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The sugarcoat factory - A comparative approach to national history museums

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Abstract

This Master thesis deals with the depiction of national history in national history museums. In order to contribute to comparative studies of national museums, the author pursues to create an approach to compare the narration at these museums. This attempt is based on the assumption that certain common patterns of narratives (topoi) are incorporated into the narration at national history museums. The aim of the thesis is to find and define these topoi and to ascertain whether they are part of the historiography at three national museums in Europe (Scotland, Czech Republic and Germany) and one national museum in North America (United States of America). By applying a discursive analysis to the main labels and particular objects at the museums, the topoi shall be located. With the help of Formal Concept Analysis, a method deriving from Mathematical Sciences, the results of the discursive analysis are prepared for evaluation and conclusion. This method serves to answer, amongst others, the question: *To which extend are the exhibitions at the four national museums driven by underlying nationalistic ways of thinking?* The inquiry will demonstrate that similar patterns of narrating national history do exist in the four museums, especially in regard to the three European museums. At two museums, an intrinsic nationalistic sentiment in the way of narrating can be shown on the basis of an ad hoc elaborated definition of the term *nationalism*.

Keywords: National Museums, Nationalism, Narrative Studies, Myths, Formal Concept Analysis

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Preface

Most countries of the world have some kind of national history museum. These museums are a mirror of both how nationals perceive their country and how they want it to be perceived by others. It is common that the agents of such museums attempt to display the own country in a positive way in order to leave a certain feeling of pride to domestic visitors and a feeling of appreciation to foreign visitors.

The main motivation for this topic is based on a visit to the National Museums Scotland in April 2011. As an archeologist I was surprised by the prehistory exhibition and the first-person narration on the labels there. First, I assumed that this exhibition was an instance of over-interpretive archeologists who claim to be able to reconstruct prehistory in detail. Only later I recognized the connection between prehistory narrated in detail and national history. Some of the underlying concepts of such national histories are the nation, the nation-state and nationalism. These concepts and their influence on museums are the second motivation for this thesis. Furthermore, over-interpretation of archeological findings is one method that serves the attempt to find traces of today's nation-states in prehistory. Extending national history to prehistory does not represent actual historical trajectories but is a story with a mythological dimension. To historians, the founding myth is already a common concept. I suppose, however, that there are further myths regarding other aspects of national history, which I attempt to demonstrate with this thesis. Hence, my third motivation is to describe different types of national myths and to locate them in the narration of national museums.

Many countries have several national museums dealing with different topics such as history, art, natural history or anthropology amongst other. Since my interest and expertise are focused on history, I decided to limit the analysis to national history museums.

This Master thesis aims at *studying the depiction of national history at national museums*, which, therefore, touches upon four disciplines: (1) Museum Studies, (2) History, (3) Political Sciences and (4) Philosophy. Inquiries on national museums have been done before by scholars such as Peter Aronsson (Linköping University, "European National Museums" Conference) and Simon Knell (Leicester University). Many of these studies, however, focus on particular museums in certain countries and their distinct features. A comparative approach on the basis of a standardized method, which makes the comparison of a broad variety of institutions in different parts of the world possible, has not been delivered yet. In this respect, Knell equalizes comparison with 'generalisation' (Knell, 2011: 4).

In this thesis, I want to challenge Simon Knell's statement that

> 'each nation's national museums are the product of national history and local circumstances and perform in quite particular ways' (Knell, 2011: 4).

I argue that distinct national histories are performed in certain common patterns of narration at national museums. In order to show the relevance of my statement, I am going to find and list typical stories (= topoi) of national narration. The occurrence of these topoi will be tested at three national history museums in Europe (Scotland, Czech Republic and Germany) and one in North America (Ellis Island Museum). By gathering topoi of national history, I argue this thesis is a valuable contribution to *comparative studies of national museums worldwide.*

In order to provide new notions of narrating history at national museums in this thesis, certain research questions have to be dealt with. After introducing and defining crucial terms such as nation and nationalism, it has to be asked:

(1) Which topoi do exist in the national historiography?

On the basis of literature research, topoi regarding the national history will be recognized as such and introduced. After giving an overview of the four museums and their specialties, the question has to be answered:

(2) Are these topoi distributed among the four museums and if yes, how are they distributed?

By applying a discursive analysis to the main labels and particular object installations, topoi can be recognized in the narration at these museums. In order to gather and evaluate the results of this analysis, the method Formal Concept Analysis will be applied, which derives from Mathematical Sciences. This method is briefly, yet correctly and comprehensible, introduced. At the end, the thesis will be concluded by responding to this question:

(3) To which extend are exhibitions at the four national museums driven by underlying nationalistic ways of thinking?

For further reading I recommend E. J. Hobsbaws *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* as an introduction to the concepts of nation and nationalism. A very good and up-to-date overview of the national museums in Europe, ordered by country, has been provided by Peter Aronsson with the conference proceedings *Building National Museums in Europe 1750 - 2010.*

I enormously benefited from the supervision of this project by Mattias Bäckström who gave invaluable advice on the precise distinction of terms and concepts. Furthermore, I want express thanks to the author of the software *conexp-clj* for providing it as a free software online. I owe my utmost gratitude to my husband Tom for his criticism of the text and his love. Needless to say, the accountability for deficiencies of the text, however, is wholly mine.

Part I

Terms and concepts

1 All about the nation

1.1 The 'nation' - history and concepts

A short linguistic study reveals that the term 'nation' derives from the Latin word *natio* for *people*, *tribe* or *birth*. In many modern languages it is in use as a loanword. The Romanic languages, like Spanish and French, use a loan version of the word stem *nat* in words that have to do with birth. What seems to be clear at first sight turns out to be rather ambiguous in its meaning. Other terms like *state* are often used as synonyms, although they are not. The German language, for instance, is not very precise in terms of marking off these terms: 'nation' can either mean a *people* or be a synonym for *state*. Neither is the English language: in the *United Nations* there are at the moment 193 sovereign *states*.
In order to study the phenomenon of nationalism in regards to museums, I argue that it is crucial to define the important terms and use them strictly according to their definition. The following discourse shall demonstrate the broad spectrum of the concept 'nation', which shows the different and often incompatible elements that 'nation', as a construction of the latter part of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries, is built of. A few different notions will be presented, notions constructed and used during the last three centuries by four persons with distinct ideological and philosophical backgrounds. As will be shown, the concept of 'nation' is certainly packed with different political, philosophical and historiographical ideas. At the end, I will elaborate an own working-definition of 'nation' on the basis of these notions, which shall increase the reader's understanding of the concept such as it is used in the thesis. Since it does not serve the aim of this thesis, I am not going to focus on the evaluation of the concept 'nation' from a political-ideological point of view.
As a concept, that goes beyond the Ancient Latin meaning, 'nation' appeared only very recently in human history, i.e. the 18th century (Hobsbawn, 1992: 5). An early definition exists from Adam Smith, often referred to as the father of economic liberalism and of economics as a discipline within social sciences, who described the 'nation' as a

> 'collection of individuals living on the territory of a state' (Hobsbawm, 1992: 26).

Smith stresses two aspects here: First, the 'nation' is a group of human beings, in which it is different from the *state*. Second, the state is linked to a territory, on which the members of the 'nation' live. Hence, Smith had distinguished the concepts of 'nation' and state as early as then, and the separation between the two concepts, I argue, is still relevant today.

A second statement from the end of the 18th century about the 'nation' comes from Johann Gottfried Herder, a philosopher of history and language, often referred to as the father of nationalism, who said:

> 'Let us follow our own path ... let all men speak well or ill of our 'nation', our literature, our language: they are ours, they are ourselves, and let that be enough' (Smith, 2010: 30) .

By saying so, Herder points to the community of all inhabitants of the 'nation' ('our', 'us'), to a common history ('path') as well as to a common culture ('literature') and idiom ('language'). In the following, these different aspects of community in regards to history, culture and language were used to assert the concept of 'nation' and are still the background of many colloquial usages of the term. Herder's notion of 'nation' includes that different 'nations' had taken different paths through history. Therefore,'nations' are individual, and should be described as such (Anderson, 2006: 67-68).
In the first half of the 20th century Joseph Stalin, Communist dictator, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union between 1922 and 1952, defined the 'nation' as a

> 'historically constituted stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture' (Smith, 2010: 11) .

Stalin stresses the aspects of continuity ('stable'), common economy ('economic life') and a common way of thinking ('psychological make-up'). Stalin's definition has a clear communist and dictatorial background, which becomes obvious especially through the aim to synchronize the people's thought ('psychological make-up') and have a collective economic life.
The definition of David Miller, a political theorist from the second half of the 20th century adds two factors in comparison to the former definitions: According to him, the 'nation' is

> 'a community (1) constituted by shared belief and mutual commitment, (2) extended in history, (3) active in character, (4) connected to a particular territory and (5) marked off from other communities by its distinct public culture' (Smith, 2010: 13) .

In difference to the former definitions, Miller stresses the distinction of the own 'nation' from others ('marked off', 'distinct') and the public character of its culture ('public culture').
These statements show a few different aspects of the concept of 'nation' since the mid 18th century which was influenced by external events and processes like the French Revolution, the emergence of mass communication in the form of newspapers (Anderson, 2006:

25) and economic protectionism at the end of the 19th century (Hobsbawm, 1992: 29). According to Anderson (2006: 36), especially the emergence of means of mass communication like newspapers had consequences for the people's awareness of being a 'nation'. First, the standardized language, which emerged as a derivative of one or more dialects in a field of dialects of a vernacular, made people aware that there are millions of others who spoke the same language. Second, the content of the newspapers made the readers think about concepts like *we* and *they* on a larger scale (Anderson, 2006: 36/44).
At this point it is important to go deeper into the differentiation of the terms 'nation' and *state*. In the above mentioned statements it is shown that 'nation' relates to some sort of human community. A state, in contrast to that, denotes a system of institutional activities (Smith, 2010: 12). Smith (2010: 12) further describes the state institutions as being autonomous and in legitimate possession of the exclusive right of enforcement. With the help of an example the distinction between the two notions becomes more obvious: the United Kingdom is a *state* that contains the *nations* of Scots, Northern Irish, English and Welsh on its territory. Regarding this case and many others, that have already disappeared like Yugoslavia or Czechoslovakia, the problem of the compound term *nation-state* becomes clear. Hence, the concepts of 'nation' and *state* are not per se congruent, i.e. that there is not one state covering only one 'nation', but often several 'nations' in a given state (Smith, 2010: 17).

After researching the concept 'nation' I decided for several aspects that, from my point of view, describe the term as an analytical tool for this study, and define it in a way that is helpful for this inquiry. First of all, a 'nation' is a (1) *group of people* as opposed to a state. These people share the constructed notion that the (2) *community* of all members of the group lies in certain facts. These include a more or less (3) *artificial communication language*, like standard-German, rather than a colloquial or actually spoken every-day idiom like a dialect. Another aspect that determines a person's (4) *legal nationality* (= the fact of being a citizen of a particular 'nation'-state) is the place of one's birth or the nationality of one's parents if the state in which one was born is not the same state where one's parents were born. Furthermore, members of a 'nation' are convinced about the community of their group because of a (5) *constructed history* of the 'nation' that is taught at school and distributed through common (6) *public culture*. This constructed history is manifested in a collective memory that is celebrated in public culture. The result of considering these aspects is that members of a group perceive the group as (7) *distinct* from other groups of people = 'nations'.
Why were some of the above mentioned aspects left out in this definition? I did, for instance, not take into account for my definition is religion, since most persons, who are inscribed in 'nations', are not tied to only one religion but identify at least with different denominations of a religion like Christianity or Islam. Furthermore, state initiatives for secularism also led the members of the 'nation' to give up their identification with a

national religion, as the case of the French people shows.
I also decided to leave out an aspect that used to be very important for the definition of a nation: the territory. Territory as an attribute tend, from my point of view, to describe the concept *state* rather than 'nation'. As mentioned earlier, a 'nation' is often described as a group of people who exists on the territory of several states. That is why, the concept 'nation' is not determined by territory.

1.2 Nationalism - history and concepts

The concept *nationalism* shall to be regarded within a field of other concepts which are *patriotism* and *racism*.
In the center of the concerns of the concept nationalism is the 'nation'. Supporters of nationalism, who build the national movement, claim that a 'nation' has to achieve the goals of (1) national *autonomy*, (2) national *unity* and (3) national *identity* in order to survive as such (Smith, 2010: 9). The objective of national movements is not limited to achieving these goals but also includes maintaining them. This is the reason why these movements still exist no matter if the 'nation' became recently independent or is long-established (Smith, 2010: 9).
As section 1.1 has shown, many states accommodate several nations. Hence, reaching autonomy means in many cases to achieve political independence by creating an own nation-state. Therefore, the second goal, national unity, is reached, as well, considering that unity means the congruency of 'nation' and state, according to Gellner (2006: 1). There are several 'nations' in contemporary Europe who are still seeking autonomy and unity. These include: the Basques whose organization ETA[1] committed brutal attacks over several decades in their fight for independence from Spain, Catalans and Scots whose national party SNP[2] plans on a new poll about their independence from Great Britain in 2014.
National identity is a rather sophisticated term in comparison to the other two nationalist goals mentioned above. Before the middle of the 20th century this phenomenon was called national consciousness and national character before that (Smith, 2010: 17). Smith (2010: 18) reasons the new name with the recent tendency of individualism. National identity is only one aspect of this individualism for most people have multiple identities that derive from categories like gender, political parties and geographical areas. The national identity is produced by members of the 'nation' who reinterpret national symbols, values and tradition that all together build the distinctive national heritage and with which the members identify to various extends (Smith, 2010: 20-21). It is quiet obvious that this definition of national identity is rather theoretic. Regarding the number of members of 'nations' it is absurd to assume that the national identity is produced and agreed on by

[1] Euskadi Ta Askatasuna, i. e. Basque Homeland and Freedom.
[2] Scottish National Party.

all of them, even if we take the rather recent means of mass communication into consideration that actually give a voice to the mass. Therefore, it has to be assumed that some sort of elite - political, intellectual or religious - has produced and maintains the national identity. At this very point Hobsbawm's critique (1992: 48) begins: an identity that has been created by the elite cannot be projected to the thoughts of the less educated and less influential masses who did not add to the notion of identity.
The term *patriotism* contains the word stem *patrie* which refers to a nation-state that was constructed by the political will of the members of the 'nation' (Hobsbawm, 1992: 87). The concept of patriotism includes the loyalty of citizens (= the state's name for members of the 'nation'-state) to the territory and the institutions of the state (Smith, 2010: 16) with all rights and responsibilities that the state has given them (Hobsbawm, 1992: 145). Giving people rights like voting or being eligible for election was a people claimed consequence of the ever rising demands of political elites ruling the state in regards to paying taxes and fighting in war (Hobsbawm; 1992: 85). Rights in exchange for demands almost automatically led to the legitimization of the state and its authorities and created patriotism amongst, at least, a majority of people. During this process members of a 'nation' were turned into citizens (Hobsbawm, 1992: 88-89).
Describing the term *racism* as a mere hostile thinking and acting towards another ethnic group is not precise (Fredrickson, 2002: 1). According to Fredrickson (2002: 5), the word came into common use in the 1930s in order to describe the motives of the Nazi persecution of the Jews. Of course, the notion of racism existed long before and its roots can be found in the Ancient Greek xenophobia. However, contemporary racism is more than the reflexive feeling of hostility towards strangers that is described by the term xenophobia (Fredrickson, 2002: 5-6). Racism goes beyond ethnic differences manifested in customs and language. It also includes biological components: skin color and the "purity" blood (Fredrickson, 2002: 2/5). A new term in this field is *culturalism*, which denotes the 'inability or unwillingness to tolerate cultural differences' (Fredrickson, 2002: 7). This phenomenon in regard to Islam, for instance, can be noticed all over Europe and is known as Islamophobia. According to Fredrickson, the concept racism consists of the two components *difference* and *power*. Its basic notion is the permanent and unbridgeable distinction between *us* and *them*. This notion can be seen as the motive for the use of the power imbalance on the end of the stronger group which presents itself through cruel actions towards the weaker group (Fredrickson, 2002: 9). When it comes to the question of living together on the same territory, there are two concepts of racism: the inclusionary one accepts the "other" on its territory under the condition of a rigid hierarchy that puts "us" on top; the exclusionary, on the other hand, neglects all attempts of coexistence (Fredrickson, 2002: 9).

Taking the above mentioned aspects into consideration, I came up with the following definition: Nationalism denotes a political movement that is based on the notion of com-

munity of all members of the 'nation'. Everybody else does not belong to this community and is therefore regarded to as the *other*. This concept is further supported by the notion of common identity and shared heritage, which include a system of national symbols, language, values and traditions, that underpins the idea of national community. So far, this definition is congruent with traditional ones. I argue for a broader interpretation of the concept nationalism which includes, from my point of view, the mere nationalist sentiment. The nationalist sentiment can be expressed through silent thoughts, loudly spoken utterances and verbal or bodily attacks towards the other. Given the notion from Gellner (2006: 1), there are certain circumstances under which the nationalistic sentiment can emerge which include: (1) injustice towards the own 'nation' or a member of the own 'nation' (negative nationalistic sentiment) or (2) success or victory of the own 'nation' or a national over other nation(al)s (positive nationalistic sentiment). The latter one can especially be found in sports or any other kind of competition.

1.3 National Museums - history and concepts

As the former sections have shown the notions 'nation' and nationalism are deeply rooted in society. State institutions were always apt to maintain these notions vivid for they helped to keep citizens on the national(istic) track. This objective also applies to museums as the category *national museums* shows.
Today, museums are mostly seen as learning spaces for schoolchildren or leisure places for families. However, the purpose of maintaining the 'nation' does not collide with the genuine idea of the museum, as Donald Preziosi defines it:

> 'Museums are uniquely powerful semiotic and epistemological instruments for the creation, maintenence and dissimination of meanings by synthesizing objects, ideas, bodies and beliefs.' (Preziosi, 2011: 55)

In this respect, the 'nation' is a meaning like every other, which is created and maintained at the museum. As Preziosi's definition further demonstrates, objects play a key role for they are interpreted as witnesses of the time, the place and the people involved with them over the period of the object's life starting with its production and ending with its entering of the museum. Hence, objects are seen as storages of knowledge that can be unraveled by historians, art historians, ethnologists (etc.) and can be made accessible to the public by exhibiting them in meaningful groups at museums (Preziosi, 2011: 55). The contemporary interpretation and exhibition of objects in such a way are based on two foundations: (1) in Europe[3] for the last 2500 years objects were produced as carriers of knowledge and collected as such, and (2) for the equal long time disciplines like philosophy have provided concepts to understand the relationships between objects and knowledge

[3]If not otherwise stated, Europe is used in the geographical sense of the continent in this thesis.

(Preziosi, 2011: 55).
The emergence of national museums has to be seen in the context of the rise of the concepts 'nation' and nationalism. According to Peter Aronsson (2011a: 29), there are three developments that triggered the birth of national museums: (1) the Enlightenment, (2) nationalism emerging out of the resistance against Napoleon and (3) turning human beings into citizens in the course of the foundation of nation-states. The Enlightenment provided the intellectual basis, and the emergence of nation-states out of conglomerate states in the course of the 19th century provided the institutional basis for the transformation of royal collections and cabinets of curiosity into museums in the contemporary sense. In this respect, museums shifted their methods from mere representation of pomp to object-based inquiry (Aronsson, 2011a: 30).
When most nation-states in Europe had been founded after 1870, the first wave of founding national museums occurred as a consequence of imperialist politics and the complement need to display the 'nation' (Aronsson, 2011a: 31). Hence, the emergence of national museums itself is an example of how the state used its institutions to put ideological pressure onto its citizens as mentioned at the very beginning of this section.
Aronsson (2011a: 31) further states that national museums are:

> 'institutions of national collection and display, which claim and are recognized as being national and which articulate and negotiate national identity.'

There are several interesting aspects about this statement. First, there is no comment about what type of museum national museums are. Many states have more than one national museum: in most cases there is at least a national *history* museum and a national *art* museum. As the EuNaMus Report No. 1 (Aronsson, 2011b) demonstrates, national *antiquity* museums (Scotland, Aronsson, 2011b: 777) occur as well as national *science* museums (Germany, Aronsson, 2011b: 361) and national *ethnography* museums (Czech Republic, Aronsson, 2011b: 204) amongst other types of museums.
Second, Aronsson stresses that national museums display the 'nation'. This includes displaying the most precious objects that show off the value of the national collections and therefore the value of the nation's history as well as the 'nation' itself. The best-known examples for this kind of display are the British Museum in London and the Louvre in Paris. Both of them also show that national collections not only include objects that origin from the 'nation' or the national territory but everything that was taken possession of during the history of the 'nation'-state. Therefore the national pride at the national museums is not only based on presumed national products but on everything the nation-state owns.
Third, there is the interesting term *identity*. As in the section on *nationalism* mentioned, national identity refers to traditions, traits of character and symbols that the members of the 'nation' identify with and gain a certain feeling of unity from. Therefore objects at national museums are presented as if they were relics of the national identity and

composed in order to tell the national narratives (Preziosi, 2011: 62-64). This national identity is what the narration at museums seeks to present as truth (Preziosi, 2011: 58). From Aronsson's definition it can be assumed that the objective of national museums still is to produce or maintain the sentiment of national identity amongst the nationals who visit the museum. It will be interesting to find out if this also applies to the museums that are studied in the course of this thesis.

2 Mythological narration

2.1 Myths - history and concepts

In order to understand the concept of *myths* it is helpful to go back to the term's linguistic origin. The Ancient Greek term *mythos* once denoted a *word* or *speech*. Later, in the course of the first millenium B.C., it was marked off from the term *logos* which from then on denoted a rational argument while *mythos* was related to fantasy. Hence, mythos from then on meant something like the opposite of reality or rationale (Coupe, 2009: 9-10). Today, the term is mainly linked to well-known Ancient Greek legends featuring gods and goddesses such as Zeus and Aphrodite, heroes like Perseus and Achilles and monsters like Medusa and Polyphem.

Myths seem to have a social function since they exist in many cultures (Coupe, 2009: 4) and the interesting question is, what this function is. As the example of Ancient Greek myths shows, tradition and passing those stories from generation to generation (Morford & Lenardon, 1985: 3) play an important role. Myths are often said to be part of the collective memory of a nation as shared beliefs and are said to help to maintain a sentiment of unity amongst the members of the 'nation'. Myths, however, occur in different types and refer to different aspects as the course of this chapter will further demonstrate.

Concepts that are to be distinguished from classical myths are *sagas* and *folk tales*. All three of them denote a story. A folk tale is an entertaining adventure with strange creatures and ever-victorious heroes. The difference between folk tales and classical myths is that the action in classical myths includes gods or at least demigods. Whereas the origin of a classical myth is ancient and mostly anonymous, a saga, despite its imaginative character, must have an explicit historic root. Furthermore, a classical myth often explains religious belief and practices in a dramatic and climactic narrative (Morford & Lenardon, 1985: 1-4) and is characterized by a symbolic language (Fromm, 1987: 201).

In today's language the word myth is used extensively. It often refers to other concepts such as *ideology* in terms of literary or cultural studies, or *fantasy* in terms of movies or novels. Although there are overlappings between all three concepts, they should not be used synonymously. Ideology implies some sort of (hidden) political agenda and fantasy-based entertainment tries to attract customers (Coupe, 2009: 1).

Myths can be distinguished from the above mentioned concepts by regarding their typical features according to Cupitt (Coupe 2009: 6):

> '[. . .] a myth is typically a traditional sacred story of anonymous authorship and archetypal or universal significance which is recounted in a certain

> community and is often linked with a ritual; that it tells of the deeds of superhuman beings [...]; that it is set outside historical time [...]; and often the story [...] is [...] full of seeming inconsistencies'

Regarding this definition of classical myths, the term does not apply to the phenomena of the origin of the 'nation', the founding of the 'nation'-state and the unity of the members of the 'nation' which I am going to assert in the next sections. However, classical myths according to Cupitt have certain aspects in common with the national myths in this thesis. Based on Cupitt's definition, I define the concept myth for the use of this thesis, which should not be mistaken with classical myths, as the following: Myths are traditional, almost sacred stories of anonymous authorship and universal significance which are recounted in a certain community and are often linked to a ritual; they tell of the deeds of personalities in history; are set in historical time and often the story takes a course against all odds. Hence, the main differences between myths in the classical sense and the myths discussed within this thesis are that they are set in a place within the realms of historical reality, with persons acting instead of deities which, however, is over-interpreted in its importance and its consequences for reasons of ideology. Despite these differences, I decided to name the concepts of ideological over-interpretation of history regarding the 'nation' and the nation-state *myths* rather than *classical myths*.
The national myths are often regarded as historical truth for several reasons: (1) they are set in a far past which makes them more plausible according to Francois (2001: 19) and (2) throughout the 19th century historians worked on the coherent and objective appearance of history which led to the emergence of national myths disguised as historic facts (Francois, 2001: 18). With the help of public culture such as theater, novels, paintings and school books these myths were distributed (Francois, 2001: 20) and became part of the national heritage and identity (Francois, 2001: 31).

2.2 Three main myths in the national narration

2.2.1 Myth of origin

The *myth of origin* is an accumulative term that denotes all topoi[4] which are linked to the origin of a 'nation'. It has to be distinguished from the *myth of founding* which will be asserted in the following section.
The origin of a 'nation' is in most cases set in the far past. One strong reason for this is establishing a continuity that is further used to legitimize the interests of the political elites of the 'nation'-state. This far past often means a time lacking written sources and therefore objects are the only sources to draw conclusions from. This makes a broad range

[4]Topos, in this regard, is used as a common narrative which will be asserted in the next chapter.

of interpretations possible that cannot be disproved for the same reasons that they cannot be proved, but still uttered by the interpreters. The scientific background for the study and interpretation of ancient objects was established with the emergence of archeology in the 19th century. Ancient objects have, of course, been found before. Nevertheless, the institutionalization of archeology occurred at the same era as the founding of 'nation'-states in Europe, i. e. the 19th century.

The history of this discipline is a difficult one, since archeology has been used to legitimize both nationalistic and racist ideologies during the eras of imperialism and fascism from the late 19th until the mid 20th century. Contemporary archeology has turned away from these kinds of interpretations. However, there is still an inherent impetus to prove continuities in the national history and answer the overarching question: *Where do we come from?* In this regard, *we* refers to the members of the contemporary 'nation' rather than humankind in general. Most 'nation'-states in Europe searched for roots in prehistoric societies and the archeologists found the material evidence in the soil of their territory. One of the ideas behind this is that the 'nation' is linked to a certain territory and therefore every archeological culture[5] that ever lived on a this territory is perceived as an ancestor of the 'nation'. Hence, according to my experience as an archeologist, objects that are excavated today are given the stamp "remainings of the early people of *our* nation". The objects, of course, do not carry any evidence that there is a continuity between the ancient culture and the 'nation'-state today. Over-interpretation as such is the major issue of the discipline archeology and takes not only place in regards to the continuity of 'nations' but also in regard to categories like gender and religion.

An interesting aspect when it comes to the idea of historical roots of today's 'nation'-states, is the constructed connection between a 'nation'-state and a people, and the name that is given to this connection. The name France, for instance, derives from the Germanic tribes of the *Franks*. The word stem *frans* is broadly used to name the French people by the Romanic languages French, Spanish and Italian, the Germanic languages such as German, English and the Scandinavian languages, Slavic languages such as Russian and Czech as well as Arabic as a Semitic language. On the other hand, there is the case of Germany with multiple different names in different languages. The Romanic languages Spanish and French as well as Arabic refer to the *Alemanni*, a Germanic tribe based where today Southwest Germany, Alsace and Northeast Switzerland are situated. English, Italian and Russian use the word stem *german* as a reference to Germanic tribes in general. The Scandinavian languages, German itself and the Italian adjective *tedesco* refer to the old Germanic word *diot* for a *people* rather than to the tribe of the *Teutons*. Most Slavic languages use the word stem *nemet* or *niemc* which means *foreign* or *strange* to name the Germans. This is an example when a general term for everybody who does not belong the own group becomes a specific term for only one group of foreigners. In the

[5] Archeological culture refers to a group of people in prehistory that lived at the same time and territory and shared certain aspects of everyday life, such as shapes of containers like vases and patterns on them.

Finish and Estonian languages Germans are referred to as *saksa* which goes back to the tribe of the Saxons.
In regard to their names, the cases of Germany and France demonstrate that the origin of the 'nations' are seen in Late Antiquity or Early Middle Age tribes by both members of the 'nation' themselves and other 'nations'. With the help of archeology this origin was attempted to be found even earlier. As the analysis of museums in this thesis will show, the National Museums Scotland placed the origin of the Scots in the Celts. The Germans, whose Germanic ancestors with the leader *Herrmann* defeated the Romans in the year 9 A.D. is presented by the Deutsches Historisches Museum, based on this event, as a 2000 year old 'nation'.
These ideas also made it into public culture. In 2009, the 2000th anniversary of Herrmann's victory was celebrated, mainly by archeological institutes and museums, with reenactments of the battle. In Sweden and Norway, a popular souvenir are Viking helmets with two horns, because in the contemporary maintenance of the 19th century idea of 'nation', the Viking Age is frequently used as origin and identity giver in both countries. As it was made clear, the myth of origin includes topoi that refer to the birth of the 'nation'. In some cases a singular event becomes the master narrative of the nation's origin such as the German example demonstrates. In other cases a prehistoric culture is seen as the root of the 'nation'. Both have a mythological background since there is no evidence for such theories that refer to the far past. Nonetheless, these myths have been lasting for more than one century.

2.2.2 Myth of founding

The *myth of founding*, as the term will be used in this thesis, refers to the founding of the *nation-state*. The founding includes the process of institutionalization of the notion of a long before existing nation. Regarding this notion, the founding of the nation-state can be interpreted as the destiny of the myth of origin. The 'nation' that origined long before finally reaches the stage of institutionalization. This goes along with Etienne Francois' (2001: 21) argument that myths often include to be the redemption of a past event. The founding of the German Empire in 1871, for instance, was perceived as the redemption of the victory of Herrmann against Roman invaders in the year 9 A.D. in the Battle of the Teutoburg Forest (Flacke, 2001: 102-105). The first event pointed already to the later community, even if it did not foresee when and how it was going to happen. According to Francois (2001: 20), the national myths in Europe are very similar and have only minor differences. One example for a common myth regarding a nation-state's founding is the struggle against the (arch-)enemy which can refer to another 'nation', 'nation'-state or institution like the church. Only the German victory over France in 1870 made the founding of the German Empire in 1871 possible (Flacke, 2001: 124). The same applies to the founding of the United States which could only happen after

the successful uprising against England during the American Revolutionary War. The mythological over-interpretation of such events often added some drama to it by stressing that the victory over the enemy happened right after the moment of almost complete defeat. These aspects reveal the fictional character of such narrations rather than being an objective report of true events.

Most European nation-states of today claim to be founded about 150 years ago. Resulting from wars and revolutions, however, their appearances changed to various extents during this time. In order to discuss this aspect more deeply, I want to take the example of Germany into consideration. The founding that is described above does not refer to the nation-state as it exists today. When the German Empire was founded in 1871 it included a territory that is very different from the one today and a very different type of government as well. Considering this, it has to be questioned whether we are dealing with one and the same nation-state or not. The German Empire lasted until 1918. A few days before the end of World War I Germany was announced to be a federal state without Monarchy. According to the Treaty of Versailles Germany lost a large portion of its territory, as well. Only 15 years later Adolf Hitler diminished all democratic rights and established a dictatorship. After World War II the German territory got smaller and was divided into two 'nation'-states, which lasted more than 40 years. The Federal Republic of Germany, with the territorial borders of today, exists since 1990 rather than 1871, i.e. that the Federal Republic of Germany is only 22 years old. However, when it comes to the myth of founding in most cases the *first* founding is refereed to. The same applies to the United States and the founding of 1776, although only 13 of now 50 states belonged to this first USA. France, that exists as it does today since 1958, celebrates the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789 as its national holiday.

In regard to the change of territory and type of government I argue that 'nation'-states such as Germany, France and the United States as they exist today are not the same as when they were first founded. Many historians, however, argue that there is a continuity from the first founding until today. This notion is also represented in many museums and therefore the myth of founding relates to the first founding of a 'nation'-state. The aspect of a perceived continuity demonstrates the mythological character of this narration rather than a scholarly interpretation of history.

2.2.3 Myth of unity

The *myth of unity* includes notions about the group feeling and community of the members of a 'nation' and where these notions derive from. On a very personal level, I want to pose the question: *Why should I, who grew up in the near vicinity of the German border to Czech Republic, have more in common with a person from, say, Cologne than a person from the Czech village just a few miles away from my home?* The more scientific questions to be asked are: (1) Which events or processes in history led to the perceived community

of such large groups like nations? (2) What are the perceived unique traits of character of these groups in order to be distinct from other groups? (3) Why do the vast majority of members identify with their group? (4) What forms this identity today?

The myth of unity often includes the impersonation of the 'nation' as a person made of blood and flesh (Francois, 2001: 20). The group of people that builds the 'nation' is treated as one very person, which is some sort of metaphor for their unity. Similar to a real person, the 'nation' is assigned traits of character like the following: the German being-in-time, the French being culturally sophisticated, the Italian being emotion driven, the English having good manners or the Swedish being just right[6]. Of course, most of these traits are more stereotypically displayed images than empirically manifested phenomena let alone the fact that they do most certainly not apply to all members of the 'nation'. These individual traits of character serve both the ideology of *community* and *uniqueness* in the sense that members of the 'nation' are united as a group but distinct from any other 'nation'.

On the other hand, there are events like war that require a strong and united 'nation'-state. The traditional image is that while men fight as soldiers against enemies for the maintenance of the 'nation'-state's sovereignty, women take care of raising the children who are trained to quickly take over their role in society - soldier or nurse. Regardless the result of the war, this event is ideologically used to demonstrate the importance of unity amongst the members of a 'nation'-state. This need for unity is not only demanded by state authorities in times of struggle but also in times of felicity. The unity is then celebrated by exposing common symbols such as the national flag, the national anthem, national monuments or the national coat of arms.

In terms of reach the myth of unity refers to all instances of time: past, present and future. According to this view, the unity of the people is what kept the 'nation' alive through history and only the unity makes the contemporary 'nation'-state possible. In contrast to the myth of origin and myth of founding, however, the myth of unity also refers to the future which can only be bright and prosperous under the precondition of the community of all members of the 'nation' (Francois, 2001: 20). Still, the other two myths are the basis for the myth of unity, since there is a common origin of the 'nation' according to the myth of origin, which in the course of history and after struggle led to the founding of the institutionalized 'nation'-state.

[6]The Swedish word *lagom* describes exactly the way of behaving oneself and treating others not too well and not too badly but just right.

3 Method(ology)

3.1 On text interpretation

When pursuing a textual analysis it is very helpful to regard some notions about interpretation per se. To *interpret*

> 'means to explain why these words can do various things (and not others) through the way they are interpreted.' (Eco, 1992a: 24)

By writing this, Eco refers to the different meanings of a text depending on a lot of aspects. Basically, he distinguishes three types of intentions regarding a particular text: (1) intention of the author, (2) intention of the reader and (3) intention of the text itself (Eco, 1992a: 25). In short: texts are ambiguous. The meaning of a text depends, for instance, on the background of the author (Eco, 1992c: 69): Is she/he a native speaker of the language that she/he is writing in? What is her/his cultural, regional and intellectual background? All these aspects are hidden somewhere in the texts that she/he produces, however, on some sort of meta-level that is not (directly) accessible for the reader. In this I agree with Foucault who stated (2010: 45) that objects include different types of social, economic and political relations which remain, however, undisclosed when being analyzed. Foucault (2010: 27) locates this search for the author's intention in the field of *discursive totality*.

The same applies to the reader: he/she is shaped by a lifetime of experience that influences his/her perception of things. He/she might, for instance, see some irony in a text where there is no. This example reveals the flaw of textual communication: bare words without the tone of a voice or mimic expressions, which assign another level of meaning to the words, which are transported. Furthermore, the reader *interprets* the text already by reading it (aloud or silent) by giving it her/his own tone filled with self-assigned meaning. The intention of the text itself, however, can remain obscure to both the author and the reader. When the author is disregarding the underlying signification system, it can lead to another, unintended meaning of a text (Eco, 1992b: 64).

Hence, the meanings of texts can be manifold and the more ambiguous the language in a text is through symbols and metaphors the more multivalent the meaning of texts gets (Eco 1992a: 32). However, Eco (1992a: 40-41) warns that a lack of criteria for interpreting texts leads to an unlimited range of possible meanings of texts and eventually to linguistic paradox. In order to evaluate an interpretation, Eco elaborated several criteria: (1) Coincidences should not be overestimated (Eco, 1992b: 50), (2) the interpretation of certain parts of a text should be confirmed by other parts of the text or otherwise has to be rejected (Eco, 1992b: 65) and (3) a valid interpretation should be the most economic

one (Eco, 1992b: 49).
According to Foucault (2010: 27), language depends on a *limited* body of rules, yet, an unlimited number of utterances is possible. The task of language analysis, then, is to find out the rules according to which a statement has been made. He further explains how to analyze a discursive field: in order to interpret a statement, the exact circumstances of its occurrence have to be regarded as well as its relation to other statements (Foucault, 2010: 28). A mere linguistic analysis is not useful in order to grasp discursive fields, because language 'appears on the surface of a discourse' (Foucault, 2010: 48). Neither does the argument of plenty of lived experience give rise to the validity of an interpretation (Foucault, 2010: 48).
Eco's thoughts help to bear in mind that there is no mere reading of a text. Every act of reading includes the act of interpretation which may or may not lead to the intention of the author. Since reading and deliberate interpretation of texts will be the method of analysis in the thesis, it is essential to know the limits of this method and accept my personal limits as a reader.
Only a few of Foucault's notions can be applied to a practical inquiry such as the following. He wrote, that statements can be grouped in order to determine the involved concepts (2010: 34). From my point of view, this is exactly what happens at museums in regard to the concept 'nation' amongst others. Objects and text labels are grouped in order to produce and maintain the 'nation' or even the idea of nationalism. The following chapters will demonstrate whether this assumption of mine can be proved right based on the text labels of the museums in Czech Republic, Scotland, Germany and the United States of America.

3.2 Formal Concept Analysis

3.2.1 Introducing Formal Concept Analysis

In the following, the method Formal Concept Analysis shall be introduced. The method uses terms, such as **concept**, **context**, **object** and **property**, that are commonly known, however within this method mean something more specific. In this section, the terms will be defined as they are used within the method. These definitions derive from the modeling of the method. In order to comprehend both the method and the results of the analysis based on this method, it is essential to bear the definitions of the crucial terms in mind. As a reminder, the terms will be typed in bold face for the rest of the thesis.

Formal Concept Analysis is a method of data analysis that derives from Mathematical Sciences. It is, however, a tool intended to serve humane inquiries, such as the following, as well.
The main element of the FCA is a table, the so called **context**, in which the set of

extensions and a set of *intentions* is depicted. Extension is the formal name for an **object** that will be studied and intention denotes a **property** that either does apply or does not apply to an **object** (Großkopf, 2000: 279). Hence, there is a relation between **objects** and **properties** (Weißhahn, Rönsch and Sachse, 1998: 31). In the case of this thesis, museums or exhibitions respectively are **objects** and topoi of narration are **properties** to be approved or not. When listed in the table, neither the **objects** nor the **properties** are hierarchical per se; their order can be arbitrary. In the table, **objects** are depicted in a row and **properties** are depicted in a column (Großkopf, 2000: 279). If a **property** applies to an **object**, the particular box that represents the relation between the **object** O_1 and the **property** P_1 is ticked (Großkopf, 2000: 279). Under the precondition that there is no **object** to which all **properties** apply, certain **objects** together with their **properties** within an inquiry can form a *formal* ***concept*** (Weißhahn, Rönsch and Sachse, 1998: 31).

Each **context** can be linked to a ***concept*** *lattice*, which denotes the set of **concepts** belonging to a **context**. This lattice is structured by a hierarchy in which **concepts** have sub-**concepts** with subsets of **objects** (Weißhahn, Rönsch and Sachse, 1998: 32). The lattice can be represented by a special diagram, called the *Hasse diagram*. The Hasse diagram is capable of visualizing *partially ordered sets*. In order to understand partially ordered sets, it is crucial to consider *totally ordered sets*. An example for a totally ordered set is the set of natural numbers with the less or equal relation ($\leq$) or the alphabet with the lexicographical order as relation. In difference to that, in a partially ordered set there might be elements that are not comparable with respect to the relation (Ayres and Jaisingh, 2004: 21).

When interpreting a Hasse diagram, it is essential to follow the paths strictly in one vertical direction - either upwards or downwards. Two vertices in a Hasse diagram are comparable only if one is connectable with the other by using edges without changing the vertical direction. Finding connections by changing the vertical direction disregards the intrinsic hierarchy of the lattice. The following example will further clarify this.

3.2.2 FCA - an example

In order to increase the understanding of this method and assert why it can be applied to the research question of this thesis, I want to give the following self-constructed example: In an election there are four parties, each with a political manifesto. Within the manifestos, the parties list their campaign pledges and some pledges can be found in several manifestos.

Party A is some sort of right-wing party that pledges to lower taxes, renew roads, stop immigration and keep church and state separated (secularism). Party B has a Christian-conservative profile, standing for higher pensions, earlier retirement, renewal of roads and more public transport. Party C is a green, left-wing party that pledges free education,

	Spending	Education	Secularism	Immigration	Market Regulation	Pension	Public Transport	Roads	Retirement	Taxes
PartyA										
PartyB										
PartyC										
PartyD										

Table 3.1: Raw **context** of the parties and their pledges, by author

	Spending	Education	Secularism	Immigration	Market Regulation	Pension	Public Transport	Roads	Retirement	Taxes
PartyA			×	×				×		×
PartyB						×	×	×	×	
PartyC		×	×				×			
PartyD	×		×		×					×

Table 3.2: **Context** of the parties and their pledges, by author

more public transport and secularism. Party D has a neo-liberal background, standing for lower taxes, cutting spending, no market regulation and secularism. In this example, not mentioning a pledge in its manifesto means that the party is against this particular pledge.

When applying FCA the parties will be regarded as **objects** and the pledges as **properties**. Hence, the blank **context** looks like table 3.1.
In the upper row the set of ten different pledges (**properties**) is depicted and in the column on the very left the four parties (**objects**) are listed. After naming the columns and rows, the boxes are crossed according to the parties' manifestos. The results can be seen in table 3.2.

Computational software such as conexp-clj[7] transforms the data from **contexts** into a **concept** lattice which will be presented in a Hasse diagram. When applied to **context** 3.2, the lattice in figure 3.3 is the result.

The interesting question to be posed is: What conclusions can be drawn from the lattice? First of all, every vertex stands for a **concept**. Furthermore, the lattice depicts a hierarchy, i. e. that lower vertices stand for sub-**concepts** of upper **concepts** to which they are linked via a line (edge). The vertex at the bottom of the graph depicts a **concept**

[7]Conexp-clj can be obtained from this url: https://github.com/exot/conexp-clj.

in which all of the **properties** apply. This is a general feature of Hasse diagrams. In this particular case, however, the vertex at the bottom is not labeled. This is due to the character of the example. There is no party that includes all pledges, i. e. that there is no such **concept**. In order to complete the lattice, the vertex at the bottom has to be depicted anyways. The vertex on top stands for a **concept** that is common to all other **concepts** of the lattice. In case there was a pledge common to all parties, it would be on top of the lattice. Since there is no such one, the vertex on top is not labeled either.

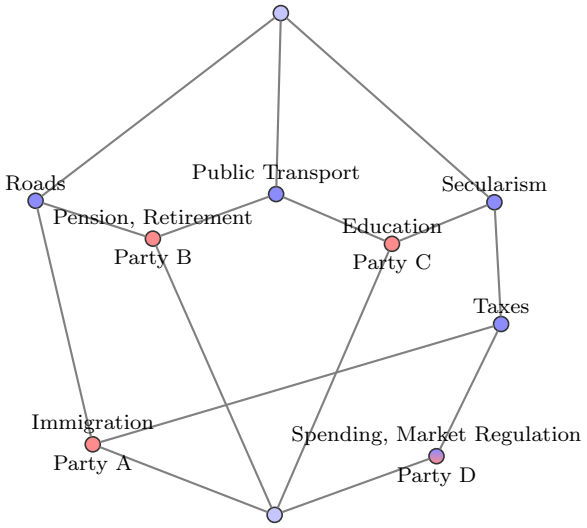

Figure 3.3: Lattice of election example, by author

The vertices for party A and D are all on the same level and there is no edge connecting them, i. e. that they are not comparable. Hence, they are just partially ordered rather than totally. The same applies to Party B and Party C. Furthermore, there is no connection between B or C, and A as well as B or C, and D. Another interesting aspect about the lattice is the congruence of the **object** "Party D" with the **properties** "Market Regulation" and "Spending", **object** "Party C" with the **property** "Free Education", "Party A" with "Immigration" and "Party B" with "Pension" and "Retirement". Taking into consideration that within this model all the parties are incomparable, this can be interpreted in the sense that these particular **properties** are uniquely attached to a certain **object**. The upper row depicts **concepts** which include common **properties** to **objects**. "Party A" and "Party B", for instance, share the pledges "Renew Roads". Hence, the **concept** "Roads" is situated higher in the hierarchy, because there are two sub-**concepts** that apply to it.

One might ask, why the visualization is needed since the same interpretation can be made from the **context** table. The example, I created, is intended to be very basic in order to understand the method. However, when it comes to more complicated inquiries with a lot more **objects** and **properties**, a visualization as such is able to illustrate relations that might have remained obscure otherwise.

3.2.3 Properties

The **properties** are common narrations referring to the nation which can be found mainly in the museum texts but also achieved through artifact settings. As I asserted earlier myths are a peculiar phenomenon and topoi (= common stories) are parts of them. In order to demonstrate that national museums are promoting myths, I am going to test if they tell certain topoi, which correspond with the myths. During the literature research I recognized eight topoi regarding the history of the nation and the 'nation'-state:

- continuity
- struggle against enemy
- teleological trajectories
- difficult history distorted
- single heritage
- one-person-worship
- common identity
- national symbols

Each of them can be linked to at least one of the three myths from the latter chapter. These links are the result of a thorough consideration of mine. The author tried to avoid that a topos is linked to all three of the myths, otherwise the distinction of the topoi would be pointless. Hence, in case a topos is not linked to a myth, it does not mean that there is absolutely no relation between the two but that this relation is less strong in comparison with the other two myths. The lines of selection are not always sharp, yet still comprehensible.

Continuity (Foucault, 2010: 22; Hobsbawm, 2010: 76; Flacke, 2001: 102; Anderson, 2006: 11) refers to a coherent ongoing course of history without interruptions or gaps. Telling a continuous history serves both the myth of origin and the myth of founding. Here, the temporal dimension is stressed and time does especially matter when it comes to the origin of a nation and the founding of a 'nation'-state, yet not so much in regard to the unity of a poeple. That is why continuity is in this inquiry not linked to the myth of unity. Both of the other myths are endorsed by claiming that a group of people living centuries ago were one's ancestors or that a 'nation'-state founded some 100 years ago was the same like the one today. The topos of *continuity* can also be found in religion in terms of the Catholic Pope who is a successor of Saint Peter or several Arabic monarchs who claim to be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad.

A topos only linked to the myth of founding is the *struggle against the enemy* (Flacke, 2001: 102; Francois, 2001: 22; Renan, 1996: 14; Gellner, 2006: 2; Aronsson, 2011: 44). It was mentioned before that this story includes the fight of the nation against its worst enemy which has to be won in order to found the 'nation'-state. *Struggle against enemies* does, of course, also occur during other times in history, however it is then not particularly linked to the origin or the unity of the people.

The topos *teleological trajectories* (Aronsson, 2011: 31; Foucault, 2010: 22; Gellner, 2006:

6; Hobsbawm, 2010: 101; Flacke, 2001: 103; Preziosi, 2011: 61) has to be distinguished from *continuity*. Other than *continuity* it regards history as predestination including breaks and gaps in its course. Hence, it can be seen as the link between the myth of origin and the myth founding, because the founding of the 'nation'-state is often regarded as the destiny of the origin of the nation, which was already foreseeable at that time. Due to its temporal dimension, *teleological trajectories* are not mainly linked to the myth of unity.

In many historical narrations *difficult history is distorted* (Flacke, 2001: 123; Aronsson, 2011: 33; Renan, 1996: 15). This topos can mainly be found regarding the myth of founding and myth of unity. When the nation is depicted as "one happy family" based on a common culture and language, the difficult history of immigration and integration is often left out. In the myth of unity foreigners basically do not exist. The same applies to the myth of founding which often glorifies the victory over the enemy but remains silent upon mass murder and destruction that comes with every war. Since the story of the origin is in general rather vague, difficult histories do not play such an important role and therefore they are not linked to the myth of origin.

The topos *single heritage* (Foucault, 2010: 22; Gellner, 2006: 6; Hobsbawm, 2010: 20; Francois, 2001: 18) denotes a common root of all members of the nation in history. It reflects the historical, yet timeless dimension of community which is set somewhere in the past. Therefore it is part of both myth of origin and myth of unity. It is not linked to the myth of founding since the founding is often related to a specific point in time, *single heritage*, however, is not related to a certain point in time.

The *one-person-worship* topos (Flacke, 2001: 102; Francois, 2001: 20; Renan, 1996: 34), which is part of the myth of founding tells history as if one person's action decided about the destiny of the whole nation. Well-known examples are Jeanne d'Arc of France, Gustav II Adolf of Sweden, Queen Elisabeth I of England or Otto von Bismarck of Germany. Clearly, these personalities are icons for whole movements or governments. Still today, a large portion of people is not aware of the symbolic character of the *one-person-worship*. In this very aspect, the notion can be seen in relation to religion; adherents of different religions believe in a savior onto whom they project their destiny. For this reason, it cannot be linked to the myth of unity. It neither can be related to the myth of origin, since the origin often dates back very far into the past and there are few sources telling about single persons.

Common identity (Foucault, 2010:22; Gellner, 2006: 6; Hobsbawm, 2010: 20; Flacke, 2001: 112; Preziosi, 2011: 58; Smith, 2010: 10) as a topos has to be distinguished from *single heritage*. It refers to contemporary aspects of the unity of a nation such as language, public culture and typical traits of character as depicted in section 2.2.3. Therefore it is linked to the myth of unity rather than the myth of origin or founding, which both have a strong aspect of time.

The last topos I will take into account is the use of *national symbols* (Smith, 2010: 21;

Myth of origin	continuity, teleological trajectories, single heritage
Myth of founding	continuity, struggle against enemy, teleological trajectories, difficult histories distorted, one-person-worship, national symbols
Myth of unity	difficult histories distorted, single heritage, common identity, national symbols

Table 3.4: Relations between myths and topoi, by author

Hobsbawm, 2010: 72). There are several categories of *national symbols* that the vast majority of 'nation'-states possess such as an anthem, a flag, a coat of arms, a seal, monuments and holidays. Each of them alone represents the concept 'nation'-state and due to their regular appearance in public culture most members of the 'nation' can identify with them and even know the *national symbols* of other 'nation'-states. Furthermore, some *national symbols* like the flag are often linked to the movement that led to the founding of the 'nation'-state. That is why symbols are part of the myth of unity as well as the myth of founding. Since the nation was only emerging at the time of its origin, this topos is not part of the myth of origin.

In order to sum up this section, table 3.4 shows, which topoi are linked to which myth.

3.2.4 Objects

According to the method FCA **objects** and **properties** are needed for the inquiry. In this thesis there are two kinds of **objects** and myths are one of them because they have **properties**. Due to the level of abstraction, however, the four museums are **objects** in the sense of the method, as well. As mentioned before, **objects** do have **properties**. It is, however, not accurate to state that the **objects** in this thesis are *defined* or *determined* by the **properties**, since determination would require a completeness of **properties**. Completeness of **properties**, however, is neither the aim nor within the limits of feasibility of this thesis project.
The three myths have distinct sets of **properties** as demonstrated in the previous section. To which extent the four museums in the Czech Republic, Scotland, Germany and the United States of America have **properties** and whether these sets of **properties** are distinct, is one of the main research questions of this thesis and will be answered in the following part. The reason why museums can be regarded as **objects** in the sense of FCA will be explained at this point. Museums, per se, do not have **properties** such as the ones of the previous section. Narratives, however, do have these **properties**. At spaces like museums, these narratives are performed by being written on labels and or being arranged by artifacts and therefore the narratives are realized. Resulting from that, museums serve as a meta-level for the realization of the **properties**. That is why I identify museums as **objects** in the sense of FCA, which carry **properties** such as topoi.

Part II

Inquiry

4 Museums and nation-states

4.1 Czech Republic - Národní památník na Vítkově

The first Czech museum to be perceived as a national museum was the *Patriotic Museum* founded in 1818 by the Society of Patriotic Friends, a group of influential 'enlightened aristocrats' (Apor, 2011: 203). This museum was in the following years essential for the emergence of nationalism in Czechia. At that time the 'nation' was part of the Habsburg Empire and only in 1918, after the dissolution of the Empire, an autonomous *Czechoslovakian* 'nation'-state could emerge. That the success of the realization of the notion of two 'nations' united in one state was an illusion was proved to be right shortly after the founding (Apor, 2011: 205).
The Czech national identity in the 20th century was shaped by foreign oppression committed by the Nazi Regime (establishing of the Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia in 1938) and the Soviet Union (building of communism in 1948 and the invasion during the Prague Spring in 1968). Finally in 1993, after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc an independent Czech 'nation'-state was created separately from a Slovak 'nation'-state (Apor, 2011: 205).

At the Národní památník na Vítkově[8] the course of the last century's history is narrated in the permanent exhibition *Corssroads of Czech and Czechoslovak Statehood in the 20th century*. The NMVH is a special location for such an important exhibition for several reasons. Built between 1929 and 1938, the monument (see image 4.1) immediately went into the hands of the German occupying forces. Initially, it was built to glorify Czechoslovak legions which had fought for independence during WWI. A particular Czech nationalist background, however, became obvious with the installation of the equestrian statue of a Hussite general commemorating an anti-Hussite defeat in 1420 at this very place (Apor, 2011: 211). Between 1939 and 1945, the location was used as storage for weapons by the Germans. After the early death of

Figure 4.1: Národní památník na Vítkově, by author

[8]National Monument at Vitkov Hill; from now on abbreviated as NMVH

the first Czechoslovak communist dictator, Klement Gottwald, the communists altered the monument into a mausoleum for Gottwald and later other communist leaders were buried there, as well (Apor, 2011: 211).
Even after the independence of the Czech Republic, the monument remained a symbol of Czech national identity commemorating both Czech legions from WWI and the Hussite movement. Not until then, the monument became an exhibition space, as well. The permanent exhibition was inaugurated in 2010, dealing with the five milestones of the 20th century that allegedly shaped modern Czech identity (Apor, 2011: 211). Installing the exhibition here was also partly due to the reconstruction of the main building of the National Museum at Wenceslas Square.

The museum's mission states the following:

> 'The National Museum is the largest museum in the Czech Republic. As the central state museum with collecting, scientific, educational and methodological functions it seeks to enhance the sense of national identity and awareness of being part of the whole framework of European and world community and culture. It is a polythematic institution, which comprises a large number of scientific disciplines and areas of collecting ranging from natural sciences to specialised fields of social sciences.' (Národní Muzeum, 2011)

With this mission the agents of the museum clearly target a domestic audience because strengthening the feeling of national identity, as it is endorsed, concerns mainly Czech citizens rather than international tourists.

4.2 Scotland - National Museums Scotland

In opposite to the three other national museums analyzed in this thesis, the National Museums Scotland[9] does not represent an independent 'nation'-state. Scotland is the name of the 'nation' of the Scots, which is one of the four nations[10] in the unitary and sovereign 'nation'-state United Kingdom. The union with England was established in 1707 with the Act of Union (Watson, 2011: 747).
The first museum with a national impetus was called Museum of the Antiquities and was founded by the Society of Antiquities of Scotland in 1780. In 1858 it was renamed *National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland*. "Scottish-ness" was celebrated there, which further promoted the inherent notion of a Scottish 'nation', culturally and ethnically distinct from the other 'nations' in the Union (Watson, 2011: 748). A second museum of national importance, the *Royal Scottish Museum*[11], was founded in 1854 with a focus on

[9] From now on abbreviated as NMS.
[10] England, Wales and Northern Ireland are the other three.
[11] It was then called Industrial Museum of Scotland and renamed in 1904

natural history, science and technology (Watson, 2011: 748). Both museums merged in 1985 under the name National Museums of Scotland.

In 1998, a separate institution[12], the Museum of Scotland, was inaugurated (see image 4.2). The new museum's opening concurred with the establishment of a Scottish parliament in the course of the Scottish devolution from United Kingdom. Both of these acts are symptomatic for the Scottish demand for sovereignty and independence (Watson, 2011: 748), which had lasted for 30 years (Watson, 2011: 763). The discussions about a new museum started in the 1930s and became viral again in 1951. A new building was granted in 1989 by the Scottish Secretary of State. In the same year it became obvious that the Board of Trusties had moved on from the initial impetus. Instead of exhibiting more items from the collections of the two museums in a new capital-based museum, an icon of national identity should be created in which Scotland's history would be displayed in its significance (Watson, 2011: 762). Hence, the focus shifted from displaying collections to narrating a politically enforced story. In case the collections could not provide objects that went with the story, it was told anyways - without objects. This is the reason why prominent parts of the collections, for instance, ethnographic objects were abandoned (Watson, 2011: 762). The ongoing permanent exhibition at the new building of NMS covers Scottish history beginning with the geological formation of the territory until today, lying emphasis on the Scottish Kingdom until 1707, Scottish contributions to the Empire and 'the struggle for devolution' at the end of the 20th century (Watson, 2011: 764). According to the goal of the Museum of Scotland, visitors should

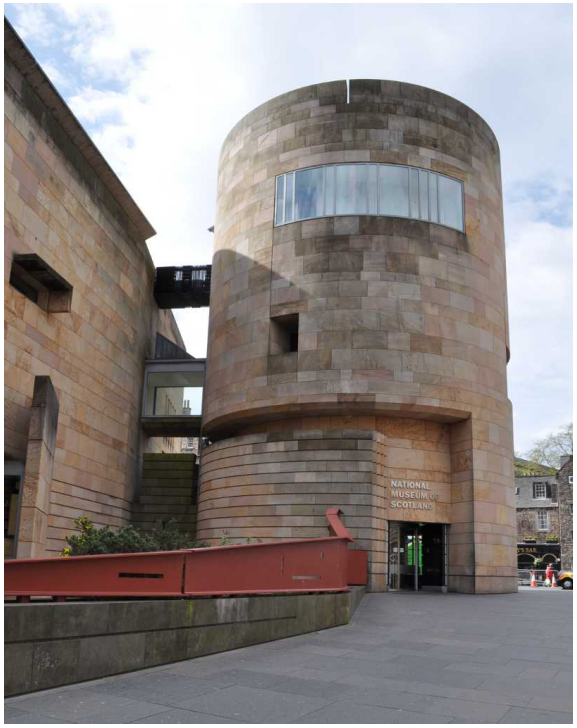

Figure 4.2: National Museums Scotland, by author

> 'feel a sense of national pride, a recognition of Scotland's place in the world, and a sense of amazement at the achievements of the past. Furthermore we hoped to stimulate a sense of fascination at the true, and largely untapped, richness and depth of Scotland's inheritance' (Watson, 2011: 764).

[12]Today, both museums are managed as one institution with two locations under the brand *National Museums Scotland*.

The mission of the museum is formulated less nationalistic, yet still stressing the distinctiveness of Scotland:

> 'We preserve, interpret and make accessible for all, the past and present of Scotland, other 'nations' and cultures, and the natural world.' (National Museums Scotland, 2012)

4.3 Germany - Deutsches Historisches Museum

In the German landscape of national museums several topics are covered. The *Germanic National Museum* displays art and archeology, the *German Museum* exhibits science and technology and the *Old* and *New National Gallery* showcases art. In the spectrum of national museums in Germany, *Deutsches Historisches Museum*[13] was the last one to be initiated and actually opened. Nonetheless, it is one of the most important ones.
Due to the difficult German history of the 20th century and the long and not yet concluded process of coming to terms with the fascist past, West Germany[14] lacked a national history museum until the Early 1980s whereas the East had established the *Museum für Deutsche Geschichte* already in 1952 (Aronsson, 2011b: 351). According to the East German myth of founding, the state emerged out of the socialist resistance movement that fought against the fascist rulers. Therefore, the GDR disclaimed all guilt regarding the Nazi atrocities and felt confident to tell its materialist version of German history at a national museum.
In West Germany a denial like this was under the protectorate of the Western Allies impossible. Around 35 years after the end of WWII, in 1980, several exhibitions on German history were installed nationwide and unexpectedly became a commercial success. Out of the postive feedback, the idea to establish a national history museum arose.
Under the lead of then German Chancellor Helmut Kohl two museums were initiated in 1982: the Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland[15] in Bonn, displaying German post-war history, and DHM in Berlin, narrating German history from about 2000 years ago (Aronsson, 2011b: 351).
In consequence of the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the German Reunification in 1990 DHM inherited both the location and the collections of *Museum für Deutsche Geschichte*. After six years of renovation, DHM (see image 4.3 below) was inaugurated in 2004 at the 17th century baroque building Zeughaus (Aronsson, 2011b: 352) in the very center of Berlin between Humboldt University and Alexanderplatz.

[13] German History Museum (Aronsson, 2011b: 329); from now on abbreviated as DHM.
[14] The Federal Republic of Germany between 1949 and 1989.
[15] House of the History of th Federal Republic of Germany (Aronsson, 2011b: 329).

In 2006, the permanent exhibition *Deutsche Geschichte in Bildern und Zeugnissen aus zwei Jahrtausenden*[16] opened to the public. According to its goal, the permanent exhibition does not aim to tell national history in master-narratives. However, the exhibition is intended to answer the following questions: (1) Where is Germany situated? (2) What kept the Germans together? (3) What beliefs and interpretations of the world did the people have? (4) Who was friend and who was foe? (5) How do the Germans see themselves? (Aronsson, 2011b, 352) In opposite to the aim to avoid master-narratives, these questions point, from my perspective, to a more or less topoi-laden narration.

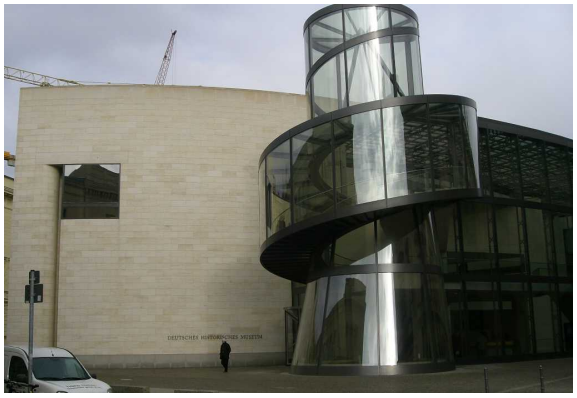

Figure 4.3: Deutsches Historisches Museum, by author

The mission of DHM dates back to 1987 and states the following:

> 'The museum shall in particular strive to help the citizens of our country to gain a clear idea of who they are as Germans and Europeans, as inhabitants of a region and members of a worldwide civilization.' (Deutsches Historisches Museums, 2012)

Hence, the museums aims at creating a sentiment of being a community with distinct attributes amongst German citizens, which is stressed by the word "our". According to the mission, the museum does not attempt to attract other nationals and provide them with an idea about German history and society.

4.4 United States of America - Ellis Island Museum

The *Ellis Island Museum*[17] is an odd museum to choose for the inquiry of national museums in comparison to the other three museums. When thinking about national museums in the United States, the National Mall in Washington D.C. might occur to one's mind first. The museums there, most of them carrying the national aspect in their names, represent American history and culture in its plurality. EIM, however, is currently attempting to reach the status of a national museum, as well. This impression becomes stronger when regarding the new permanent exhibition at the museum which is called *The Peopling of America*, a history that goes far beyond the islands role as an immigration station. A

[16] Two thousand years of German history in pictures and evidences.
[17] From now on abbreviated as EIM.

more suitable name, from my perspective, would 'national immigration museum'. But I assume that giving up the brand *Ellis Island* might not be a clever idea for marketing reasons.

Figure 4.4: Ellis Island Museum, by author

According to archeological excavations, the history of the island dates back until, at least, the Middle Woodland period (ca. 780 - 1150), an era of Native American settlement in this area (National Park Service, 2012). In 1630, the island was purchased by Colonial governors, then having only one ninth of today's size. Around 1776, the salesman Samuel Ellis was the owner of the island and his name was ever since connected with the island, even after it was sold to the Federal Government in 1808 by his heirs (The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, 2011a). In the following years until 1890 the island served military purposes, such as being a weaponry, due its strategical location in the New York harbor (The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, 2011b). During 1855 and 1890, the New York state immigration station was located at the Battery. After immigration control was turned over to the Federal Government in 1890, the new immigration station at Ellis Island was opened in 1892 (The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, 2011a). Until the entering of WWI by the United States up to 1,000,000 immigration applications per year were processed at Ellis Island. During the inter-war years immigration to the U.S. rapidly decreased due to newly introduced immigration quota by the Congress (The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, 2011a). After years of inhabiting fascist and communist detainees caught during WWII and afterward, Ellis Island was closed in 1954 (The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, 2011b).
In 1982, initiated by President Ronald Reagan, the Statue of Liberty - Ellis Island Foundation was founded (The Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Foundation, 2011c) and reconstruction of the buildings on Ellis Island started two years later. In September 1990, the Ellis Island Immigration Museum opened (see image 4.4), telling the story of immigration from 1892 until 1954. This history was extended with the inauguration of the new permanent exhibition in 2011, which now includes history from the first settlement of Europeans in the 16th century.

The mission statement of the Ellis Island Museums is not very specific about target audiences:

> 'The mission of the Foundation is to restore and preserve the Statue of Liberty National Monument, which includes, in addition to the Statue itself, Ellis Island and its Museum of Immigration; Custody and control of records, relics and other things of historic interest related to the Statue of Liberty and the millions of immigrants who entered the United Stats via Ellis Island; To foster, promote and stimulate public knowledge of and interest in the history of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. ' The Statue of Liberty - Ellis Island Foundation, 2010)

This mission is stressing that the museum tells the history of the very venue where it is situated. The national rank of the museum is not explicitly mentioned. Furthermore, there is no hint regarding the target audience of the museum.

5 Actual inquiry and results

In the following, I am going to assert the structure of the **context** table, which is created for the inquiry. After that, the four museums will be analyzed. In the analysis, I will only comment on the **properties**, which could be detected in the narration of the museums. The **properties** not mentioned, basically, do not occur at the museums.

5.1 Creating the context table

After introducing the four museums, the next step is to design the **context** table for the inquiry. Besides listing the museums in the very left column and topoi in the top row, more aspects have to be included in order to increase the range of valuable conclusions. In other words: the set of **properties** has to be adjusted.
In order to test whether topoi are told at the museums, not only the topoi have to be **properties** but also opposite stories to them shall occur in the table for the following reason: in case a **property** does not apply to a certain **object**, the according box in the **context** table would not be ticket. The conclusion of this, however, would be ambiguous: If a topos does not occur it either means that a topos such as *continuity* is not dealt with at all OR that the opposite of *continuity*, which would be some sort of *discontinuity*, is narrated at the museum. In order to gain more unambiguous and therefore valuable conclusions, more **properties** which act as counter-**properties** have to be added to the **context** table. That means, if neither the **property** nor the according counter-**property** regarding a particular topos is ticked, the conclusion that this topos is not dealt with at all can be made. Hence, the following pairs of opposites emerge:

- continuity $\longleftrightarrow$ discontinuity
- struggle against enemy $\longleftrightarrow$ peaceful foundation
- teleological trajectories $\longleftrightarrow$ coincidence
- difficult history distorted $\longleftrightarrow$ difficult history told
- single heritage $\longleftrightarrow$ diverse heritages
- one-person-worship $\longleftrightarrow$ movement
- common identity $\longleftrightarrow$ multiculturalism
- national symbols $\longleftrightarrow$ symbols of different movements

	Continuity	Struggle	Teleological traj.	Hist. distorted	Sing. heritage	One-person	Common identity	National symbols	Discontinuity	Peaceful founding	Coincidence	Tell difficult hist	Div. heritages	Movement	Multiculture	Different symbols
NMVH																
NMS																
DHM																
EIM																
Origin																
Founding																
Unity																

Table 5.1: **Context** raw: museums: all; myths: all; topoi: all; by author

Another important adjustment is regarding the relation between myths and topoi. As mentioned before, topoi are narrations that are symptomatic for myths. Hence, in order to conclude that a museum promotes one of the three myths, not only the single topos linked to the particular myth has to be tested but all of them at the same time. Therefore, three **objects** named after the three myths are added.
When regarding these two adjustments to the set of **properties** the **context** table for the inquiry looks like table 5.1.

The next step of the inquiry is to fill out the **context** table. In the following sections, each of the four museums will be analyzed in regard to the **properties** and ticks will be added to the **context** accordingly.

5.2 Analysis of Národní památník na Vítkově

The exhibition *Crossroads of Czech and Czechoslovak Statehood in the 20th century* deals with five major events of Czech history in the 20th century and their aftermath, dating from 1918 until 1993.
One of the strongly represented topoi at NMVH is the *one-person-worship*. First of all, there is the first president of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, who established an exile government in Paris in 1918. The exhibition celebrates him as the man who liberated the Czech and the Slovak people from the Habsburg Empire (see image A.2 in the appendix). Besides Masaryk, two other politicians are mentioned as makers of independence: Milan Rastislav Štefánik and Edvard Beneš (see image A.8 in the appendix). Masaryk, on the other hand is commemorated almost as the father of the Czech 'nation'-state. A short video about the crossroad 1918 shows his arrival in Prague 1918 with text comments that are written in a very celebratory manner (see image A.3 in the appendix). Marasyk is not only commemorated as the founder of Czechoslovakia but also as a true

democrat who served as a role model for the 1968 "Prague Spring" according to the exhibition at NMVH (see image A.11 in the appendix).
Other examples for *one-person-worship* are Jan Palach, who set himself on fire as a protest against the Soviet occupation after "Prague Spring" and is remembered as a martyr (see image A.15 in the appendix), and Václav Havel, the first president of the Czech Republic (see image A.16 in the appendix). Nonetheless, Masaryk is depicted as the most important person in the Czech history of the 20th century.
Struggle against enemies is another topos narrated at Vitkov Hill. There are three main enemies, which had to be defeated before the Czech Republic could be founded. First, there is Germany and the Germans (see image A.7 in the appendix) who coexisted with the Czechs in areas such as the Sudetenland. As a result of the Munich Agreement of 1938, Sudetenland was occupied by the Third Reich and the provinces Bohemia and Moravia became German protectorates. After WWII the remaining Germans were expelled from the Czechoslovakian territory. The other two enemies are communists in general, which also includes domestic communists, and the Soviets in particular (see image A.9 in the appendix). After a 40 year long struggle with its peak in 1968, the communists were defeated in the "Velvet Revolution" in 1989, which made the founding of the first Czech state four years later possible.
In the NMVH *difficult histories are distorted*. First of all, there is not a single comment on the German attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe during the Third Reich let alone any Czech involvement in these atrocities. Second, the expulsion of Germans at the end and after WWII, which partly included cruelties against civilians is distorted by calling the process 'resettlement'. Third, collaboration and followers of communism are denied. Communists are referred to as "they" (see image A.19 in the appendix). The Czech people, on the other hand, is not to blame for the communist regime. All three aspects demonstrate the attempt of the curators to leave out parts of history that let the Czech people appear in a bad light.
Four more topoi can be found at the museum. There is *continuity* from the old Bohemian Kingdom (13th century - 1918; Vlnas and Hojda, 2001: 502), which is referred to in the first part of the exhibition (see image A.3 in the appendix).
The contemporary *common Czech identity* is described as non-communist, because the communists are the 'others'. Furthermore, a certain pride about Czech culture can be recognized since many of the texts name Czech artists and writers who created some of the art work in the galleries (see image A.5 in the appendix). This does not seem to be special. However, these references seem placed oddly since the exhibition has a clear focus on history rather than art.
When it comes to *national symbols*, there are three different ones represented in the exhibition. First, the Czech flag (see image A.6 and A.10 in the appendix), which has been the same since 1918, is shown several times in the exhibition. More importantly, however, the lion as the Bohemian coat of arms and part of the Czech coat of arms is represented

	Continuity	Struggle	Teleological traj.	Hist. distorted	Sing. heritage	One-person	Common identity	National symbols	Discontinuity	Peaceful founding	Coincidence	Tell difficult hist	Div. heritages	Movement	Multiculture	Different symbols
NMVH	×	×	×	×		×	×	×								

Table 5.2: **Context**: museums: NMVH; myths: non; topoi: all; by author

strongly in the exhibition (see image A.12, A.13, A.14 and A.20 in the appendix). Furthermore, there is a large-scale model of the contemporary Czech territory right after the entrance to the exhibition (see image A.1 in the appendix).
The last topos tracked in the exhibition is *teleological trajectories*. In the first time line regarding the events from 1916 to 1920 which include the founding of Czechoslovakia, a slightly separate event is mentioned at the very bottom: the independence of both Czechs and Slovaks into two separate states in 1993 (see image A.4 in the appendix). Hence, it is suggested that independence of both nations in two states was already in 1920 foreseeable. The same applies to the resettlement of Germans in 1945/46 which is commented like this: 'coexistence of the Czechs and the Germans, which lasted for hundreds of years, was finally over' (see image A.17 in the appendix).

Taking the results of the analysis, the first row of the context table 5.2 can be filled out.

5.3 Analysis of National Museums Scotland

From the permanent exhibition at the Museum of Scotland, which is one of the two branches of National Museums Scotland, the part *Early People: archaeology and the beginnings of literacy* is the basis of analysis.
There are two main topoi at this part of the exhibition: *single heritage* and *common identity*. A distinct Scottish-ness is underpinned by labels stating 'from the first, we were connected' (see image A.24 in appendix) and 'people of this land forever' (see image A.26 in appendix). Both of them refer to a mental unity amongst the people who once lived on the territory that is today called Scotland. This unity is claimed to have existed for all times.
The *single heritage* of today's Scots is promoted by stressing common arts, common tales, common fashion and common belief, which have existed amongst the early people of Scotland (see image A.24 and A.28 in appendix). In particular, the Christian heritage of Scotland that goes far back in time is pointed out (see image A.27 in appendix). Furthermore, the Scottish 'blood' is celebrated (see image A.22 in appendix)
A certain *continuity* is part of the narration as well. First of all, the fact that this far

	Continuity	Struggle	Teleological traj.	Hist. distorted	Sing. heritage	One-person	Common identity	National symbols	Discontinuity	Peaceful founding	Coincidence	Tell difficult hist	Div. heritages	Movement	Multiculture	Different symbols
NMS	×		×		×		×							×		

Table 5.3: **Context**: museums: NMS; myths: non; topoi: all; by author

past dating back until the emergence of Christianity is told at the national Museum of Scotland is an indicator of a continuous course of history. Second, some statements on labels such as 'We live in our children [...] together and forever' (see image A.26 in appendix) indicate the same.
The term 'forever', taken from this last quote, furthermore points to *teleological trajectories*. A much stronger reference to this topos, however, is made with the statement '[Gods], all shaping destiny' (see image A.27 in appendix). Although it is not specified whose destiny lay in the hands of gods, the underlying notion of a predetermined character of history is evident.
Probably due to the lack of written sources, a *one-person-worship* is not possible. No particular events or persons can be named by historians. Therefore, the whole group of ancestors is worshiped. On 22 labels, each about 120 words, the term 'we' is all in all used 136 times, 'us' and 'our' each about 25 times (see image A.21 in appendix). Narrating in the first person also underpins the topoi *common identity* and *single heritage*.
The last topos the labels touch upon is *struggle against the enemy*. Invasions of Romans and Vikings are narrated and it is stated that the own 'warriors grew fiercer' (see image A.25 and A.23 in appendix). However, since this struggle is not directly regarding the founding of the state, it cannot be interpreted as the topos defined in section 3.2.3.

The results have been added to the **context** table which looks like table 5.3 now.

5.4 Analysis of Deutsches Historisches Museum

The permanent exhibition at DHM is the largest of the four museums. About 500 main labels can be found at the museum of which 124 have been taken into consideration for the analysis due to relevance and a lack of time. Texts regarding particular topics of everyday life, art, architecture and aspects of privacy have not been considered if they could not contribute further to the analysis.
There are several topoi that appear at DHM. *Continuity* is one of them and it does not only include Germany but political Europe as a whole. At the very beginning of the exhibition archeological findings of the Celts and Germanic People are exhibited and their

cultures are introduced (see image A.29 in appendix). It is not claimed in particular that these people were direct ancestors of the Germans. However, the mere fact of being part of an exhibition called 'Two thousand years of German history in pictures and evidences' implies strong relevance for the topic. The first direct reference to continuity is a label stating that Late Roman Antiquity formed political Europe through transformation processes (see image A.29 in appendix). The curators of the exhibition use the term 'Germany' without any extension or further explaining as early as during the Frankish Empire which is declared to be the origin of the three states France, Italy and Germany (see image A.34 in appendix). All possible discontinuities of German history are proved to be wrong. The collapse of the West Roman Empire, for instance, is explicitly not a cultural gap according to the label 'Germanic Migrations' (see image A.35 in appendix). In the exhibition, a *single heritage* of the Germans is promoted as well. First of all, three roots for the German people are depicted: the Celts, the Germanic People and the Ancient Romans (see image A.30 in appendix). All three cultures are introduced and it is stated that traditions of all three of them have remained vivid in Central Europe, which includes Germany. Furthermore, Christianity is clearly depicted as one aspect the German 'nation' is based on since Christianity became the Roman state religion and Germany is according to the narration of the exhibition a successor of the Roman Empire (see image A.33 in appendix). Two other aspects of *single heritage* are the German language, which can be traced back until the 8th century according to the exhibition (see image A.33 in appendix) and the German culture represented by the great novelists Goethe and Schiller (see image A.42 in appendix).

The *one-person-worship* narration at DHM mainly regards three actors in German history. First, there is Charlemagne (747 - 814 AD) the emperor of the Carolingian Empire. In a label it is stated that he forced the Saxons to adopt Christianity and that he conquered territory north of, east of and south of his inherited territory although he could not have done all of this himself (see image A.39 in appendix). Martin Luther is another person who actually stands for a whole movements but is depicted as the reformer of the Catholic Church and therefore founder of the Protestant Church (see image A.41 in appendix). Last, there is Bismarck who is depicted as the one who pushed forward the unification of the German lands in the 1860s and eventually managed to unify Germany with his political mastermind in 1871 (see image A.51 in appendix).

The *common identity* of contemporary Germany is characterized as being democratic and federal (see image A.52 in appendix). Furthermore, apart from well-known 18th and 19th centuries poets, contemporary writers such as Heinrich Bóll and Wolfgang Borchert are represented as Germany's new pride. Regarding the Third Reich legacy the exhibition depicts Germans as diligent regarding the process of coming-to-terms with the fascist atrocities (see image A.54 in appendix).

Teleological trajectories appear in regard to the Holy Roman Empire, which is described as the God-given power structure (see image A.40 in appendix). Later on, the founding of

the German Empire in 1871 is called the highlight of German history and the fulfillment of people's dreams (see image A.48 in appendix).
DHM *distorted several difficult aspects about German history.* There is the history of inquisition regarding the punishment of heresy, which is avoided in the exhibition. Furthermore, the German colonies in Africa and especially the colonial policy is not mentioned although being an important part of the pre-WWI era. The narration of the history of the Federal Republic of Germany from 1949 avoids or under-represent some major aspects. The process of denazification went not as smooth as it is pretended in the exhibition. After the war, people kept the extent of their involvement in the Nazi regime obscure which led to an integration of 'old Nazis' into the new system. This distortion goes along with the positive depiction of German expellee associations and their political agenda which includes the reunification of all pre-WWII parts of Germany and the right of homeland for the ones expelled (see image A.56 in appendix). These notions, told at the national history museum of Germany, reflect political opinions on the far right end and not the controversy in German society about these associations. No room is furthermore given to the problems of integrating guest-workers from states as Italy, Greece or Turkey who arrived between the 1950s and the 1970s which include aspects of language, religion and education (see image A.53 in appendix). As a last omitted difficulty, the German reunification and its aftermath shall be mentioned. In the exhibition there is no sign of any problems emerging from the unification of two politically and economically different states (see image A.55 in appendix).
One of the few difficult histories that is not left out or distorted in the exhibition is the genocide committed by the Nazis. It is politically impossible to leave out or distort this part of history in a German exhibition in general and at the German national history museum in particular. Therefore, telling this history in all its atrocity cannot be regarded as an attempt to deal with difficult histories. That is why the narration at DHM will be regarded as *distorting difficult histories*, anyways.
The exhibition also provides a lot of German *national symbols* (see image A.45 in appendix), including all kinds of eagles starting at the Early Middle Ages (see image A.31, A.32, A.37 and A.38 in appendix) and the German colors black-red-gold as part of the German flag which stand for German unity and freedom, according to the exhibition (see image A.43, A.44 and A.46 in appendix). National monuments also play a vivid role, such as Vólkerschlachtdenkmal, commemorating the victorious battle of the Napoleonic Wars in 1813, and such as Herrmann Monument, in memory of the Battle at the Teutoburg Forest in the year 9 AD (see image A.50 in appendix).
The last topos in the exhibition in Berlin is *struggle against the enemy.* According to the exhibition a whole series of wars had to be fought to make the founding of Germany possible (see image A.47 in appendix). The French hegemony over the Holy Roman Empire of German Lands increased the national sentiments of the Germans. The exhibition gives in the following good reasons why France was the arch-enemy at that time. However, in

	Continuity	Struggle	Teleological traj.	Hist. distorted	Sing. heritage	One-person	Common identity	National symbols	Discontinuity	Peaceful founding	Coincidence	Tell difficult hist	Div. heritages	Movement	Multiculture	Different symbols
DHM	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×								

Table 5.4: **Context**: museums: DHM; myths: non; topoi: all; by author

order to unify, other enemies had to be defeated first. In 1864, after the Second Schleswig War, Denmark had to leave the administration of the Schleswig territory to Austria and Prussia. Two years later, after the defeat of Austria in the Austro-Prussian War, Prussia built the North German Confederation. In the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71 North German Confederation and South German States fought together against France. The exhibition refers to it as the 'German National War' (see image A.49 in appendix), demonstrating its importance for the founding of Germany.

The curators at DHM managed to include all eight topoi, which can be seen in the **context** table 5.4.

5.5 Analysis of Ellis Island Museum

During the analysis, EIM turned out to be the special case amongst the four museums for two reasons: (1) it is not a traditional national history museums, but has a focus on immigration, and (2) the United States of America as a 'nation'-state are not based on the notion of one 'nation' but explicitly on a variety of nationals. This has consequences for the occurrence of topoi (see table 5.5).
Teleological trajectories appear several times in the narration and regard the territory of the country. One label states that 'Ultimately, they would populate and build a new 'nation' that reached from the Atlantic to the Pacific and even to territory in Alaska and Hawaii' (see image A.62 in appendix). The word 'ultimately' definitely refers to a future point in time when this territory would form the U. S. The same aspect is referred to when it comes to the Mexican Cession in 1848, which 'fulfilled dreams of stretching the U. S. from sea to sea' (see image A.64 in appendix).
single heritage is another part of the narration at EIM. It does, however, not stress common traditions, languages or ways of thinking per se, but the emphasis is placed on the single heritage of having immigrant roots (see image A.58 nad A.57 in appendix).
What is *common about American identity* is told very clearly in the exhibition. First of all, the U. S. is distinct from the Old World of Europe, Africa and Asia (see image A.63 in appendix). It is said to be a 'mutli-cultural, multi-racial society like no other' (see image A.66 in appendix). Furthermore, 'America's character is shaped by ideas, hard

	Continuity	Struggle	Teleological traj.	Hist. distorted	Sing. heritage	One-person	Common identity	National symbols	Discontinuity	Peaceful founding	Coincidence	Tell difficult hist	Div. heritages	Movement	Multiculture	Different symbols
EIM			×		×		×					×	×	×	×	

Table 5.5: **Context**: museums: EIM; myths: non; topoi: all; by author

work, freedom, wealth and opportunity' which makes it a 'new kind of society and [the American] a new kind of human being' (see image A.58 and A.67 in appendix).
At EIM, *difficult histories are told*. Both the history of slavery and violence against Native Americans is narrated extensively. The life of slaves is told starting from the passage from Africa to being auctioned and everyday work on several labels (see image A.59 and A.62 in appendix). The same applies to the story of Native Americans and how they were repressed by settlers. This story is also told on many labels bit-by-bit (see image A.58 and A.64 in appendix).
As mentioned before, the only aspect of *single heritage* in American history are *diverse heritages*. The exhibition emphasizes the different backgrounds of the country's early inhabitants. There is, for instance, the tree of language that displays the linguistic roots of some American English words in other languages (see images A.60 and A.61 in appendix). This *diverse heritages* are celebrated by statements like 'language owes its variety to the great number of nationalities' or 'Free or enslaved, native or immigrant, people of this country built a 'nation' and helped it thrive' (see image A.65 in appendix).
The exhibition does single out several persons, however, not in a way that they shaped history on their own. They are examples for their 'nations' (Irish, Germans, Italians . . .) and represent the achievements of the 'nations' in the United States of America. This type of narration is worshiping a group or *movement* rather than one person.
As the statement 'America is a multi-cultural, multi-racial society' demonstrates, the *common identity* of the United States is *multicultural* (see image A.66 in appendix). This is underpinned by naming for a broad range of 'nations' the year when the first wave of immigration from their country started.

5.6 Final context tables and other results

Combining the results of the four museums, the final **context** table 5.6 is created, which gives an overview of the relations between museums, myths and topoi.
Besides this table, I created tables for each museum including the three myths and the relations of both museum and myths to the **properties** and the counter-**properties**.
At Národní Monument in Prague the myth of founding is promoted by using according

	Continuity	Struggle	Teleological traj.	Hist. distorted	Sing. heritage	One-person	Common identity	National symbols	Discontinuity	Peaceful founding	Coincidence	Tell difficult hist	Div. heritages	Movement	Multiculture	Different symbols
NMVH	×	×	×	×		×	×	×								
NMS	×		×		×		×							×		
DHM	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×								
EIM			×		×		×					×	×	×	×	
Origin	×		×		×											
Founding	×	×	×	×		×		×								
Unity				×	×		×	×								

Table 5.6: **Context**: museums: all; myths: all; topoi: all, by author

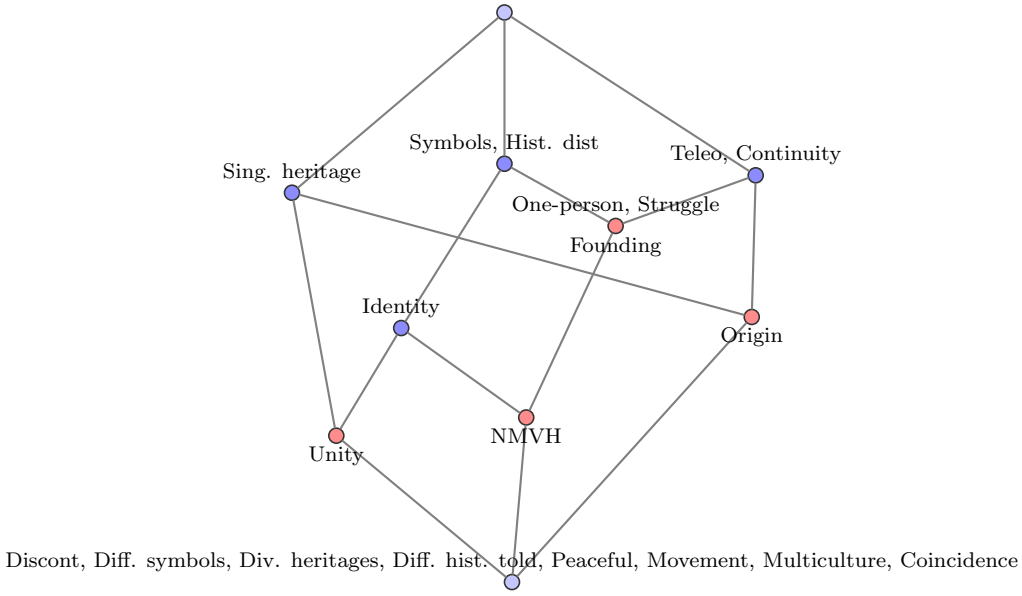

Figure 5.7: Lattice: museums: NMVH; myths: all; topoi: all; by author

topoi in the narration: (1) the *struggle against enemies* such as Germany and the Soviet Union is described, (2) *national symbols* such as the Czech flag as well as the coat of arms and even a large scale model of the Czech territory are shown, (3) *difficult histories* like the expulsion of Germans or the participation of Czechs in communist system are *distorted*, (4) *single persons* such as T. G. Masaryk are *worshiped*, (5) the separation from Slovaks was foreseeable as a *teleological trajectory*, and (6) there is a certain *continuity* from the Middle Age Czech Kingdom until today. Furthermore, a *common Czech identity* is promoted in the exhibition rather than *single heritage*. Non of the counter-**properties** does apply either. The only topic not dealt with is heritage, since there is neither the **property** of *single heritage* does apply nor the counter-**property** *diverse heritages* does apply. These results are summed up in the Hasse diagram 5.7.

The National Museums Scotland's exhibition on prehistory conveys the myth of origin by incorporating the crucial topoi. (1) *single heritage* by stressing the community of

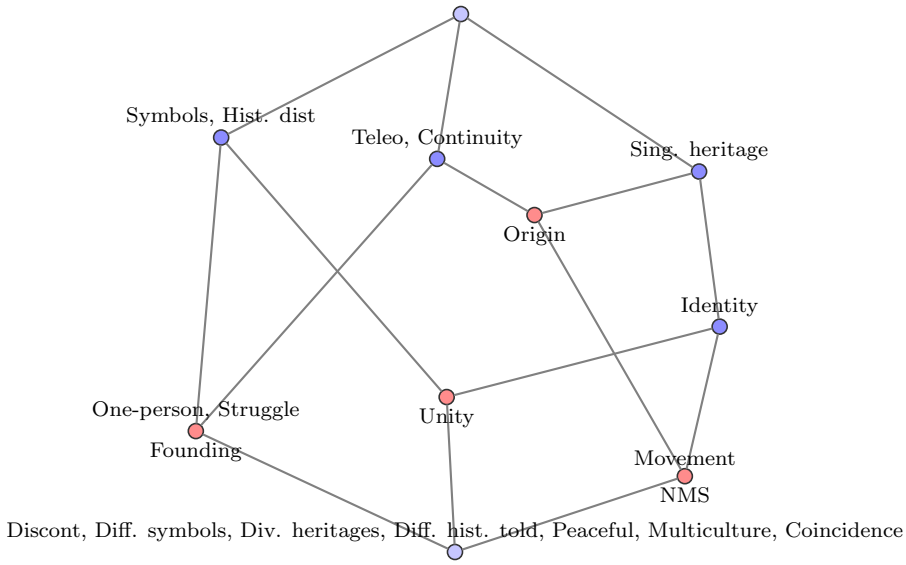

Figure 5.8: Lattice: museums: NMS; myths: all; topoi: all; by author

arts, fashion and belief, (2) *continuity* by pointing to the children of the Early Scots who inherited and pursued traditions as well as (3) *teleological trajectories* by claiming the existence and unity of Scots forevermore can be found at the exhibition. Furthermore, (4) the topos of a Scottish *common identity* is promoted. Interestingly, however, (5) is the appearance of the counter-**property** *movement* as opposed to *one-person worship*. According to the Hasse diagram 5.8 all other seven counter-**properties** are depicted by the vertex at the bottom of the graph for they are neither attributes to one of the myths nor an attribute of the museums. The issues *national symbols, struggle against the enemy* and *difficult history distorted* are not part of the narration since neither the **property** nor their counter **property** appear at the exhibition.

At Deutsches Historisches Museum all eight topoi are covered. (1) 2000 years of *continuity*, (2) a foreseeable founding of the nation-state as *teleological trajectory*, (3) *national symbols* such as the eagle and the flag, (4) *distorting the difficult history* of the Catholic Church and immigration, (5) *struggling against arch-enemy* France, (6) *worshiping single persons* such as Bismarck, (7) having the *common identity* of being a democratic people and (8) having a rich *single heritage* of poets and philosophers are narrations at DHM. This schoolbook-like way of telling history covers all topoi and therefore promotes all three myths of national narration. This is also mirrored by the Hasse diagram 5.9, in which DHM is at the bottom of the graph and only the counter-**properties**, which do not apply, are lower in the hierarchy.

Ellis Island Museum does not convey any of the three myths. Three of the topoi are part of the narration: (1) the American *common identity* is celebrated with attributes such a free, hard-working and wealthy, (2) Americans *share the heritage* of having immigrant roots, and (3) the *teleological trajectory* of eventually creating a country reaching from the

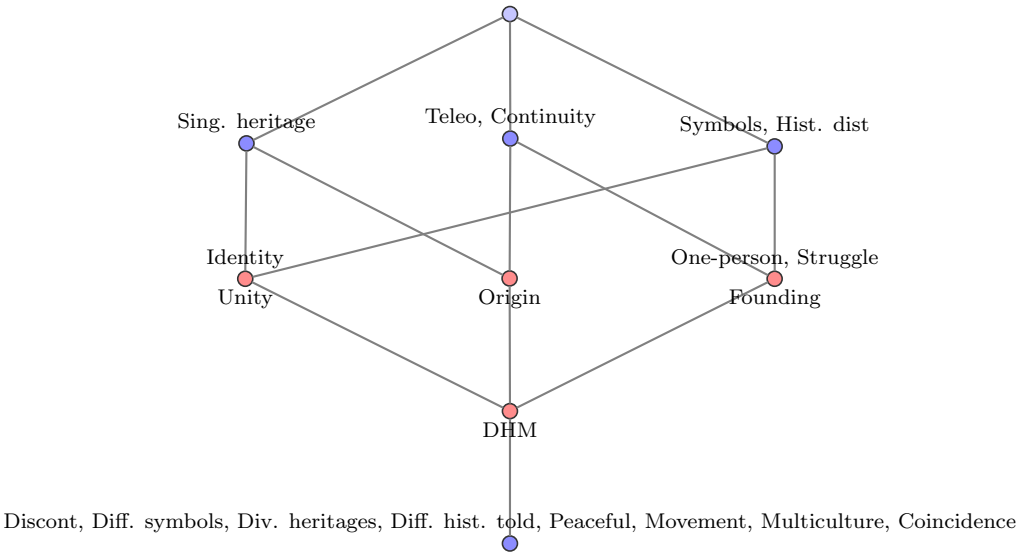

Figure 5.9: Lattice: museums: DHM; myths: all; topoi: all; by author

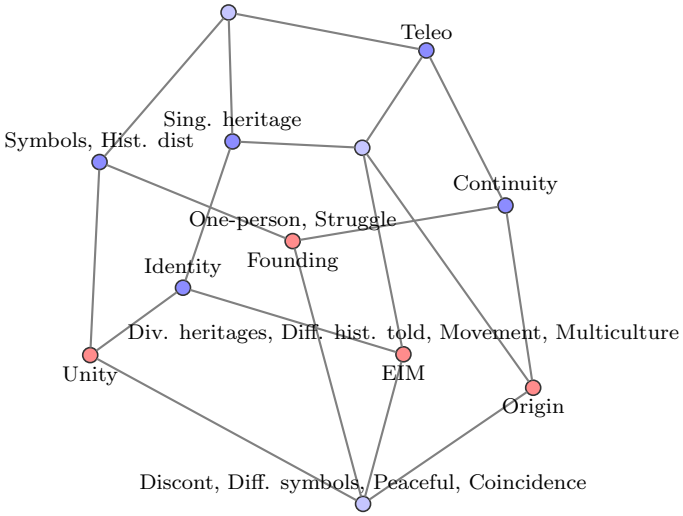

Figure 5.10: Lattice: museums: EIM; myths: all; topoi: all; by author

Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. More importantly, at EIM four of the counter-**properties** are present: (1) the *single heritage* is based on *diverse heritages*, (2) *difficult histories* such as slavery and repression of Native Americans are *told* extensively, (3) *movements* rather than *single persons are commemorated*, and (4) being a *multi-cultural* society is celebrated. These results are depicted at the Hasse diagram 5.10. At the very bottom are the four counter-**properties** *discontinuity, different symbols, peaceful founding* and *coincidence*, which do not appear in the narration of EIM. All in all, the museums does not tell stories related to *national symbols, continuity* and *struggle against the enemy*, not even on the basis of the counter-**properties**.

The results from the analysis of four museums can be further interpreted, especially in regard to the third research question *To which extend are exhibitions at the four national museums driven by underlying nationalistic ways of thinking?*, which will be discussed in

chapter 7.

5.7 General thoughts about the museums

Apart from the inquiry regarding the narration of national history, some other critical aspects about the museums and their exhibitions should be mentioned in a museological thesis like this.

Národní památník na Vítkově:
First of all, the location chosen for the exhibition is controversial. Built as a monument commemorating both the Hussites and Czech legions of WWI, then occupied by Nazis and later misused by the Communists to worship their leaders, this location is an icon of Czech history of the 20th century and is able to transport a lot of emotions. Hence, it seems that the exhibition and the location somehow depend on each other: an emotional exhibition such as this could probably only be installed in a location like this and the other way round. The exhibition might not have been installed at the National Museum, which is currently closed for construction. In opposite, the exhibition was put into a location rather remote in comparison to the National Museum at Wenceslas Square.
The exhibition at Vitkov Hill promotes a narration that depicts the Czech people as a victim of foreign powers (Germany, Soviet Union, the Communists). The story almost raises a feeling of pity for the Czechs whose history had been dictated by others and the Czechs could not do anything about it. This narration aims at denying all guilt regarding these two dictatorships. This does, however, not entirely reflect history, since a portion of the Czech population was willingly collaborating with both Nazis and Communists.
The exhibtion at NMVH was fully provided in both Czech and English. Unfortunately, however, only two (Masaryk 1918 and Palach 1968) of the five short videos, one video for each crossroad, were available in English due to technical problems. Two of the other three were basically not translated into English and the third was by mistake dubbed with the same comments like the Masaryk video. Since the two available videos were very insightful, I regret that the other three were out of service.
Despite being only 2 years old, the way of narrating history at NMVH is not very contemporary. Mostly political history is told whereas economic and social history are almost left out. The same applies to women's history. The wall of great Czech does not show a single woman, which also does not reflect reality (see image A.18).

National Museums Scotland:
In the prehistory part of the permanent exhibition at the National Museums Scotland story telling and history telling have amalgamated. Scottish prehistory is narrated in first person as if the curators had traveled in time and experienced life 2000 years ago on their own. Since this is physically proved to be impossible, the question arises why this kind

of narration has been chosen. The phenomenon of over-interpreting archeologists is not at all limited to the National Museums Scotland. On the mere basis of scarce material findings, many archeologists have interpreted and are still interpreting artifacts to fit in their notion of prehistory. This is what happened also the NMS. Typical over-interpretive narrations deal, amongst other, with religion, hierarchical structures of society and ways of thinking in general and this also applies to NMS. Curators at this museum pretend that archeological findings can be 'read like a book', telling stories such as the ones presented in the exhibition. Archeology, in this respect, is misused to transport a politically wanted history, regarding that the museum is funded by a parliamentary grant and the board of trustees is responsible to the Scottish Minister and the Parliament.

Deutsches Historisches Museum:
In general, the permanent exhibition at DHM is very conservative. First, the exhibition oddly reminded me of both history lessons at school and history classes at the university. Both the events singled out and the language of the labels have a school book character. This personal perception is underpinned by a label stating that the copyright belongs to Cornelsen Verlag, a German school book publisher (see image A.36 in appendix) .
At some points the exhibition almost seems to have been influenced by certain lobbies. First of all, the church, especially the Catholic church, is given a lot of space and critical aspects such as inquisition are under-represented. In opposite, the church is lifted in its importance by being called an 'agent between Antiquity and Middle Ages'. Second, there are the associations of expellees from Sudetenland and Silesia who in parts are still promoting the idea of a German homeland beyond the Oder-Neisse-line. Their political efforts are, from my point of view, depicted in too positive of a way. Third, there is an underlying anti-left tone in the exhibition. According to the narration, the main threats to democracy in the pre Nazi-takeover era had been fascists and communists. Communists are put on the same level as Nazis, which is very controversial and, from my point of view, not reflecting the political realities of the early 1930s in Germany.
The large size of the exhibition (10,000 square meters) has negative consequences. There are about 500 main labels, which give an overview of certain events, movements or eras and a by far larger number of object labels not only containing basic information about the object but also giving the context of it. At some points, these labels are repetitive, for instance, in terms of the Franco-Prussian War or Frankish Empire. Other labels are inconsistent with one another. One label states that it is highly unlikely that Luther actually put the 95 Theses on October 31st 1517 on the door of Castle church in Wittenberg. Another label says 'with his 95 Theses of 31 October 1517 the Augustinian monk Martin Luther triggered. . . '.
Another aspect that demonstrates the conservative approach is the total lack of child-oriented displays. There are no hands-on opportunities, no child-oriented labels and children's issues in history are not addressed either.

Ellis Island Museum:

The permanent exhibition at the Ellis Island Museum tells the history of 'The Peopling of America' since mid 16th century. Unfortunately, it does not only focus on immigration, it actually only tells the story of immigration. Other events of American or world history are left out although they are crucial mentioning in order to provide a context for the history of immigration. One example for the lack in context is the naming of the people living in America. In the beginning, they are named settlers, immigrants or by their original nations such as Irish, French or Spanish, but at some point they are referred to as Americans. I assume that the Declaration of Independence in 1776 is the crucial event that divides people into settlers (pre 1776) and Americans (post 1776), but this is not asserted in the exhibition.

A strong flaw of the exhibition is the large extent of repetition. It seems as if there were a few main narrations that are repeated constantly. The cruelty against both Native Americans and African slaves are narrated several times and always giving further information than the labels before. The same applies to the phenomenon of chain immigration, which means that immigrants invited kith and kin who stayed in their home country to join them to America, and that joining friends and family made the adaption to the new home much easier. At least five labels scattered over the exhibition space tell this story.

The new exhibition extensively lacks actual artifacts. On large-scale and very colorful boards long texts tell the history of immigration underpinned by digital copies of historical documents, paintings and photographs as well as newly designed graphics. Other exhibitions at the museums display more objects, however, the renovation is not yet finished and a similar design for the other spaces is likely.

Part III

Evaluation and conclusion

6 Evaluation of the research model

During the analysis both merits and flaws of the method arose, which are commented on in this chapter.
First of all, the catalog of topoi cannot be regarded as complete. Having a *complete* list of topoi was certainly not the aim of the thesis due to feasibility aspects. However, analyzing more topoi might have helped to increase the significance of the results. The same applies to the myths. For example, especially when analyzing NMVH in Prague I perceived some kind of underlying 'victim narrative' telling that Czech history was made by everyone but the Czechs. This particular narrative might have the potential to determine another myth. The modeling of the research approach allows for adding myths and topoi. However, it is essential to define additional myths as distinct sets of topoi such as I did for the analysis.
Some of the defined topoi are rather difficult to distinguish such as *single heritage* and *common identity*. Especially when it comes to identifying the topoi in the narrations at the museums, this difficulty becomes serious. It is, then, essential to follow the own definitions strictly in order to keep the analysis standardized. An example for the difficulty of deciding whether a narrative is a topos is when the narration at museums tells about past perceptions of historic events. This occurred, for instance, at DHM where it is stated that the incorporation of Alsace-Lorraine into the German Empire in 1871 was perceived by the German people as an 'historically inevitable revision' of French conquests in the 17th century. There are two possible interpretations of this statement: (1) the museum wants to demonstrate how wrong such ways of thinking are, or (2) it disguises its undiplomatic contemporary opinion about this historical event as a perception of the past. The decision for the former or the latter interpretation is arbitrary since no further comments are given in the particular label or later on in the exhibition. In this case I decided to not take this narrative as an example of *teleological trajectories* into account, which was the topos in question.
Apart from these special cases, it would be helpful for the recognition of topoi to define a list of terms, which indicate them. *Teleological trajectories*, for instance, were identified by words such as 'ultimately' or 'eventually' at EIM.

On a short note: FCA requires some basic understanding of theories deriving from abstract algebra. With the help of FCA the research model could be applied to the data extracted from the museums. Therefore, FCA can be seen as a mediator for analyzing data on the basis of an abstract theoretical model in respect to this thesis.
The Hasse diagram 6.1 depicts exclusively the relations between myths and topoi. The graph shows to which extend the modeling of the myths and topoi was coherent in re-

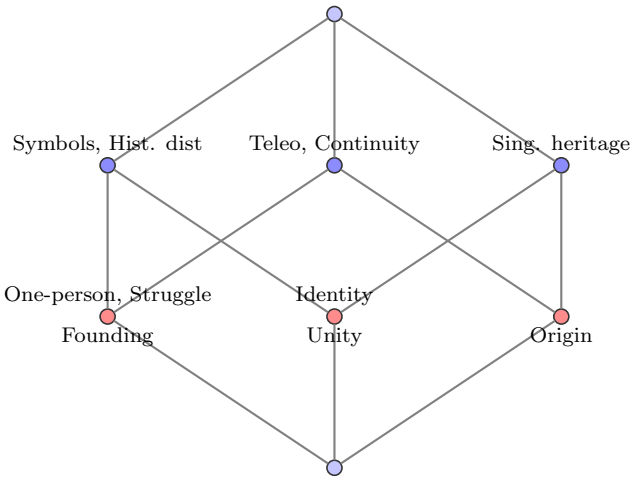

Figure 6.1: Lattice of myths and topoi, by author

gard to this distinguishability. It allows to draw the conclusion that the three myths are incomparable and therefore distinct. Since there is no edge linking one myth to another it can be inferred that no myth is a sub-**concept** to another myth or that they are interchangeable. Furthermore, all topoi are part of at least one myth, however, there is no topos common to all three myths. Hence, each topos is necessary for the distinction of the myths. This can be interpreted from the fact that the vertex on top is not labeled.

Taking the counter-**properties** into consideration, the graph 6.2 changes only slightly. Since non of the counter-**properties** is a **property** of any myth, they are all gathered in one vertex at the bottom of the diagram. This is a logical consequence of the counter-**properties** being opposites to the **properties**. However, during the analysis it turned out that in some cases the counter-**properties** did not operate as they were intended to - as being opposites to the eight **properties**. This was crucial, especially in the case of EIM, where both **properties** and counter-**properties** regarding one aspect of national history narration could be found.

The chosen museums represent very different nation-states: the United States as a country based on immigrants, Scotland as a non-sovereign country, the Czech Republic as a until just recently-conglomerate state and Germany as a federal state. Nonetheless, the modeling of the analysis made a comparison of different national history museums not only possible but also significant as the results have shown.

All in all, the method allows for a standardized analysis of national museums and their narrations regarding the origin of the nation, the founding of the nation-state and the sentiment of unity amongst the members of the state.

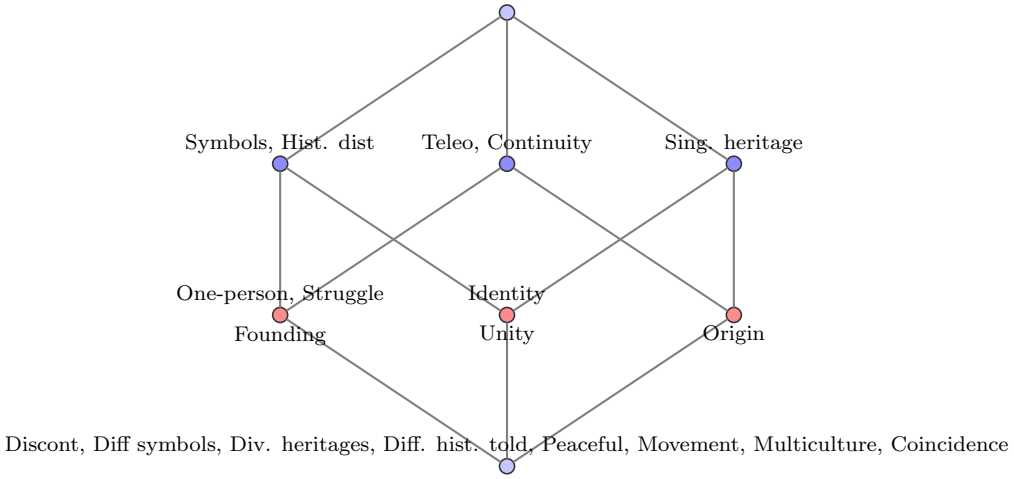

Figure 6.2: Lattice of myths and topoi and counter-**properties**, by author

7 Evaluation of results

In this chapter, the results of the inquiry presented in section 5.6 are interpreted and evaluated. All interpretations in this chapter are based on the method FCA as it was introduced in section 3.2 as well as the **objects**, **properties** and counter-**properties** determined by the author of this thesis. As a reminder for the reader, I want to point out that all terms in bold face are used in the sense of FCA: A **context** table includes a distinct set of **objects** (see section 3.2.4), a distinct set of **properties** (see section 3.2.3) and counter-**properties** (see section 5.1). The **concept**-lattice depicts the relations between elements of a distinct set of **objects**, **properties** and counter-**properties**, and can be visualized by a software-generated graph. Every vertex in the graph denotes a **concept** in the sense of FCA, which should not be mistaken with a philosophical *concept*. The graph shows all relations between **objects** and **properties**. In this respect, it is important to understand that all of these relations depend on the given distinct set of **objects**, **properties** and counter-**properties**.
I furthermore want to remind the reader, that the **properties** have not been introduced as concepts in the philosophical sense but as topoi of historical narration. They only become **concepts** in the sense of FCA when they are depicted in a Hasse diagram (see section 3.2.1).

7.1 Hasse diagrams

First of all, the relations between each myth and all museums and all topoi are discussed. Therefore, three **context** tables each including one myth and all museums as well as all topoi were created, which can be seen in the tables 7.1, 7.3 and 7.5. The according Hasse diagrams (7.2, 7.4 and 7.6) to each table has been generated, as well.
When looking at the lattice of the myth of origin (7.2), it becomes obvious that the topos *teleological trajectories* does not contribute to the comparability of the **concepts**. The vertex on top of the lattice is labeled *teleological trajectories*. This means that this particular topos is part of every **object** lower in the hierarchy. By following the edges from the top vertex strictly in one vertical direction, i. e. downwards, each vertex labeled with an **object** can be reached. Therefore *teleological trajectories* does not contribute to the distinction of the **objects**. This interpretation might be clearer when regarding an unrelated example: Say a set of mammals is analyzed with FCA. One of the **properties** is 'upright walking'. In case all **objects** happen to be human beings, the **property** 'upright walking' is irrelevant for the relations between the **objects**, since this very **property** applies to each and every **object**. In case of a different set of **objects** containing, for instance, a

	Continuity	Struggle	Teleological traj.	Hist. distorted	Sing. heritage	One-person	Common identity	National symbols	Discontinuity	Peaceful founding	Coincidence	Tell difficult hist	Div. heritages	Movement	Multiculture	Different symbols
NMVH	×	×	×	×		×	×	×								
NMS	×		×		×		×							×		
DHM	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×								
EIM			×		×		×					×	×	×	×	
Origin	×		×		×											

Table 7.1: **Context**: museums: all; myths: origin; topoi: all; by author

dog and a human being the interpretation that the **property** 'upright walking' is irrelevant does, however, not apply, since the **property** 'upright walking' contributes to the distinction of the **objects**.

This irrelevance of certain **properties** also applies to the lattice of the myth of founding 7.4 in which *teleological trajectories* denote the vertex on top of the graph. In regard to the myth of unity, the topos *identity* does not help to describe the connections between **concepts** according to the graph 7.6 since it is at the very top as well. At the bottom of all three diagrams are the four counter-**properties** *discontinuity, different symbols, peaceful founding* and *coincidence*, which do not appear in any of the museums.

What can be read from all three graphs is that there is a hierarchy (see section 3.2.1) between DHM and NMVH since they are linked in all of three graphs via one edge. This means that one of the two **concepts** in the sense of FCA is a sub-**concept** to the other. Since the **concept** DHM and the **concept** NMVH share seven of the **properties**, but the **concept** DHM has one more **property**, DHM is a sub-**concept** of NMVH. This **concept** and sub-**concept** relation between NMVH and DHM does only apply under the precondition of the distinct set of **properties** and **objects**, determined by the author. None of the two, however, is comparable with either one of the two other museums. As the relation between the **concepts** DHM and NMVH shows, the comparability of two **concepts** results from the particular set of **properties**, which does apply to each of the four museums after the text analysis of them. Since the sets of **properties** attached to the **concepts** DHM and NMVH are so different from the other two museums, they are incomparable in the sense of FCA. Both NMS and EIM are also incomparable with one another on the basis of their particular sets of **properties** and therefore they are on different paths in the graph.

Diagram 7.7 depicts all museums, myths and **properties** as well as the existing relations between them as they result from the **context** table 5.6 in section 5.6. The vertex at the very bottom is labeled with the four counter-**properties**, which do not occur in any of the museums. Hence, they are irrelevant for the inquiry. At the very top of the graph,

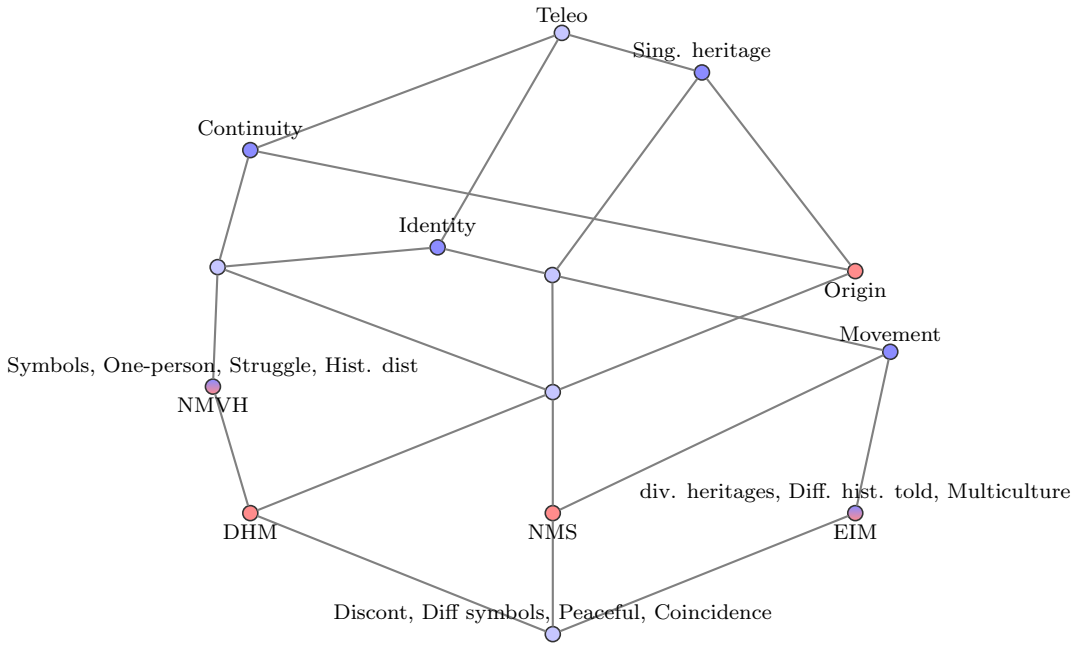

Figure 7.2: Lattice of myth of origin and topoi, by author

	Continuity	Struggle	Teleological traj.	Hist. distorted	Sing. heritage	One-person	Common identity	National symbols	Discontinuity	Peaceful founding	Coincidence	Tell difficult hist	Div. heritages	Movement	Multiculture	Different symbols
NMVH	×	×	×	×		×	×	×								
NMS	×		×		×		×							×		
DHM	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×								
EIM			×		×		×					×	×	×	×	
Founding	×	×	×	×		×		×								

Table 7.3: **Context**: museums: all; myths: founding; topoi: all; by author

there is an unlabeled vertex, i. e. that there is no **property** that all museums as well as all myths have in common. This means that in the overall field of relations between all **objects** of this inquiry, all **properties** contribute to the distinction of **objects** and myths. The hierarchical relation between DHM and NMVH is depicted as well as the incomparability of both with the other two museums following the same reasoning as the previous paragraph. Another interesting fact, which can be read from the diagram is, that the **concept** *continuity* is a sub-**concept** of *teleological trajectories*. This means that the **property** *continuity* implies the **property** *teleological trajectories* or in other words that every time an **object** has the **property** *continuity* it also has the **property** *teleological trajectories*. On the other hand, *teleological trajectories* does not always imply *continuity*, which means that it also occurs as **property** without *continuity*. This relation makes *continuity* a sub-**concept** of *teleological trajectories*. This is an example for a conclusion that cannot be drawn as easily from the according **context** table. This implication between the two **properties** is a distinct result from the distinct nature of the **objects** in

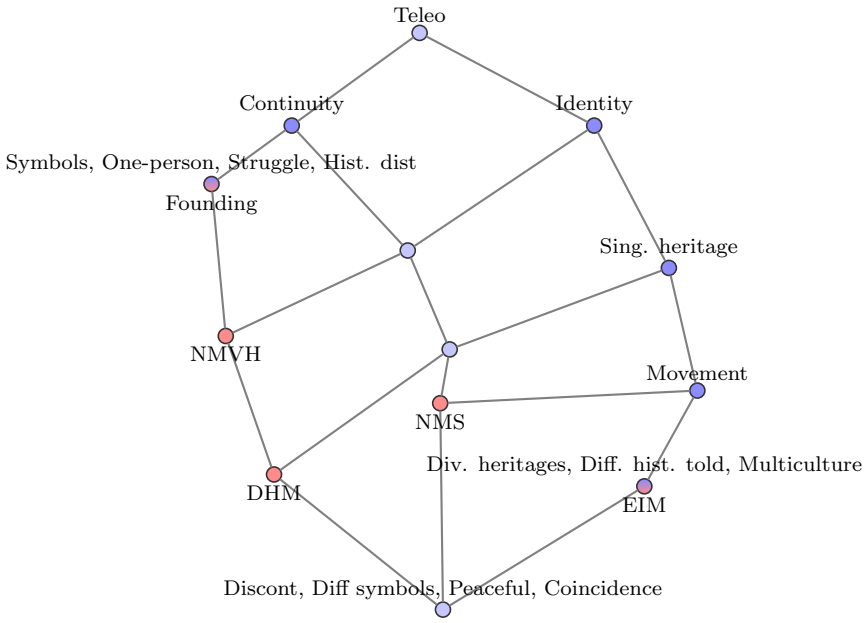

Figure 7.4: Lattice of myth of founding and topoi, by author

	Continuity	Struggle	Teleological traj.	Hist. distorted	Sing. heritage	One-person	Common identity	National symbols	Discontinuity	Peaceful founding	Coincidence	Tell difficult hist	Div. heritages	Movement	Multiculture	Different symbols
NMVH	×	×	×	×		×	×	×								
NMS	×		×		×		×							×		
DHM	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×								
EIM			×		×		×					×	×	×	×	
Unity				×	×		×	×								

Table 7.5: **Context**: museums: all; myths: unity; topoi: all; by author

this thesis. Therefore, this implication is not true in general when it comes to analyzing national history museums with the introduced method. Adding a new museum as an **object** to the inquiry, this implication might not be drawn and other implications could arise.

As mentioned before, during the analysis it might become obvious that in some cases certain **properties** are irrelevant for the distinction of the **objects**. It is at that point interesting to ascertain, if regarding all **objects** (museums and myths) and all **properties** there are **properties**, which do not contribute to the distinction of **objects** and are therefore irrelevant.
With the help of the software **Concept** Explorer, the **context** 5.6 was reduced to another **context** including only the essential **objects** and **properties**. Essential in this case means that all redundant information has been deleted from the **context**. Explaining how this works in general would exceed the boundaries of this thesis. Nonetheless, in the following I am going to reason why particular **properties** can be deleted from **context** 5.6

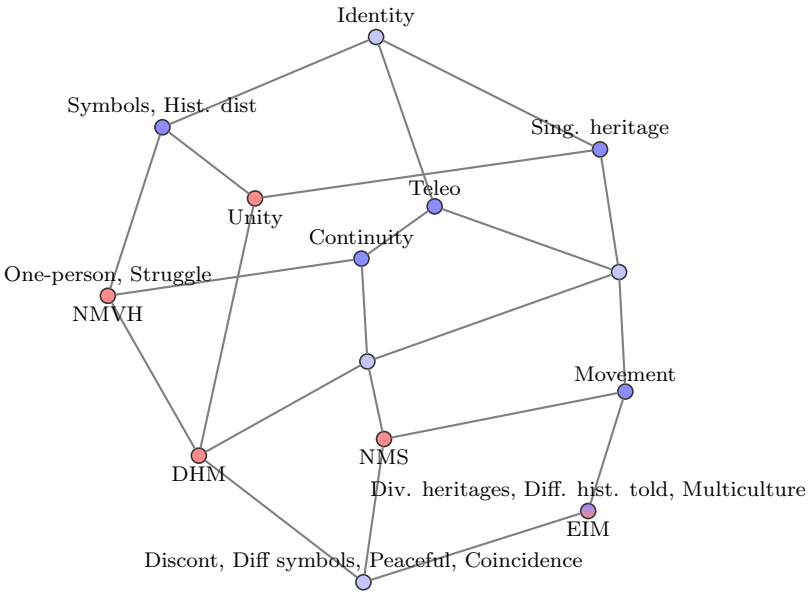

Figure 7.6: Lattice of myth of unity and topoi, by author

in order to increase the reader's understanding of the process. The accordant lattice 7.9 to the reduced **context** 7.8 has changed as well, especially in regard to the labels of the vertices. All of the **objects**, i. e. the four museums and three myths, are still present in the lattice. Five out of eight **properties** are remaining as well as two of the counter-**properties**. There are two reasons for reducing **properties** and counter-**properties** from the **context**: (1) the counter-**properties** *discontinuity, different symbols, peaceful founding* and *coincidence* have been eliminated because they have no relation to any myth (by definition of the myths by the author) or to any museum, and are therefore irrelevant for the inquiry, (2) *multiculture* and *telling difficult histories* have been left out in order to avoid redundancy. This can be seen in lattice 7.9. The two **properties** build one **concept** together with *diverse heritages*, that is the counter-**property** in this study to *single heritage*, defined as a topos i. e. a specific narrative with the national myths of origin and unity, which denotes a common historical and yet timeless root of all members of the 'nation' in history (see section 3.2.3). This means that all three of them denote one single vertex. This vertex is in the sense of FCA a **concept**, in this case named after the three **properties**. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that each of these three **properties** contributes in the exact same way to the distinction of **objects** in this thesis. Their extent of contribution to this distinction is therefore identical. The software **Concept** Explorer has therefore left out two of these **properties** arbitrarily. Keeping one of the two deleted **properties** instead of *diverse heritages* would not have led to any changes in the relations between **objects** depicted in the Hasse diagram 7.9, except that the vertex would have been named differently. The same applies to the **properties** *difficult histories distorted* and *national symbols*. *Difficult histories distorted* has been deleted from the graph arbitrarily. This is due to the fact that both contribute to the

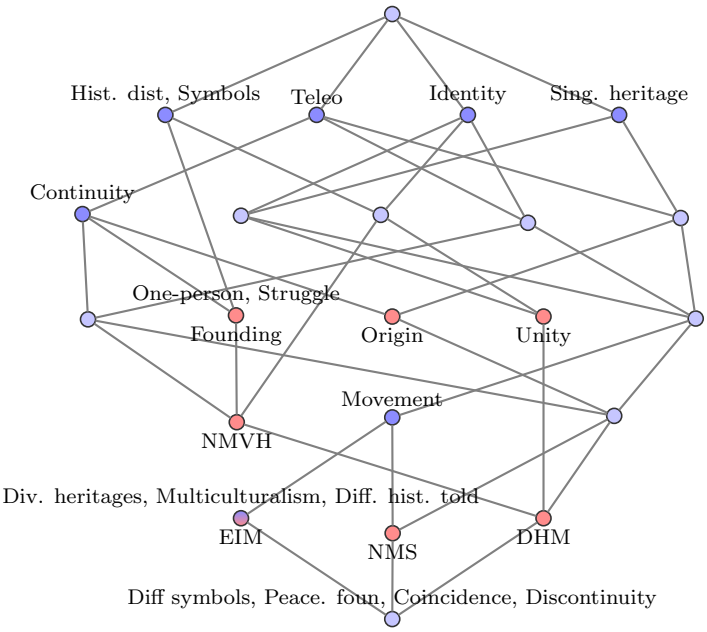

Figure 7.7: Lattice of all museums, myths and **properties**, by author

	Continuity	Teleological traj.	Sing. heritage	Common identity	National symbols	Div. heritages	Movement
NMVH	×	×		×	×		
NMS	×	×	×	×			×
DHM	×	×	×	×	×		
EIM		×	×	×		×	×
Origin	×	×	×				
Founding	×	×			×		
Unity			×	×	×		

Table 7.8: Reduced **context**; by author

same extent to the distinction of the **objects**. This means that in the sense of FCA the two **properties** are interchangeable in regard to their contribution to the distinction of the **objects**.

From this reduction two major conclusions can be drawn: (1) the remaining **properties** are the only ones needed with respect to the distinction of the analyzed **objects**. This does not mean that the deleted **properties** are useless in general. But only in respect to this particular set of **objects**, they do not contribute to the relation of **objects**. (2) The fact that no **object** (museum or myth) could be deleted states that non of them can be substituted by others.

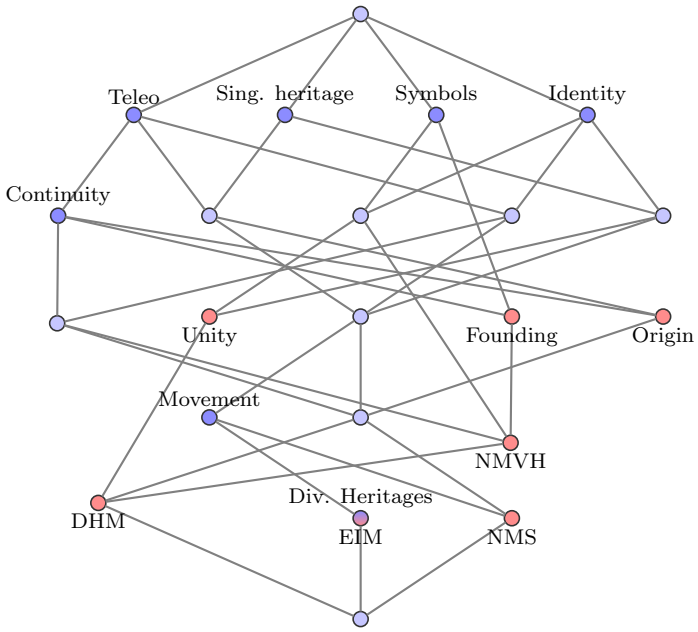

Figure 7.9: Lattice of the reduced final **context**, by author

7.2 Nationalism

In order to answer the research question *To which extent are exhibitions at the four national history museums driven by underlying nationalistic ways of thinking?*, it is important to take the definition of nationalism from section 1.2 into account. To classify a museum as nationalistic, it is necessary to check the three requirements, which are stated in the definition: (1) *single heritage*, (2) *common identity* and (3) nationalistic sentiment. According to the research model, the former two requirements are topoi of narration. Therefore it can easily be checked whether these requirements are fulfilled. Resulting from that, museums that fulfill both requirements are strong candidates for an underlying nationalistic way of thinking. Corresponding to that a museums lacking either of the two requirements does not have an underlying nationalistic way of thinking. Strong candidates, on the other hand, still have to be tested for requirement 3. Since nationalistic sentiment is not a topos in the sense of this thesis, it was not included to the research model. Therefore, it has to be discussed now.

The exhibition at Národní památník na Vítkově tells Czech history of the 20th century and therefore lacks the aspect of *single heritage*, which is based far more in the past. Therefore, the exhibition at NMVH is lacking one of the three requirements. Following the reason of the previous paragraph, *I argue that the Czech museum NMVH does not transport intrinsic nationalistic ways of thinking.*
The prehistory exhibition at the National Museums Scotland fulfills the aspects of *single heritage* and *common identity*, which makes it a strong candidate for having a nationalistic background. A national sentiment, however, cannot be proved for this part of the

exhibition. I remember, however, that other parts, especially the history of the 20th century, aim at demonstrating both negative and positive nationalistic sentiment. There is the perceived threat England, which causes a negative nationalistic sentiment as well as a feeling of pride regarding the own nation, which is a positive nationalistic sentiment. Since these parts of the exhibition have, unfortunately, not been part of the inquiry, they cannot be taken into consideration for the evaluation of the results. Hence, *I argue that the prehistory part of the permanent exhibition at National Museums Scotland is not transporting an underlying nationalist sentiment.*

The strongest case of the four museums is DHM, in which all eight topoi are woven into the narration of German history and therefore all three myths do apply. The analysis has shown that *single heritage* and *common identity* occur in the narration at DHM. Nationalistic sentiment (positive or negative), however, is a controversial issue. The museum building, the size of the exhibition, the number of precious objects and the uniformity in the design of the displays transport some sort of pride regarding the greatness of the German nation. Therefore, given my definition of nationalism in section 1.2, *I argue that the permanent exhibition at Deutsches Historisches Museum is based on some sort of intrinsic nationalistic feeling.* It is, however, not the hostile version of nationalism but nationalism based on pride of the own nation.

The new permanent exhibition at the Ellis Island Museum clearly demonstrates *single heritage* and *common identity.* National pride as a form a positive nationalistic sentiment is a part of the narration there, as well, as statements like 'Free or enslaved, native or immigrant, people of this country built a nation and helped it thrive', have shown. Therefore, *I argue that an underlying nationalistic sentiment is demonstrated at the permanent exhibition of Ellis Island Museum.*

8 Conclusion and prospect

This thesis aimed at challenging Simon Knell's statement that 'each nation's national museums are the product of national history and local circumstances and perform in quiet particular ways' (Knell, 2011: 4). With this inquiry I have shown that the comparison of national history museums is not only *possible* with the help of certain topoi of national history but also that it is *desirable* in order to understand the narration at national history museums. The narration of history at these museums is not exclusively limited to the results of historic examination of artifacts and written sources, but transports certain common stories (topoi) which transport a politically endorsed national ideology, which in some cases can even be labeled nationalism.

National history is individual, however, concepts such as nationalism are universal and can occur basically everywhere. The thesis has demonstrated that very different countries with distinct histories share certain topoi of national history according to the narration at national history museums. It is important to regard and locate these common stories in order to discover them as elements of national myths and ideology, and thereby avoiding to naively reproducing and interpreting them as history - how it actually happened.

As the results have shown, the three European museums have many topoi in common, whereas the museum from North America uses less of them. Nonetheless, DHM and EIM were proved to promote some kind of nationalistic sentiment by their way of narrating history. Two conclusions can be made from this fact: (1) not all of the eight topoi seem to point to nationalistic sentiments, and (2) the high degree of similarity of narration patterns in Europe might be the consequence of the high level of dependency amongst the national histories in Europe. Europe-wide effecting historic events and processes such as the Thirty Years' War and several multi-national empires such as Austria-Hungary might have caused common histories in Europe.

These last two conclusions are at the same time statements, which could be part of further inquiries. It would be both interesting and essential for broader conclusions to study many more museums worldwide maybe including more topoi and myths. I assume that, given that much more museums are studied, it is possible to define categories of national museums according to the myths and topoi, which occur in the narration at national museums, and furthermore gain conclusions about patterns in historiography in general.

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Appendix

Figure A.1: Model of Czech territory

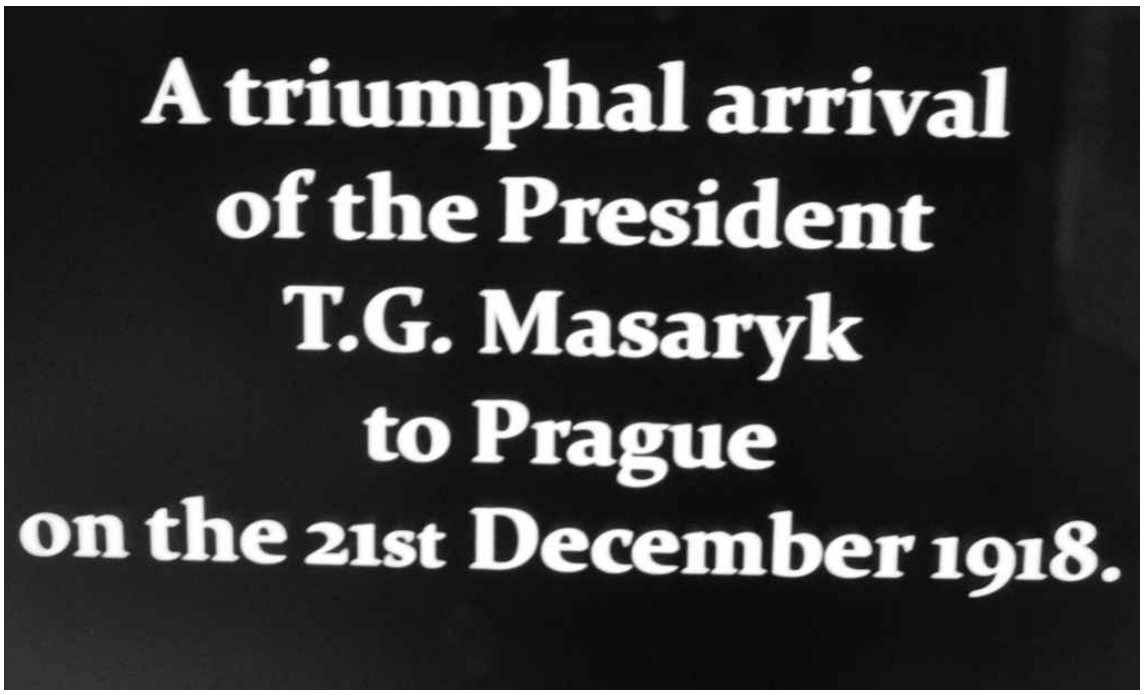


Figure A.2: Video sequence 1 from crossroad 1918

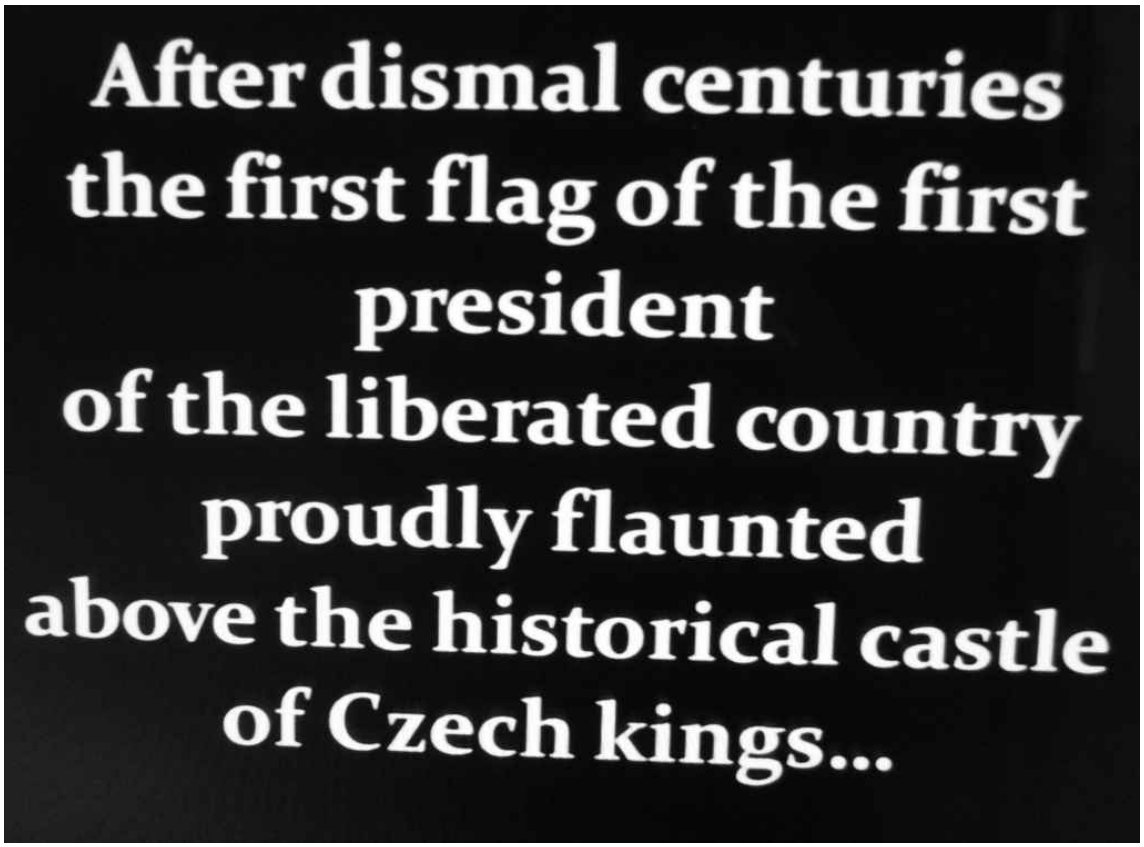
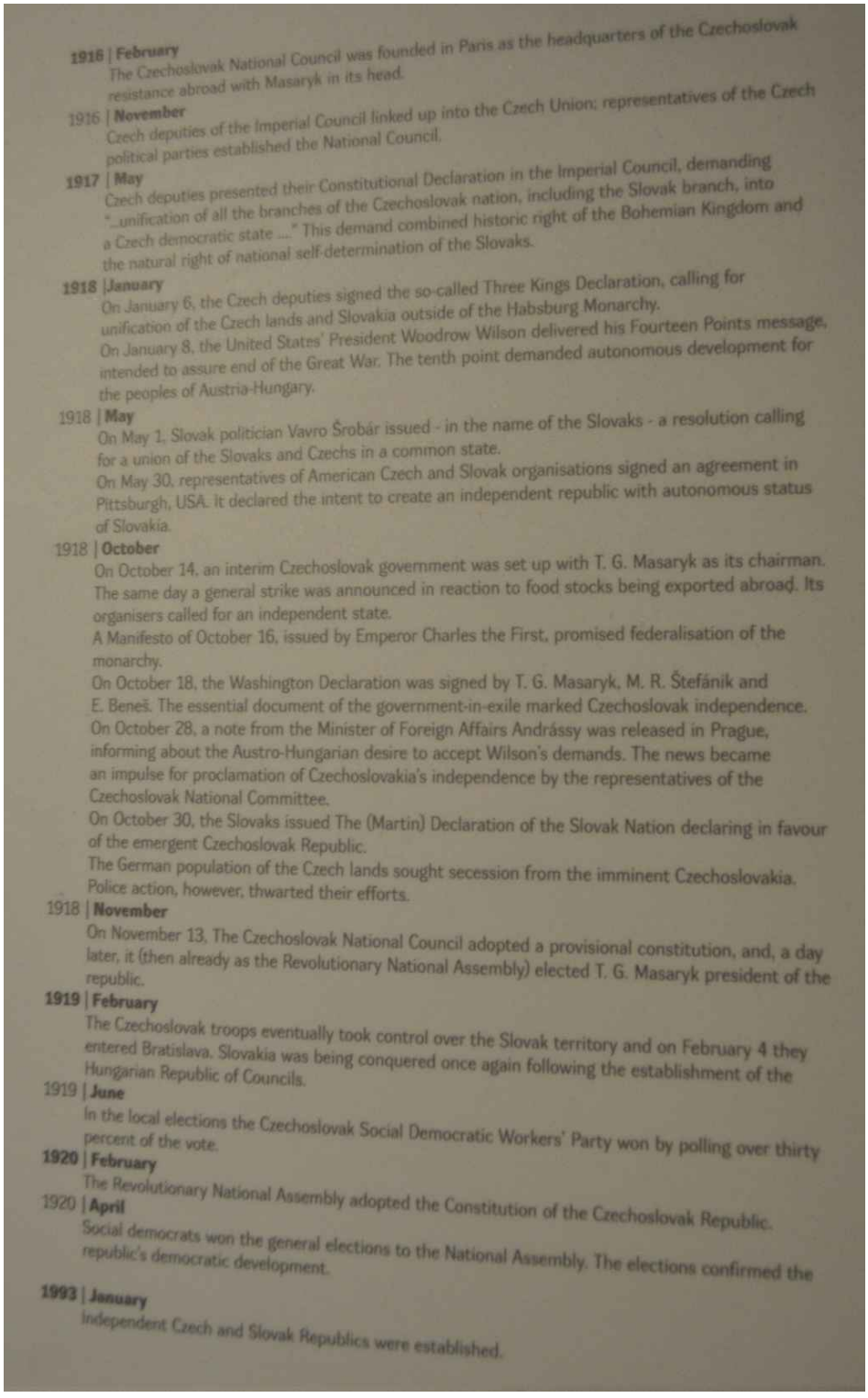


Figure A.3: Video sequence 2 from crossroad 1918



1916 | February
The Czechoslovak National Council was founded in Paris as the headquarters of the Czechoslovak resistance abroad with Masaryk in its head.

1916 | **November**
Czech deputies of the Imperial Council linked up into the Czech Union; representatives of the Czech political parties established the National Council.

1917 | May
Czech deputies presented their Constitutional Declaration in the Imperial Council, demanding "...unification of all the branches of the Czechoslovak nation, including the Slovak branch, into a Czech democratic state ..." This demand combined historic right of the Bohemian Kingdom and the natural right of national self-determination of the Slovaks.

1918 |January
On January 6, the Czech deputies signed the so-called Three Kings Declaration, calling for unification of the Czech lands and Slovakia outside of the Habsburg Monarchy.
On January 8, the United States' President Woodrow Wilson delivered his Fourteen Points message, intended to assure end of the Great War. The tenth point demanded autonomous development for the peoples of Austria-Hungary.

1918 | **May**
On May 1, Slovak politician Vavro Šrobár issued - in the name of the Slovaks - a resolution calling for a union of the Slovaks and Czechs in a common state.
On May 30, representatives of American Czech and Slovak organisations signed an agreement in Pittsburgh, USA. It declared the intent to create an independent republic with autonomous status of Slovakia.

1918 | **October**
On October 14, an interim Czechoslovak government was set up with T. G. Masaryk as its chairman. The same day a general strike was announced in reaction to food stocks being exported abroad. Its organisers called for an independent state.
A Manifesto of October 16, issued by Emperor Charles the First, promised federalisation of the monarchy.
On October 18, the Washington Declaration was signed by T. G. Masaryk, M. R. Štefánik and E. Beneš. The essential document of the government-in-exile marked Czechoslovak independence.
On October 28, a note from the Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrássy was released in Prague, informing about the Austro-Hungarian desire to accept Wilson's demands. The news became an impulse for proclamation of Czechoslovakia's independence by the representatives of the Czechoslovak National Committee.
On October 30, the Slovaks issued The (Martin) Declaration of the Slovak Nation declaring in favour of the emergent Czechoslovak Republic.
The German population of the Czech lands sought secession from the imminent Czechoslovakia. Police action, however, thwarted their efforts.

1918 | **November**
On November 13, The Czechoslovak National Council adopted a provisional constitution, and, a day later, it (then already as the Revolutionary National Assembly) elected T. G. Masaryk president of the republic.

1919 | February
The Czechoslovak troops eventually took control over the Slovak territory and on February 4 they entered Bratislava. Slovakia was being conquered once again following the establishment of the Hungarian Republic of Councils.

1919 | **June**
In the local elections the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Workers' Party won by polling over thirty percent of the vote.

1920 | February
The Revolutionary National Assembly adopted the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic.

1920 | **April**
Social democrats won the general elections to the National Assembly. The elections confirmed the republic's democratic development.

1993 | January
Independent Czech and Slovak Republics were established.

Figure A.4: Time line crossroad 1918

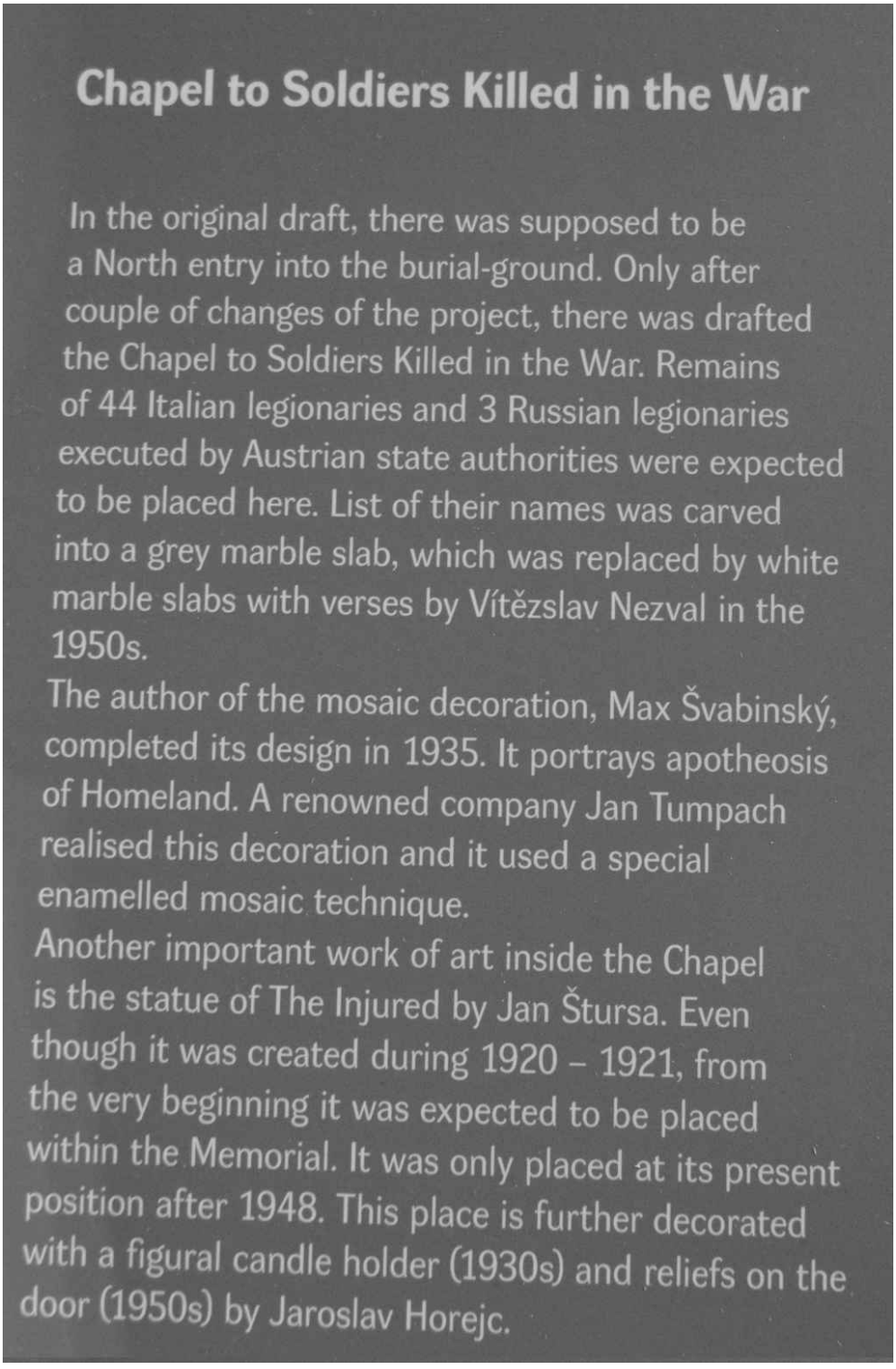


Figure A.5: Commemorating Czech artists

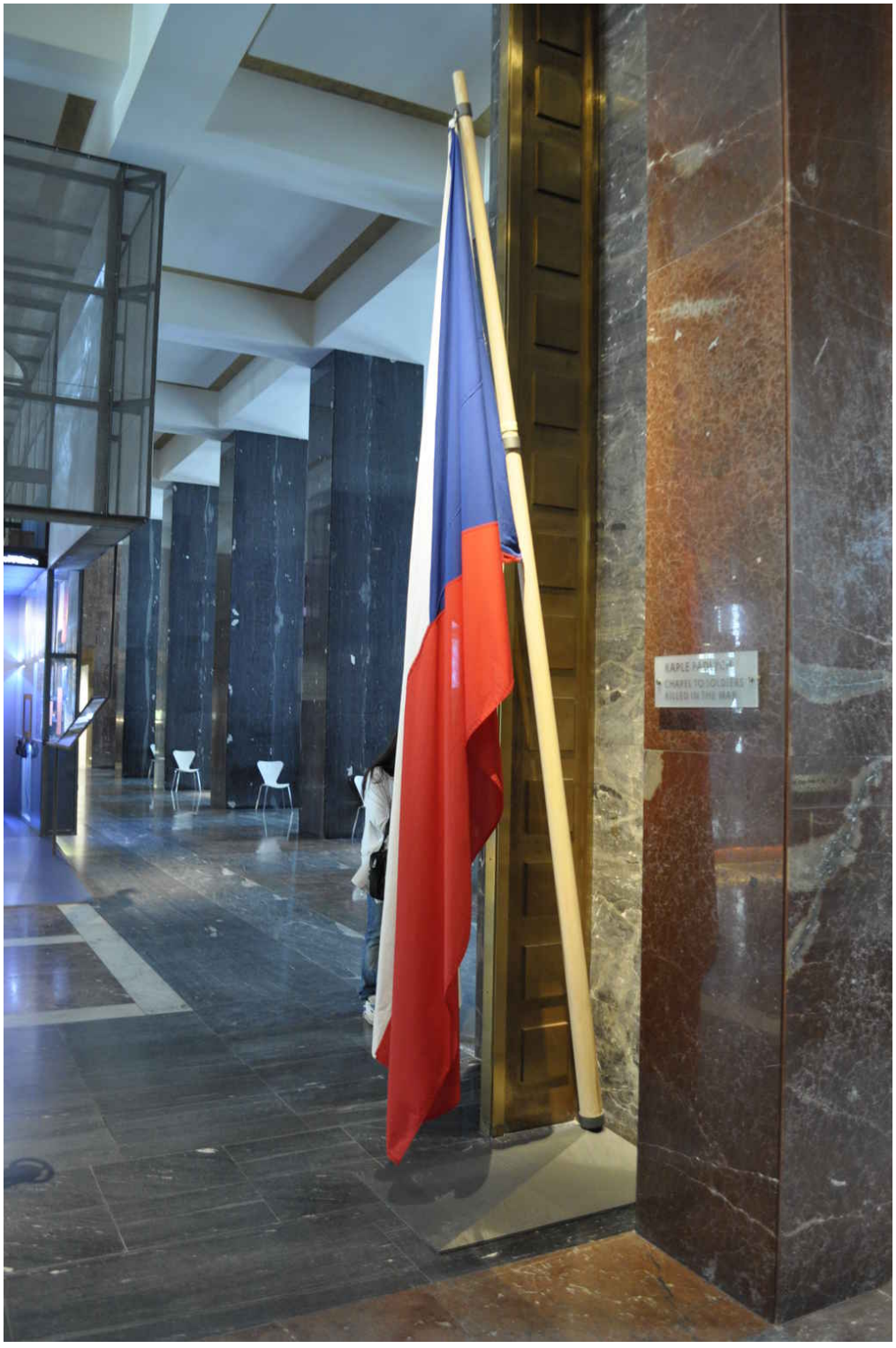


Figure A.6: Czech flag

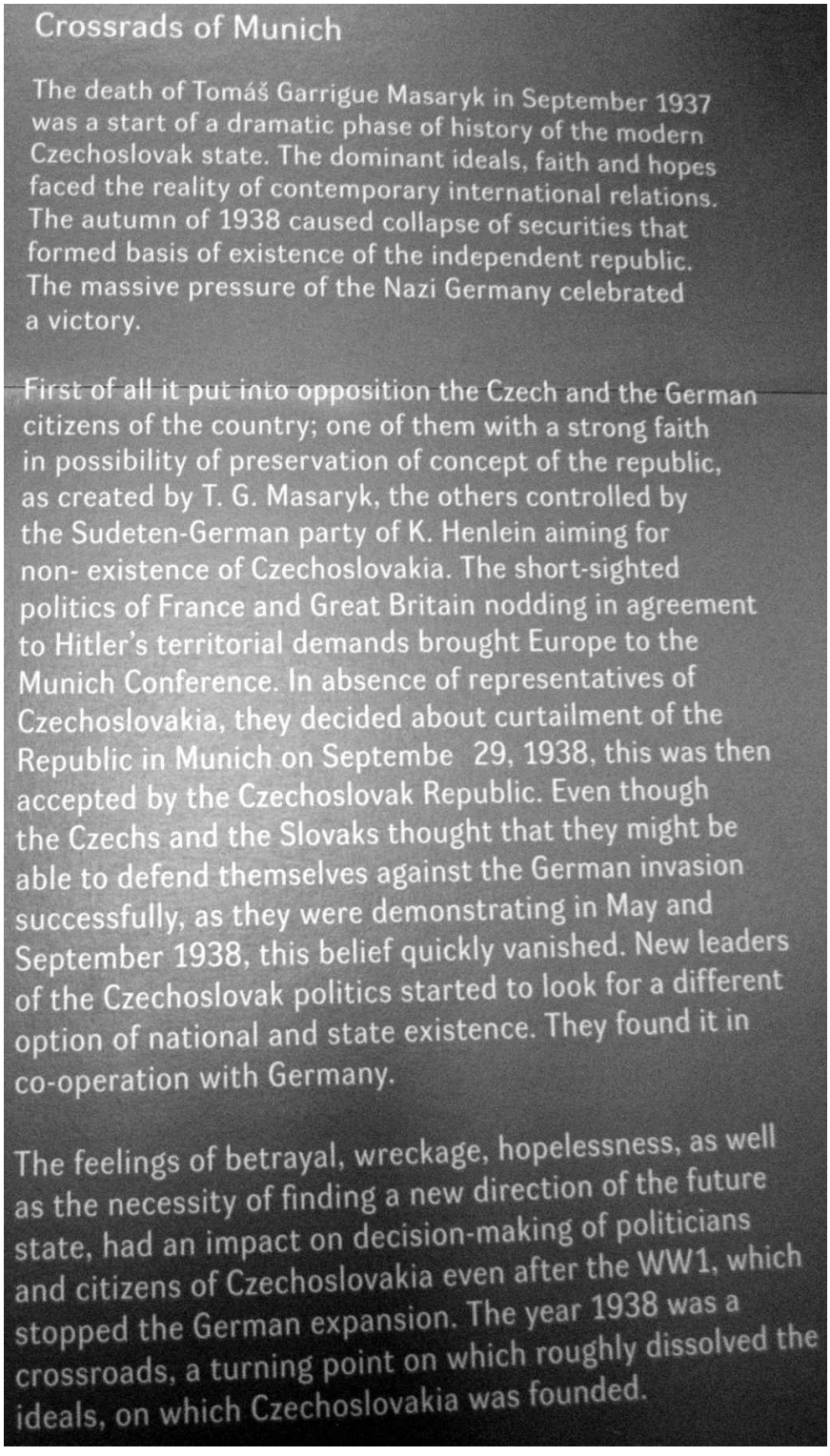
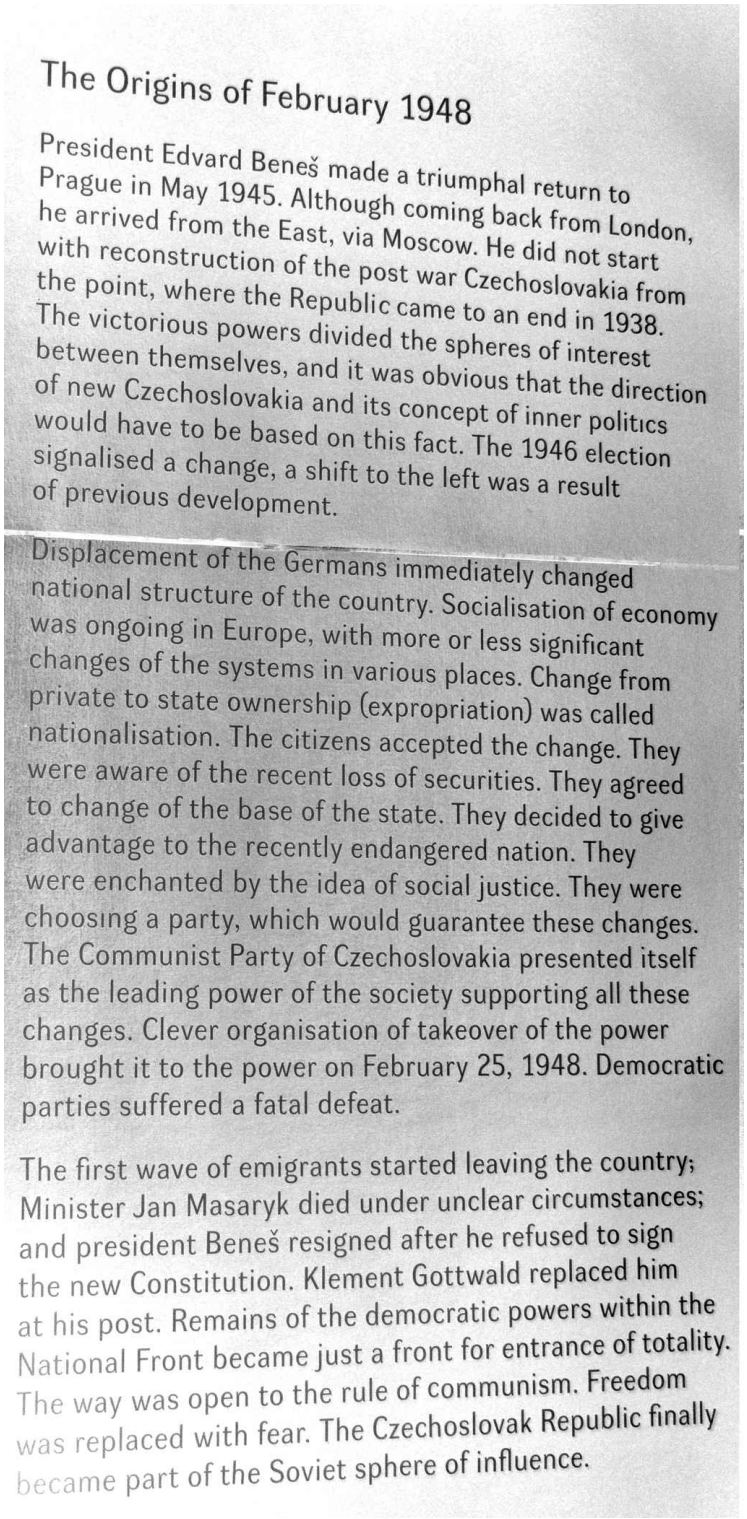


Figure A.7: Munich Agreement



The Origins of February 1948

President Edvard Beneš made a triumphal return to Prague in May 1945. Although coming back from London, he arrived from the East, via Moscow. He did not start with reconstruction of the post war Czechoslovakia from the point, where the Republic came to an end in 1938. The victorious powers divided the spheres of interest between themselves, and it was obvious that the direction of new Czechoslovakia and its concept of inner politics would have to be based on this fact. The 1946 election signalised a change, a shift to the left was a result of previous development.

Displacement of the Germans immediately changed national structure of the country. Socialisation of economy was ongoing in Europe, with more or less significant changes of the systems in various places. Change from private to state ownership (expropriation) was called nationalisation. The citizens accepted the change. They were aware of the recent loss of securities. They agreed to change of the base of the state. They decided to give advantage to the recently endangered nation. They were enchanted by the idea of social justice. They were choosing a party, which would guarantee these changes. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia presented itself as the leading power of the society supporting all these changes. Clever organisation of takeover of the power brought it to the power on February 25, 1948. Democratic parties suffered a fatal defeat.

The first wave of emigrants started leaving the country; Minister Jan Masaryk died under unclear circumstances; and president Beneš resigned after he refused to sign the new Constitution. Klement Gottwald replaced him at his post. Remains of the democratic powers within the National Front became just a front for entrance of totality. The way was open to the rule of communism. Freedom was replaced with fear. The Czechoslovak Republic finally became part of the Soviet sphere of influence.

Figure A.8: Crossroad 1948

Figure A.9: Video sequence corssroad 1948

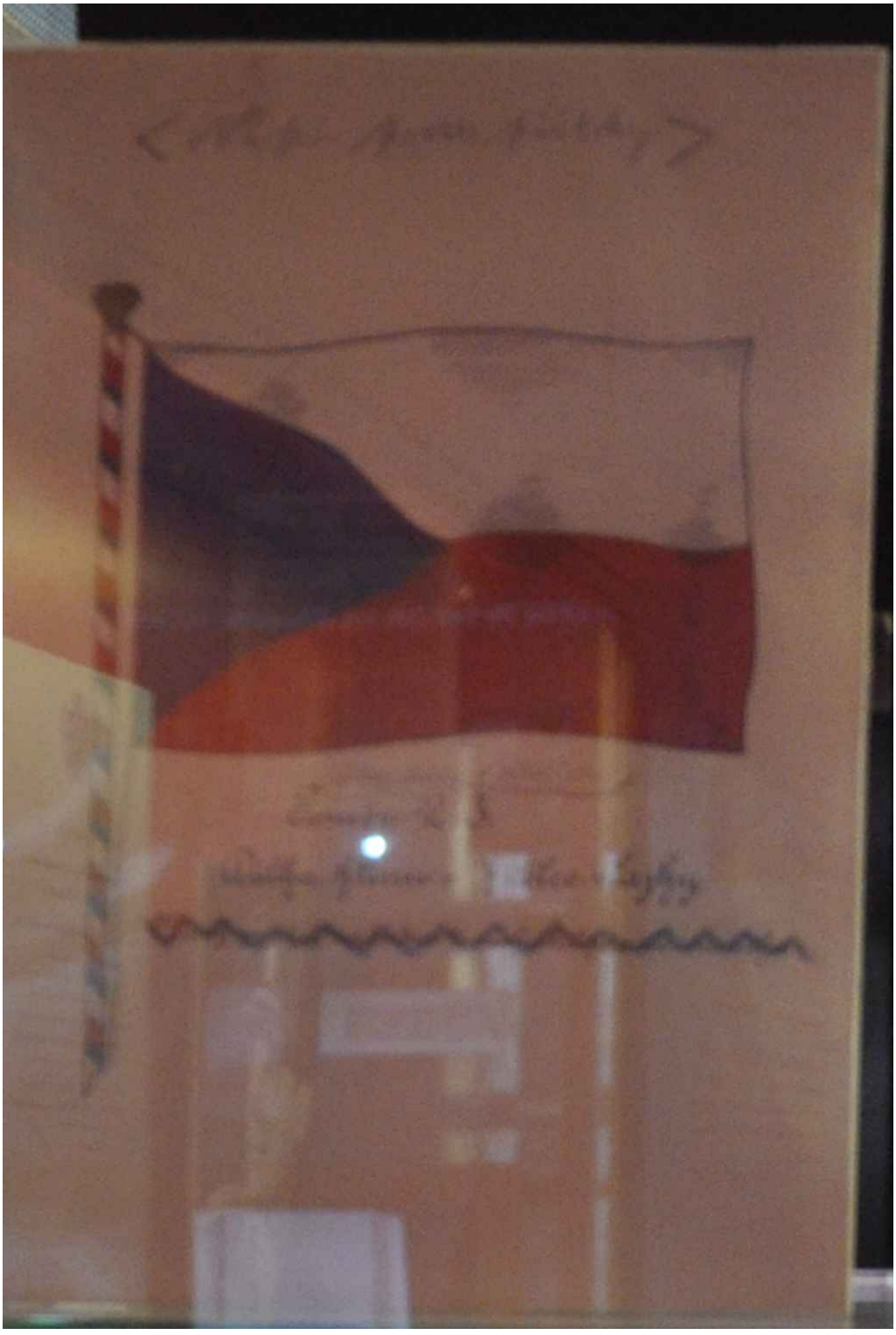
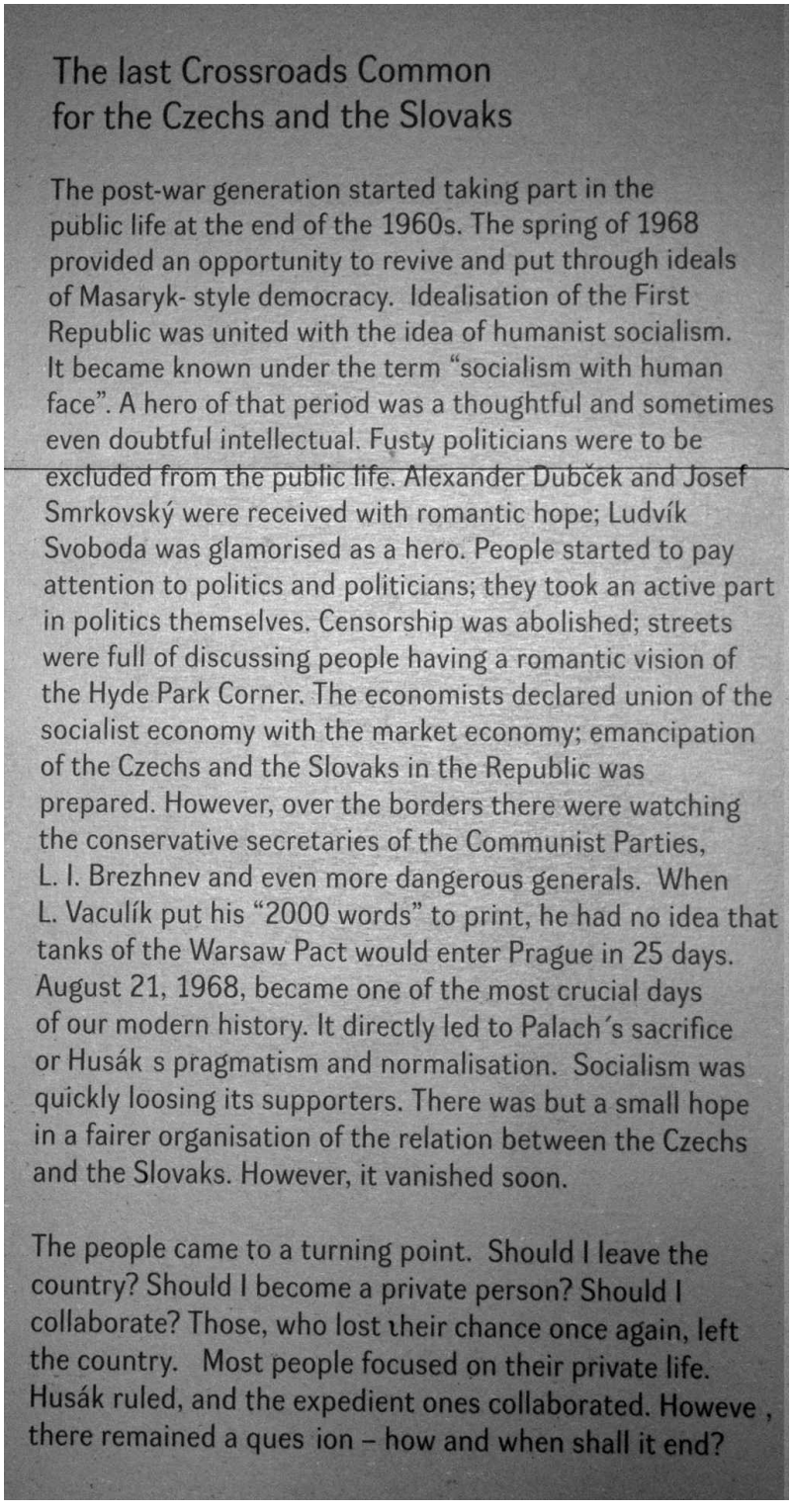


Figure A.10: Czech flag



The last Crossroads Common for the Czechs and the Slovaks

The post-war generation started taking part in the public life at the end of the 1960s. The spring of 1968 provided an opportunity to revive and put through ideals of Masaryk- style democracy. Idealisation of the First Republic was united with the idea of humanist socialism. It became known under the term "socialism with human face". A hero of that period was a thoughtful and sometimes even doubtful intellectual. Fusty politicians were to be excluded from the public life. Alexander Dubček and Josef Smrkovský were received with romantic hope; Ludvík Svoboda was glamorised as a hero. People started to pay attention to politics and politicians; they took an active part in politics themselves. Censorship was abolished; streets were full of discussing people having a romantic vision of the Hyde Park Corner. The economists declared union of the socialist economy with the market economy; emancipation of the Czechs and the Slovaks in the Republic was prepared. However, over the borders there were watching the conservative secretaries of the Communist Parties, L. I. Brezhnev and even more dangerous generals. When L. Vaculík put his "2000 words" to print, he had no idea that tanks of the Warsaw Pact would enter Prague in 25 days. August 21, 1968, became one of the most crucial days of our modern history. It directly led to Palach´s sacrifice or Husák s pragmatism and normalisation. Socialism was quickly loosing its supporters. There was but a small hope in a fairer organisation of the relation between the Czechs and the Slovaks. However, it vanished soon.

The people came to a turning point. Should I leave the country? Should I become a private person? Should I collaborate? Those, who lost their chance once again, left the country. Most people focused on their private life. Husák ruled, and the expedient ones collaborated. Howeve , there remained a ques ion – how and when shall it end?

Figure A.11: Crossroad 1968

Figure A.12: The Bohemian Lion 1

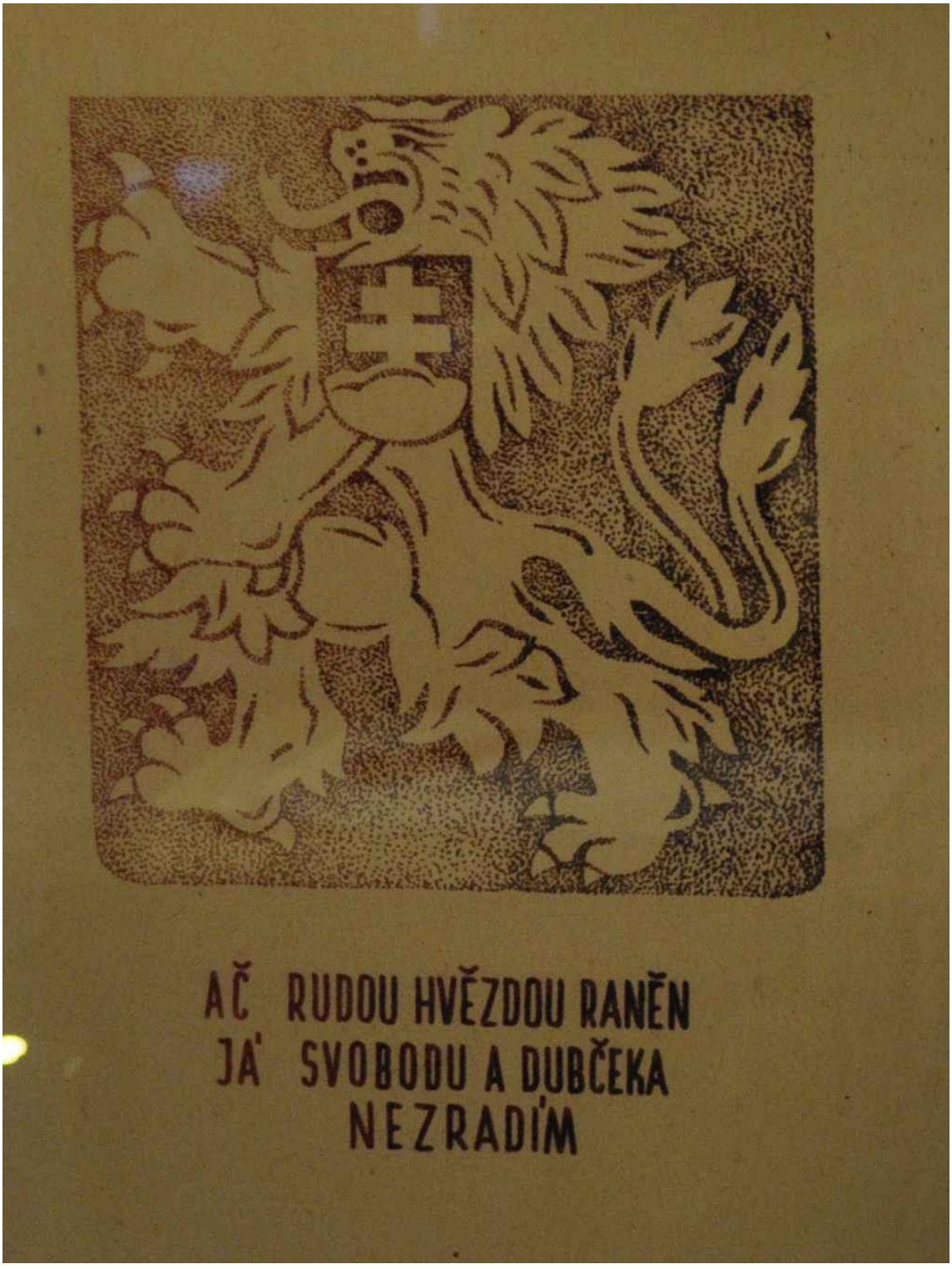


Figure A.13: The Bohemian Lion 2

Figure A.14: The Bohemian Lion 3

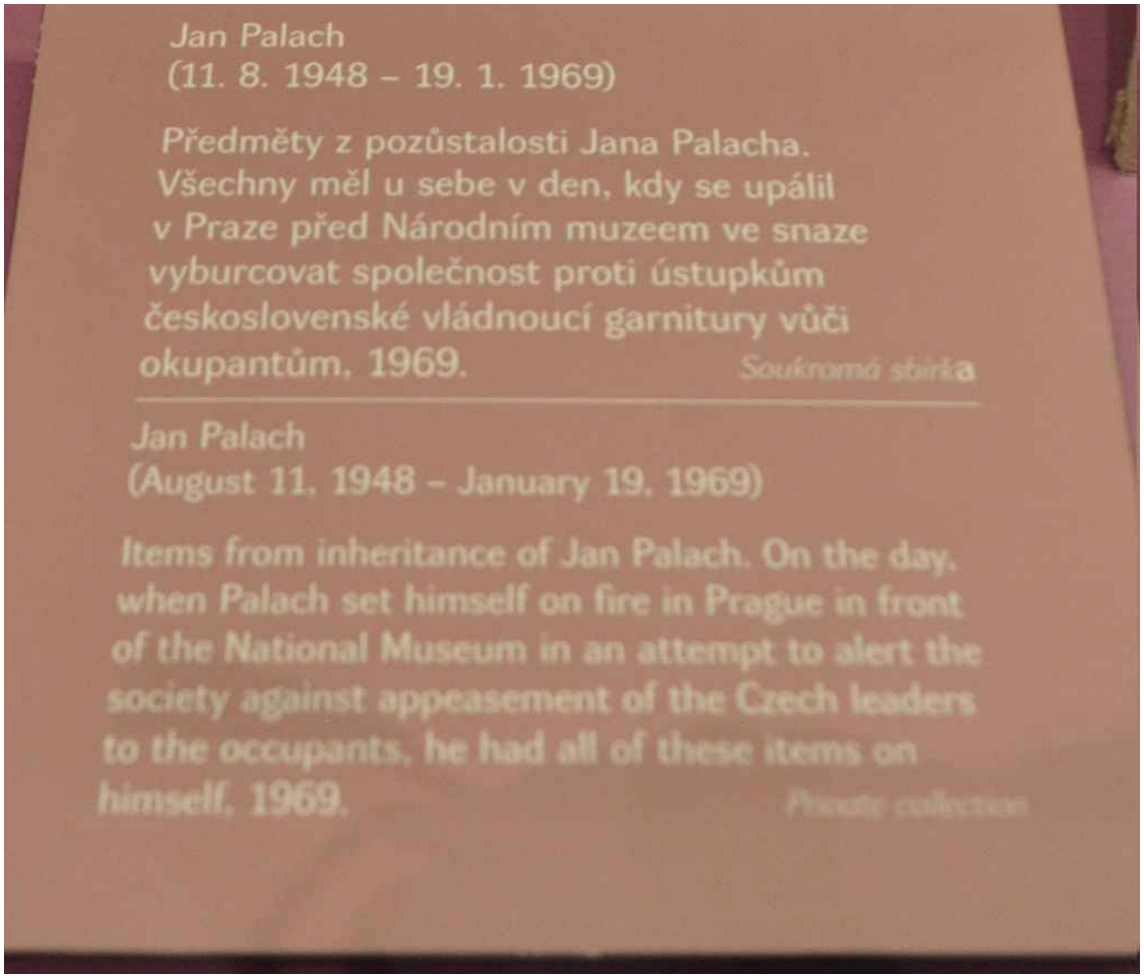


Figure A.15: Commemorating Jan Palach

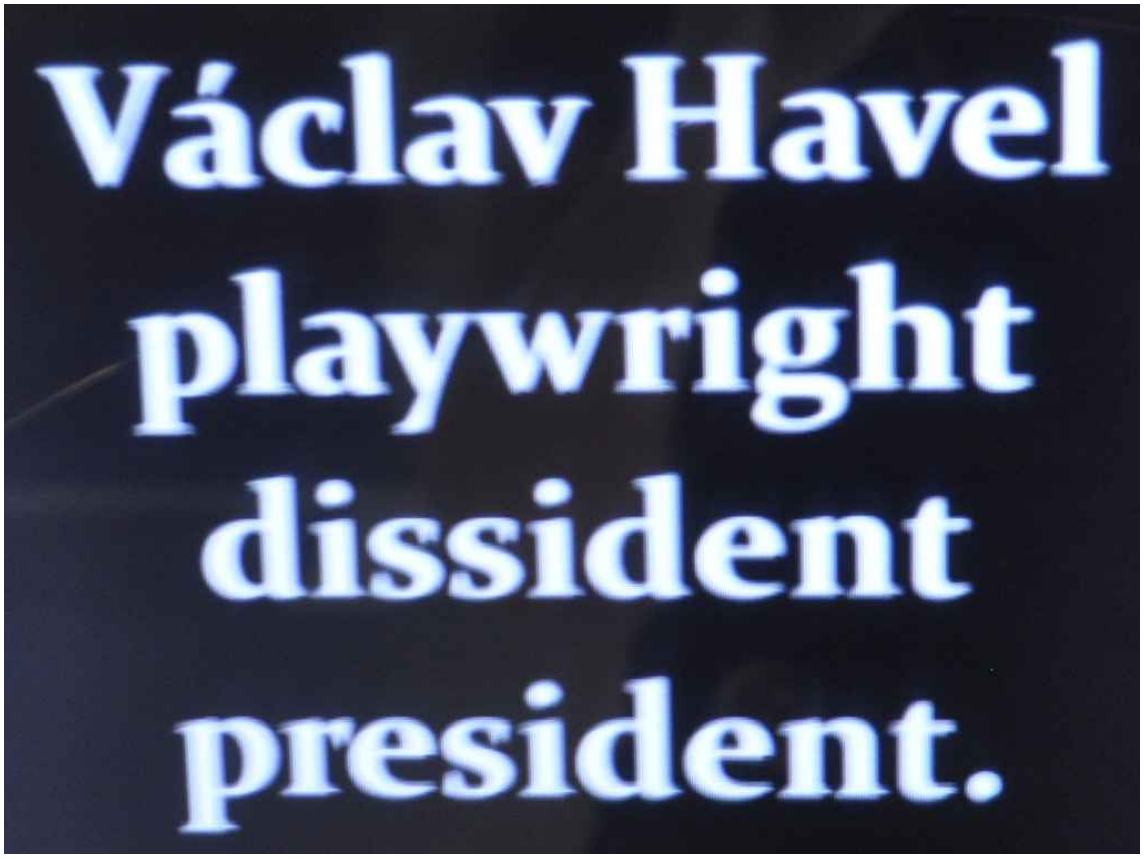


Figure A.16: Commemorating Václav Havel

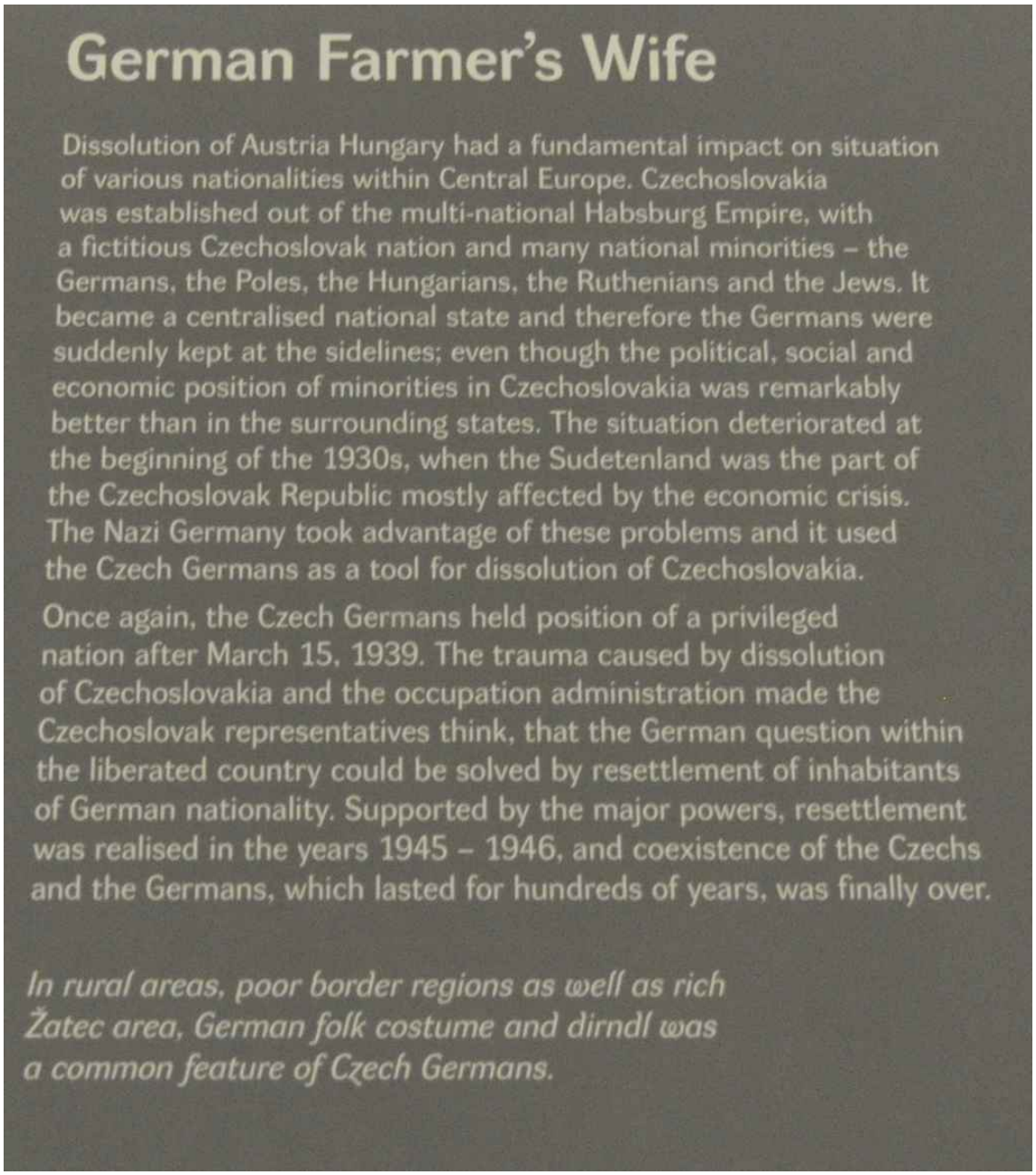
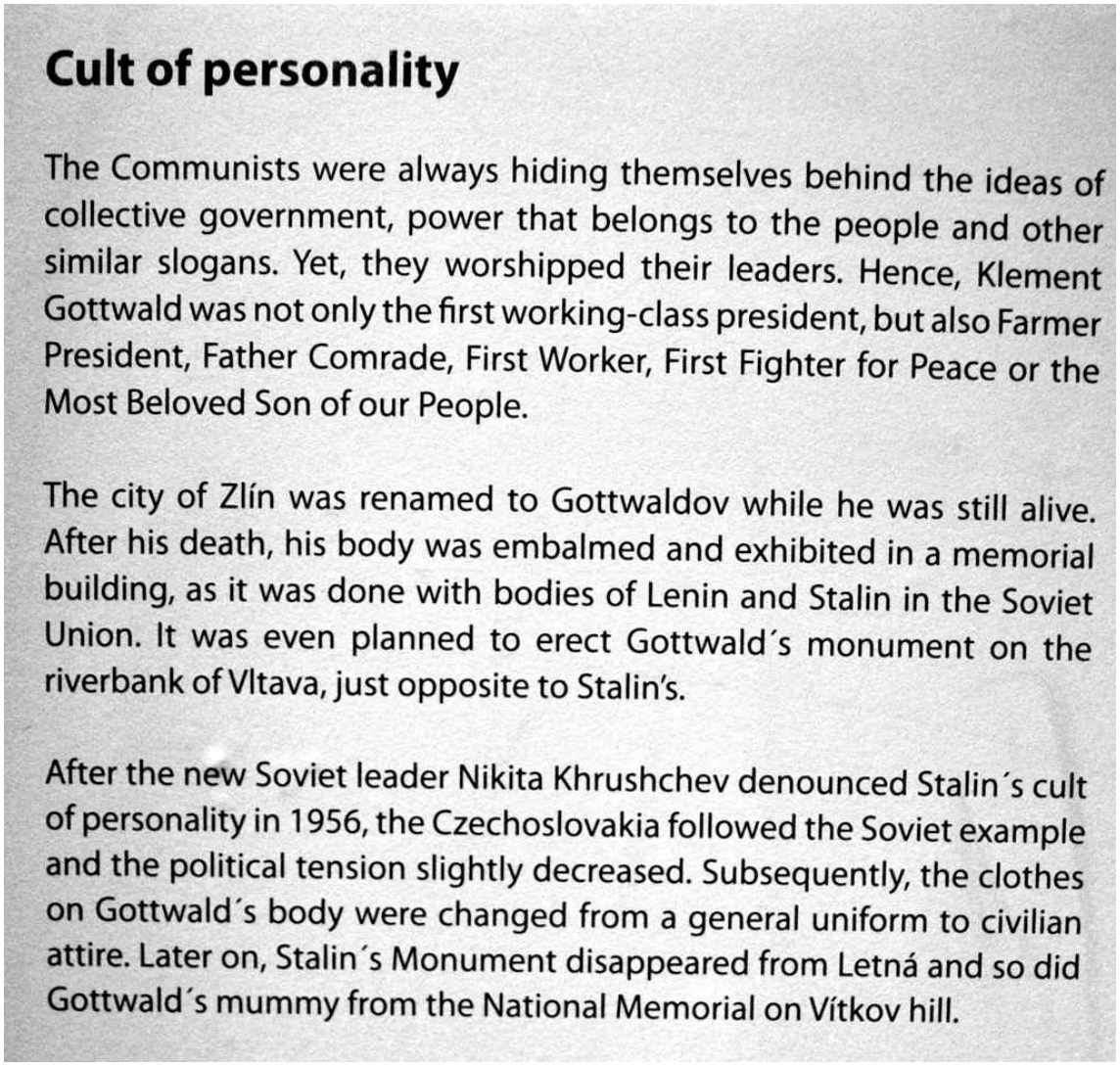


Figure A.17: Czech-German friction

Figure A.18: Wall of great *male* Czechs



Cult of personality

The Communists were always hiding themselves behind the ideas of collective government, power that belongs to the people and other similar slogans. Yet, they worshipped their leaders. Hence, Klement Gottwald was not only the first working-class president, but also Farmer President, Father Comrade, First Worker, First Fighter for Peace or the Most Beloved Son of our People.

The city of Zlín was renamed to Gottwaldov while he was still alive. After his death, his body was embalmed and exhibited in a memorial building, as it was done with bodies of Lenin and Stalin in the Soviet Union. It was even planned to erect Gottwald´s monument on the riverbank of Vltava, just opposite to Stalin's.

After the new Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev denounced Stalin´s cult of personality in 1956, the Czechoslovakia followed the Soviet example and the political tension slightly decreased. Subsequently, the clothes on Gottwald´s body were changed from a general uniform to civilian attire. Later on, Stalin´s Monument disappeared from Letná and so did Gottwald´s mummy from the National Memorial on Vítkov hill.

Figure A.19: Communists are the others

Figure A.20: Czech coat of arms

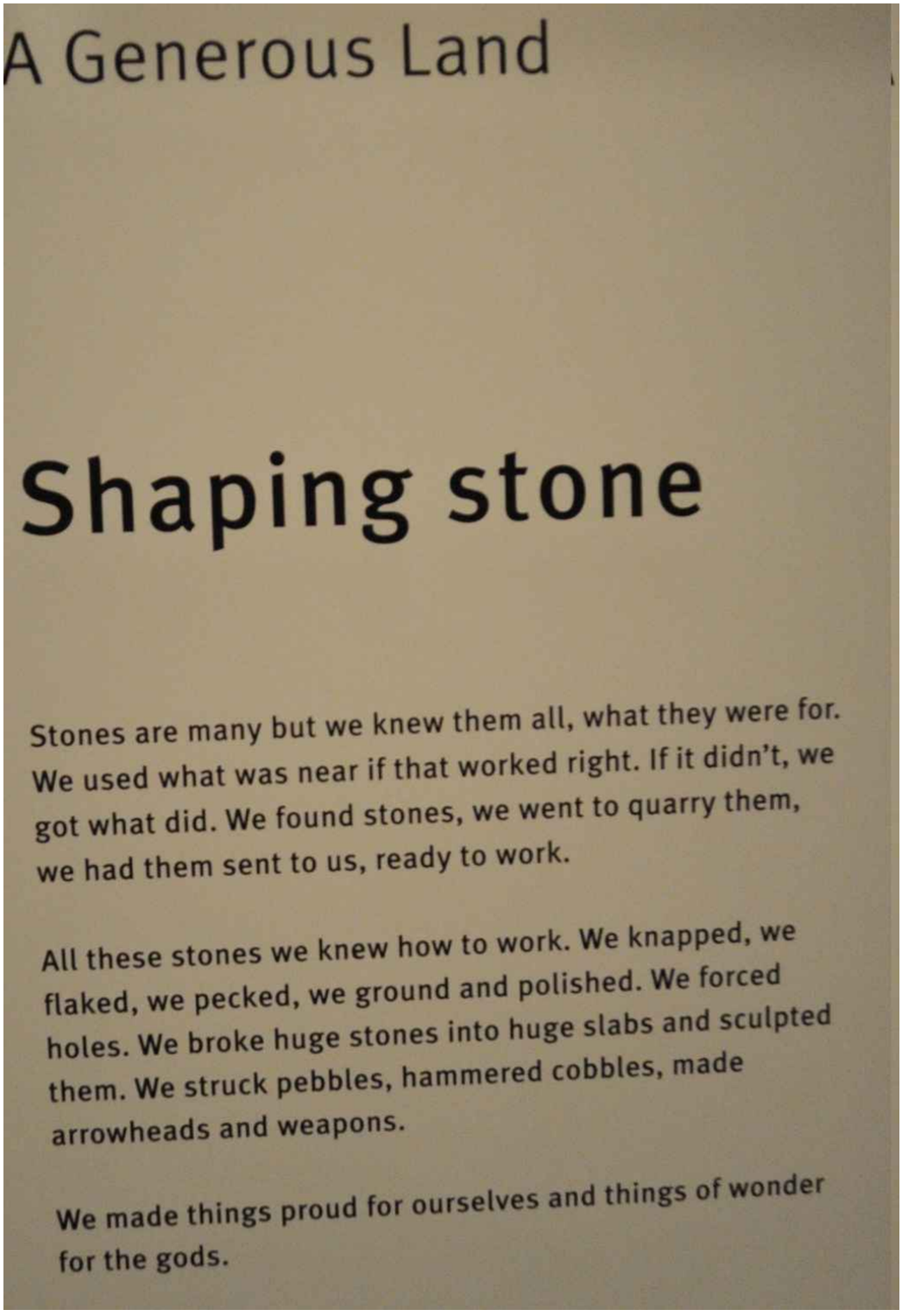


Figure A.21: First-person narration

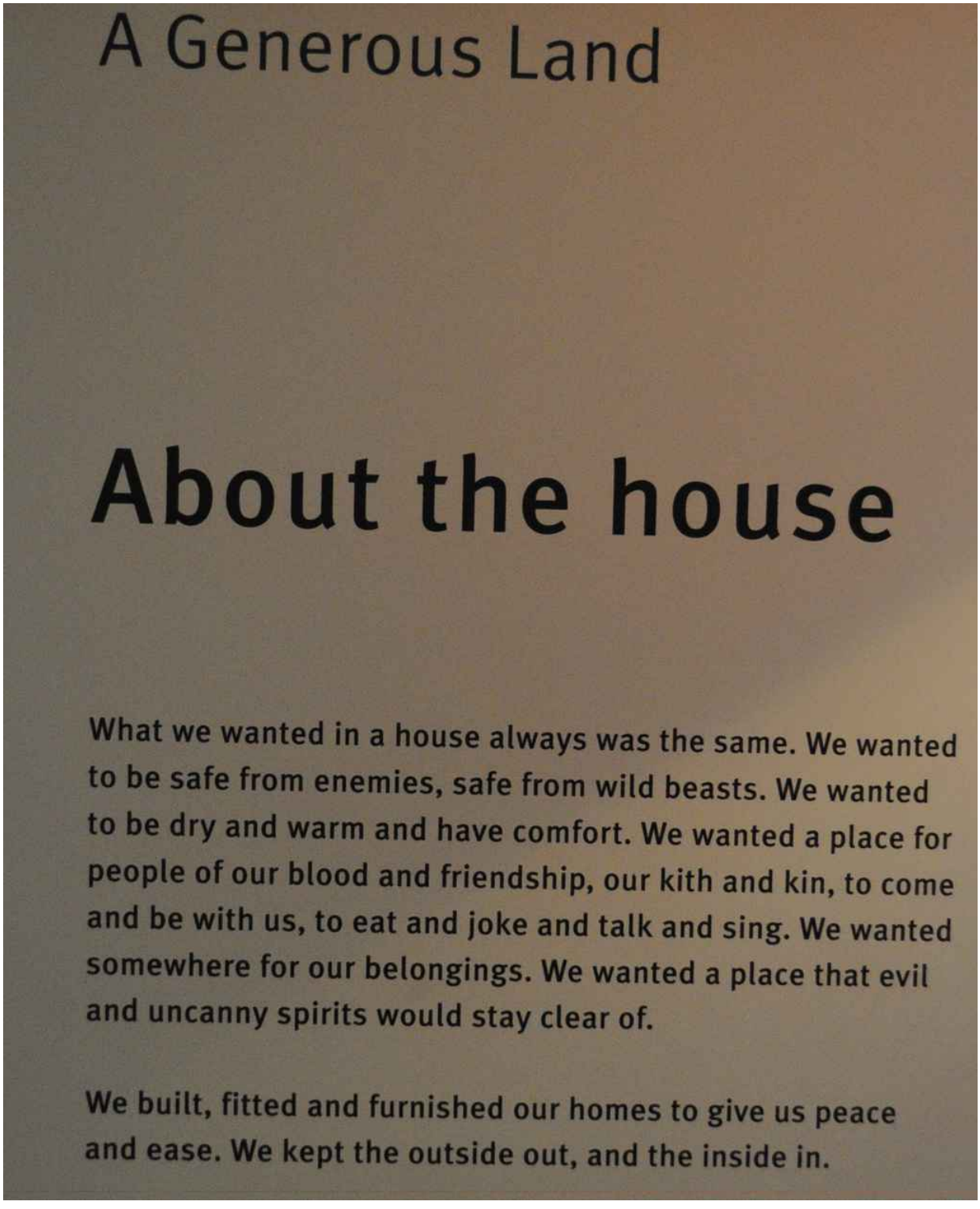


Figure A.22: Scottish blood

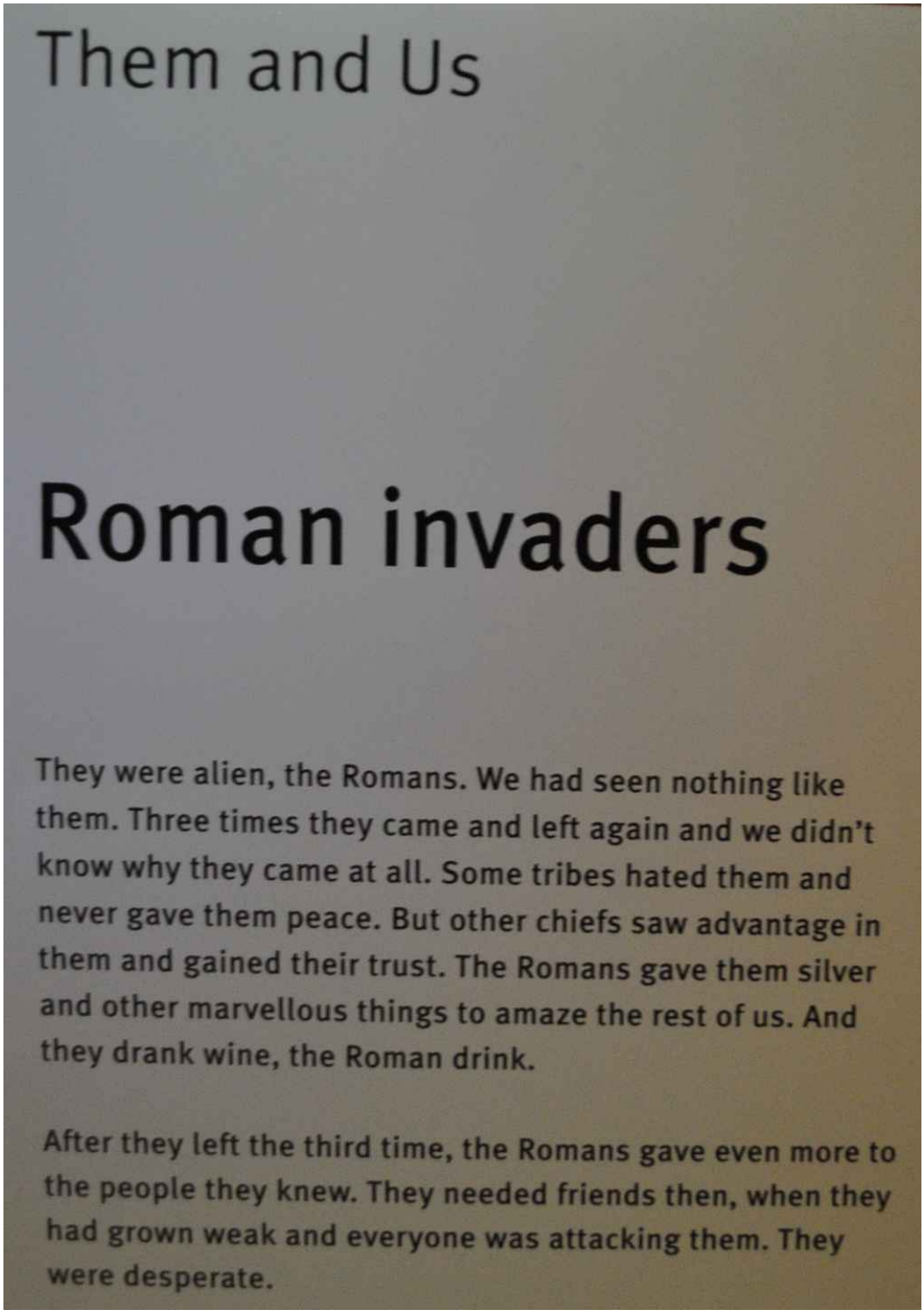


Figure A.23: Roman enemies

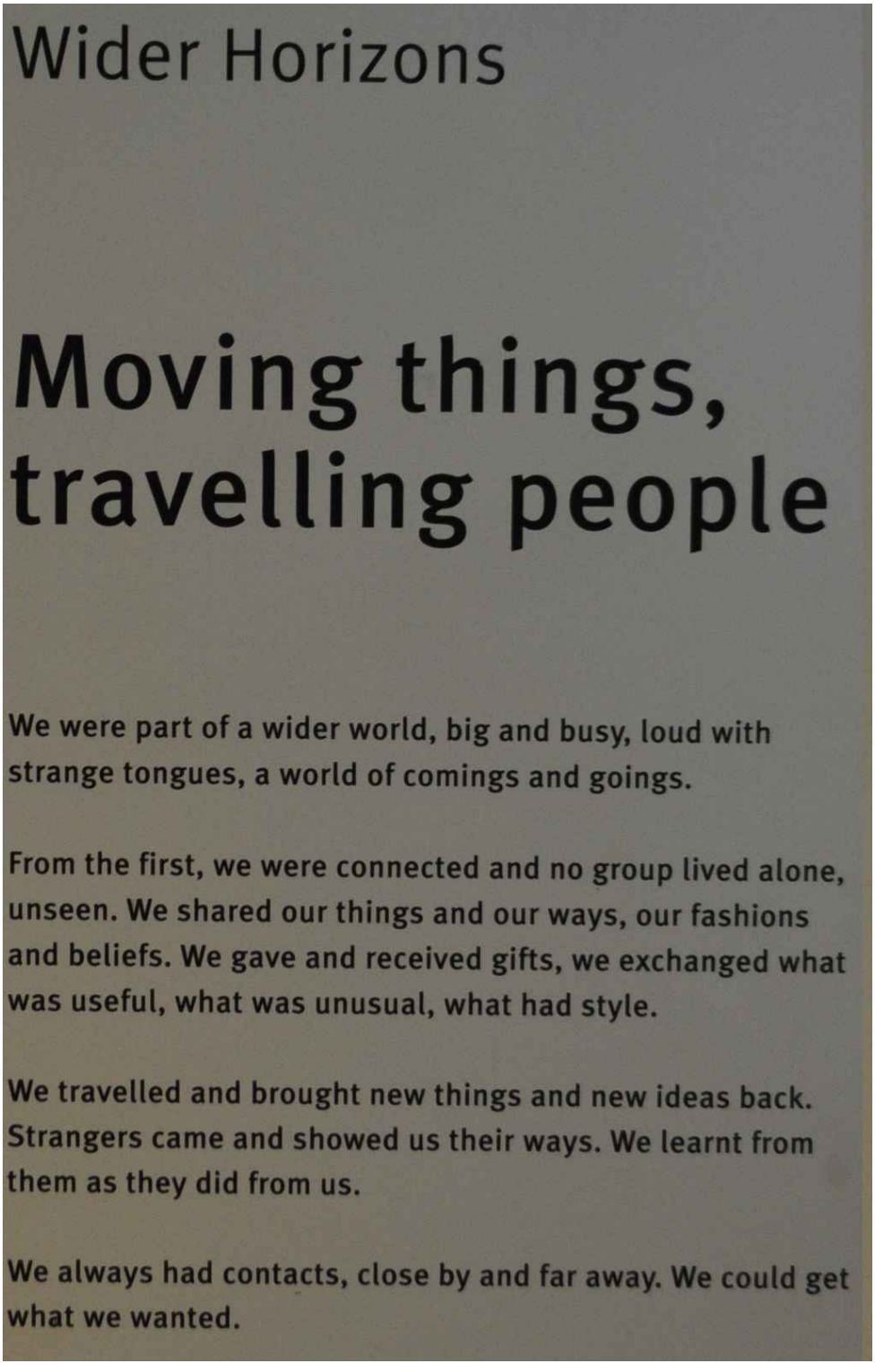


Figure A.24: Scottish *shared heritage* and *common identity* 1

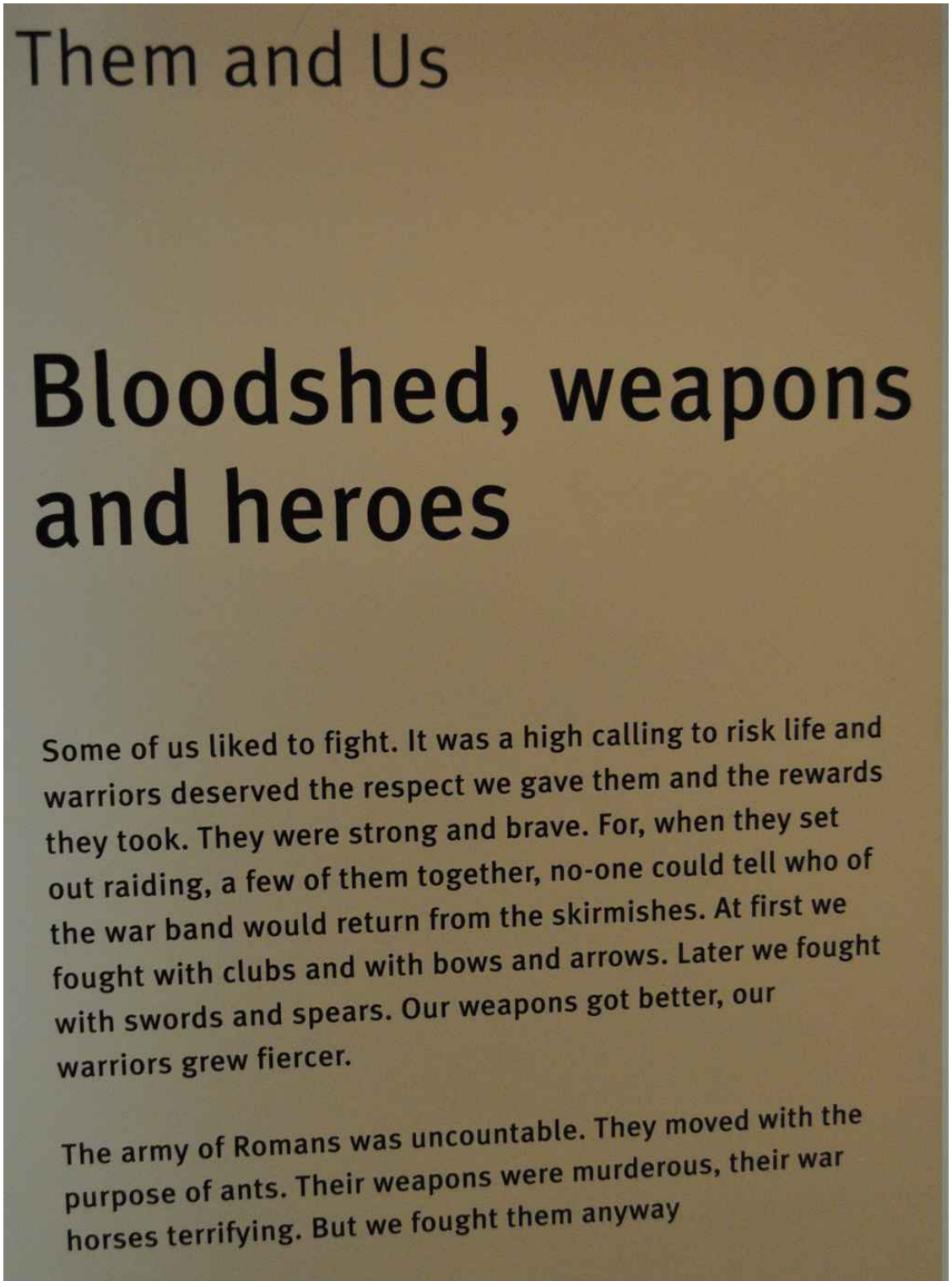


Figure A.25: Scottish warriors

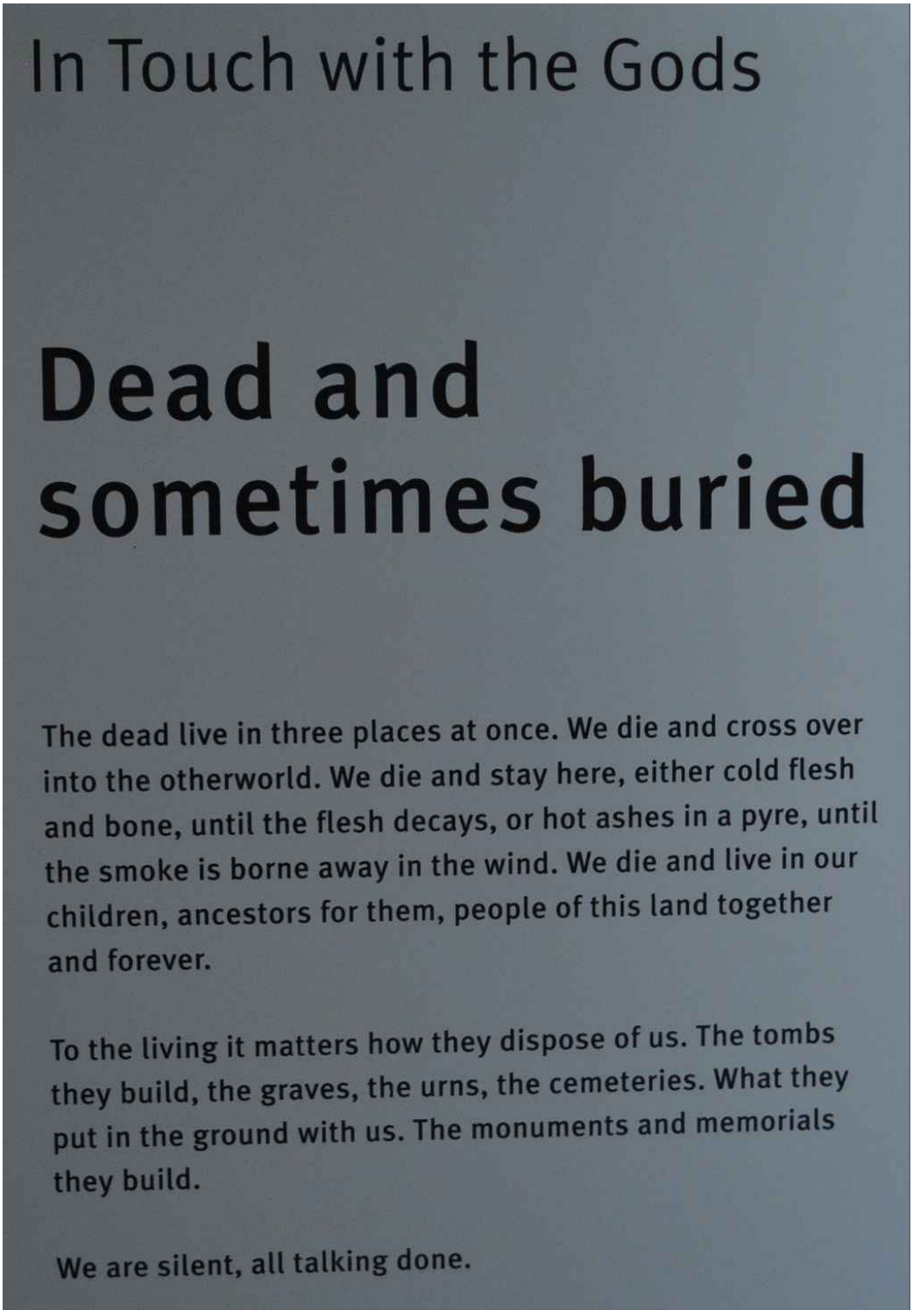


Figure A.26: *Teleological trajectories*

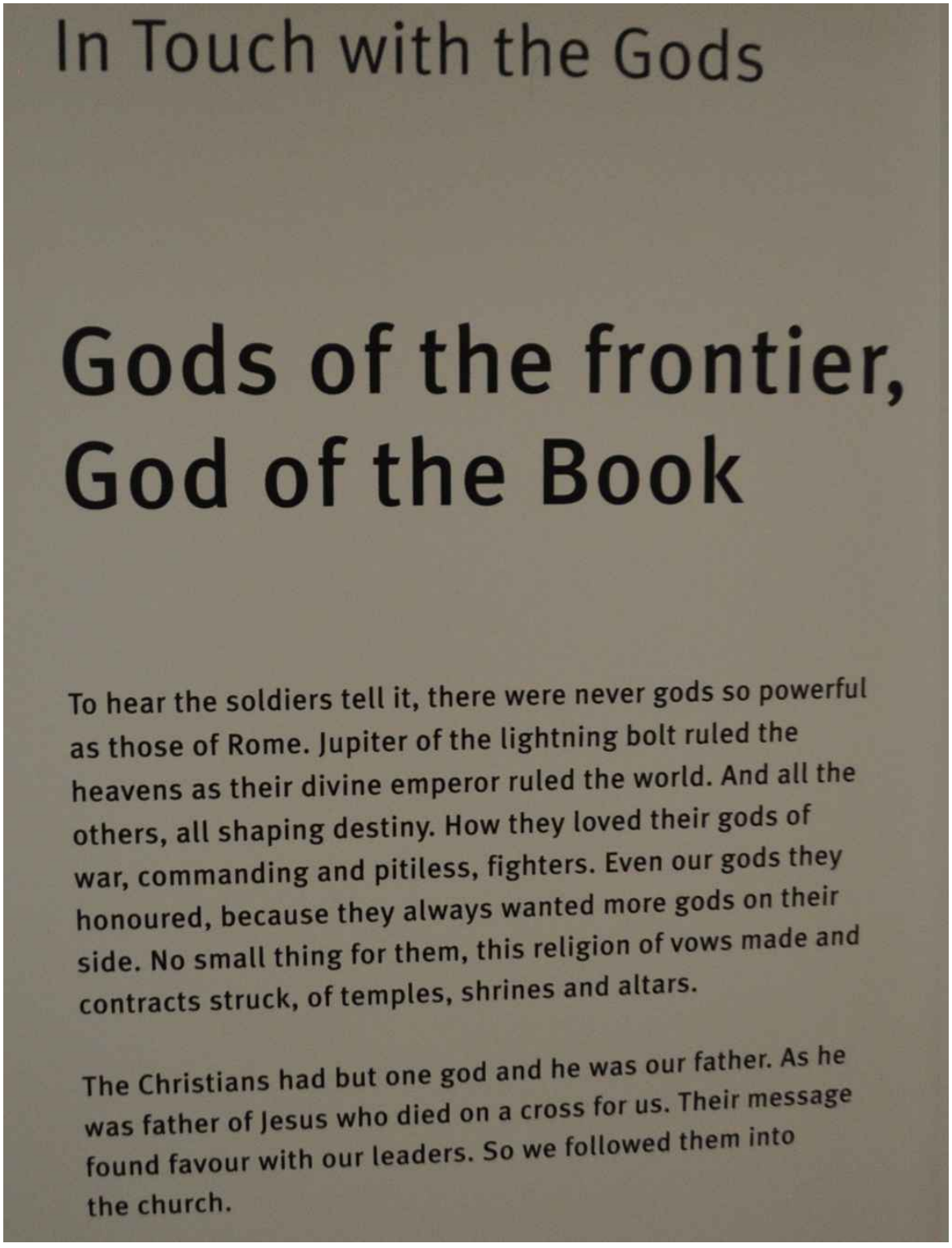


Figure A.27: Christianity as *shared heritage*

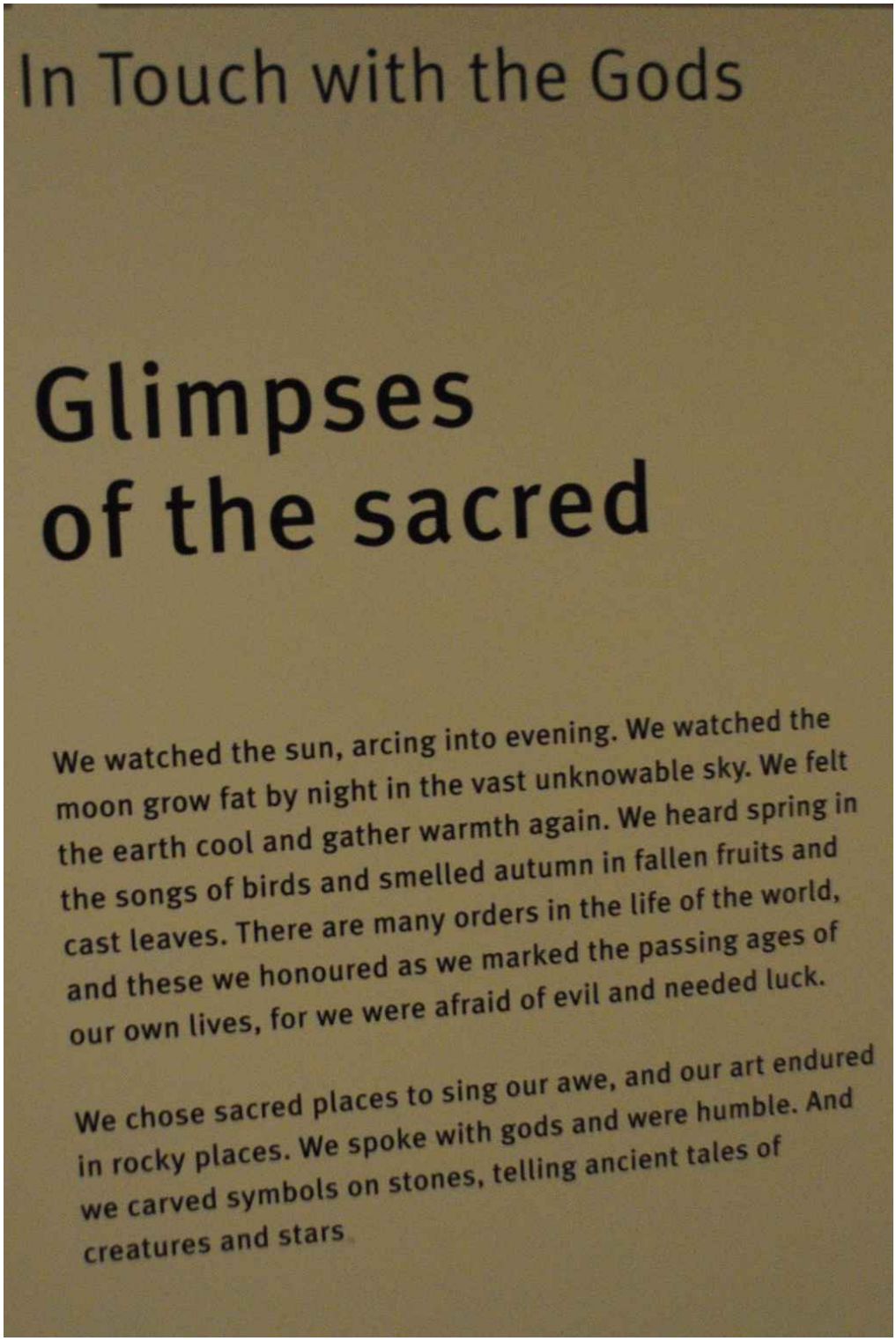


Figure A.28: Scottish *shared heritage* and *common identity* 2

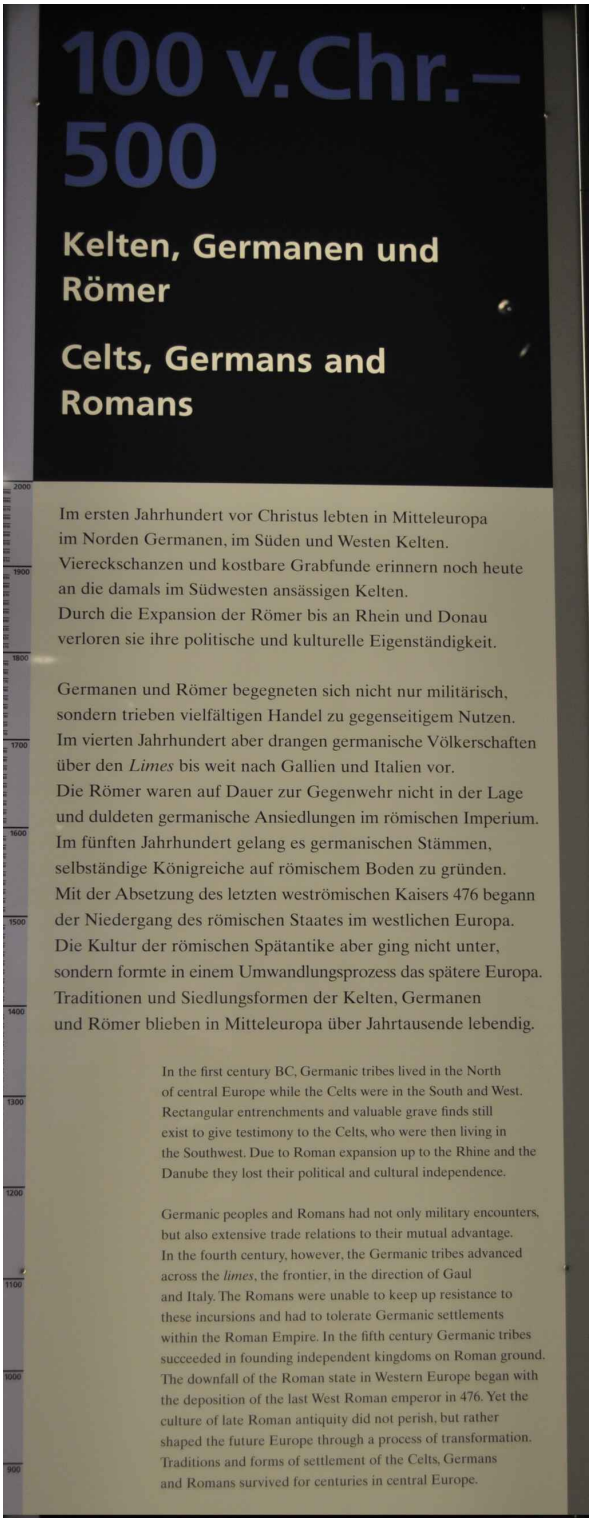
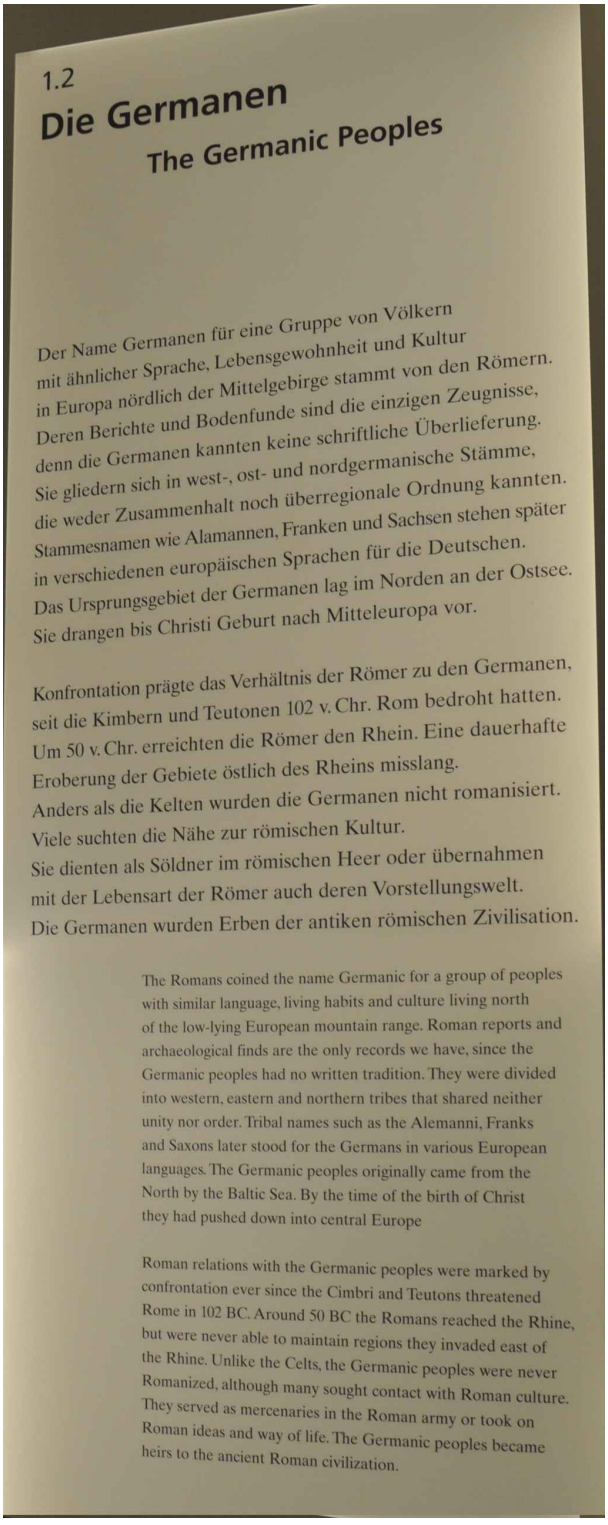


Figure A.29: Celtic, Germanic and Roman roots



1.2

Die Germanen

The Germanic Peoples

Der Name Germanen für eine Gruppe von Völkern
mit ähnlicher Sprache, Lebensgewohnheit und Kultur
in Europa nördlich der Mittelgebirge stammt von den Römern.
Deren Berichte und Bodenfunde sind die einzigen Zeugnisse,
denn die Germanen kannten keine schriftliche Überlieferung.
Sie gliedern sich in west-, ost- und nordgermanische Stämme,
die weder Zusammenhalt noch überregionale Ordnung kannten.
Stammesnamen wie Alamannen, Franken und Sachsen stehen später
in verschiedenen europäischen Sprachen für die Deutschen.
Das Ursprungsgebiet der Germanen lag im Norden an der Ostsee.
Sie drangen bis Christi Geburt nach Mitteleuropa vor.

Konfrontation prägte das Verhältnis der Römer zu den Germanen,
seit die Kimbern und Teutonen 102 v. Chr. Rom bedroht hatten.
Um 50 v. Chr. erreichten die Römer den Rhein. Eine dauerhafte
Eroberung der Gebiete östlich des Rheins misslang.
Anders als die Kelten wurden die Germanen nicht romanisiert.
Viele suchten die Nähe zur römischen Kultur.
Sie dienten als Söldner im römischen Heer oder übernahmen
mit der Lebensart der Römer auch deren Vorstellungswelt.
Die Germanen wurden Erben der antiken römischen Zivilisation.

The Romans coined the name Germanic for a group of peoples with similar language, living habits and culture living north of the low-lying European mountain range. Roman reports and archaeological finds are the only records we have, since the Germanic peoples had no written tradition. They were divided into western, eastern and northern tribes that shared neither unity nor order. Tribal names such as the Alemanni, Franks and Saxons later stood for the Germans in various European languages. The Germanic peoples originally came from the North by the Baltic Sea. By the time of the birth of Christ they had pushed down into central Europe

Roman relations with the Germanic peoples were marked by confrontation ever since the Cimbri and Teutons threatened Rome in 102 BC. Around 50 BC the Romans reached the Rhine, but were never able to maintain regions they invaded east of the Rhine. Unlike the Celts, the Germanic peoples were never Romanized, although many sought contact with Roman culture. They served as mercenaries in the Roman army or took on Roman ideas and way of life. The Germanic peoples became heirs to the ancient Roman civilization.

Figure A.30: Germanics

Figure A.31: German Eagle 1

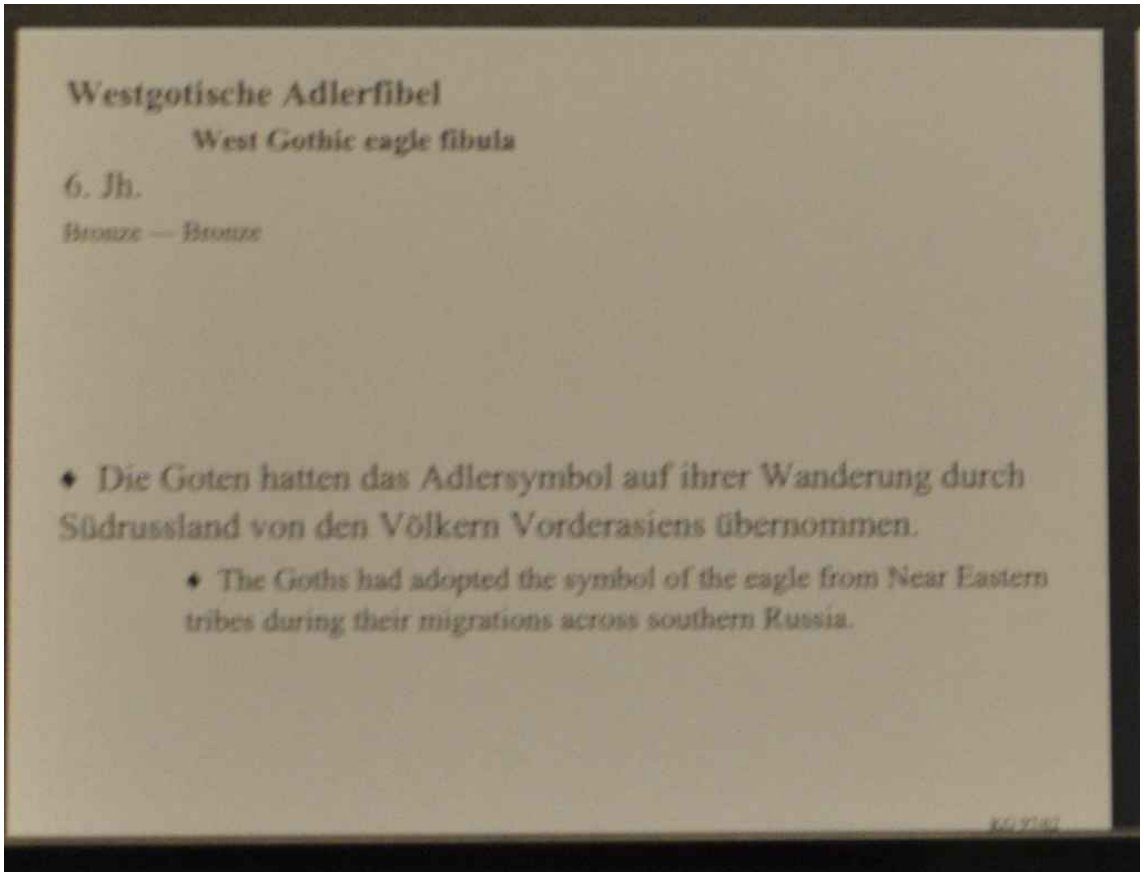


Figure A.32: Label German Eagle 1

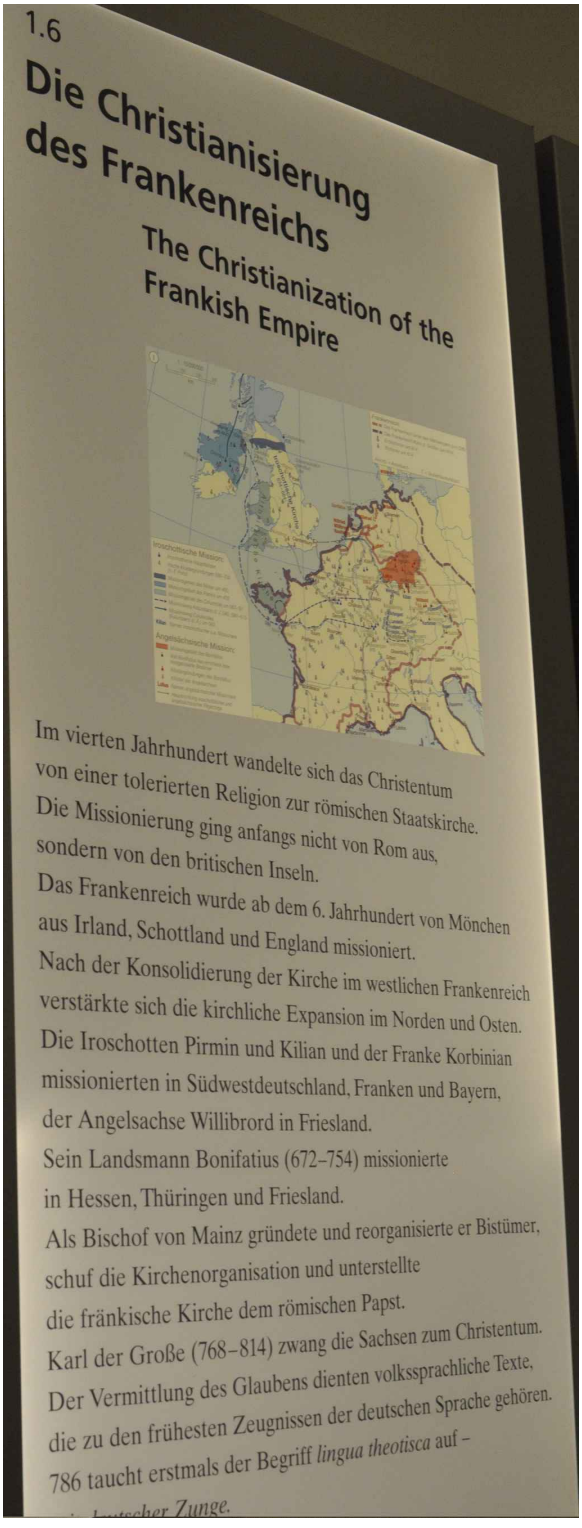


Figure A.33: Christian *common heritage* and German language

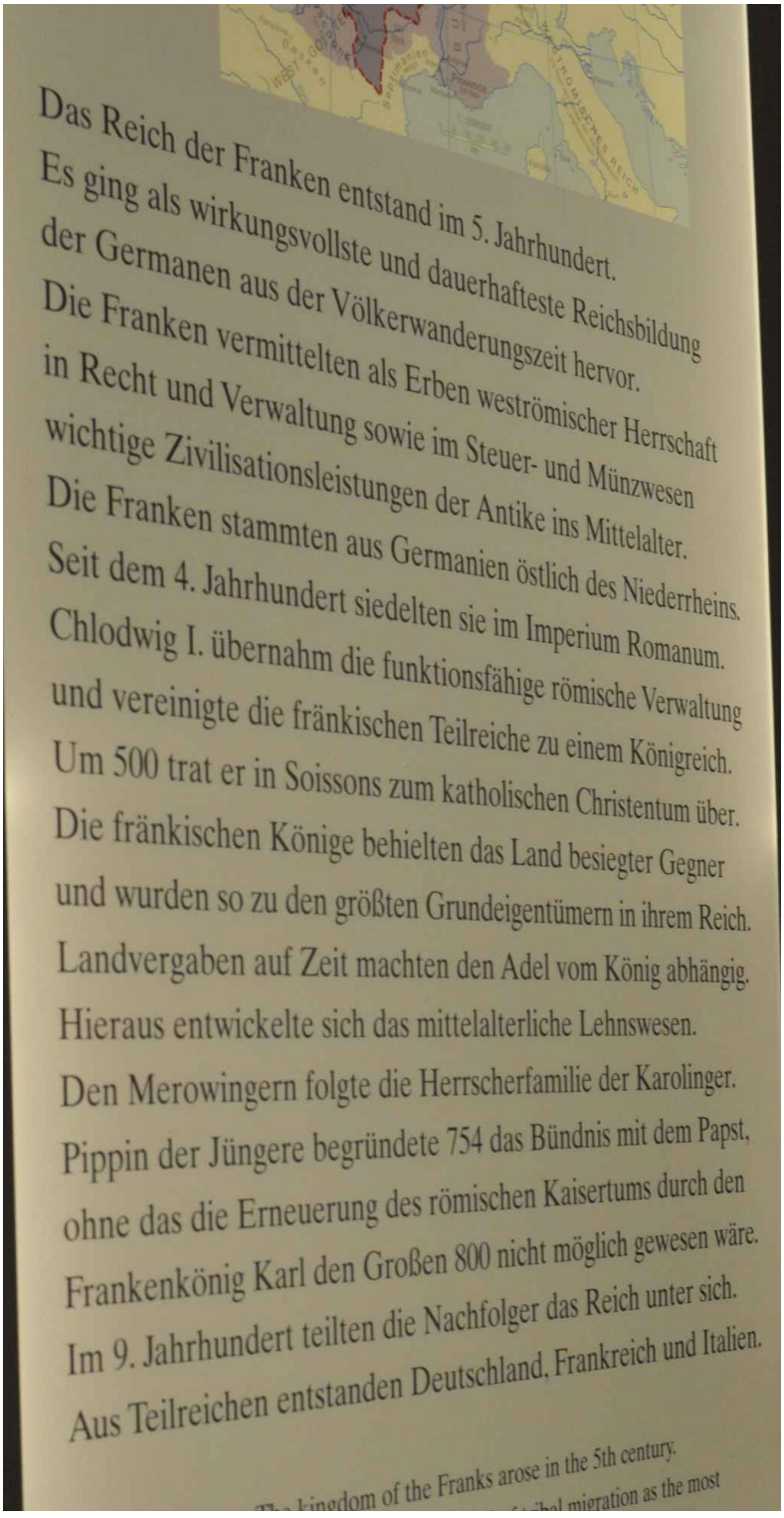


Figure A.34: Frankish Empire

Figure A.35: *Continuity* in German history

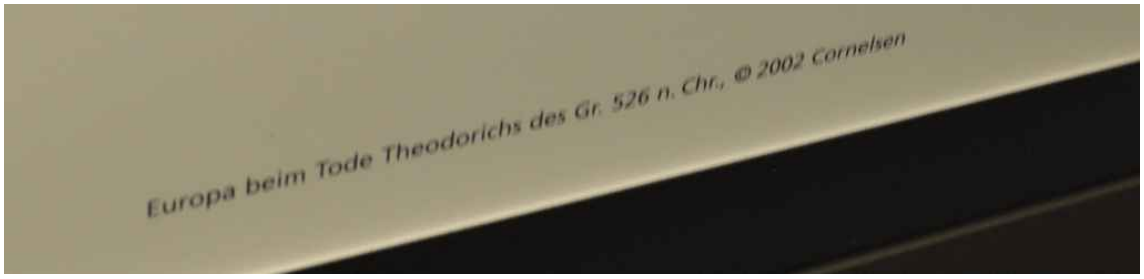


Figure A.36: Labels by German school book publisher

Figure A.37: German Eagle 2

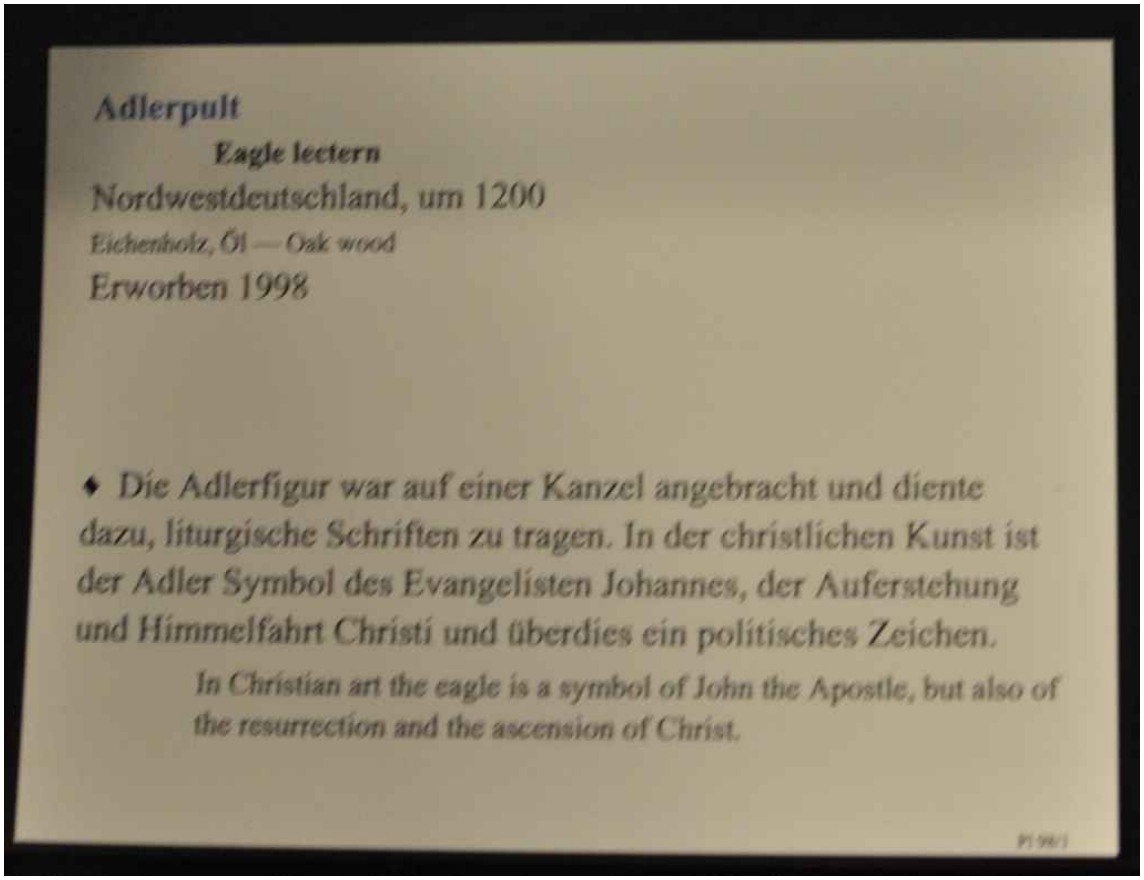
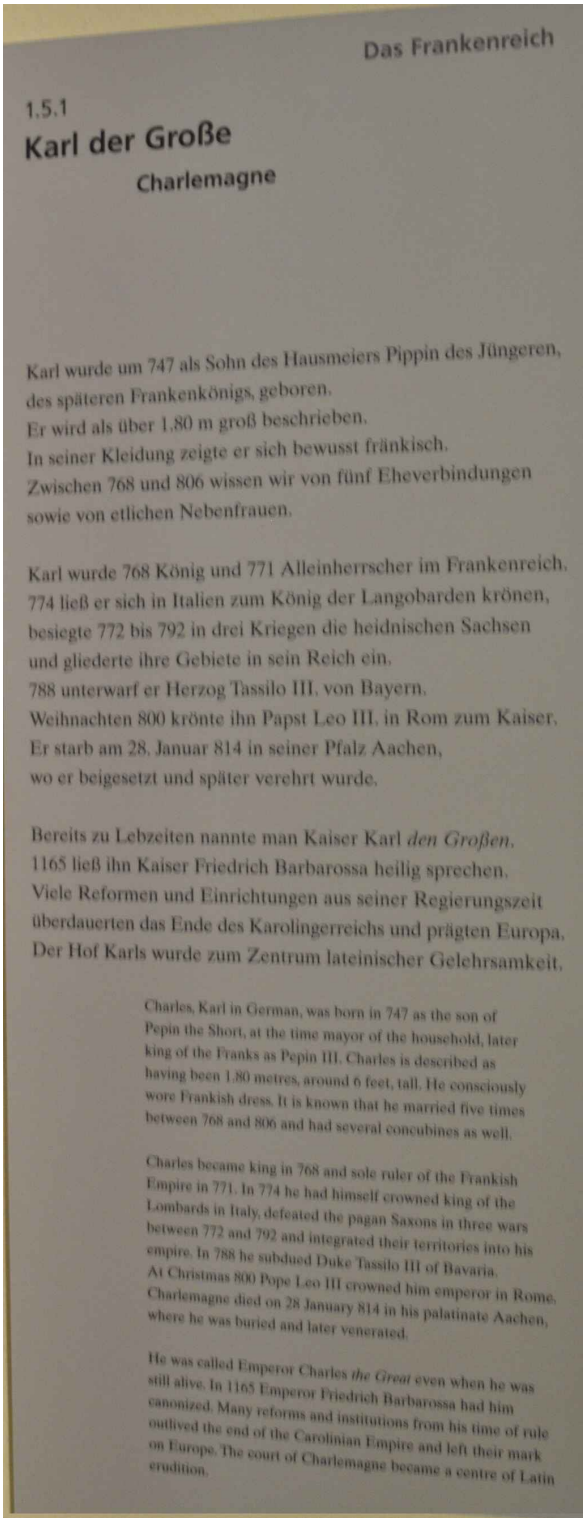


Figure A.38: Label German Eagle 2



Das Frankenreich

1.5.1

Karl der Große

Charlemagne

Karl wurde um 747 als Sohn des Hausmeiers Pippin des Jüngeren, des späteren Frankenkönigs, geboren.
Er wird als über 1.80 m groß beschrieben.
In seiner Kleidung zeigte er sich bewusst fränkisch.
Zwischen 768 und 806 wissen wir von fünf Eheverbindungen sowie von etlichen Nebenfrauen.

Karl wurde 768 König und 771 Alleinherrscher im Frankenreich.
774 ließ er sich in Italien zum König der Langobarden krönen,
besiegte 772 bis 792 in drei Kriegen die heidnischen Sachsen
und gliederte ihre Gebiete in sein Reich ein.
788 unterwarf er Herzog Tassilo III. von Bayern.
Weihnachten 800 krönte ihn Papst Leo III. in Rom zum Kaiser.
Er starb am 28. Januar 814 in seiner Pfalz Aachen,
wo er beigesetzt und später verehrt wurde.

Bereits zu Lebzeiten nannte man Kaiser Karl *den Großen*.
1165 ließ ihn Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa heilig sprechen.
Viele Reformen und Einrichtungen aus seiner Regierungszeit
überdauerten das Ende des Karolingerreichs und prägten Europa.
Der Hof Karls wurde zum Zentrum lateinischer Gelehrsamkeit.

Charles, Karl in German, was born in 747 as the son of Pepin the Short, at the time mayor of the household, later king of the Franks as Pepin III. Charles is described as having been 1.80 metres, around 6 feet, tall. He consciously wore Frankish dress. It is known that he married five times between 768 and 806 and had several concubines as well.

Charles became king in 768 and sole ruler of the Frankish Empire in 771. In 774 he had himself crowned king of the Lombards in Italy, defeated the pagan Saxons in three wars between 772 and 792 and integrated their territories into his empire. In 788 he subdued Duke Tassilo III of Bavaria. At Christmas 800 Pope Leo III crowned him emperor in Rome. Charlemagne died on 28 January 814 in his palatinate Aachen, where he was buried and later venerated.

He was called Emperor Charles *the Great* even when he was still alive. In 1165 Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa had him canonized. Many reforms and institutions from his time of rule outlived the end of the Carolinian Empire and left their mark on Europe. The court of Charlemagne became a centre of Latin erudition.

Figure A.39: Charlesmagne

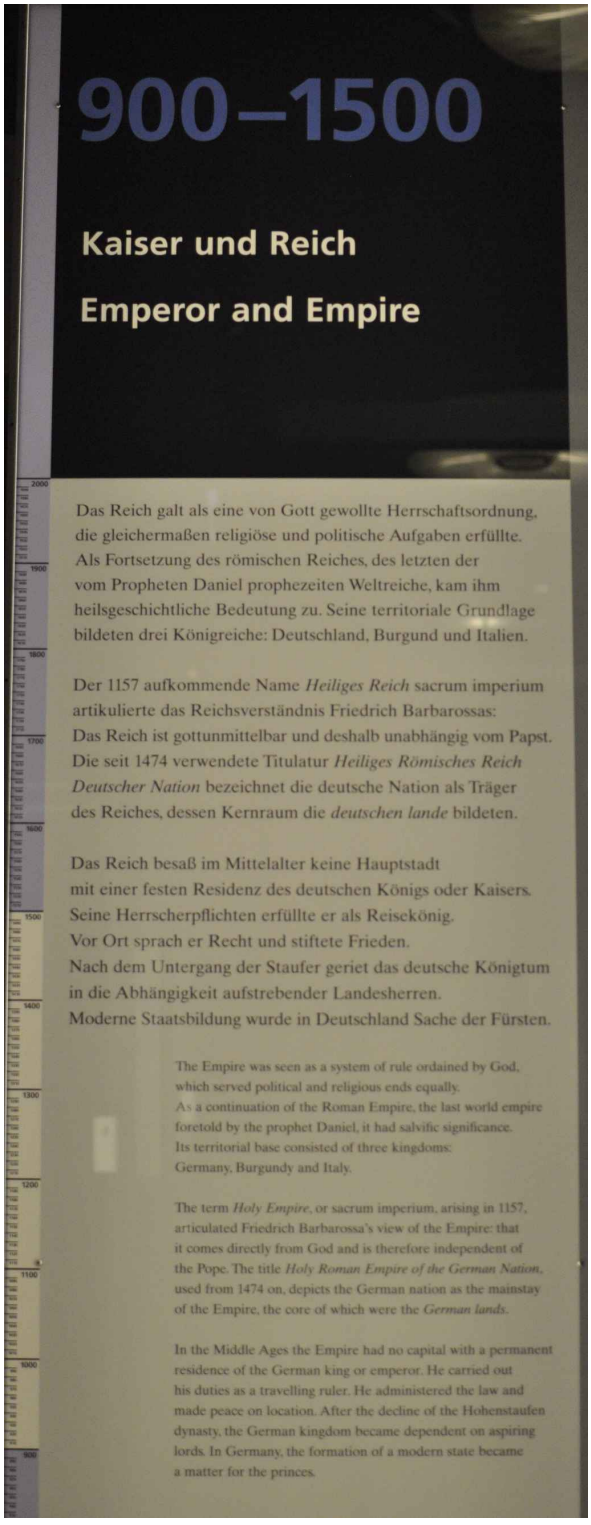
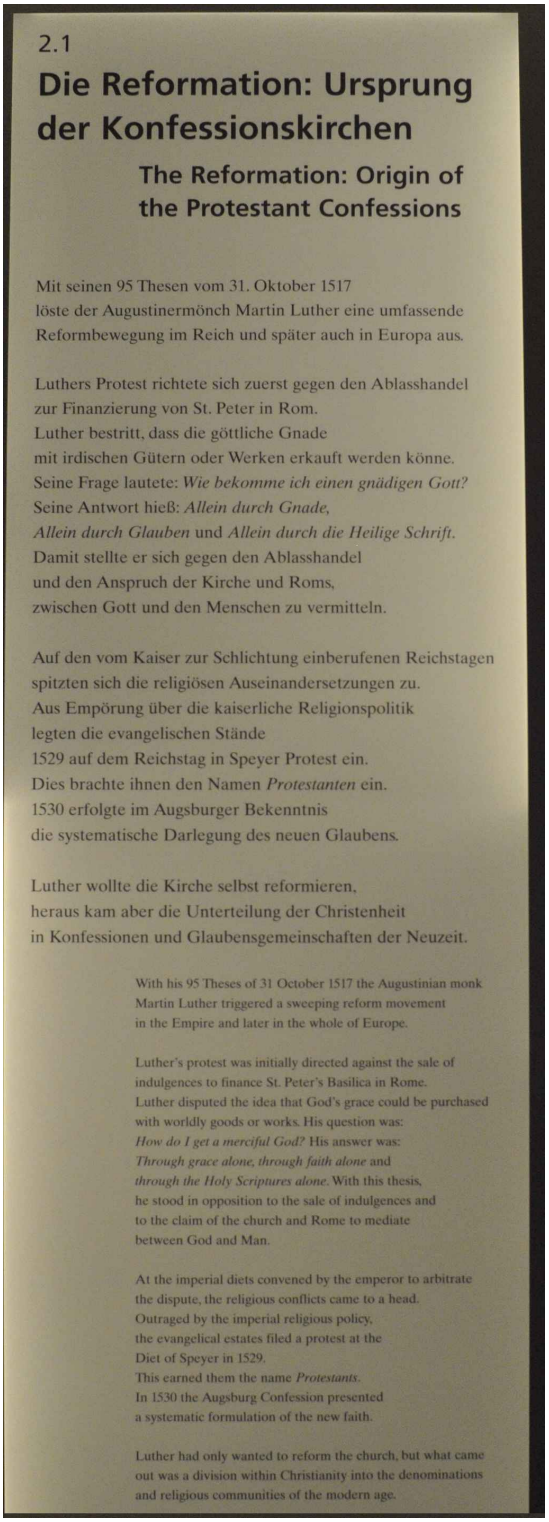


Figure A.40: God-given Holy Roman Empire



2.1

Die Reformation: Ursprung der Konfessionskirchen

The Reformation: Origin of the Protestant Confessions

Mit seinen 95 Thesen vom 31. Oktober 1517
löste der Augustinermönch Martin Luther eine umfassende
Reformbewegung im Reich und später auch in Europa aus.

Luthers Protest richtete sich zuerst gegen den Ablasshandel
zur Finanzierung von St. Peter in Rom.
Luther bestritt, dass die göttliche Gnade
mit irdischen Gütern oder Werken erkauft werden könne.
Seine Frage lautete: *Wie bekomme ich einen gnädigen Gott?*
Seine Antwort hieß: *Allein durch Gnade,*
Allein durch Glauben und *Allein durch die Heilige Schrift.*
Damit stellte er sich gegen den Ablasshandel
und den Anspruch der Kirche und Roms,
zwischen Gott und den Menschen zu vermitteln.

Auf den vom Kaiser zur Schlichtung einberufenen Reichstagen
spitzten sich die religiösen Auseinandersetzungen zu.
Aus Empörung über die kaiserliche Religionspolitik
legten die evangelischen Stände
1529 auf dem Reichstag in Speyer Protest ein.
Dies brachte ihnen den Namen *Protestanten* ein.
1530 erfolgte im Augsburger Bekenntnis
die systematische Darlegung des neuen Glaubens.

Luther wollte die Kirche selbst reformieren,
heraus kam aber die Unterteilung der Christenheit
in Konfessionen und Glaubensgemeinschaften der Neuzeit.

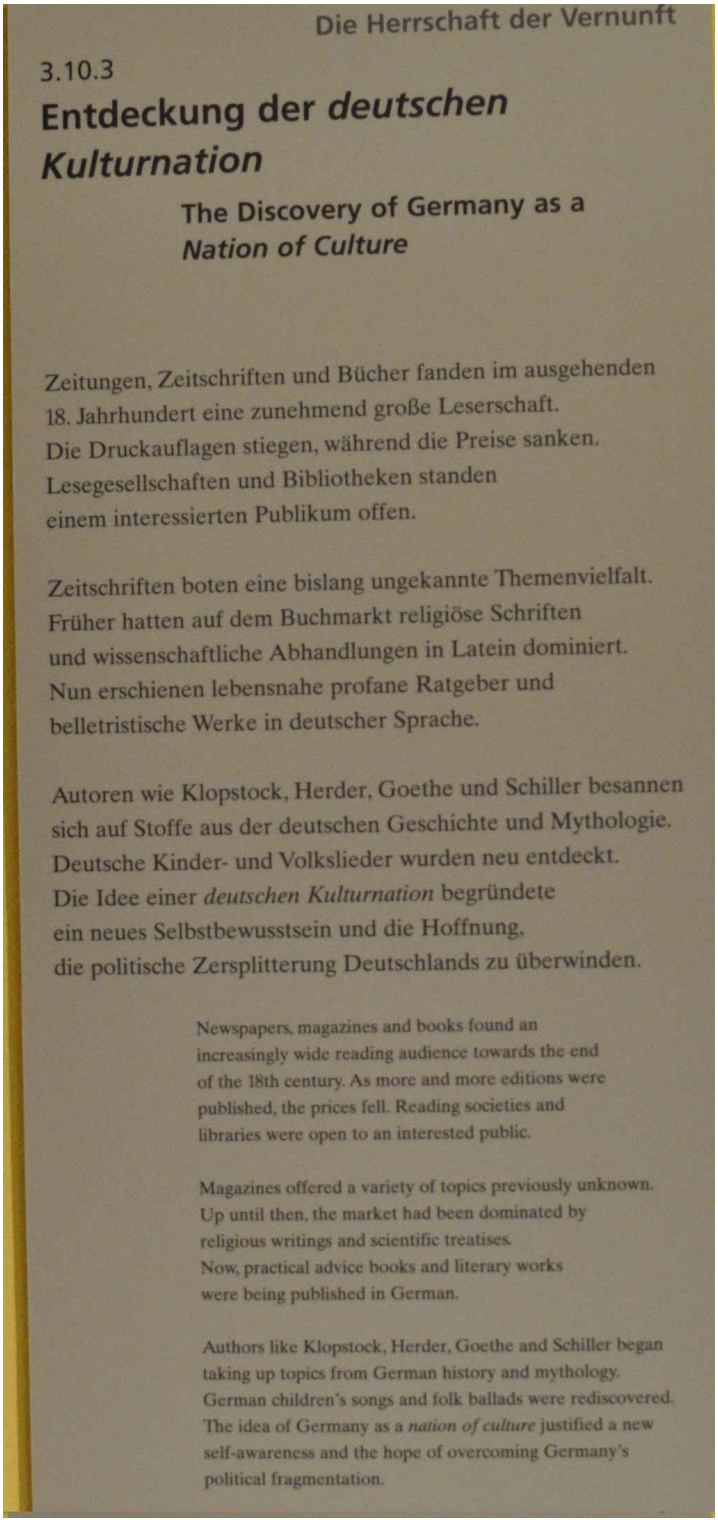
With his 95 Theses of 31 October 1517 the Augustinian monk
Martin Luther triggered a sweeping reform movement
in the Empire and later in the whole of Europe.

Luther's protest was initially directed against the sale of
indulgences to finance St. Peter's Basilica in Rome.
Luther disputed the idea that God's grace could be purchased
with worldly goods or works. His question was:
How do I get a merciful God? His answer was:
Through grace alone, through faith alone and
through the Holy Scriptures alone. With this thesis,
he stood in opposition to the sale of indulgences and
to the claim of the church and Rome to mediate
between God and Man.

At the imperial diets convened by the emperor to arbitrate
the dispute, the religious conflicts came to a head.
Outraged by the imperial religious policy,
the evangelical estates filed a protest at the
Diet of Speyer in 1529.
This earned them the name *Protestants*.
In 1530 the Augsburg Confession presented
a systematic formulation of the new faith.

Luther had only wanted to reform the church, but what came
out was a division within Christianity into the denominations
and religious communities of the modern age.

Figure A.41: Martin Luther



Die Herrschaft der Vernunft

3.10.3

Entdeckung der *deutschen Kulturnation*

The Discovery of Germany as a *Nation of Culture*

Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Bücher fanden im ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert eine zunehmend große Leserschaft. Die Druckauflagen stiegen, während die Preise sanken. Lesegesellschaften und Bibliotheken standen einem interessierten Publikum offen.

Zeitschriften boten eine bislang ungekannte Themenvielfalt. Früher hatten auf dem Buchmarkt religiöse Schriften und wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen in Latein dominiert. Nun erschienen lebensnahe profane Ratgeber und belletristische Werke in deutscher Sprache.

Autoren wie Klopstock, Herder, Goethe und Schiller besannen sich auf Stoffe aus der deutschen Geschichte und Mythologie. Deutsche Kinder- und Volkslieder wurden neu entdeckt. Die Idee einer *deutschen Kulturnation* begründete ein neues Selbstbewusstsein und die Hoffnung, die politische Zersplitterung Deutschlands zu überwinden.

Newspapers, magazines and books found an increasingly wide reading audience towards the end of the 18th century. As more and more editions were published, the prices fell. Reading societies and libraries were open to an interested public.

Magazines offered a variety of topics previously unknown. Up until then, the market had been dominated by religious writings and scientific treatises. Now, practical advice books and literary works were being published in German.

Authors like Klopstock, Herder, Goethe and Schiller began taking up topics from German history and mythology. German children's songs and folk ballads were rediscovered. The idea of Germany as a *nation of culture* justified a new self-awareness and the hope of overcoming Germany's political fragmentation.

Figure A.42: Goethe and Schiller

Figure A.43: German flag 1

Figure A.44: German flag 2

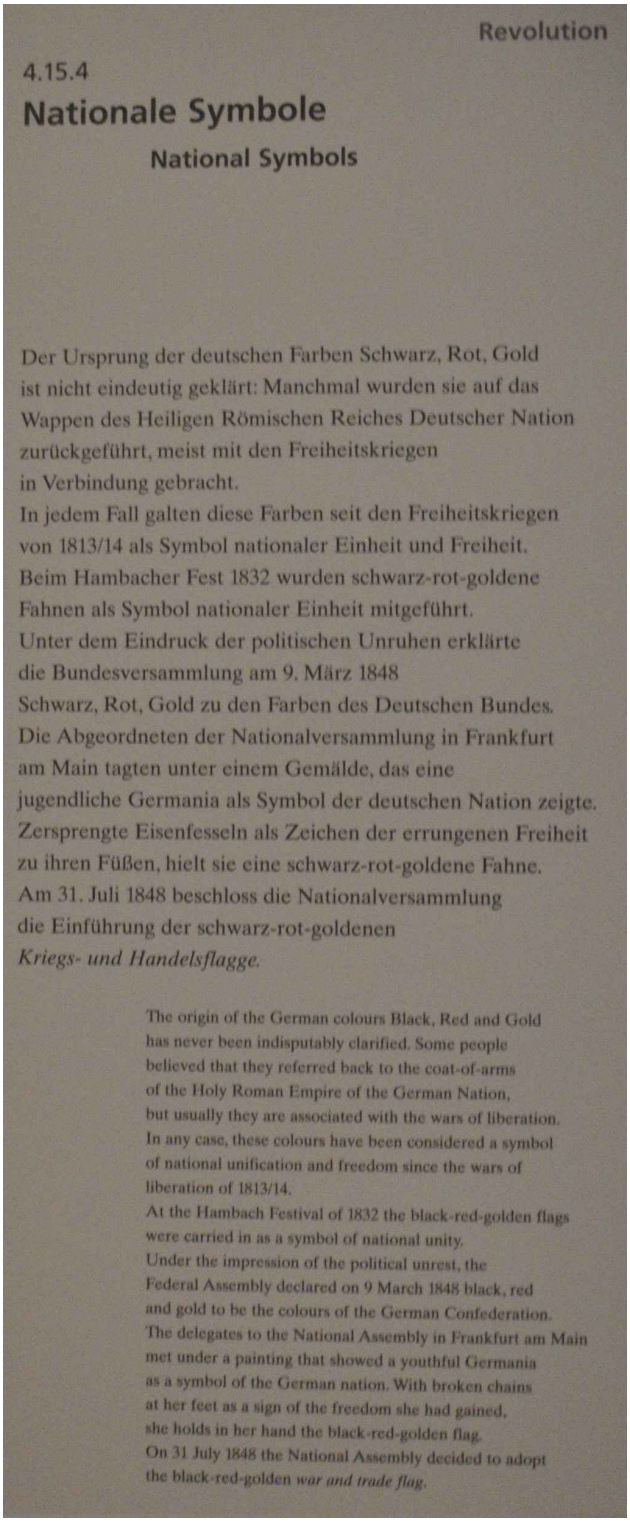


Figure A.45: German *National symbols*

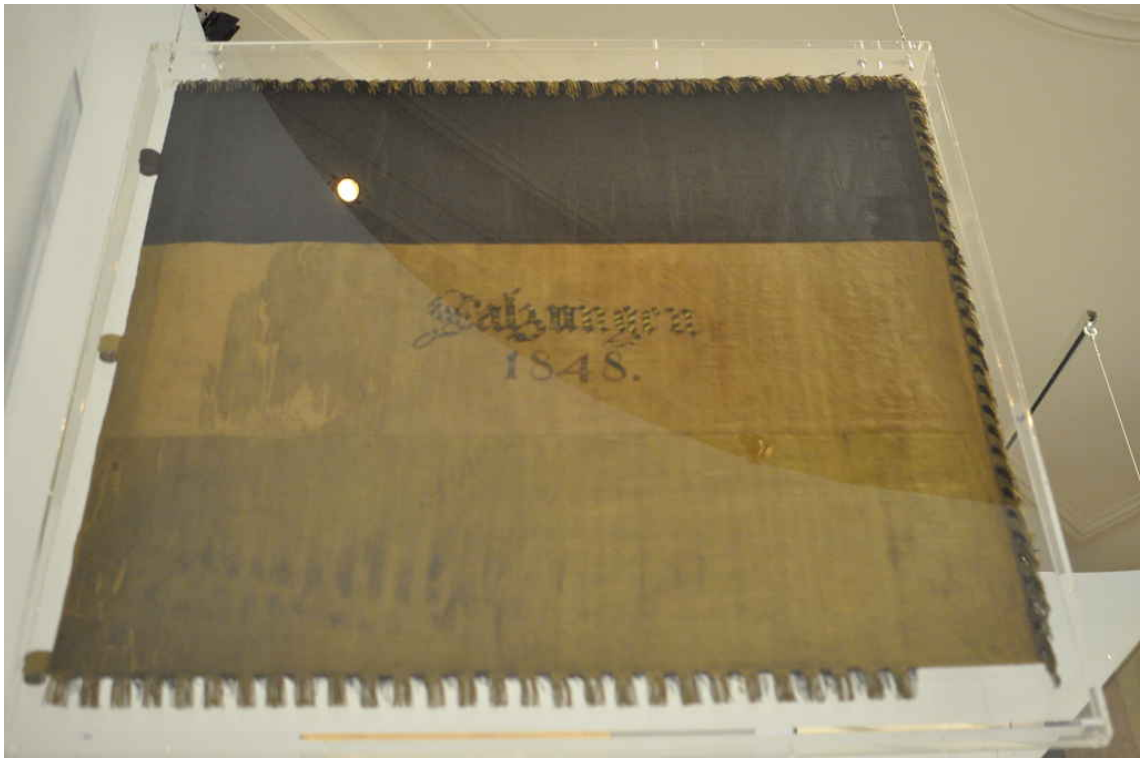


Figure A.46: German flag 3

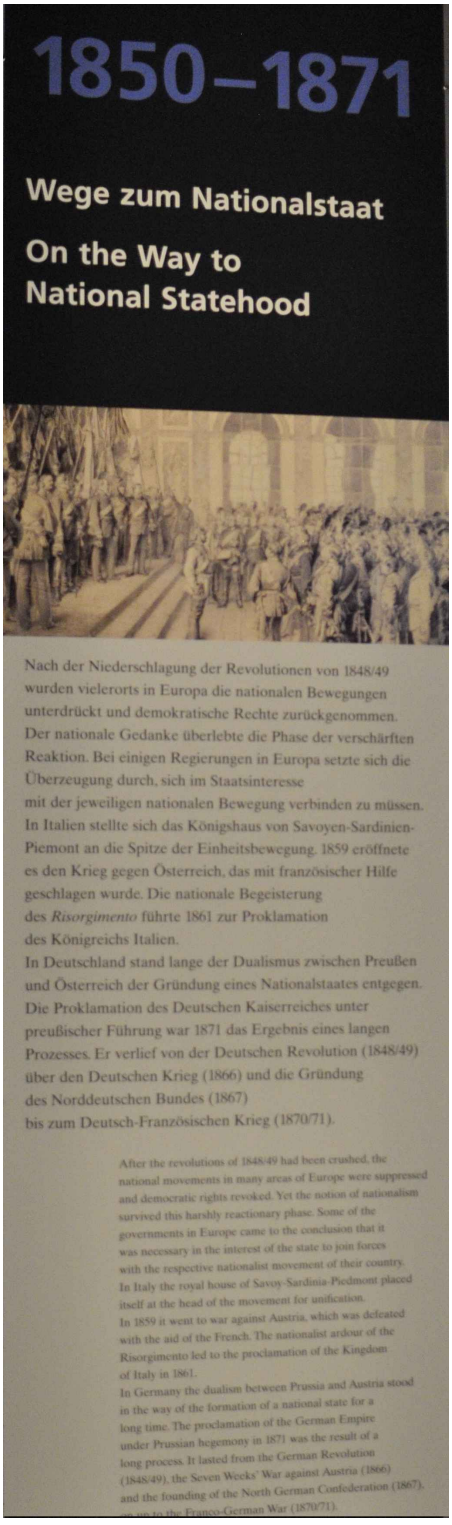
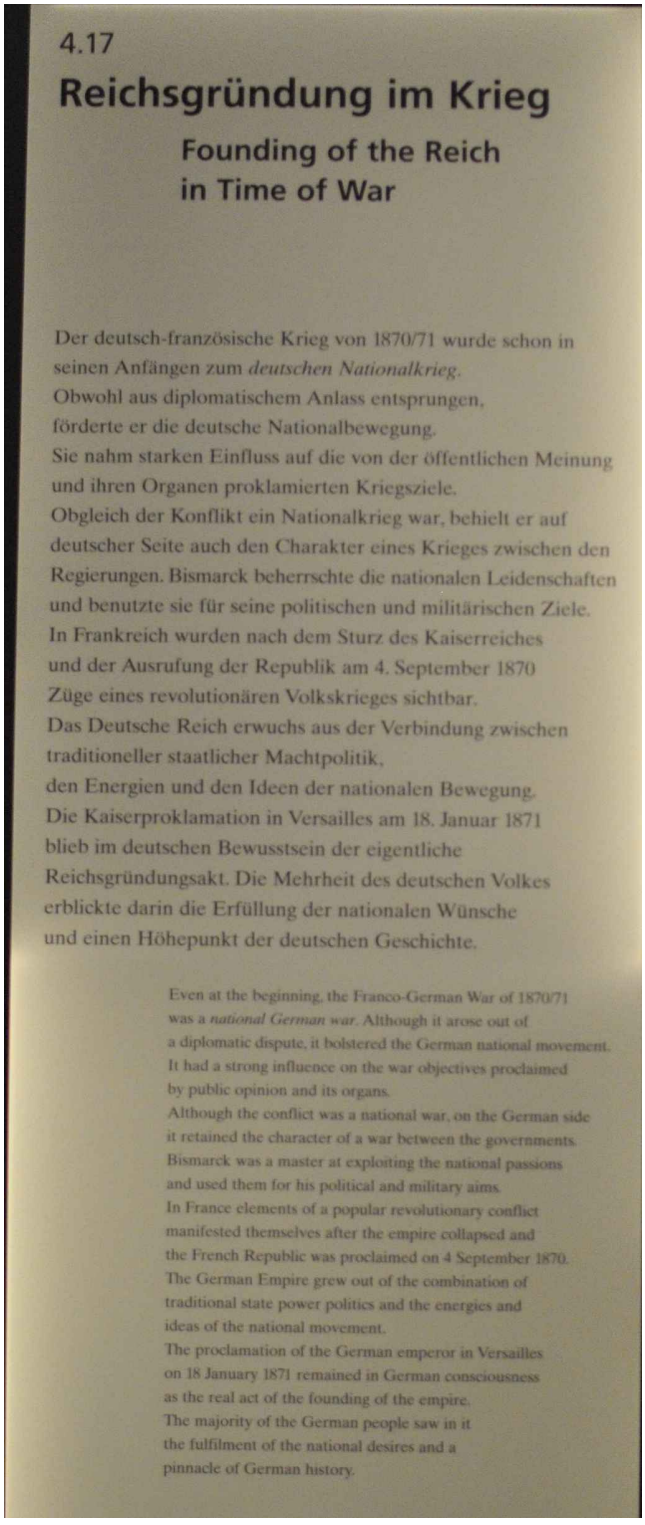


Figure A.47: Founding after *struggle against enemies*



4.17

Reichsgründung im Krieg

Founding of the Reich in Time of War

Der deutsch-französische Krieg von 1870/71 wurde schon in seinen Anfängen zum *deutschen Nationalkrieg*.
Obwohl aus diplomatischem Anlass entsprungen, förderte er die deutsche Nationalbewegung.
Sie nahm starken Einfluss auf die von der öffentlichen Meinung und ihren Organen proklamierten Kriegsziele.
Obgleich der Konflikt ein Nationalkrieg war, behielt er auf deutscher Seite auch den Charakter eines Krieges zwischen den Regierungen. Bismarck beherrschte die nationalen Leidenschaften und benutzte sie für seine politischen und militärischen Ziele.
In Frankreich wurden nach dem Sturz des Kaiserreiches und der Ausrufung der Republik am 4. September 1870 Züge eines revolutionären Volkskrieges sichtbar.
Das Deutsche Reich erwuchs aus der Verbindung zwischen traditioneller staatlicher Machtpolitik, den Energien und den Ideen der nationalen Bewegung.
Die Kaiserproklamation in Versailles am 18. Januar 1871 blieb im deutschen Bewusstsein der eigentliche Reichsgründungsakt. Die Mehrheit des deutschen Volkes erblickte darin die Erfüllung der nationalen Wünsche und einen Höhepunkt der deutschen Geschichte.

Even at the beginning, the Franco-German War of 1870/71 was a *national German war*. Although it arose out of a diplomatic dispute, it bolstered the German national movement. It had a strong influence on the war objectives proclaimed by public opinion and its organs.
Although the conflict was a national war, on the German side it retained the character of a war between the governments. Bismarck was a master at exploiting the national passions and used them for his political and military aims.
In France elements of a popular revolutionary conflict manifested themselves after the empire collapsed and the French Republic was proclaimed on 4 September 1870.
The German Empire grew out of the combination of traditional state power politics and the energies and ideas of the national movement.
The proclamation of the German emperor in Versailles on 18 January 1871 remained in German consciousness as the real act of the founding of the empire.
The majority of the German people saw in it the fulfilment of the national desires and a pinnacle of German history.

Figure A.48: German Empire as the fulfillment of all dreams

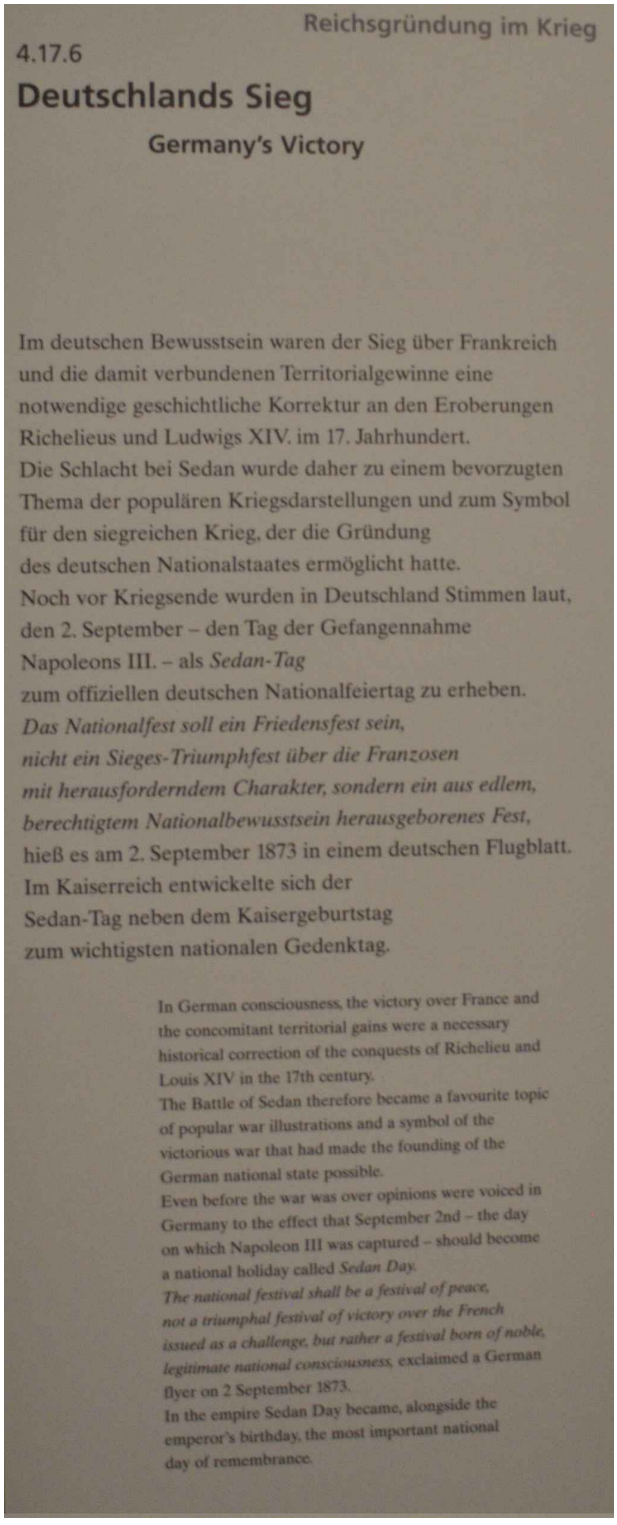


Figure A.49: The national war

Figure A.50: Herrmann monument

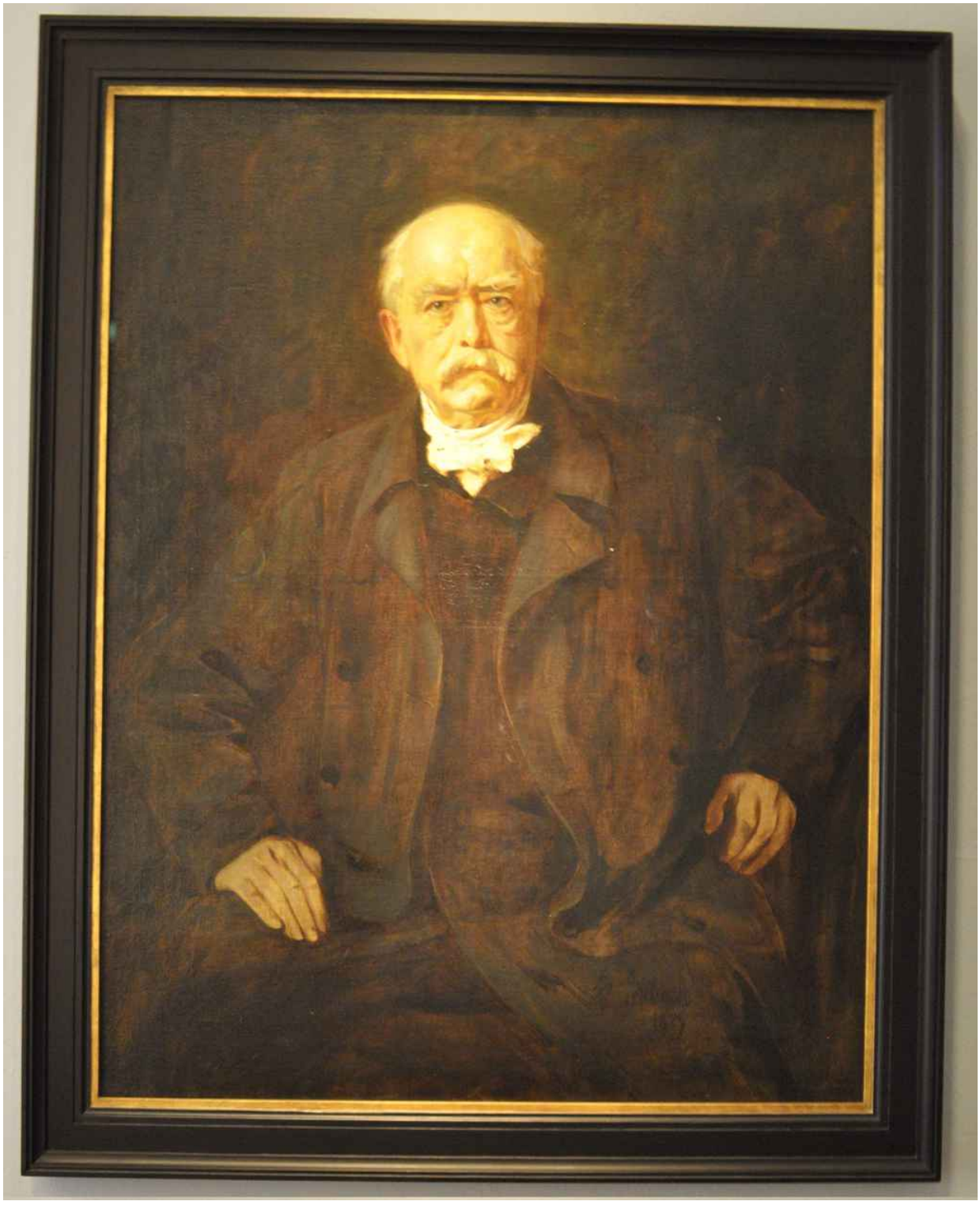


Figure A.51: Otto von Bismarck

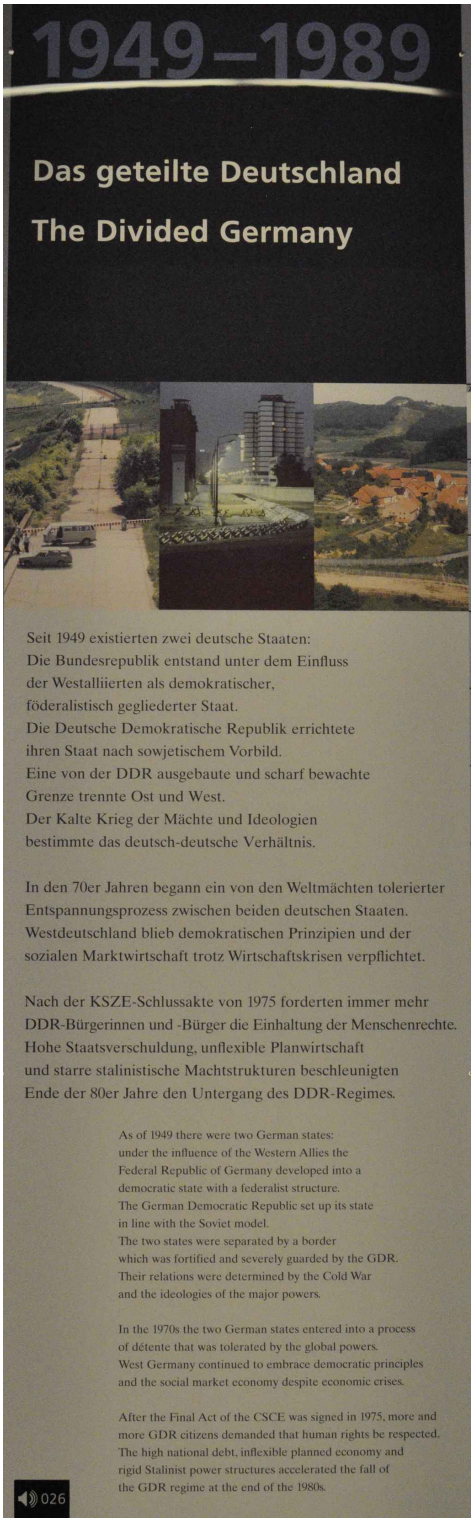
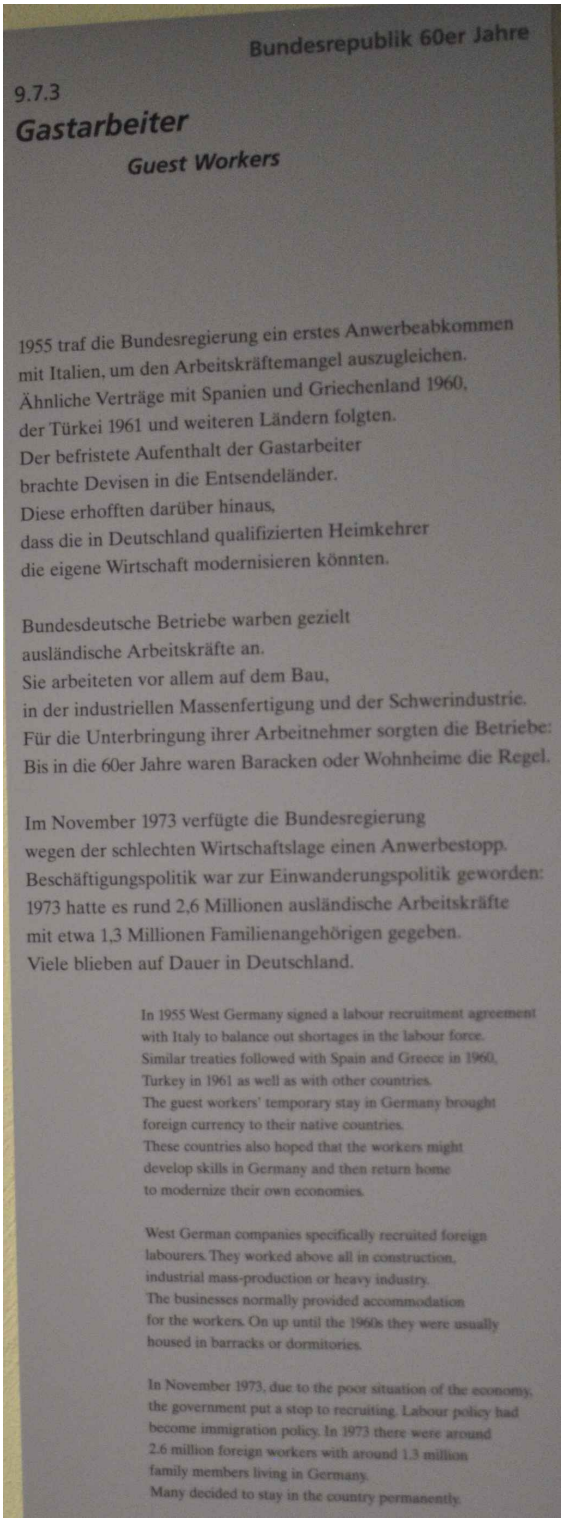


Figure A.52: Comtemorary *common German identity*



Bundesrepublik 60er Jahre

9.7.3

Gastarbeiter

Guest Workers

1955 traf die Bundesregierung ein erstes Anwerbeabkommen
mit Italien, um den Arbeitskräftemangel auszugleichen.
Ähnliche Verträge mit Spanien und Griechenland 1960,
der Türkei 1961 und weiteren Ländern folgten.
Der befristete Aufenthalt der Gastarbeiter
brachte Devisen in die Entsendeländer.
Diese erhofften darüber hinaus,
dass die in Deutschland qualifizierten Heimkehrer
die eigene Wirtschaft modernisieren könnten.

Bundesdeutsche Betriebe warben gezielt
ausländische Arbeitskräfte an.
Sie arbeiteten vor allem auf dem Bau,
in der industriellen Massenfertigung und der Schwerindustrie.
Für die Unterbringung ihrer Arbeitnehmer sorgten die Betriebe:
Bis in die 60er Jahre waren Baracken oder Wohnheime die Regel.

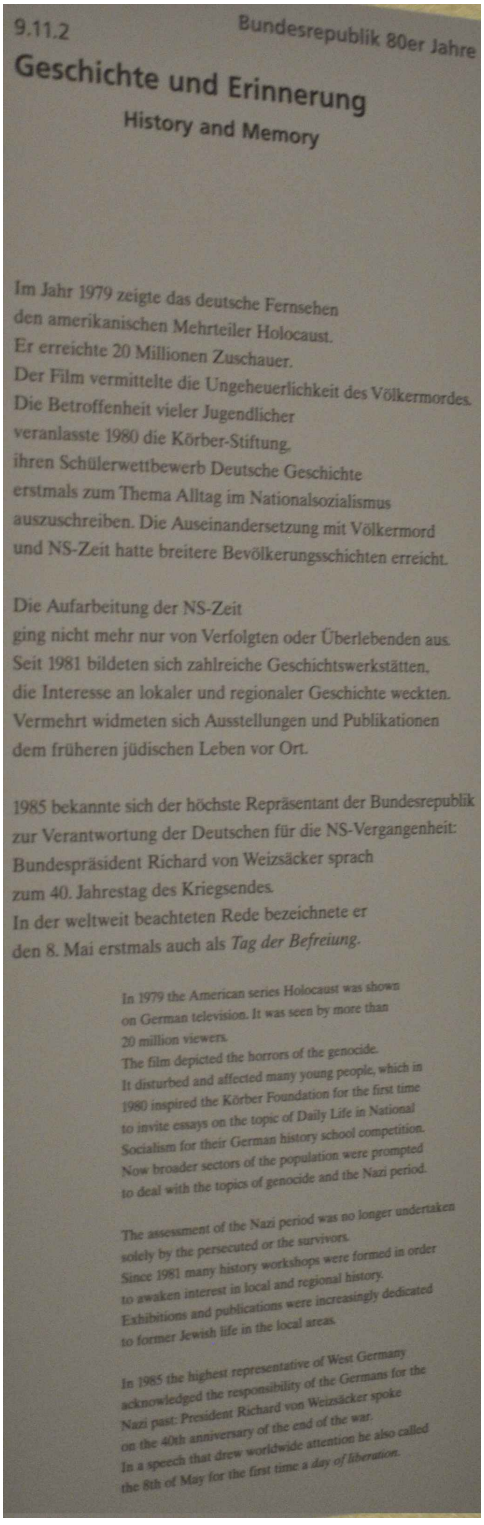
Im November 1973 verfügte die Bundesregierung
wegen der schlechten Wirtschaftslage einen Anwerbestopp.
Beschäftigungspolitik war zur Einwanderungspolitik geworden:
1973 hatte es rund 2,6 Millionen ausländische Arbeitskräfte
mit etwa 1,3 Millionen Familienangehörigen gegeben.
Viele blieben auf Dauer in Deutschland.

In 1955 West Germany signed a labour recruitment agreement
with Italy to balance out shortages in the labour force.
Similar treaties followed with Spain and Greece in 1960,
Turkey in 1961 as well as with other countries.
The guest workers' temporary stay in Germany brought
foreign currency to their native countries.
These countries also hoped that the workers might
develop skills in Germany and then return home
to modernize their own economies.

West German companies specifically recruited foreign
labourers. They worked above all in construction,
industrial mass-production or heavy industry.
The businesses normally provided accommodation
for the workers. On up until the 1960s they were usually
housed in barracks or dormitories.

In November 1973, due to the poor situation of the economy,
the government put a stop to recruiting. Labour policy had
become immigration policy. In 1973 there were around
2.6 million foreign workers with around 1.3 million
family members living in Germany.
Many decided to stay in the country permanently.

Figure A.53: Guest workers



9.11.2 Bundesrepublik 80er Jahre

Geschichte und Erinnerung

History and Memory

Im Jahr 1979 zeigte das deutsche Fernsehen
den amerikanischen Mehrteiler Holocaust.
Er erreichte 20 Millionen Zuschauer.
Der Film vermittelte die Ungeheuerlichkeit des Völkermordes.
Die Betroffenheit vieler Jugendlicher
veranlasste 1980 die Körber-Stiftung,
ihren Schülerwettbewerb Deutsche Geschichte
erstmals zum Thema Alltag im Nationalsozialismus
auszuschreiben. Die Auseinandersetzung mit Völkermord
und NS-Zeit hatte breitere Bevölkerungsschichten erreicht.

Die Aufarbeitung der NS-Zeit
ging nicht mehr nur von Verfolgten oder Überlebenden aus.
Seit 1981 bildeten sich zahlreiche Geschichtswerkstätten,
die Interesse an lokaler und regionaler Geschichte weckten.
Vermehrt widmeten sich Ausstellungen und Publikationen
dem früheren jüdischen Leben vor Ort.

1985 bekannte sich der höchste Repräsentant der Bundesrepublik
zur Verantwortung der Deutschen für die NS-Vergangenheit:
Bundespräsident Richard von Weizsäcker sprach
zum 40. Jahrestag des Kriegsendes.
In der weltweit beachteten Rede bezeichnete er
den 8. Mai erstmals auch als *Tag der Befreiung*.

In 1979 the American series Holocaust was shown
on German television. It was seen by more than
20 million viewers.
The film depicted the horrors of the genocide.
It disturbed and affected many young people, which in
1980 inspired the Körber Foundation for the first time
to invite essays on the topic of Daily Life in National
Socialism for their German history school competition.
Now broader sectors of the population were prompted
to deal with the topics of genocide and the Nazi period.

The assessment of the Nazi period was no longer undertaken
solely by the persecuted or the survivors.
Since 1981 many history workshops were formed in order
to awaken interest in local and regional history.
Exhibitions and publications were increasingly dedicated
to former Jewish life in the local areas.

In 1985 the highest representative of West Germany
acknowledged the responsibility of the Germans for the
Nazi past: President Richard von Weizsäcker spoke
on the 40th anniversary of the end of the war.
In a speech that drew worldwide attention he also called
the 8th of May for the first time a *day of liberation*.

Figure A.54: Comming to terms with the past

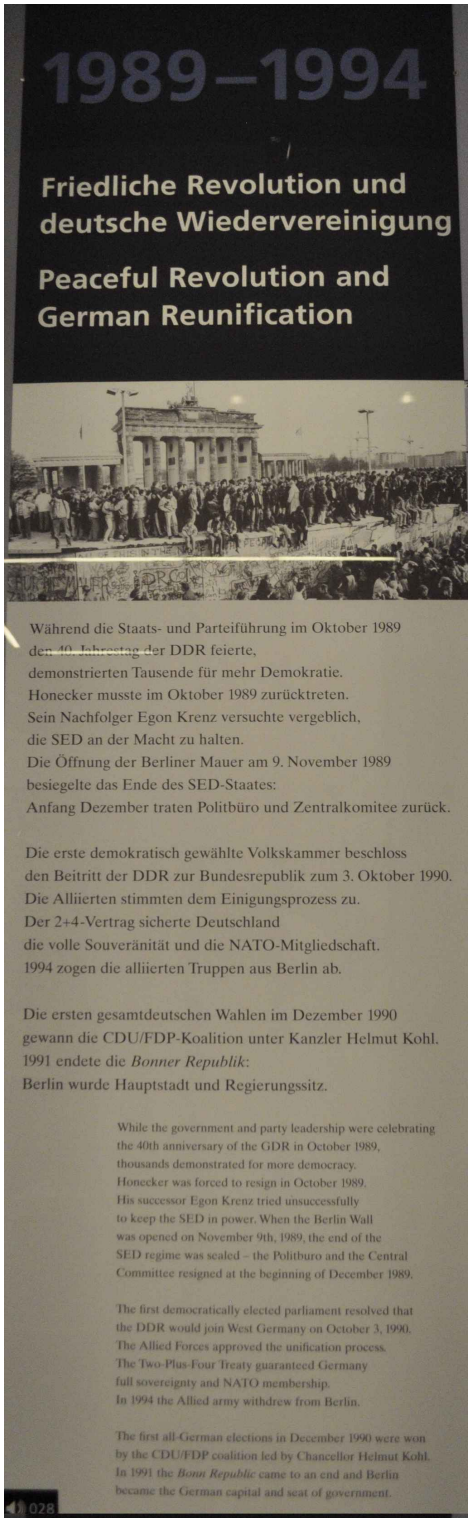


Figure A.55: Frictionless German Reunification

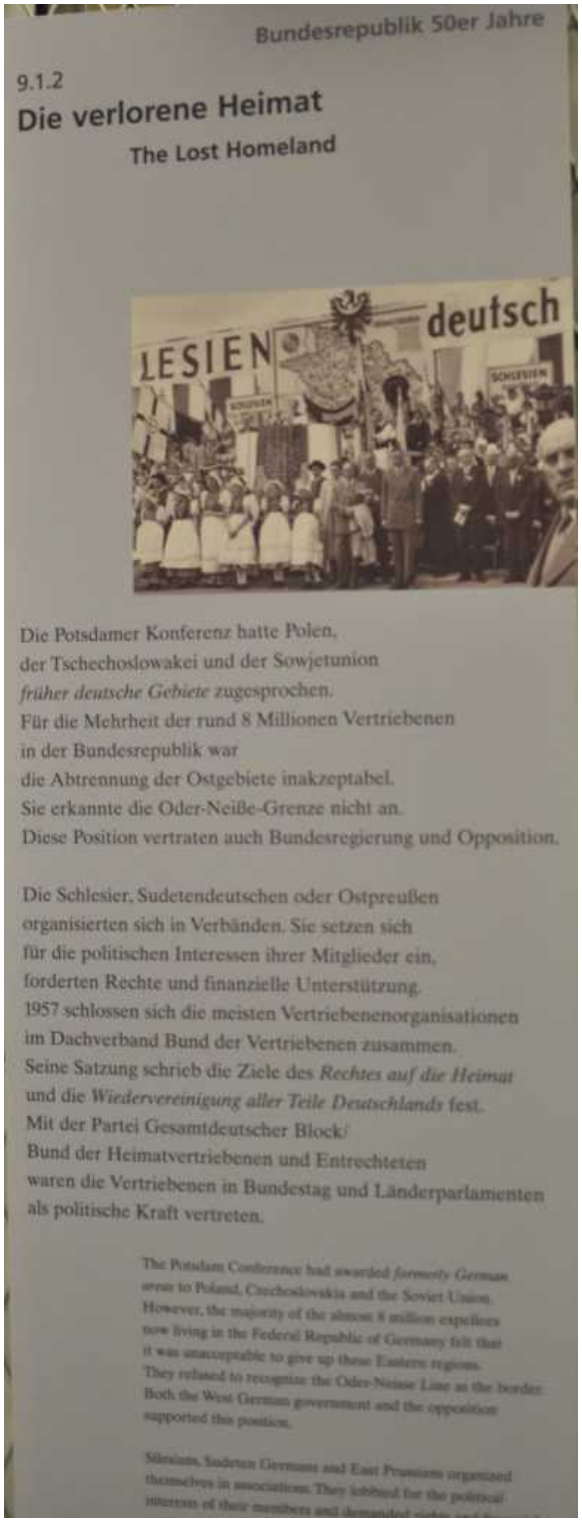


Figure A.56: German expellees

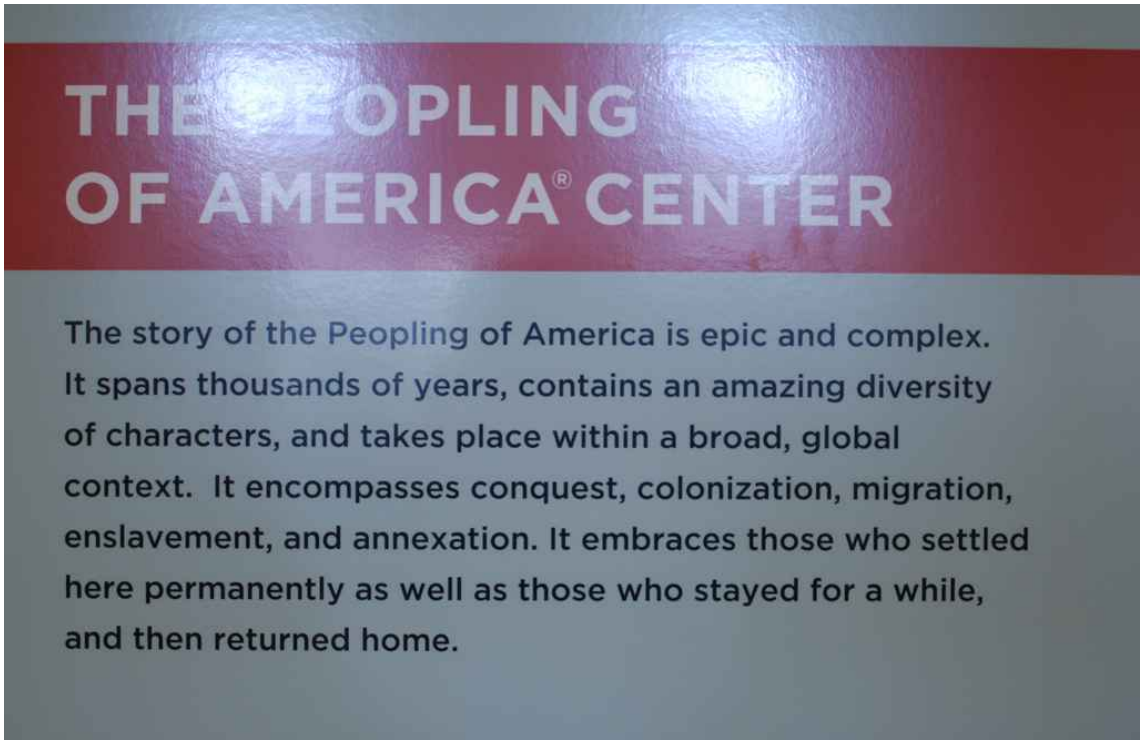


Figure A.57: American *dispersion*

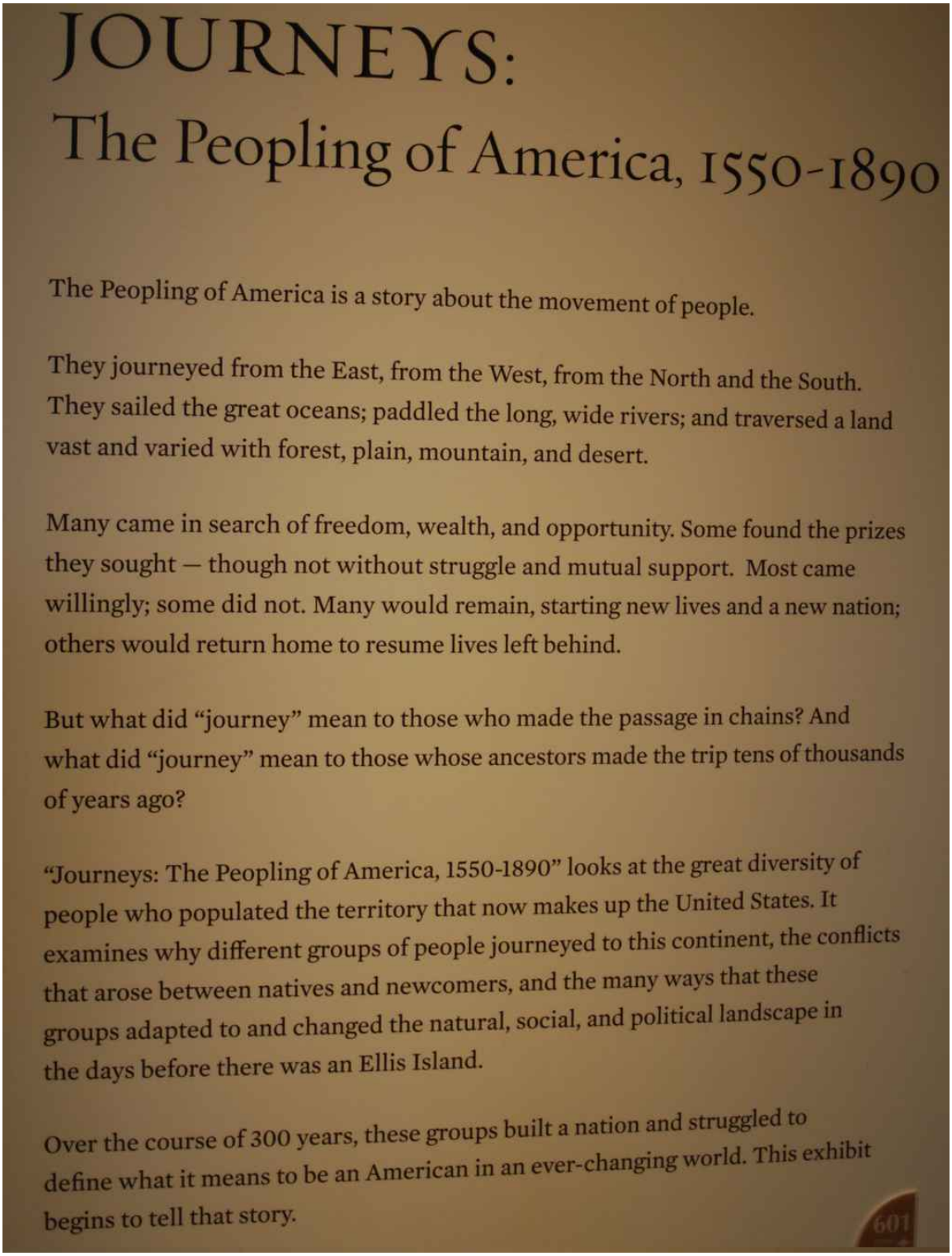


Figure A.58: *Common American identity* and *shared heritage*

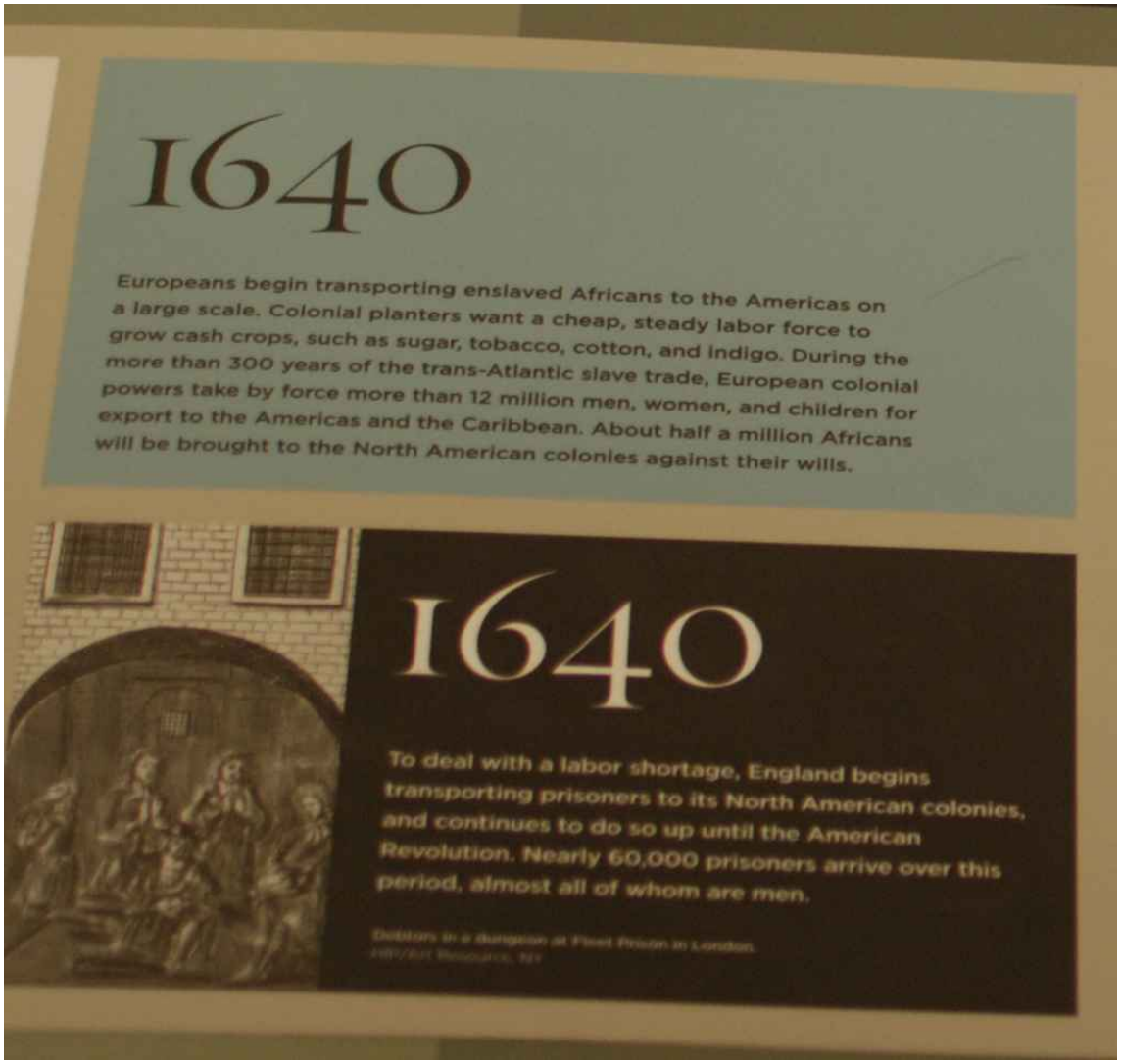


Figure A.59: Slavery 1

Figure A.60: American English tree

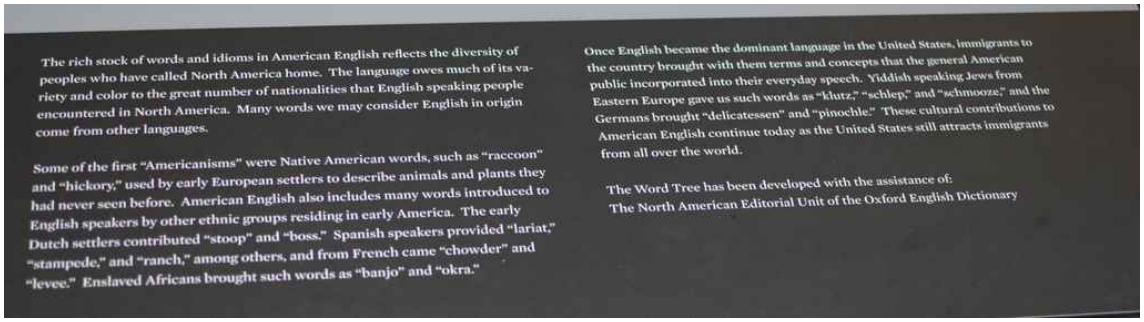


Figure A.61: Label American English tree

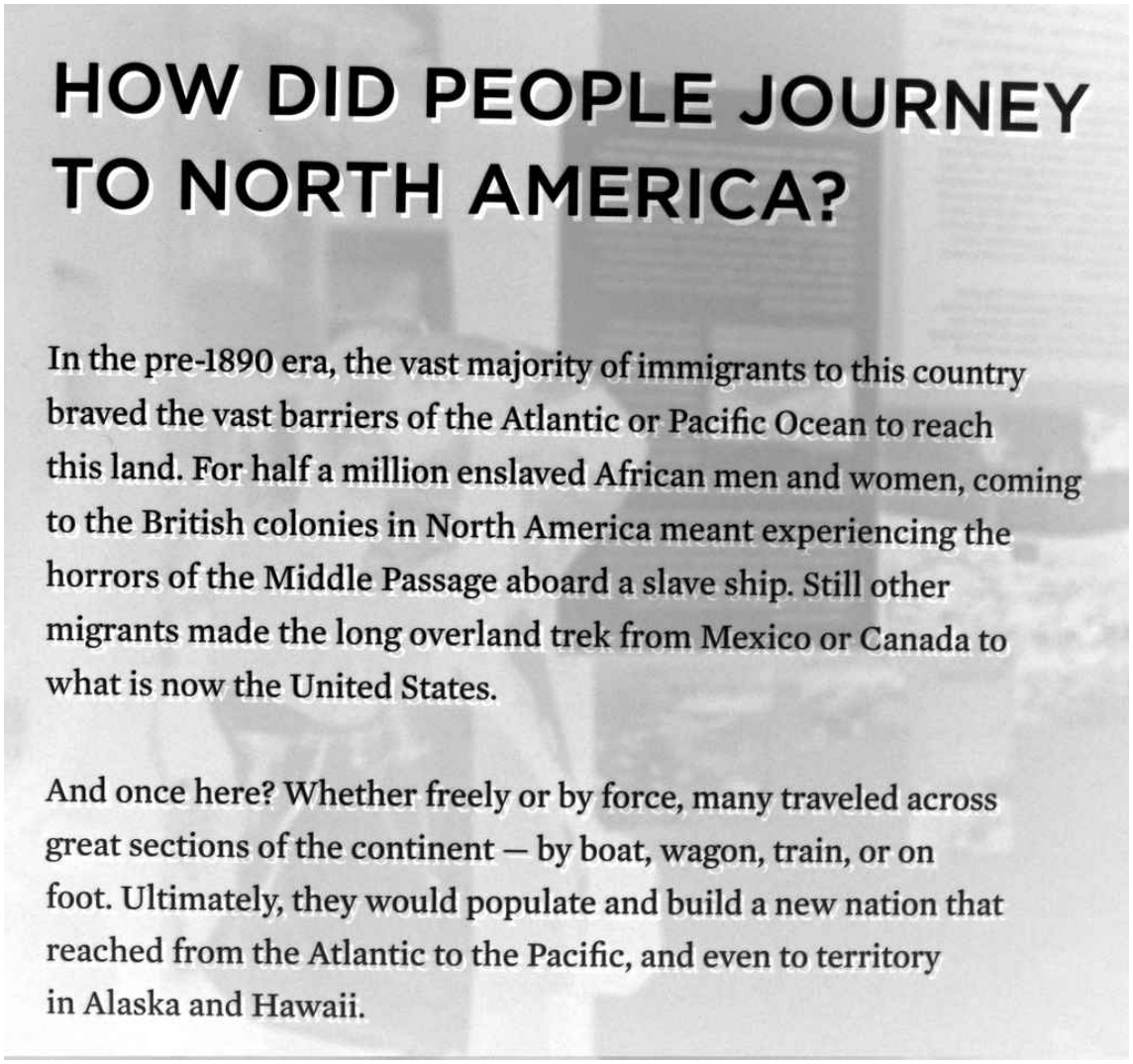


Figure A.62: Slavery 2

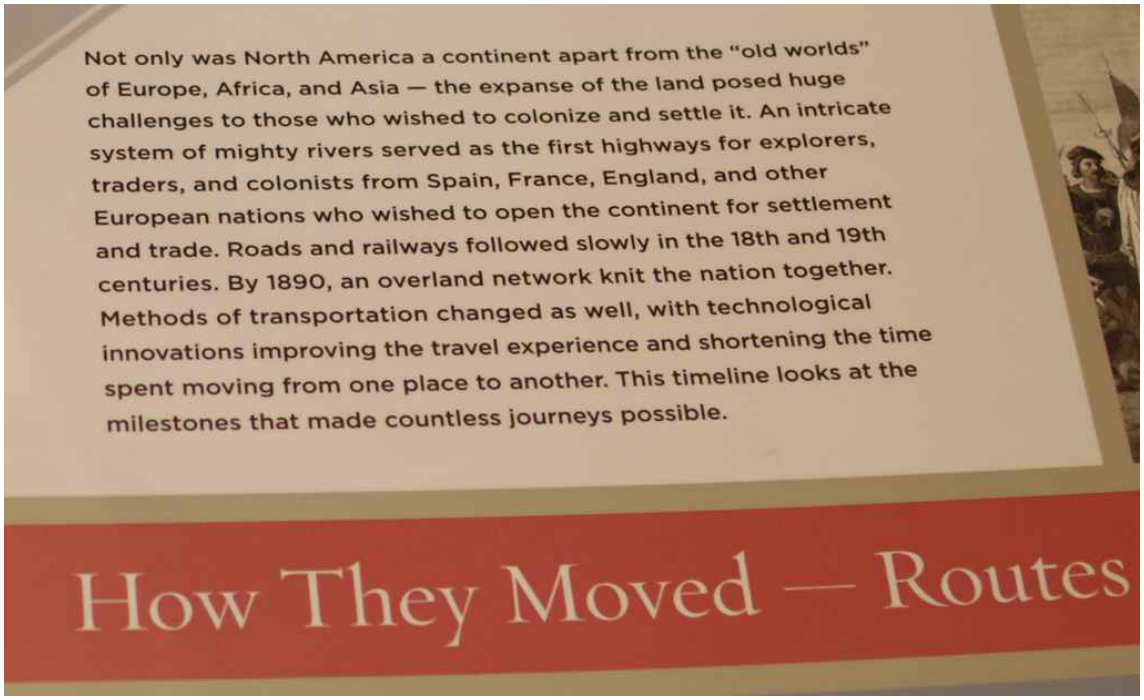


Figure A.63: The New World vs. the Old World

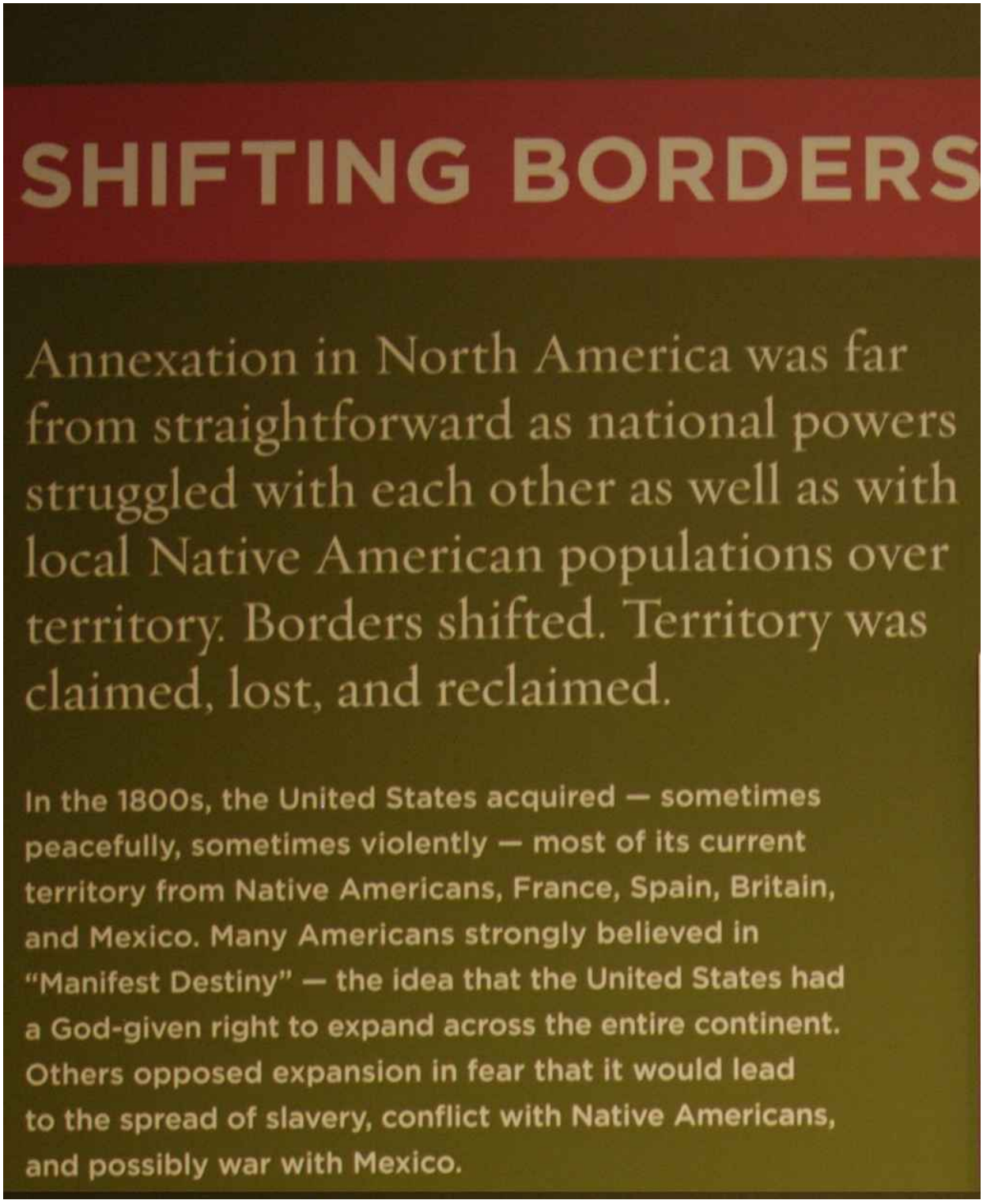


Figure A.64: Native Americans

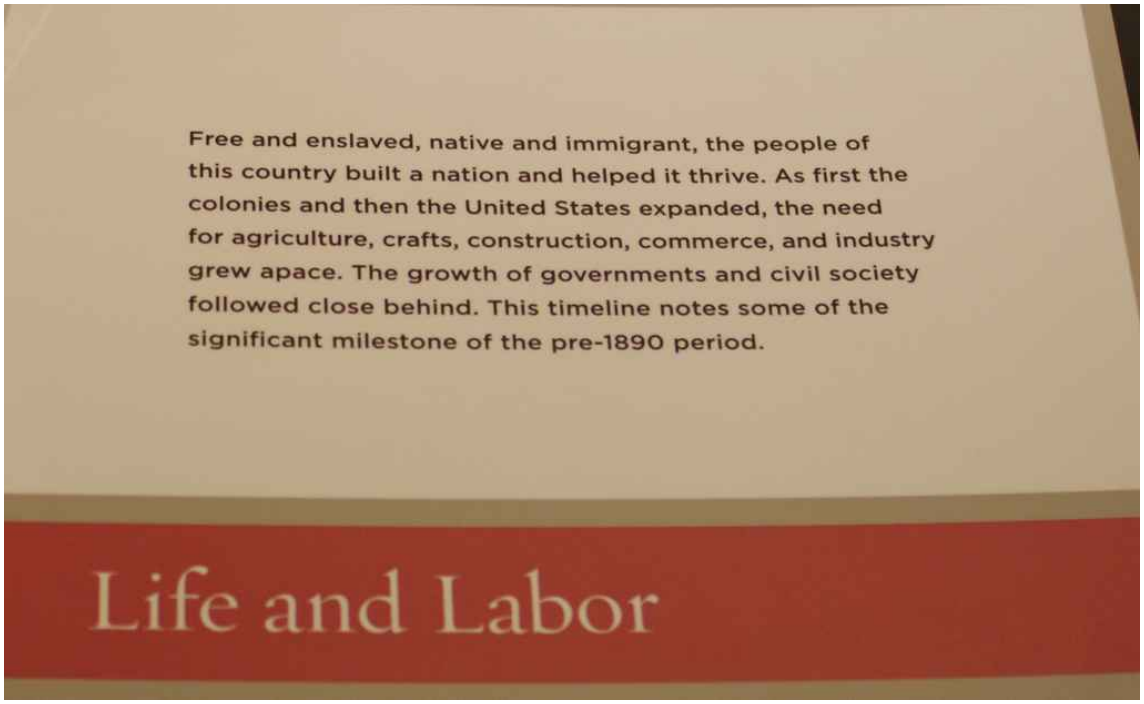


Figure A.65: *Common American identity*

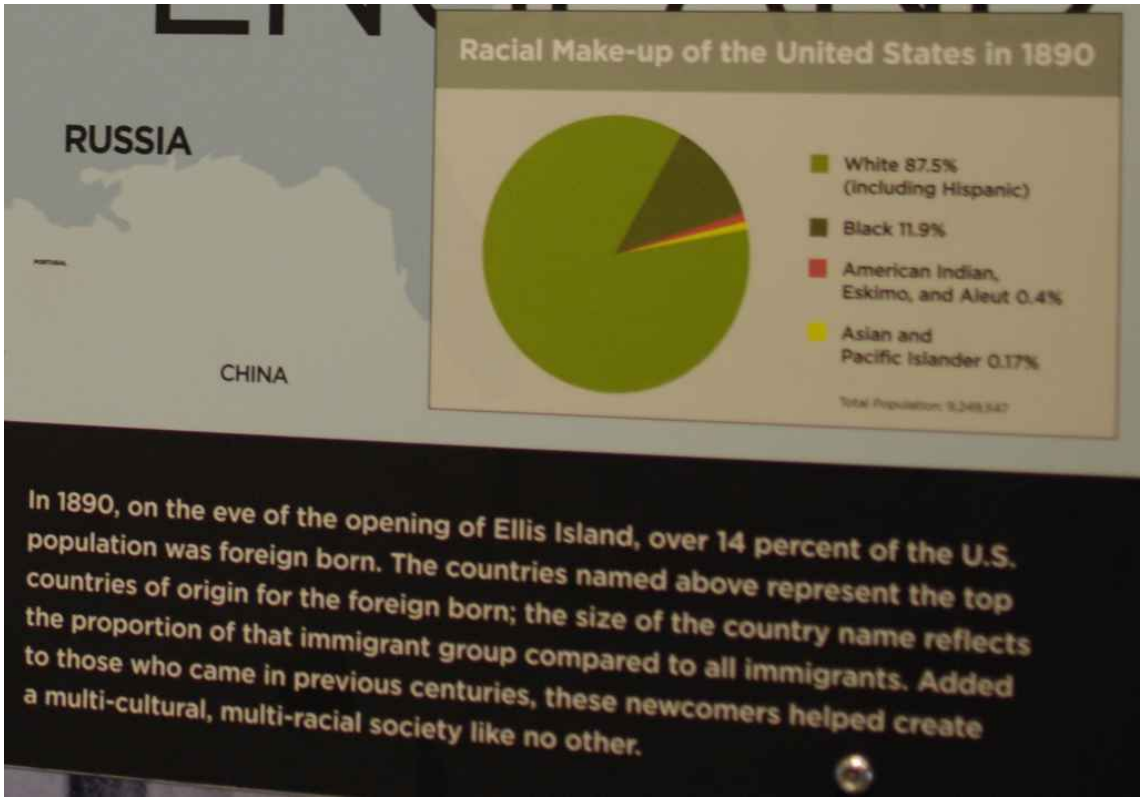


Figure A.66: *Multicultural* society

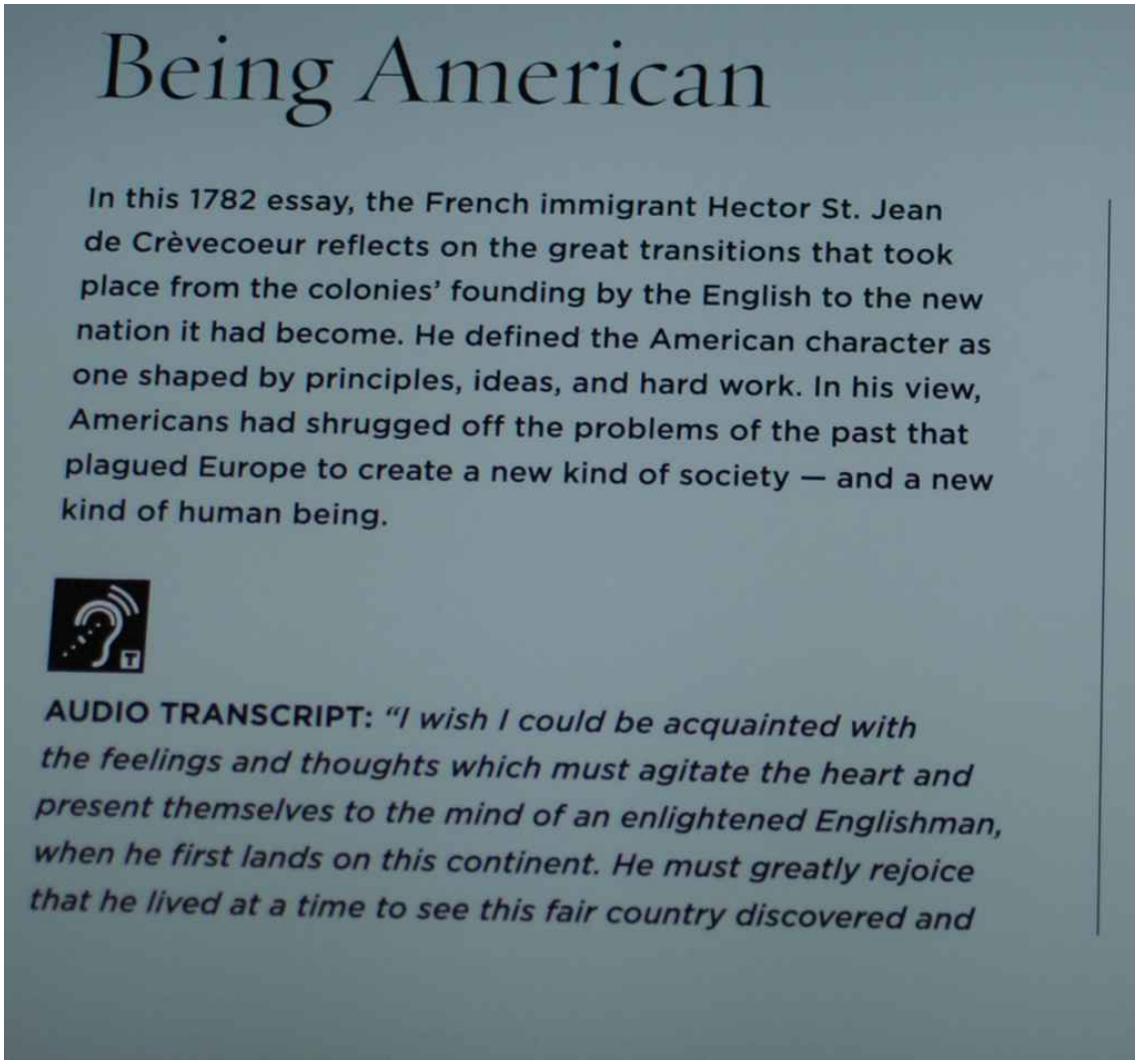


Figure A.67: A new kind of human being