of 'the' museum regardless of its particular manifestations and realisations. The second path taken by Soviet museology led in quite the opposite direction: in decidedly addressing museum practice and in considering the individual realisations of the museum, the museologists on this track intended to rationalise the single museum technologies and to pursue a policy of establishing scientific centres in the museums themselves. Professionals engaging in this course of development gave priority to the scientific elaboration of the classic tasks of the museum, embracing the systematisation of collecting, preserving and displaying, but also scientific research in general. This rather pragmatic approach thus generated different realisations, just as epistemic frameworks depended strongly on the specificity and individual requirements of each museum in which these solutions had been elaborated.

Undoubtedly, the first path was the hardest to tread. Given the previous absence of a general museum theory in Russia, the new museologists had to be pioneers in that field. It was the aforementioned Department for Theoretical Museology of the Historical Museum in Moscow which for the first time seriously tackled the theoretical topic.[21] The most important,

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history of Russian museology see Frolov 1991 and Rasgon 1968; for a personal account see Zaks 1994.

21 The first report of the department's work can be found in Otchet 1926, pp. 96–108.

but almost unknown, figure was certainly Georgii Malitskii, who was head of that department and one of the leading museologists of his time. Since he published only a handful of articles in rather minor journals, he remained largely unnoticed, particularly in historical research, even though he was the first to deal systematically with questions of method and above all to assess the significance of theory for museum matters in general. According to him, theory was definitely a necessary part of museum affairs, but he also conceded that theory has always to be considered a means auxiliary to museum practice—the latter's "vitality and persuasive power", as he put it, came first and could not be replaced by any philosophy. Thus for Malitskii museology comprised, besides the methodical and technical issue, nothing less than the whole of knowledge about museums, i. e. about museum policy and legislation and including the comprehensive bibliography of the available museum literature, just as it also embraced the elaboration of the principal tasks of the museum and the development of a strictly scientific programme for the 'exhibitionary complex'. But, most importantly, before elaborating a general theory of the museum he considered it necessary first to lay open its history, in order to be able to deduce a kind of historical law leading precisely to the appearance of Soviet museums.[22] So it was Malitskii who was the first to write a serious article on Russian museum history in the early 1920s, and it took more than another three decades before his call for historicisation was realised by the collaborative work of the abovementioned Research Institute of Museum Affairs and of the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, which in the 1950s and 1960s edited several volumes devoted exclusively to Russian museum history.[23] In his historical overview from the 16th century up to early 20th century, Malitskii outlined the museums' cultural power in exerting a decisive impact on Russian society, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. His article bore an ideological imprint, though, and evidently reflected the general path of cultural politics pursued by the Commissariat of Enlightenment during the 1920s. Malitskii propagated, and even promised, a "bright future", and he championed the idea that culture should be at the service of a "proletarian state". Accordingly, the museum as a place of enlightenment had to be transformed into a centre of ideological agency. Despite this

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22 See Nazarov 1919; Malitskii 1922a; Malitskii 1922b; Malitskii 1925; Malitskii 1950.

23 See Malitskii 1926; Ocherki istorii 1957–1972.

overt bias, Malitskii's attempt to undertake a general review of Russian museum history remained a cornerstone of Soviet museology for years. It clearly documented that the museums had to be regarded as an extracurricular educational institution and a promoter of scientific research, which actually echoed Malitskii's own conviction, even though his emphatic accentuation of instruction and research perfectly corresponded to the propagandistic requirements of Marxist ideology. Basically, with his articles and lectures Malitskii tried to create a balance between a theoretical and a practical approach, both of which he regarded as necessary to reveal all the capacities the museums held, to activate them and to make them available for the greater part of society. Mere theory could not substitute for museum practice, as otherwise the latter would be devoid of living experience. By the same token, practice without a deeper understanding of the general museum contexts or without a historical consciousness he considered equally useless.[24] In spite of his deep understanding of the museological complex, Malitskii himself never published a manual of museology, even though he held lectures on that topic already in the early 1920s and again later. In fact, there were two works that attempted a tentative delineation of museological tasks but, tellingly, they left out history entirely: one appeared in 1919, the other ten years later, both written by the art historian Fedor I. Shmit. The first comprehensive Soviet manual of museology was published only in 1955.[25]

The second approach that attracted the attention of the museologists consisted in museum practice itself, as was already adumbrated by Malitskii's statements above. Unanimously, museum practice was considered fundamental because it largely structured the visible and thus public surface of the museum. Therefore, the systematic treatment of this issue first targeted the scientification of the classic museum technologies themselves, such as collecting, registering, labelling and, of course, displaying. However, especially this latter task was viewed as most problematic, because it was precisely the exhibition which represented the interface between man, object and reality. Although the exhibits should develop their own and unambiguous language, at least according to the materialist conception of the Bolsheviks, the curators

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24 See Frolov 1991, pp. 76–77; Vakulina 1997, pp. 9–10; Vedernikova 1984, pp. 100–02.

25 See Shmit 1919; Shmit 1929; Osnovy 1955.

were still extremely intent on controlling the narrative that emerged from these objects, and so in the 1920s and 1930s the scientific output on this topic was immense. Furthermore, as, in this case, the museum was not conceived as an abstract phenomenon but had to be explored in its concrete realisation—for example as an art museum, historical museum or archaeological museum—so the debates on the right and ideologically correct exhibition always assumed the shape of a quasi instruction list for specific museum branches. Nevertheless, as one may easily imagine, this field advanced to become the true scientific field for experimentation for Soviet ideology, and in a way the theoretical disquisitions of Malitskii had corroborated this argument, since the museum gallery was not only a reason to think about the scientification of museum technologies in general, but was also evidently the place where far-reaching decisions on order, credibility and historical integrity came into existence, instructing the museological monitoring of Soviet society. As a result, by giving priority to the exhibitionary complex, museology scientifically made available visible structures to interpret reality and, as it were, it also proceeded to control reality's material order.

REVOLUTION IN THE THINGS: HISTORY ON DISPLAY

Given the fact that, to the Bolsheviks, the museum represented the materialist testimony of revolutionary culture and was therefore to be considered a social practice, the majority of Soviet museologists adopted the second approach and directed their scientific interest particularly to the field of display and to the specific problems of arrangement. To begin with, the "First Museum conference" in Petrograd in 1919 had already defined the double function of the museum: on the one hand it was regarded as a place of preservation, on the other as a site of display. Moreover, the debates in Petrograd also added to the Russian term *vystavka* (display), which had commonly been used, also its Latinised version by introducing the concept of a *muzeinaia ekspozitsiia* (museum exposition), which provided the technology of showing with an obvious scientific veneer.[26] However, the factual penetration of museum display by methodical reflections proved to be fairly difficult, since the ideological principles of historical progress were confronted with the refractory materiality of the exhibits that were to

26 Maznyi 1997, p. 14.

tell the allegedly linear revolutionary story.[27] Thus opinions differed considerably on what exactly a Marxist theory of exposition should look like.

Mere chronologically organised displays were regarded as insufficient, because such series were viewed as being unable to display the revolutionary progress of history suitably.[28] As it turned out, the discussions amongst the museologists during the 1920s ultimately tended to favour a so-called "thematic" (*tematicheskii*) form of display, which was to arrange the exhibits according to major umbrella terms. Displays treating, for example, the role of women, of serfdom, of class consciousness or of peasant insurrections were now considered more appropriate to accentuate the fields that were particularly significant for the demonstration of the Soviet conception of history. Great importance was generally attached to the authenticity of the different material testimonies, whose specific arrangement in so-called "complexes" (*kompleksy*) was to reflect the contexts as well as ideological manifestations of Soviet reality. However, the museums experienced great difficulties in adjusting their display strategies to the new and official standards that were finally established in 1930, and even within an ideologically well-aligned museum administration, as was the case in the Tretyakov Gallery, the discussions between the museum and the representatives of the Department of Political Enlightenment about the right application of an unequivocal Marxist theory of exposition dragged on at least until the mid-1930s. Ultimately, in 1940 an article of A.D. Manevskii, deputy of the Department of Political Enlightenment and head of the Department of Museology and Local History in the Commissariat of Enlightenment, put a temporary end to the still ongoing discussions about the right Marxist theory of exposition and its adequate realisation: it was not the objects stored in the basements of the museums that were of importance, but rather the "complex of themes as well as questions which we are obliged to illuminate in our expositions and guided tours in order to judge the phenomena, the facts as well as the things correctly".[29]

A significant part in the elaboration of an explicitly Marxist theory of exposition was played by the Museum of the Revolution, which had

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27 For telling and illustrating the revolution adequately see exemplarily Chagin and Klushin 1975; Corney 2004; Dobrenko 2008.

28 For the general as well as technical problems when describing revolutionary history see Gorodetskii 1982.

29 Quotations after Frolov 1991, p. 81.

been established in 1924 in the former municipal museum of Moscow.[30] This institution, whose total number of local branches already in 1928 added up to more than 100 all over the country, was considered a major cultural agent of the new historical-revolutionary consciousness: according to its self-ascribed image, its task largely consisted in acquainting the visitors to its more than 20 rooms with the history of the revolutionary movement as well as with the history of the Communist Party.[31] In the first years it was particularly the curator Nikolai M. Druzhinin who played an important role. As a historian by education, Druzhinin's contributions both to the scientification of practical museum work and to the theoretical underpinning of Russia's most important revolutionary museum left decisive imprints on Soviet museology for decades. Especially his deliberations on theory of exposition and on museum visits came to have a momentous impact. From the museum's very outset in 1924, he had already emphasised the "pedagogical task of the museum" in order to "establish a historical foundation under the contemporary societal experiences". He, too, had been using organicist vocabulary to describe the functions of the museum and identified it as "a vital, incessantly growing organism" just as he also referred to a "language of objects" by which the exhibits should communicate with the visitors. But this communication process, Druzhinin claimed, could only come into effect fully if, first, the selection of the exhibits was made according to strict scientific criteria (which still had to be established) and, second, if the arrangement of the objects was motivated by a specific political view—each museum, as he put it, "does not only reflect the past and the present but actively acts on ever-changing life".[32] Therefore the Museum of the Revolution in particular was not to show "a history of the social-economic formations", so read the official line, but was rather to focus on "the history of the revolutionary modification of these formations". It was not the results, but the process of change, as well as the process of bringing a social and class consciousness to awareness, that were considered essential. Obviously, Druzhinin staked out the Marxist framework and called for the scientific elaboration of display by connecting it to presuppositions which were generally constitutive for the emergence of any science: to the description and explanation

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30 For a brief introduction to its history see Zaks 1963 and Shumnaia 1998.

31 Plan muzeia 1928.

32 Quotations after Vedernikova 1984, p. 109.

of (historical) change. Using the example of the exhibition on the 20th anniversary of the revolution of 1905 that was shown in the Museum of the Revolution (Fig. 1), Druzhinin illustrates what exactly he understood by a genuinely Soviet display.[33]

The exhibition consisted of five rooms arranged in chronological order. The first was consecrated to the revolution's preconditions from the 1890s up to the Russian-Japanese War of 1904/05, the second embraced the events of Bloody Sunday on January 9th 1905 until the autumn of the

1 "Room of the insurrection. Opened in 1930" (original caption in Glagolev 1932)

2 "Office for methods of the exposition and of guided tours. Opened in 1927" (original caption in Glagolev 1932)

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33 See Druzhinin 1926.

same year, whereas the subsequent room represented the centrepiece of the display, showing the intensification of the revolutionary actions from the October strikes until the armed uprising in Moscow in winter 1905. Then, further tracing the historical progression, the fourth room described how the revolutionary activities gradually died away and made way for the beginning of reaction in 1906, and, finally, the last gallery depicts the role of the social democrats in the second Duma and also gives an introduction to the revolutionary activities on the fringes of the empire. As well as photographs and paintings, every gallery contained in addition glass cabinets displaying numerous written materials such as brochures, newspapers and books.

Druzhinin always tried to conceive the organisation of display by looking with the visitors' eyes, so to him the clarity of the exhibition concept had priority. Yet to guarantee full success in understanding the exhibition in the way it was intended, the visitor had always to engage the services of a professional museum guide (Fig. 2). Thus, as Druzhinin put it, the aim of the exhibition about the 1905 revolution was first "to give a coherent and holistic idea of the first Russian revolution in its preconditions, developments and results. In other words: to show the economic essentials of the revolution, to reveal its social forces, to expound its regular course of emergence as well as of abatement and, finally, to determine its historical connection with the present".[34] As the support provided by the museum professionals, he went on, consisted primarily in steady encouragement (and actually instruction) of the visitors to think for themselves, the professionals, firstly, had to help the visitor "figure out the events logically" and, secondly, make him "empathise emotionally" with the revolution. When leaving the museum, the visitor should be able to "bring harmony, systematisation and order into his already existing knowledge of the given epoch, [just as he] should understand and also master the [revolutionary] subject". To Druzhinin the basis for all this was represented by the general "theme" or "idea" which obligatorily underlay any guided tour; the materials exhibited in the five galleries described above offer opportunities for several such "ideas" to structure an appropriate museum visit. To exemplify what it meant to organise a specific gaze on a genuinely Soviet exhibition about the 1905 revolution, Druzhinin chooses the thematic variant "The proletariat and the peasantry in the first revolution in

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34 Ibid., pp. 63–64.

1905".[35] In developing a fictitious guided tour lasting approximately one and a half to two hours, he explains the exact approach of the guide based on a specific selection of exhibits, expounds the single steps the guide has to take and finally points to the results his imagined tour is expected to bring about. In following Druzhinin's deliberations one soon recognises the problems that a Marxist theory of exposition was actually confronted with—even at that early stage—and how it necessarily conflicted with the original initial point, the material museum object.

Druzhinin conceived his imagined excursion group as consisting of average urban workers who have only incomplete knowledge of the revolution, so the museum's didactic purpose occupied centre stage (for another typical target audience of the museum, the peasantry, see Fig. 3). Already at the very beginning, still in the antechamber, as preparation for the exhibition the guide has immediately to direct the audience's attention to two paintings: Konstantin A. Savitskii's 'Spor na mezhe' (Quarrel at the boundary) and Sergei M. Luppov's 'Konflikt s masterom' (Dispute with the master). The first painting shows a crowd of peasants tilling the soil and engaging in dispute with some representatives of the local administration about the piece of land they have just been ploughing. Luppov, on the other hand, depicts a situation in an ironworks with the foreman at the centre of the painting surrounded by angry and furious workers. These two pieces of art visibly reveal, as Druzhinin explains, the basic

3 "Peasant delegates of the 5th congress of the Soviets of the SSSR (May 1929)" (original caption in Muzei revoliutsii 1932)

35 See ibid.

societal conflict characteristic of the tsarist empire: in the countryside as well as in the cities two irreconcilable factions were opposing each other, which clearly documented, as he emphasises, that "the struggle of the working masses had taken place" both here and there. To Druzhinin the introductory comments on these two paintings are elementary, because they should outline the general principle of the dialectics of the historical process and simultaneously provide an epistemic framework to put the audience in the 'right' mood for the exhibition tour that follows. Moreover, the didactic objective of this pictorial preparation was, as Druzhinin continues, to help the visitors ask themselves why the peasants and workers revolted against tsarist autocracy and how they actually lived until the outbreak of the riots in 1905. The answer, as our exemplary guide tells his audience, could be found in the first room displaying the preconditions of the revolution. There he shows the group another painting, this time the 'Sbor nedoimok' (Collection of the arrears) of Vasilii V. Pukirev. Here one can see a rural scene in front of a farmhouse with a delegation from a district administration headed by the tax collector on the right, and with a peasant family on the opposite side. Directly in front of the taxman situated in the centre of the painting kneels a peasant woman with folded hands, apparently beseeching the official guest, whilst beside her stands her husband humbly inclining his head and casting down his eyes. According to Druzhinin the plot depicted is self-evident and points to the injustice due to the immense tax burden the peasantry had to carry. Contemplating this work of art the guide can easily make clear that the peasants had been exposed to an inhuman pressure by the exploiting class that brought them to the verge of despair and stripped them of their human dignity. But how, as Druzhinin makes our virtual guide ask rhetorically, could this humiliation be explained? To elucidate the historical reasons for this specific situation, he then has to direct the audience's eyes to a series of diagrams attached to the right wall, still of the first gallery (Fig. 4). Now the guide should provide an analysis of the charts that is calm as well as thorough and, abandoning briefly his role as instructor, he should now rather proceed to start a conversation with the group. Principally, as Druzhinin puts it, he has to make the diagrams speak and virtually translate their abstract content into Soviet speech. It should become obvious then that these charts clearly reveal the unjust distribution of land, which was not due to natural conditions but rather to the general societal injustice and to the economic dominance of the ruling class of landowners. Further graphs affixed to that wall additionally explain the tsarist fiscal policy in general. It can be learned from them

4 "Wall 'Armed December Insurrection in Moscow 1905' in the room of the insurrection. Exposition in 1930" (original caption in Muzei revoliutsii 1932)

that the greatest part of the state's income was provided by the peasants, whereas the investment of this money in turn basically represented the interests of the landowning class. This evident imbalance became aggravated and, pointing at some charts at the very end of the diagram wall, the guide amplifies the point that this disequilibrium led to the disintegration of the peasantry into a rich and poor part on the one hand, but also to a general impoverishment of the whole peasantry, on the other, so that the Russian village would gradually disappear from the scene. Then the tour is continued. Other charts illustrate the peasants' migration to the cities and their subsequent mass pauperisation. Once more the guide directs the group's attention to some other paintings, this time by Ivan A. Vladimirov: 'U zavoda' (In the factory), capturing a strike scene, and '9-e Ianvaria' (January 9th), depicting Bloody Sunday in 1905. The guide now again has calmly to explain the social meaning of these paintings, particularly by pointing to the tricolour flag in the centre of the second painting, and he has generally to embroider his explanations with relevant historical, and also memorable, keywords such as "Winter Palace", "peacefully demonstrating workers", "soldiers", "volleys of gunfire", "blood", and, finally, "death". Again, after these explanatory remarks the exhibition group moves on and stops in front of a portrait of the social democrat Ivan V. Babushkin, who was shot in Buriatia by tsarist troops in January 1906. His significance for the revolution in 1905, as we learn from the guide, is justified not only by his martyrdom, but particularly by his painstaking

endeavours to organise the Russian worker movement by drawing on both the theory and practice of the western European proletariat.

This brief participation in an imaginary but successful Soviet museum tour should suffice to show that, if we continued, it would lead us mostly to further diagrams, charts, paintings, drawings and photographs. Things as such, in their original function as material testimony, have almost disappeared out of the museum galleries, at least in this example, and were to a great extent replaced by previously secondary exhibit-objects in order to conceptualise the linear narrative of the revolutionary historical process. For Druzhinin it did not pose any problem that his exhibits actually assumed a new quality; according to him, the broadening of museum objects was the obvious logical outcome of the ideology's intrinsic imperative. However, this overload of the display with secondary objects—Nadezhda Krupskaia would criticise exactly this practice at the museum conference in 1930—unmistakably pointed to the fundamental problem of developing exact and concise stories solely with material objects. It was precisely these difficulties that finally led to the decisive resolutions of the museum congress in 1930, which only repeated what had been evident for a long time, but actually did not resolve the principal problem at all. Things can speak—this was and remained the optimistic view of the Bolsheviks, and the scientification of that process had to underpin the truth contained in it, whether by form or by content. As a consequence, to maintain this assumption the general understanding of "museum objects" had to be extended. The Marxist theory of exposition recognised this early, and in the late 1920s the museologists had audaciously been talking of the "speaking museum", although they were fully aware that it was not the things as such that were speaking, but only those that had been turned into museum *objects*. This transformation was a significant one and had to be reflected on carefully, since ordinary things such as scraps of paper thoughtlessly thrown away in the street or in a park do not necessarily tell anything meaningful. Mostly they remain just scraps of paper. But in simply putting material things of any kind into a museum gallery, they not only metamorphose from "thing" to "object", but through this momentous change of their epistemic status they are necessarily equipped with meaning and thus become part of a specific story. Ideally, as we have seen with Druzhinin's imaginary example, they chronicled the successful course of revolutionary history but, what was more important, they were principally endowed with the power to create stories as such. Objects had to generate narratives as soon as they were put into a museum context. But, conversely, this

meant that now everything could potentially turn into a museum object: diagrams, charts, pictures or photographs, insofar as they contributed to the constitution of a specific plot.[36] So the number of object-speakers increased considerably, but this also revealed that these stories did not actually emanate from the objects themselves, but could only evolve *in between*. The sustained efforts to elaborate an explicitly Marxist theory of exposition obviously stripped materiality and the single object gradually of their original ideological as well as museological substance, notwithstanding that at the same time the museologists took a lot of trouble to conceptualise objects precisely in their materialistic appearance. Remarkably enough, by brusquely imposing a seemingly all-pervasive narrative power on museum objects, the demand for an unequivocal story in turn illuminated the objects' actual contextual duality as being in limbo, constantly oscillating between material unit and significant symbol. The more ideology pressed towards unambiguity, the more the indefiniteness of museum objects was necessarily revealed.

CONCLUSION: SOVIET MUSEOLOGY

Soviet museology as a formalised science of the practically unorganised tsarist museum affairs was an innovation in itself and, moreover, it corresponded to the claim of the Bolsheviks to be building a new world by structuring and implanting a new order visibly. Inasmuch as the museum was assigned a significant role in the context of general transformation, it not only represented a powerful medium through which the new world could be disseminated in Soviet society, but was considered, as the Commissar for Popular Enlightenment, A.S. Bubnov, had put it in his opening speech to the museum congress in 1930, a genuine cultural agent intervening actively in the building of the new cultural and social order. Therefore the establishment of Soviet museology was intended not only to underpin museum activities scientifically, but in part it also provided the scientific foundation for the formation of the new society in general. It was the very nature of Soviet museums to actually produce a linear unfolding of revolutionary history, and, through this, Soviet museology marshalled the material knowledge order of the new Soviet culture as a whole. In the

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36 For a contemporary treatment on these new formats of museum objects see Teplykh 1931 and Druzhinin 1931.

process, the congruence of the general epistemic framework of 'the' museum with the Soviet ideological presuppositions of materialism caused a prodigious evolution of the museum's functional capacities. As it were, particularly in the Museum of the Revolution, ideology most evidently served as a catalyst for visualising the authored museum: it was urging materialist policies on the one hand, but was simultaneously determined (and generated) by each of its specific realisations on the other. In strictly displaying the so-called Soviet, museums had obviously taken on a double ideological function: they materialised theory just as the objects theorised materiality. Undoubtedly, materialist ideology made the official statements of the museum stories one-dimensional and even boring in the long run, but from the perspective of the museum it had first of all succeeded in transforming the museum into a place of total communication.

It was particularly the Museum of the Revolution (and its many branches in the provinces) that provided a specific site where materialism could be practised in all its facets. Things were now incorporated as objects in the constitution of the Soviet image of the world, and the newly developed science of these objects helped to conceptualise the correct systematisation, as well as arrangement, of culture. It was thus Soviet museology which first introduced the "speaking museum", relying on the assumption of the primary communicability of museum objects,[37] and it also was among the first to develop the modern idea that anything could serve as museum object. Due to ideological pressure, exhibits now had to tell the story of the unavoidability of the revolutionary course of history which, however, as the Soviet museologists early noticed, could only be told when the display was complemented by additional materials. In furnishing the rooms with supplementary objects, they gradually transformed the museum into a kind of text whose most important characteristic became its readability. It virtually seems that, particularly because of the refractory materiality, ideology had to transform the museum into a more abstract—legible—entity for the sake of better control. Without exception, all exhibited objects were now assumed to contain the totality of history, the objectivity of which was additionally reinforced by the authenticity ascribed to the museum objects.[38] As a result, Soviet museology threw into sharp relief the very narrative function of the museum: starting from the thing as latently meaningful (ideological) object, the museologists

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37 Jolles 2005; Grinewitsch 2010 [1931].

38 See Dukel'skii 1994, p. 17.

had increasingly shifted their focus to the relation between the museum objects. As it were, the new museum story did now not emerge from the exhibit-objects but could only be told in their interstices: a quite modern phenomenon. So, despite the Bolsheviks' crude political instrumentalisation, by establishing a necessary connection between the exhibits and the visitors, as well as between the objects themselves, they actually created a new and formalised communication situation within the museum. Notwithstanding that Soviet museology underwent heavy ideological distortions and stagnated at the latest from the 1950s on, and notwithstanding that the stories which had been supervised by Soviet museology eventually conveyed the questionable narrative of the new state's unstoppable progressiveness, its founding period represented more than a mere scientification of museum affairs: by operating at the very heart of the material conception of the Soviet order they eventually made things speak.

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PHOTO CREDITS

1, 2 Glagolev 1932, p. 24, 25
3, 4 Muzei revoliutsii soiuza SSR 1932, p. 46, 26

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III CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

CHRISTINA KREPS

THAI MONASTERY MUSEUMS

Contemporary Expressions of Ancient Traditions

Scholars of museum history often trace the origin of the museum idea back to ancient monasteries, temples, and shrines. The Latin word *museum* is derived from the Greek word *mouseion*, which originally referred to a temple or shrine dedicated to the nine muses. The term was later used to describe a place of study or an academy, such as the famous Mouseion of Alexandria founded around the 3rd century BC by Ptolemy Soter.[1] The Romans applied the word *museum* to villas reserved for philosophical discussion.[2] Similar genealogies can also be found in Asia. As the noted historian of museums Bazin suggests, the Shoso-in treasure house in the Todaiji Monastery at Nara, Japan can be considered one of the world's oldest museums founded in 724.[3]

Scholars have also noted how healers, priests, shamans, and other spiritual leaders in their capacity of overseeing ritual spaces and caring for objects have acted as curators.[4] In fact, the word curator is derived from the Latin word *curare*, to care for, and was originally used in reference to religious officiates or curates. Etymologically speaking then, museums and religious spaces and practices have enjoyed a long kinship. And while many scholars have likened certain types of modern museums to temples and "ritual structures," in which reverential and contemplative behaviors take place,[5] today, museums in the Western

1 See Alexander 1979, pp. 6–7.
2 See Bazin 1969, p. 29.
3 See ibid.
4 See Cash Cash 2001; Kreps 2003a; Kreps 2003b; Simpson 1996.
5 Duncan 1995.

world are considered decidedly secular institutions that tend to distance themselves from any association with religion or religious activities. In fact, as Paine asserts, despite the persistent importance of religion in modern societies in Europe and elsewhere, "religion is largely ignored in museums".[6] This stance elides the fact that much of what passes for "art" in Western museums has been "pulled out of chapels, peeled off church walls"[7] or extracted from other contexts of sacred meaning in non-Western cultures.

Religion tends to be a difficult subject to address in museums for a number of reasons, one of which, is "the dichotomy that has been established between the sacred and profane, spirit and matter, piety and commerce that constrains our ability to understand how religion works in the real world".[8] Added to this is the value placed on museums as "temples to reason" and the preeminence of science and rationality in them.[9] And at the risk of stating the obvious, religion can be a politically charged subject that can arouse unwanted attention and controversy. However, in recent years, questions regarding the place of religion and spiritual values in museums have been raised as, for instance, Indigenous peoples in countries like United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia have enjoined museums to show greater respect for sacred objects in their practice.[10] "Well intentioned curators steer a difficult course between mounting pressure to respect the 'sacred' character of indigenous artifacts and the need to deal gingerly with representations of 'religion' in public institutions," writes Laura Kendall.[11]

This chapter concerns monastery museums in Thailand where the association of museums with religion does not pose the kinds of dilemmas discussed above. I consider how monastery museums are actually contemporary expressions of ancient traditions of collecting, storing, curating and preserving objects tied to popular Buddhism.[12] I describe

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6 Paine 2000, p. xii.

7 Greenblatt 1990, p. 44.

8 Paine 2000, p. xiv.

9 O'Neill 2006, p. 101.

10 See Kreps 2011; Sullivan and Edwards 2004.

11 Kendall 2008, p. 180.

12 Popular Buddhism refers to 'folk' versions of Buddhism, which can be an amalgamation of Theravada Buddhism, Hindu-Brahmanism, and animism, in contrast to the canonical or official version of state-sponsored Buddhism in Thailand. See Pattana Kitiarsa 2005, p. 210.

how many museums are practicing "appropriate museology,"[13] whereby "local curatorship" is melded with elements of modern museum practices. Appropriate museology is especially evident when it comes to the treatment of sacred, supernaturally charged, and magical objects. In their embodiment of Buddhist ideology and worldview, monastery museums exemplify what Durkheim observed long ago and that is that a society orders the world of things to reflect the way it orders everything else.[14]

One of my objectives is to highlight how people's emotional, spiritual engagement with and experience of objects in monastery museums stands in contrast to approaches that emphasize "object-based epistemology,"[15] or, the idea that objects have the power to convey knowledge and information. From the latter perspective, museums are largely about information and an element of an informational culture in which objects form part of what Dudley calls an "object-information package":[16]

> There is a current, indeed dominant, view within museum studies and practice that the museum is about information and that the object is just a part—and indeed not always an essential part—of that informational culture [...]. It is a view in which objects have value and import only because of the cultural meanings which overlie them and as a result of the real or imagined stories which they can be used to construct. The material object thus becomes part of an object-information package; indeed, in such a framework the museum object properly conceived is not the physical thing alone at all, but comprises a whole package—a composite in which the thing is but one element[.][17]

Seeing objects as merely part of information packages ignores the materiality of objects—their three-dimensionality, weight, texture, surface temperature, smell, taste, and spatio-temporal presence—all of which is what makes museum objects interesting. Given this, Dudley contends, it is time that we paid more attention to "the very materiality of the material," to see beyond the narrow (but still important) focus on aesthetics and formal qualities of artworks or technical analyses of artifacts and

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13 Kreps 2008.
14 See Conn 2010, p. 21.
15 Ibid., p. 7.
16 Dudley 2010, p. 3.
17 Ibid.

natural history specimens: "This means not treating the material as something upon which meaning is inscribed—a world of surfaces on to which we project significance, a world where meaning is only ever read into things".[18] Rather, it calls for

> enriching an existing interpretive preoccupation with the symbolic, representational, and communicative dimension of objects [...] with [...] emotion and physical sensation [...]. To make such a shift will inform not only a greater understanding of the ways in which people engage with the material world, but also with the aesthetic and technical explorations and wider social and disciplinary meanings from which the physical objects cannot really, of course, ultimately be disentangled.[19]

Dudley suggests refiguring the museum object as an "object-subject interaction" because "it is only as a result of the object-subject interaction that the material thing becomes real at all".[20]

In this light, I suggest that monastery museums can be understood as "multisensory museum spaces"[21] in which the materiality of objects, or the physical and sensory attributes of things, is just as or even more important than the idea of object epistemology. As such, the study of Thai monastery museums offers insight into other ways of 'knowing' objects and museums as well as their possible uses. And while Western museums continue to grapple with the proper place of religion and the sacred in museums, Thai monastery museums show us how these worlds need not be in conflict. Indeed, they inspire us to think more broadly about how museums can deal with the reality of religion and spirituality inside and outside the museum as part of people's living culture, everyday life, and not in the least, the human experience.

I examine Thai monastery museums within the framework of "comparative museology,"[22] which is contributing to a growing body of knowledge on the diverse forms museums and museological behavior take in different historical, cultural and national contexts. I begin by outlining the parameters of comparative museology and then describe monastery

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18 Ibid., pp. 6–7.
19 Ibid., p. 7.
20 Ibid., pp. 6–7.
21 Golding 2010; also see Classen and Howes 2006.
22 Clifford 1991; see Kreps 2003, Kreps 2008.

museums drawing on material presented by Parrita Chalermpow Koanantakool (hereafter Parrita) in the article 'Contextualizing Objects in Monastery Museums in Thailand' (2006), and my own observations based on four trips to Thailand between 2005 and 2012. I also discuss my work with the Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museum Field School organized by the Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre in Bangkok. Here I am concerned with the role Thai monastery museums play in the curation of living cultural heritage and community development.

COMPARATIVE MUSEOLOGY

Until relatively recently, scholarship on museums—on their historical development, nature of collections, and their philosophical and ideological underpinnings—focused primarily on the modern, Western museum. Seen as a uniquely European cultural product that emerged around the 18th century, the modern museum developed in tandem with other developments associated with the birth of the modern age. According to Pearce, "museums are a characteristic part of the cultural pattern of modern Europe and the European influenced world".[23] The museum is said to be an invention of European modernity and an embodiment of the meta-narratives of that modernity—scientific objectivism, reason and rationality, and a conception of time based on a linear, progressive evolution.[24]

But with the growth of interest in non-Western museum models and curatorial traditions over the past twenty years or so, we now know that while the conventional notion of the museum may be Western and modern in origin museological forms and behaviors are cross-cultural phenomena with great historical depth. Studies in comparative museology have revealed how many cultures throughout the world have long had their own models of museums, curatorial practices, and means of transmitting and preserving their cultural heritage as well as curators charged with looking after this heritage. We now see how many contemporary, modern style museums are built on and mixed with older traditions resulting in hybrid cultural forms. In general, studies in comparative museology provide us with examples of how people in varying contexts value,

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23 Pearce 1992, p. 1.

24 See Pearce 1992; Walsh 1992.

perceive, care for and preserve what they deem valuable. This scholarship has illuminated how the forms museums take, the purposes and interests they serve, and the meanings they embody and reflect are as diverse as the historical, cultural, and national contexts in which they exist.[25]

Comparative museology is concerned with identifying, documenting, and critically analyzing similarities and differences in museological forms and behaviors as well as examples of the mixing of museological traditions from different cultural and national contexts. Museological forms and behavior may include structures and spaces for the collection, storage, and display of objects (models of museums) as well as knowledge, skills, and technologies related to their care, treatment, interpretation and conservation (curatorial practices). Comparative museology investigates museological forms and behaviors from a holistic and ecological perspective, showing how they can be embedded in vernacular architecture, religious beliefs and practices; social organization and structure (especially kinship systems and ancestor worship), artistic traditions and aesthetic systems, and knowledge related to people's relationships and adaptations to their natural environment. They may also encompass conceptual frameworks that support the transmission of culture through time.

As a case in point, the Indonesian concept of *pusaka* has worked to protect and preserve valuable cultural property and transmit cultural knowledge and traditions through the generations. The word *pusaka* is generally translated into English as "heirloom". However, it takes on a wide range of meanings in the Indonesian language. In the book 'Pusaka: Art of Indonesia', Harati Soebadio states that the two most established Indonesian dictionaries list three separate definitions for the word *pusaka*:

> 1) something inherited from a deceased person (analogous to the English word inheritance) 2) something that comes down from one's

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25 James Clifford, in his article 'Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections' (1991), uses the phrase "comparative museology" to describe his approach to the study of four Canadian museums concerned with representing First Nations' history and culture. Over the years I have developed my own approach to comparative museology focusing on a comparison of museological forms and practices as described in this chapter. For other examples of studies that may not apply the term but yet be considered comparative museology see Alivizatou 2012; Appadurai 1992; Bhatti 2012; Bowechop and Erikson 2005; Cash Cash 2000; Clavir 1994; Mead 1984; Stanley 2008.

ancestors (analogous to heirloom) 3) an inheritance of special value to a community that cannot be disposed of without specific common descent (analogous to heritage in the sense of something possessed as a result of one's natural situation or birth).[26]

Tangible forms of *pusaka* include things like textiles, jewelry, ornaments, weapons, ceramics, beads, dance regalia, land, ancestor figures, and houses. Intangible cultural expressions such as songs, dance dramas, stories or names can also be considered *pusaka*. Virtually anything can be regarded *pusaka*, although not everything that is inherited is *pusaka* nor are objects created to be *pusaka*. An object or entity becomes *pusaka* in the course of its social life. As one Indonesian curator/anthropologist, Suwati Kartiwa, explains, *pusaka* are social constructs, and it is the meaning a society gives these objects, not anything innate in the objects themselves, which makes them *pusaka*.[27] Because *pusaka* is a social construct, it is more appropriate to think of it in terms of social relationships because *pusaka* emphasize, express, and define relationships within a society.

Pusaka is critical to maintaining kinship ties and keeping track of lineages because it can be among the most important links to the authority of ancestors. An heirloom object, such as a carving, often recalls a founding ancestor in imagery and stories, thus becoming a "visible symbol of the transmission of traditions".[28] In many cases, *pusaka* is under the care and protection of specific members of society like ritual specialists, leaders of customary law, or royal functionaries, who act as *pusaka* curators. In the royal courts of Java, for instance, the curators of royal heirlooms are known as Abdi Dalem who are responsible for safeguarding the physical and spiritual properties of the heirlooms in addition to passing this knowledge on to younger generations.[29]

The curation of *pusaka* conforms to the Native American scholar Phillip Cash Cash's concept of "curation as social practice". Cash Cash suggests (similar to Gell, discussed below) that people's relationships to objects are primarily social ones and therefore curatorial work is a form of social practice. He defines curation as "a social practice predicated on the principle of a fixed relation between material objects and the human

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26 Soebadio 1992, p. 15.
27 See Kartiwa 1992, p. 159.
28 Taylor and Aragon 1991, p. 43.
29 See Kartiwa 1992, pp. 159–160.

environment".[30] The "principle of a fixed relation" means "those conditions that are socially constructed and reproduced as strategic cultural orientations vis-à-vis material objects".[31] Cash Cash's definition of curation implies that people's "strategic orientations" in relation to objects, as social constructs, can also become traditions over time. Thus, each society has its own ways of seeing, knowing, valuing, assigning meaning to, and engaging with objects, which, like all aspects of culture, can remain steady or change over time.[32]

Traditional practices associated with the curation of *pusaka* continue to undergo change in response to cultural and social changes in general, especially those related to religious beliefs and customs. But the overall idea of *pusaka* has endured. Today, rights to the ownership of *pusaka* may be transferred to a public museum. Under such circumstances, *pusaka* becomes the heritage of not just an individual or family, but also a community or nation. In the words of Adji Damai, in Indonesian scholar and museum professional:

> Whether we are talking about sacred and powerful protective objects worn by ancestral heroes or the symbols of modern nationalism [...] it is clear that the concept of *pusaka* is a pervasive one, close to the heart of Indonesian ideas about objects, and therefore the world.[33]

MUSEUM DEVELOPMENT IN THAILAND

The Thai word for "museum" *phiphitthapanthasathan*, derived from Sanskrit, literally translates as "a site that houses a variety of things" and was first used in official records in the late 1880s.[34] Similar to the development of modern museums in Europe,[35] the Thai modern museum concept can be traced back to royal collections. These collections were housed in palace buildings and only open to foreign dignitaries and elite members of society for viewing. In the 1920s, the idea of creating national museums for the general populace began to develop. What is

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30 Cash Cash 2001, p. 140.
31 Ibid., p. 141.
32 See Kreps 2003b.
33 Damai 1992, p. 208.
34 Paritta 2006, p. 151.
35 See McClellan 1994.

now the National Bangkok Museum, for example, dates back to 1874 when King Chulalongkorn (Rama V, who reigned from 1868 to 1910) established the country's first art institution by opening King Mongkut's (Rama IV, reigning from 1851 to 1868) treasures to the public. The collection was originally displayed in the Grand Palace's Concordia Pavilion. In 1926, it was moved to its present location and became the National Bangkok Museum.[36] According to Paritta, it was during this time that the idea began to take hold that national museums could be part of the "state machinery for nation building whose role is to preserve national cultural heritage in the form of religious objects and objects of antiquity, and which constitutes a symbol of a civilized modern nation".[37] Paritta also states that when national museums were initially set up a number of large monastery collections were upgraded and given the status of "national museum". But she also points out that even though what are now called "monastery museums" are a relatively new phenomenon in Thailand, Buddhist monasteries have been places for collecting and storing all types of objects but especially sacred and those infused with supernatural powers since ancient times, and in this respect, serve as a kind of museum "proto-type".

The emergence of the monastery museum can be seen as part of a "larger movement towards modernity" in Thailand.[38] In traditional Thai society, monasteries were the primary sites for the religious and literary education of young boys and men, and were home to the first modern schools for secular education in the 19th century. Despite this stature, they began to lose ground as King Mongkut and his son Chulalongkorn launched an aggressive program of Westernization to modernize the country.[39] In addition to overhauling government bureaucracy, they instituted educational reforms that emphasized the study of Western languages and sciences. Instead of building *wats* (monasteries) and temples, like former kings, they built roads, schools, government buildings, and hospitals.

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36 See Seow and Gobal 2004, p. 144.

37 Paritta 2006, p. 151.

38 Ibid.

39 Although Thailand was unique among mainland Southeast Asian nations in having escaped direct colonialization by European powers, Thai kings were under constant pressures from Western powers to secede territory and grant commercial privileges. They ardently promoted Westernization as a means of safeguarding Thai's independence and strengthen its standing with the West (see Tambiah 1995).

They also employed Western teachers, engineers, architects, painters and sculptors to teach Western technology and art to the Thais.[40]

Over the decades, modernization and secularization undermined the educational role of monks and monasteries in society as secular schools and other institutions gradually took over their previous functions. The larger, lay society began to perceive monks as intellectually old-fashioned with their traditional ecclesiastical education and adherence to traditional knowledge systems. In response to such changes, a movement emerged during the 1960s among some Thai activist and scholar monks to recover their educational role within society. Monks and monasteries were encouraged to not only pursue secular knowledge and education in worldly subjects, but also to play an active role in community development and social work.[41] The changing status of monks and monasteries in Thai society as well as the evolution of monastery museums can be further understood within the context of political and social changes taking place in the country during the 1970s and 1980s.

The political uprising of 1973, in addition to raising political consciousness of the masses, spawned increased interest in and appreciation for local identities and histories. Scholars, intellectuals, and activists called for greater emphasis on "local histories of the common people and a history from below,"[42] leading the Ministry of Education to implement educational reforms that incorporated local history. As Thongchai Winichakul describes: "One of the key issues was decentralization of the curriculum, and encouragement of the idea that local people should know more about themselves and their history".[43] Local studies became part of the national educational plan in 1978, and in addition to new courses and textbooks, the Ministry of Education provided funds for local teachers' colleges and high schools to set up cultural centres for the collection and preservation of local cultural materials. In 1981, the Department of Religious Affairs issued a policy that encouraged monasteries to similarly develop libraries and museums for their communities.[44]

Today, there are approximately 200 monastery museums in Thailand of differing types and architectural styles. Paritta states that monastery

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40 See Thongchai Winichakul 1995.

41 See ibid.

42 Thongchai Winichakul 1995, p. 110

43 Ibid.

44 See ibid., p. 111; also see Paritta 2006.

museums are usually located in ceremonial and gathering spaces within the monastery or *wat*. In some cases, existing buildings such as libraries and archives are converted into museums while in other cases new buildings are constructed to be a museum. For example, the museum located at the Wat That Phut monastery, that dates back to the Ayutthaya Period (roughly mid-1300 to mid-1700s) and is located in Nakhon Prathom Province, was first set up in the monastery's scripture house. The collections are now housed in three buildings on the monastery grounds (Fig. 1–3). The museum was established for fear that the temple's collections might get lost or stolen after the death of the abbot, Phra Khru Phisarnsathuwat. It was officially opened on December 7th, 1997, the day of the abbot's royal cremation.[45]

New buildings are often times built using traditional architectural styles or forms, such as a stupa (Buddha reliquary). Some combine the functions of stupa and museum within one building as in the case of Wat Chan Sen in Nakhon Sawan. The museum was constructed as a two-story stupa wherein the upper floor is a stupa for housing sacred relics and the ground floor is used as a space for museum display. In general, monastery museums are spaces for storing many classes of objects: objects of worship, objects related to the functioning of the monastery and the

1 Wat That Phut, Tambon Rai King, Sam Phran District, Nakhon Prathom Province—the first monastery museum I visited in 2005 with Dr. Paritta Chalermpow Koanantakool

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45 Personal communication with Paritta Chalempow Koanantakool, January 16th, 2010.

2 Dr. Paritta Chalermpow Koanantakool at Wat That Phut, 2005

3 Sacred objects displayed with offerings at Wat That Phut, 2005

daily activities of monks; and objects representing the history, culture, and activities of the local community.[46]

Parrita groups monastery museums into four main categories: *Stupa museums* are dedicated to the memory of a famous monk who has become a saint. The museum may house and display his corporeal relics, his belongings such as amulets, fans, and other religious paraphernalia, published works and honorific materials.[47] *Monastery heritage museums*, which she states are the most numerous, collect and display objects donated to the monastery or head monks of the past. Their collections consist of a diverse range of objects, including ritual and ceremonial objects, local crafts, historical and archaeological artifacts, Buddha images, furniture, photographs, old newspapers and bank notes, as well as old televisions, typewriters, radios and other examples of modern technology. *Folk and ethnic museums* display crafts and artifacts of a specific ethnic group. These museums are influenced by a community empowerment agenda, and are designed to be a forum for stimulating community awareness of and pride in local history and culture. *Art and antiquities museums* are similar to heritage museums, but have more specialized collections such as shadow puppets, stone sculptures of Hindu divinities, stone sculpture, pottery, manuscripts, and cabinets.[48]

The great variety of objects in monastery museums demonstrate how anything can become a 'museum object' in the course of its "social life",[49] and how the meaning, value, and function of objects is contingent on their social and cultural context. Although monastery museums vary in their architectural styles, collections, and history, they also share commonalities. For example, many monastery museums are built to commemorate the founder of the monastery, and objects in the collection may serve to keep the memory of the venerated monk and the stories of his legacy alive. According to Paritta, similarities can also be seen in their development. Typically, a monastery decides to open a museum and then pre-existing objects are turned into exhibits. Then local community members start to donate items to the museum. They donate objects to monasteries for a variety of reasons, many of which are directly related to

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46 See Paritta 2006, pp. 150–151.

47 See Gabaude 2003 for a description of museums devoted to Buddhist saints in Thailand.

48 See Paritta 2006, pp. 154–155.

49 Appadurai 1986.

Buddhist customs as well as popular beliefs about the power and agency of particular kinds of objects.

Donating gifts to a monastery is a primary means of making merit, generating karma, and gaining prestige for community members. In addition to objects, gifts can take the form of financing the construction or repair of monasteries and significant structures like stupas within them. The donation of Buddha images is an age-old and especially meritorious act, and the collection and display of these images is a distinctive feature of Buddhist monasteries and their museums: "In popular conception, the donation is expected to result in the accumulation of merit on the part of the donor resulting in a happy and prosperous life now and in the future".[50]

While donating a Buddha image to a monastery is a meritorious act, removing or disturbing one is socially unacceptable and potentially dangerous. This is because "a key tenet of popular religious culture in Thailand as well as other parts of Southeast Asia is the idea that material things are magically empowered. This is especially true for Buddha statues, images, and religious artifacts".[51] Legends and stories abound that recount the consequences of removing an image from a monastery, causing illness, bad luck, and even death. Respectively, there are ritual prohibitions against removing images as well as other objects from monastery grounds. Such prohibitions can be seen, from a museological perspective, as a traditional means of safeguarding and preserving objects that has continued to function in present times.

The belief that objects possess magical powers and can thus be harmful extends to almost any category of ancient object, including ceramics, prehistoric stone tools, broken pieces of house shrines, and curiosities like fossils and natural oddities. Monasteries have historically been a safe and appropriate place for depositing these objects. By donating such objects to a monastery, donors cannot only accumulate merit but also nullify or neutralize their potentially negative effects. In this instance, "monasteries become a zone of neutralization of other powers, and cleansing pollution".[52]

During my ethnographic study of the Provincial Museum of Central Kalimantan, Museum Balanga, in Indonesian Borneo, I observed similar attitudes toward and beliefs about objects to those in Thai monastery museums. Certain kinds of objects in the museum's collection, such as *hampatung*, *sapundu*, *karuhei*, which are carved wooden figures created by

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50 Paritta 2006, p. 157.

51 Byrne 2007, p. 156; also see Kendall et al. 2008.

52 Paritta 2006, p. 161.

ritual specialists (*basir*) for use in traditional Dayak, Kaharingan[53] religious ceremonies, were also thought to possess spirits and supernatural powers capable of both benevolent and malevolent acts. Because of their powers and potentially dangerous effects, museum staff was particularly respectful of these objects and took precautions in their handling and interpreation. Each *hampatung* or *sapundu* is considered a singular creation, endowed with meanings and powers known only to the *basir* who created it. Knowledge about these kinds of objects is sacred, non-public, only acquired through lengthy apprenticeship, and apprentices must 'pay' for the right to own such knowledge. Out of respect for the knowledge and authority of the *basir*, as well as traditional rights and ritual requirements surrounding these objects, museum staff would look to *basir* for guidance on how to interpret and display them in the museum. They also periodically called upon *basir* to perform purifying rituals to cast out any malevolent forces and spirits lingering in objects and the museum and to summon good ones.[54]

Hampatung, *sapundu*, and *karuhei* are, in essence, embodied knowledge created to intentionally provoke sensory engagement with them, which in turn, compels people to perform certain social actions. Such "subject-object interactions" resonate with Alfred Gell's concepts of "object agency" and "affect," explicated in his posthumous book 'Art and Agency' (1998). To Gell, material objects, images, and works of art have an impact on people in their capacity to evoke emotional states and ideas, but also in their power as social agents. Objects have social agency in terms of being social actors enmeshed in a network of social relations. In short, "social agency can be exercised relative to 'things' and social agency can be exercised by 'things'".[55] Gell was also interested in how people attribute agency, such as magical powers, to things; a process which in itself shapes their capacity to be social agents. Objects can be used to capture powers and perform magic, but their "virtuosity" and "efficacy" rests on the socio-cultural context in which such actions are being performed.[56] He described magic as the artful means of trapping spirits and seducing them to one's

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53 The generic term "Dayak" is used to refer to the non-Malay, non-Chinese, indigenous populations of Borneo even though each Dayak group has its own name, language, and cultural traditions. Kaharingan, or more appropriately, Hindu Kaharingan, is the official (government assigned) name of the traditional animistic religion of the Ngaju Dayak of Central Kalimantan.

54 See Kreps 1998 and Kreps 2003.

55 Gell quoted in Kendall 2008, p. 186.

56 See Chua and Elliott 2013, p. 9.

will, placing special emphasis on the object's beauty and artistry as key to the object's efficacy.[57] Gell's ideas are also useful for understanding how objects are known and made to perform in monastery museums.

Paritta asserts that curatorial work in monastery museums should be understood within the context of how a monastery space has been transformed into a museum space wherein exhibits can be contextualized by the legacies of the monastery. As such "it would be pointless to approach or evaluate these museums purely from the point of view of museology that does not take into account local curatorship".[58] Indeed, based on my own observations of monastery museums, they vary widely in the degree to which they conform to conventional museum models and professional museum practices. What's more important and more interesting from the perspective of comparative museology, however, is how local curatorship reflects people's on-going relationships to objects in museums. Local curatorship also speaks to the spiritual power and social agency of certain objects. For example, Paritta describes how donors who have given objects, such as Buddha images, to a monastery museum continue to maintain strong ties to the image and want to periodically repair or "renew" the piece now in the museum collection. Renewing objects by repainting them or replacing parts is a long standing and common practice throughout Southeast Asia, and in Thailand can be a means of making merit. The objective is not to restore the piece or stabilize it as in the Western sense of conservation and restoration, but rather, to make it look new again and more attractive. This practice increases the image's power and makes it more efficacious.[59]

As discussed earlier, there are many different types of monastery museums with different kinds of collections, architectural styles, and administrative bodies. Because monastery museums can be created from existing collections and monastery spaces and are often run by monks and other community members not trained in professional museum, each is unique in its organization and approach to presenting collections. They can be the expression of a particular monastery, local community, or individuals' ideas about what a museum is and how collections should be cared for and presented. As such they can conform to neither professional museum methods nor local curatorship or customary practices.

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57 See Kendall 2008, p. 185.

58 Paritta 2006, pp. 156–157.

59 See Byrne 2007, p. 156

Parrita gives the example of one museum in which Buddha images that are considered particularly valuable are displayed behind locked iron bars. This approach not only makes the Buddha images appear as if they are imprisoned and obstructs careful viewing it also does not allow visitors to pay respect to and worship the images in the manner to which they are accustomed, that is, prostrating themselves before the images and making offerings to them.[60] Indeed, I noticed offerings of flowers, incense and fruits put before Buddha images and other sacred objects in nearly all the museums I visited, and in many cases, 'exhibits' appeared more like altars rather than conventional museum displays. As a gesture of respect, museum visitors also remove their shoes before entering the museum space.

In some monasteries I visited, collections were displayed in cases, hung on walls, or were placed on pedestals, and seemed to be organized in some orderly fashion. But in others, museum spaces appeared to be more like storehouses where objects were placed haphazardly. Furthermore, whereas some museums provided interpretative texts, object labels, and didactic materials others did not. In these latter cases, the lack of interpretive information may have been due to the fact that as 'community museums' most of the visitors were locals who were familiar with the objects and thus did not require interpretation. But a more likely explanation could be that the 'informational value' of objects was of less importance than their physical appearance and material presence as an embodiment of Buddhist spirituality.

In these examples we can see how monastery museums are practicing their own "appropriate museology," or "museum practice" that fits the local cultural context. Appropriate museology can be a way of honoring long standing curatorial traditions and approaches to objects while integrating the new and different. Thai museums, in this respect, are not unlike many other museums throughout the world where modern museum methods are overlaid onto or mixed with older traditions. In many major anthropology museums in the United States, for instance, Native American 'traditional care methods' are used alongside standard museum practices when it comes to dealing with sacred and ceremonial objects. Working in collaboration with Indigenous curators and tribal representatives, staff are housing, displaying, and curating collections in accordance with tribal cultural protocols. This can include the ritual cleansing and blessing of objects; removing objects from display or from general storage areas; and

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60 See Paritta 2006, p. 159.

modifying conservation measures to preserve the soul, spirit, and powers of the object. In these situations, it is important to not only preserve the physical integrity of the object but also its spiritual integrity, and to show respect for the diverse ways in which people engage with objects.[61]

Earlier I described practices in the Provincial Museum of Central Kalimantan, Museum Balanga where staff collaborated with local ritual specialists out of respect for their knowledge and authority and in attempts to practice culturally appropriate museology. However, some museum administrators and government officials viewed these collaborative efforts as unprofessional, too closely tied to religion, and out of step with the idea of the museum as modern, secular institutions based on scientific principles and professionalism. As a result, such practices were being discouraged in the museum despite the fact that they embodied local curatorship and represented the living culture existing outside the museum. This stance contradicts the current idea that if one of the main functions of a museum is to preserve a community's cultural heritage then the safeguarding of its intangible heritage, for example in the form of traditional knowledge and customs, should be as important as the preservation of its tangible heritage.[62]

In the following section, I describe how, in contrast to the Indonesian case, one Thai monastery museum is helping to safeguard and perpetuate local cultural traditions, and how the preservation of tangible culture is inextricably tied to the support and preservation of intangible culture.

THE TON KAEW MONASTERY MUSEUM

The Ton Kaew monastery is located in Ban Wien Yong, a Yong neighborhood in the town of Lamphun. It was one of the first Buddhist monasteries established by the Yong, which is an ethnic group originally from Muang Yong in present day Burma/Myanmar that was forcibly resettled in Lamphun during the 1800s. Today, the monastery continues to serve the spiritual needs of the community, but has also become an important center for helping sustain Yong identity and heritage. Abbot Praku Paisanteerakhu, head of the monastery, has been actively promoting Yong culture through a variety of activities, one of which is the development of a community 'museum' inside the monastery.

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61 See Kreps 2011.

62 See Kreps 2009.

I was first introduced to Thai monastery museums in 2005 when I was invited to participate in a conference on community museums in Bangkok organized by the Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn Anthropology Centre (SAC),[63] at which time Dr. Parrita Chakermpow Koanantakool was the director. I was invited back to Thailand in 2009 to serve as a "resource person," or instructor, for the Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums Field School (hereafter Field School) organized by SAC and sponsored by the Asian Academy for Heritage Management and the Bangkok office of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

The Field School grew out of SAC's Local Museums Research and Development Project, which began in 2003. The Project has been dedicated to creating a digital database of local museums in Thailand for sharing information and promoting collaboration between SAC staff and local communities in museum research and development. The database currently contains entries for 1221 museums.[64] The Project has also been dedicated to strengthening the research capacity of both local communities and SAC staff in local museum management through on-site workshops.

Ton Kaew museum, like other Thai monastery museums, is an assortment of monastery buildings and spaces that have been transformed into a museum, or rather, perform museological functions of storing, displaying, and preserving collections of things that the Abbot and community members value (see Fig. 4). These can be things that are part of everyday monastic life, such as the Abbot's personal belongings as well as things he has collected or community members have given to the monastery. They are 'museum objects' only by virtue of being in a place now labeled a "museum". And as true for most other monastery museums, Ton Kaew does not have a 'collection policy' nor is it staffed by professional museum workers trained in professional museum practice. Rather, it is first and

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63 SAC is a public organization, non-profit academic institution that was originally established by the Silapakom University in Bangkok in 1991 in commemoration of Her Royal Highness Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn's 36th birthday. The Centre was created to fulfill the Princess' wish to develop a national institution dedicated to anthropological research on Thailand and Southeast Asia. In keeping with HRH Princess Maha Chakri Sirindhorn's SAC's mission is to "support research and the dissemination of knowledge in the field of anthropology and related disciplines".

64 See http://www.sac.or.th/en/resources/local-museums-database/ (last accessed 3.9.2013).

4 Ton Kaew Monastery and Museum, Lamphun, 2009

foremost a monastery that in addition to serving the spiritual needs of the community and being home to the Abbot and novices also functions as a museum and community cultural center. I first visited Ton Kaew in 2009 and then returned in 2010 and 2012. Over this period of time, I saw how the Ton Kaew museum continued to reflect "local curatorship" while progressively integrating more and more elements of conventional museum practice.

When I first visited Wat Ton Kaew in 2009 there were two buildings devoted to housing and displaying collections. One building was newly constructed to replace an older building in which religious objects like Buddha images, clay amulets, palm leaf scriptures, lacquer and metal ware used for offerings were displayed. This building also contained historic photos and documents; coins, weapons, paintings; household utensils, old radios, and other miscellaneous objects. The second building was an older wooden structure that formerly functioned as the Abbot's living quarters. It displayed the Abbot's and other famous Lamphun monks' honorific materials like status fans and amulets. This building was also used for ceremonial functions, such as life lengthening ceremonies.

An atelier for weavers was also located on the grounds of the monastery and was home to a weaving association the Abbot established in the 1980s (see Fig. 5). This initiative grew out of the Abbot's wish to preserve the Yong weaving tradition, which had long been a marker of Yong identity. The weaving association provided weavers, mostly elderly

5 Abbot of Ton Kaew Monastery, 2009

women, with a modest income and the atelier, in addition to giving the weavers a place to work, gave them a space to get together and socialize.

In 2010, the monastery finished construction on a new museum building, designed in keeping with traditional Yong architecture. At that time, the upper level consisted of a large meeting hall and there was a new area for the weavers to work below. When I returned in 2012, an exhibition on Yong weaving had been installed on the upper level, complete with mannequins wearing traditional Yong style clothing and labels on the different textiles. The exhibition room was located next to a hall where the Abbot received guests and devotees in front of an altar replete with Buddha images and offerings of fruit, flowers and incense. Photographs of venerated monks, historical figures and events with explanatory texts lined the walls, and the Abbot's collection of locally made ceramic water jars hung from rafters.

Because of the importance of weaving to the Yong community, participants in the Field School in 2009, 2010, and 2011, worked with the Abbot and members of the Wat Ton Kaew community to develop strategies for promoting and preserving both the tangible and intangible aspects of Yong weaving. That is, they were concerned with protecting not just the materials and technology devoted to the craft but also knowledge of its history, the meanings of designs, and stories about weaving. To this end, they established a partnership between the weaving association and a nearby primary school. Weaving has now been instituted into the school curriculum. Classes are held at the monastery where students have the opportunity

to work directly with the weavers who are keeping the weaving tradition alive by passing on their knowledge and skills to the younger generation. Students are learning how to use the floor looms and about the intricate *yok dok* pattern for which the Yong are well known. During the 2011 field school, participants also produced a short documentary film on Yong weaving. In the course of making the film, they interviewed the Abbot, weavers, community members, pupils and teachers, and collected archival materials all as part of their efforts to safeguard and promote Yong cultural heritage.

Although the Field School was inspired by international cultural policy, that is, the 2003 UNESCO Convention, and its participants are professionals from various cultural sectors, its aim is not to impose standardized practices and approaches to the documentation and preservation of cultural heritage. Instead, and in contrast to many professional international museum training programs,[65] it acknowledges and respects local museological forms, curatorial practices and the cultural diversity they represent. The work of the Field School, in this sense, is not intended to replace one tradition with another, but rather, is about helping foster the conditions under which local traditions can continue to survive.

Over the years, Ton Kaew has expanded and upgraded its facilities to become a focal point for educating community members and visitors about the Ban Wien Yong community's history, culture, and art while continuing to be an active monastery. It is also contributing to community socioeconomic development and empowerment through its weaving program. And while certain parts of Ton Kaew are increasingly coming to resemble a 'typical' museum, it can be seen as a contemporary expression of age old practices related to collecting and preserving things of value to the monastery and its community. Furthermore, as both a religious leader and custodian of local culture (or curator), the Abbot of Ton Kaew is following in the footsteps of his ancestors.

CONCLUSION

This study of Thai monastery museums demonstrates, once again, that a diversity of museological forms and traditions are to be found throughout the world; and that there is not one universal museology but a world full of museologies. Seen through the lens of comparative museology, it

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65 See Kreps 2008.

also highlights how what is seen as problematic in one context is not in another. In the Thai context, the blending of religion and museums represents the perpetuation of ancient traditions, along with the integration of the new.

Moreover, the case of Thai monastery museums offers alternate perspectives on how we might approach the vexing issue of religion in museums. This is especially important as we are increasingly being asked to not only show greater respect for religious and sacred objects in our collections, but also to join source communities in their ways of engaging with these objects; ways that are multi-sensory and more complex than simply seeing objects as part of 'information packages'.

A number of Western museums have been, for some time now, collaborating with Indigenous as well as other communities to accommodate the spiritual maintenance of objects, the performance of rituals, and the veneration of sacred objects. Gaskell describes, just as one example, how the Newark Museum, in New Jersey (USA) worked with members of the Tibetan Buddhist community from New Jersey and New York in redesigning and re-installing a Tibetan sacred arts exhibition from 1988 to 1990. For the curator, Gaskell relates, it was imperative for the museum to honor its responsibilities and obligations to the Tibetan community that saw the objects in its collections as invested with sacred powers. The centerpiece of the new installation was an altar, upon which, a gilded copper image of Shayamuni (Gautama) Buddha was enthroned. The altar was not designed and built by museum staff, but by a Tibetan trained in a Tibetan monastery. Gaskell writes that "most importantly, this altar was not conceived as a stage setting, but a true religious structure [...] for the altar was consecrated by the Dalai Lama himself".[66] The Dalai Lama, by invoking the Buddha to enter the altar and remain there, spiritually activated the objects on display thereby making them "function in a more complex manner than might have been the case had they merely been activated by the museum in an aesthetic or art historical manner".[67]

And just as Dudley contends that it is time for museums to pay more attention to the "very materiality of the material," Gaskell asserts that

> those who are responsible for museum collections might ask themselves how they should best meet their responsibilities toward objects

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66 Gaskell 2003, pp. 152–153.

67 Ibid., p. 154.

> in those collections in all their complexity, rather than solely in respect to their aesthetic, art historical and educational characters. The paradigm that holds that the latter criteria as exclusive validation for museums' attention to objects is coming to the end of its cultural life, and we must develop means of meeting a far wider range of expectations regarding objects and their uses on the part of a variety of publics than has generally been the case in the past.[68]

What the cases of the Newark museum, Thai monastery museums, and the others presented in this chapter confirm is the need to perpetually question the ideological and epistemological assumptions embedded in museums. Studies in comparative museology allow us to see museums and museum practices in a new light and in their multifarious manifestations for "we begin to discover the artifice of our practices when we look at them in comparison to those in other cultural contexts".[69] And even though the Western, modern museum concept has now become a global cultural form, "every society appears to bring to these forms its own specific history and traditions, its own cultural stamp, its own quirks and idiosyncrasies".[70]

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68 Ibid., p. 160. For other cases of museums working with Buddhist communities see Chuang Yiao-hwei 2000; Kendall 2008; Wingfeld 2010.
69 Karp and Lavine 1990, p. 1.
70 Appadurai and Breckenridge 1988, p. 5.

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SUSAN WALKER

CROSSING CULTURES, CROSSING TIME

A Transforming Moment in the History of the Ashmolean Museum

In memory of Rick Mather,
a much missed friend and colleague.

This paper gives a perspective by an archaeological curator, one much engaged with the early management of the project, on the recent redevelopment of the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology in the University of Oxford, opened to the public in November 2009. The redevelopment stemmed from the realisation of the Director Dr. Christopher Brown, following his appointment in 1998, that the extended building commissioned by Sir Arthur Evans in 1894 no longer served its purpose. The museum's archaeological collections required a new setting and modern interpretation. The perspective offered here does not include the redevelopment of the Egyptian Galleries begun in 2010 and opened in November 2011.

This 'transforming moment' has seen the Ashmolean's visitor numbers quadruple from some 300,000 per year to 1,200,000 in the first year of opening, November 2009 – November 2010. In the same year the museum began to host major, ticketed exhibitions of art and archaeology for the first time, working in collaboration with overseas institutions and attracting over fifty thousand visitors to 'The Lost World of Old Europe', developed with the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University, and 'The Pre-Raphaelites in Italy', with the Museum of Art in Ravenna. Attracting favourable reviews in the press and journals of museology, art and archaeology, the Ashmolean Museum won the popular vote in two major prizes: the Art Fund Prize and the Stirling Prize; in both cases it was runner-up for the award, which is ultimately determined by a panel of judges. The new building (Fig. 1) with its light,

1 The atrium of the new Ashmolean building, with views across to the Islamic World and Human Image Galleries

airy galleries and much improved facilities has become a landmark for local residents, for tourists visiting Oxford, for university students who now see it as 'cool' (they certainly didn't before!), for the many diners in the excellent restaurant on its roof, and for TV producers of a major UK detective series of no direct relevance to the world of museums: 'Lewis', the pale successor of the much-loved and long-running Oxford-based drama 'Inspector Morse'.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE HISTORY OF THE ASHMOLEAN

In real time, the transforming moment began with the arrival in Oxford in 1998 from London's National Gallery of the Ashmolean's current Director Dr. Christopher Brown. It was clear to Dr. Brown that, notwithstanding the excellence of its collections, the museum was then underperforming in terms of attracting visitors and providing for them inspiring, accessible displays on an easily navigated route around two poorly articulated buildings. The problem was particularly acute in the densely displayed archaeological galleries in the northern extension commissioned by Sir Arthur Evans when Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum from 1884–1908. Redevelopment of these premises to the north of the listed, neo-classical University Galleries facing onto Beaumont Street proved not to be a viable option. They were demolished in 2006 and replaced with a new building designed by Rick Mather Architects and formally opened by HM Queen Elizabeth II in December 2009, following a series of 'soft' openings in late November.[1] The new building doubles the gallery space with 39 new galleries in a footprint of 10,000 square metres.

Inside the Ashmolean, then, a new world now beckons, of which nothing may be seen from the exterior (Fig. 2). External discretion was a condition of planning permission for the new building, which does not project above the existing roof-line and may only be glimpsed from the service entrances to the west and east on Pusey Lane and St Giles. The neo-classical façade of the University Galleries completed by Charles Robert Cockerell in 1845 owes everything to his knowledge of ancient Greek and Roman architecture, and especially his exploration of the site of the 5th-century BC Temple of Apollo at Bassae in the Greek Peloponnese. The 5th-century temple designed by Ictinus at Bassae inspired the

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1 See Brown 2009; He 2009.

2 The Ashmolean Museum from Beaumont Street

3 Rick Mather Architects' model of the Ashmolean from the east

flared column capitals and bases, the external pediment of Apollo and the cast of the frieze from the temple (Cockerell persuaded the British government to buy the original for the British Museum) above the east stairs. The central gallery of Cockerell's building, essentially a linking *passeggiata* between two projecting wings, is very narrow. Since Arthur Evans moved the archaeological collections to the University Galleries in 1899 it has housed a display of the Arundel Marbles and other classical

sculpture on the ground floor, with Italian Renaissance paintings above. This arrangement still holds, though the Randolph Sculpture Gallery is to be redisplayed in 2013 with a stronger focus on the story of the formation of the early 17th-century Arundel Collection, the first display (then at the Earl of Arundel's house in London) of classical sculpture in Great Britain. The west wing of Cockerell's building is given to archaeological displays of Ancient Egypt and Nubia on the ground floor and European decorative arts above; the east wing to the Taylorian Institute of Modern Languages. This division of purpose was intended from the start, and is reflected in the presence, above the four columns flanking the eastern entrance to the Taylorian Institute of Modern Languages from St Giles, of personifications of the literature of France, Germany, Italy and Spain (seen in the architect's model, Fig. 3).

The Ashmolean takes its name from the distinguished lawyer, tax administrator, herald and historian Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), who in 1673 presented to Oxford University his inheritance of the ethnographic material assembled in the 17th-century by the master gardeners, the elder and younger John Tradescant.[2] Ashmole created his own statutes for the governance of his university foundation, and in them his purpose is revealed to be markedly utilitarian:

> Because the knowledge of nature is very necessarie to humaine life, health, & the conveniences thereof, & because that knowledge cannot be soe well and usefully attain'd, except the history of Nature be knowne and considered; and to this end, is requisite the inspection of Particulars, especially those as are extraordinary in their Fabrick, or usefull in Medicine or applied to Manufacture of Trade [...]. I have amass'd together great variety of natural Concretes and Bodies, and bestowed them on the university of Oxford.[3]

Ashmole's gifts were housed in the "Old Ashmolean", an elegant building on Broad Street that still stands next to the Sheldonian Theatre.[4] Here the museum first opened its doors to the public in 1683: the collection was displayed on the upper floor of the building, while the university's School of Natural History occupied the ground floor and the chemistry laboratory

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2 See MacGregor 1983; Potter 2006.

3 As cited in Brown 2009, pp. 9–10.

4 See MacGregor 2001, pp. 14–23.

was set up in the basement. The institution was directed by Oxford's first Professor of Chemistry and first Keeper of the Ashmolean, Robert Plot, whose students conducted experimental science below the display in a lively but highly functional juxtaposition unimaginable in today's world of health and safety legislation.[5] After Plot's tenure the museum lost its clearly structured scientific identity and endured a range of competences in its Keepers from exemplary (William Huddesford, 1755–1772), to catastrophically self-interested and negligent (William's father George Huddesford, 1732–1755, whose only positive action proved to be his securing of the succession to his post for his twenty-three year old son).

In the course of the 19th century there was considerable rationalisation of the university's collections as new, scientific disciplines developed. Firstly, the geological and mineralogical collections were moved with their professors and students to the adjacent Clarendon Building. However, with the foundation in the 1850s of an honour school of Natural Sciences came the creation of the new and imposing Natural Science or University Museum, located to the north of the city centre in Parks Road. On its completion in 1860 the University Museum housed ten departments specialising in Astronomy, Geometry, Experimental Physics, Chemistry, Mineralogy, Geology, Zoology, Anatomy, Physiology and Medicine. In its modern incarnation of the University Museum of Natural History, this remarkable Gothic building now sits at the centre of the university's Science Area, the departments having moved into purpose-built structures as the disciplines developed in the course of the 20th century. In 1884 the University received a major donation of some 15,000 ethnological specimens collected by Colonel (later Lieutenant-General) Augustus Henry Lane Fox Pitt Rivers (1827–1900). He stipulated that the collection be housed in an independently constituted museum built as an annex to the University Museum. In 1886 the University moved all ethnographic material held in the Ashmolean to the Pitt-Rivers Museum (later the ethnographic material from the founding collection was returned to the Ashmolean to illustrate the museum's remarkable history). During the same period, books and manuscripts in the Ashmolean, along with the entire cabinet of coins and medals, were moved to the Bodleian Library.[6] These developments greatly weakened the Ashmolean's integrity as a museum. In 1878, prompted by the prospect of the bequest of the collection

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5 See MacGregor 2007, p. 41.

6 On all the 19th century moves see MacGregor 2001, pp. 36–41.

of "objects of vertu" of Charles Fortnum, it was decided to amalgamate the Ashmolean's collections with the galleries of fine and decorative art on Beaumont Street. Arthur Evans, who became Keeper in 1884, saw the merger through to fruition. The pressing need to move out of the cramped conditions of Broad Street is eloquently captured in a gallery view taken in the later 19th century (Fig. 4). The Old Ashmolean building now houses the Museum of the History of Science, among its glories

4 The display in the old Ashmolean building in Broad Street in the 19th century

a very important collection of scientific instruments formed by Arthur Evans's brother, Lewis.

Within the extended University Galleries the archaeological and founding collections found room to breathe, and in 1909 the building was renamed the Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology. In the first half of the 20th century, the departments and their holdings grew exponentially. The Ashmolean's Keepers of Antiquities and some of their colleagues in the university excavated in Britain, Europe, the Mediterranean region, Egypt and the Near East, acquiring vast quantities of archaeological material in *partage* arrangements that remained common practice until de-colonisation in the 1950s and 1960s, and were especially suited to the museum's role as a teaching institution of the university. The Evans family bequeathed large and significant holdings of archaeological objects and decorative art. The museum burgeoned not only in quantity but range, with the Heberden Coin Room and the Department of Eastern Art established as separate departments in 1961. The Cast Gallery, displaced by the arrival of the Eastern Art collections, acquired new premises immediately to the north of the museum. The expansion of disciplines into separate, independently managed departments led in 1973 to the appointment of the Ashmolean Museum's first Director, David (later Sir David) Piper.

Within the museum's Beaumont Street premises, there were unexpectedly tricky and intractable changes of level in the building Arthur Evans had commissioned immediately north of Cockerell's University Galleries. Though the structure was itself of reasonably high quality, it was regarded as temporary. And, as departments developed, so the spaces within the new building were compromised by the construction of mezzanine floors and infill of courtyards and open areas on the north side. In 2003 the Sackler Library was built immediately to the west of the museum, replacing the library within the museum and serving the schools and departments of classics, art history and archaeology within the university. By then the fabric of Evans's extension had deteriorated, notably the high, top-lit ceilings over the upper galleries that gave the building its nickname "the sheds" from their resemblance to a factory roof.

The decision was eventually made a century after their construction to demolish the "sheds" and replace them with an ingenious new building designed by Rick Mather, a distinguished American architect based in London who already had the highly successful extensions of the Dulwich Picture Gallery and the Wallace Collection, both located in London, to his credit. The model (Fig. 3) shows the junction of the new building with the listed Cockerell Galleries to the south and the Ioannou

Centre for Classical and Byzantine Studies to the north, thereby creating a mini-campus linking Classics, Archaeology, Oriental Studies and the Sackler Library in one complex.

The new building was excavated a storey lower than the old, connecting with the lower ground level of the Cockerell building. The architect thus managed to pack into a very constricted urban space six interlocking storeys with rooms of three different heights, the highest matching Cockerell's main ground floor gallery. Two atria with staircases allowed natural light to penetrate to the lowest level, and matched Cockerell's axes. The interlinked nature of the spaces within the structure creates exciting long vistas offering glimpses of key objects in the collections, thereby drawing visitors through the building (Fig. 1). There is no risk of claustrophobia in the lower height galleries as a higher space can always be seen beyond. The problem of changing levels on the old site has been resolved, with level/lift access throughout the new building. Displacement ventilation is carried vertically within the walls, as the floor levels had to match those of the Cockerell building. Within the latter, the galleries of Western Art were extensively refurbished.

CROSSING CULTURES, CROSSING TIME— A NEW CONCEPT FOR DISPLAYING THE COLLECTIONS

The new Ashmolean building also gives a sense of gallery spaces flowing into each other. The visual perspectives opened both horizontally and vertically have permitted an integrated concept of display, the main subject of this paper.

The Director asked the curators to develop a more interesting concept than narrowly focussed, departmentally generated, mono-cultural displays to exploit the qualities of the new building. After much discussion across all departments of the museum, it became clear that these were the challenges facing the curators: To create a museum that satisfies a diverse public: traditional museum-goers, experts and scholars—the University; visitors to Oxford; children, schools and families. To create a museum that makes best use of rich and diverse collections: the collections of Western and Eastern Art, Archaeology, Coins and Casts and display them in the same building.

Henry Kim, then Assistant Keeper of Greek Coins and Renaissance Medals at the Ashmolean, developed the idea of Crossing Cultures, Crossing Time as an overall concept for the museum. The new concept

met the challenges by offering opportunities to explore links between cultures, to integrate the collections, to introduce a new, questions-based approach to display and to create new contexts for looking at objects. Combining the roles of a university teacher and museum curator, Kim realised that the Ashmolean could bridge the gap between the research carried out behind closed doors in the university and public access to academic debate. Observing the ways the displays were used, he noted that the old displays were

> functional, but by no means advanced. [... W]hat was on display had lost relevance to what students were being taught. Within faculties, students and their instructors undertook far more engaging cross-cultural studies that pulled objects from their traditional contexts and set them in a range of new contexts. For example, prehistoric European vessels were no longer studied based on their types, but as indicators, by way of scientific residue studies, of the domestication of animals and the keeping of herds.[7]

Though this particular line of research on prehistoric ceramics had been pioneered by a senior curator at the Ashmolean, the results had not informed the display strategy of the museum.[8]

The Director and curators at the Ashmolean Museum are academics with expertise in particular areas of the collections. To fulfil the museum's own wish to reach out to a wider public, and to meet the conditions of public engagement required by our principal funders the Heritage Lottery Fund, its staff needed professional support. Large amounts of funding had become available to museums in the 1990s, as a result of the establishment of a national lottery fund. Though the fund had been set up in 1994 by the Conservative administration of John Major, with the aim of raising money to mark the coming millennium, the lottery had proved so successful that a second fund (the HLF) was set up to provide a more permanent legacy in the fields of sport and the arts. Following the victory of Tony Blair's New Labour party in the elections of 1997, the HLF supported the new government's policy of social inclusion, i.e. attracting visitors who had not previously entered art galleries, museums, theatres, concert halls or used sporting facilities. This was a particularly

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7 Kim 2007, p. 47.

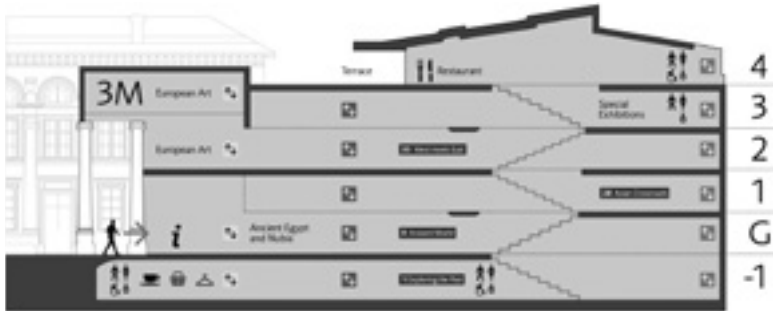
8 Andrew Sherratt was actively engaged in this research at his untimely death in 2005. For his theoretical framework see Sherratt 1997, pp. 199–228.

sensitive issue at the Ashmolean, which (with the notable exception of its award-winning Education Department) had previously attracted visitors of high education and income. More generally, despite its deprived peripheral estates and a growing immigrant population, Oxford is widely perceived as unusually wealthy and privileged, the university accessed only by a few, so a grant of £15,000,000 to its art and archaeology museum was potentially controversial. It was therefore critical that the museum delivered galleries and facilities that could be appreciated by a wider range of visitors. Curators were coached in the theory and practice of museology by consultant designers Metaphor, interpretation consultants Tim Gardom Associates and by mentors from the Heritage Lottery Fund, the major source of public funding for the redevelopment.[9] However, the key experience in forming views on realising the concept within the new building was a wide-ranging series of visits to other recent developments, encouraged by Lord Sainsbury of Preston Candover, whose Linbury Trust was the leading private sponsor of the redevelopment. With designer Stephen Greenberg of Metaphor and architect Rick Mather, the planning group travelled across the world seeking inspiration for and testing object display, lighting, showcases, graphics and text. The group was inspired by many museums, including (for the display of archaeology, with significant large objects on open display in the centre of galleries) the Museum of Byzantine Culture in Thessaloniki; (for impact) the Grande Salle d'Evolution of the Musée d'histoire naturelle in Paris, (for graphics) the First World War displays of Les Invalides, Paris and (for elegance of installation) the Shanghai Museum. The group acted like magpies, selecting and adapting key elements of a display that might work in Oxford.

APPLYING THE CONCEPT TO THE NEW SPACES

These ideas were then applied to the new Ashmolean building, which was already designed to fit the museum's functional requirements into the cramped urban site, but still susceptible of modification. Thus the direction of the main staircase was reversed and an additional room inserted on the first floor to allow easy passage from one floor to the next around the central atrium, leading the visitor to an introductory,

9 The total value of the project was £61,000,000, of which the Heritage Lottery Fund contributed £15,000,000, the Linbury Trust £10,000,000, and the remainder by other individual donors and Trusts.



5 Section through the new Ashmolean building

'orientation' gallery at each change of level (Fig. 5). Gallery doors were carefully aligned, enabling visitors to see into the next space without creating a corridor effect. Within the building, rooms were allocated to cross-cultural and mono-cultural displays, always seeking a simple, logical route that delivered the linking experience that was both key to the concept and a reflection of the nature of the building.

Originally, the layout had been conceived as a sandwich, the upper and lower cross-cultural layers embracing a crossing time filling. However, a cross-cultural display of ceramics at the top of the building was abandoned for fear of restricted, specialist appeal. Instead, the space has been used for the successful launch of the Ashmolean's first temporary exhibition programme, and may still be regarded as cross-cultural, in the sense that the space is used for display of all the cultures represented in the museum, and more.

For the permanent collections the cross-cultural layer remains on the lower ground floor, where the galleries were filled with cross-cultural displays easily accessible from the new education centre at the north-east corner of the new building. A prototype display was developed to test not only the major elements of design but also the nuts and bolts of showcase function, lighting, labelling and installation.Taking Sir Arthur Evans's work at Knossos as its theme, the prototype equalled one-third of the final gallery of the Aegean World in area and provoked much comment from professional colleagues and the general public. There was anxiety on behalf of the specialist archaeological community that the breadth of the finds represented in the old displays had been sacrificed to the need to reach a broader public, a particularly sensitive issue given the unique status of the collections in the Ashmolean, which came largely from Evans's excavations. Concerns were dispelled at a seminar given in the university by the curator Dr. Yannis Galanakis, who explained that the

gallery had itself been radically changed a number of times in the course of the 20th century, and the current development needed to be seen in a longer perspective of the history of development of Aegean archaeology as a subject. Also as a result of comments from specialists and the general public, the fibre-optic lighting was modified to provide more even coverage of the case contents. Font size and typeface was adjusted in the labels for ease of reading (on these matters see further below).

6 Displays of coins from the Islamic world and India in the new Money Gallery

'CROSSING CULTURE' GALLERIES

Within the 'Crossing Cultures' circuit an innovative Money Gallery looks at social and regional uses of coinage, and includes a central section created for children. Various enticements attract visitors of all ages to look at tiny, round objects with a wealth of information on them: coins are thus displayed below a backlit, attractive contextual photograph (Fig. 6), and, in the children's section, ideas conveyed in the coins were drawn at much larger scale by a well-known illustrator of childrens' books. Simple manual interactive installations such as a game of shove-halfpenny, or magnification devices, have also proved very popular. Adjacent galleries display other activities and items developed and used by peoples across

the world, through time: reading, writing and counting, and textiles. The Textile Gallery allows display of the Ashmolean's rich textile collection in environmentally conditioned showcases for the first time. It is arranged like the Money Gallery, with a study collection, set out on a huge table, taking the place of the children's displays. At the time of writing curators are completing the first full rotation of the Textiles Gallery, to eliminate risk of cumulative over-exposure of the collection to light. The collections are large enough to achieve this without changing the overall themes of the social use of dress, regional variation in clothing and links between textile designs of different cultures. It is also possible to link this collection to the adjacent gallery of Reading, Writing and Counting through displays of writing on textiles and the use of mathematical calculation in textile making.

The lower ground floor also houses a gallery devoted to the remarkable, varied history of the Ashmolean, and, in the central atrium and to one side of it, an introduction to the museum's collections using images in human form of divine and mortal beings. A suite of rooms introduces the theme of crossing arts and sciences, with examination of materials used to make objects from antiquity to the present day, and their fate once in the museum. Here visitors are invited to consider dilemmas within the practice of conservation, current and historical.

'CROSSING TIME' GALLERIES

From the ground floor upwards the 'Crossing Time' concept works like an archaeological dig, with the most ancient objects at the bottom and the most recent at the top. The displays in the new building are linked to the Cockerell Building by way of the Ancient Egypt and Nubia Galleries and the Randolph Sculpture Gallery on the ground floor and West meets East, an introductory gallery for the early modern collections, on the second floor. As noted above, the visitor enters an introductory gallery at each level of the main atrium. These galleries give a sense of the cultures displayed on each floor, and introduce some of the recurring themes: means of transport and the movement of peoples, commodities and goods in the Ancient World Gallery on the ground floor (Fig. 7); on the floors above, the flow of goods from east to west and *vice versa* by land and sea (paper and rhubarb on the first floor; spices, textiles and furniture on the second). As all these floors are divided by time, on each level Asian cultures are displayed alongside those of the northern European and Mediterranean regions in a geographical sequence.

7 The Ancient World Gallery from the bridge on the first floor

8 An early graphic: a Roman priest becomes a Gandharan Bodhissatva

Throughout, emphasis is placed on links between cultures. Taking a stone sculpture of a Bodhissatva as an example of a cross-cultural object within the Ancient World, the Gandharan figure's highly classicised yet local robe proved distinctive. In an early graphic for the introductory gallery of the Ancient World the designer morphed a smaller terracotta figure of a Roman priest wearing a toga from 1st century Pompeii into the Bodhissatva (Fig. 8). For aesthetic reasons this graphic did not survive beyond early leaflets, but the concentration of displays of Anatolian, Parthian and Sasanian objects at the north-east corner of the Rome Gallery give the visitor a sense of travelling out of the eastern Roman Empire into Bactria and Gandhara. The deified hero Heracles appears as a figure known to peoples throughout the regions of the Mediterranean basin and western and central Asia. Sculptures and figurines of Heracles in marble, terracotta, bronze and schist are displayed in the sequential galleries of Ancient Cyprus, Greece, Italy before the Romans, Rome and Early India.

The "Rome 400 BC–AD 300" Gallery on the ground floor connects not only to Asia but also to the Cast Gallery, which used to be accessed from Pusey Lane at the back of the Ashmolean (Fig. 9). It was very hard to find. The Cast Gallery has also been refurbished with attractive thematic displays of casts of classical art from sanctuaries, tombs and cities on the ground floor, and a study collection below. In the passage

9 Casts of Trajan's Arch at Benevento introduce monumentality to the Rome Gallery

(formerly a narrow, external lane) linking the Ioannou Classics Centre with the Cast Gallery, the Oriental Institute and the Sackler library, the casts of Trajan's Arch at Benevento in southern Italy give a monumental dimension to the Rome Gallery, which is otherwise lacking in architectural sculpture (Fig. 9).

Another way of linking cultures shown in adjacent rooms is offered by showcases set within the thickness of a wall. At the west end of the gallery of the Aegean World, these window-showcases appear in the north and south walls. On the north side, the visitor sees a display of original Mycenaean weapons and replicas commissioned by Heinrich Schliemann of the treasures he discovered at Mycenae. On the other side of the showcase is the gallery of Italy before Rome, where Bronze Age finds from Italy are displayed. On the south side of the Aegean Gallery is a display of the highly inter-connected world of the eastern Mediterranean in the late Bronze Age. Here, a stack of shelves suggesting the decks of a ship display Egyptian-style vessels of ceramic and stone copied in the Near East, Mycenaean vessels found outside Greece, and Cypriot pots found outside Cyprus. Graphics and text support the narrative, seen from the perspective of the Aegean world. On the other side of the showcase, the same story is told from the point of view of peoples living in the Levant.

The first floor covers the period from about AD 300–1500, and has a geographical focus on the "Silk Road" linking central Asia to the Mediterranean. On this level was developed a new concept, one more familiar in books than museums, where objects tend to be displayed in rooms covering narrowly defined areas of time and space: a gallery looking at the entire Mediterranean World from AD 300. Though Manchester University Museum until recently had a Mediterranean Gallery devoted to earlier periods, now regrettably abandoned, and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen recently developed a whole series of galleries around the theme of connections across the Mediterranean in the first millennium BC, this is the first permanent museum gallery to tackle the complex history of the region in the late Roman, Byzantine and early Islamic periods. However, unknown to me as I arrived at the Ashmolean only in 2004, and no publication had resulted from the initiative, the Ashmolean had actually hosted a temporary display on this very subject in 1993.[10] The

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10 The Byzantine Bridge, curated by Marlia Mango, who kindly shared her unpublished draft guide with me. The permanent gallery was inspired by Hordern and Purcell 2000; see also Harris 2005.

10 The Gallery of the Mediterranean World from AD 300

permanent gallery has as its central focus a large map of the Mediterranean region with cases illustrating contacts across the sea in a period of increasing political and religious fragmentation (Fig. 10). Marked on the map are the origins, where known, of the objects displayed in the gallery, and the principal cities of the region: Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Cairo and Venice, the subjects of displays around the walls. Connecting natural routes and barriers to travel are shown on the map. The principal travellers were soldiers, pilgrims and traders, all represented in the displays and in quotes set around the map.

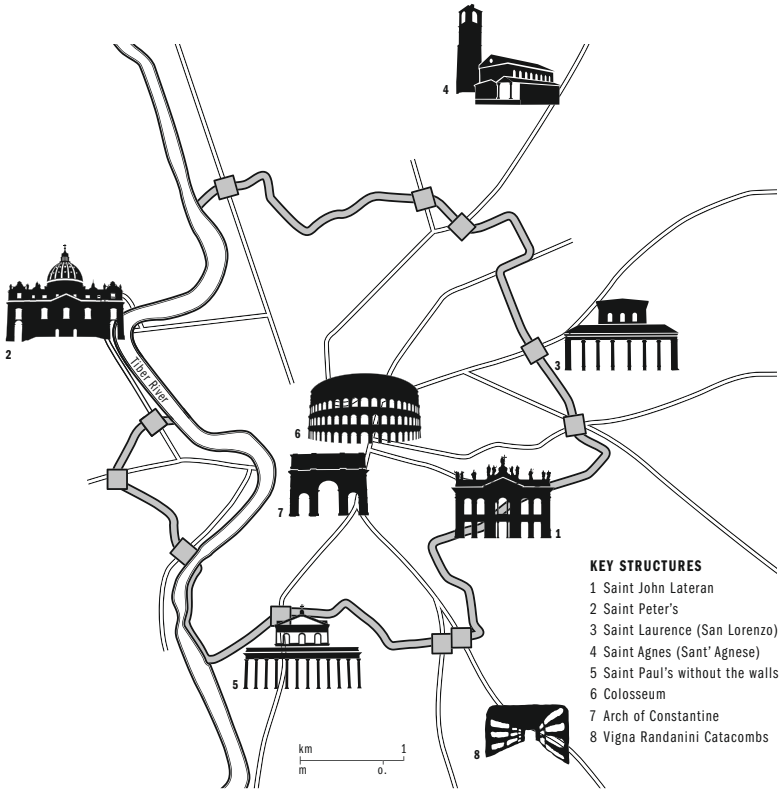
One of the showcases set into the map contains everyday pottery from a 12th-century Byzantine shipwreck located near the Aegean island of Skopelos. In the accompanying text a connection is made with similar decoration of a hare appearing on a plate from Fatimid Cairo, displayed on the opposite wall. Visitors can also see within the Coptic display how textiles were designed in similar fashion to sculpture and architecture.

Every introductory panel includes a timeline, key objects within the gallery and elsewhere, relevant monuments or documents and a map. Unusually here the map has become the key exhibit within the gallery. Careful use was made of quotes and illustrations of objects within and outside the collections.

This gallery has no end date, and time takes a back seat. More generally, if there is an overall focus on the connections between peoples,

geography becomes hugely important and time recedes into the background. In this gallery coin displays tell specific historical stories: of the Byzantine emperors and of what happened in Italy after the fall of the Roman Empire. A third timeline tells through coinage the story of Sicily, a microcosm of history in the central Mediterranean.

Introducing the city displays, are observations made about the city by earlier travellers—often from a different culture in Asia or Western Europe—along with silhouetted monuments on city maps. For example, the map of Rome shows how pagan monuments were preserved in the centre of the city after Christianity was given legal status, and the earliest basilica churches were discreetly developed immediately outside the city walls, while the catacombs from which the objects come are further outside the perimeter (Fig. 11).



11 Map from the panel introducing the city of Rome display in the Gallery of the Mediterranean World from AD 300

Though the focus is on late antiquity to early modern times, and Byzantium is the key power player within the narrative, the gallery also contains objects of quite recent date, including a changing series of exhibits about Jerusalem and the apothecary jars made on Sicily about 1700 for the knights of Malta. Here as in many other galleries the visitor will find a personal story, in this case of a young British army officer, Johnnie Gough, stationed in Crete at the end of the Ottoman Empire. He was presented with a set of tin-glazed ceramic bowls made in Spain and Italy about 1400, and set into the wall of a Venetian church—the fragmentary remains of a strong statement of Western Catholic faith dominating an orthodox Greek community. Johnnie Gough progressed to the rank of General, and was posthumously awarded the Victoria Cross for a fatal act of bravery in the First World War. His grand-daughter presented these humble but historic bowls to the Ashmolean in the 1980s.

This particular narrative is very relevant to the history of the Mediterranean region. Indeed the Ashmolean is unusually rich in important archives allowing the visitor to see not only key collections but also into the minds of those who discovered and/or interpreted them. On the ground floor the papers of three key figures are used to engage the public with still resonant questions: what role does individual imagination play in the reconstruction of ancient buildings? (Sir Arthur Evans's reconstruction of the palace at Knossos, Crete, shown in the gallery of the Aegean World; Fig. 12). How were ancient languages deciphered? (Sir John Myres's correspondence on Linear B with Michael Ventris, shown in the gallery of Ancient Cyprus). How may we set an unexplored island in its regional context? (Sir John Myres's guide to the Cyprus Museum, shown with the objects used to back up his arguments in the gallery of Ancient Cyprus). Who were the key players in the networks of scholars exploring and understanding prehistory? (Sir John Evans's correspondence, shown in the gallery of European Prehistory).

WRITING AND LIGHTING

The old Ancient Near East and Eastern Art Galleries showed a sharply contrasting approach to display, much less visible in the new museum, between the archaeological and art departments. Archaeologists and numismatists are at ease with contextual information, necessary to explain the objects, while art historians place greater value on aesthetics. While the new galleries have generously illustrated introductory

12 Using the archives to display Arthur Evans's reconstruction of the Palace at Knossos in the Gallery of the Aegean World

panels setting cultures in a geographical and chronological context, the displays of Western Art offer briefer introductory text, setting the scene in each room.

The development of a display style proved the most difficult element to reconcile across the very varied nature of the departments of the Ashmolean. However, the disparity between Western Art and the other departments has not proved a problem for the visiting public, who simply experience it as a welcome change of pace. Even text font—with or without serif—proved controversial amongst the curators. Text with serif gives the experience of reading a book, while text without serif evokes directional signs. However, font can become an interpretative tool in displays, changing according to their nature—even if such changes might be regarded as undermining the museum's corporate identity. More troubling for visitors and curators alike is the tone and intellectual level of writing, where consistent, unpatronising clarity is particularly hard to achieve. Another problem for dense displays is the current fashion to banish label text to the side or the bottom of a showcase, the objects being numbered in long sequences (Fig. 13). This development is aesthetic, and is related to changes in lighting design which have turned showcases into miniature theatrical spaces (see below). The separation of text from object can prove too much hard work for a visitor, though

13 Showcase as theatre in the Ancient Cyprus Gallery

this problem is now achieving resolution through digital technology, with the introduction of hand-held devices offering detailed information on individual objects.

Another issue for curators in modern museums is lighting. Until the mid-1990s most showcases in permanent galleries were lit from above with fluorescent lights set in a separately accessed box above the display area. These might be enhanced by directional lights suspended from track recessed into the ceiling, also used to light objects displayed on plinths outside showcases. No research and development has been invested in fluorescent lighting in recent years. Designers now work with fibre-optic or LED (light-emitting diode) lights. Fibre-optic lights are effectively miniature stage lights, installed around the display area to transform the showcase into a theatrical stage and thereby dramatise the objects. While they are useful for highlighting individual objects and injecting a sense of drama and movement into a display, they create shadows on the back wall of the case and cannot deliver the evenly dispersed effect of fluorescent light. This is a particular difficulty for curators trying to illustrate, say, the development of a type of ceramic, in which every object requires uniform lighting.

THE END OF THE TOUR

Returning to Beaumont Street outside the main entrance to the Ashmolean, the only difference to be seen from the street is that the door is open all the way to the top—a key development (Fig. 2). This door used to be half-open, and for much of the 1990s was closed altogether, the visitors entering the museum through a door in the west side of the forecourt leading into the museum's shop, now successfully relocated to the lower ground floor. A surprisingly large number of museums do not entice their visitors in through a glass door with a hint of what lies beyond.

Inside, however, the Ashmolean has really been transformed. Focussing on the links between peoples whose cultures—largely European and Asian—are represented in the museum's collections, a momentum is introduced, which was lacking before and indeed is lacking in most multi-cultural and multi-disciplinary museums. At the same time there is the space to display each culture discretely from its neighbours. The Ashmolean is fortunate to have a new building in which to achieve a radical redisplay, to have a distinguished collection of critical, but not over-bearing weight, and in the design of the new building, which works together with the concept to deliver a radically different presentation of the museum's collections. An Oxford scholar of Islamic art reviewing the newly opened museum for the Oxford University Magazine described 'Crossing Cultures Crossing Time' as "perhaps so widely drawn that it tends to become a baggy catch-all—but that, after all, is what the Ashmolean is about: the odd objects, the collections and discoveries that have come to it randomly over the centuries, often through the personal affections of donors".[11] She was right: the trick is to create a conceptual tent wide enough to fit the peculiar history of the collections and display them in a building that allows museum objects to be shown in an innovative, inter-connected way.

Generally, press reaction to the redevelopment of the Ashmolean has been very positive.[12] However, the Ashmolean has listened and responded to a number of criticisms from visitors, and has also made improvements based upon staff observation of use of the rooms. For example, in letters to the Director, archaeologists specialising in Anglo-Saxon and Medieval

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11 Jakeman 2009, p. 34.

12 Press reviews are conveniently collected at www.ashmolean.org/transforming/news/ (last accessed 3.9.2013).

England expressed severe disappointment with the "England 400–1600" Gallery, which in their view had too few objects, and too many of them gold. The museum's curators reviewed these objections and discussed them with the specialists, coming to the view that the criticisms were justified. Fortunately, funds were made available by the Linbury Trust to double the number of archaeological objects on display, and to develop a focus on local archaeology, a subject also of great interest to the Ashmolean's non-specialist visitors; the revised display (on which the specialists were consulted) has been well received by academic and non-specialist visitors alike, and the Ashmolean has been praised in academic debates for listening to its critics and responding to such criticism. Signage and lighting were improved in the Mediterranean Gallery, again as a response to public demand; and three of four orientation galleries had their graphic displays improved to encourage visitors to spend more time in them. This last development is a reflection of the position of all three galleries, which are high-ceilinged rooms located on north-south axes of the museum; these spaces are perceived by visitors as connecting rooms with ample vistas, which makes it difficult to focus upon displays set into their walls. A similar problem occurs in the Greece Gallery, now under review.

Museums are always works in progress, and there is much more to do at the Ashmolean. However, it can be said that the museum's permanent displays are now reconnected with contemporary academic debate and teaching practice, and at the same time the Ashmolean welcomes three to four times as many visitors as before, from a wider range of social backgrounds and origins.

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ENGLISH SUMMARIES OF GERMAN CONTRIBUTIONS

HELMUTH TRISCHLER

CODIFYING KNOWLEDGE ORDERS. MUSEUMS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN THE LONG TWENTIETH CENTURY

Modern museums of science and technology are creatures of the nineteenth and twentieth century. Emerging in parallel and linked with industrialisation, these museums developed into centers of scientific and technical education. They connected science and technology with state, industry and the public. By comparing the cultures of collecting and exhibiting in three European museums of science and technology—the Deutsches Museum in Munich, the Science Museum in London, and the Technical Museum in Vienna—this article examines the creation and fortunes of knowledge orders over the course of the long twentieth century. These orders of knowledge in science and technology display a remarkable robustness that transcends the political and social ruptures of Europe's fragmented "Age of Extremes." The taxonomies that evolved in all three museums at the beginning of the twentieth century were flexible enough to adapt to the dynamics of scientific and technical change. Their basic structures, however, remained unchanged, which points to the persistent normative hierarchies in science and technology. Moreover, the three museums' knowledge orders manifest striking similarities that resulted from an intense transnational discourse. Museum leaders closely observed what happened in the international scene, and used their knowledge to mobilise national resources at home.

PETRA LUTZ

THE POPULARISATION OF MAN. ARRANGEMENTS OF OBJECTS AND VIEWERS AT THE DEUTSCHES HYGIENE-MUSEUM

The foundation of the Deutsches Hygiene-Museum in 1912 materialised not only the knowledge of a discipline called hygiene, but also its socially formative mission. Hygiene was what might today be called a "guiding science". Before 1990—that is, under the German Empire, the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich and the GDR—the Museum participated in major campaigns concerned with human beings, their bodies and their health, always with the aim of communicating scientific knowledge about Man as a guide to action. The exhibits produced by the Museum thus shaped knowledge.

The view of human beings presented by the Deutsches Hygiene-Museum changed fundamentally when responsibility for public health education campaigns was transferred to the Federal Centre for Health Education. Since then, an important part of the Museum's work has been the collection and analysis of the now historic objects produced by the Museum itself. This builds a foundation for a scientific examination of the Museum's role in constructing images of Man and the human body in the twentieth century, and allows this role to be explicitly addressed in exhibitions.

Today the Museum's exhibitions are still concerned with people, their bodies and their relationships, but it strives for polyphony and multiple perspectives, and aims for a connection between scientific and experiential knowledge. Its goal is to be a site of debate and a "contact zone" for encounters.

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