National museums and national identity, seen from an international and comparative perspective, c. 1760-1918: an assesment

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NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND NATIONAL IDENTITY,

SEEN FROM AN INTERNATIONAL AND COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE, C. 1760-1918

An assessment by

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23 January 2012

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APPENDICES

Cover image: Friedrich August Stüler, *The Neues Museum. Cross section of the southern part, with crossover to the Altes Museum.* Ca. 1852; Architecturmuseum TU Berlin
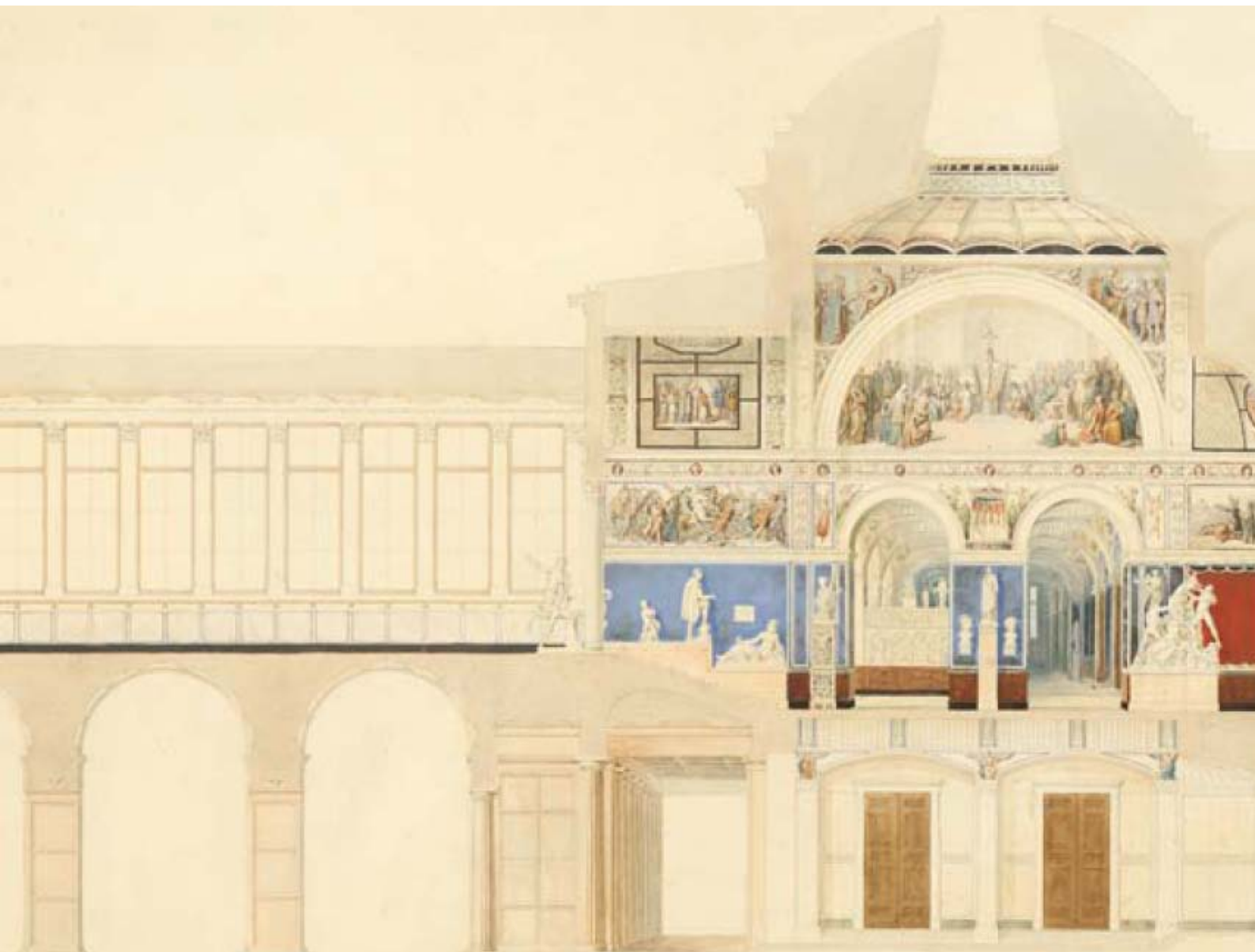
1. INTRODUCTION

1a.   Research questions

In the nineteenth century the idea of a 'nation state' was largely given visible and recognizable material form in architecture and the arts. Monuments, memorials and imposing public buildings erected for the purposes deemed necessary in a national system, such as parliament buildings, law courts and national libraries, gave symbolic form to the ongoing discourse about the concepts of a nation and a native land.

The study project as described below is largely confined to the national museums. Of all these institutions it was the museums in particular that developed into gigantic complexes occupying central locations in their respective capital cities. From the first quarter of the nineteenth century onwards national museums were founded everywhere in Europe and in the colonies as well.

In this report we present the results of our research programme, a joint project of the *Huizinga Instituut* in Amsterdam and the *Institut für Museumsforschung* in Berlin, funded by the NWO (Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research) during the period from December 2008 to November 2011. How far the following aims have been achieved will be explored below:[1]

> The central question is how various European countries in the nineteenth century
> designed and disseminated the image of a 'national culture' through their museums
> (Nora 1984-93; Poulot 1997) – a question of topical interest in view of the current
> discussions about the role for instance of the *Rijksmuseum* (Amsterdam). This research
> project will cover the explicit documents disseminating the museum's image (the
> museums' aims, promotional materials, and reports; the architecture of their buildings),
> the implicit assumptions that underlie the formation and categorization of their
> collections, and the way these were exhibited.

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[1] The indented quotations are from the text of the original grant application, submitted 29.02.2008; granted, 28.07.2008 (NWO dossier no. 236-69-001). The conference on *Napoleon's Legacy* was held prior to this and was made possible due to grants from the KNAW (Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences) and other organizations. For a more detailed description of this project, see Bergvelt/Meijers/Tibbe/Van Wezel 2007.

In this project local variations on the theme of 'national identity' (Anderson 1983; Van Sas 1996; Schulze 1999; Thiesse 1999) will be studied from an international, comparative perspective. By employing a comparative approach, continuity and any shifts in the development of national museums can better be distinguished from one another, and the general characteristics of the development can be more clearly compared with specifically national features. By using this approach, research into museum history will have advanced a step, as in the past it has usually been restricted to case studies on individual museums (Gaehtgens 1992; Bergvelt 1998; Conlin 2006), and few – if any – connections have been made between similar institutions in various countries (Deneke/Kahsnitz 1977 and Plessen 1992).

The research is based on the principle that the development of national museums in various countries was transnational in character (Lorente 1998; Bergvelt 2005a), and that it also extended to colonial territories (Wright 1996). In the various European states it is possible to detect differences in timing, specialization, and administrative embedding.

1b.   Implementation

In order to achieve these aims, at least provisionally, two international conferences have been held, followed by two publications. These conferences, with the accompanying publications, took place within the agreed time frame under the titles *Napoleon's Legacy: the Rise of National Museums in Europe 1794-1830* (October, 2009) and *Specialization and Consolidation of the National Museum after 1830: the Neue Museum in Berlin in an International Context* (May, 2011).[2] The project was concluded with an international workshop in the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NIAS) in Wassenaar. A group of experts from the Netherlands and abroad were invited to attend, with the aim of shedding more light on aspects of the project that had been given somewhat less attention during the two conferences. Ideas were also exchanged about the results of the project to date and possible future directions for study. The text below is the result of both conferences and their critical treatment and discussion by the workshop participants.[3]

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[2] Bergvelt/Meijers/Tibbe/Van Wezel 2009 and 2011. See also the appendices 3 and 4.

[3] See Programme, NIAS Workshop, appendix 5. The following attended: Marieke Bloembergen, Jonathan Conlin, Gábor Ébli, Martijn Eickhoff, Rachel Esner, Bernhard Graf, Ad de Jong, Donna Mehos, Stephanie Moser, Krzysztof Pomian, Dominique Poulot and Donald M. Reid.

Before we pass on to a more substantial assessment of our findings to date, we should first take a look at the more formal points of departure:

- During the period of our grants from the KNAW (Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences) and the NWO the intention was to study the **period from 1795 to 1860** as part of the entire time framework from 1760 to 1918 in the two above-mentioned conferences and the publications that accompanied them. This work has been carried out, with the period in question occasionally extending to about 1890.

- In both cases a *tertium comparationis* was made use of. In the first conference this consisted of the episode of the confiscations and restitutions that occurred during and after the French Revolution, with the rise and fall of the *Muséum Central/Musée Napoleon* that occurred parallel to it. The other museums were discussed in this connection. In the case of the second conference the prehistory, construction and interior arrangement of the *Neues Museum* in Berlin formed a similar reference point.

- **As many countries as possible** have been taken into account. As however only two conferences have been held, with a limited number of speakers, it was decided to confined the geographical scope to France, Spain (not published), Parma and Piacenza, Prussia, Bavaria, Great Britain, Sweden, Russia, the Netherlands and Denmark. One problem was the difficulty of access to or locating of the reading material on our subject in countries outside the 'central territories of Europe'; often the terrain proved to have been little studied, and where it had been looked at, the studies were usually only published in the language of the country in question.
  In the workshop these limitations were partly made up for by extending the range of countries to include a focus on Russia, Sweden, Hungary and other Eastern European countries, 'the Dutch East Indies' and Egypt.

- Another aim was to look at **different sorts of museums** in terms of the objects collected – archaeology, the fine arts, ethnology and natural history. The second conference even had scholarly specialization as its subject, with the focus on the *Neues Museum* in Berlin, with Egyptology, Assyriology and national antiquities also being discussed. This inevitably meant that the museums of natural history had to be omitted, as there was no department in the *Neues Museum* for this subject. An

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important aspect too is that the, often open-air, ethnographic museums and the museums of national history were not discussed, even though nationalist political motives were an explicit issue here, as demonstrated by the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum*, founded in 1852 in Nuremberg and the *Bayerisches Nationalmuseum*, founded in Munich in 1855. In these fields a greatly increased activity emerged in around 1850.[4] In the second conference moreover museums of art and their subsidiaries, those of contemporary art were also not discussed. Apart from reasons of subject matter (the focus on the *Neues Museum* that had no departments for these fields) there was also a practical reason, namely that there was only time for a limited number of papers.

- An **internationally comparative approach** has been aimed for, even though the comparisons have not always been consistently adhered to. Although some general points of comparison were proposed in advance, it proved awkward for all the participants at the conferences to stick to them. It therefore proved difficult to draw conclusions based on comparative data, at least with regard to the conference papers as such. For this reason we have, wherever relevant, also included previous publications in this report. For the workshop we have attempted to devise an approach that would guarantee better possibilities of comparison between the different instances, namely by requesting the participants to stick to a previously agreed list of issues.[5] For the present report we have adhered in broad lines to these points of comparison.[6]

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[4] See for other examples, Plessen 1992.

[5] 'A number of the participants will be asked to prepare a case study, exploring the same aspects in each instance – for instance, the origin of the collections; their management and, where it exists, their dynastic embedding; the connections with the national and/or municipal administration; the location in the city; the architectural form, decoration and iconography; accessibility and relation to the public; the relation to academic scholarship; the principles underlying the layout, the degree of specialization into separate disciplines.'

[6] These points have been elaborated further with the aid of two diagrams we have been working on for some time and which have been added to this report as appendices 1 and 2. Both diagrams should be regarded as provisional products of work in progress and may need adjusting later:
~ Diagram 1 (D.J. Meijers): a division into specific periods of the years of the foundation and construction of national museums between 1793 and 1914, and the status and the aims and concerns of the initiators;

1c.   Definitions

The basis for discussion has been the **descriptions of nationalism and Romantic, or cultural nationalism** by Niek van Sas and Joep Leerssen respectively. Van Sas sums up his account as follows: 'a more or less coherent system of standards and values, which to justify its own position [as a nation] links a certain, often critical appreciation of the past to a set programme of action for the future', whereas Leerssen sees cultural or Romantic nationalism embedded in associations, institutions and individuals in Europe [...] which 'helped position the "nation" as the primary aggregate of human culture and society'.[7] Initially we defined the term 'national museum' as mainly meaning a museum founded, financed and run by national government.

The above-mentioned concepts were not yet adequately theme-based in the two conferences and the accompanying publications, and the same goes for the concepts of **national culture** and **national identity**. This was due to the timidity on the part of a number of the authors, but also to the impossibility of summarizing these concepts with umbrella definitions for the different cultural fields. It is also necessary to bear in mind shifts in meaning in the terminology as used in the nineteenth century itself. The term 'national museum' was understood in a variety of ways as the century progressed, for instance:

- an institution that belonged to the 'nation', and hence to the people as a whole and which was consequently a public one
- an (international) collection as an expression of the power and prestige of the nation
- a collection in which the art of the nation was exhibited and positioned in an international context
- a collection that conveyed the differences between one's own art and culture and that of foreign countries or at any rate a collection in which a national identity (a 'native land') was constructed and presented. Moreover

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~ Diagram 2 (E. Bergvelt): an 'ideal typological' model of the essential differences between 'the' eighteenth century and 'the' nineteenth century national museum, to refer to in analyzing concrete instances. It shows how the development of the various terrains (from the 'ideal' eighteenth-century museum to the 'ideal' nineteenth-century one) can be divided into different epochs, according to the local situation in a country with regard to the form of the state, its scientific development and its colonies, etc. From: Bergvelt 2007.

[7] See Van Sas as cited in Grijzenhout/Van Veen 1992, 79. For a survey of recent literature on (and definitions of) patriotism and nationalism: Van Sas 1996. Romantic, or cultural nationalism is defined by Leerssen as: - an autonomous force in European nation-building (not as a side effect of political or social developments); - a transnational process with influences and initiatives spreading from country to country; - a multi-media process spreading from one cultural field to another. Leerssen 2006, and the SPIN project description: http://www.spinnet.eu/pdf/spinbrochure.pdf; as seen 4.9.2011).

- the term 'national museum' could sometimes be employed for museums which weren't associated with a nation in a constitutional sense, but rather to convey a territorial or ethnic unity; in such cases the founding of a 'national museum' could be seen as a stage in the process of emancipation.

These different sorts of national museum and the forms they took in different countries and in museums specializing in a variety of disciplines took on clear outlines during the project, so it will be easier to distinguish them for any future research. This variety also shows that it is not self-evident in a study of museums and national identity to refer only to the national museum as founded, financed and run by a national government, as we originally thought, but that private initiatives, provinces or *Länder* and cities also played an important role.[8]

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[8] Kistemaker 2011; Meijers 2009; Pomian, Ébli and De Jong in their lectures during the NIAS workshop, September 2011.

2. FINDINGS SO FAR

This section deals with how far the questions and assumptions from the general project description and the aims of 2007 and 2008 respectively have been covered and with what results. We will stick to the above-mentioned points of comparison while supplementing the conference volumes with results from previous research.

2a. National museums: their 'emergence' and the stages of their development in the nineteenth century

In the project description we defined the research period as follows:

> The starting point is c.1760 because the nineteenth-century national museums are cast into greater historical perspective if they are not viewed separately from patriotic ideas, which were also observable among their predecessors – the princely eighteenth-century collections, compiled by enlightened rulers, like Emperor Joseph II and Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo of Tuscany (Scheller 1995; Meijers 1995; Savoy 2006). It is important to study the patriotically inclined proto-museums of the *ancien régime* in relation to the nineteenth-century national museums, because in this way continuations and shifts become more clearly visible, and a historical understanding of the period of transition from about 1789 to 1815 will be gained.
>
> The period under review runs up to 1918, when the process of creating national states came to a temporary halt after the end of World War I. It appears that the formation and expansion of national museums did not take place at the same time all over Europe nor under the same circumstances.

At this stage of the project the choice of subjects for the two conferences focused on the period from 1795 to 1860/70, including a glance at earlier times and a preview of events to come. With regard to timing, developments in around 1800 offered interesting possibilities for international comparisons during the conference on *Napoleon's Legacy*. Previous studies had established that the French confiscations and restitutions were not so much the cause of the founding of national

museums, but were rather a catalyst in processes that were already under way during the *ancien régime*.[9] The examples presented at the congress lead one to conclude that in Europe during Napoleonic epoch 'the clocks were for a while more or less synchronized' with regard to museums. Even before the French Revolution, with a view to greater openness in the princely and other collections in the German-speaking countries, experiments had been conducted with new systems of arranging collections and special types of building. This process came to a provisional halt due to the removal of the collections. To sum up, the conference on *Napoleon's Legacy* concluded that the influence of Napoleon's activities needs to be put into perspective. Also one should take into account that a distinction should be made between the effects on the one hand of the first French military campaigns that had, for instance, the aim of spreading the ideals of the French Revolution and those of the Napoleonic conquests on the other. In the Netherlands, where more or less public municipal collections had been evolving since the seventeenth century,[10] the constitution of the Batavian Republic called for a new, centralized institution with those remnants of the Stadholders' collections that the French had not requisitioned being shown in a nationalized form in the *Nationale Konst-Gallery* (1800).[11] Like the arts museum in Stockholm of 1792, which was not affected by confiscations, it is one of the rare national museums outside France that was founded by its 'own' government during the epoch of the French Revolution. The model of the founding of museums in France definitely played a role here, and not just those in Paris, but also the satellite museums in Mainz, Geneva and Brussels, that were set up to further the 'Frenchifying' of the region,[12] as was also the case in Milan, where in 1806/08 the Pinacoteca di Brera and a neighbouring church were transformed into an assembly point for confiscated art objects from the Kingdom of Italy.[13]

After the frequently cumbersome restitutions of 1815 a flood of new museums were set up, many of which linked up with existing plans and which led to the construction of prestigious new museum buildings, the most striking examples being the *Glyptothek* and *Pinakothek* in Munich and that in Berlin – the future *Altes Museum*.[14] Certain key events can be indicated, with the appropriate caution. In the diagram in appendix 1 (which has not at this stage been

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[9] Meijers 1995; Savoy 2006.

[10] Bergvelt 2005b, 344-345.

[11] Meijers 2009. The decision was taken in 1798.

[12] Thate 2003 and unpublished lecture, 2008.

[13] The Kingdom of Italy was a north Italian vassal state of France from 1805 to 1814. Its territories covered the former Italian Republic (formerly the Cisalpine Republic), the Ligurian Republic and the Venetian Republic, including Dalmatia, Istria and the Ionian Islands, which was dissolved in 1797. Its capital was Milan. On 26 May 1805 Napoleon Bonaparte crowned himself king of this state in Milan cathedral and appointed his stepson Eugène de Beauharnais as his viceroy. After the Congress of Vienna the main part of the Kingdom of Italy ended up as part of the Austrian-ruled Kingdom of Lombardy-Venice.

[14] Van Wezel 2009; Buttlar 2009; Börsch-Supan 2011.

finalized) a number of major European museums are shown – horizontally according to the year of the founding and/or construction, and vertically according to the initiators of the projects. In the horizontal table an attempt at division into periods has also been made.[15] It is based on changes that seem to have taken place in the character of the museums, especially with regard to their aim of representing the nature and culture of their own nation (instances of this are indicated in red). This diagram shows that one is correct in assuming that the development of national museums in various countries was transnational in character. Some important general characteristics also seem to be displayed here. The character of the 'proto-museums' of the *ancien régime* mentioned above as forming precedents for the revolutionary museums in Paris is one such feature. A second characteristic is that prior to roughly 1830 the museums were substantially international and only foregrounded the art, culture or nature of their own country in exceptional cases,[16] whereas the reverse was true after about 1840. This fits in with previous findings by other researchers, as indicated below in the conclusion under the heading, 'signs of cultural nationalism'.

The diagram however suggests that some specifically national features had already emerged. It has often been stated that the *Musée Napoleon* served as a model for post-1815 museums; several researchers in our project have however cast doubt on this. Purely from the point of view of museology, one can definitely detect continuity in at least two respects. After the restitutions for instance, objects that had a practical function in churches and cloisters prior to their removal to Paris retained their museum status. They were not given back to their original owners on their return but were housed in museums that had been founded in the meantime. This was the case for instance in Parma and Piacenza[17] and also in Antwerp (a municipal museum, linked to the art school of that city).[18] The *Musée Napoleon* also played an exemplary role in the professionalization of the posts of director-curator and restorer.[19] In other

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[15] See also the hypothetical division into three stages of different sorts of patriotic or nationalist pride in Meijers 2011,10 and note 8. This has meanwhile been extended to include a fourth stage, from c.1830 to1870.

[16] One should bear in mind here that even museums that were international in scope aimed to represent their own nation. See Pomian 1992, 25-26 on 'Zwei Arten von Nationalmuseen':
'Die einen zeigen die Nation, wie sie sich am Universalen beteiligt, an dem, was für alle Menschen oder mindestens für alle zivilisierten Menschen gilt. Die anderen zeigen das Besondere und das Aussergewöhnliche der Nation und ihres Weges in der Zeit. Die ersten beruhen auf dem, was eine Nation mit anderen gemeinsam hat. Die zweiten auf dem, was sie voneinander unterscheidet. Die ersten bevorzügen also die Schöpfungen der Natur, darin einbegriffen die Kunstwerke im allgemeinen, die insgesamt durch Einheimische oder auf dem nationalen Territorium geschaffen oder gesammelt wurden. Die zweiten interessieren sich hauptsächlich für alle Spuren der nationalen Geschichte.'

[17] Bertini 2009.

[18] Loir 2004. It was this incorporation into museums that made it possible for the first time to use the collections to provide the recovered or newly founded states with an identity.

[19] Scheller 2009; Grijzenhout 2009.

respects however a deliberate choice was taken to break with the Paris model, as for instance in Cornelis Apostool's arrangement of the *Rijksmuseum* in Amsterdam in 1817.[20] And if we take a close look at the aims as stated in Berlin, it becomes clear that Schinkel too wanted to convey an opposite image to that presented in Paris – his concept was a monument to peace instead of a showcase for the trophies of war.[21]

Another specifically nationalist feature shown in the diagram is the *timing* of these developments – differences in political systems gave different kinds of stimulus to the emergence of national museums in the various countries. Some of the instances where, after the dismantling of the *Musée Napoleon*, the return of the 'indigenous' art, history or natural history of a state were matters for celebration, or where, without there being any issue of confiscations and restitutions, 'indigenous' objects were the subject of special presentations, were the *Galleria dell'Accademia* in Parma (1816), the *Prado* in Madrid (1819), the *Hermitage* in St Petersburg (1824), the Society of the Patriotic Museum in Prague (1818), the National Museum in Budapest (c. 1830), and the preliminary stages of the *National Galerie* in Berlin (from 1835 onwards).[22] In the three latter instances these were initiatives by politically engaged citizens or even the local aristocracy and, with Budapest and Prague, more specifically in the context of the struggle to liberate themselves from the Habsburg yoke. The latter issue may also have played a role in Parma.

In Eastern Europe nation building and the founding of new museums was a process that continued until far into the twentieth century. This was the theme of Gabor Ebli's lecture, 'What makes a museum national? On the evolution of public collections in Eastern Europe', which he gave at the workshop of September 2011. He showed how the 'national' character of the Hungarian National Museum was the product of a series of private contributions to the public domain. It was not the result of state-funded programmes, but of the joint effort of a nation in the making. Its architecture reflected this trend, consisting as it did of neoclassical structures with virtually no local features. The collections are a blend of Hungarian and universal work, developing *pari passu* until the 1870s. Its aim was to compile encyclopaedic collections combining *universal* knowledge and *local* specificity. It was national in the sense that it aimed to educate a prospective nation and to represent its aspirations. During this dualist epoch of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867 to 1918), the ratio between national and universal collections was by no means calculated.

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[20] Bergvelt 1998, 101-102. See below, under 2e.: The public of the museum.
[21] Van Wezel 2009.
[22] Forster-Hahn 1996, 86 and note 12.

As another example, Ébli mentioned the Museum of Fine Arts, which opened in 1906. Here too equal attention was paid to universal and national standards, a trend however that was completely broken with in the twentieth century. The Hungarian National Gallery (Nemzeti Galéria), established in the 1950s especially for Hungarian art, had a distinctly ideological background and as such was far more nationalistic than its nineteenth-century predecessor.[23]

Nonetheless it was in this century that 'native' art and culture began to be introduced in museums throughout Europe where the concept of universal art was otherwise the prevailing ethos. As indicated in the diagram, the emphasis shifts increasingly in this direction after around 1840, also as a result of initiatives by rulers such as Friedrich Wilhelm IV (Prussia) and Maximilian II (Bavaria). In Great Britain the founding of the precursor of the South Kensington Museum in 1852 and the National Portrait Gallery in 1856 testify to an increasing preoccupation with the nation, and the same was the case in 1866 with the setting up of a department for British and Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum, an institution that had hitherto been conceived of as universal by definition. The trend had already emerged of the founding of museums for contemporary painting by native artists – for instance in Paris (*Musée du Luxembourg*, 1818) and in Haarlem (*Paviljoen Welgelegen*, 1838). The years leading to the founding of the *National Galerie* in Berlin after 1835 also belong to this development.

The year 1870 was the next pivotal moment. On the German side an explicitly nationalistic and even imperialist policy was pursued with the founding of the Empire, which was also testified to in archaeological expeditions and in the construction of monumental, specialist museums for the departments that had initially all been housed in the *Neue Museum*.[24] Work on the *National Galerie* on the *Museumsinsel* in Berlin was completed in 1876. In France, as a result of large-scale state-funded excavations in the Middle East, one department after another was opened in the Louvre.[25] The *Musée de sculpture comparée*, with its focus on French architecture, was founded at roughly the same time as these collections representing

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[23] This lecture also covered the following museums. Budapest: the National Museum of Applied Arts (1872, building 1896), the National Museum of Fine Arts (1871, building 1906), the Museum of National History (1870) and the Ethnographic Museum (1872). Other national museums in other territories of Eastern Europe (these were not always independent states, but the present names of the cities and countries concerned are employed here) were: Ljubljana (Slovenia): 1821 (building 1888), Zagreb (Croatia): 1846 (Sciences) and 1880 (Applied Arts); Prague (Czech Republic): 1818 (building 1891, Sciences) and 1898 (Applied Arts); Bratislava (Slovakia): 1924 and 1961; Cracow (Poland): 1800 (Czartovisky Museum); Riga (Latvia): 1869 (building 1905); Bucharest (Romania): National Historical Museum, 1834; Sofia (Bulgaria): People's Museum 1892.

[24] For instance, Crüsemann 2011 and Bolz 2011.

[25] Caubet 2011.

national power or influence.[26] Elsewhere in Europe the concern with one's own nation became pivotal, with attention also paid to the crafts and popular traditions, as can be seen in the explosive growth of craft and open-air museums.[27]

One example where contemporary art was clearly linked to feelings of national identity was the collection of Pavel Tretyakov (1832-1898) in Moscow that specialized in the Slavophile trend of the Peredvizhniki or 'wanderers'. In 1902-04 after Tretyakov's death a museum was built in Moscow in the 'Russian' style to house his bequest. In this case what was involved was an originally private collection, nationalist in character and scope, which ended up as a municipal museum.

Krzysztof Pomian's presentation at the workshop of September 2011, 'Museum, autocracy and civil society in nineteenth century Russia', gave us a glimpse of part of his forthcoming book. Pomian argued that in areas where Orthodox Christianity prevailed, public museums only began to emerge in the mid-nineteenth century, with the exception of the *Kunstkamera* in St Petersburg, founded in 1714.

Pomian showed that in the nineteenth and early twentieth century the rivalry between the tsars and the merchant classes, in St Petersburg and Moscow respectively, served as an incentive to founding new museums. The collection of the Hermitage was the tsar's private property and access remained extremely restricted until 1866, despite Leo von Klenze's extension of 1852. The Hermitage did admittedly evolve into a public museum in the 1860s, but it was not concerned with keeping pace with international and national developments nor did it acquire any contemporary art, which was the particular collecting terrain of the educated businessman and patriot Tretyakov in Moscow. The Russian Museum in St Petersburg, founded in 1895, which was concerned exclusively with Russian art up to the present can, in Pomian's view, be regarded as a response to this private venture by Alexander III and his son Nicholas II.

The case of Tretyakov shows just how relevant private initiatives – and those of municipal authorities – could be for the founding of museums concerned with promoting a sense of national identity.[28] The relation between national and municipal ambitions, combined

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[26] De Font-Réaulx 2011.

[27] The collections in applied arts museums were admittedly international in scope, but they increasingly placed the emphasis on the cultural feats of their own nation, Tibbe 2005 and 2011; over open-air museums see: De Jong 2001.

[28] Cf. also the Boisserée brothers (Cologne) who created a collection of ancient German and Flemish art. They displayed it publicly in Heidelberg in 1810 and sold it to King Ludwig I of Bavaria in 1827 to be included in the Pinakothek in München, Gethmann-Siefert 2011.

with the international rivalry between different capitals as an influential factor in founding new museums, is a potential area for further research.

2b.   Administrative embedding (dynastic, national or municipal government)

In our description of the project we wrote that:

> The early nineteenth century shows a specific process in those cases where centralized states developed – like the Netherlands, Italy and Germany. During this process, relations between municipal, regional and national collections also shifted. In the Netherlands, municipal collections sometimes served as a basis for national museums (*Rijksmuseum*, Amsterdam); in Germany and Italy, collections which formerly belonged to princely families became (parts of) regional or national museums. These shifts effected what was seen as municipal, regional, or national identity.

With regard to this issue the Netherlands is a case in point;[29] the emphasis in this project however lay much more on Germany, where the concept of 'national identity' proved an unpalatable one prior to the unification of 1870. The creation of museums in Parma and Piacenza, where there was also an issue of varying constitutional identities, is also relevant here.[30]

The question of the administrative embedding of the national museums has not yet been approached systematically, even by authors outside this project. For research into possibly nationalistic intentions and the development of the national museums, it is important to acquire information about who owned what and which government department the museums came under. From the end of the eighteenth century onwards, changes also took place there, as a parallel development to the formation of the modern states and nations. At the same time changes also occurred in the amount of influence the different parties had – monarchs, ministers, museum architects and directors and advisors. How these transformations of princely or royal collections into 'collections as the property of the nation as a whole' came

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[29] Meijers 2009: for the tradition of regionalism originating in the Republic; see Bergvelt 2011 for its continuation in the form and contents of the Rijksmuseum. See also Bergvelt 1992 and 1998 for the question of how far the *Rijksmuseum*'s acquisitions were the work of Kings Willem I and II (none at all, in the case of the latter) and out of which fund they were paid.
[30] Bertini 2009.

about calls for further study, especially with regard to the conceptual shifts in collection fields that occurred parallel to these developments or were stimulated by them. Up until now the information we have at our disposal is very incidental and it gives us no consistent picture with regard to timing.[31]

One point that relates to administrative embedding is the *origin* of the initiatives for the founding of the national museums. It makes a difference whether they came from a constitutional authority, as with Prussia and France, or from citizens who were protesting against these powers, like Hungary and the Czech nation that aimed to liberate themselves from the Hapsburg yoke, or Ireland, Scotland and Wales that were struggling to win recognition for their local identity from the central British government ('Home Rule').[32] The Dublin Museum of Science and Art for instance, which was founded in 1877 as the sequel to the museum of the privately owned and managed Royal Dublin Society of 1856, was managed by the British until 1921. Only then did it acquire the name it still holds, the National Museum of Ireland, thus anticipating the official founding of the Irish Free State the following year.[33]

A route like this, which originated in the initiative of citizens or private individuals, seems to have been virtually the rule with the founding of museums of applied art and open-air museums of folk culture. Many museums of applied arts started out in the educational and collecting activities of private societies. In Stockholm the *Nordiska museet* emerged from Artur Hazelius's private Scandinavian ethnographic collection in 1880, after which the collection was denoted as a 'foundation of the Swedish people'.[34] The present Nordic-style

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[31] To mention a few examples: In Sweden the royal art collections had already come under state ownership after the death of Gustav III in 1792, when the National Museum of Sweden was founded in his memory in that year. Shortly afterwards, during the French Revolution of 1789, the same occurred in France with the royal collections and all the other parties that lost their position due to the founding of the Republic. The same was the case with the Netherlands where the collections of the Stadholder were transferred to the nation on the founding of the Batavian Republic in 1795. This continued to be the case with the founding of the monarchy (Bergvelt 1998). In Prussia the museums continued to be called *königlich* until 1918 and were placed under the Ministry of 'Geistlichen-, Unterrichts- und Medicinal-Angelegenheiten', also known as the 'Kultusministerium'. In Bavaria on the other hand the rulers appear to have financed the museums to a large extent out of their own pockets. The *Glyptothek* at least was funded by Crown Prince Ludwig in this way; a banqueting hall was also included for use by the royal family. The *Pinakothek* was admittedly planned as a national building by King Max Joseph, but came about through funding by Ludwig (Plagemann 1967, 46; Buttlar 1999, 247). In Vienna matters were different again – in that city the art collections remained the personal property of the Emperor, while the natural history collections had been state-owned since the beginning of the nineteenth century. This however had nothing to do with whether the collections were public or not, but with funding: it meant that the natural history collections no longer made demands on the private funds of the Emperor – in fact he profited from them because they were sold to the state, Lhotsky 1941-5, 472, 524-6.

[32] Burnett/Newby 2007 use the term 'Unionist Nationalism'.

[33] See the museum's website: www.museum.ie/en/list/history-of-the-museum.aspx (as seen 4.9.2011) .

[34] See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nordic_Museum (as seen 4.9.2011). Mundt 1974 provides a list of founders and owners for the German museums of applied and industrial arts.

building was opened in the decade from 1897 to 1907. The Skansen open-air museum was also Hazelius's private venture (1891). De Jong shows that this initiative signalled the beginning of an international movement in museums of ethnology, often open-air ones, where *regional* expressions were sometimes treated as typical of the *national* character. Local ethnology thus served as a mainstay for building a national identity.[35]

In our project description we also stated that

> a special place is reserved for national museums in the colonies. In 2005 an exhibition in the Netherlands and in Indonesia marked the two countries' 'shared cultural heritage', while reflecting on the development of collections in the reciprocal national museums (Ter Keurs/Hardiati 2005). It would be interesting to make a comparison between them and the national museums in other European colonies.

This issue was discussed extensively in the workshop of September 2011. The first case to be looked at was what is today the *Museum Nasional* in Djakarta/Batavia and which was opened in 1779 as the collection of a closed society with only limited access to the general public. In 1868 this museum of the Batavian Society moved to the new, neoclassicist building that it still occupies today and in the first half of the twentieth century it was regarded as one of the best and most professionally run museums in all Asia. According to Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff, the Batavian Society cannot be seen as representative of the 'nation' (Dutch and/or Indonesian); rather it was a platform for some colonialists to proclaim a corner of Netherlands identity (that of the enquiring citizen) in a foreign field. Even so, in the 1840s the term 'national' was already used in connection with the society's collection; the objects were denoted as 'national property' and curating the remains of the Javanese culture was seen as the museum's moral responsibility. The museum was thus in a position to compete with the National Museum of Ethnography in Leiden. The image however of the 'national culture' that the collection conveyed was that which the Dutch colonial masters had in mind, namely that of an 'authentic' Hindustani-Javanese culture. Later, in the twentieth century, prehistoric objects from the Stone Age were also allocated an important place as part of the 'western' narrative about the distribution of the human race in prehistoric times. Apparently Islamic remains did not fit into the world picture of either of these two cultures and to this day they are underrepresented, even though Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in South East Asia.

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[35] De Jong 2001, and presentation by De Jong, NIAS, 30 September 2011.

Nonetheless the museum has remained a famous national institution after decolonization in 1955, even though the Stone Age objects are now presented as an Indonesian national heritage.[36]

The second case history discussed during the workshop was that of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, which Donald Reid dealt with not from an exclusively Western European perspective, but also taking account of the ventures of Egyptian or Ottoman rulers and scholars.[37] After the French expedition in 1798 and the seizure of the French archaeological 'spoils' by the British, the securing of Egyptian antiquities had become a matter of national prestige for the great European museums. Egyptian antiquities were seen as a sort of preamble to European culture and hence as part of it, both because of their biblical context and in their quality as an overture to classical Greek art. In 1835 the Ottoman governor Muhammad Ali was already endeavouring to rein in the exodus of antiquities by appointing Rifaa al-Tahtawi, who had studied in Cairo and Paris, to supervise the building of a collection in Cairo. His activities however did not amount to creating a fully-fledged public museum, and looting continued unabated. In 1842-54 for instance Richard Lepsius was commissioned by King Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia to undertake an expedition, the spoils of which ended up in the *Neue Museum* in Berlin; Friedrich Wilhelm's birthday occurred during his travels and it was celebrated by the company on the top of the Great Pyramid of Gizeh.[38]

When a national museum was finally founded in Egypt in 1858-59, the country was still part of the Ottoman Empire. It was run by a French director, Auguste Mariette. Previously he had been an acquisitions agent for the Louvre, but he had no problem changing roles and advocating that any finds should be retained in Egypt for his museum. A neo-Pharaonic style was chosen for what was the first museum structure to be built in Egypt –the Boulak Museum, opened 1863. It was moreover probably the first instance of this style in Egypt. 'Egyptology' became a synonym for 'studying the Old Kingdom', and this research was appropriated by Western Europe, because the Arabic rulers had an ambivalent attitude towards the past of ancient Egypt. It was only years later that separate museums were founded for Islamic (1884), Greco-Roman (1892) and Coptic (1908) antiquities.

Meanwhile, in 1882, Egypt was conquered by the British and thus subjected to a third colonization process, which lasted until well into the twentieth century and which, like those

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[36] Presentation by Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff , NIAS, 30 September 2011.
[37] Reid 2002, and presentation by Reid, NIAS, 29 September 2011.
[38] Savoy/Wildung 2011, 51-54, Reid 2002, 44-45 and presentation, NIAS, 29 September 2011.

of the French and the Ottoman Empire, left its mark on the treatment of Egyptian heritage material.

In 1902 the Egyptian Museum acquired new premises in a neo-Classical building with a Latin inscription, portraits of European scholars and decorative reliefs with mythological figures from ancient Egypt executed in the style of classical Greece. The museum was also intended for 'natives' and there was a guide written in Arabic, but possibilities for the local population were strictly limited. Little is known about the local Egyptian population's reception of the antiquities from the Pharaonic age; evidence points to both the possibility that they had internalized the western image ('self-colonization'), and to that of a nationalistically-inclined resistance to any special emphasis on their Pharaonic past.[39]

2c.   Architectural forms, decoration and iconography

The museum buildings of Friedrich August Stüler (*Neues Museum*, Berlin and the National Museum in Stockholm), Karl Friedrich Schinkel and Leo von Klenze were compared and contrasted in both conferences.[40] Until about 1860 neo-Classical and Renaissance architecture were the preferred styles, as they were thought the most suitable for an imposing building such as a museum. It was not until after about 1860 that museum architecture in some cases was given a more national or vernacular character, as for instance with the above-mentioned Egyptian museum in Cairo (1863), the *Bayerisches National Museum* in Munich (1855-1867), the *Nordiska museet* in Stockholm (1880), the Czech Museum in Prague (1885-1891) and the *Rijksmuseum* in Amsterdam (1885). It seems likely that a more national style of architecture was found for those museums that had a more cultural-historical character (including those specializing in the applied arts); while the classical and Renaissance styles were considered more suitable for those concerned solely with art. A striking case of the former is the museum for applied art in Budapest, which was built in the neo-Magyar style in combination with East Asian elements, in keeping with the contemporary view of ethnologists about the origin of the Hungarian language and culture.[41]

The second type, the classical and Renaissance-style art 'temples', continued to be erected after about 1870 as well, good examples being the *National Galerie* in Berlin, the

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[39] Presentation, Reid, NIAS, 29 September 2011.
[40] Buttlar 2009; Van Wezel 2009; Börsch-Supan 2011.
[41] Moravánsky 1979, 53.

Hungarian National Museum in Budapest (although its contents were objects of cultural history), and the *Nasjonalgalleriet* in Oslo. The fact that the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in Vienna (completed in 1891) was not designed as an art temple was due to the need for a symmetrical layout that would fit in with the *Naturhistorisches Museum* opposite, which in combination with the Hofburg formed what was known as a *Kaiserforum*. Furthermore the building was designed not just for the art collection of the Hapsburgs, but also for Egyptian and classical antiquities and for the *Kunstkammer* collection, which was henceforth classified according to the type of object under the heading, '*Kunstindustrielle Gegenstände*'.

Since about 1830 the major museums were provided with decoration, both inside and out, corresponding sometimes more and sometimes less to the objects on view, but in any case indicating the conceptual context of the institute concerned (for its educative function, see 2e). In the *Neues Museum* each separate collection had its own decoration programme as well, three of which were discussed. The first of these was the '*Sammlung Väterländischer Alterthümer*', referring to the three-period system (the stone, iron and bronze ages) and a mythical Nordic past, embodied in the Edda;[42] secondly there were the galleries with post-antiquity casts, the history of Christianity and the presentation of Germany as the model of a Christian nation;[43] finally there was the *Kupferstichkabinett* where, according to the function ascribed to the print collection, the history of the art of printing was displayed in didactic fashion.[44] In comparison with other museums the decoration of the Egyptian department was also seen as an issue (see below, 2f).

Comparatively independently and with a concept that was entirely its own, even conflicting here and there with these decorations, the imposing stairwell of the museum was adorned with a monumental cycle depicting the history of the world and culminating in the Reformation period, which was widely seen as a precursor of German unity.[45]

By way of comparison, the decorations of the Rijksmuseum from 1880 to 1910 were also discussed. Here too what was involved was a medley of different programmes, although here they bore no explicit relation with the museum's contents. The exterior decorations for example placed a great deal of emphasis on the glory of the city of Amsterdam, while in the

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[42] Bertram 2011, 94-100.
[43] Although here too it was casts from France and England that were shown, Bernau 2011, 212-220.
[44] Schulze Altcappenberg 2011, 245-249, 251-253.
[45] Menke-Schwinghammer 2011.

presentation of the collection there was no particular focus on the city; this made more sense, since what was involved here was a national and not a municipal museum.[46]

2d.   Position in the city

Several of the participants explained how Klenze (*Glyptothek*, Munich) and Schinkel (*Altes Museum*) responded to the model of the Louvre by developing the type of museum building that was an expression of autonomous bourgeois culture, physically separate from the former princely residences and functioning as part of an urban masterplan. With their monumental, classical facades and choice situation, they formed an important architectural accent in the context of the urban environment.[47] These buildings gave a symbolic meaning to an art that had by now become autonomous and which was expected to serve as an aesthetic and ethical instrument for the instruction of the emancipated bourgeoisie. The *Pinakothek* in Munich, the *Neues Museum* in Berlin, the New Hermitage in St Petersburg and the National Museum in Stockholm served as models of the explosive growth from the second quarter of the nineteenth century onwards of the notion of a museum building as a '*Gesamtkunstwerk*' – an approach that aimed to renew the involvement of architecture and art with civil society.[48]

Börsch-Supan[49] also describes the layout of the *Glyptothek* in Munich and the *Altes Museum* in Berlin in terms of mutual national rivalry, with both parties seeing themselves as conveyors of a moral ideal of a universal beauty. The architecture of the *Neues Museum* on the other hand and even more that of Stüler's National Museum in Stockholm and the New Hermitage in St Petersburg were more interested in conveying an idea of science, of historical awareness and the education of the nation.

Parallel to the wave of new developments from about 1820 onwards, veritable complexes of museums were built which in combination represented a range of different sorts of collections. Examples of these museum clusters are found in Berlin,[50] Munich, London (South Kensington), Vienna and Washington. This development has continued right up to the

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[46] Bergvelt 2011, 315-322.
[47] Buttlar 2009, 183-189; Van Wezel 2009, 157-172; Börsch-Supan 2011, 38-42.
[48] Börsch-Supan 2011, 42-49.
[49] Börsch-Supan 2011, 38-42.
[50] In Berlin the term *Museumsinsel* [museum island] only came into currency after the planning period for the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum Museum; prior to that all attention was focussed on the development of Friedrich Wilhelm IV's design for a *Freistätte* , or sanctuary, for science and art; the *(Alte) Nationalgalerie* too was still treated as part of that plan.

present time and may be thought of as deriving from the older idea that the different collection areas combined to form a whole. The only difference was that in the meantime notions had changed about the way that these parts cohered and about the importance of specialization.

A striking but logical feature is that these clusters were often a feature in prestigious urban expansion plans (see Munich and London). The new *Rijksmuseum* building, opened in 1885, was also erected at what was then the edge of the city, with the privately developed *Concertgebouw* (opened, 1888) and the municipal *Stedelijk Museum* (opened, 1895) joining it, followed in the next century by the *Vincent van Gogh Rijksmuseum* (opened, 1973).[51] Vienna was an anomaly here, with this complex, unlike elsewhere in Europe, being developed in close relation with the imperial palace, the Hofburg, as is clear from its name, *Kaiserforum*.

It wasn't always a case of new developments; existing buildings were also sometimes chosen. It is no coincidence that these were centrally situated – the Louvre in the former palace of that name, while in 1838 the Danish museum was given premises in Rosenborg Castle, which was originally built as a royal residence; the *Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden* (or Royal Cabinet of Curiosities) was quartered in the *Mauritshuis* in The Hague. The *Musée de sculpture comparée* took over the less centrally situated but no less prestigious *Palais du Trocadéro*, built for the World Fair of 1878. In each case what mattered was to find a location that lent prestige to the museum and to exploit this more elevated status to turn the museum into the glory of the city concerned and, with it, the society and the nation.

2e. The public of the museums: politicians and sovereigns, scholars and scientists, artists, tourists, and 'lay' people

All the museums under discussion had to an extent to deal with all of these different groups of the public; depending however on their ties with educational institutes such as academies and universities, the emphases were different. The opening hours give one a good indication, as these were generally different for the different groups.[52]

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[51] The notion of a cluster of museums was not thought out in advance, but evolved gradually, Lansink 1999. We would like to thank Aart Oxenaar for his comments. See also Oxenaar 2009, Hoogewoud/Kuyt/Oxenaar 1985 and Ebberink/De Maar 1988 on all the plans for the Museumplein.

[52] In 1853 a Parliamentary Enquiry into the National Gallery issued a questionnaire which was sent to a number of other national museums in Europe. The answers showed that many of the museums had days for artists to attend and copy the works; the general public was admitted on other days, while there were other possibilities for tourists, who were admitted any day on presenting their passports, see Bergvelt 2005a, 331, and Bergvelt 2007.

In the first instance art students represented an influential group of visitors. With regard to museums for painting and sculpture, they had an obvious relevance for art education; this was the case with the Louvre, the National Gallery (which shared premises with the Royal Academy in a single building), with Parma, Milan (the Brera) and Antwerp. In Amsterdam too the Rijksmuseum was intended in the first place for artists – in terms of opening hours, museums, such as the Louvre and the Rijksmuseum offered them precedence over other visitors, giving them the opportunity to study and copy the works of old masters in ideal conditions.[53] The same was true of the *Musée de Sculpture comparée* in Paris later in the century.[54] In contrast with this approach, the museums in Berlin, including the *Altes Museum*, were emphatic that their aim was no longer to achieve a superior production of art or a better training of artists, but rather the spiritual education and improvement of visitors in general.[55] There was a close connection here not so much with the academies as with the practice of science and scholarship.

The importance of groups other than artists was however rapidly on the rise. It is evident that the *Muséum national/Musée Napoléon* in the Louvre formed a stimulus for international art tourism, by which art tourists – already a flourishing sector of the public in the eighteenth century – could expand even further in the nineteenth, now that the artworks were concentrated in a single vast museum.[56] The huge scale and international quality of the work exhibited were the most important attractions. Many of the numerous visitors seem to have been prompted by curiosity, despite, or perhaps even without, any political considerations. Admission to the *Muséum national* was free, but visitors were apparently willing to pay for special attractions – Grijzenhout describes the visits to the restoration workshops installed in the Louvre, where, in addition to government inspectors, scholars and connoisseurs, 'tourists' were also admitted, happy to pay a special admission fee to view 'work in progress'.[57] The *Chalcographie*, again in the Louvre, where contemporary reproduction graphic work was offered for sale, can perhaps be seen as an early form of museum shop and therefore as an

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These varying opening times and the changes that occurred in them need to be studied systematically for the entire nineteenth century, as does the data from visitors books and travel accounts, as has been done for the Dutch art museums in Bergvelt/Hörster 2010. For the shift in theoretical assumptions in research into museum visitors, see Tibbe/Weiss 2010.

[53] The answers indicate that only a few museums, according to their own statements, were open to the general public every weekday, namely those of Naples and Berlin; Bergvelt 2005a, 331-332, Bergvelt/Hörster 2010, 235-237.

[54] De Font-Réaulx 2011, 233-235.

[55] Van Wezel 2009, 164-166.

[56] McClellan 2009, 90-93.

[57] Grijzenhout 2009, 104-108.

indication of the increasing popularity of museum visits.[58]

Apart from this, in the *Muséum national* in the Louvre the prevailing 'mixed' practices in arrangement and presentation were initially retained and it was only after 1795 that a change took place with the classification into 'schools' of painting. Cornelis Apostool, the director of the *Rijksmuseum*, was critical of the way that work was presented in the Louvre, where all the Dutch paintings were hung together without any account being taken of differences in style. In his own arrangement for the museum in the Trippenhuis he had attempted, as he saw it in 1817, to 'avoid an obstructive assortment', by which he meant amongst other things that he had separated large and small paintings. He had also separated 'fine' artists and those using coarser brushstrokes.[59]

In the first half of the nineteenth century account was apparently taken of the general non-specialized public not just in the presentation of the works, but also in the interiors and the architecture of museums. Gallo associates the 'staging' of classical art in a palatial interior in the Louvre in the years after 1810 with the fascination with royalty that was supposed to have prevailed among ordinary folk.[60] In Great Britain, George James Welbore Agar-Ellis, who had made a passionate plea in parliament in 1824 for the purchase for the nation of the Angerstein collection, that formed the basis for the National Gallery, wrote in the same year: 'it [= the National Gallery] must be situated in the very gangway of London, where it is alike accessible, and conveniently accessible, to all ranks and degrees of men.'[61] For the new National Gallery development of 1832-38 a deliberate choice was made for a site in the heart of the city so that the ordinary working population would have the opportunity to pay a visit. Also later on, in the Parliamentary Enquiry of 1853, some of those interviewed said that they were opposed to a possible move to South Kensington, because the museum on Trafalgar Square was so supremely accessible for the general public.[62]

Curiously enough, the staff of the National Gallery were apparently ashamed of the large number of visitors from the lower classes, whereas the great museums on the continent (those in Munich, Berlin and, to a lesser degree, the Louvre) attracted a small but definitely elite

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[58] Although reproduction prints were in the first instance seen as models for artists. See, for the acquisitions with this aim for the *Rijksprentenkabinet* in Amsterdam prior to 1844: Bergvelt 1998, 123-125. For the *Chalcographie* in the Louvre, see Vermeulen 2011, 256-266. See Vermeulen 2010 and Leistra 2006 also for the flowering of reproduction prints, and publications of the same. The nineteenth century witnessed the beginnings of the mass production of reproductions of artworks, something that made a major contribution to the general public's knowledge of art, see Verhoogt 2007.
[59] Bergvelt 1998, 101-102.
[60] Gallo 2009, 112-116.
[61] As quoted in Conlin 2006, 53.
[62] Bergvelt 2005a, 330-331.

public.[63] Proposals for the benefit of working people to post captions next to the paintings, to publish cheap catalogues and to cease closing the museums in the autumn were only realized in London in the 1850s.[64]

In Berlin the colourful educational murals in the *Neues Museum* were partly intended to make the museum instructive and appealing to a lay public as well; ironically, it was open on weekdays and closed on Sundays and holidays.[65] This group of the public in particular and that of tourists still needs a great deal of research – for instance to ascertain the proportion of national and international visitors, their object in visiting and whether a sense of national pride was one of the motives. Up till now we only know one side of the story – that of the planners, builders and designers and only of the wealthier layer of the public.

The public function of the many museums founded in this period led to an increased professionalization of those who designed, built and managed them. An indication of the great importance of these institutions for the prestige of the nation was the number of enquiries held about them[66] and the visits of architects and directors to each other's museums to exchange ideas about what should or shouldn't be done. Mention was made for instance of a visit by the King of Bavaria, Maximilian II, in 1853 to the *Neues Museum*, where he was particular interested in the galleries with Romanesque and Gothic casts.[67] They would have been one of the factors behind his setting up the *Bayerisches Nationalmuseum* in Munich two years later, although another motive would have been a desire to emulate the plans for an '*historisch-antiquarisches Nationalmuseum*' for the whole of Germany, announced by a private benefactor Hans Freiherr von Aufsess in 1852, and founded in Nuremberg as the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum*.

Facilities for the public were definitely one of the matters that enquirers and inspectors were concerned with, something that is particularly evident in the nineteenth century in reports on museums for the applied arts, which were of particular interest to people working in the various trades and crafts. In the 1880s and 1890s the French art critic and historian

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[63] The word 'shame' is also used in Conlin 2006, 78.

[64] Ibidem, 66. This had the result that private individuals were able to put cheap catalogues of the National Gallery on the market. Henry Cole, for instance, published various catalogues of London sights that were free of access under the pseudonym, Felix Summerly: Summerly 1841.

[65] Only a few museums, at least according to their own statements, were open to the general public on weekdays, namely those of Naples and Berlin, Bergvelt 2005a, 331, and Bergvelt 2007, 44-46. See also note 53.

[66] For the British Enquiry of 1853, see Bergvelt 2005a. There were however many parliamentary enquiries in Great Britain on subjects relating to museums. See for instance, Whitehead 2009, who discusses the reports of five parliamentary Select Committees and one of a Royal Commission (1816-1860).

[67] Glaser 1992, 183-85.

Marius Vachon (1850-1928) travelled throughout Europe to visit educational bodies and museums in the field of the industrial arts. His reports on the German-speaking and Scandinavian countries, Hungary, the Netherlands and Belgium, England and Italy, and the different French *départements* describe and compare the organizational structures of the different museums, the way that collections were presented and above all the methods employed to provide the public – and craftsmen and designers in particular – with information. Vachon paid special attention to attendance figures and the activities of visitors, usually basing himself on annual reports and other publications by the museums themselves. For him a 'functioning' museum was one where the interests of visitors from the working classes and their desire for instruction were primary; for this reason the museums in London, Berlin and Vienna were his favourites. Vachon's observations are profoundly affected by his own ideological views, which were a mixture of a nationalist competitive mentality, republican sympathies, a preference for regional autonomy and a deep concern with what he called 'the weakening of French national spirit'.[68]

The goal of these inspections, commissioned by the government, was to decide the best approach to setting up a museum for the industrial arts in France. More of such journeys were carried out, from other countries as well; for instance in the Netherlands there were the inspections of Molkenboer and Striening (1880), De Stuers and Salverda (1878), and Jasper (1912).[69] It is recommended that more research be carried out in this field.

2f.   The degree of specialization into different professional fields and the organizational principles employed

In the project descriptions the questions on this point were phrased as follows:

[...] how do the various national historical museums compare to one another in their presentation of national history; what was the relationship in the archaeological museums of the different countries between 'classical archaeology' and treasures from their own soil; and in natural history museums between their own native flora and fauna and international scientific taxonomy; how did ethnographic museums present the colonies of their own countries? For arts & crafts museums an added factor crops up – the function of promoting national production (Tibbe 2005; Tibbe 2006).

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[68] Tibbe 2011.
[69] See: Martis 1980, 117-118 (n. 170); see also Jasper 1912.

It was expected that

> A comparison between the distinct types shows a number of international characteristics typical of the national museum. At the same time this approach can demonstrate where specific, national ideals sometimes conflicted with international standards.

As already indicated in section 1, not all these types of museum have yet received adequate treatment, least of all those for national and natural history. In the period covered by the conference on *Napoleon's Legacy* the emergence of different disciplines as fit subjects for specialised museums was not yet a factor of any great importance. The first distinction to be drawn was that between natural history and art and archaeology. In the Netherlands at any rate the recovery in 1815 of scientific collections took another course than those of art.[70] However that may be, there has been little discussion on this topic so far.

In contrast with the conference on *Napoleon's Legacy*, that on *Specialization and Consolidation of the National Museum after 1830* concentrated on the emergence of different disciplines. In the contributions to this conference, the art museums played no significant role, because the departure point was the special fields represented in the *Neues Museum*. Comparisons were accordingly made with:

The 'Kunstkammer' as part of the *Neues Museum*

One of the interesting aspects of the *Neues Museum* is that it had a department that was still denoted as the *Kunstkammer*, and which moreover can even be regarded as a *Kunstkammer* in transformation. Van Wezel's dissertation and Bredekamp's contribution have contributed to our understanding of the prehistory of this museum, especially with regard to the process of specializations in museums.[71] Bredekamp speaks of a '*Sonderweg*', by which he means that, contrary to the accepted narrative of museum history, the concept of the *Kunstkammer* did not vanish in around 1800, but made a comeback in another guise. Or rather, one could argue that it continued to exist between 1797 and 1838 by way of various plans for a museum that was encyclopaedic, or multidisciplinary, and universal – in other words, that its collections were international. The end result of this process can be seen in the design for the *Neues Museum* in 1841.

This bid to give a new gloss on the customary interpretation of museum history raises

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[70] Pieters 2009, 67-68; unpublished lecture, Mehos 2008.
[71] Van Wezel 2003; Bredekamp 2011; Segelken 2011.

the question of how the development appeared elsewhere, in other words, did this combination of encyclopaedism and universalism continue to exist elsewhere more than is generally assumed? And does this perhaps cast a different light on the thesis that this type of museum had already been replaced at the beginning of the nineteenth century with a specialized, national museum?[72]

To answer these questions one has to look at more cases. Comparisons between the *Kunstkammer* in the *Neues Museum* and the *Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden* in The Hague do admittedly reveal striking resemblances in the development of both.[73] In both cases for instance the objects ended up in around 1875 in the new, privatized applied arts and ethnological museums. The previous division into materials and techniques became less dominant and the objects were fitted instead into a new arrangement based on cultural history and accompanied by a focus on forms that prioritized the nation concerned.[74]

Prehistoric collections from one's own country

Collections of this sort were compiled during the first half of the nineteenth century in various countries in northern Europe, sometimes on the basis of earlier attempts. They were allocated a place in newly founded museums in places such as Edinburgh (National Museum of Science and Art, founded in 1854; new development 1861-66), Dublin (Museum of Science and Art, founded in 1877; new development, 1890), Posen (Museum for Polish and Slavic Antiquities,

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[72] Besides the *Neue Museum* in Berlin a number of encyclopaedic (multidisciplinary) and universal (with international collections) national museums continued to flourish or be built until well into the nineteenth century. To mention a few examples, there were the British Museum, founded 1753, new building 1823-1847 (removal of the department of Natural History 1881/83).
  - Budapest, founded 1802/taken over by the state 1807, new building 1837-1846 (removal, applied art department 1872, fine arts 1896).
  - Prague 1818, new building 1885-1891
  - *Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden* (Royal Cabinet of Curiosities) in The Hague 1816-1875/76 (since 1821 with the *Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen* (Royal Cabinet of Paintings) in the 17th-century Mauritshuis.
  - Edinburgh National Museum of Science and Art, founded 1854, new building 1861-66.
  - Dublin: Museum of Science and Art, founded 1877, new building 1890

With the exception of the Dutch Royal Cabinet of Curiosities, none of these museums originated as a *Kunstkammer*. They were based on the eighteenth-century idea of an encyclopedic museum, as embodied in the British Museum (this can be assumed to have been the intention with Budapest whose founder, the revolutionary Ferenc Pilszky 1848-1861 went into exile in London. See Wilson 2006, 134-35). In Budapest, Prague, Edinburgh and Dublin the emphasis however lay on the 'indigenous' culture and nature and they can therefore less easily be defined as 'universal'. Universal museums dealt with 'humanity' as a whole, a typical eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideal. In this sense one might ask whether the *Neue Museum* can perhaps be seen as continuing this way of thinking in a new, nineteenth-century guise. See also note 16 above: Pomian 1992, 25-26 about 'Zwei Arten von Nationalmuseen'.

[73] Effert 2011; Tibbe 2011.

[74] Segelken 2011, 174-176; Tibbe 2011, 184-185.

1857) and Saint-Germain-en-Laye (Museum for Gallic antiquities, 1862).[75] Even in the case of a museum so universally inclined as the British Museum, a department for home-grown antiquities was set up in 1866, despite opposition from the trustees. On the possibly nationalistic significance of these museums and departments, however, scholars are not agreed.

That political factors were involved can clearly be seen in more than one instance. Comparisons between the collections of prehistoric finds from one's own soil in the *Neues Museum* and in the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen (compiled since 1846) give one a glimpse of a scholarly debate that literally became bogged down in around 1850 in territorial claims: the three-period system (with divisions into stone, bronze and iron ages) which was developed in Denmark, played a role in the wars between Denmark and Prussia over the territories of Schleswig-Holstein. One thing and another led to the *Neue Museum* retaining a typological arrangement, in contrast to the chronological one in Copenhagen which was based on scientific advances.[76] What the two museums did however have in common was that in both of them the prehistoric and ethnographic collections were viewed as akin to each other in terms of stages of development.[77]

The potential for political ideology to influence the presentation of prehistoric objects was also present in the Batavian Museum, as mentioned in section 2b. After decolonization, all European objects, including those from the Netherlands were removed from the display, so that the collection henceforth represented a 'national' prehistory.[78]

Ethnological collections

Throughout the development of ethnology as a discipline, the ideological question of one's viewpoint on the artefacts of non-western or 'primitive' peoples played a crucial role. To put it crudely, did they have the right to a place in a museum? Were they interesting as belonging to the earliest stage of humanity, in the same way as national prehistoric finds?[79] Or did they represent a stage in human evolution that had got left behind, so that their only value was that they testified to the superiority of western civilization.[80] While the ethnographic collections in the Netherlands (firstly, the *Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden* in The Hague and later, the

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[75] See for instance Pomian 1992, 27-30, and Caubet 2011, 86. If we are to believe Gustave Flaubert's *Bouvard et Pécuchet* (written between 1874 and 1880), there was even a craze in prehistoric objects in France at this time.
[76] Bertram 2011, 96-98; Pentz 2011, 106-108.
[77] Van Wezel 2011, 138-146.
[78] Presentatie Bloembergen/ Eickhoff, NIAS 30 sept. 2011.
[79] Van Wezel 2011, 138-146.
[80] Effert 2011, 156-157, 164.

Rijks Ethnografisch Museum in Leiden) were mainly valued for their relevance to trade and colonialism,[81] the expansion of the Prussian collection was more the product of scientific curiosity. Scientific expeditions played a key role here as did the ambition to 'save' the remains of doomed cultures.[82] The territories where the two countries compiled their collections also differed, with the Netherlands relying on existing contacts in Japan and China and their colonies in the East Indies, while Prussia launched expeditions to acquire objects from Oceania and North and South America.

Egyptian collections

The modes of presentation of Egyptian art in various European collections were also compared. By contrast with the highly imaginative, 'mood-inducing' stagings elsewhere and earlier, the *Neues Museum* aimed at strict historical accuracy, both in the way the landscapes were presented in the murals as in the design of the interior, which included a copy of an Egyptian temple.[83] The scientific expeditions conducted by Carl Richard Lepsius, the director of the Egyptian department, led not just to the expansion of the collection, but also to a more scientific approach to its display. Lepsius was not averse to copies, as these enabled the visitor '[sich] auf den Boden der ägyptischen Kunstanschauung zu versetzen, aus deren Zusammenhang das Einzelne beurtheilt werden muss' (Lepsius 1855). The scientifically accurate reconstruction devised by Lepsius was not uncontroversial. The British Museum opted for an austere setting, as fitted a 'Temple of Learning'.[84]

Collections from the Middle East

The growth of scientific and scholarly interest and information also contributed to the establishment of the relatively small collection from the Middle East in the *Neue Museum*, which was only added as a subsidiary to the Egyptian collection in 1885 and which was rehoused in an annex on the *Museumsinsel* in 1899. The analogous collections in the Louvre and the British Museum served both as a model and as a challenge for the acquisitions and their display. One difference however is that while excavations had been carried out by both Great Britain and France since the early 1840s, Germany only joined in this process after the 1870s. It

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[81] Effert 2011; Willink 2007.
[82] Bolz 2011, 122-123, 129-133; Van Wezel 2011, 148-149.
[83] Savoy/Wildung 2011, 55-64.
[84] Savoy/ Wildung 2011, 54-66, and presentation by Stephanie Moser, NIAS, 29 September 2011. The latter compared the sober contemplative atmosphere of a 'learning environment' with an illusionistic display aimed at 'consuming ancient worlds', such as one finds at world exhibitions.

was impossible to conduct large-scale scientific expeditions earlier, firstly because of the absence of diplomatic representation in the countries of the Middle East prior to unification and later because it was Bismarck's policy to keep the new German Empire out of potential conflict situations there.[85] France by contrast was extremely active in the region, especially during the Second Empire (1852-1870) and the Third Republic (1871-1940), both with a view to France establishing a political presence there and to promoting the prestige of French archaeology. While in Germany the various archaeological and ethnographic collections were moved to their own museums in the 1880s, the Middle Eastern collection in France remained housed in the Louvre, as one of its departments.[86] This may say something about the universalist ambitions, and hence the political function of this museum, but perhaps also about the tender state of this professional field. In any case in Berlin in 1885, Assyriology was so little acknowledged as a special study that nobody was officially in charge of curating a collection in the museum.[87]

Cast collections

The enormous collection of casts of classical sculptures played a pivotal role in the *Neue Museum*. As a supplement to the exalted originals in the neighbouring *Alte Museum*, this collection of copies was seen as offering a panorama of the history of sculpture.[88] The classical part of this collection seemed concerned with the development of sculpture for its own sake, in contrast to the casts of sculpture from the Middle Ages and later periods, around which an image of Christian and national identity was constructed in the architecture and decoration of the galleries.[89]

Things were quite different in the *Musée de Sculpture comparée* (designed by Viollet-le-Duc, 1848, built between 1879 and 1882) which also displayed casts of classical and medieval and early Renaissance sculpture and architectural sculpture side by side. It was a deliberate choice to go counter to the classical academic norm. The aim of the museum was to educate architects and the underlying idea was that the republican values of 'French' art were best expressed in medieval and early Renaissance sculpture.[90]

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[85] Crüsemann 2011, 74
[86] Caubet 2011, 89
[87] Crüsemann 2011, 76.
[88] Platz-Horster 2011, 191, 204-205.
[89] Bernau 2011, 212-221. It was mentioned that the cast collection as such had a hybrid character in the context of the *Neue Museum*, as the casts of objects from classical art referred to transnational, extra-temporal ideals of beauty, while the staging of casts of work from medieval and later art expressed a Christian and national ideology (presentation by Rachel Esner, NIAS workshop, 29 September 2011).
[90] De Font-Réaulx 2011, 232-238.

A striking feature is that both these cast collections, as well as that in the Louvre,[91] were allocated such an important role just at the time when the presence of replicas like this in museums had generally come to be seen as outmoded, as is clear from the British parliamentary enquiry of 1853, which gauged the views of a number of European museum directors.[92] In the *Neue Museum* however there was a particular reason for their presence. The departure point for the total concept there was not the collection stock as such, but the idea of having as complete a picture as possible of the history, culture and religion of different geographical regions and epochs. Because this aim could only be achieved fragmentarily with the existing collections, plaster casts and interior decoration were used to give a fuller picture.[93] Unlike the two Parisian museums, the Berlin cast department was not intended to serve as study material for training artists but as historical and art-historical material both for scholars and the general public. For this reason no one saw any problem in juxtaposing original sculptures and casts, with the latter supplementing the former. As mentioned above, originals and casts were juxtaposed in the Assyrian department as well as in the Egyptian.[94]

Print Rooms

The print room in the *Neues Museum* was contrasted with the *Chalcographie* in the Louvre. The two departments had a totally different function, with that in the *Neue Museum* serving as a study collection, completing the museum's collection with a survey of West European art history, while that in the Louvre was used to print and sell graphic work.[95] This *Chalcographie* should be viewed in relation to developments in contemporary printing and the advances in reproduction printing and later in photography as an aid to the study of art and art history. Besides this department of the Louvre, there had also been a *Cabinet d'estampes* in Paris since the seventeenth century; in function it was similar to that in Berlin, but it had remained housed in its own premises, separate from the museum.

Organizational principles

A general shift in the organizational principles can be identified throughout the various collection fields, even if it did not proceed at the same speed everywhere. In the mid-

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[91] De Font-Réaulx 2011, 229.
[92] Bergvelt 2005a, 331.
[93] Savoy/Wildung 2011, 59-60.
[94] Crüsemann 2011, 80.
[95] Schulze Altcappenberg 2011, 241-244; Vermeulen 2011, 256-258.

nineteenth century arrangements on the basis of materials, formal features, subjects and themes and use continued to be deployed, but they usually belonged to a traditional type of museum that still presented its objects as examples of nature, or human nature, viewed as unalterable. Arrangements like this complied with the required norms for training artists. What, for example, Cornelis Apostool and Johan Steengracht van Oostcapelle in the Netherlands aimed for with their museums cannot be called anything other than an eighteenth-century attitude – the total subordination to the educational needs of artists coupled with a presentation initially based on genres and later, after the reorganization of 1855, not on schools of painting or periods, but – in an entirely eighteenth-century manner– according to harmony and colour.[96]

After the period from 1830 to 1850 the idea of evolution gained currency in the domain of culture and this also led to a chronological arrangement, first of all in the German museums for the western masters and classical archaeology (the *Alte Museum* in Berlin, the *Alte Pinakothek* and the *Glyptothek* in Munich). No sooner however had this idea begun to prevail, than previously less valued cultural models began to gain new credibility, such as the Egyptian and Middle Eastern antiquities, non-classical local antiquities or local 'primitive' art from before the Renaissance, and 'primitive' ethnographic objects. The *Neue Museum* testifies to this new notion of history,[97] but its adoption was anything but straightforward. The cast collection was presented in simple chronological order, but a grouping by function and materials was initially fallen back on for national antiquities, because the required information about the geographical origins and date of creation of many objects was lacking prior to the 1880s. Copenhagen was more adventurous here, in that it applied the Three Period system (stone, iron and bronze ages) in the layout of its museums for national antiquities. The *Neue Museum*'s hostility to the system devised in Denmark was influenced by the wars between Prussia and Denmark over the province of Sleswig-Holstein; a classification principle that was not intrinsically a political one was thus given a nationalist ideological content.[98] Pentz even traced a parallel between the impact of evolutionary ideas in the 1860s and 1870s on scientific research and the replacement of the notion of the universal museum with one with a national political agenda, especially in countries such as Denmark, Scotland and Ireland.[99]

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[96] Bergvelt 1998, 168. See also diagram 2.
[97] Van Wezel 2003.
[98] Pentz 2011; Bertram 2011.
[99] Pentz 2011, 117.

Most of the museums for applied art also stepped over in the last quarter of the century from arrangements based on function/form/materials to presenting historical ensembles in progress, with the emphasis on one's own national objects.[100]

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[100] Tibbe 2005.

3. CONCLUSIONS: EVIDENCE OF CULTURAL NATIONALISM

The above paragraphs are a description of the findings from the two conferences and the final workshop. In conclusion, it is worth looking again at the questions that formed the departure point of the project: What evidence is there that the nineteenth-century states designed and disseminated the image of a 'national culture' or 'national identity' through their museums? What are the general characteristics of this development and what are the more specifically national features?

Field of study: not to be confined to national museums alone

Firstly it should be stated that the notions of 'nationalism', 'cultural nationalism' and 'national cultural identity' were not always clearly delineated in the conference papers, possibly due to caution by some of the authors particularly with regard to the *Alte* and *Neue Museum* in Berlin. It was pointed out that while these two museums were obviously prestige objects, the Prussian king during the period from 1815 to 1850 did not set much store by any excessively patriotic, let alone, nationalist character in the museums, because it could give rise to expectations of greater freedom and equality that could be dangerous for the dynasty.[101] The other contributions on the *Neue Museum* also give the impression an attempt was made in that period to use art, history and science precisely to depoliticize the contents of museums.

If one thing has become clear, it is that the process by which nationalist thinking was welcomed in a royal or state museum occurred differently and more slowly than it did in the domains of private research into or practice of cultural or scientific activities such as literature, the arts, music and the study of languages and history. Before a royal or state museum can be called nationalist, a great deal more had to happen than was required for writing a manifesto or opera, or for the organization of, say, a *Germanisten-Tagung*. It required the central government also to have chosen that ideology, or at any rate its own version of it, as a guideline for its own political and cultural policy. This began to emerge, at any rate in the German-speaking territories, in about 1850.

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[101] Van Wezel 2011.

Even so, from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward there was a category of museums that vied with each other in propagating a national culture. They did not however represent a nation conceived of as a political category, but only as a cultural entity. Examples were the *Landesmuseen* or *Nationalmuseen* in the territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, for instance in Budapest (1802), Graz (1811), Prague (1818/20) and Innsbruck (1823);[102] but also some private ventures (such as Baron von Aufsess in Nuremberg and Pavel Tretyakov in Moscow).[103] It is clear then that a study of national museums and national identity cannot be confined to museums founded by a central government. To do so would be to ignore those categories of museums that operated from an 'alternative' position (see also below, where a distinction is drawn between the emancipatory national museums and the state-run national museums).

More differences than parallels

Another general conclusion is that the international differences with regard to cultural nationalism are greater and more numerous than we initially expected. *The* development of *the* national museums cannot be told so simply, even though that is what has usually been done while, as often as not, adopting the Louvre as the measure of all museums. It then turned out however that the Louvre was anything but as progressive as that, if one looks at the opening hours for the general public or the layout of the collections. The importance of the German models in Berlin and Munich is greater. It is a trend that was already evident in the results of the British Parliamentary Enquiry in 1853 (see for instance, 2e.), and which was also one that was highlighted in our project.[104] Due to the fact that not all researchers know German, these research results are insufficiently known.

It can be stated that differences in political traditions played an important part. The Netherlands for instance did not do particularly well when it came to building national museums of art, but they did leave their mark in their collections of antiquity and above all of the natural world and culture they found in their colonies. The latter however could be seen more often in World Fairs,[105] than museums – the Amsterdam Tropical Museum only opened in 1926, while a new building was never erected to rehouse the collection of the *Rijks Ethnografisch Museum* in Leiden. In the Netherlands, with its republican history, the urban

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[102] Lecture, Ébli, NIAS, September 2011; see also above under 2a. Also Wagner 1977 and Korek 1977.
[103] Lecture, Pomian, NIAS, September 2011; see also above under 2a.
[104] Bergvelt 2005a; Börsch-Supan 2011.
[105] At least those after the 'failed' contribution to the Crystal Palace in London (Bloembergen 2002)

and provincial forces have always remained a powerful counterforce to nationalism, as is also testified by the founding of the numerous municipal museums in the nineteenth century.[106]

Even so, it is generally true that towards 1870 the presence of one or more monumental national museums was seen as indispensable for one's image or self-image and the educational efforts of every European state[107] – also, or especially, in those cases where the citizens were frustrated in their longing for a nation of their own as in the case of Hungary and Bohemia; or where the creation of one's own nation may not have been on the agenda but where the populace still aspired to some recognition of their own identity and interests by the dominant nation with which it was still united, as with Scotland and Ireland.[108]

Two categories can thus be roughly distinguished – the above-mentioned national museums, which we might call 'emancipatory', and the centrally organized, imperial or state museums, such as those in France, Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, Austria or Spain. In the first half of the nineteenth century the emancipatory national museums, which did not yet have any connection with a nation in the form of a political entity, were more explicitly nationalist in character than the royal, imperial or state museums. In the second half of the century however, and especially after around 1865, the second category displayed an increasing nationalist and even imperialist character. This went hand-in-hand with increasing competition between the European powers and was particularly evident in their collecting practice in their overseas territories.

The French confiscations were only of relative importance

The question now is where to locate the origins of this development. It has generally been assumed, including initially by ourselves, that feelings of cultural nationalism mainly arose in response to the requisitions conducted by the French armies between 1794 to 1813 and the sight of one's own art treasures being exhibited publicly in the Louvre alongside those of the other occupied European countries. This however seems true only to a degree – in the opening years

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[106] Bergvelt 1998, 154-158 (especially Potgieter's 'Urbanismus') and Bergvelt 2010, Meijers 2009. See for instance, Ad de Jong on the Frisian Collection of 1853, which can be seen as the precursor of the Netherlands Open-Air Museum. It was intended as a response to the 'oncoming merging of European nationalities (according to its founder Halbertsma), the signs of which could already be observed in 1853 especially among younger people from the upper classes. It was not a 'Netherlands' identity that deployed to oppose this trend (such as thing doesn't yet 'exist' even now, in 2011), but a 'Frisian'.
[107] About the founding of the National Gallery in 1824, Conlin concludes that (2006, 47): 'A great power needed state collections to confirm its place in the world.' Great Britain couldn't afford to lag behind the rest of Europe.
[108] See also Meijers 2011, 14, note 17: Marosi/ Klaniczay 2006; Fodor 1992 and Stloukal 1992; Burnett/Newby 2007.

the confiscations were still judged as 'normal' practice, an aspect of the rights of conquest.[109] It was only after about 1810 (Italy) and 1813 (Spain) that any serious protest occurred. The French armies however permitted themselves excesses even by these standards. Not only did they requisition the possessions of the sovereigns they had conquered; they also sometimes appropriated art objects belonging to ordinary citizens. One could speak here of plunder pure and simple and these depredations provoked fury.[110] On the other hand it has also been suggested that the museum in the Louvre, partly had the task of legitimizing these art robberies,[111] as well as functioning as a 'war trophy museum'. The *Altes Museum* in Berlin was designed and organized explicitly in a different way from the *Musée Napoléon*, thus emphasizing its own independence as a 'monument for peace'.[112]

The findings to date are ambivalent about the emergence of feelings of national identity – a number of instances have been mentioned where a city or region was very much attached to a certain artwork, but it would seem here mainly to have to do with artistic patrimony and not yet any sense of cultural identity. Bertini for instance describes the attempts of the Duke of Parma to safeguard a painting by Correggio, beloved by visitors, from confiscation and even, were these attempts to prove fruitless, 'to repurchase it' for a considerable sum.[113] The course of affairs around the return of the confiscated art in 1815 also suggests rather the reclaiming of sovereign and personal, or, in the case of the Netherlands, national property – again on the basis of the rights of conquest.[114]

On the other hand there are indications that considerations of national, cultural identity did play a role with foreign visitors to the Louvre, as for instance in the statements by a group of German travellers about Memling's *Last Judgment*, looted from the Marienkirche in Danzig.[115] In France itself the notion that works of art were an inalienable part of their historical heritage and that they couldn't be moved to an alien environment, was expressed by A.C. Quatremère de Quincy.[116] In a number of contributions[117] the notion of, for instance, Dominique-Vivant Denon about art as the 'heritage of all mankind' stands in sharp contrast to this attitude.

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[109] Scheller 2009, 17-22.
[110] Pieters 2009, 55-65.
[111] Savoy 2009, 29-36.
[112] Van Wezel 2009.
[113] Bertini 2009, 79.
[114] Scheller 2009, 27-28; Jourdan 2009, 128-134. The collection of the stadholders of Holland was taken over by the state in 1795, with the founding of the Batavian Republic and was thus no longer the collection of the House of Orange.
[115] Savoy 2009, 34-36.
[116] McClellan 2009, 93-96.
[117] McClellan 2009, Jourdan 2009 and Preti-Hamard 2009.

Universal and national: two sides of the same coin

A possible indication of, and stimulation for, the growth of cultural nationalism may have been the previous questioning of the status of the art of classical antiquity – the esteem that recognized 'masterpieces' such as the Laocoon and the Apollo Belvedere was beginning to be undermined, and the arrangement in the Louvre of 1810 certainly testified to this shift.[118] The same can be said of the speed of the 'discovery' of the Flemish and Italian 'Primitives' due to their being exhibited in the Louvre.[119] One result was the casting of doubt upon the prevailing norm of international classical beauty and on the corresponding tendency to treat other work as either derivative or merely as a prelude. Instead this work began to be praised for its own sake, and this provided fertile grounds for the increased esteem in which one's 'own' local or national art was held.

A glance at the gallery reorganizations in Florence and Vienna during the 1770s and 1780s shows however that steps in this direction had already been taken under the *ancien régime*.[120] There was even a tradition in the study of local antiquities going back to the sixteenth century. Pomian sees this tradition as one of the poles in a dualism in antiquarian culture, which led in the nineteenth century to two different kinds of national museums. Up to the French Revolution the second, local pole was subordinate to the first, or universal pole – just as ancient history formed a universal history for all Europeans, so the 'canon' of the art of classical antiquity and of the Italian Renaissance was to be imitated by artists of every country. It was these ideas that were originally realized by the British Museum and the Louvre.[121]

This changed, Pomian continues, when Great Britain and France started to give precedence to the individual identity of their own national history; they presented themselves as chosen peoples, charged by providence or reason with a civilizing mission, as testified to by their revolutions and conquests. Other countries, such as Prussia as mentioned above, followed suit, caught up in this mutual rivalry between these two great powers.[122] The endeavour to achieve completeness, as is evident in the *Neues Museum*, seems to have been prompted by a desire to catch up with other collections, especially those of Paris and London. Since this was not so easy to do with original artworks at that time due to rising prices, as many replicas as possible were commissioned in the form of reproduction prints and plaster casts. Relatively

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[118] Gallo 2009.
[119] Preti-Hamard 2009, 140-146.
[120] The early stages and the gradual improvement of the native schools of painting were displayed in a chronological arrangement. Meijers 1995.
[121] Pomian 1992, 26-27. See also note 16.
[122] See Caubet 2011, Crüsemann 2011 and Savoy/Wildung 2011.

new terrains for museums were also reconnoitred, such as Egyptian art and history, ethnographic objects and prehistory. Those concerned with building collections in the German states were persuaded of the civilizing and educational importance of the museum as an institution, and did not wish to be seen as inferior to the generally much richer national collections elsewhere in Europe.

In this light the *Neues Museum* could be thought of as a synthesis of both the poles mentioned above – on the one hand, there was the universalist pole promoted by the expansion of the Egyptian and Middle Eastern antiquities, by the establishment of the ethnographic department and the internationally conceived cabinet of prints and drawings; on the other, there is the local pole testified to by the founding of a department of 'national antiquities' and the incorporation of a German gallery in the same storey as the plaster casts, which was otherwise conceived of from an internationalist standpoint. From the whole concept of the *Neues Museum* it appears however that European classical antiquity remained the touchstone for the way that one's own culture and that of the other was judged, and there is no indication anywhere that the aim was to prioritize one's own national culture. On the contrary, everything about the *Neues Museum* indicates a desire to stage the cultural expressions of all countries and epochs in a single historical sequence covering the entire museum.[123]

A similar synthesis of the two poles, again in around 1850/60, occurred in the British Museum, where the Trustees allowed a Department of British and Medieval Antiquities to be opened next to the other, universally-based collections, which had meanwhile been expanded enormously to include non-classical Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities.[124] The *Rijksmuseum* in Amsterdam was also 'bipolar' during this period, with its collection of old masters and classical art on the one hand and a department of national history on the other.[125] Prior to 1860 cultural nationalism was not an issue there, not even in the period from 1815 to 1830 when the Northern and Southern Netherlands were unified – although Willem I did adopt measures aimed at building a united nation in other fields, it didn't even occur to him to unify the museums.[126]

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[123] Van Wezel 2011. Gaehtgens 2008, 42-43: the *Weltumfassenden Anspruch* of the Louvre after 1815, adopted by the Prussians, testifies to the development of the *Museumsinsel*. Savoy/Wildung 2011, 54 references to the *Neues Museum* as a 'Tempel der Zivilisation'.

[124] Pomian 1992, 25-26; Jenkins 1992.

[125] Bergvelt 2010, in response to Potgieter's article on the Rijksmuseum in 1844. Potgieter would have liked to see the gallery, devoted at the time to portraits, converted into a department of Netherlands History, but it wasn't until 1887 that such a department was set up.

[126] Bergvelt 1998, 91. See also Tamse/Witte 1992, 6-14; especially 9 which discusses '*l'amalgame le plus parfait*' that should be aimed at according to the Protocol of London of 21.6.1814, which Willem I in fact did carry out. The Protocol of London was a secret agreement between Great Britain and Ireland, Prussia, Austria and Russia to award the present-day territories of Belgium and the Netherlands to Willem I.

The conclusion about the bipolar character of many nineteenth-century national museums is important in that it shows us that these two poles should not be seen as diametrically opposed, but as two sides of the same coin. In combination they have already had a long tradition, but their relation to each other did undergo a change in the nineteenth century.

For the time being we should rest our case with these particularly salient conclusions. It should be clear that because of its fairly general scope the project has come up with a number of issues, but that in some cases it has merely pointed to questions that deserve more detailed attention. Many matters call for further study and the final paragraph below lists some proposals.

4. PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Option 1:   Extending the project to c. 1918

It will be evident from this report that two of the chronological 'reference points' mentioned in the initial concept for the project in 2008 have been given priority: firstly the period of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic confiscations and the consequences of the restitutions (1794-1830) and secondly that from c.1830 to 1870, in which a process of specialization and classification into different disciplines emerged within the museums. In the original project description however we announced that the period under review would continue to 1918. A first possibility for any subsequent study then would be to extend the present type of research with the final period, namely from roughly 1870 to 1918/20.

As a result of the First World War and the revolutions that followed, borders shifted and nations were split up, merged or founded and empires became republics. New national identities were devised, with or without the assent of the populations concerned. What all this meant for the world of the museums has as yet hardly been studied;[127] the problem is made even more complex by the fact that the constitutional changes coincided with a reorientation of the museums in terms of their content, the foundations of which had already been laid before the war. To name but one example, the reallocation of the collections in the Netherlands was discussed extensively from the beginning of the twentieth century onward: what should be regarded as art and what as a historical object? The situation in the Rijksmuseum, with its combination of art and history, gave rise in particular to such a discussion, but there was a tendency in other parts of Europe as well to separate works of art out from their historical 'environment' and to look at them exclusively in terms of their formal and stylistic characteristics, irrespective of their period and place of origin.[128] By the end of the First World War the separation of history and art in the museums had largely been achieved. In a subsequent study of this period the central question might be to ascertain whether, and if so how, these changing notions related to the new political embedding and the public character of the national museums.

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[127] A case in point is the Weimar Republic and its museums, Flacke 1993; Flacke-Knoch 1985.
[128] Meijers 1978.

However interesting this theme may be, it has the drawback that once again its treatment requires a very broad scope, with a large number of countries, types of museums in the sense of different disciplines represented and the wide variety of possible approaches to these issues. There is much to be said for limiting the scope of the study from now on. The project to date has thrown up so much material that calls for further study that it would seem more attractive to concentrate on that material first.

Option 2:   Further study of certain aspects of the project as completed so far, and first of all: The nineteenth-century museum public

One essential requirement that cropped up over and again during the project was that of the need to gain more understanding and information about the public that the museums served; section 2e. of this report lists a number of results of the research so far, while stating that there is still plenty of terrain here that is yet to be explored.

The subject can be studied from two angles: either from the manner the museums employed in approaching the public or from the public's reception of what the museums were presenting. In both cases an internationally comparative study, once again embracing museums for various disciplines, should produce interesting insights on the one hand round the intentions behind the founding and layout of national museums and on the other about their actual functioning.

With regard to the former perspective we get the impression that in the course of the nineteenth century museums already took some account of the different more or less informed groups that made up their public. They did this for instance through the publication of various sorts of catalogues and guides, the application of different forms of display and by introducing specific entry days and times. The British Parliamentary Inquiry of 1853, which has already been mentioned a number of times and which covered many art museums in Europe, is an outstanding source of information. One gets the impression for instance that museums for the arts opened their doors to a more general public at an earlier date than did science museums, which sometimes acted exclusively as research foundations – in contrast to what we would expect from our present-day viewpoint. This impression certainly deserves further research.

The sources are scarcer for the second angle, namely that of the reception by the public of what the museums presented. Nonetheless a start has already been made, for instance with the aid of visitors' books, travel diaries and tourist guides. Because direct

sources are rare especially with regard to the general, less literate public, other, possibly less direct routes will need to be explored as well. Besides texts, contemporary depictions of people visiting museum galleries (ranging from paintings to illustrations in popular magazines) are also eligible as a source, as long as one bears in mind the prevailing visual conventions, which might have some impact on their value as information.

In each case it is a matter of finding out whether – and if so, how – nineteenth-century museums were deemed not only to play a role, but actually did do so in the education of the citizens of the new or potential nation state.

A concrete proposal for research in this field has already been offered. Basing itself on the results of the present project, the *Institut für Museumsforschung (IfM)* in Berlin has proposed a plan for researching the *Altes* and *Neues Museums* in the period from 1830-1880. The aim of the project would be to study the composition of the nineteenth-century public for these two Berlin museums.

Up till now the only items with a specific bearing on this theme have been a short article of 1981 by Irene Geismeier[129] and the short contribution, 'Die Besucher', in Tilmann von Stockhausen's publication of 2000 about the *Gemäldegalerie* in Berlin[130] It is evident from these two pieces that a genuinely systematic collecting and analysis of the material lying dormant in archives and libraries has not yet been carried out. The main aim of the *IfM* study will be to answer the questions of who was reached by the original museum presentations in the *Alte* and *Neue Museum*, and how this was done? And to what extent did the museums comply with their original humanist programme?

In this connection it should be pointed out that a seminar is currently being held in the context of the *Topoi* research project at the *Institut für Kunstwissenschaft* of the *Technische Universität* in Berlin. Presided over by Professor Bénédicte Savoy, its aim is to collate the responses of foreign visitors to the archaeology collections in Berlin in the period between 1830 and 1960. Seeing that a publication of the results of the research by this seminar is announced as occurring before mid-2012, it should be possible to factor this material in for the proposed research project of the *IfM*. Assuming that the subsidy request by Professor Graf is approved of by the *Deutsche Forschungs-Gemeinschaft*, the project will be carried out over a provisional period of two years by Dr. Elsa van Wezel.

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[129] Geismeier 1981.
[130] Stockhausen 2000.

This project that will focus on Berlin would again be suited to collaboration with one or more partners, who will study instances of the public of national museums in a number of other European countries during this period, 1830-1880. In the first place one might think of the National Gallery and the British Museum in London, the *Rijksmuseum* in Amsterdam, the *Louvre* and the *Musée d'histoire naturelle* in Paris and the *Pinakothek* and *Glyptothek* in Munich. The international comparative perspective will thus lead to a deepening understanding of our subject.

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P. Aronsson and G. Elgenius (eds.) (2011), *Building National Museums in Europe 1750–2010. Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen*, Bologna 28-30 April 2011. EuNaMus Report No. 1 http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=064 (12/1/2011)

 S.P.I.N. = Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms:
http://www.spinnet.eu/pdf/spinbrochure.pdf

Stockholm, *Nordiska museet*:
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nordic_Museum

APPENDIX 1
Diagram: Museums and Nationalism
D.J.Meijers, 21 Jan. 2012

Table divided into periods giving the dates of the foundation and construction of a limited selection of national museums in Europe between 1780 and c.1918, with the status of the initiators. Red = presentation of collections from one's own territory or nation.

NB: this diagram should be treated as a work in progress; it can be used as a tool, especially in reading paragraph 2a of this assessment, and will be expanded and corrected to keep up with future research.

Initiators	1780-1800: Patriotism[i]	1800-1830[ii]	1830-1870[iii]	1870-1918: Nationalism [iv]
Central government, other official or governmental bodies	London: British Museum 1753 Rome/Vatican: Museo Pio-Clementino 1771 St.Petersburg: 'Old Hermitage' 1771-87 Vienna, Florence: court-based galleries present ancient German and Italian School resp., c. 1780 Poland: Gallery of King Stanislaus August 1790[v] Stockholm: National Museum 1792 Paris: .Muséum central 1793	Paris/Louvre: .Musée Napoléon 1803-1815 .Musée Charles X 1827-1834 Milan: Brera 1806/08 Parma: Galleria dell' Accademia 1816, celebrating the return of the works of the 'local' school of painting The Hague: Royal Cabinet of Curiosities 1816 Leiden: .Rijksmus.v.Oudheden 1818 .Rijksmus.v.Natuurl.Hist.1821 Paris: .Musée du Luxembourg 1818	Rome/Vatican: .Mus. Gregoriano-Etrusco 1836 .Museo Egiziano 1839 Versailles: Musée de toutes les gloires de France 1837 Paris/Louvre: .Ethnographic Museum 1850 .Musée Americain 1850 .Assyrian Gallery 1855-1863 .Musée d'art grec primitif 1857 Budapest: Hungarian Nat.Mus. (1802/7), built 1837-1846 Haarlem: Museum for Modern (mainly Dutch) Masters 1838	Parijs/Fontainebleau: Musée Chinois 1881 Berlin: .National Galerie 1876 .Mus.f.Völkerkunde, Vaterländische Abteilung 1886 . Kaiser Friedrich Museum 1905 . Deutsches Museum 1906, planned and ordered 1926-30 London: .Museum of Natural History (plan 1864)1881 .Tate Gallery 1897-1909 The Hague: Nederlands Museum voor Geschiedenis en Kunst 1876 (1886 in Rijksmuseum) Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, new building 1886.

	.Musée d'histoire naturelle 1793 .Musée des monumens Français 1795 Mainz, Geneva, Brussels: French satellite museums c.1795 The Hague: Nationale Konst-gallerij 1798	Madrid: Prado, emphasis on Spanish School 1819 St.Petersburg: Hermitage, special room for Russian School 1824 Berlin: Altes Museum 1815-1830 Munich: .Glyptothek 1816-1830, .Pinakothek 1826-1836, with ancient German art (coll. Boisserée) London: .British Museum, new building 1823-1847 . National Gallery 1824, built 1832-1838	St Petersburg: New Hermitage 1839-52 Berlin: Neues Museum 1841-1855/59 (nordische/vaterl. Altertümer; German sculpture in plaster cast department) Munich: .Neue Pinakothek 1846-1853 . Bayerisches Nat.Mus. 1855-1867 Stockholm: National Museum 1848-1866 Copenhagen: National Museum [>1846] London: .Museum of Decorative Arts 1852 .National Portrait Gallery 1856, built 1896 .British Museum, Dep. of British and medieval antiquities 1866 Saint-Germain-en-Laie: Museum of Gallic Antiquities 1862 Berlin: Mus.f.Kunst u. Gewerbe 1867	Paris: Musée de Sculpture comparée (concept 1848) opened 1882. Stockholm: .Nordiska museet 1880 .Skansen open-air museum 1891 Copenhagen: open-air museum 1885. Italy, Germany: various Musei di Storia Patria/Civici and Heimatmuseen. Prague: Nat. Mus. (1818), built 1885-91 Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum and Naturhistorisches Museum built 1869-1891 St.Petersburg: Russian Museum 1898 Budapest: .Hungarian National Gallery (1862), in separate building 1928 .Museum of Fine Art (1896), built 1900-1906
Critical or revolutionary citizens with political emancipation as their aim		Budapest: Hungarian National Museum 1802/7 (built 1837-1846) Prague: National Museum 1818 (built 1885-91)	Edinburgh: .Nat.Gal.of Scotland 1850-59. .National Museum of Science and Art 1854, built 1861-66.	Dublin: Museum of Science and Art 1877, built 1890 Edinburgh: Scottish Nat. Portrait Gall.1882

			Nuremberg: Germanisches National Museum 1852 (Freiherr Hans von und zu Aufsess) Posen: Museum of Polish and Slavic Antiquities 1857	Krakow: Nat. Museum for Fine Arts 1880 Rapperswil (near Zürich): Polish National Museum of Polish History 1888-1928
Institutions with patriotic or national aspirations: universities, scientific, industrial or economic societies (still to be given detail)	…. …. ….	London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1811 …. ….	Dublin: Museum of the Royal Dublin Society 1856-77 ….. …..	…… ….. ….
Private individuals (artists and collectors)		Stuttgart: Boisserée brothers (Cologne) create collection of ancient German and Flemish Art; 1810 publicly displayed in Heidelberg; 1827 sold to King Ludwig I of Bavaria	Berlin: preliminary stages of National Galerie 1835 > Paris: Preliminary stages of Musée de Sculpture comparée, concept Viollet-le-Duc 1848 (realized 1879/82 as state museum) Museum of the home of the Goncourt brothers in French 18th-century style c. 1845. Leeuwarden: preliminary stages of Netherlands open-air museum (Joost Hiddes Halbertsma 1850>)	Moscow: Tretyakov Gallery 1882, building 1902-16 (municipal museum)

[ii] From the end of the eighteenth century to c. 1918 four trends in patriotic or nationalist pride were represented in princely or state museums (see also Meijers 2011, p.10 note 8). Firstly, from 1780 onwards, the artistic or natural products of one's own territory, as a variation within the total, international spectrum, were put on display for reasons of patriotism. The aim here was to stimulate domestic production and highlight the economic and artistic character of one's own state in response to competition from abroad, and France and Italy in particular.

[ii] Secondly the need emerged to develop a notion of one's own heritage as a source of national pride. This stage began with the campaigns of the French revolutionary armies from 1794 onwards and especially those of the Napoleonic wars of 1804-1815 and concluded with the return from Paris of the confiscated collections after the allied victories and the subsequent founding of museums to house the restored artworks.
The considerable political differences between the various European states also had an influence on their museums. See for example Meijers 2011, p. 14 note 17: 'In this respect one gets another picture from the Czech state and Bohemia during this period than one does from Prussia. Unlike Berlin, the national museums in Prague and Budapest already played an explicitly political role in the first half of the century. The Czech national museum (founded 1818, new building 1891) and the Hungarian National Museum (founded 1802, new building 1837-1847) took on a nationalist character in the struggle for liberation from Habsburg rule and the founding of their own states. See Marosi/ Klaniczay 2006; Fodor 1992 and Stloukal 1992. We encounter another, similarly politically-charged variant in Edinburgh, where a Scottish National Museum emerged between about 1847 and 1866 in the tension between loyalty to the British state and Scottish self-awareness. See Andersson Burnett/Newby 2007.'

[iii] In a third phase, from c. 1830, museums for national history were established; departments of national antiquities were included in universal museums (Neues Museum, Berlin; Hermitage, St.Petersburg; Dublin). Museums and galleries especially for national painting, sculpture, architecture and antiquities were founded (National Galerie, Berlin, Musée de sculpture comparée, Paris).

[iv] Fourthly, from about 1870 onwards, the possessions and achievements of one's own state were often put on display in a nationalist or even imperialist framework.

[v] In 1790 the art dealer Noël Desenfans and the painter Francis Bourgeois were commissioned by the Polish king to bring together an international collection of paintings in order to 'encourage the progress of the fine arts in Poland'. While this was taking place, Poland was gradually being partitioned by its more powerful neighbours, leading in 1795 to its complete disappearance as an independent state. The King was forced to abdicate and the dealers were left with a Royal Collection on their hands. After Desenfans's death in 1807 Bourgeois decided to bequeath the collection to Dulwich College near London. This resulted in the foundation of the first public gallery of paintings in Great Britain in 1811. Desmond Shawe-Taylor, Dulwich Picture Gallery. A Visitor's Guide, London 2000, p.5.

APPENDIX 2   E.S.Bergvelt 4 Sept.2011

Diagram: Comparison of the ideal/typical 18th-century and the ideal/typical 19th-century museums in relation to nationalism and national identity – based on Bergvelt 2005 and Bergvelt 2007

The speed with which the various terrains developed could vary enormously: a museum could be a 19th-century one with regard to the public, but an 18th-century one, with regard to its organization (or vice versa).

Terrains	18th century	19th century	Questions
Organization	Part of court life	Part of a ministry – part of the emerging nation-state	Did the museum form part of **government**'s policies for education, colonies, sciences or tourism?
Content of museum	General, universal (Enlightenment)	Specialized, organized by discipline, relation with the newly emerging sciences	Had the **museum staff** (often scholars and scientists) or trustees a nationalist aim in mind for their museum (over and above what was involved in the normal management of a national institution)? Did they emphasize the art/nature/history of the own country? The aim of the museum was often to further the contemporary art, history or sciences in the own country.
Who were the directors or curators?	Courtiers/amateurs	Scholars	Was there an **educational programme** for the disciplines on display in the museums? That could be part of **governmental policy** (as part of universities or colonial policies). At a later date, was there any educational programme for museum curators? This might be part of government policies, but could also be part of the process of the professionalization of the group as such (Wilensky 1964/1965)
Public	Courtiers, connoisseurs, scholars and artists, the beginnings of a more general public	The general public of the nation, tourists (possibly connoisseurs). Scholars, scientists and artists gradually become less prominent as a sector during the 19th century.	Difference between policy (as proclaimed) and practice. What means were used to address which sector of the public? Were there separate opening hours for these groups? Was the presentation intended for the general public, for artists or for scholars and scientists? (and what aspects or sections of the display were considered to be of special interest for these groups?) Different kinds of catalogues for different groups? NB, people or organizations outside the museum also made catalogues of museums (or of course wrote travel guides). Were

		NB: visitors' books disappear as visitors' numbers grow!	guided tours organized for different categories or educational levels of visitors? A focus on artists may have the nation-minded or nationalist aim of furthering national contemporary art. A focus on tourists may have the nation-minded aim of enhancing the status of a country by showing national, international or colonial collections. The focus on the general public of one's own nation may have the nation-minded or nationalistic aim of educating the people's taste (which may further the national economy), or expanding the group of educated citizens (idem), thus helping to forge a shared national identity. These aims may make the population of a nation more pliable, or may even prepare it population for war – if that is seen as in the interests of a country.

From Bergvelt 2007, 32:

'definition of the quintessential, or ideal, national museum of art in the 19th century:

> The national museum of art is housed in its own building and is solely concerned with art. The museum and its director fall under the direct administration of the nation state and its bureaucratic system in the form of a government department or ministry without interference by a monarch. The position of museum director is a full-time function with a full salary and is held by a formally educated historian of art. The art museum's collection is internationally oriented, comprising solely works of European painting and sculpture dating from the early Renaissance to the end of the 18th century. The museum's annual budget is funded by the government. These funds are spent according to guidelines established in response to a list of desirable acquisitions of works deemed important or relevant to the collection, as conceived by the museum's director or curator. The museum's collection is geographically arranged by schools of painters. Within these separate departments, all works are presented chronologically. There is a catalogue of the collection, which is kept up to date in academically correct fashion. The museum's public is the general public. The museum is open every weekday and entry is free (fig. 2).[1]

At the time the report was compiled [1853], no museum in Europe met the standards of this definition.'

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[1] This definition is not exhaustive as, for instance, I have not included everything pertaining to conservation. It is based on my findings in the Report 1853 [the report of the British Parliamentary Select Committee on the National Gallery]. What I consider to be "modern" (i.e. 19th-century), in contrast to "traditional" (18th-century), is not so much founded on the knowledge of the course museological developments would take in the 20th century, but rather on the difference with the situation in the 18th –century museums. See for a comparable definition: Vogtherr 1997, 8. Vogtherr sees in the 19th century the start of the modern art museum of today. I, however, would like to emphasize the many differences between the 19th-century museum and that of today, such as the absence of temporary exhibitions, which points to a completely different concept of art and history at the time (a static versus a dynamic concept of art and history).

APPENDIX 3
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Napoleon's Legacy:
The Rise of National Museums in Europe, 1794 - 1830

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Das Neue Museum in Berlin im internationalen Kontext
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APPENDIX 5

Workshop National Museums and National Identity, seen from an International and Comparative Perspective, c. 1765 – 1918 NIAS, Wassenaar 28 Sept. – 2 Oct. 2011

Programme

Wednesday 28 Sept.

18:00   - Drinks and welcoming the participants by Ellinoor Bergvelt, project leader in Amsterdam, and Bernhard Graf, director of the Institut für Museumsforschung in Berlin.

18.30   **Dinner at NIAS**

Evening   Guided tour in Rijksdorp (weather permitting), or film

Thursday 29 Sept.

Chair: Ellinoor Bergvelt   *Minutes: Claudia Hörster*

09:30-10:00   - Donna Mehos: review of *Napoleon's Legacy*

10:00-10:30   discussion

             Coffee break

11:00-11:30   - Rachel Esner: review of *Specialization and Consolidation*

11:30-12:00   discussion

13:00-14:00   **Lunch**

Chair: Elsa van Wezel   *Minutes: Lieske Tibbe*

14:00-14:30   - Stephanie Moser: Representations of ancient worlds in national museums and major public exhibitions in Great Brittain in the 19th century.

14:30-15:00   discussion

             Tea break

15:30-16:00   -Donald Reid: The Egyptian Museum in Cairo 1863-1918: three imperialisms and the emergence of Egyptian national identity.

16:00-16:30   discussion

18:00   **Drinks and dinner at NIAS**

Friday 30 Sept.

Chair: Debora Meijers　　　*Minutes: Durkje van der Wal*

09:30-10:15　　Krzysztof Pomian: **Museum, autocracy and civil society in 19th century Russia.**

10:15-10:45　discussion

　　　　　　Coffee break

11:15-11:45　Gábor Ébli: What makes a museum national? On the evolution of public collections in Eastern Europe.

11:45-12:15　discussion

13:00-14:00　Lunch

Chair: Lieske Tibbe　　　*Minutes: Amy Stenvert*

14:00-14:30　- Ad de Jong: Skansen (Stockholm, 1891) and the early open air museums: innovative institutions for strengthening feelings of community and national identification.

14:30-15:00　discussion

　　　　　　Tea break

15:30-16:00　-Marieke Bloembergen and Martin Eickhoff: The care for Javanese antiquities as a national obligation – the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (1778 >) and the networks of Dutch Empire.

16:00-16:30　discussion

18:00　　　Drinks and dinner at NIAS

Saturday 1 Oct.

Chair: Donna Mehos.　　　*Minutes: Claudia Hörster*

09:30-10:30　- discussion of the project group's self-evaluation report

　　　　　　Coffee break

11:00-12:00　- conclusions and plans for future research

13:00-14:00　Lunch

Afternoon:　　no programme

18.00　　　Drinks and dinner at NIAS

Sunday 2 Oct.

Morning after breakfast: departure of participants

Workshop National Museums and National Identity, seen from an International and Comparative Perspective, c. 1765 – 1918 NIAS, Wassenaar 28 Sept. – 2 Oct. 2011

Description

The workshop is intended as a prelude to the next stage of the research project, *National Museums and National Identity seen from an International and Comparative Perspective*. This project, which is a collaboration between the Huizinga Instituut and the Institut für Museumsforschung in Berlin (a department of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – National Museums in Berlin), was launched in 2007 with subsidies from the Royal Academy of Sciences. Between 1-12-2008 and 1-12-2011 the project was funded by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research under the heading of the Internationalization of the Humanities. The central issue of this project is to identify the specific functions that museums have had since the end of the eighteenth century in shaping and communicating the image of a 'national culture' or 'national identity'. The departure point has been the assumption that the development of national museums in the various countries concerned was transnational in character. Certain crucial periods in the development of the museum will serve as benchmarks for research on a comparative international basis for similarities and differences, including where relevant, the colonial territories.

The following periods have been distinguished:

 a) **1794-1830**: the rise of national museums in Europe, especially as a result of the confiscations during the French Revolution and the return of the collections to their countries of origin in 1815.

 b) **1830-1860**: the purpose attributed to specialized scientific knowledge during the process of nation building and the role played by the national museums in this (with the Neue Museum in Berlin seen as a special case).

Two international conferences have been organized by the project group on these themes. The proceedings of the first have been published, while publication is pending for those of the second.[132]

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[132] -*Napoleon's Legacy. The Rise of National Museums in Europe, c. 1794-1830* (conference, Amsterdam, 31/1 - 2/2/2008), published in 2009 as vol. 27 of the *Berliner Schriften zur Museumsforschung*;
- *Specialization and Consolidation of the National Museum after 1830. The* Neue Museum *in Berlin in an International Context / Museale Spezialisierung und Nationalisierung ab 1830. Das Neue Museum in Berlin im*

c) 1860-1885: The consolidation of European nation building, colonialism and the more explicit political role of the national museums in this.

d) 1885-1918: Topics yet to be decided.

The aim of the workshop is to draw up a balance sheet on the basis of the results of the two conferences, to develop ideas for the next themes for research and then to draw up the parameters for future international research collaboration. A report will be available to participants to serve as a discussion piece, written by the project group as a conclusion to the three-year period of the NWO subsidy. In the first instance this report will evaluate the method of international comparative historical research that has been followed. An adequate procedure will be decided on here, with the possibility of provisionally limiting case studies of museums to a few states and exploring the same aspects in each instance. The report will also test the chosen time frame and the three benchmarks for their relevance. This self-evaluation by the project group will be discussed during the workshop and will serve as a basis for charting routes for the next stage of the research project.

To initiate the discussion of the project so far during the workshop, two of the participants will be asked to present a spoken review of the two volumes that have been published. Thursday afternoon and Friday will be devoted to the case studies – a number of typical or else seemingly exceptional national museums in Europe and the colonies, as examples by which the method and procedure of the international-comparative study can be looked at in detail. A number of the participants will be asked to prepare a case study, exploring the same aspects in each instance – for instance, the origin of the collections; their management and, where it exists, their dynastic embedding; the connections with the national and/or municipal administration; the location in the city; the architectural form, decoration and iconography; accessibility and relation to the public; the relation to academic scholarship; the principles underlying the layout, and the degree of specialization into separate disciplines. Finally on the last morning the project group's report will also be discussed and a balance sheet will be drawn up of the subjects discussed in the workshop.

APPENDIX 6: RELATION WITH OTHER RESEARCH PROGRAMMES

During the past decades various projects have been carried out with which the research programme *National Museums and National Identity* shows a degree of kinship.

The first stage (prior to our period of subsidy from the NWO) coincided with the European Science Foundation programme, the NHIST (*Representations of the Past. The Writing of National Histories in 19th and 20th century Europe*, which ran from 2003 to 2008). In terms of content and method there are some general similarities. One of the aims of the NHIST was 'to study systematically the construction, erosion and reconstruction of national histories across a wide variety of European states'. Similar to this sort of internationally comparative research, *National Museums* has in mind to raise museum history to another level than the customary form of the monograph.

But whereas the NHIST inquired into 'The role of social actors [Institutions, Networks and Communities] in constructing national histories', *National Museums* was concerned with the role of national museums in building a 'national culture' or 'identity' – a concept that goes further and is thus more problematic than that of 'national histories'; 'national identity' alludes to a set of qualities attributed to a nation, and has a bearing on the identification with these values experienced as natural by the inhabitants of a country. In order however to have an opinion on this subject one would have to have made a much more elaborate study of the historical reception and of the public involved, including a differentiation between the various kinds of recipient.

The particular character of the *National Museums* project however lies in the material, tangible character of the subject area. In the case of museums, the construction of a national past is tied to specific restrictions, something that for instance has consequences for any thinking in terms of a 'master narrative' – a term often employed to refer to a guiding, abstract basic principle underlying a great deal of what is handed down to us as national history.[133] These restrictions for the museum are inherent in the material presence of the objects collected there – one can attribute a wide range of meanings to them as building blocks in a narrative, but their concrete, material presence itself has an influence on that narrative – not to mention any lacunae in the collection or artefacts that are suddenly discovered that may cast a totally different light on historic circumstances. One cannot

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[133] The term 'master narrative' refers to François Lyotard's 'grand récit'; see Lyotard 1979.

therefore construct any random narrative on the basis of historical objects. It makes no sense to look for a coherent master narrative supposedly underlying all the nineteenth-century national museums.

Something similar can be said of the Eurocore FP7 Grant Programme, EuNaMus or the *European National Museums: Identity, Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen*, 2010-2013, which is also conducting research into 'national (master) narratives', as embodied in national museums, covering a large part of Europe. Like the NHIST, this is a wide-ranging sample survey involving many researchers and asking a host of analytical questions. A fairly small programme like *National Museums and National Identity* cannot adopt a method like this; instead therefore the method has been chosen of an in-depth study, based on historic 'moments'(with the term 'moment' understood fairly broadly). A limited number of locations has been selected, but with a wide range of activity. The concept of a 'master narrative' is less strictly deployed, with the question being posed in a somewhat more neutral fashion – 'how various European countries in the nineteenth century designed and disseminated the image of a "national culture"'.

The approach comes close to that of SPIN (*Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms*), a programme associated with the Huizinga Institute that aims to trace European Romanticism, or cultural nationalism between 1789 and 1918 on the basis of international networks of scholars, literary figures, artists and institutions, with an emphasis on the specific traditions of each nation and the possibilities of each separate medium and institution, varying from literary works to statues and banknotes; and from gymnastic societies to museums, both national and private.[134] One of the aims was to compile an expansive encyclopaedia.

The method adopted for *National Museums* relates both to the small scale and to the above-mentioned specific features and limitations of collections as a means of conveying values, whether national or other. Furthermore subjects such as 'architecture', 'decoration' and 'position in the city' added yet another element – the ideologies thus represented sometimes deviated from the successive presentations of the collection (or vice versa).

For the two conferences no sample surveys were carried out with a set list of questions while with the NIAS workshop, this is somewhat more the case. Specialists on the key areas selected by us were asked to react to our questions relying on their expertise. The result was a

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[134] Romantic, or cultural nationalism is defined as: - an autonomous force in European nation-building (not as a side effect of political or social developments); - a transnational process with influences and initiatives spreading from country to country; - a multi-media process spreading from one cultural field to another. See also note 7.

wide range of viewpoints, inevitably with critical comments on the departure points of the programme. In the two conference volumes, *Napoleon's Legacy* and *Specialization and Consolidation of the National Museum*, and finally in this assessment we tried to arrive at a synthesis, while taking the variety of viewpoints into account.