

Review Copy – Not for Redistribution  
Gabriella Elgenius - University of Gothenburg - 19/10/2016

# NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND NATION-BUILDING IN EUROPE 1750-2010

MOBILIZATION AND LEGITIMACY, CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

EDITED BY PETER ARONSSON AND GABRIELLA ELGENIUS



ROUTLEDGE

# NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND NATION-BUILDING IN EUROPE 1750–2010

Europe's national museums have been at the centre of on-going nation-making processes, since their creation. These museums have successfully negotiated conflicts and contradictions to obtain the support of citizens and taxpayers, domestic and foreign visitors, scientists, art connoisseurs, and policy makers. *National Museums and Nation-building in Europe 1750–2010* assess the national museum as a manifestation of cultural and political desires, rather than a straightforward representation of the historical facts of a nation.

Examining the degree to which national museums have created models and representations of nations, their past, present and future, this book proceeds to assess the consequences of such attempts. Revealing how different types of nations and states – former empires, monarchies, republics, pre-modern, modern or post-imperial entities – deploy and prioritise different types of museums in their making, it constitutes the first comprehensive and comparative perspective on national museums in Europe and their intricate relationship to the making of nations and states.

**Peter Aronsson** is a historian and held a chair in Cultural Heritage and Uses of the Past at Linköping University. He has co-edited *National Museums: New Studies from around the World* (Routledge, 2011) and *Performing Nordic Heritage* (2013).

**Gabriella Elgenius** is associate professor of Sociology at the University of Gothenburg and associate member of Nuffield College and the Department of Sociology at the University of Oxford. She is the author of *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood* (2011).

The Eunamus programme has prepared an extensive online research facility on national museums available at [www.eunamus.eu](http://www.eunamus.eu). The editors of this volume have also edited *Building National Museums in Europe 1750 – 2010: European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen*, Linköping University Press (Open Access and available at: [www.ep.liu.se/ecp/064/ecp064.pdf](http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/064/ecp064.pdf), 2011).

# NATIONAL MUSEUMS AND NATION-BUILDING IN EUROPE 1750–2010

Mobilization and legitimacy,  
continuity and change

*Edited by Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius*

First published 2015  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

© 2015 Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius for selection and editorial matter;  
individual contributions, the contributors.

The right of Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius to be identified as the authors  
of the editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters, has been  
asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and  
Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or  
utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now  
known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any  
information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the  
publishers.

*Trademark notice:* Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered  
trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent  
to infringe.

*British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

National museums and nation-building in Europe, 1750–2010 : mobilization and  
legitimacy, continuity and change / edited by Peter Aronsson and Gabriella  
Elgenius.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. National museums–Europe–History. 2. Museums–Political aspects–Europe–  
History. 3. Museums–Social aspects–Europe–History. 4. Nationalism–Europe–  
History. 5. Political culture–Europe–History. 6. Popular culture–Europe–History.  
7. Europe–Politics and government. 8. Europe–Cultural policy. I. Aronsson,  
Peter. II. Elgenius, Gabriella, 1967–

AM40.N38 2014

069.094–dc23

2014029221

ISBN: 978-0-415-85396-5 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-73713-3 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo  
by Taylor and Francis Books

# CONTENTS

<i>List of illustrations</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>List of contributors</i>	<i>viii</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xi</i>
 Introduction: making museums and nations <i>Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius</i>	 1
 <b>PART I</b> <b>Establishing national museums 1750–2012</b>	  <b>11</b>
1 National museums in between nationalism, imperialism and regionalism, 1750–1914 <i>Stefan Berger</i>	13
2 Museums of civilization, museums of state, museums of identity: national museums in Europe, 1918–2000 <i>Péter Apor</i>	33
3 Museums, nations, empires, religions <i>Tony Bennett</i>	66

**vi** Contents

<b>PART II</b>	
<b>Museum typologies: art and cultural history museums</b>	<b>87</b>
4 The changing roles of art museums <i>Dominique Poulot</i>	89
5 History museums and the making of citizens and communities <i>Ilaria Porciani</i>	119
<b>PART III</b>	
<b>Conclusions and national museum analysis</b>	<b>143</b>
6 National museums as national symbols: a survey of strategic nation-building and identity politics; nations as symbolic regimes <i>Gabriella Elgenius</i>	145
7 National museums as cultural constitutions <i>Peter Aronsson</i>	167
<i>Index</i>	200

# ILLUSTRATIONS

## Table

6.1	Claimed origin of the first national museums in Europe.	151
-----	---	-----

## Figures

6.1	National museums by period.	147
6.2	Timeline of first national museums.	150
6.3	Political museum map: pivotal nation-building versus national museums establishment.	159



## CONTRIBUTORS

The authors of this volume are reputed scholars from different disciplines such as art and cultural history, heritage studies, history, historiography, museology and sociology, and are active at universities and scholarly networks associated with highly reputed departments in Australia, Britain, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy and Sweden.

**Péter Apor** is a research fellow at the Institute of History, Research Center for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Apor conducted research at the London School of Slavonic and East European Studies as a Fellow in Hungarian Studies (2007), the Central European University, Budapest (2003 and 2011) and at the University of Exeter (2008–9). His main research interests include the politics of history and memory, the social and cultural history of the socialist dictatorships and the history of historiography. Relevant publications include: *Fabricating Authenticity in Soviet Hungary: The Afterlife of the First Hungarian Soviet Republic in the Age of State Socialism* (2014) and *Past for the Eyes: East European Representations of Communism in Cinema and Museums after 1989* (with Oksana Sarkisova, 2008). Apor was one of the partners of the Eunamus project.

**Peter Aronsson** is a historian and held a chair in Cultural Heritage and Uses of the Past at Linköping University during the Eunamus research programme (*European National Museums: Identity politics, the uses of the past and the European citizen*) 2010–13. Aronsson has developed the approach to the use of historical research as coordinator of several large-scale European and Nordic research programmes. The Eunamus programme was funded by the European Commission and set up as a collaboration of eight universities in Europe with the aim to produce the first extensive comparative analyses of the national museums in Europe. Aronsson is currently Dean of the Faculty of Art and Humanities at Linnaeus University. Among his relevant publications are *Performing Nordic Heritage* (with Gradén, 2013);

*National Museums: New Studies from around the World* (with Knell and Amundsen, Routledge 2011); 'The productive dilemmas of history' (in Ruin and Ers, eds., *Rethinking Time: Essays on History, Memory and Representation*, 2011). Aronsson was the principal coordinator of the Eunamus research programme.

**Tony Bennett** is research professor in Social and Cultural Theory in the Centre for Cultural Research at the University of Western Sydney. He is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities and of the UK Academy of the Social Sciences. His main publications include *Formalism and Marxism* (1979), *Bond and Beyond: The Political Career of a Popular Hero* (1987, with Janet Woollacott), *Outside Literature* (1991), *The Birth of the Museum* (1995), *Culture: A Reformer's Science* (1998), *Pasts Beyond Memory: Evolution, Museums, Colonialism* (2004), and *Critical Trajectories: Culture, Society, Intellectuals* (2007). He is also a co-author of *Accounting for Tastes: Australian Everyday Cultures* (with Mike Emmison and John Frow, 1999) and *Culture, Class, Distinction* (with Mike Savage, Elizabeth Silva, Alan Warde, Modesto Gayo-Cal and David Wright, 2009). Bennett was one of the scientific advisers on the Eunamus project.

**Stefan Berger** is professor of Social History and director of the Institute of Social Movements at the Ruhr University Bochum, where he is also chair of the executive board of the Foundation Library of the Ruhr and director of the House for the History of the Ruhr. Berger has published widely on comparative labour history, the history of social movements, nationalism and national identity studies, the history of historiography and historical theory. Berger directed the European Science Foundation Programme 'Representations of the Past: the Writing of National Histories in Europe, 1750 to the present' (2003–8) and is the general editor of the accompanying book series *Writing the Nation* (Palgrave Macmillan, 8 volumes, 2008–12), the general editor of the book series *Writing History: Theory and Practice* (Bloomsbury), *History of Social Movements* (Palgrave Macmillan) and two book series of the Institute (in German, with Klartext Verlag). Berger is editor of the journal *Moving the Social: Journal of Social History and the History of Social Movements* and Modern Europe editor of *Blackwell History Compass*. He is the author of the monograph *Friendly Enemies: Britain and the GDR, 1949–1990* (with Norman LaPorte, Berghahn Books, 2010) and has edited the collection *Popularizing National Histories* (with Billie Melman and Chris Lorenz, Routledge, 2012). Berger was one of the scientific advisers on the Eunamus project.

**Gabriella Elgenius** is associate professor of Sociology at the University of Gothenburg and associate member of Nuffield College and the Sociology Department at the University of Oxford, where she held an award from the British Academy of Social Sciences and Humanities. She is also a member of the Centre for Migration and Diaspora Studies at SOAS at University of London. Elgenius completed her PhD as a Marie Curie Fellow at the London School of Economics and has published widely on identity politics and nation-building with particular focus on national days, national symbols and Diaspora communities. She is currently

**x Contributors**

working on funded projects such as *Diaspora Communities and Change in Britain* (funded by the BA and John Fell); *Are Traditional Identities in Decline?* (with Anthony Heath, funded by the ESRC) and on nation-building and identity-related symbolism (*Why are Some National Days more Popular than Others?*), national museums and the repatriation of national heritage (funded by the European Commission). Relevant publications include: 'Politicizing apology and performing egalitarianism: the repatriation of cultural (national) heritage and human remains between the "Nordic" countries' (in prep.); *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); 'The politics of recognition: symbols, nation-building and rival nationalisms' (*Journal of Nations & Nationalism*, 2011). Elgenius was the co-coordinator of the work package on nation- and state-building on the Eunamus project.

**Ilaria Porciani** is professor of Modern and Contemporary History and the History of Historiography at the University of Bologna. She has been a visiting scholar at Harvard, Berkeley, Berlin, Tübingen, Fernand Braudel Fellow at the EUI, Guest Professor at the EHESS, and a Fellow of the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University. Porciani has published widely on the history of culture, on historiography, nation-building, universities and education, with a particular focus on gender. Her book *La festa della nazione* was awarded the Acqui Storia Prize. Other relevant publications include *Atlas of European Historiography. The Making of a Profession 1800–2005*, co-edited with Lutz Raphael (Palgrave, 2010), and *Setting the Standards: Institutions Networks and Communities of National Historiography*, co-edited with JoTollebeek (Palgrave, 2013). Porciani has been the editor-in-chief of *Il Mestiere di storico*, the journal of the Italian society for contemporary history (SISSCO) and is a member of the editorial board of *Passato e Presente* and of the *Journal of Modern European History*. She is currently working on partitioned countries, museums and communities (1880–2015). Porciani was one of the partners of the Eunamus project.

**Dominique Poulot** is professor of Art History and Heritage Studies at the Sorbonne (Paris 1). He has been a visiting scholar at the EUI, at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, at NYU, at the Getty Research Institute, and Alliance Visiting Professor at Columbia University. His main publications include *Musée, Nation, Patrimoine* (1997), *Musées et muséologie* (2005, Spanish, Brazilian, Italian and Korean translations), *Histoire des musées de France* (2005), *Une histoire du patrimoine en Occident* (2006, Brazilian translation), *Patrimoine et Musée: l'institution de la culture* (2014). He is also the editor of the *Letters to Miranda and Canova on the Abduction of Antiquities from Rome and Athens* (Getty, 2012). Relevant publications include: 'Alexandre Lenoir and the Museum of French Monuments' in *Rethinking France, vol. 4 Histories and Memories* (University of Chicago Press, 2010), 'Museum studies' in *Art History and Visual Studies in Europe* (Brill, 2012), 'Provenances and values: the recognition of *Ancien Régime* works of art under the French revolution' in *Provenance: Transferal and Transformation* (Getty, 2012) and 'The heritages of the Arab world: a perspective' in *The Politics & Practices of Cultural Heritage in the Middle East* (Tauris, 2014). Poulot was one of the partners of the Eunamus project.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The book is based on the findings of the *Eunamus – European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen* – research programme, funded and supported by the European Commission during three years and eight work packages between 2010 and 2013 for the purpose of analysing significant aspects of national museums in Europe, including nation- and state-building, museum policy and visitor experience. The European Commission made the collaboration of eight universities possible. This programme built on a previous series of international conferences supported by Marie Curie and Namu – *Making National Museums*, which created an extensive network of both senior researchers and PhD students from around the world. The partners of Eunamus are hereby thanked and acknowledged for their enthusiasm, extensive planning and the demanding management of this exciting research programme. We are grateful to the dedication of the six partners – Arne Bugge Amundsen (University of Oslo), Alexandra Bounia (Aegean University), Constantin Iordachi (Central European University), Simon Knell (University of Leicester), Kristin Kuutma (University of Tartu), Ilaria Porciani (University of Bologna) and Dominique Poulot (University Paris 1 Sorbonne, Paris). Professors Knell, Amundsen and Bounia have been part of both projects and thus instrumental in the move from conference proceedings to a unique comparative project in the humanities. A special thanks to Bodil Axelsson (Linköping University), who was also instrumental in the process of disseminating and communicating our results, the main aim of work package eight, and for her help with the production of the extensive Open Access material. Elisabeth Weiser (Ohio State University) contributed greatly to policy briefs and summaries in the final phase of the programme. We would also like to thank Staffan Klintborg (Linnaeus University) for his help with proofreading this book.

**xiii Acknowledgements**

The management of a framework programme has depended on skilled administrators in all of the participating universities, and there are many who have contributed to this programme: The multidisciplinary research centre, Tema Q Culture and Society at Linköping University, where colleagues and PhD students provided a necessary and creative intellectual environment of a high standard. Svante Beckman and Johan Åkerman and his team were decisive and more than helpful with all managerial aspects that required professional support. A number of conferences have been used as testing grounds, and cooperation was facilitated by parallel projects such as *Nordic Spaces and Time, Memory Representation* (funded by Riksbankens Jubileumsfond) providing support and contexts for dialogue. Important input from Hans Ruin, Jens Bartelson, Viktoria Fareld and Irina Sandomirskaja has been particularly helpful. New colleagues in political science from Linnaeus University have generously shared advice – and warnings. We also acknowledge the important inspiration from participating in the programme *Representations of the Past: The Writing of National Histories in Europe* (NHIST) coordinated by Stefan Berger, then at Manchester University. In this context, exchange with other relevant Framework programmes must also be mentioned, such as MeLa – *European Museums in an Age of Migrations* – coordinated by Luca Basso Perresut. Rhiannon Mason (Newcastle University) has been a vital participant in both our projects. It is not possible to be exhaustive and fair in acknowledging all people who have contributed to the evolvment of this unique programme and thus to this conclusion. It is our hope that others will continue to make use of the great amount of material. Needless to say, shortcomings are solely the responsibility of the editors and authors.

In addition to this particular book other main publications were produced within the Eunamus programme and are listed below.

- Aronsson, P. and Elgenius, G. (eds.) (2011) *Building National Museums in Europe 1750–2010*, Eunamus Report No 1, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Aronsson, P., Knell, P. and Amundsen, A. (eds.) (2012) *National Museums Making History in a Diverse Europe*, Eunamus Report No 7, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Bounia, A., Nikiforidou, A. Nikonanou, N. and Dicran, A. (2012) *Voices from the Museum: Survey Research in Europe's National Museums*, Eunamus Report No 5, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Dodd, J., Jones, C., Sawyer, A. and Tseliou, M.-A. (eds.) (2012) *Voices from the Museum: Qualitative Research Conducted in Europe's National Museums*, Eunamus Report No 6, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Eilertsen, L. and Amundsen, A.B. (eds.) (2012) *Museum Policies in Europe 1990–2010: Negotiating Professional and Political Utopia [Electronic resource]*, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Knell, S., Axelsson, B., Eilertsen, L., Myrivili, E., Porciani, I., Sawyer, A. and Watson, S. (2012) *Crossing Borders: Connecting European Identities in Museums and Online*, Eunamus Report No 2, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Poulot, D., Bodenstein, F. and Lanzarote Guiral, J.M. (eds.) (2012a) *Great Narratives of the Past [Elektronik Resource]: Traditions and Revisions in National Museums*, conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the

Past and the European Citizen, Paris 28 June–1 July & 25–26 November 2011, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.  
Poulot, D., Guiral, J.M.L. and Bodenstein, F. (eds.) (2012b) *National Museums and the Negotiation of Difficult Pasts*, Eunamus Report No 8, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.

Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius  
Sweden and Britain, May 2014



# INTRODUCTION

## Making museums and nations

*Peter Aronsson and Gabriella Elgenius*

*National Museums and Nation-building in Europe 1750–2010* is placed at the heart of the intersection where the socio-political and the scientific logics meet in the context of nation-building, representing and legitimizing nations in and through national museums. National museums and their representations have therefore within a world of nations become an international standard of nation-claiming and nation-branding. We approach the study of national museums as a historic and contemporary process of institutionalized negotiations of dominant values that constitute a basis for national communities and dynamic state formations. The national museum is thus a knowledge-based socio-political institution, with corresponding collections and displays that ultimately claim, articulate and represent dominant national values and myths. *National Museums and Nation-building in Europe 1750–2010* will respond to basic questions about the establishment and dynamics of national museums by investigating the trajectory, context and timing of their establishment. It will also answer more complex questions. To what extent and with what consequences do the *trajectory* and *timing* of nation- and state-making processes interact with museum initiatives, creations, societal challenges and justifications? Our comparative approach constitutes a first comprehensive analysis of national museums in Europe and their intricate relationship to nation- and state-making. It will highlight relevant historical developments and socio-political contexts, museum typologies, frameworks and models that provide a unique point of departure and empirical substance, shedding light on the role of national museums in the nation-building process. This volume reveals how national museums are tied to nations and deciphers their role in the nation-building process. Through a series of arguments, this book maps how different types of museums (based on art, archaeology, culture, history and ethnography) are deployed by different types of nations and states – empires, monarchies, republics, pre-modern, modern or post-imperial entities. National museums



create models and representations of nations – their past, present and future – the consequences of which may also be assessed.

## Analysing museum- and nation-building

The national museums of Europe have, since their creation, been at the centre of nation-making and nation-building processes. The demand for national museums followed in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars with the creation of national states, a process in which nations justified the autonomy of the state on the basis of being distinctive, unique and necessitated by historical logic. As a result, regional differences within nations were ‘rearranged’ to fit new modes of affiliations and loyalties that, in turn, created new forms of negotiating science, politics and social conditions. National museums have thus developed into significant institutions turning empirical evidence into consolidating perceptions of membership, ultimately related to nationhood and citizenship. The role of nations, within a system of other nations, makes some periods and contexts especially conducive to museum-building. In the contemporary world, national museums continue to engage communities sufficiently to obtain support of scientists, art connoisseurs, citizens and taxpayers, policy makers and visitors alike, and will attempt to negotiate conflicts and contradictions relating to ongoing nation-building processes. Today, one of many challenges is found in the tension between the articulation of nationalist fervour, on the one hand, and accelerating diversity and globalization on the other. National museums need therefore to be analysed as manifestations of cultural and political desires, rather than straightforward representations of historical or national ‘facts’.

National values and notions of a ‘Western civilization’ are expressed in the national museum culture in Europe, including the values of the Enlightenment, which results in a variety of interpretations about universal, national and transnational phenomena, values, loyalties and identifications. The implications of such interpretations have taken different forms and have had different consequences depending on the formation of transnational ideas. For example, in the Scandinavian context, the cultural reconstruction of *Norden* (referring to Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Finland and Iceland) as a complex and collected *lieux de memoire* played a significant role in the production of a peaceful environment in the midst of a political climate of rival nationalisms that might have encouraged revenge and/or territorial reacquisitions. Other transnational loyalties and ambitions – of different ages – include Pan-Slavism, Scandinavianism, notions of Central Europe or of a British identity on the British Isles and have in various ways attempted to negotiate tensions with varying degrees of success. It is within such contexts, among many others, that our study of national museums – as means of representing national communalities, pride and high culture – provide us with illuminating and comparative data on processes of nationalization in Europe. In a comparative light, the trajectories of European national museums provide us with accounts of what we may call ‘generalized values’ of the museum-nation-state nexus and of the interactions between these entities. Exploring this nexus and its associated interactions

facilitates an analysis of national museums as constituent components of *negotiated cultural constitutions*. Nations express their yearning for a proud and legitimate past and, while balancing perceived needs for continuity with a reality of challenges to this alleged unity, an agenda for facing the future is set. Some national museums are both more relevant and successful than others in meeting such challenges, with important implications for the ability to negotiate needs for integration with dynamism and change.

## The Eunamus research programme

The aim of the Eunamus research programme, funded by the European Commission, was to illuminate gaps in existing research by adding a comparative perspective to the study of national museums. This book draws on such groundbreaking research conducted within several large-scale research projects. *The European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen* (Eunamus 2010–13) collected empirical material of national museums in the European countries, dealing with long-time national trajectories and the negotiation of conflicts. Contemporary political utopias were thus mapped in addition to following the experience of visitors and opinions of non-visitors. All reports on the national museums in Europe were published as two Open Access volumes ([www.ep.liu.se/eunamus/outcomes.html](http://www.ep.liu.se/eunamus/outcomes.html)), which we hope will provide useful material for further research. This material has yielded multidimensional comparisons with this book as a first synthesized conclusion of the longitudinal interaction between national museums, nations and states. This volume will mainly use material from the Eunamus research programme and compare actors and interests that established national museum institutions on the national agenda across Europe (Aronsson and Elgenius 2011). We will take advantage of related research and publications instigated by Eunamus, such as the intricacies of grand narratives (Poulot et al. 2012a, 2012b); national museum policymaking (Eilertsen and Amundsen 2012); modes of multimodal communications museums (Knell et al. 2012) and studies of visitors' experiences assessed with the help of survey and focus groups (Bounia et al. 2012; Dodd et al. 2012). Summaries are also available for the informed public, which may provide a point of departure and a visual companion to this book (Aronsson et al. 2012).

## Outline

*National Museums and Nation-building in Europe 1750–2010* is divided into three analytical sections providing chronological and thematically structured presentations of our vast material: (1) the historical development of national museums in Europe from 1750 to 2012 (Stefan Berger, Péter Apor and Tony Bennett), (2) the roles played by different types of museums (Dominique Poulot and Ilaria Porciani), and (3) conclusions from the comparative analyses exploring the roles of national museums in nation-building (Gabriella Elgenius and Peter Aronsson).

### ***Part I Establishing national museums 1750–2012***

The first analysis relates to the formative stages of national museum-building from 1750 to contemporary times up to 2012. The history of this development is linked to the pursuits of establishing empirical cultural sciences and nation-building in times of the competing loyalties and rivalling movements of regionalism, nationalism and imperialism. We commence with national museums in the long established European states and what may be called 'pre-modern' nations, followed by the analysis of the national museums in Europe's 'modern' and 'post-imperial' nations. National museums are also analysed within a framework of nations-empires-religions, from the late eighteenth century to the present time.

Stefan Berger's chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the development of national museums in Europe between 1750 and 1914, with special emphasis on the pioneering role of new nation-states in the construction of model national museums in Europe. This chapter demonstrates how nations conducted energetic and vigorous campaigns to nationalize their newly founded states and how they became engaged in civic education with the help of their national museums. A range of thematic museums, from army to colonial museums, and from archaeological to folk museums, pursued nationalizing strategies together with heavy engagement in the geopolitical issues of borderlands. By the First World War, many European societies had been thoroughly nationalized and regions were transformed into building blocks of national discourses. Although many national museums were founded in the nineteenth century, the national discourse was one among many spatialized discourses at a time full of tensions between regionalism, nationalism and imperialism. Berger's chapter locates the development of national museums within the context of the manifold tensions produced within such spatial identity discourses and explores the growth of national museums in this first period of museum-making and concludes with a survey of the transnational elements of national museums and the processes of cultural transfer at play as they were constructed, revised, designed and reimaged.

Péter Apor's chapter analyses the transformations of national museums in Europe following the two world wars, a period marked by the dissolution of composite states and empires after 1918, the formation of new national states and identities, the establishment of socialist dictatorships, the collapse of the colonial system during the 1950s and 1960s and the Cold War. Apor's chapter addresses intersected themes, such as the reshaping of territorial-regional patterns, changes in Eastern Europe negotiating rivalling teleological universalist and communist metanarratives alongside the growth of national identities, the commemoration of victims after the Second World War, the acknowledgement of increased diversity with a resurgence of neo-traditionalist ethnic identities in the 1990s, and the visualization of post-colonial and post-imperial representations. By these developments national museums were transformed into windows through which communities were represented to the world and thus moved from being sites of knowledge. Throughout the twentieth century, sensitivity to loss and guilt also developed among many elites and communities.

Mourning the loss of human lives in the two world wars, the Holocaust, together with the loss of territory, reshaped the visual and ideological outlook of national museums and contributed to new museums being established. Nations whose pre-war structures and frontiers remained intact (Britain, France and Spain) had to address the remodelled international context reflected in war and military museums, whereas the new nation-states and elites in the Baltic republics, Poland and Czechoslovakia refashioned existing museums to represent new national aspirations. Many nations had to rethink identities to reflect new or redrawn states (Germany, Hungary, Austria, Romania and Turkey).

Tony Bennett's chapter offers a synoptic account of various relational aspects between national museums, nations, empires and religions over the whole period dealt with in this book. Bennett raises significant questions about the dynamics of national museums and reinforces the arguments of transnationalism made by Berger. Bennett also explores the religious dimension, invoking secular governance, as has been recently witnessed in multi-faith policies. He notes that the relations between museums and nations have proved unstable with collections renegotiated and on the move, representing changing communities and policies. The unstable aspect of national museums applies to the restructuring of the European empires and of the relation between Europe and its former colonies. Taking Michel Foucault's general assertion of the transformation from Christian pastoral into secular governmental authority as a starting point, Bennett locates the national museum at a central point of its transformation, set in a network of other infrastructures of communication. National museums become spaces – churches – for the new order of secular governance, incurring a civic economy of faults and merits. Recently we have witnessed a dramatic growth in the intensity of identifying community ties and religious belonging. This poses a challenge for museums to renegotiate their capacity to represent political community across borders. Increasing diaspora movements have lent an increasingly visible religious dimension to cultural diversity. In short, the imagined community of the nation has never completely displaced the transnational imagination of communities of different religions.

## ***Part II Museum typologies: art and cultural history museums***

A cluster of museums can be found in each nation's capital performing a concerted or contributing role under the overall label of 'national museum'. It is clear that museums of the types that have been significant for the nations in Europe reflect, in one way or other, the nation-building process. A maritime museum was vital to Portugal, whereas an ethnographic museum was deemed essential for the Slovak national movement, and, similarly, the technological museum of Munich played a role in defining German modernity. In the two chapters of the second part of this volume, two dominant museum types, the art museum and the cultural historical museum and their thematic contribution to nationhood will be analysed.

Dominique Poulot's analysis of the changing roles of art museums provides a European typology of these. The first defining feature of the art museum is the provenance of art collections, royal or princely, ecclesiastic or private collections donated to the state. The transfer of ownership from private collectors to the state contributed to the establishment and development of the national museum tradition in Europe. Artwork related to universal ideas of beauty, as defined by the Western classic canon, gave way in the late nineteenth century to ideas of schools that celebrated the nation (and in some cases its regions). As such, art schools formed artists as well as educated citizens, and they competed with other museums and nations for the progress and success of their national culture, taste and erudition. The art museums in London, Vienna, Berlin and Paris became temples of national identity and simultaneously lent themselves to cosmopolitan trends. In this process the curators played a significant role with regard to the acquisition, display and interpretation of objects within the art museum framework. Art museums differ significantly from historical museums in their interplay with private galleries and with the market, where they feed ideas about values that are transformed into capital both culturally and financially. The significance of national art museums in the accommodation of universal ideas has generated global interest. On the one hand, post-colonial issues, international art fairs, celebrations of jubilees and other manifestations are becoming increasingly important in the marking of cultural and international relationships, while, on the other hand, aesthetic norms of contemporary art travel the globe as a rejuvenated lingua franca for cultural competition.

Ilaria Porciani's chapter addresses another museum archetype: the cultural history museum. Porciani deals with representations of the past and with how the present interacts with the representation of the past. This chapter analyses the ways in which national museums react to the drastic changes in the perception of time and the various regimes of historicity. History museums put the past on display, often shifting from a *longue durée* perspective to a *retour de l'événement* located at the crossroads of research, the production of master narratives to the popularization of public history – shifting between history and memory. Using the perspective of German *Verfassungsgeschichte*, Porciani explores the governance pursued by museums as zones of contact and multi-voiced and decentralized approaches as being more relevant today. Porciani's chapter, which describes the transformations of cultural history museums during the past two centuries with a particular focus on the past 25 years, comprises traditional nationalistic initiatives in Europe as well as the recent dynamic establishment of post-colonial museums in North America and Australia. It also offers an analysis of Italy and of the re-creation of Italian history in honour of the 150th anniversary of the establishment of the Italian nation-state. Opposing trends are shown to be at work, including the move away from rigid understandings of the monolithic notion of national identity towards more complex approaches, interactions and cross-fertilizations. However, evidence from Eastern and Western Europe tells us that monolithic nationalism is a recurrent format of cultural historical museums that has been mobilized in today's recession-hit Europe.

### ***Part III Conclusions and national museum analysis***

The capacity of national museums to interact with nation- and state-making is analysed in the final part of this volume. The editors of *National Museums and Nation-building in Europe 1750–2010* explore national museums as *national symbols* and as *cultural constitutions*. National museums are analysed as national symbols that justify national boundaries and sustain notions of *oneness* by claiming through their existence that the nation is distinct from and yet on a par with other national museums (and nations). Thus, a survey of the first national museums in Europe has much to tell us about the strategic nation-building process and the role that national museums play in the politics of recognition. In the final chapter, national museums are analysed as cultural constitutions, intertwined with identity politics and nation-building. The variation in performance, it is argued, shows the plasticity of cultural institutions, some of which work more efficiently than others in complementing the more formal political constitution of each nation-state.

Gabriella Elgenius' chapter provides a novel context for the analysis of national museums as national symbols and as part of the nexus of symbolism through which nations authenticate boundaries. National symbols are often misunderstood to be decorative but represent at their core imaginations and interpretations of the nation's origin, its past, present and future. National museums are no exception and constitute therefore *strategic markers of nation- and/or state-building* engaged in nation-building at pivotal times. The inaugurations of the first national museums are of particular relevance here. With the alleged crisis of and recent debates relating to a British identity, it is noted with caution that the first national museum in Europe was the British Museum that opened in 1759, while one of the more recent museums, established by the Sami nation (Ajtte, Mountain and Sámi Museum), was inaugurated as late as 1989. To add complexity, the national museums of Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have remained closed for significant periods since 1995. National museums are uniquely placed to tell us about nation-building and its imaginations and illuminate, through collections and displays, that which Anderson (1991) identified as 'imagined' or Hobsbawm an 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992). They, moreover, highlight the crucial role of high culture in nation-building (Gellner 1983). A comparative framework is useful here and the inaugurations of the first national museum are analysed within the socio-political context and the 'politics of home' (Duyvendak 2011). Placing national museums in the context of other national symbols, often introduced with independence after the break-up of empires, makes it possible to draw attention to the strategic undertakings of nation-building, identity-politics and the patterns of symbolism with the help of the *symbolic regimes approach* that highlight the complexity of nations and the ongoing nature of nation-building (Elgenius 2011).

Peter Aronsson's concluding chapter analyses national museums as *cultural constitutions*. Aronsson argues that national museums are integral to cultural constitutions, as a more plastic but also more stable cousin of the rather rigid political constitution. Their general historical context is understood in terms of cultural

negotiations feeding the argument that national museums constitute a central component of the cultural constitution that helps to inform and shape the political constitution. This chapter places the argument in between a narrow critical account of the power of the museum as a formal heritage institution, at the one end, and the apologetic defence of the institution at the other. In terms of a conceptual framing, cultural constitutions are constructed by the proximity to, difference from and interaction with the constructions of political constitutions. This chapter assesses the actual role of European museums and highlights the formative moments in museum history. National museums vary in the degree in which they contribute actively to the formation of nation-states, help stabilize policymaking by negotiating dilemmas and conflicts or fail to play an instrumental role due to incapacity. Two major ideal types of national museum representations can be identified: the *Symphony* and the open *Concert Hall*. The relative success is not, however, related to the format, but rather to the relevance and interaction made possible in relation to contemporary challenges through the cultural constitution. Three impact scenarios towards well-functioning cultural institutions and contexts in which national museums have the potential of contributing substantially through their legitimacy and negotiating capacity are as follows: (1) promoting cultures of tolerance, creativity and integration, (2) promoting higher levels of trust between civil society and state or (3) negotiating a negative impact with the failure of the cultural constitution that would lead to the failure of the state.

## References

- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.
- Aronsson, P. and Elgenius, G. (eds.) (2011) *Building National Museums in Europe 1750–2010*, Eunamus Report No 1, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Aronsson, P., Knell, P. and Amundsen, A. (eds.) (2012) *National Museums Making History in a Diverse Europe*, Eunamus Report No 7, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Bounia, A., Nikiforidou, A. Nikonanou, N. and Dicran, A. (2012) *Voices from the Museum: Survey Research in Europe's National Museums*, Eunamus Report No 5, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Dodd, J., Jones, C., Sawyer, A. and Tseliou, M.-A. (eds.) (2012) *Voices from the Museum: Qualitative Research Conducted in Europe's National Museums*, Eunamus Report No 6, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Duyvendak, J.W. (2011) *The Politics of Home: Nostalgia and Belonging in Western Europe and the United States*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eilertsen, L. and Amundsen, A.B. (eds.) (2012) *Museum Policies in Europe 1990–2010: Negotiating Professional and Political Utopia [Electronic resource]*, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Elgenius, G. (2011) *Symbols of Nations and Nationalism: Celebrating Nationhood*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. and Ranger, T.O. (1992) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Knell, S., Axelsson, B., Eilertsen, L., Myrivili, E., Porciani, I., Sawyer, A. and Watson, S. (2012) *Crossing Borders: Connecting European Identities in Museums and Online*, Eunamus Report No 2, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Poulot, D., Bodenstein, F. and Lanzarote Guiral, J.M. (eds.) (2012a) *Great Narratives of the Past [Elektronic Resource]: Traditions and Revisions in National Museums*, conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Paris 28 June–1 July & 25–26 November 2011, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Poulot, D., Guiral, J.M.L. and Bodenstein, F. (eds.) (2012b) *National Museums and the Negotiation of Difficult Pasts*, Eunamus Report No 8, Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.