

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF CHINA:
BUILDING MEMORY, SHAPING HISTORY, PRESENTING
IDENTITY

Inaugural Dissertation

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For my parents

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Preface

Preliminary Remarks

Every aspect of research ultimately depends on the interests and on the standpoint of the historian, her education and background. In 2004, Peter Gries formulated this truth as follows: “Who you are shapes both what you choose to look at, and how you interpret it.”¹ An awareness of this fact is the basis for sustainable research. There is not one history, but there are many historians. In 1978, Edward Said published his influential account on *Orientalism*, and criticized the Eurocentric approach in Oriental studies. His work had a great impact on the field of East Asian Studies. Ever since, scholars have endeavored even more to clarify their standpoint. In general, it is good practice to make the background of the researcher more transparent. However, the inability to avoid environmental conditioning does not necessarily present a disadvantage for the scholar’s discourse. In fact, different viewpoints might even encourage dialogue and make research feasible in the first place. My background consists of a Western education, studies in art history, sinology and Chinese art. My particular interest in the development of the National Museum of China lies in understanding its self-perception and the presentation of one of the most important Chinese collections in the context of a rapidly changing society.

Acknowledgment

I am indebted to teachers, colleagues, friends and institutions for making this study possible. In 2006, the DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst) granted me a scholarship for on-site research in Beijing. I would like to express my gratitude in particular to the following persons and institutions: University of Heidelberg: Prof. Dr. Lothar Ledderose, Advisor, Prof. Dr. Michael Hesse, Second Advisor; National Museum of China: Lü Zhangshen 吕章申, Director-general, Chen Lüsheng 陈履生, Director, the Exhibition Department and the Department of Foreign Affairs, members of the museum staff, namely Chen Yu 陈煜, Dong Qing 董清, Shao Xiaomeng 邵小萌, Su Shengwen 苏生文 and many others; *gmp* Architekten von Gerkan, Marg und Partner: Prof. Meinhard von Gerkan, Stephan Schütz, Matthias Wiegelmann, Patrick Pfeleiderer; Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden: Prof. Dr. Martin Roth, colleagues and friends of the museum staff, as well as An Jing 按静, Cheng Qin 成沁, Feng Shumei 冯淑梅, Beatrice Höller, Petra Lier, Ladipo Odeku, Patricia Vogel, Wu Puzhi

¹ Gries, Peter Hays. *China’s New Nationalism: pride, politics, and diplomacy*. Berkeley 2004, p. 10.

吴璞之, my parents and my partner Masaru Shimizu. I am, of course, solely responsible for the shortcomings of this work.

Conventions

This thesis employs Pinyin for the transliteration of Chinese terms and phrases. In quotations, other transliteration systems have been left unchanged. Chinese names and locations with a well-established English spelling have not been altered. Simplified Chinese is used throughout the study, even for material originating before 1949. Chinese characters are introduced with the initial use of the term or when the direct analysis of terms requires it. When exhibition text was available in Chinese and English, the official English version was quoted. Unless otherwise stated, translations from primary and secondary sources are by the author. Secondary sources have been compiled into a comprehensive bibliography at the end of this study. In general, illustrations are numbered consecutively; however, exceptions in the arrangement of illustrations are made in order to allow for comparisons. The illustrations of the exhibitions are arranged chronologically to permit a comprehensive impression of the display.

Introduction

Research Subject

In March 2011, the newly renovated National Museum of China [Fig. 1], a union of the former Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution², opened to the public at Tiananmen Square, the heart of the Chinese nation. The transition to a modern museum complex was fast, ambitious, and, to a certain extent, drastic: Only 20% of the original building was kept; 80% is new structure, expanding the museum on a gigantic scale from 65,000 m² to almost 192,000 m². Furthermore, with construction costs of 2.5 billion Yuan (then ca. US\$380 million)³ the undertaking can be considered to be one of the most important museum projects of the last decade. The revamping of the National Museum of China evolved from the first request of design proposals in 2004, through the planning and execution of the project by the architects of von Gerkan, Marg and Partners (*gmp*) working with the China Academy of Building Research (CABR), to the museum opening in 2011. After many years of reconstruction, the museum tripled in size and now presents itself as the largest museum in the world, with a new look and new displays. The project outcome, a showcase of culture and history, and certainly a cultural figurehead of the whole nation, is more than worthy of analysis.

Research Questions

Since the National Museum of China launched the international bidding process for the new design of the museum in September 2004, the museum has been pursuing the objective of being recognized as the best museum in China and one of the top museums worldwide. It was the declared aim of the museum that “the National Museum of China will be constructed to a world-leading museum comparable with the time-honored civilization of China”.⁴ As described by director-general Lü Zhangshen 吕章申, the Chinese government intended the National Museum of China to correspond with the size of the country and its civilization,

² Both museums underwent phases of renaming (see 1.4.). In various publications, their names appear in different translations. In order to avoid ambiguity, this paper will refer to the previous museums (1958–2003) by using the following translation: Museum of Chinese History (中国历史博物馆) and Museum of Chinese Revolution (中国革命博物馆).

³ Gmp 2011, National Museum of China, Beijing, brochure. Gmp Public Relations and Communication. Hamburg 2011, “Facts and figures”, n. p.

⁴ The National Museum of China, “Introduction.” <http://www.nmch.gov.cn/en/survey/index.jsp>; <http://www.nationalmuseum.cn/en/survey/introduction/index.jsp> (accessed, April 18, 2007).

respectively.⁵ Did this intention indicate only a ‘bigger-is-better’ mentality? Or were the objectives for the reconstruction of the National Museum of China more manifold?

Since the emergence of museums in the late 19th century, these institutions have been treated as instruments for defining national identity and even creating a platform for exploring individual identity.⁶

National museums shoulder the responsibility of building national identity. Ideologically driven, they can inform and reflect national consciousness, represent national unity and offer sites for the production of citizenship. Born of modernity and contemporaneous with the birth the notions of the nation-state, national museums are places that serve to construct collective identities and, increasingly, multiple cultural subjectivities. They are spaces of imagination, part of the myth as well as the reality of national identity.⁷

To date, “every nation uses its museums to represent and reconstruct itself anew in each generation”.⁸ The emergence and development of the National Museum of China have proven to be no exception. Following the radical economic and social transformation of the People’s Republic of China within the last decades, tremendous changes have taken place both in the realm of culture and in the concept of the nation. China was demanding a new role and redefinition of its status on the international front. Based on a changing national image, the National Museum of China, as an official platform for explaining the nation’s history and culture, had to reinvent itself as the showcase for the nation. However, how does the National Museum of China today present itself in comparison to its former stages of development? What was being pursued besides size and grandeur? Is it continuity or change which dominates the new design of the museum? Do these two aspects give clues about the self-image, which was aspired by the National Museum of China, its official presentation of its history, memory and identity?

The objective of this study is to observe the outcome of the newly created museum of 2011. It analyzes which path was chosen, which official objectives were being followed, and

⁵ See Siemons, Mark. “Das Programm heißt: groß.” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feuilleton, March 26, 2011, p. 33.

⁶ Cf. Kaplan, Flora E.S. (ed.). *Museum and the making of ourselves. The role of objects in national identity.* 1995; Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* New York 1983.

⁷ “Building Identity: The Making of National Museums and Identity Politics.” Conference, Taipei National Museum of History. <http://www.mela-project.eu/events/details/conference-the-museum-2011-building-identity-the-making-of-national-museums-and-identity-politics>, (accessed, February 2, 2012).

⁸ Kaplan 1995, p. 4.

which forces in the museum planning were interacting towards change. At large, it seeks to examine how its architecture facilitates the building of memory, how the shaping of history links the past to present and future by means of the museum display and how the presentation of identity through the combination of both architecture and display was developed.

Research Methods

This thesis examines concepts, ideological and historical developments, and the architectural appearance coupled with the exhibition arrangement in the newly designed museum. The new museum design of 2011 is thereby central to the investigation and will be contrasted to former stages of the development and relevant museum examples worldwide. Chapter One frames the subject, in that the relevant terms of history, identity, and memory are introduced and defined in their relation to the National Museum of China. In order to avoid applying dissimilar ideas to a single term, the precise delineation of these terms in the given context paves the way for a sustainable analysis of the questions raised above. The emergence and development of the National Museum of China, including its current orientation, create the point of departure for further analysis. Chapter Two examines the building of memory through the architectural form and deals with the following questions: In which way does the architectural modernization of the National Museum of China correspond to, reflect on and parallel the development of China itself? How does the architectural realization express the intended functions and serve as a memorial for the state's official narratives? Finally, how were Chinese and local building traditions taken into account and can one particular identity-forming character be ascertained in the architectural concept? In order to answer these questions, the architecture of the newly designed museum is described and analyzed through comparison with the original architecture of 1959, with competition proposals and developmental plans of 2004 to 2007 and with relevant museum buildings worldwide. Chapter Three investigates how history is shaped, presented and interpreted by means of the museum display. Current exhibition contents and design are described, analyzed and compared with the former stages of exhibition planning. Which stories are told and which stories are omitted in the display? Is it possible to isolate a continuing master narrative or has an adjustment in historical perspective taken place?

In each chapter, a diversity of sources has to be considered and different methods must be applied. Text-based research is employed to understand the historical background and the underlying concepts, recognizing Chinese, American and European accounts. The

continuous influence of Western thoughts in the development of the National Museum of China makes an analysis of Chinese and international accounts compulsory. In addition to monographic works and essays, diverse museum journals, scientific articles and recent press releases documenting the development of the revamping project until the opening of the National Museum of China in 2011 are evaluated. For the analysis of architectural form and of exhibition design additional secondary sources, which include in particular records from the National Museum of China's own documentation and photographic material, have been employed. Illustrations and textual records of the former stages are taken into account for the comparison of architectural form. Source material relating to former exhibitions and exhibition concepts is scarce and their documentation rather fragmentary, as exhibitions are ephemeral and have a short life cycle. Of major importance for this study are unpublished exhibition outlines from the Museum of Chinese History from 1958, 1972, 1981, 1993 as well as excerpts of work reports of the 'Road of Rejuvenation' exhibition from 2007 and 2008.⁹ Originally intended for museum staff internal use only, they were made available for this study and significantly contribute to it.

Any contemporary topic has natural limitations regarding the use of traditional text-based analysis. Therefore, additional research techniques such as participatory observation and guided communication methods had to be applied. Research for this thesis started in 2006, accompanying the project from conception through the reconstruction period to the reopening of the museum in 2011. Recent photographic documentation and on-site observations provided important material for the analysis of the architectural form and the exhibition design. Furthermore, former and current construction plans were available for analysis. As part of the curatorial team for the first international exhibition held in the redesigned museum after reopening, the author of this study contributes first-hand information, gathered during five months of on-site observation and frequent visits throughout the entire reconstruction period. In order to understand the path the decision-makers have taken, open guideline-based interviews were conducted with the architects of *gmp* and museum staff, key parties in charge of the projects. For these interviews, individually developed questionnaires served as a basis for discussion. Interviews were conducted in oral form as well as in written correspondence. In some cases, voice recording

⁹ Cf. Primary Sources, Unpublished Sources (see 5.1.)

was employed for accuracy of documentation. The information abstracted from these interviews is included in the analysis in form of paraphrased answers.¹⁰

Additionally, three surveys were conducted to assess the public recognition of the project as well as to gain insight from the museum staff. The first questionnaire was directed to the interested public and the second to the museum staff. These two surveys were carried out after the museum was closed for reconstruction in 2007. The third survey addressed visitors after the reopening of the museum in 2011. The questionnaires, although similarly developed, were adapted for each target group, so that the museum staff was particularly constrained to provide background information about the exhibition and collection, whereas knowledge about approval of the project was a central aspect of the 2007 survey of the public. In 2011, the questionnaire was based on the experience of the former survey but specially tailored for the visiting audience. Nevertheless, the common structure of the questionnaire allows comparisons among the different survey results. The surveys samples were not large enough to be representative. However, the many individual answers elucidate the key issues and various aspects thereof; the surveys help to outline overall impressions and contribute atmospheric pictures. Comprehensive documentation of the questionnaires and the survey results, including statistics and individual statements, is provided in the Appendix (see. 6.2.). The immediately relevant particulars of the results, however, are included in the analysis of the architectural form and of the exhibition designs. Sociological discourse was consulted for the methodical evaluation of survey and interview results.¹¹

Previous Research

Within the last decades, the history and development of museums has moved more and more into the focus of art history scholars. Museology and museum studies, established half a century ago¹², have gained new recognition among academics in the Western hemisphere. Furthermore, museum edifice-hype has fostered research during the last 25 years such that the emergence and the development of the earliest and of contemporary museums have been

¹⁰ Meuser, Michael and Nagel, Ulrike. "ExpertInneninterviews-vielfach erprobt, wenig bedacht." In Bogner, Alexander, Littig, Beate and Menz, Wolfgang (eds.). *Das Experteninterview: Theorie, Methode, Anwendung*. Zweite Auflage. Wiesbaden 2005. p. 14.

¹¹ Bogner/Littig/Menz 2005; Bortz, Jürgen and Döring, Nicola. *Forschungsmethoden und Evaluation für Human- und Sozialwissenschaftler*. Dritte Auflage. Heidelberg 2005.

¹² Museum Studies were, for example, established at University of Leicester (UK) in 1966 and at George Washington University (USA) in 1976.

well documented.¹³ Numerous publications on the relationships between museum and culture, politics, society, ideology, knowledge and modernity have emerged in recent years. Besides contributions stressing the lines of development, monographs about modern museums have also become available in increasing numbers.¹⁴ Furthermore, the development of the national museum as a specific museum type has found scholarly recognition.¹⁵ Several works about the major Chinese collections exist in Chinese and Western languages, with especially the history of the imperial collection being well documented.¹⁶ However, museum studies and museum history still appear to be only emerging fields in China. The Western scholars Kirk A. Denton and Julia F. Andrews have dedicated some of their scholarly work to the analysis of particular aspects of Chinese museums and their presentations, paving the way for further research.¹⁷ Within the last two decades, more and more Chinese scholars devoted their work to the field of museum research.¹⁸ The origin and institutional history of the National Museum of China is documented in various museum publications and is partially included in the scholarly discourse, for example in the works of Hung Chang-tai.¹⁹ In 2003, the National

¹³ Pomian, Krystof. *Der Ursprung des Museums. Vom Sammeln*. Berlin 1988; Benett, Tony. *The Birth of the Museum: History Theory, Politics*. New York 1995; Fliedl, Gottfried (ed.). *Die Erfindung des Museums: Anfänge der bürgerlichen Museums Idee in der Französischen Revolution*. Wien 1996; Mack, Gerhard. *Kunstmuseen, auf dem Weg ins 21. Jahrhundert*. Basel/Berlin/Boston 1999; Maier-Solggk, Frank. *Die neuen Museen*. Köln, 2002;

¹⁴ McClellan, Andrew. *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-century Paris*. Cambridge 1994; *The British Museum*. British Museum Press, London 2000; Eikermann, Renate (ed.). *Hundertfünfzig Jahre Bayerisches Nationalmuseum*. München 2005; Alofsin, Anthony (ed.). *A Modernist Museum in Perspective: The East Building, National Gallery of Art*. New Haven/London 2009.

¹⁵ Plessen, Marie-Louise von (ed.). *Die Nation und ihre Museen*. Frankfurt am Main/New York 1992; Raffler, Marlies. *Museum – Spiegel der Nation? Zugänge zur Historischen Museologie am Beispiel der Genese von Landes- und Nationalmuseum in der Habsburgermonarchie*. Wien/Köln/Weimar 2007.

¹⁶ Ledderose, Lothar. "Die Kunstsammlungen der Kaiser von China" In Ledderose, Lothar (ed.). *Palastmuseum Peking: Schätze aus der Verbotenen Stadt*. Katalog zur Ausstellung. Berlin 1985, p. 41-47; Shih, Shou-Chien. "Die kaiserliche chinesische Sammlung und das Nationale Palastmuseum." In *Schätze der Himmelssöhne. Die Kaiserliche Sammlung aus dem Nationalen Palastmuseum, Taipeh. Die Großen Sammlungen. Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der BRD, Bonn 2003*; p.13-19; Fong, Wen C. and Watt, James. *Possessing the Past: Treasures from the National Palace Museum, Taipei*. Exhibition catalogue. New York 1996. Li, Xianyao and Luo, Zhewen 2010. *China's Museums*. Translated by Martha Avery. Beijing 2010

¹⁷ Andrews, Julia F. *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994; Denton, Kirk A. "Visual memory and the construction of a revolutionary past: paintings from the Museum of the Chinese Revolution." In *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, Vol. 12, No. 2, Fall 2000, pp. 203-235; Denton, Kirk A. "Museums, Memorial Sites and Exhibitionary Culture in the People's Republic of China." In Michel Hockx and Julia Strauss (eds.). *Culture in the Contemporary PRC, The China Quarterly Special Issues, New Series*, 2005, No. 6, pp. 43-64.

¹⁸ Wang, Hongjun 王宏钧. *Zhongguo bowuguanxue jichu / The basis of Chinese Museology 中国博物馆学基础*. Shanghai, Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海, 上海古籍出版社 1990; Qin, Shao. "Exhibiting the Modern: the creation of the first Chinese museum, 1905-1930." In *The China Quarterly*, No. 179, September 2004, pp. 684-702; Su, Donghai 苏东海. *Bowuguan de chensi 博物馆的沉思 [Meditation of Museums in China]*. Juan'er 卷二, Beijing/北京: Wenwu chubanshe 文物出版社 2006.

¹⁹ *Exhibition of Chinese History*. Compiled by the National Museum of Chinese History. Beijing 1998; *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian. 中国历史博物馆 2002. 中国历史博物馆 90 年*, 北京 2002. *The National*

Museum of China, in cooperation with the Beijing Normal University, launched a broad-based visitor survey concerning the revamping project.²⁰ The evaluation of more than 4000 questionnaires gives comprehensive information about public opinions concerning the development of the institution, its architecture and displays (see 6.2.1.).

For the analysis of the concepts of history, memory and identity (Chapter 1), relevant sources from the neighboring disciplines of sociology, psychology and philosophy were taken into account.²¹ Several works of Chinese and Western scholars document the recent development of Chinese historiography.²² Following the shift of society, research about Chinese nationalism experienced a zenith, especially during the 1990s, and numerous scholarly works were published, from the highly emotional to the more scientific.²³ Here, the discourse mainly focused on the question of Chinese humiliation through Western and Japanese imperialism during the 19th and 20th century. Despite, or possibly even because of ongoing globalization debates of the last few decades, the international discourse has been focusing on national museums and their role in identity-formation.²⁴ The field of museum

Museum of China 2002. *The National Museum of China 90 years*; Hung, Chang-tai. *The Red Line: Creating a Museum of the Chinese Revolution*. *The China Quarterly*, No. 184 (2005), pp 914-933; *Zhongguo geming bowuguan 50 nian. 中国革命博物馆 50 年》*, 2001 年 10 月第 1 版; *Zhongguo guojia bowuguan 2009. Fuxing zhi lu. 复兴之路/ 中国国家博物馆—— Beijing/北京: 文物出版社, 2009.9.*

²⁰ Hao, Guosheng and Huang, Chen. *Bowuguan shehuifuwu gongneng yanjiu. 郝国胜, 黄琛. 博物馆社会服务功能研究. [Research about social service function of museums]. Beijing: zhīshí chūbǎnshè. 北京: 知识出版社. 2005, p. 51.*

²¹ Assmann, Jan and Hölscher, Tonio (eds.). *Kultur und Gedächtnis*. Frankfurt am Main 1988; Bloom, William. *Personal identity, national identity and international relations*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations, 9. Cambridge 1990; Danziger, Kurt. *Marking the mind: A history of memory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2008; Lambert, Peter and Schofield, Phillip (eds.), *Making History: An Introduction to the History and Practices of a Discipline*, Routledge 2004; Olick, Jeffrey K. and others (eds.). *The collective memory reader*. Oxford University Press 2010.

²² Qiu, Jin. "History and State: Searching for the Past in the Light of the Present in the People's Republic of China" In *Historiography East & West* 2:1, Leiden 2004; Weigelin-Schwiedrzik, Susanne. "In Search of Master Narrative 20th-Century Chinese History." In *The China Quarterly*, 2006, No. 188, pp. 1070-1091; Li, Huaiyin. "From Revolution to Modernization: The Paradigmatic Transition in Chinese Historiography in the Reform Era." In *History and Theory* 49, October 2010, pp. 336-360; Schrecker, John E. 2004. *The Chinese revolution in historical perspective*. Greenwood Publishing Group, Second Edition 2004; Ma, Xueping 2005: "Observations on the Life of Marxist History in East and West" In *Chinese Studies in History*, Vol. 38, nos. 3-4, Spring/summer 2005, pp. 38-68.

²³ Dittmer, Lowell and King, Samuel S. *China's Quest for National Identity*, Ithaca 1993; Hoston, G. *The State Identity and the National Question in China and Japan*. Princeton 1994; Chen, Xiaomei. *Occidentalism*. 1995; Unger, Jonathan (ed.). *Chinese Nationalism*. New York 1996; Chang, Iris. *The Rape of Nanking*. 1997; Cohen, Paul. *Remembering and Forgetting: National Humiliation in 20th century China*. 2002; Fitzgerald, John. *China and the Quest for Dignity*. National Interest 1999;

²⁴ Plessen 1992; Kaplan 1995; Macdonald, Sharon J. "Museums, national, postnational, and transcultural identities." In *Museum and Society* 1 (1), University of Sheffield 2003, pp. 1-16; Raffler 2007; "Building Identity: The Making of National Museums and Identity Politics.", Conference Taipei National Museum of History; <http://www.mela-project.eu/events/details/conference-the-museum-2011-building-identity-the-making-of-national-museums-and-identity-politics>, (accessed, February 2, 2012)

architecture (Chapter 2) is well documented. In recent years especially, the academic focus was on the architectural impact and on the public function of the institutions.²⁵ Alongside the growing interest in museum architecture, the role of reconstruction as well as the ‘adding-on’ practice in architecture has to be examined.²⁶ Beside the scholarly discourse, it became common practice among international star architects to make their work and concepts public through highly sophisticated architecture publications.²⁷ These accounts highlight the architect’s standpoints and can therefore be important sources of information. The original museum building was included in the state building program of the so-called ‘Ten Great Buildings’ (十大建筑) in 1959. Because of its political prominence, this program is well documented and descriptions of the original museum buildings exist in various accounts.²⁸ Furthermore, numerous contributions document the different phases of reconstruction and the importance of Tiananmen Square, where the first building of the National Museum of China was erected.²⁹ The original building incorporated traditional Chinese and Western features as well as elements of the Socialist Realism style of the former Soviet Union. Therefore, accounts of such stylistic features and their development are taken into consideration.³⁰ For

²⁵ Flagge, Ingeborg (ed.). *Museums Architektur*. Hamburg 1985; Davis, Douglas. *The Museum Transformed: Design and Culture in the Post-Pompidou Age*. New York 1991; Lampugnani, Vittorio Magnago (ed.). *Museumsarchitektur in Frankfurt: 1980-1990*, München 1990; Newhouse, Victoria. *Wege zu einem neuen Museum: Museumsarchitektur im 20. Jahrhundert*. Ostfildern 1998; Lampugnani, Vittorio Magnago and Sachs, Angela (eds.). *Museen für ein neues Jahrtausend: Ideen Projekte, Bauten*, München 1999; Abrell, Herbert and Köb, Edelbert (eds.). *Museum Architecture: Texts and Projects by Artists*. Köln 2000; Greub, Suzanne and Greub, Thierry (eds.). *Museen im 21. Jahrhundert: Ideen Projekte Bauten*. München/Berlin/ London/ New York/ Art Centre Basel 2006.

²⁶ Nerdinger, Winfried (ed.). *Geschichte der Rekonstruktion, Konstruktion der Geschichte*. München 2010; Treib, Marc, “Adding on” In Alofsin 2009, pp. 149-161.

²⁷ Gmp. *Ideale Stadt-Reale Projekte*. Ausstellungskatalog, Stuttgart 2005; Flagge, Ingeborg (ed.). *Volkwin Marg. Architektur ist - natürlich nicht unpolitisch*, München 2008; Gerkan, Meinhard von (ed.). *Projects in China*. Munich, Berlin, New York 2008; Gmp. Luchao – Aus einem Tropfen geboren. *Architecture for China* von Gerkan, Marg und Partner. *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe*. Hamburg 2003.

²⁸ Beijing shida jianzhu sheji 北京十大建筑设计 2002. *Beijing Ten Prominent Buildings*. Beijingshi guihua weiyuanhui 北京市规划委员会, Tianjin 2002; Wang, Zhengming 王争鸣 (ed./主编) 2001. *Qiji shi zhenyang chuanguang de – renmin dahuitang jianshe shihua 奇迹是怎样创造的–人民大会堂建设史话* [How a miracle was created – history of the construction of Great Hall of the People], Beijing/北京: Zhongguo shudian 中国书店 2001.9.

²⁹ Ledderose, Lothar 1988. “Die Gedenkhalle für Mao Zedong. Ein Beispiel von Gedächtnisarchitektur.” In Assmann/Hölscher 1988, p. 321; Daum, Andrew W and Mauch, Christof (eds.) 2005: *Berlin, Washington, 1800-2000: capital cities, cultural representation, and national identities*. Cambridge 2005; Meyer, Jeffrey F. 1991. *The Dragons of Tiananmen. Beijing as a Sacred City*. University of South Carolina Press. According to Meyer “symbolic point of contact” between emperor and his subjects p. 47; Wu, Hung 1991. “Tiananmen Square: A political history of monuments”, In *Representation*, No. 35, Summer 1991, pp. 84-117, p. 88; Wang, Zhengming 2001.

³⁰ Aman, Anders. *Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin Era: An Aspect of Cold War History*. Cambridge Massachusetts 1992; Huber, Werner 2007. *Moskau- Metropole im Wandel. Ein architektonischer Stadtführer*. Köln 2007; Tarchanow, Alexej; Kawtaradse, Sergej 1992. *Stalinistische Architektur*. Aus dem Englischen von Ursula Bischoff. München 1992; Noever, Peter (ed.) 1994. *Tyrannie des*

the analysis of the collection, the former and the new exhibition designs (Chapter 3), museum publications, catalogues and scientific journals have been consulted.³¹ Previously mentioned accounts offer insight into portions of the former exhibitions: Chang-tai Hung draws his information about former exhibitions from contemporary newspaper articles, Denton and Andrews worked mainly with the display itself. Furthermore, accounts about the exhibition practices of Soviet museums have been examined.³² Secondary sources concerning the very early development and present display of the exhibition are scarce.

Schönen. *Architektur der Stalin-Zeit*. Wien 1994; Cody, Jeffrey W., Steinhardt, Nancy S., Atkin, Tony (eds.) 2011. *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*. University of Hawai'i Press 2011.

³¹ Zhongguo guojia bowuguan guankan. *Journal of National Museum of China*. 中国国家博物馆馆刊。

Beijing/北京 2011; “Fuxing zhi lu 90 nian” 复兴这路 90 年 [Road of Rejuvenation, 90 Years]. In *Civilization/Wen Ming*, 中国力量文明价值, 2001, 12 月创刊.

³² Jolles, Adam. “Stalin’s Talking Museums.” In *Oxford Art Journal*, March 28, 2005, pp. 429-455; Groys, Boris. “The struggle against the museums; or, the display of art in totalitarian space.” In Sherman/Rogoff 1994, pp. 144-162; Levykin, Konstantin. “Russland. Das Staatliche Historische Museum als Nationalmuseum.” In Plessen 1992, pp. 96-107.

1. Framing the Subject: Origins and Concepts

1.1 Introduction

The National Museum of China, whose current presentation results from historical developments, is one of the most important museums of the People's Republic of China and is a place where memory, history and an identity are created and remain valid for a specific time. For the analysis of the present situation of the museum and its current appearance it is necessary to trace the historical development of the museum as well as to define intrinsic concepts of memory, history and identity and their relevance for the museum today.

Everywhere in the world, new museums are emerging and their scope has developed in multiple directions. In order to understand the basic concept of museums in general and analyse the development of the National Museum of China in particular the term demands clarification. According to the statutes of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), a museum is generally defined as follows:

A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.³³

Museums maintain collections of cultural artifacts which illustrate a particular area, time and tradition in the history of mankind. They store, conserve and display their collections, thus fulfilling social, educational and entertaining functions. The concept of museums originated in the Western tradition³⁴ and was adapted in China in the course of the 20th century (see 1.3.). Since their emergence, museums have depended on current developments and even have constituted a particular expression of their time. Contingent on their collection and research assignment, public museums exert influence on and have considerable responsibility for which cultural achievements will be inherited by future generations. Yet, museums are only capable of illustrating the questions raised at a particular moment in time and answer them by means of the actualization of their display, thus expressing the current underlying social ideology. Exhibitions are the main media in fulfilling the museum's obligations of cultural and educational tasks. However, as only a small

³³ "ICOM Statutes." Article 3, Section 1, <http://icom.museum/statutes.html#3> (accessed May 24, 2009); Latest version adopted during the 21st General Conference in Vienna, Austria, in 2007.

³⁴ Western traditions are defined in this paper by the heritage of the European and North American cultures.

percentage of the collection can be on display at one time, it is the curator's responsibility to select the artifacts and information and to make them accessible to the public.

Just as the National Museum of China has set itself the task of being a 'global player', it has also then exposed itself to being measured by the standards and criterion of the global museum environment. However, do the fluctuations of a globally connected world demand new images of both oneself and the other? How can the concept of a national museum, with its origins reaching back to the 19th century, be met by the National Museum of China; or is it outdated? Furthermore, how does the museum define its new role in the context of its own history?

The National Museum of China is a state institution, which represents the official view of the nation. It serves as an expression of the times, forged through the demands made by society while at the same time, shaping the perception of history, memory and identity. These three terms stem from common language³⁵ and circulate in scholarly discourse; their meanings, however, either change with time or are even applied in an indistinct manner. In order to avoid misconceptions, it seems crucial to define the terms of history, memory and identity for the given context, venturing beyond the field of art history, and search for explanations in the related fields of history, philosophy, psychology and sociology.

1.2 Concepts

1.2.1. History

The major task of the National Museum of China is to display the country's history as a collective interpretation of the past, by means of oral or written records and material documentation. To define a historical standpoint, a particular understanding of history is employed and needs to be revealed. Throughout the past, every culture brought forth trained scholars or writers, producing various categories of historical records, legends, myths and official chronologies, thereby forging a historiographic tradition of transmission and interpretation of the historical legacy.

³⁵ Fearon, James D. "What is Identity (As we now use the Word)?" Department of Political Science, Stanford University. November 1999, p. 6, <http://www.stanford.edu/~jfearon/papers/iden1v2.pdf> (accessed October 20, 2012).

China holds a long and remarkable tradition of record keeping, which reaches back more than two millennia and includes the writing of annals, chronological lists, biographies of individuals and clans. As in the West, in order to legitimize its functions, the early ruling elite commissioned professionals to control the selection, to compile, to compose, to interpret and to rewrite official records. To serve and secure the dynasty, historians made use of favorable presentation of the current ruler by depicting him in a long line of rightful succession or even degrading the previous ruler.³⁶ For centuries, Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian* of the first century BC, which glorified the Zhou Dynasty as ideal, served as an influential model in structure and focus and helped to standardize documentation of dynastic history.³⁷ The impressive canon of *Twenty-five histories*, of which the last was approved in 1921, covers 2000 years of Chinese history and gives testimony to the long tradition of official standard histories in China. In the 20th century, Chinese historiography continued to be written at the request of the ruling elite, serving as the official historiography of the state.³⁸

For centuries, Chinese history was perceived as a recurring cycle of events, explaining the sequence of flourishing, decay and replacement of dynasties and the passing on of the so-called 'Mandate of Heaven' (天明). Chinese philosophical accounts provided the ideological framework with Confucianism in particular adding a moral component to historiography. The dynasty in power utilized this cyclic approach of passing on history for its own purposes. Since the beginning of the 20th century, this cyclic tradition has been complemented, however not fully replaced, by a linear understanding of history introduced by the West.³⁹ This approach originated in antiquity and was adapted by the Christian Salvation History.⁴⁰ The linear understanding of history is characterized by the establishment of a progressive line of explanation from former to more recent events.⁴¹ Therefore, it is not less prone to teleological interpretations and explanations of the past than the Chinese cyclic understanding.

³⁶ Cf. Hung, Chang-tai 2001, p. 467.

³⁷ Qiu, Jin 2004, p. 7; Wimmer, Franz M. "Geschichte der Philosophiehistorie." Lecture 1994, University of Vienna, <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/franz.martin.wimmer/phhistv12.html>, (accessed, February 1, 2012).

³⁸ Iggers, Georg G. 2007. *Geschichtswissenschaft im 20. Jahrhundert: ein kritischer Überblick im internationalen Zusammenhang*. Göttingen 2007, p. 13.

³⁹ Iggers 2007, p. 21.

⁴⁰ Wikipedia contributors. "Heilsgeschichte."

Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heilsgeschichte> (accessed October 24, 2012).

⁴¹ Iggers 2007, p. 12.

The linear interpretation of history was introduced to China along with Western concepts such as nationalism and Marxism-Leninism, which were adopted by the Chinese intelligentsia at different times. These concepts were employed in politics by various parties competing for power and modified to the specific needs and the environment at the beginning of the 20th century.⁴² At the same time, earlier traditions such as Confucianism were assaulted. Nationalism and state-nationalism emphasize the unity of the cultural background, language and heritage of the state. Following Sun Yatsen's political ideas, nationalism and state-nationalism were employed as the ideological basis for the newly formed nation-state by the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China (中华民国国民政府). The approach was so successful that, for example, the reformer Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873–1929) proposed replacing the Chinese dynastic history writing in favor of a national history.⁴³ In the course of the Communist takeover and the establishment of New China⁴⁴ in 1949 nationalism was subsequently replaced by Marxism-Leninism, which claimed to provide a historical explanation of society⁴⁵ and was tightly linked to the victorious revolutionary movement and the Communist Party ideology. Although a new canon of methods was established and applied in the historic discourse, this new ideology was nevertheless constrained in becoming an independent scientific method, because it followed a predefined position of positivist development of society.⁴⁶

After the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) came to power, a new master narrative based on Soviet Russian models, the Marxist-Leninism doctrines⁴⁷ and Mao Zedong's Thoughts was implemented and dominated the interpretation of modern Chinese history.⁴⁸ Following the materialist interpretation of Marxism, which defines all history as a class struggle in which different groups of society strive for the means of production⁴⁹, "the dynastic history of China was reinterpreted as the conflict between feudal power, the emperor

⁴² Ma, Xueping 2005, p. 56.

⁴³ Cf. Weigelin-Schwiedrzik 2006, p. 1073.

⁴⁴ The term 'New China' defines the People's Republic of China since its foundation in 1949 and is frequently applied by the CCP and writers outside China until today.

⁴⁵ Iggers 2007, p. 77.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ In 1924, Marxism-Leninism, a combination of Marxist historical materialism and a practical guideline for establishing communism and socialism, was made the official state doctrine of the Soviet Union. Cf. Ma Xueping 2005, p. 53; In Soviet Russia Marxism-Leninism was the most powerful and served for the legitimation of the newly established dictatorship. It was the basis for further social historiography; cf. Iggers 2007, p. 31.

⁴⁸ Cf. Qiu, Jin 2004, p. 13, Schrecker 2004, p. 213.

⁴⁹ Shaw, William H. and Smith, Charles Saumarez. "Marxism." In Turner, Jane (ed.) 1996. *The Dictionary of Art*. Volume 20, p. 524-528, New York 1996, p. 525.

and the imperial bureaucracy on one side, and the anti-feudal forces, the peasant rebels on the other.”⁵⁰ Furthermore, the new historical approach implemented the CCP as the guiding force of the sequence of revolutionary events, leading to the foundation of New China. Like Joseph Stalin before him, Mao Zedong 毛泽东 (1893–1976) recognized both the importance of an ideological historical concept and the legitimizing power of its interpretation as being urgently needed for the newly established nation, and for the stabilization of his own position. He systematically began to exert influence on the perception of history by encouraging historians to his way of thinking and toward his own writings.⁵¹

The new master narrative introduced by the Soviet Union and adapted by the CCP was institutionalized during the 1950s and 1960s.⁵² After the official breach with the Soviet Union in 1961, both states made claim to possessing the true legacy of Marxism-Leninism.⁵³ This universal claim to legitimacy led to the isolation of the Chinese historiographic discourse, which was only overcome starting in 1978, when the general political course promised changes.⁵⁴ The obligatory subject course of party history for university students was cancelled in the 1980s. At the same time, the writing of unofficial history (野史) commenced mainly conducted by amateur historians, dealing predominantly with historical biographies⁵⁵ and with the revival of traditional thoughts such as Confucianism. Official historiography (正史) was also in for a change. However, shelving Mao’s doctrines posed great challenges as they had served as a necessary bonding agent for state and society.⁵⁶ CCP history writers faced the dilemma of how to distance themselves from Mao without separating from the ideological and historical roots of the CCP. On the 60th anniversary of the Party in 1981, the Central Committee passed the resolution ‘On some questions regarding the history of the party since the foundation of the PRC’: By initiating the formula of 70:30, stating that Mao’s contributions were correct in 70% and mistaken in 30% of the cases, the

⁵⁰ Qiu, Jin 2004, p. 28.

⁵¹ Middell, Matthias. “Marxistische Geschichtsschreibung.” In Eibach, Joachim and Lottes, Günther (eds.) 2002: *Kompass der Geschichtswissenschaft. Ein Handbuch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002., p. 70.

⁵² Cf. Ma Xueping 2005, p. 56.

⁵³ Middell 2002, p. 69.

⁵⁴ Ma, Xueping 2005, p. 56.

⁵⁵ Unofficial history writing often applied oral history and interview techniques as methods; cf. Weigelin-Schwiedrzik 2006, p. 1070.

⁵⁶ MacFarquhar, Roderick. “The China Quarterly and the History of the PRC.” In *The China Quarterly*, 2006, N. 188, pp. 1092-1097, p. 1096.

dilemma was addressed.⁵⁷ However, this did not solve the problem of shelving the previous master narrative, as a substitute needed to be found for legitimating reasons.

In the cause of the patriotism campaign of the 1980s and 1990s, some tendencies toward neo-traditionalism and a revival of traditional Chinese history and culture emerged.⁵⁸ However, the Chinese state remained cut off from its own past and traditions in many areas.⁵⁹ Within the last decade, the theories of modernization became most influential in history writing.⁶⁰ In contrast to the former master narrative, based on the revolutionary explanation of historic events, the modernization narrative stressed reforms and top-down changes in society, examining late Qing and Early Republican politics at the beginning of the 20th century. Some historians, such as Li Huaiyin, believe that the modernization theory replaced Marxist historical materialism “as the ‘paradigm theory’ in contemporary Chinese social science and humanities, especially in history studies.”⁶¹ The CCP interpretation of Marxism-Leninism has continuously lost its ability to bridge the gap to today’s social reality and therefore has sustained a loss in significance.⁶² Furthermore, a modernist approach could provide a better justification for the reform program of the post-Mao era.⁶³ Nevertheless, until today, Marxist ideology and the emphasis on revolution and rebellion have prevailed as the official interpretation of history and continue to be employed to legitimize state function.⁶⁴ Official history publications such as school textbooks continue to follow this authorized line of interpretation. The National Museum of China, as the leading state museum, has always voiced the party line and its official re-adjustments over time. However, how was the newly implemented exhibition affected by the ongoing transitional phase in documenting Chinese history? Did it influence the official state narrative propagated by the museum and on the memory of the people it had forged for decades?

⁵⁷ Weigelin-Schwiedrzik 2006, p. 1076.

⁵⁸ Schrecker 2004, p. 245.

⁵⁹ Schrecker 2004, p. 255.

⁶⁰ Li, Huaiyin 2010, p. 336.

⁶¹ Li, Huaiyin 2010, p. 340.

⁶² Middell 2002, p. 79.

⁶³ Li, Huaiyin 2010, p. 338.

⁶⁴ Qiu, Jin 2004, p 1.

1.2.2. Memory

Since its early beginnings, museums have been assigned the task of containing the memory of the people while also serving as memorials. The concept of memory describes every individual's "ability to store, retain and recall information and experience."⁶⁵ Individuals are the bearers of memory; however, social frameworks determine that memory. The ability to remember enables a social group to create a collective memory, which serves various functions of group and individual survival. Jan Assmann has extended these ideas to the concept of 'cultural memory', which incorporates both memory and oblivion as necessary functions.⁶⁶ He stressed that "the culture of recollection is a form of social obligation determining the identity and self-assessment of a group. It is a universal phenomenon, as every collective need to define itself with the help of memory and thus bring out community."⁶⁷ Just like history, memory is always a matter of change influenced by the present. Furthermore, it is through memory that the past is reconstructed, thereby at all times referring to a specific cultural context.⁶⁸ In contrast to the concept of history, which is a construction of historians, memory is distinguished by the individual or social group experience, thus referring to a still conscious past. History seems more abstract, while memory is concrete and specific to a particular group.⁶⁹ In reality, these transitions are overlapping. Maurice Halbwachs, on whose account Assmann has based and developed his study of recollection, defines history as the approach of looking for differences and discontinuity, whereas collective memory stresses similarities and continuation: "A social group that constitutes itself as a memory communion will safeguard its past mainly under two aspects: its unique character, and its duration."⁷⁰ It will emphasize external distinction, and downplay internal ones. The past is "constantly recognized in changing frames."⁷¹ At present, traditions are forged and are continually replaced by new traditions.⁷² For the passing on of memories, symbols and memorials are strong means of identification to commemorate events, persons and abstract ideas.

⁶⁵Wikipedia contributors. "Memory." Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia,

<http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Memory&oldid=518684949> (accessed October 24, 2012).

⁶⁶ Assmann, Jan 2003: "Cultural Memory: Script, Recollection, and Political Identity in Early Civilization." In *Historiography East & West* 1:2, translated by Ursula Ballin, Leiden 2003, p. 154-177.

⁶⁷ Assmann 2003, p. 154.

⁶⁸ Assmann 2003, p. 159.

⁶⁹ Assmann 2003, p. 155.

⁷⁰ Assmann 2003, p. 155.

⁷¹ Quoted after Assmann 2003, p. 169.

⁷² Assmann 2003, p. 169.

To create memory anew is particularly important for the establishment of new societies. Traditions and new symbols of identification have to replace previous ones. In Soviet Russia, for example, the traditions and symbols, which were exchanged, predominantly stemmed from a religious background.⁷³ They were replaced by new icons such as the hammer and sickle, the red star, portraits of leaders and, most importantly, the figure of Stalin himself.⁷⁴ Often, these new symbols also related to previous traditions; for example, the Stalin cult can be traced to the old orthodox icon tradition.⁷⁵ When New China was founded, new traditions and symbols were created, such as new public holidays (Labor Day, National Day), a national coat of arms and emblems [**Fig. 2**]. At the beginning, the newly established Mao cult seemed to have been modelled after the Stalin cult, following the reasoning that the life-narratives of a contemporary figure form a vivid basis of recollection for the public.⁷⁶

The National Museum has the task of collecting and preserving the cultural legacy, which are the information, experience and memorials of the nation. It represents a hoard of cultural memory and a memorial for culture, for not only historical interpretation but also dealing with memories of the recent past. By providing artifacts for remembrance, which are taken out of their original context, the museum becomes a place of pilgrimage and cult, serving as a memorial in its own right. The National Museum of China, in order to create a social-political identity, functions as an institution of national representation, where history and memory are shaped based on the museum's collection.

1.2.3. Identity

The concept of identity is of major importance for the understanding of the image the National Museum of China creates for itself. However, how can this term be understood and applied in the context of the museum? Furthermore, can the concept of identity provide relevant clues for understanding the self-expression being displayed?

⁷³ Aman 1992, p. 34.

⁷⁴ Aman 1992, p. 33.

⁷⁵ Bonnell, Victoria E. *The Iconography of Power: Soviet Political Posters Under Lenin and Stalin*. Berkeley: University of California Press 1999, p. 165.

⁷⁶ Not all symbols were exchanged. Often symbols and elements of identification were remodeled to fit for the present purpose or new symbols incorporated elements of the former tradition but with new interpretation; cf. Danziger, Kurt 2008, p 1.

The terms 'identity' and 'identification' traditionally describe 'sameness' (lat. *identitas*) in recognizing a person or an object. In this narrow sense of the classical meaning, they refer to equality.⁷⁷ To date, this meaning prevails in the dictionaries. However, the common use of the term is much broader, to all intents and purposes since psychoanalyst Erik Erikson's account about *Identity, Youth and Crisis* (1968) changed the notion of how to understand identity.⁷⁸ The most influential theories, which originate in the personal concept of identification and which define the term today, were developed by thinkers such as Sigmund Freud, George Herbert Mead, Talcott Parsons and Jürgen Habermas.⁷⁹ Analyzing these theories concerning their applicability for a social analysis of international relations and group mass behavior, William Bloom lists the following facets of identification:

1. Identification – the mechanism of internalising the attitude, the mores and behaviour of significant others – is a psycho-biological imperative based in the earliest infantile need to survive.
2. Identification is a dynamic adaptive mechanism as much at work in adults as in infants.
3. A satisfactory synthesis of identifications, or identity stability, is crucial for a sense of psychological security and well-being. Identity enhancement leads to a greater sense of well-being; identity diffusion leads to anxiety and breakdown.
4. As life circumstances change, individuals may make new and appropriate identifications. Individuals may also seek to protect and enhance identifications already made.
5. As an individual enters more fully into society, identifications are made with more diffuse symbolic entities than the simple identification with mother and father. These are Mead's 'generalised others', Erikson's 'ideologies' and Habermas's 'identity-securing interpretative systems'.⁸⁰

Subsequently, 'identity' can be defined as a concept of the social sciences, which was extended to the humanities in general. It has been employed by scholars of sociology, political sciences and art history alike but has also been extended beyond the application by individual sectors to that of by states, churches, companies and institutions.⁸¹ During the last decades, the terms of 'personal', 'cultural' or 'political identity' have been increasingly employed in academic discourse, however, in many cases without a specific definition of its actual meaning.⁸²

⁷⁷ Cf. The Oxford English Dictionary, Edition 1989.

⁷⁸ Erikson, Erik H. *Identity, Youth and Crisis*. New York 1968.

⁷⁹ Bloom 1990, pp. 25 ff.

⁸⁰ Bloom 1990, p. 50.

⁸¹ Fearon 1999, p. 33.

⁸² Fearon 1999, pp. 1 ff.

In the historical discourse, national identification theory was successfully applied to describe processes concerning the development of nation-states, which evolved during the 19th century in the West and was influenced by political as well as romantic ideas (see 1.3.1.). The identification theory is not culturally specific but allows application in various contexts:

Thus, research intended to show how identity is socially constructed and historically contingent must presume that our present concept of identity is transhistorically and transculturally applicable, so that we can ask just as easy about the identities of 18th century English peasants as about peoples' identities today, for example.⁸³

Although a different understanding of identity might be in place, nevertheless national and cultural identification theory can also be applied to China. It was used, for example, to describe the development of Chinese society parallel to the adaptation and assimilation of foreign emperors to the primacy of Chinese civilization and culture.⁸⁴ Cultural and national identity emerges in relation to other nation-states, cultures and social groups. They can be relevant or even decisive for the stability of a country. Today, national identification is of major importance within the multi-ethnic state of the People's Republic of China, where minorities make up approximately 9% of the population.⁸⁵ Within the last decades, one strategy used by the Chinese government to achieve national unity was the propagation of national feeling and state-nationalism, which also found expression in the development of museums (see 1.3.3.). In the current globalized world the approach to global history tends to downplay the concept of nation and nation-state, with some scholars propagating the study of "post-national-state identity".⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the analysis of national-state identity still seems vital and legitimate today. Historic representation remains closely linked to and dependent on the political and social identity it should create.

In the field of art history, an analysis of national and nation-state identity provided explanations for the development of a particular national style and its symbols. It also offered answers for the emergence of museums and national museums in the context of the nation-state formation and their role within the civic society.⁸⁷ Museums can be described as places for the creation as well as the presentation of national identity and cultural self-consciousness,

⁸³ Fearon 1999, p. 10.

⁸⁴ Cf. Qiu, Jin 2004, p. 8.

⁸⁵ Wikipedia contributors. "Ethnic minorities in China." Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ethnic_minorities_in_China&oldid=517151204 (accessed October 24, 2012).

⁸⁶ Macdonald 2003, p. 1.

⁸⁷ Macdonald 2003, p. 2.

which provide symbols of cultural identification within their collection (see 1.3.1).⁸⁸ National museums even provide a stronger identification focus. The authenticities of the exhibits, which are considered to be both representatives and rightful possessions of the nation, provide a powerful prospect of identification for the visitor.⁸⁹ Besides the display of the national collection, the architectural representation also creates a means of identification. Although the architecture is designed to express a concrete, commonly legible meaning, this meaning is only decipherable for a group of insiders who can read the culturally specific axiom, who share this knowledge and can identify with it.⁹⁰ Schemes like national style are by no means completely distinct and never function without explanation. Furthermore, they are subject to change of fashion (see 2.3.). Consequently, it has to be analyzed how identity can be expressed and, more importantly, understood within the architectural form. For the emergence of museums, the concept of identity seems as relevant as ever. This can be encountered in the Lingang New City project near Shanghai. In this ideal city, which was built from the ground up with a capacity for 800,000 people, the architect Meinhard von Gerkan planned for one of the biggest maritime museums worldwide, to be installed in the center of the city. The placement and the outer appearance of the museum as a symbol and a means of identification for the new city seemed prior to the project, the museum content, however, seemed only secondary.

Concerning the development of the National Museum of China, the concept of identity and the representation of self were highly relevant in influencing the inner structure as well as the outer design of the museum. As previously mentioned, concepts of national identity are culturally bound, so that the museum serves as an agency of national and public culture. Identity, however, is never a fixed entity but always represents an interpretation of its own time; it is historically and culturally specific.⁹¹ Just as it occurs in the concept of personal identity, states and institutions can experience periods of shifts and identity crises. For the development of a museum, this means reinventing itself. Because museums are

⁸⁸ This does include artifacts from different cultures and nations, which are in the possession of the country and which were, for example, used for the display of cultural differences and the superiority by imperialist nations during the 19th century; cf. Macdonald 2003, p. 3.

⁸⁹ Macdonald 2003, p. 3.

⁹⁰ Nerdinger, Winfried: Politische Architektur: Betrachtungen zu einem problematischen Begriff, In Flagge/Stock 1992, p. 14.

⁹¹ Macdonald 2003, p. 1.

closely linked to identity creation, they are sites where identity transformations can be noticed.⁹²

History, memory and identity are three basic principles which forge the emergence, development and adaptation of the museum within a specific time frame. They are useful entities for the analysis in this study. Furthermore, the National Museum of China has its own developmental history, which continues to shape the museum today. In the next step, the origins of the National Museum of China, which are rooted in Western as well as in Eastern museum traditions, are presented. In addition, both the development of national museums in general and the development of the National Museum of China in particular are described.

1.3 Origins

1.3.1. Development of Museums in the West

The Term Museum

During Greek antiquity, numerous temples, such as the temple of Hera in Olympia and the temple of Apollo in Delphi, were loaded with precious gold and silver objects. These antique treasuries were closely linked to the origin of the term museum, deriving from the Greek ‘museion’, which originally meant sanctuary of the muse, a sanctuary for the patrons of arts and science.⁹³ The term can be first traced to the 4th century BC to the most renowned museum in antiquity, the ‘museion’ of Claudius Ptolemaeus I Soter (ca. 367–283 BC) in Alexandria. Ptolemaeus, a historian and close confidant of Alexander the Great, created his ‘museion’ as a scientific research and education center which included a collection of artifacts and a famous library.⁹⁴ Many centuries later, in 1546, Paolo Giovio published the first printed catalogue, *Musais Joviani Descriptio*, which described his impressive art collection at his villa on Lake Como, which he himself called ‘museo’.⁹⁵ In early modern French, the term more often referred to a community of scholars than to a collection of artifacts. The terminology as it was originally used in defining collections, library and study, gradually narrowed to the modern meaning of the word museum. In Britain, the earliest use of the term was recorded for libraries and only in 1683 was it first recorded as meaning a

⁹² Macdonald 2003, p. 6.

⁹³ “Museum,” Online Etymology Dictionary, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=museum> (accessed May 4, 2009).

⁹⁴ Desvallées, André 1996. “Konvergenzen und Divergenzen am Ursprung der französischen Museen.” In *Fliedl* 1996, pp. 69 ff.

⁹⁵ Kemp, Wolfgang. *Kunst kommt ins Museum*. Funkkolleg Kunst, 1984, p. 41.

“building to display objects”.⁹⁶ Since the end of the 18th century, the term has more often been applied to buildings that display artifacts to the public. However, since their early beginnings, Western museums have reverted to the original idea of an organized, comprehensive cultural collection, as expressed in the early use of the term.⁹⁷

Beginning Developments

The history of the museum commences when man started to collect artifacts for ritual, for political and for aesthetic purposes and passed their collections on to future generations. These collections served similar functions all over the world and were, not least, established to demonstrate the wealth and power of their sacred, semi-sacred or secular owners. The origins of today’s museum, which is defined by collections open to a greater public, can mainly be traced to two sources: the art and curiosity cabinets of the aristocracy Renaissance Europe, which built the collections on the one hand, and the 18th century ideas of Enlightenment, which led to the opening of the first European museums, on the other. During the Renaissance, the ‘Kunst-and Wunderkammern’ of the ruling elite, church officials and even private aristocratic collectors emerged. Most recognized for its collections during 15th century was the Medici family, and especially Cosimo de’ Medici (1389–1464) in Florence.⁹⁸ During the 16th century, King Francis I of France (1494–1547), the great Renaissance patron of the arts, transformed the Louvre from a middle-aged fortress to a Renaissance palace with a splendid art collection. Other European courts followed these examples, so that August, Elector of Saxony, eagerly established his *Kunstkammer* in 1560. The display of valuables in a collector’s room served as an efficient demonstration of power, glory and wealth. During the following centuries, the aristocratic art collections have gradually been opened to a slow but steadily growing, however, by no means general public.⁹⁹ During the 18th and 19th centuries, the treasuries of some European aristocrats were turned into an exhibition; however, the development was irregular and depended on the personality of the respective ruler.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ “Museum,” Online Etymology Dictionary, <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=museum> (accessed May 4, 2009).

⁹⁷ Li/Luo 2004, p. 3.

⁹⁸ Bjurström, Per. “Die Entstehung der Nationalgalerien im 18 Jahrhundert. Aspekte der Gründungsgeschichte des Schwedischen Nationalmuseums.” In Plessen 1992, pp. 134-141.

⁹⁹ For example, the Dresden Green Vault treasury has been admitting guests since 1721. During the 18th century, August II the Strong, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, gradually opened his treasure chamber, the so-called ‘Green Vault’ to a qualified public, such as foreign aristocracy and local aristocracy, wealthy bourgeoisie and intellectuals. A required, but unofficial payment to the warden limited the visitors to the wealthy; Syndram, Dirk 2006. “1732 bis 1945 – eine Museumsgeschichte.” In *Das Grüne Gewölbe im Schloss zu Dresden. Rückkehr eines Barocken Gesamtkunstwerks. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden* 2006, p. 22.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Bredekamp, Horst 1995. *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine: The Kunstkammer and the Evolution of Nature, Art, and Technology*. Princeton 1995.

Fostered by the ideas of the Enlightenment, many collections emerged within the growing bourgeoisie and the establishment of museums increased.¹⁰¹ Museums were founded all over Europe, from a background of aristocratic collections as well as university, church and private collectors: the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (1683), Capitoline Museums in Rome (1734), British Museum in London (1753), Museo Pio Clementino in Rome (1772), the Museum Fridericianum in Kassel (1779), and the Belvedere in Vienna (1781) are some examples.¹⁰² On the other side of the Atlantic, in Charleston, South Carolina, the first public museum of America was founded in 1773, three years before America's Declaration of Independence.¹⁰³ One year after the royal French collection was declared to be national property in possession of the people in 1792, the Musée de Louvre was opened to the public.¹⁰⁴ This museum carried the idea of moral education and enlightenment of the public, which serves as an influential model until today. Museums to date incorporate both an aristocratic as well as an Enlightenment origin, which becomes apparent in the two contradictory functions of being "an elite temple of the arts and that of a utilitarian instrument for democratic education".¹⁰⁵ Consequently, "for both the nations of Europe and the United States, the establishment of a national public art museum was regarded as a sign of democratization, a "ritual of citizenship" in which the people gained authority over that which earlier had been the purview of only a privileged few."¹⁰⁶

The Structure of Early Museums

The newly established museums were strongly based on the ideas of Enlightenment, with a belief in inevitable progress. The aims of their leaders were to cater to the enjoyment of the arts as well as to the education of the public. Since its foundation in 1754, The South Kensington Museum (today's Victoria and Albert Museum) has dedicated itself to public education, for example, by providing worker-friendly opening hours.¹⁰⁷ From the beginning, museums generally followed the encyclopedic concept, which was well established during the 18th century. The British Museum, for instance, the first government-run museum,

¹⁰¹ Ritter, Henning. "Das Altern der Alten Meister." In Graf/Möbius 2006, pp. 23-24.

¹⁰² Ritter 2006, p. 24.

¹⁰³ Prösler, Martin. "Museum and Globalization." In Fyfe, Gordon and Macdonald, Sharon (eds.). *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World*. Cambridge MA 1996, p. 24.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. McClellan 1994; Pomian 1988.

¹⁰⁵ Benett 1995, p. 89; for further discussion of the museum and its role as public institution see also Savoy, Bénédicte (ed.) 2006. *Tempel der Kunst. Die Geburt des öffentlichen Museums in Deutschland. 1701–1815*, pp. 15-20.

¹⁰⁶ Hamlish, Tamara. "Presenting the Palace: museums and the making of nationalism(s) in twentieth-century China." In *Museum Anthropology*, Volume 19, No. 2, 1995, pp. 20-21.

¹⁰⁷ Benett 1995, p. 71.

emerged as an encyclopedic museum from the comprehensive collection of Hans Sloane. Collection interest expanded over the borders of the British Empire, from the numerous expedition specimens and artifacts, which found their way into the museums. At the turn of the 19th century, prominent scholars such as Alexander von Humboldt, Alois Hirt, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and others devoted their time to examining which audience the museum should cater to and how the collection should be arranged within the museum.¹⁰⁸ Where for centuries, collections had mainly been arranged according to aesthetic principles, thematic and chronological approaches were now being discussed. In 1780, at the upper Belvedere in Vienna, for the first time, an aesthetic setting was rejected in favor of an arrangement of the objects following historical epochs.¹⁰⁹ This provided an example for future development. During neo-classicism, it became common practice to integrate plaster copies of numerous Greek and Roman antiques, which served as illustrative models for interested visitors and for the training of artists.¹¹⁰ From the beginning, natural history collections were an integral part of the early museums; however, the process of separation began already at the end of the 18th century. During the 19th century, the trend to split art and science collections and display them in separate buildings continued and different exhibition concepts emerged. The most prominent representation for this development is the Kunsthistorisches Museum (Museum of Fine Arts) and the Natur Historisches Museum (Museum of Natural History) in Vienna, erected opposite each other between 1872 and 1889, with almost identical façades by Gottfried Semper and Karl Freiherr von Hasenauer. In 1881, the Museum of Natural History in London emanated from the British Museum and proudly displayed its collection in a newly designed building.¹¹¹

Construction Task

In early museum history, museums were located in rededicated buildings. With the Museum Fridericianum in Kassel, which was founded under the rulership of the enlightened landgrave Frederick II von Hessen-Cassel (1720–1785) in 1779, a further step in the development of public museums was taken. For the first time, a museum was in possession of a genuine, purposefully constructed architecture applying classicist forms, which were to become very

¹⁰⁸ Korff, Gottfried 2006. "Scheinkappellen u.Ä. Sieben Bermerkungen zu den diskursiven und visuellen Strategien des Geschichtsmuseums im Jahrhundert seiner Etablierung." In Graf/Möbius 2006, p. 117.

¹⁰⁹ Wezel, Elsa van. "Von der Kunstgeschichtlichen zur Kulturhistorischen Museumskonzeption in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Die Ausstellungsästhetik des Alten und Neuen Museums in Berlin." In Graf/Möbius 2006, p. 176.

¹¹⁰ The interest and fashion for classicism was fostered by the excavations of Herculaneum (1738) and Pompei (1748) and by the popular display of pieces of the Greek Parthenon temple in the British Museum since 1816.

¹¹¹ Wilson, David M. "Das British Museum- Ein Universalmuseum." In Plessen 1992, pp. 108-116.

influential in museum architecture (see 2.3.). The century of museums commenced in the mid 19th century. However, the museum was only one of the many new construction tasks which emerged due to dramatic changes in society and an increase in publicity, taking its position beside prisons, crematories, libraries and railway stations. In addition to monarchical involvement and state commissions, the newly emerging bourgeoisie in the cities also pushed through public commissions as a means of illustrating their growing influence. For example, the establishment of art galleries within many cities, such as Bremen, Frankfurt, Hamburger and Vienna, were based on very successful initiatives of citizens. The Arts and Craft Museum became a particular construction task of the bourgeoisie because of its clear didactic purpose and the availability of collections. Furthermore, in the course of the 19th century, local history museums and national museums evolved and were closely linked to the search and creation of cultural and national identity.¹¹²

National Museums

From its early beginnings, the museum has been a venue of identification and legitimization. In the course of the 19th century, a new type of national museum evolved following the requirements of the time. In Europe, the concept of nation-state developed in the aftermath of the French Revolution and Napoleonic wars, when the traditional order of states had been in disarray and could barely be restored at the Vienna Conference in 1815.¹¹³ Nation-states define political and geographical entities, often encompassing some discrepancy within the concept of a nation as an ethnic-cultural community.¹¹⁴ Subsequently, the triumph of nation-states experienced the subordination of regional identity to national identity. For the newly established nation-states of the 19th century, national heritage and shared memories became of vital importance and a uniting historical identity had to be created or even invented.¹¹⁵ While nations searched for their historic origins and myths, history, as a scientific discipline experienced a significant upturn. Collections began to play an important role in the creation of national identity and in promoting national agendas, just as public rulers had formerly employed them for their legitimation.¹¹⁶ The architect of the Altes Museum in Berlin, Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841), described the museum as being a contribution “not only for

¹¹² Pomian 1988, p. 29.

¹¹³ Kaplan 1995, p. 1.

¹¹⁴ Chang, Maria Hsia. *Return of the Dragon: China's Wounded Nationalism*. 2001, pp. 15f.

¹¹⁵ Raffler 2007, p. 133.

¹¹⁶ Kaplan 1995, p. 1.

the education of the taste, but also for the formation of the nation”¹¹⁷. An emergence of national museums in the 19th century was consequentially derived from the previously described development and served as important expressions of the newly formed nations. These national museums constituted places where national and cultural identity were created and displayed as self-expressions of the newly established nation-state. Through their display, they articulated national narratives, national tragedies and triumphs at the same time.¹¹⁸

The concepts of nation and of nationalism itself both originated from two major backgrounds: the political nationalism of the Jacobins, on the one hand, and romantic nationalism on the other.¹¹⁹ The opening of the Louvre in 1793 was tied to the birth of the new nation.¹²⁰ During the war of resistance against Napoleon, both regional patriotism and national state movements spread throughout many countries all over Europe. The theft of European art by Napoleon’s troops caused an additional awareness of national heritage.¹²¹ Especially in Germany, the development of romantic nationalism affected the cultural fields of the arts, literature and history, thereby forging ideas of national identity. Museums played an important role in propagating these ideas; for example, the National Gallery in Berlin (1876) opened to the public in the aftermath of the establishment of the German Empire in 1871. Visitors entered the neo-classical portico under the pediment inscribed ‘To German Art 1871’ and were provided with an image of Germania, the patron of the German arts. However, from the beginning, this national collection was focused on international art.¹²²

In the competitive international setting of the 19th century, world expositions displayed achievements of the rapidly emerging national, as well as regional, industry. In contrast to museums, these popular venues only provided a temporary display and focused on the most recent technical developments and strengths of the nations. Nevertheless, these expositions played a significant role in the development of Western museums in general and

¹¹⁷ Möbius, Hanno. “Konturen des Museums im 19. Jahrhundert (1789–1918).” In Graf/Möbius 2006, p. 18.

¹¹⁸ Macdonald 2003, p. 3.

¹¹⁹ Raffler 2007, p. 141.

¹²⁰ McClellan 1994, p. 9.

¹²¹ Raffler 2007, p. 138.

¹²² The first gifted collection the museum received already contained international art. In 1896, the museum director bought French impressionists, which reflected his international approach. However, due to patriotic reasons this was not accepted by the public. Cf. Peter-Klaus Schuster. “National und Universal. Zur Begründung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin.” In Graf/ Möbius 2006, p. 31.

for national museums in particular.¹²³ In the aftermath of the first World Exposition in London (1851), the South Kensington Museum emerged as the first arts and crafts museum worldwide. World Expositions continued to be influential in museum development, for example for the establishment of the Deutsches Museum in Munich (1903), which was dedicated to a legacy of nature and technology. At the world expositions, nations present themselves by means of pavilions decorated in self-attributed national styles employing, for example, forms of Gothic Revival and neoclassicism.¹²⁴ Consequently, national museums evolved as permanent displays, emancipating museum architecture from the dominating classicism tradition, allowing for more flexibility in style. Furthermore, the national museums reinforced the trend of arranging objects in a context-based, encyclopedic setting.

Within the development of the museum, the national museum exemplifies a special concept and plays a distinct role. The term ‘national museum’ can either describe an institution in which the national artifacts of a country or region are collected (e.g. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, National Museum of Finland) or it defines a collection of artifacts in the possession of the nation (British Museum, Louvre).¹²⁵ Throughout the museum development, it has not been seen as a contradiction for a national museum to expand beyond the scope of artifacts stemming from within the boundaries of the country and to collect objects from all over the world.¹²⁶ This viewpoint had been in prevalence since the 18th century, when French Revolutionary troops returned with looted art from Belgium, the Netherlands, Italy and the German left Rhine area and when Napoleon had plans to establish his World Art Museum.¹²⁷ During the 19th century, imperialist expansion served to fill many European museums. National museums continually attempted to acquire the best possible collection for the nation-state and at the same time to fulfill the function of being a memorial of the nation-state and a storage place for national monuments. These museums were employed for national representation in the majority of nation-states; however, differing to as great an extent as the states themselves differed.¹²⁸

¹²³ Möbius 2006, p. 17.

¹²⁴ Tibbe, Lieske. “Taxonomie und Didaktik oder Chronologie und Ästhetik: Entwicklungen im Kunstgewerbemuseum des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.” In Graf/Möbius 2006, p. 76.

¹²⁵ Cf. “Nationalmuseum.” In Meyers Großes Universal Lexikon, 1984.

¹²⁶ Möbius 2006, p. 13.

¹²⁷ Ritter 2006, p. 26.

¹²⁸ Möbius 2006, p. 11.

In the course of time, the concept of national museums experienced significant adjustments. The national museum has adopted various forms of self-identification, providing a semi-sacral venue, a venue for legitimizing state power, a venue for mass education and even indoctrination, functioning as a status symbol, and not least as a place of entertainment and recreation. To date, the roles of self-identification and of national expression unite the concepts of otherwise very different institutions, such as the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg, the Washington Smithsonian Institutes, the National Museum of Australia and the National Museum of China, which were established in different times and in differing social contexts.

1.3.2. Development of Museums in China

Collecting and Collections

For thousands of years, the Chinese empire comprised an exceptionally long and enduring tradition of collecting art and cultural relics, with roots at least as far back as the Shang Dynasty (16–11th century BC).¹²⁹ Early collecting, researching and cataloguing of cultural heritage formed the backbone for modern museums in China.¹³⁰

Collections were compiled to justify the lines of succession and the claims to power, even earlier than in Europe. Artifacts were attributed with magical powers and fortune-telling virtues. The ruling elite jealously guarded control over these implements of divine communication¹³¹, which served as essential symbols for the legitimation of power.¹³² Over the centuries, artifacts with symbolic and/or ritualistic origins experienced a continuing secularization; yet, they never completely lost their spiritual importance. The focus of the imperial collections slowly changed to artifacts gathered for their aesthetic values. However, these collections continued to embody a grant for a valid cultural and political tradition.¹³³ The collection established proof of the legitimate rule by a Holy Emperor (圣王), and served as the symbol for the Mandate of Heaven.¹³⁴ In the dynastic transition, a new emperor generally tried to adopt the collection of the preceding dynasty in order to continue the Mandate of Heaven, placing himself in the long line of ruling succession referring back to the

¹²⁹ Ledderose 1985, p. 41.

¹³⁰ Wang, Hongjun 1990, p. 68.

¹³¹ Watson, Rubie. "Palaces, museums, and squares: Chinese national spaces." In *Museum Anthropology*, Volume 19, No. 2, 1995, p. 7.

¹³² Ledderose 1985, pp. 43-45.

¹³³ Ledderose 1985, p. 45.

¹³⁴ Ledderose 1985, p. 41-42, Shih, Shou-Chien 2003, p. 13.

legendary figure of the Yellow Emperor and serving to legitimize his rule. The equation followed that whoever possessed the collection determined history.¹³⁵

Legends legitimized the rule by focusing on the transference of hierarchical symbols. One prominent legend tells the story of Emperor Yu casting nine tripods, representing the nine provinces of ancient China, which were then to be passed on to his successors. They were lost during Zhou Dynasty, but the legend continues when Emperor Qin Shi Huangdi eventually found them. However, while retrieving the tripods from the river, the rescuers were disturbed by a dragon and the precious symbols were lost once more.¹³⁶ The tripods were frequently recast throughout Chinese history. In 2006, the National Museum of China reconstructed the tripods for the display in their collection, thereby emphasizing the symbolic meaning of the collection to date.¹³⁷

Some major characteristics of the development of Chinese collections can be described as follows: During the Shang Dynasty, Chinese nobility collected cultural relics and mostly kept them in their ancestral temples, registering their objects and appointing staff responsible for their collections.¹³⁸ Continuing in the Zhou Dynasty (1045–221 BC), many bronzes were cast and inscribed with historical records. In the *Records of the Grand Historian*, Sima Qian 司马迁 (ca. 135–86 BC) already listed the excavations of ancient tomb sites as one of several ways for a ruler to gain wealth and status and named methods of classification of art objects.¹³⁹ Especially Shang bronze vessels and jade objects were items sought after by the Han Dynasty for their collection. Almost from the beginning, collections were registered and inscribed with historical accounts. The first major categorization of the imperial collection included antiquities, jade objects, seals, calligraphy, bronzes, paintings and other cultural relics, starting during the Song Dynasty (960–1279) when the new rulers had difficulties retrieving the scattered collection for their palaces.¹⁴⁰ Emperor Taizong of Song 宋太宗 (r. 976–97) sent commissioners to search for ancient calligraphy and paintings throughout the empire; his inherited collection quintupled, adding historical as well as

¹³⁵ For further references to the relation between art collections as bearer of cultural identity and legitimation of the dynasties cf. Ledderose 1985, pp. 43–47.

¹³⁶ Ledderose 1985, pp. 42f.; Wu, Hung. *Monumentality in Early Chinese Art and Architecture*. Stanford University Press 1995, p. 5 ff.

¹³⁷ In 2011, the tripods were not on display.

¹³⁸ Wang, Hongjun 1990, p. 68.

¹³⁹ Shih, Shou-Chien 2003, p. 14.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Ledderose 1985, p. 45.

contemporary artifacts.¹⁴¹ Not only the Song Imperial family, but also famous scholars like Ouyang Xiu 欧阳修 (1007–1072) and Zhao Mingcheng 赵明诚 (1081–1129) established excellent collections. The Ming Dynasty directly incurred its collection from its Yuan (1279–1368) predecessor, which had in turn inherited the Southern Song collection before that. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), a first painting gallery was documented in 1396.¹⁴² During the decline of the Ming Dynasty, numerous objects fell into private hands and many were lost.¹⁴³ The Qing rulers established an Imperial Painting Academy, using the Song Dynasty as a model. During Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1661–1722), Yongzheng 雍正 (r. 1722–1735), but especially Qianlong 乾隆 reign (r. 1736–1796), collections were organized, categorized and cataloged in massive projects¹⁴⁴, once again using the Song Dynasty catalogs as models. Miniature replica of collectors' items were manufactured and arranged in curio cabinets, which were popular at that time, to be admired by the emperor.¹⁴⁵ The collection of Emperor Qianlong, the most extensive in Chinese history, was copied by many aristocrats and officials who were establishing their own private collections.

Although these collections served political, cultural and social purposes similar to those in the West, the concept of collecting and enjoying art nevertheless differed from the Western idea. Chinese artifacts were rarely on permanent display and art appreciation took place on a smaller, more private scale. Treasured items like scroll paintings were carefully taken out of storage to be viewed by guests and friends of the collector and then put back after consideration and scholarly discussion. The imperial collection especially remained reserved only for the pleasure of the Emperor, selected officials and those guests, who were granted access to the Forbidden City. The tradition of fitting collector's seals to artifacts testifies to the systematic routine established by emperor Taizong of Song, and is still recognizable today.¹⁴⁶ These different traditions of handling and perceiving artifacts have certainly influenced the later museum display up to the present day (see. 3.3.).

¹⁴¹ Ledderose 1985, p. 43.

¹⁴² Wang, Hongjun 1990, p. 72.

¹⁴³ Fong/Watt 1996, p. 9.

¹⁴⁴ Such as famous catalogs on bronzes like the *Xiqing gujian* 西清古鉴, the *Xiqing xujian* 西清续鉴 and registers of painting and calligraphy like the *Shiqu baoji* 石渠宝笈 were compiled.

¹⁴⁵ Fong/Watt 1996, pp. 20-23.

¹⁴⁶ Ledderose 1985, p. 43.

With their long and enduring tradition of compiling, cataloging, handling and worshipping artifacts, imperial collections laid the conceptual as well as material basis for many (national) museums worldwide, China being no exception. From 1911 on, the imperial collections turned step by step into state property.¹⁴⁷ In 1914, the Ministry of the Interior established an ‘Exhibition of Ancient Goods’ (古物陈列所) in the Hall of Literary Glory (文华殿) and the Hall of Military Glory (武英殿), where treasures from the Liaoning and Chengde palaces of the Qing Dynasty were displayed. The transformation from an imperial collection to a state museum at the beginning of the 20th century encountered various challenges, occurring simultaneously with the development of new principles of citizenship and national-identity. During Republican times, the leadership of the Guomindang (GMD) cast itself as protector of the imperial collection¹⁴⁸ and followed in the footsteps of the Chinese emperors, using culture to legitimize their rulership over China. With the establishment of the ‘Preparatory Office of the National History Museum’ (国立历史博物馆筹备处) in Beijing in 1912 and the ‘Preparatory Office of the National Central Museum’ (国立中央博物院筹备处) in Nanjing in 1933, the Republic commenced its own collection legacy.

The Term Museum

Although the tradition of artifact collections was passed on throughout Chinese history, the modern concept of museums was, nonetheless, introduced from the West during the second half of the 19th century along with various political and philosophical ideas. Several Chinese terms emerged to describe the newly introduced phenomenon;¹⁴⁹ for example, the term ‘bowuguan’ (博物馆) or ‘bowuyuan’ (博物院), now commonly used for museums in China, translates as ‘court or hall of abundant things’. During the Han Dynasty, the characters ‘bo’ and ‘wu’ were used in combination by Huan Kuan 桓宽 (1st century BC) in an essay describing Sang Dafu 桑大夫 as a universal scholar with the knowledge of abundant things.¹⁵⁰ The term ‘bowuguan’ was applied to modern museums at the beginning of the 20th century, for example, by Sun Yirang 孙诒让 (1848–1908) who explained the phenomena of Western museums to Chinese readers and by Guo Moruo 郭沫若 (1892–1978), who

¹⁴⁷ Ledderose 1985, p. 20.

¹⁴⁸ Watson 1995, p. 10.

¹⁴⁹ Wang, Hongjun 1990, p. 23-24.

¹⁵⁰ “Bowuguan.” In *Baike Quanshu* (百科全书), <http://baike.911cha.com/Z3xNg ==.html> (accessed June 24, 2010).

described the museums, factories and institutions he saw on his visit to the Soviet Union. At the same time, the famous author Ba Jin 巴金 (1904–2005) used the term to define museums he had visited in France.¹⁵¹ Another source for the origin of the term keenly followed by China can be traced to the more progressive Meiji Japan, which was eagerly establishing museums according to Western concepts during the second half of the 19th century.¹⁵² The emergence of the term mirrors the path which the establishment of modern museums took in China.

Western Concepts of Museum in China

Traditionally, the introduction of the museum concept is traced to two sources of influence. On the one hand, foreigners introduced their own culture to China and opened the first museums according to Western ideas. On the other hand, Chinese delegations interested in new concepts from the West traveled to Europe, the United States and Japan and brought back innovative ideas.

Until the 1840s, the perception of Western museums in China was still in its beginnings. Bit by bit, an awareness of the social functions and the importance of museums for society in general, prevailed with European, Japanese and American museums all serving as models. Lin Cheng 林铨 visited museums in the United States and published one of the earliest accounts about Western museums in 1849.¹⁵³ In 1866, the Qing government sent the first delegation of officials to Europe to advance their knowledge about museum development in Western society. In their reports, various European museums found recognition. With the support of the Qing government, academic students in increasing numbers have been sent to the USA since 1872, to Europe since 1875 and to Japan since 1896. After their return, they became most influential in China's development, and not least in the cultural sector.¹⁵⁴ Although adaptation to Western ideas varied to a great extent, in the emerging field of museums it was strong and almost complete. The late Qing Dynasty made the establishment

¹⁵¹ “Bowu”, “Bowuyuan” and “Bowuguan.” In *Hanyudacidian* 2006, p. 910.

¹⁵² “Bowuguan.” In *Baiken Quanshu* (百科全书), (accessed June 24, 2010).

¹⁵³ Cf. Su, Donghai 2006, p. 279.

¹⁵⁴ E.g. Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940) was appointed first minister of education of the newly formed Republic of China in 1912, after returning from his studies in Germany (1907–1911). Later, Lin Fengmian 林风眠 (1900–1991) who returned from France in 1926, became director of the newly founded National Academy of Art in Hangzhou and Xu Beihong 徐悲鸿 (1895–1953) was appointed director of the Beijing Art Institute after returning from his studies in Japan and France in 1928; cf. Birnie Danzker, Jo-Anne, Lum, Ken and Zheng, Shengtian (eds.). *Shanghai Modern 1919–1945*. München 2004. pp. 408 ff.

of museums a governmental task, mainly under control of the Department of Education.¹⁵⁵ Especially during the Republican Era, museums were regarded as important sources of identification and means of public education.

Since the 1870s, a wave of museum foundations, predominantly from a colonial background, have deluged Asia.¹⁵⁶ Already during the 1860s, the first public museums in Shanghai were founded by European missionaries and foreign sponsors, the Museum of Natural History (震旦博物馆), established by a French Jesuit in 1868, and the Museum of Shanghai (上海博物馆) in 1874, both still depending on a central office in London.¹⁵⁷ In the following decades, French, English and American missionaries founded additional museums in cities such as Tianjin, Jinan and Chengdu.¹⁵⁸ Museums also emerged on Taiwan and in the northeast of China, where Japan created an area of permanent influence. Although there were ambivalent feelings about Westernization and an increasing Japanese influence in China, from the mid-19th century on, Japan nevertheless served as an instrumental shortcut to Westernization. During the Meiji Reform Period (1868–1912), after centuries of isolation, Western concepts and techniques fell on fruitful ground in Japan and reforms commenced with incredible speed.¹⁵⁹ This development led to the foundation of the first Japanese museum in Tokyo (1872) commissioned by the Ministry of Education¹⁶⁰ and designed by the British architect Josiah Conder (1852–1920).¹⁶¹ The Japanese government took a leading role in promoting Western architecture, inviting foreign architects to design public buildings and to train Japanese students in Western architecture.¹⁶² The museum opened to the public in 1882 at Ueno Park and later became the Tokyo National Museum.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁵ Wang, Hongjun 1990, p. 84.

¹⁵⁶ Aside from India, the first museums in Asia were founded in Bangkok (1874), Japan (1871), China (1905) and Korea (1908); Prösler 1996, p. 25.

¹⁵⁷ Lü, Jimin 吕济民 2004. Zhongguobowuguan shilun 中国博物馆史论 [Theory of Chinese Museum History]. Beijing/ 北京: zijin chengchubanshe 紫禁城出版社, 2004, p. 2.

¹⁵⁸ Lü, Jimin 2004, p. 2

¹⁵⁹ Since 1639, Japan was almost entirely closed to the outer world; cf. Finn, Dallas. Meiji Revisited. The sites of Victorian Japan. New York 1995.

¹⁶⁰ Suzuki, Hiroyuki. “Japanische Architekten und Museen: Ansätze 2004.” In Greub 2006, p. 15.

¹⁶¹ Invited by the Japanese government, the British architect Conder taught from 1877 until 1888 at the Imperial College of Engineering, thereafter working at his own business in Japan until 1920. Conder’s architecture included both European and colonial elements. Cf. Finn 1995.

¹⁶² Finn 1995, p. 18.

¹⁶³ The museum went through several name changes, the Imperial Museum in 1886 and the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum in 1900, until it was given its present title in 1947: Tokyo National Museum. In 1938, the museum moved into its present venue (Hokan, architect Jin Watanabe).

It is claimed that the first modern museum founded by a Chinese was established in Nantong, Jiangsu Province, in 1905. The founder of the Nantong Museum (南通博物院) was the philanthropic industrialist and progressive Zhang Jian 张謇 (1853–1926), who held the rank of *jinshi* (进士) and had extensively visited Japan.¹⁶⁴ Zhang's proposal for the establishment of a museum reached back to the reform of 1898. He was convinced that the first Chinese museum should be established by the Qing government and located in Beijing. When his proposal fell on deaf ears at the Ministry of Education of the Qing court in Beijing, Zhang Jian decided to build the museum in Nantong instead, using his private collection as the basis for the display.¹⁶⁵ The artifacts were presented under the rubrics of nature, history, arts and education, which included modern industrial tools and models. A two-volume museum catalogue followed the international trend of museum design, categorizing the artifacts in sections of nature, history and art.¹⁶⁶ The fact that the first museum was founded as a private enterprise by a Chinese industrialist shows the important role played by the local elite in the process of modernization of the country.¹⁶⁷ It would take a few more years until the first government-run museums would be opened to the public in Beijing.

With the partial opening of the Forbidden City and the establishment of the Museum of Antiquities within the Outer Palace in 1911, the former imperial collection, which for centuries had served the imperial legitimation, became the quintessence of the Chinese national culture. Its impact turned from an expression of regal power to an expression of sovereignty of the nation and therefore took the path similar to many European aristocratic collections.¹⁶⁸ However, the transformation process of the Imperial Palace to a state owned museum was postponed until after the abdicated Emperor Puyi 溥仪 (1906–1967) and his household were expelled from the Inner Quarters of the palace.¹⁶⁹ On October 10, 1925, the Palace Museum was inaugurated and the collection converted to state property. It became the main depot of the national cultural heritage and an important symbol of the newly established Chinese Republic. Due to the odyssey that the collection experienced both during the Second World War and the Civil War period and the final transportation of the core collection to

¹⁶⁴ The history of Nantong Museum and its founder Zhang Jian are well documented in Qin Shao 2004.

¹⁶⁵ Capon, Joan. *Guide to Museums in China*. Hong Kong 2002, pp. 159-160; Wang, Hongjun 1990, pp. 78-83.

¹⁶⁶ Qin, Shao 2004, p. 691.

¹⁶⁷ Qin, Shao 2004, p. 685.

¹⁶⁸ E.g. in Berlin or Paris; McClellan 1994, p. 7.

¹⁶⁹ Capon 2002, p. 7.

Taiwan by the GMD, the transformation of the collection to a powerful national symbol gained importance.¹⁷⁰

Between 1912 and 1949, several public museums were set up throughout China.¹⁷¹ They were created after Western models, serving as symbols for the newly established Republic and gaining important recognition throughout the Chinese public. Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868–1940), the first Minister of Education of the newly established Republic, understood the importance of museums primarily in their social-educational and aesthetic-education functions.¹⁷² The first governmental museums represented cultural authority and political legitimacy, pursuing the concepts of a modern nation.¹⁷³

Chinese Exhibitions at Home and Abroad

National exhibitions and various World Fairs became important factors for the development of museums and the commencement of cultural exchange. As early as the 19th century, Imperial China took part in various World Fairs in London (1851), Paris (1867), Vienna (1873) and Philadelphia (1876).¹⁷⁴ At the turn of the 20th century, the Qing government showed more and more willingness to modernize the ancient civilization and, by means of national and international exhibitions, to promote the Imperial Chinese image at home and abroad.¹⁷⁵ From the final years of the Qing Dynasty onwards, exhibitions were held at both regional and national levels throughout the country. In 1910, the Qing court organized the ‘Nanyang Exhortation Fair’ in Nanjing, which was to be the first national fair sponsored by the Qing government.¹⁷⁶ The Ministry of Education continued to employ various displays for the presentation of the achievements of the state, to gain public support for their reforms, and to educate the people.¹⁷⁷ During the Republican Era, art exhibitions became an important element of foreign cultural policy. Major exhibitions of ancient and contemporary Chinese art

¹⁷⁰ These objects form the core of the collection of the National Palace Museum in Taipei. However, the National Palace Museum in Taiwan only opened to the public in 1965; Cf. Capon 2002, p. 151; Shih, Shou-Chien 2004, p. 13; Hamlish 1995, pp. 20-30.

¹⁷¹ Capon 2002, p. 8; Wang, Hongjun 1990, p. 94; However, in 1937 the growth was slowed down by the Anti-Japanese War, World War II and the Civil War which followed from 1945–1949; In 1937, an estimated 200 museums existed throughout the Republic of China, the majority of museums were established after 1949; Cf. Qin, Shao 2004, p. 700.

¹⁷² Cf. Wang, Hongjun 1990, pp. 85 ff.

¹⁷³ Hamlish 1995, p. 24.

¹⁷⁴ Qin, Shao 2004, p. 688.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. Godley, Michael R. “China’s World Fair of 1910: lessons from a forgotten event.” In *Modern Asian Studies* Vol. 12, No. 3, 1978, pp. 503-522.

¹⁷⁶ Qin, Shao 2004, p. 688.

¹⁷⁷ Qin, Shao 2004, p. 687.

took place throughout Europe, the United States and Japan, not least to compete with and counterbalance Japanese superiority in Western countries.¹⁷⁸ In 1924, the ‘Exposition Chinoise d’ Art Ancien et Modern’ was held at the Palais du Rhin in Paris and then traveled to Strasbourg. Cai Yuanpei, Lin Fengmian 林风眠 (1900–1991), and Xu Beihong 徐悲鸿 (1895–1943) were among the organizers. Within the next decade, various large-scale exhibitions were hosted in Berlin, Frankfurt, Moscow and Leningrad.¹⁷⁹ Between 1933 and 1935, at least 17 exhibitions of 20th century Chinese art organized by Liu Haisu 刘海粟 (1896–1994) and Xu Beihong were displayed in 14 cities and 8 countries in Europe.¹⁸⁰ In 1935, the Royal Academy in London staged an exhibition based on a central loan of 735 artworks provided by the Chinese government from the collection of the Palace Museum in Beijing.¹⁸¹ This exhibition, which cast light on 3000 years of Chinese history, had a great impact on the West. From 1934 to 1945, more than 70 exhibitions of The Palace Museum were on display in Shanghai, Nanjing, Chongqing, Chengdu and other major Chinese cities.¹⁸² In 1937, the ‘Second Exhibition of Chinese Art’ in Nanjing was held under auspices of the Ministry of Education. It became clear that not only through the establishment of museums, but also through the presentation of exhibitions in China and abroad “the government, and not just artists, was attempting to use art as a means of nation-building, and the creation of such public opportunities for the display of art which was attempting to appeal to its viewers as national citizens was crucial.”¹⁸³ However, in the same year, the promising cultural exchange came to a standstill, caused by the Second Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945 and the subsequent Civil War of 1945–1949.¹⁸⁴

1.3.3. Development of the National Museum of China

The Foundation (1912–1949)

The origins of the National Museum of Chinese History can be found in the ‘Preparatory Office of the National History Museum’ set up on July 9, 1912 after a proposal made by Cai

¹⁷⁸ Birnie Danzker/Lum/Zheng 2004, p. 30.

¹⁷⁹ Birnie Danzker/Lum/Zheng 2004, p. 31.

¹⁸⁰ Vainker, Shelagh. “Modern Chinese Painting in London, 1935.” In Birnie Danzker/Lum/Zheng 2004, p.118.

¹⁸¹ Gugong bowuguan 故宫博物院 2007. *Zaoguanan yu zhanguobao 遭国难与展国宝* [National crisis and the exhibition of state treasures], 3/2007, pp. 32f.

¹⁸² The Palace Museum 2007. The Palace Museum Publishing House. Beijing 2007, p. 16.

¹⁸³ Clarke, David. “Cross-Cultural Dialogue and Artistic Innovation: Teng Baiye and Mark Tobey.” In Birnie Danzker/Lum/Zheng 2004, p. 101.

¹⁸⁴ Hesemann, Sabine. “China. Der Drache rückt in den Blickwinkel Europas. Republik.” In Fahr-Becker 2006, p. 241.

Yuanpei.¹⁸⁵ The founding of the museum was closely linked with the establishment of the Republic of China. The museum's collection was initially housed at the site of the former Imperial College of the Qing Dynasty. In 1917, due to the remote location and to insufficient space, the museum moved to the Meridian Gate (午门) of the Imperial Palace [Fig. 3]. However, the museum only opened to the public in October 1926.¹⁸⁶

The establishment of the Museum of Chinese History has to be understood as dependent on the influence of Western concepts of modern museums and the nation-state, which the newly founded Republic of China implemented. The adoption of Western ideas at the turn of the 20th century had a great impact on politics as well as culture. In particular, Western concepts of the modern nation turned out to be very influential on the formation of the Republic of China. Modern nationalism stemming from Western thought was already being adopted in China during the late 19th century, mainly among the intelligentsia, and became a forceful weapon in politics. With the collapse of 'Tianxia' (天下), which had described the worldview of China as the center of the universe for centuries¹⁸⁷, the concept of nation-state gained further recognition and gave birth to the modern Chinese nation.¹⁸⁸ The spiritual founding father was Sun Yatsen with his national and social movement based on the 'Three Principles of the People of Minzu, Minquan and Minsheng' (三民主义), often translated and condensed to the terms nationalism, democracy and welfare of the people.¹⁸⁹ The Republican government adopted these principles as their main philosophy and constituted a top down nation-state. Through the attempt of Yuan Shikai 袁世凯 (1859–1916) to establish himself as a new emperor with the subsequent take-over of the warlords, the first attempt to establish a republic based on a national ideology, a period later described by the Communist rulers as 'Old Democratic Revolution', failed. During the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Chen Duxiu 陈独秀 (1879–1942) and others preached science and democracy and

¹⁸⁵ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian, p. 140. For detailed chronological information, a timeline is provided in the Appendix (see 6.2).

¹⁸⁶ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian 2002, pp. 140-141.

¹⁸⁷ The term 'Tianxia' literally means "under heaven" and describes a worldview, based on the central position of the Chinese emperor, and China as the middle country. All other tribes and countries were obliged to pay tribute to the emperor, in order to receive his protection. This political idea had been in place for centuries.

¹⁸⁸ Wei, C. X George and Liu, Xiaoyuan (eds.), Exploring Nationalism of China: themes and conflicts. 2002, p. 121.

¹⁸⁹ Cf. Metzger, Gilbert. Liang Qichao, China und der Westen nach dem ersten Weltkrieg: Ein Viertel der Menschheit hat gegenüber der gesamten Menschheit die Verpflichtung für ein Viertel des Glücks. Trier 2005, p. 42.

attacked Confucianism in the influential magazine *New Youth*.¹⁹⁰ However, nationalism and the wish for a unified China remained important. In the 1930s and 1940s, Chinese intellectual nationalism expanded to a mass movement, despite its Western origins, as reaction to imperialistic nations such as Japan. At that time, there was an attempt to define the nation by returning to Chinese traditions: “In all areas of art and life, national pride conflicted with Western, especially Japanese, influences, which became effective beginning with Japanese military takeover during the 19th century and the henceforth progressing internationalization.”¹⁹¹

Once the Republic of China was founded in 1912, one major task of the Ministry of Culture was safeguarding the national treasure, thereby continuing the dynastic tradition of legitimizing the empire by means of the collection. In addition, it was necessary to create another modus, enabling the population to identify with the new nation-state. Establishing museums became an important task for the new government, apparent with the founding of new museums such as the Museum of Chinese History in Beijing (1912), The Palace Museum (1925), and the Nanjing Central Museum (1933). During the first year of the Republic of China, parts of the Imperial Palace were made accessible to the public for the first time in history. Moreover, its content was regarded as public property and essence of the cultural tradition, the roots of the newly established nation-state.¹⁹² The subsequent opening of the Palace Museum focused on the enduring traditions of the country. However, with the establishment of the Museum of Chinese History in Beijing, the new nation-state created a different symbol. At that time, the Palace Museum housed the best collection of Chinese artifacts in the country, while the Museum of Chinese History, with its universal approach, obtained its collection from nationwide archaeological excavation starting at the beginning of the century. The Museum of Chinese History of 1912 became the first and most influential museum of the new Republic of China. However, one of the most ambitious programs of the Republican government was the foundation of the Nanjing Central Museum in the new capital, following the suggestions of Cai Yuanpei and various academic bodies.¹⁹³ At that

¹⁹⁰ Chang, Maria Hsia 2001, p. 29; The May Fourth Movement started as a protest movement among students against the treaty of Versailles, which allocated the former German territory of Shandong to Japan instead of returning it to China, also an official winner of the war. Protest from students spread throughout the whole country. For a detailed analysis of the May Fourth Movement, see Gray 2002, p. 195.

¹⁹¹ Hesemann 2006, p. 241.

¹⁹² Shih, Shou-Chien 2003, p. 17.

¹⁹³ During Republican Era, Nanjing was made capital numerous times. The decade from 1927 to 1937 is known as Nanjing Decade.

time, the Nanjing Central Museum, subordinate to the Ministry of Education, was to be a comprehensive large-scale museum following the example of the first-class museums of American and Europe. In April 1933, the National Central Museum Preparatory Department was constituted and Fu Sinian 傅斯年 (1896–1950) was appointed director.¹⁹⁴ To create this universal National Museum in Nanjing, parts of the collection of the Antiques Repository, The Palace Museum and the Museum of Chinese History in Beijing were transferred to Nanjing and combined with the collection situated in the Jiangsu Provincial Museum.¹⁹⁵ Institutionally, the Museum of Chinese History in Beijing¹⁹⁶ was integrated in the National Central Museum. In June 1936, construction work for the new museum building began; it was interrupted by the invasion of the Japanese army in August 1937. From the original plan to build three major halls for displaying nature, the humanities, the arts and technology, only one venue was to be executed.¹⁹⁷ Because of the Japanese threat, the previously combined collection went on an odyssey throughout China, only returning to Nanjing in 1946.¹⁹⁸ The museum was subsequently opened in 1950.¹⁹⁹

In East Asia, the Japanese National Museum had already evolved in the 19th century, while the predecessor to the National Museum of Korea was established at the beginning of the 20th century, corresponding almost exactly to the founding of the ‘Preparatory Office of the National Museum of History’ in Beijing. Although the origins were steeped in Western concepts, the Korean museums evolved along a different path. Established under Japanese occupation (1910–1945) as the Governor General’s Museum in Seoul to promote the ideology of ruling Japan, it was reorganized as National Museum of Korea in September 1945. It then played a significant role in the reestablishment of the Korean nation and of its

¹⁹⁴ Wang, Hongjun 1990, p. 438; The Nanjing Museum underwent several changes of name: After the establishment of the People’s Republic of China, it was renamed as Nanjing State Museum (国立南京博物院) in March 1950. In August 1950, it was officially named Nanjing Museum (南京博物院).

¹⁹⁵ Fong/Watt 1996, p. 3; Wang, Jiafeng 王家凤. “Adventures of the Treasures in National Palace Museum.” translated by Peter Eberly. 国立故宫博物院六十年, Guoli gugong bowuyuan liushinian, Taipei 1985, pp. 2-8.

¹⁹⁶ Then called ‘Beiping History Museum’. From 1928 to 1949 Beijing was called ‘Beiping’ (北平: ‘City of Northern Peace’) just as it was called already during the Ming Dynasty. In this paper, the city is only referred to as Beijing to limit confusion.

¹⁹⁷ Nanjing Museum Guidebook. 南京博物馆导览手册, Nanjing Bowuguan 南京博物馆, 51 pages, Nanjing n. d., p. 4.

¹⁹⁸ From December 1948 to February 1949, parts of the collection were shipped to Taiwan. The journey of the collection is well documented in various accounts such as Fong/Watt 1996.

¹⁹⁹ Construction work commenced after World War II in 1946, it was halted in 1948 again due to the Civil War.

national and cultural pride.²⁰⁰ In China, the museums in Beijing and Nanjing were not the only museums evolving during the first half of the 20th century. The development of museums reached a peak in the mid 1930s and in 1936, with 77 museums being counted.²⁰¹ Along with the museums, regulations for museums and cultural heritage were adopted and research on museum studies published. In 1935, the ‘Association of Chinese Museums’ (中国博物馆协会) was founded in Beijing. During the following periods of the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945) and the Civil War (1945–1949), the number of museums declined and a large portion of cultural heritage was lost or destroyed. In 1949, the activities surrounding the museum sector almost came to a halt.

From the Establishment of the PRC to the Cultural Revolution (1949–1978)

The second root of the National Museum of China lies in the ‘Preparatory Office of the National Museum of Revolution’ (国立革命博物馆筹备处) set up in March 1950, which immediately moved to the premises of the Hall of Military Glory of the Forbidden City.²⁰² As early as in 1933, the central Ministry of Education had decided to establish a Revolutionary Museum and had called for a countrywide gathering of memorabilia.²⁰³ However, these plans were only to be carried out in the aftermath of the establishment of the People’s Republic of China.

On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong proclaimed the establishment of the People’s Republic of China from Tiananmen [Fig. 137]. High hopes were placed on the strong and charismatic leader as well as on the newly established nation.²⁰⁴ Nationalism, which had represented an important spiritual concept and legitimizing basis for the Republic of China, was also employed by the CCP in form of the populist anti-Japanese nationalism of the 1930s. Furthermore, the CCP continued to establish the Three Principles of the People of Sun Yatsen, the founding father of the Nation, but soon turned to “the utopian futurism of Karl Marx, V.I. Lenin, and Josef Stalin.”²⁰⁵ The adoption of the Communist International Doctrine led to a conflict and a dichotomy with state-nationalism. Patriotism, affection for one’s own nation and its beliefs, on the other hand, was not completely neglected but was integrated as a tool

²⁰⁰ National Museum of Korea. “History. Joseon Government-General Museum.” <http://www.museum.go.kr/main/publish/view.jsp?menuID=002006001002> (accessed August, 6, 2012).

²⁰¹ Wang, Hongjun 1990, p. 92.

²⁰² Denton 2000, p. 208.

²⁰³ The idea was developed in 1933 or even earlier; Cf. Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 915.

²⁰⁴ Chang, Maria Hsia 2001, p. 142.

²⁰⁵ Chang, Maria Hsia 2001, p. 142.

for increasing loyalty to the new order²⁰⁶, as apparent in Mao's statement that "patriotism is applied internationalism"²⁰⁷.

Like Chinese state-nationalism before, the roots of Chinese socialism lay in the West, being introduced to China in addition to various other Western thoughts. Only after the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the establishment of the Communist International (Comintern) in 1919, did socialist ideas become significant in China. In 1921, the CCP was formally founded by Li Dazhao 李大钊 (1888–1927), Chen Duxiu and others in Shanghai.²⁰⁸ One of the first exhibitions held in 1951 by the newly established Museum of Chinese Revolution at the Hall of Military Glory commemorated the 30th anniversary of the foundation of the CCP.²⁰⁹ From the beginning, Soviet Russia served as a model for the establishment of the People's Republic of China as a socialist state. The CCP became the most diligent pupil of Soviet Russia setting up an analogous political, economic and cultural system.²¹⁰ The political campaign of the 1950s entitled 'Learning from the Soviet Union' was supported when Soviet advisors were introduced in all fields of life.²¹¹ For New China, the successful ideologies of socialist and Communist doctrines took up the new role of legitimizing the current political and social orders, once again, an ideology foreign to China.

The newly established state eagerly adapted new representations, symbols and memorials. Arts and architecture were employed to glorify the regime, the country, and the ideology. The planning of the new governmental center in Beijing was discussed controversially. A proposal of the influential architects Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901–1972)²¹² and Chen Zhanxiang 陈占祥 (1916–2001), was for the new government center to be established in the west of the city, whereas the Soviet advisors suggested the city center, stating technical reasons.²¹³ The Chinese leadership decided for the central solution:

²⁰⁶ Cf. *Zhongguo gongchandang da cidian* 1991. 中国共产党大辞典 [Chinese Communist Party Dictionary], Beijing/北京 1991, p. 197.

²⁰⁷ Quoted after Hoston 1994, p. 377.

²⁰⁸ Mao Zedong attended the meeting. Cf. Schwartz, Benjamin. *Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao*, New York 1951, p. 37.

²⁰⁹ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 923.

²¹⁰ Kirby 1997, p. 879.

²¹¹ Fan, K Shizheng. "A Classicist Architecture for Utopia: The Soviet Contacts." In Cody 2011, p. 91.

²¹² Liang Sicheng studied in Pennsylvania and in Paris at the *École des Beaux Arts*. In the 1930s and 1940s, he researched traditional Chinese architecture and contributed to the theoretical discourse. He is well known for his input to the Beijing city planning after 1949 such as the construction of the Monument of the People's Heroes; cf. Charlie Q. *Building a Revolution. Chinese Architecture Since 1980*. Hong Kong University Press 2006.

²¹³ Fan, K. Shizheng 2011, p. 102.

Tiananmen remained the heart while being enhanced and transformed to an important symbol for New China and its leadership (see 2.3.).²¹⁴

Immediately after the Communist takeover of Beijing in January 1949, the CCP also took control of educational and cultural institutions such as museums and universities. Furthermore, a Committee to Control Cultural Affairs was established. The Ministry of Culture took over 21 museums; under the leadership of Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋 (1909–1987), the reorganization commenced following the new socialist ideology.²¹⁵ For the development of the new state, however, the establishment of new museums, especially the Museum of Chinese Revolution, was of vital importance. As soon as in May 1949, the Committee to Control Cultural Affairs issued an announcement through the Museum of Chinese History to collect revolutionary documents and artifacts, emphasizing two areas: the Communist Party and Communist martyrs. Expedited by the establishment of the Bureau of Cultural Relics (文物局) within the Ministry of Culture in late 1949, the gathering of cultural relics gained momentum. In February 1950, a nationwide collection campaign commenced as announced by the Bureau of Cultural Relics, focusing on relics starting with the Opium War of 1839–1842, but emphasizing the time after the May Fourth Movement when the CCP gained leadership.²¹⁶ In order to establish the Museum of Chinese Revolution, the Soviet museum model was consulted, supported by Russian advisors, the translation of Russian museum accounts and field trips to Moscow’s museums. In autumn 1950, a Chinese delegation led by Wang Yeqiu traveled to Moscow to visit several museums dedicated to the new regime. The delegation was especially impressed by the Central Lenin Museum, the Red Army Museum, and the rich collection of the National Museum of the Revolution on Gorky Street, which displayed the glorious path of the Bolshevnik Revolution and highlighted the central role of Lenin and Stalin in the establishment of Soviet Russia.²¹⁷ If the task of the first museums emerging in the time of Enlightenment was to educate free citizens, the Soviet museums were established to educate the public in the socialist ideology.²¹⁸ Existing museums such as the

²¹⁴ Fan, K. Shizheng 2011, p. 102.

²¹⁵ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 917.

²¹⁶ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 920.

²¹⁷ Cf. Wang Yeqiu 王冶秋 1950. “Sulian guoli geming bowuguan” 苏联国立革命博物馆 [The Soviet National Museum of the Revolution]. In *Wenwu cankao ziliao* 文物参考资料 No. 10, October 1950, pp. 66-77; Jian Bozan 翦伯赞 “Canguan Sulian bowuguan de yinxiang” 参观苏联博物馆的印象 [Impressions upon visiting Soviet Museums], *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, 文物参考资料 No. 4, May 1953, pp. 30-31.

²¹⁸ Groys, Boris. “The struggle against the museums; or, the display of art in totalitarian space.” In Sherman, Daniel J. and Rogoff, Irit (eds.). *Museum Culture, History Discourse, Spectacles*. 1994, p. 144.

State Historical Museum of Russia, founded in Moscow in 1872 at a time of national self-identification²¹⁹, were modified and amended in 1917. The museum's display aligned itself with the division of Marxist history in primitive, slavery and feudal cultures.²²⁰ In addition, a strong focus was laid on the history of the working class and peasant history of the 19th and 20th century.²²¹

Despite his admiration of Soviet achievements in establishing memorial museums of the revolution, Wang Yeqiu planned for the Museum of Chinese Revolution to be unique and devoted to Mao Zedong's Thoughts.²²² When the exhibition was set up in the late 1950s, the ideological divergence between Soviet Russia and Maoist China might already have been felt, though the Mao cult had just started. The display mainly focused on the illustration of the inevitable rise of the CCP and Mao Zedong's pivotal role in the establishment and development of the People's Republic of China.²²³ The strong Soviet influence on museum display was downplayed, although many themes and objects such as portraits of Marx and Lenin were included in the exhibition. The museum provided a platform for the display of the Chinese Communist master narrative, for forging and controlling the collective memory and monopolizing the writing of history.²²⁴ The CCP continued to exercise tight control over the museum display, especially via the Propaganda Department.²²⁵ Therefore, the Museum of the Chinese Revolution was not primarily a cultural space, but rather a political institution to serve the interests of the party²²⁶ and to display history as a means of legitimizing party leadership.

The newly established Museum of the Chinese Revolution required an adequate building to serve as a memorial and a place of recollection for the Chinese people. Along with the Museum of Chinese History, it was included in the Ten Great Buildings scheme in

²¹⁹ Levykin, Konstantin. "Russland. Das Staatliche Historische Museum als Nationalmuseum." In Plessen 1992, pp. 96-107.

²²⁰ Levykin 1992, p. 97.

²²¹ The collection was further enhanced through the socialization of private property, and the integration of collections from other museums in Moscow; Levykin 1992, pp. 98-100.

²²² Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 919.

²²³ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 932.

²²⁴ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 914.

²²⁵ According to Zhang/Zheng 2009, the official English translation of the previous Propaganda Department was changed to 'Publicity Department' in recent years. However, the Chinese term remained unchanged. In order to avoid confusion, this study continues to apply the term 'Propaganda Department'. Cf. Zhang, Xiaoling and Zheng, Yongnian. *China's Information and Communications Technology Revolution: Social Changes and State Responses*. New York: Routledge 2009, p. 104.

²²⁶ Zhang/Zheng 2009, p. 104.

1958. This huge salient construction project was launched in celebration of the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic of China (see 2.2.1).²²⁷ The agenda contained not only the architecture but also the interior design, including promotions to commission history paintings for the Hall of People, the History and Revolutionary Museum and the China People's Revolution Military Museum (see. 3.4.3.).²²⁸ For this project, the Ministry of Culture held a conference to consult artists and architects on how to make the buildings "reflect the spiritual situation of our nation's people and our nation's ancient cultural and artistic tradition."²²⁹

In August 1959, construction of the main building of the two museums was completed. On October 1, the Museum of Chinese History opened to the public in celebration of the 10th anniversary of the People's Republic of China. In July 1961, the Museum of Chinese Revolution opened to the public, commemorating the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the CCP. After 1961, the two museums underwent several changes, periods of renaming, reshaping, opening and closing. After being shut down during the heights of the Cultural Revolution, the two museums were merged in 1969²³⁰ only to reclaim their original structure and previous names again in 1983.

Museum Policy after Mao (1978–2003)

In 1976, the signs were pointing to the end of an era: the members of the party leadership had grown old and in January, Zhou Enlai 周恩来 (1898–1976) died followed by Zhu De 朱德 (1886–1976) at the beginning of July. On July 28, a massive earthquake killed more than 250,000 people in Tangshan, only some 140 km from the capital in Beijing and was noticeable in many parts of China. In the Chinese tradition, it could be read as a precursor of dynastic change.²³¹ On September 9, Mao Zedong died, the Cultural Revolution was officially ended by his successor Hua Guofeng 华国锋 (1921–2008), who immediately took action to arrest the Gang of Four.²³² For two years, the country fell into confusion over the

²²⁷ During the first years of the People's Republic of China mainly hospitals and schools with only limited representative design were erected; cf. Hesemann 2006, p. 243.

²²⁸ Andrews 1994, p. 227.

²²⁹ Andrews 1994, p. 228.

²³⁰ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 931.

²³¹ Ledderose 1988, p. 313.

²³² Consisting of Mao's wife Jiang Qing 江青 (1914–1991), Zhang Chunqiao 张春桥 (1917–2005), Yao Wenyuan 姚文元 (1931–2005) and Wang Hongwen 王洪文 (1934–1992), during the Cultural Revolution in control of the CCP. After the Cultural Revolution they were officially charged by the Chinese government for the ten years terror of the Cultural Revolution. Cf. Fairbank/Goldman 2006, p. 387.

question of succession. In 1978, Deng Xiaoping 邓小平 (1904–1997) assumed command of China, at that time one of the poorest countries in the world. Within the same year, he implemented far-reaching economic reforms, the so-called Four Modernizations in the areas of agriculture, industry, national defense and science and technology, with the intention of copying Western economic successes. At this time, pragmatism in the Communist Party leadership had replaced orthodoxy.²³³ However, for Deng Xiaoping the stability of the country was of major importance, leading him to reject the Western idea of democracy. Deng's strategy was to develop the country economically, through reforming the command economy, introducing an open door policy and improving foreign relations in order to retain socialism.²³⁴ Special Economic Zones were allocated along the coast and opened for international investments. The reforms turned out to be very successful, with an average annual growth rate of 10% lasting from 1979 until the beginning of the 21st century.²³⁵

Deng Xiaoping's 'Theory of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics' became the core element of the new development.²³⁶ In order to implement institutional and economic reforms, the CCP under Deng Xiaoping needed to depart at least partially from Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's Thoughts. The question arose of how to define the new national identity so that the public would not be alienated from the state and the CCP.²³⁷ State-nationalism was employed and promoted during the 1980s and 1990s²³⁸ in order to aid in solving the government's legitimation crises and in filling the ideological vacuum.²³⁹ On the outside, China depicted itself as a strong nation-state. The Patriotic Education Campaign launched by the CCP seemed very successful with the Chinese public.²⁴⁰ However, this development led to an increasing anti-western emotion in the 1990s and fostered the idea of Chinese victimhood and humiliation by the imperial nations. During the last decade, patriotism was more often replaced by a belief in the progress and economic growth of the modernization theory. Nevertheless, since the initiation of the economic reforms, it appears that the

²³³ Schrecker 2004, p. 231.

²³⁴ Chang, Maria Hsia 2001, p. 156.

²³⁵ Chang, Maria Hsia 2001, p. 5.

²³⁶ Cf. Schubert 2001, p. 65.

²³⁷ Schubert 2001, p. 62.

²³⁸ Zhao, Dingxin. "Problems of Nationalism in Contemporary China: Student-Government Conflicts during Nationalistic Protests." In Wei/Liu (eds.) 2002, p. 104; Schrecker 2004, p. 238.

²³⁹ Zhao Dingxin makes the point that the government not only boosted nationalism, but adapted countermeasures, fearing the consequences of overheated nationalism; cf. Zhao 2002, pp. 112 f.

²⁴⁰ Chang, Maria Hsia 2001, p. 195; Zhao, Dingxin 2002, p. 104.

ideological transformation has not kept pace and the lack of orientation has sometimes been expressed by even tighter political control.²⁴¹

The emergence of a market economy, globalization and the major societal changes occurring during the post-Mao era have all influenced the quantity and quality of Chinese museums. By 1980, around 365 museums existed in China.²⁴² Within the next ten years, 1000 more museums were established.²⁴³ In 2000, 150 million visitors annually attend some 8000 exhibitions held in China's 2000 museums.²⁴⁴ The State Administration of Cultural Heritage announced that by 2015, 1000 more museums were to be established nationwide.²⁴⁵ In the long run, these efforts were finally yet importantly undertaken in order to compete with modern nations such as the United States with over 8000, Germany with over 4500 and Italy with over 3500 museums.²⁴⁶ At the time of the Beijing Olympics in 2008, the capital had more than 130 museums.²⁴⁷ Beijing's competitor city of Shanghai planned an addition of 100 new museums alone before the Expo in 2010.²⁴⁸ Besides the establishment and planning of new museums, many governmental institutions have been extended or refurbished. These museums remained an important part of the dissemination of state ideology, which required them to adjust accordingly. However, the existing predominantly state-run museums were slow in responding to the new development in culture.²⁴⁹

The opening-up policy also affected the development of the National Museum of China. In 1983, the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution were separated, regaining their original structure after 14 years of operating as a unified institution. In the late 1980s, exhibition and research collaborations with international museums, universities and research institutes, which had already been established during an eight-year development program set into action in 1978, picked up.²⁵⁰ Numerous national and international exhibitions were held in the US (1995), Germany (1995), Taiwan (1996), Japan (1996) and Canada (1998) among others. In February 2003, the Museum of Chinese

²⁴¹ Schrecker 2004, p. 238.

²⁴² Lü, Jimin 2004, 15.

²⁴³ Su, Donghai 2006, p. 25

²⁴⁴ "Experts muse over museums." China Daily, July, 22, 2004,

http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-07/22/content_350575.htm (accessed, September 20, 2012).

²⁴⁵ "Experts muse over museums." (accessed, September 20, 2012).

²⁴⁶ Denton 2005, p. 44.

²⁴⁷ "Experts muse over museums." (accessed, September 20, 2012).

²⁴⁸ "Experts muse over museums." (accessed, September 20, 2012).

²⁴⁹ cf. Denton 2005, p. 44.

²⁵⁰ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian, p. 148.

Revolution and the Museum of Chinese History were merged to form the National Museum of China.

1.4. The National Museum in 2011

A Change of Name

After the unification in 2003, the new institution was renamed the National Museum of China. According to the political and historical situation, the former museums had experienced frequent name changes. In 1912, the ‘Preparatory Office of the National History Museum’ (国立历史博物馆筹备处) was founded and opened in 1926 under the name National History Museum (国立历史博物馆).²⁵¹ In October 1949, it was renamed National History Museum of Beijing (国立北京历史博物馆), and in 1959 Museum of Chinese History (中国历史博物馆). In 1950, the ‘Preparatory Office of the National Museum of Revolution’ (国立革命博物馆筹备处) was founded in Beijing, opening as the Museum of Chinese Revolution (中国革命博物馆) in 1960.²⁵² The museums were merged in 1969 under the name Chinese Revolutionary History Museum (中国革命历史博物馆) and were only split again in 1983. An apparent change in terminology was from use of the term ‘guoli’ (国立), which best translates as state-run or national, to ‘guojia’ (国家), which is often translated as national. In Republican times, ‘guoli’ used to describe all state institutions, the term still being used in Taiwan (e.g. for the National Palace Museum in Taipei) today. In the People’s Republic of China, the term has slowly been exchanged for ‘guojia’ in naming governmental institutions such as museums and the National Library (中国国家图书馆). In the English translation of the term to ‘national’, the difference between ‘guoli’ and ‘guojia’ becomes indistinguishable. In the staff survey of 2007, a majority of participants had agreed upon a change of name to National Museum of China (中国国家博物馆), identifying it as suitable or justifiable for the status of the institution (see 6.2.2.). On the other hand, several comments criticized a lack of accuracy in the title. For example, one participant (No. 6) explicitly suggested, that it should be named ‘State Museum of Chinese History’ (国立中国历史博物馆), including ‘guoli’ in his proposition. Many participants in a visitor survey of 2011 commented positively about the renaming of the museum and, for example, found the new name more representational (see 6.2.4.). In this study, in order to avoid confusion, the

²⁵¹ Wang, Hongjun 1990, pp. 85-86.

²⁵² Denton 2000, p. 208.

museum is only referred to as National Museum of China and the predecessors as Museum of Chinese History and Museum of Chinese Revolution, respectively.

The Unified Museum

The National Museum of China, unified and newly established in 2003, constitutes the largest comprehensive history museum in China and holds some of the country's most significant historical objects.²⁵³ Furthermore, it represents one of the most important cultural institutions of the government. The museum is under the direct guidance of the Ministry of Culture and the Central Propaganda Department of the CCP. The museum is operated under dual leadership of a director-general and a deputy director, who is a representative of the Communist Party.²⁵⁴ Several deputy directors assist the director-general in running the museum and share different responsibilities and supervise various departments.²⁵⁵ In addition, an administrative director is responsible for logistics, human resources, controlling and accounting, as well as safety and security. In the course of the unification process, the leadership and major parts of the administration were combined; however, separate curatorial departments and storage facilities from the former museums remain.²⁵⁶ The first exhibition department is responsible for historical research and display of Chinese history from prehistoric times to the end of the Qing Dynasty in 1911. Furthermore, it is in charge of international cooperation and the display of foreign exhibitions within the museum. It represents the succession of the former Museum of Chinese History. The second exhibition department is responsible for the historical research about and the display of recent Chinese history, from the mid 19th century until today. It represents the succession of the former Museum of Chinese Revolution. The first and second storage areas preserve the respective exhibition artifacts of both departments. The exhibition departments generally work independently, developing separate presentations. However, in the display of the 19th century artifacts, their responsibilities overlap so that the last section of the 'Ancient China' exhibition (prehistoric–1911) had to be developed mutually.²⁵⁷ Besides the curatorial staff, each exhibition department has its own designers and personnel to set up the exhibitions.

²⁵³ Li/Luo 2004, p. 68.

²⁵⁴ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

²⁵⁵ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

²⁵⁶ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

²⁵⁷ Interview, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, April 21, 2011.

Whereas exhibition and storage departments have two divisions, the library, research, restoration and educational departments as well as administration and logistics, are unified. The library acquires and lends books and materials in the fields of art history and museum management. The Restoration and Research Department is responsible for the scientific preservation and restoration of objects in traditional Chinese and modern Chinese techniques. The Academic Research Center organizes academic activities and presentations, and releases the academic journal *Zhongguo Lishi Wenwu—Chinese Historical Artifacts*. The Department of Archaeological Research is responsible for archeology and underwater archeology, conducting its research with the help of aerial inspections.²⁵⁸ The Education Department organizes tours and is responsible for museum advertisement, for the audio guide system and the organization of academic lectures. The Department of Foreign Affairs organizes the communication with the foreign cooperation partners, welcomes foreign visitors and assists in the planning of foreign exhibitions. The Information Department offers technical support, handles logistics, maintains the IT systems and the website. The restructuring of the departments as well as the relocation to a new venue provided a challenge for the museum staff. Furthermore, with the extension of the museum, a great number of new employees were hired. In order to insure a speedy integration and an unobstructed working process, multi-generational staff teams were often established.²⁵⁹ The previously mentioned factors challenged a smooth operation, especially during the beginning of equipping 65,000 m² gallery space. Nevertheless, the staff worked eagerly to fulfill the mission, which the new National Museum of China set for itself.

Tasks and Perspectives

When the National Museum of China closed for renovation in 2007, it defined the following future goals:

When the revamping project is completed, the National Museum of China will be the supreme hall of culture and art for the Chinese nation in the 21st century. As a window showcasing the long history and brilliant culture and art of the Chinese nation, it will be a comprehensive museum that will feature a more forward-looking vision, a concept better in line with the development of the era, the latest theory of museology, the latest cultural relics collection, preservation and research means, the most advanced display mode and the most reliable cultural relics security and safeguarding measures. Audience first, it will stand out as a leisurely and comfortable place for the public, giving equal attention to history and art. Grasping the revamping project as an opportunity, the National Museum of China will strive to build first-grade museum buildings, train elite personnel and increase the wealth of collections. Efforts

²⁵⁸ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

²⁵⁹ Interview, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, April 21, 2011.

will be made to achieve the leading professional level and high profile academic status both at home and abroad. By the 100th anniversary of its establishment in 2012, the NMC is expected to become the best museum in China and one of the best in the world.²⁶⁰

With this statement, the National Museum of China identifies itself as an important institution among museums worldwide and expresses its intention to maintain pace with the international museum development. Its future objective can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The National Museum of China identifies itself with the general museum tasks of acquiring, conserving, researching, communicating, and displaying the cultural heritage of mankind for education, study and enjoyment, as acknowledged by the ICOM.²⁶¹
- 2) It further pursues the goals of enlarging the collection in quality and quantity, upgrading the facilities, enabling research opportunities and ensuring the professionalism of the staff in order to serve its audience better.
- 3) The new focus of the museum is placed on its relationship with the present and a display of arts and history on equal terms.
- 4) The National Museum of China aims to assume the position as the leading museum in China and becoming one of the best museums worldwide by the 100th anniversary of the museum in 2012. This objective was internalized by the staff with the museum slogan “Leading within China and first-class internationally” (国内领先, 国际一流), frequently quoted in the staff survey of 2007 (see 6.2.2.).

In regard to the museum objectives, Deputy Director Chen added in 2011: “We work with the mutual aim to renovate the museum. The museum has already a history of 100 years, but the opening of the museum is a lot of work. In the new concept, art and history are equally important.”²⁶² The following analysis of the revamping project in its architectural appearance and its exhibition concept will seek to identify how the National Museum of China pursued these self-imposed goals.

²⁶⁰ National Museum of China, “News.” (accessed, April 18, 2007).

²⁶¹ “ICOM Statutes.” Article 3, Section 1 (accessed May 24, 2009).

²⁶² Interview, Chen, Lüsheng, deputy director, NMC, Beijing, April 22, 2011.

2. Building Memory: The Architectural Form

2.1. Introduction

The storage and display of objects and their conservation, as well as providing research, archival and visitor facilities are important basic requirements of a museum building. However, such functional necessities are secondary to the architectural form, which forges a first impression and shapes the observer's memory of the entire institution. This outer shell serves as the representative figurehead of the museum. It is here that both traditions and memory are created and national identity finds shape. It is through the architecture that the client and architect express their fundamental intention for the observer, within specific intrinsic parameters such as building tradition, physics, finance, and the limits posed by their own creativity. In the case of the redesign of the National Museum of China, budget limitations seem not have been the greatest concern. The political and public expectations had a more important impact on influencing this publicly sensitive project. However, as concepts cannot be constructed in architecture *per se*²⁶³, what are the factors and architectural features that can shape and reflect an identity? How can subtle design decisions be recognized and comprehended? How can the development in design be analyzed in the context of national self-image and identity?

In order to analyze the development in form the chosen research method centers on the 2011 architectural design and compares it with former architectural stages and contemporary examples. To begin with, an outline of the architectural revamping is introduced through a project chronology accompanied by a general description of the resulting architectural design of 2011. Next follows an analysis of basic conditions and building requirements such as the museum as a building type, its setting and style, and the roles of the architect, the client and the public. These prerequisites, which are important for every museum building project, influence each other and have impact on the final form of the architecture. An analysis of the significant architectural features, such as Size and Dimension, Elevation and Façade, Courtyards and Landscape Design, the Grand Forum, Exhibition and Reception Halls, forms the core of the chapter. The individual building sections will be considered according to a consistent, albeit flexible, set of predefined parameters. After a brief description, each individual building section will be compared and contrasted with that

²⁶³ Nerdinger 1992, p. 11.

of the edifice in 1959 within the context of the surrounding buildings of Tiananmen Square, as well as with examples of the Ten Great Buildings, to which the 1959 museum complex belongs. By means of these comparisons, it is possible to analyze which structural elements of the old design were retained and which reminiscences from local form were added. In addition, relevant steps in the development of the revamping project are used as reference points. Included are the design proposals from the eleven international architectural firms which were invited to bid in 2004. This particularly encompasses the finalists' bids by Kohn, Pedderson, Fox working with the East China Architectural Design & Research Institute (ECADI), and Norman Foster working with the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design (BIAD)²⁶⁴, and most importantly, to the winning design of the architectural firm of *gmp* working with the China Academy of Building Research (CABR). The comparison of these proposals is especially fruitful as all the architects developed their design from the same starting point and, in some cases, even came up with similar solutions. A comparison between the executed form of 2011 and the 2004 winning design, aids in understanding the search for the perfect form by both the client and the architect. Current relevant historical and contemporary examples and designs of (national) museums worldwide and especially in China, Taiwan, Japan and Korea, are consulted. Comparisons cannot claim to be comprehensive, but rather make use of suitable examples which highlight relevant aspects of the redesign of the National Museum of China.

The development of the architectural design of the National Museum of China can be described by using parameters of international, Chinese and local origin. International approaches use museums worldwide as models and are independent of local forms. The Chinese features, on the other hand, define building characteristics, materials and forms which are taken from traditional architecture. The local features help to anchor the form of the original building within the context of Tiananmen Square. Recognizing the similarities and differences in style, and applying a diverse combination of the three previously mentioned parameters are helpful in tracing the search for the most suitable form. By raising questions about the museum's overall design, by comparing and contrasting the architecture of 2011 with historic predecessors and contemporary approaches, and by analyzing the search for the form of the museums, the path which the client took with the redesign of the museum will be illuminated and explained. All of these points will serve to define the changes the

²⁶⁴ It is governmental policy that international architecture offices have to cooperate with the few large Chinese companies, which hold a license in the People's Republic of China.

museum has experienced, the client's intention and vision, the anticipated impression and the actual impression on the public.

2.2. The Overall Concept

2.2.1 Chronology

The original building housing the National Museum of China was erected in only ten months between 1958 and 1959, following the plans of the architect Zhang Kaiji 张开济 (1912–2006) and the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design (BIAD) [Fig. 4]. At that time, the structure accommodated two collections: the Museum of Chinese History with its collection of objects dating from the prehistoric to the end of the last dynasty in 1911 occupied the south wing; the Museum of Chinese Revolution, presenting the history of China of the last 150 years, was accommodated in the north wing of the building. The museum was erected as part of the Ten Great Buildings program, which was implemented following a decision of the Central Party Committee of the Chinese government in the course of the 10th anniversary celebrations of the People's Republic of China. It went along with the massive reshaping of the city and the enlargement of Tiananmen Square (see 2.3.). In addition to the two museums, buildings in the program included the Great Hall of the People, the Military Museum, the National Agricultural Exhibition Hall, the Cultural Palace of Nationalities, the Beijing Railway Station, the Worker's Stadium, the Nationalities Hotel and the Overseas Chinese Hotel.²⁶⁵ All highly representative governmental buildings, they were executed in different styles and built for administration, transportation or cultural purposes. In preparation for the project, the city of Beijing sent a research and study group to the Soviet Union in 1958, where the participants viewed construction on the so-called 'Seven Sisters' project in Moscow (see 2.4.1).²⁶⁶ The CCP exercised tight control on all aspect of building the museum throughout the construction process, especially through its Propaganda Department.²⁶⁷ The concept foresaw that along Tiananmen Square and the newly widened public thoroughfares, monumental buildings should symbolize "China's emergence as a modern state"²⁶⁸ (see 2.3.).

²⁶⁵ Andrews 1994, p. 228; Wang, Zhengming 2001, p. 16.

²⁶⁶ Wang, Zhengming 2001, p. 14.

²⁶⁷ In the People's Republic of China museums are under supervision of the Ministry of Culture. However, the Propaganda Department and Party Committees have been monitoring the museums until today; cf. Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 923.

²⁶⁸ Andrews 1994, p. 228.

In the 1980s, the Ministry of Culture made the first plans for reconstruction of the decrepit museum building; however, the CCP Central Committee approved them only in 1996.²⁶⁹ In 1999, restoration and stabilization of the building was necessary to secure the old structure against the influences of climate and earthquakes; for this reason, steel reinforcements of the north-west axis were implemented. These tasks were conducted by the China Academy of Building Research (CABR), which later became the partner of the architectural practice of *gmp* for the redesign of the museum. By that time, the museum could hardly contain the increasing number of collection items. On March 15, 2003, the State Council approved the renovation and expansion of the museum on the original site, launching a huge restoration and enlargement project with the unified and newly established National Museum of China, consisting of the former Museum of Chinese History and Museum of Chinese Revolution. The project resulted from the following considerations:

The building of the museums has not developed parallel to the daily increasing demand for culture by the public. Furthermore, the Olympics of 2008 also stimulate the need for a National Museum. Therefore, it was decided to rebuild the former museum, to extend it in the east and to superstruct the courtyard. The museum as ‘World State of Art’ National Museum should correspond with the development of China and the increasing cultural demand of the people.²⁷⁰

The main task formulated by the National Development and Reform Commission in charge of the project was to enlarge the building on the east side, reinforcing the historical structure while keeping the structure of 1959 effectively intact.²⁷¹ The architects were supposed to build a museum “which would serve as a display window of the 5000 year long history of China, one that would accommodate one million objects and 20,000 visitors at the same time – the building should be cautiously and respectfully altered.”²⁷² In order to maintain the original design while integrating the additional structure in the current Tiananmen ensemble the following requirements had to be met: the main gate situation in the west had to be kept unchanged and an additional entrance in the north was to be established to serve as an alternative access should the square be closed for political events.²⁷³ Other important changes included adding an interior security system, providing user-friendly

²⁶⁹ The National Museum of China, “Project Overview.” (accessed, February 2, 2012).

²⁷⁰ “Wettbewerbsaufgabe” [Specification of the competition], In *Gmp wettbewerb aktuell 12/2004*. Gmp Public Relations and Communication. Hamburg 2004, p. 29.

²⁷¹ Cf. Statement of Meinhard von Gerkan, In Beyer, Susanne, Doerry, Martin, Reinhardt, Nora “Weltfremd und unglaublich.” Interview with Meinhard von Gerkan, *Spiegel*, 15/2011.

²⁷² Beyer/Doerry/Reinhardt, *Spiegel* Interview 2011.

²⁷³ *Gmp 2007, National Museum of China, brochure, 12x12 cm, ring binder, Gmp Public Relations and Communication. Hamburg 2007.*

facilities and creating sufficient storage for the objects (see 6.2.2). The initial goal was to extend the museum space from 65,000 m² to more than 150,000 m².²⁷⁴ The completion of the extension was scheduled to be before the 2008 Olympics in Beijing.²⁷⁵ The revamping and enlargement project experienced public and internal support. A majority of 77.7% of the visitors, who participated in a broad-based and comprehensive visitor survey of the National Museum of China in 2003, regarded the extension of the museum building as necessary.²⁷⁶ A majority of the participants in a staff survey in 2007 shared this opinion, considering the renovation as essential and explaining, for example, that “the old outdated architecture of the former museum did no longer meet the needs of development in the museum” and that “a modern building is the material basis for the construction of a leading museum.”²⁷⁷

From February until September 2004, international public bidding for the new design of the National Museum of China took place. An expert committee selected eleven outstanding national and international architects out of the 36 candidates and invited them to submit their proposals.²⁷⁸ In July 2004, almost 10,000 citizens took the chance to view displays and architectural models in the museum and vote for their favorites [**Fig. 5**]. In the final round, the experts of the National Development and Reform Commission appointed the China Academy of Building Research (CABR) and the architectural practice of *gmp* the winners on September 1, 2004, although their design was initially placed only second by the public.²⁷⁹ Though all three of the selected finalists had stressed the idea of ‘public space’ and easy accessibility from the square, the Commission had chosen the most restrained design of the three. The winning design was nicknamed ‘The Great Museum Square’ (博物馆大广场) [**Fig. 6**], characterizing its main architectural idea: the creation of a grand indoor museum space with 14,000 m² floor space and 20 m ceiling height [**Fig. 7**].²⁸⁰ The gross floor area of this design by Meinhard von Gerkan and Stephan Schütz was planned at 170,000 m² with the construction period scheduled from 2005 to 2007. The centerpiece of the new museum was a

²⁷⁴ Zhu, Fenghan, “Le Musée national de Chine (MNC) aujourd’hui et demain.” Paper presented at the Louvre, France, June 2004.

²⁷⁵ “Experts muse over museums.” (accessed, September 20, 2012).

²⁷⁶ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 51.

²⁷⁷ 原博物馆古老,陈旧的建筑已不适应博物馆事业发展的需要。(No. 5); 现代化的馆舍是建设一流博物馆的物质基础。(No. 27); see 6.3.2.

²⁷⁸ The public bidding was organized by Beijing Gaojin Consultant Co. in cooperation with Beijing Project Consultants Company; interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural designer, *gmp*, Berlin, January 19, 2006.

²⁷⁹ “Wettbewerbsaufgabe” [Specification of the competition]. In *Gmp 12/2004*, p. 29.

²⁸⁰ Second and third placements: Kohn Pedder Fox, New York; Foster and Partners, London.

massive bronze roof, covering the entire Grand Forum²⁸¹, stressing the idea of a sheltered, covered public square.²⁸² In September 2004, a one-year pre-planning period began, generating the first blueprints in October 2005.

Although the winning design by *gmp* was selected in 2004, serious alterations in the blueprint were made in the following years. A change in leadership of the museum in October 2005, on the one hand, helped the progress of the project. On the other hand, the new director, an architect by training, pursued his own agenda. By the end of 2005, the original intention of making a visible distinction between the old and new structures was abandoned. The architects were urged to synchronize the museum's exterior impression with the surrounding architecture of Tiananmen even further and to integrate the new building harmoniously into the existing context. Hence, the original winning design underwent fundamental changes. In summer 2006, the architects met the requests for a changed design and a more Chinese approach by presenting three different drafts to the National Development and Reform Commission: 1) The 'Cascade Proposal' included two monumental staircases ascending from both courtyards; the U-shaped wings would, therefore, be extended either by incorporating the old façade or by erecting a copy of the new façade. 2) In the 'Passage Proposal', the western façade was kept intact, while in the east, additional building blocks were to be added. A passageway from north to south would combine the original and the modern building parts.²⁸³ 3) The 'Courtyard Proposal' offered a choice either of four courtyards divided by a central passageway with an additional building block in the east, or of keeping the original two courtyards in diminished size. At the end of June 2006, an expert panel of 24 scholars installed by the National Development and Reform Commission selected a combination of the latter two proposals²⁸⁴, keeping two courtyards in a diminished form and introducing an additional building block to the east with a passageway connecting the old and new building parts. Besides the new building block in the east, this proposal also suggested an elevation of the building height and an extension of the western façade, in order to balance the building masses at Tiananmen Square.

²⁸¹ The term 'Grand Forum' for the main access hall was forged by the German architects during the planning process. Officially, it acquired the name West Hall (Xi Da Ting) by the National Museum of China.

²⁸² Gmp 2004. "The National Museum of China: Wettbewerbsbroschüre." Bidding brochure, design proposal 2004, 66 pages. Gmp Public Relations and Communication, Hamburg 2004. p. 6.

²⁸³ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, June, 2, 2006.

²⁸⁴ The National Museum of China, "Project Overview." (accessed, February 2, 2012).

Due to the change in project outline, there were heated and emotional discussions within the National Development and Reform Commission on how to proceed.²⁸⁵ The experts had different opinions on whether to retain the façade of the building and reinforce the original structure or to tear down the entire building and re-erect it in the same design, which would have been a much more cost-effective procedure.²⁸⁶ At the beginning, some experts were in favor of the more economical proposal while others wanted to preserve the original structure, arguing with the political and national significance of the building. It was finally agreed that not only the prominent entrance situation but also the original facade had to be retained.²⁸⁷ In the course of this revision period, the client decided that the planned extension of the winning design was not sufficient and demanded a larger museum.²⁸⁸

The western, southern and northern sides of the museum will be consolidated, renovated and repaired while being preserved as an integrated whole. A new part will be inset in the middle and extended eastward, maintaining the same architectural style as the original. Slightly greater than the original in architectural volume, it will look more imposing with different heights. When completed, the NMC will cover 192,000 square meters in floor space, the largest of its kind in the world.²⁸⁹

The National Development and Reform Commission and the China International Engineering Consulting Company confirmed the final concept in October 2006. The final approval for the project was given by Li Changchun 李长春, the chief of propaganda and member of the nine-man Politburo Standing Committee of the CCP. It was officially acknowledged during a State Council executive meeting in November 2006.²⁹⁰ The project was originally scheduled for completion before the Olympics in 2008²⁹¹, but was postponed to 2009. Construction could finally begin: In February 2007, the exhibitions were closed²⁹² and within two months, the entire building was cleared of artifacts and offices [Fig. 8]. The objects were transferred to a storage facility on the outskirts of the city and an additional office building was rented. The foundation stone ceremony was held on March 17, 2007 [Fig. 9] and the dismantling of the central and eastern building sections started in April of the same

²⁸⁵ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, January 19, 2006.

²⁸⁶ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, January 19, 2006.

²⁸⁷ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, January 19, 2006.

²⁸⁸ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, June, 2, 2006.

²⁸⁹ The National Museum of China. "News." (accessed, April 18, 2007).

²⁹⁰ Johnson, Ian. "At China's New Museum, History Toes Party Line." *The New York Times*, April 3, 2011.

²⁹¹ The original 2004 plan forecasted the completion in 2008. Furthermore, the public seemed to have considered the 2008 Olympics as a benchmark, as it was for so many projects. In the 2007 public survey, 41% of the participants believed the museum would reopen before the Beijing Olympics (see 6.3.2.).

²⁹² The National Museum of China. "News." (accessed, April 18, 2007).

year [Fig. 10, Fig. 11]. In July 2007, the National Development and Reform Commission approved the investment budget.²⁹³ The building process was planned in two stages: the construction of the north wing was to be finished by summer 2009, in time for the 60th anniversary of the People's Republic of China, and the overall completion was planned for 2010.²⁹⁴

At a later stage of the project, the National Museum of China commissioned the landscape architect Till Rehwaldt for the design of the courtyards and outdoor facilities.²⁹⁵ The construction was carried out by different companies under one general contractor. During the construction period, the architectural practice of *gmp* was in charge of monitoring the quality and of slowing down the general contractors whenever necessary in order to meet quality standards.²⁹⁶ An example of the accuracy in the building process was demonstrated by the hand-sorting of the granite flagstones: whenever the workers finished laying out a stretch, the architects would judge from above whether the natural colors matched and if stone slabs needed to be replaced.

In March 2009, the steel structure for the roof was lifted with hydraulic pumps [Fig. 12]. By the end of May 2009, the steel work was finished [Fig. 13] and in October 2009, the reinforced north wing of the museum briefly opened to the public with the exhibition entitled 'Road of Rejuvenation'. Only a few weeks later, it was closed again for necessary amendments.²⁹⁷ From then on, parts of the museum were always kept open, until March 1, 2011, when the entire museum building opened to the public.²⁹⁸

2.2.2. General Description

The museum complex of 2011 is located on the northeast side of Tiananmen Square and runs 330 m from north to south fronting the square, and 204 m east to west along Chang'an East Avenue, covering an overall floor space of 191,900 m². It is positioned along the central

²⁹³ The National Development and Reform Commission approved the proposed budget of RMB 2,503,160,000 from the state budget; The National Museum of China, "Project Overview." (accessed, February 2, 2012).

²⁹⁴ Gmp, The National Museum of China, brochure, 12x12 cm, ring binder, Gmp Public Relations and Communication. Hamburg 2009.

²⁹⁵ Here a contract was closed between three parties: Gmp, CABR and Rehwaldt landscape design; Interview, Till Rehwaldt, Rehwaldt Landschaftsarchitekten, Dresden, November 4, 2010.

²⁹⁶ In China, no official approval process exists for new buildings and there are no rules for the handling of remaining construction issues. Gmp had to report directly to the museum director; Interview Matthias Wiegelmann, project lead Beijing, gmp, Beijing, April 10, 2009.

²⁹⁷ Interview Matthias Wiegelmann, project lead Beijing, gmp, Beijing, April 10, 2009.

²⁹⁸ At the beginning, access was limited to 8000 visitors per day.

north-south axis of Beijing with the facades all facing cardinal directions. The edifice consists of a massive, rectangular structure built in monumental, Soviet neoclassic style, ornamented with Chinese features and crowned with a newly implemented staggered roof design [Fig. 14]. The horizontal structure of the complex is divided into two main building blocks: a reinforced U-shaped structure from 1959 facing Tiananmen Square and a new core, encompassed by the original building from three sides. The so-called “existing envelope”²⁹⁹ of 1959 underwent considerable restoration and re-enforcement procedures; however, its façade apparently remained unchanged. The front of the new core is only visible to the east, protruding beyond the north and south façades of the U-shaped building [Fig. 15]. A central portico divides the main façade in two symmetrical wings and additional projections emphasize each corner. These projections and a staggered roofline ascending from 26.5 m at the eaves of the front façade to 42 m at the center of the new building, structure the more or less solid building block. On the outside, light-colored Chinese granite stone, glass and sparkling steel were used.

The museum extends over two underground and five aboveground levels [Fig. 16]. A front yard leads from the main gate to the central hall in the east and courtyards to the north and south [Fig. 17]. A central hall, the so-called Grand Forum, creates shared access to different parts of the building via staircases, escalators and elevators [Fig. 18]. The historical north wing houses the permanent exhibition of the former Museum of Chinese Revolution (Road of Rejuvenation) on two levels as well as administration units on the first floor and the basement. The historical south wing accommodates administration, logistics and technical units, a canteen and a library on five floors. To provide for more space for administration, two extra ceilings were inserted in the original structure of the south wing. To the east, the new extension contains the majority of the exhibition space, including the permanent exhibition of the former Museum of Chinese History (Ancient China) on over 9450 m². It makes room for a theater, a cinema and a broadcasting hall in the basement [Fig. 19], a central reception hall surrounded by three VIP rooms in Chinese style on the main level, a banquet hall, several individual compartments and a revolving roof terrace on the top level.³⁰⁰ The top floor (+34.5 m) can be accessed via elevators located in the four monumental pillars

²⁹⁹ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, June, 2, 2006.

³⁰⁰ Gmp. National Museum of China, Beijing, brochure. Gmp Public Relations and Communication. Hamburg 2011.

of the Grand Forum. For the interior, light-colored Chinese granite, black cherry wood-paneling, bronze-colored aluminum siding and patinated bronze were used.

Entrances are provided on all four main sides of the building. Visitors access the building from the west, tour groups from the north, whereas the south entrance is reserved for the staff and the east entrance with its direct access to the theater for VIP guests. Parking space is available underneath the Grand Forum; a second level underground accommodates engineering, supplies and storage facilities. In the northeast and southeast corners of the building, loading zones are provided. A logistic passageway leads to storage and workshop facilities as well as to the exhibition venues and is separated from the visitor stream. The entire building is equipped with up-to-date technical and logistic facilities.

2.3. Preliminary Considerations and Building Requirements

Construction Type

Museum buildings have different roots of development. Throughout museum history, but particularly at the beginning, private and public collections were housed in rededicated buildings such as palatial structures or in cabinets of wealthy private owners (e.g. British Museum 1753, Hermitage 1764, Louvre 1793, The Palace Museum 1925). These buildings were seldom modest but generally monumental by nature and often located in a central position in the city. However glamorous, as interim solutions, they were rarely best fit for the purpose of a museum, and the development of a genuine building type seemed only logical. In addition to the technical inconveniences involved, the use of rededicated edifices at times presented other difficulties. For example, the relocation of the National Museum of Korea to the former Joseon General Government building in 1986, stirred up public controversy. This building was erected on the premises of the former Korean imperial palace (Gyeongbokgung Palace) in 1926 during Japanese occupation and has been encountered as a symbol of Japanese suppression ever since. In 1995, the building was finally demolished and the institution moved to a newly designed museum building.³⁰¹

Although it is not possible to define a distinct building type, even for a national museum, some general characteristics for large-scale genuine museums can be distinguished. Like the numerous rededicated governmental buildings, housing various collections, a great

³⁰¹ National Museum of Korea. "History. Joseon Government-General Museum," (accessed August, 6, 2012).

number of purposefully constructed museums worldwide claim a central position in their respective cities, indicating their central role in the cityscape since the 19th century.³⁰² However, since the second half of the 20th century, more remote museums within recreational parks have also begun to offer an alternative setting for new, mostly privately owned museum buildings (e.g. Getty Center, Los Angeles, 1984–1997; Museum Insel Hombroich, Neuss-Holzheim, 1987; Villa Ronde, Japan, 2010). From early beginnings, a discussion was on about whether museums are a neutral containers which only serve the artifacts or whether they are exhibits in their own rights.³⁰³ Within recent years, the competition between the actual building and its content has become fiercer. As encountered in the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, the building itself is a landmark of architectural design while, at the same time, standing in actual competition with the collections to win the public's favor.³⁰⁴ Museums are encountered as a prestigious enhancement for cities, often conceived by star architects. Thus, the previously mentioned, ongoing museum boom bears the hazard of disregarding the collection and the content in favor of the new designed architecture.

Museums are constructed according to the latest technical advancements, ensuring the functionality and safety of the building. Traditionally, the architecture of a museum has to cater to the tasks of collecting, safekeeping, accessing and presenting artifacts. These tasks are still valid today; however, the importance of one task over another has shifted over time. Starting from the Renaissance, the focus has shifted from being predominantly a collector's task to one of the presentation to a growing public. Since the Enlightenment, museums have been engaged more and more in educating the public, a development, which has forged the design of the new museum.³⁰⁵ Presenting increasingly 'democratic' and more pedagogical displays in museums are ongoing tendencies worldwide, and were especially strong during the 1960s (e.g. Pedro Ramirez Vasquez, National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico, 1963–1964).³⁰⁶ The Centre Georges Pompidou (1971–1977) with its open central hall and flexible museum architecture counts as a milestone in this public museum development.³⁰⁷ Besides this change from an aesthetic to a more educational and 'democratic' perspective of display,

³⁰² Searing, Helen 1996. "Museum, §II, 1-3 Architecture", In Turner, Jane, Dictionary of Art, Volume 22, New York 1996, pp. 360-369.

³⁰³ Cf. Searing 1996, pp. 360-361.

³⁰⁴ Treib 2009, p. 149

³⁰⁵ Pehnt 2002, p. 5.

³⁰⁶ Pehnt 2002, pp. 9-10.

³⁰⁷ Pehnt 2002, pp. 10-11.

the major challenge for museum architecture today is providing for the permanent growth of the collection.

The National Museum of China followed the general development pattern. Before the museum building at Tiananmen was erected, the ‘Preparatory Office of the National History Museum’ was housed in various interim locations, all of which were of political and historical importance and monumental in appearance. However, through the change of the political system, these buildings lost their function and were open to new use. In 1912, the museum was situated in the former Imperial College of the Qing Dynasty and moved to the Meridian Gate of the Forbidden City by decision of the Ministry of Education in 1917. Here it occupied the Duan Gate (端门: storage), the Meridian Gate (display) and the administration buildings in-between these two gates. The building housing the predecessors of the National Museum of China in 1959 was prominently planned according to the fashion of the time and according to the ideological conception of New China. It was erected opposite the Great Hall of the People, in the heart of the Chinese sphere at Tiananmen Square. The 2011 architectural redesign followed the needs of technical renewal as well as the demands of a changing society for a new and modern museum building. When asked about the future style of the museum in 2007, relating to the recent overheated Chinese construction boom, a member of the museum staff uttered the concern “I hope that it does not give people the impression of a luxurious hotel.”³⁰⁸

Building Style

The construction of the first public museum took place in the age of classicism, which was eagerly adapted as a suitable style for the new building task (e.g. Fridericianum Kassel, 1779).³⁰⁹ Within classicism, antique architecture was not copied directly, but was rather converted and implemented in new building tasks. Greek and Roman colonnade architecture, vaults and domes ornamented many early museum buildings. During the first half of the 19th century, classicism became the most popular building style for museums, which can be seen in the ideal museum schemes first realized in Berlin (Schinkel, Stüler), Munich and St. Petersburg (Klenze).

³⁰⁸ 希望不要给人高级宾馆的印象就好(Nr. 24); see 6.3.2.

³⁰⁹ Beyme, Klaus von. “Parlament, Demokratie und Öffentlichkeit: Die Visualisierung demokratischer Grundprinzipien im Parlamentsbau.” In Flage/Stock 1992, p. 37.

Since their emergence, genuine museum buildings seem to have mostly adapted to the style of the time. They were built in all kinds of fashionable designs from the eclectic style (South Kensington Museum, London 1860–1869), Art Nouveau (Secession, Vienna, 1898), modern iron and glass structures (Petit Palais, Paris 1900), Beaux-Arts principles (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1907–1915), modern style (Guggenheim, New York, 1943–1959; National Museum of Western Art, Tokyo, 1956–1959), postmodern style (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, 1977–1984; National Museum of Australia, 2001) to the computer-generated amorphous structures of the Guggenheim Museum of Bilbao (1991–1997) by Frank O. Gehry.³¹⁰ Because of the fact that museum architecture embraced many different styles, it is particularly important to outline major developments in architectural design, which affected the style decisions of the National Museum of China.

Classicism prevailed in many countries and periods as the traditional answer to the museum building.³¹¹ Classicist vocabulary was universally applied across political boundaries in the 19th and 20th century and served various governments in their expression of political ideology, requiring different codes of interpretation.³¹² By the 1920s, classical order had been established worldwide as *the* language of monumental architecture. It experienced another heyday during the 1930s, when socialist, fascist and democratic countries alike employed this style for their official building projects, though with different political implementations. It suited many governments as an expression of enduring tradition, power, grandeur and state authority. Some countries associated democratic and republican traditions with this particular building style (e.g. Capitol in Washington D.C.).³¹³ At the Paris World Exposition of 1937, the Soviet and German pavilions were executed in neoclassic forms. They featured remarkable stylistic similarities, although representing disparate political ideologies.³¹⁴ When modern architecture was at its height in the United States during the first half of the 20th century, classicism was still favored for the design of public buildings in Washington D.C. For many museum buildings, principles of the very rich, classical Beaux-Arts style were

³¹⁰ Searing 1996, pp. 363-365.

³¹¹ Searing 1996, p. 363.

³¹² Schirmer, Dietmar 2005. "State, Volk, and Monumental Architecture in Nazi- Era Berlin." In Daum/Mauch 2005, p. 129.

³¹³ Cf. Nerdinger 2010, p. 254.

³¹⁴ Tarchanow/Kawtaradse 1992, p. 9.

applied.³¹⁵ However, during its construction, the National Gallery of Art (1943; John Russell Pope) was highly criticized by the architectural community for being out of fashion.³¹⁶

At the beginning of the 20th century, Soviet Russia was in search of its own style. In the 1920s, modernist architecture peaked in Russia with particular emphasis on constructivism and functionalism. It existed beside neoclassicism and provided a path for the representation of the new political ideology as well. The decision to dismiss modernism in favor of Soviet neoclassicism and of the development of so-called ‘Socialist Realism’ as the official form of artistic expression in literature, film, arts, and music and architecture was made only in 1932.³¹⁷ In architecture, this style drew heavily on simplified classical forms and the antique order of columns, and on the international neoclassicism of 1930s and 1940s, which seems to link Washington, Paris and Moscow.³¹⁸ The architectural style politically associated with the Greek democratic tradition was favorably employed by the socialist government for the dictatorship of the proletariat.³¹⁹ Furthermore, this style had the advantage of continuing traditional construction methods, without need for modern technology and material.³²⁰ In addition, steel reinforced concrete allowed for curtain wall architecture. Socialist Realism prevailed during the Stalinist era. The establishment of an academy of the Soviet architects, where ideas were to be planned and executed in a collective, according to socialist doctrine, further enhanced the uniformity in architecture that followed. Building standards were exported to Soviet satellite states. They influenced the architecture of New China and the design of the building of the National Museum of China from 1959. Soviet neoclassicism as encountered in the museum building, was, in fact, introduced to China by Soviet advisors, supporting local architects until the end of the political alliance in the early 1960s.³²¹ However, even after the breach between Mao and the Soviet Union, this building

³¹⁵ Cf. Wagner, Rudolf G. “Rituals, Architecture, Politics, and Publicity During the Republic: Enshrining Sun Yat-sen.” In Cody, 2011, p. 239.

³¹⁶ Nitzan-Shiftan, Alona. “Toward a Modernist Civic Monument: Pei’s East Building and the City of Washington.” In Alofsin 2009, p. 126.

³¹⁷ Announced by the Central Committee of the Communist Party on April 23, 1932; cf. Huber 2007, p 55.

³¹⁸ Andrews 1994, p. 228.

³¹⁹ Huber 2007, p. 137; the guidelines of Socialist Realism prevailed in Soviet architecture until 1955, when Khrushchev announced a reorientation to modern building style. At the 22nd Party Congress in 1961, the Soviet Union officially announced the revival of modern form. In the 1990s, Russia experienced a revival of Socialist Realism building style alongside Postmodernism. Cf. Tarchanow/Kawtaradse 1992, p. 9.

³²⁰ Aman 1992, pp. 52-54.

³²¹ Fan, K. Shizheng 2011, p. 92; Hung, Chang-tai 2001, p. 469.

style remained influential for the governmental building practice of the People's Republic of China.³²²

Since the emergence of the national museum in the 19th century, architects and clients have been dedicated to considering the surrounding location, characteristic local features and the so-called 'national style'. To build in national style became a common aspiration, not only for national museums, but also for all kind of public institutions, which commenced their search for national form at the end of 19th century.³²³ The trend toward building in national form somehow culminated in the 1900 Paris World Exposition, where a 'Street of Nations' demonstrated the national style ideas of the different countries. In spite of their efforts, there was no possibility of assigning one style to only one single nation or even to create an individual style that could pose as a national heritage. The decision for a particular style remained a subject of an ongoing discussion and even a matter of fashion and change. For example, searching for their national style, the German states initially employed Greek classicism. Later they switched to medieval gothic style³²⁴ and thereafter to what they then identified as the *true* 'Germanic Renaissance', only to find their roots in Greek classicism again.³²⁵ The previously mentioned first national museum of Japan in Tokyo, built in 1872, was executed in an eclectic mix of neo-gothic forms with Moorish features and a Japanese roof design.³²⁶ The incorporation of Islamic-style arches probably owed to the picture of Asia conveyed by the British architect Josiah Conder. The ongoing search for a nationally encoded style with the application of local features seems to be an international phenomenon³²⁷ which is especially applied to national museums, and is significant for the presentation of an identity.³²⁸ The National Palace Museum of Taipei (1965), for example, was constructed in reference to the Imperial Palace in Beijing [**Fig. 20**],³²⁹ however much of the internal presentation reverted to modern museum standards. Even in many Soviet satellite states, different national traditions were as significant for the construction of new buildings as

³²² Hesemann 2006, p. 244.

³²³ Aman 1992, pp. 95 ff.

³²⁴ Hammer-Schenk, Harold. "Architektur und Nationalbewußtsein." In Busch, Werner and Schmoock (eds.). *Kunst: Die Geschichte ihrer Funktionen*. Weinheim 1987, pp. 502-504.

³²⁵ The attempt to attribute specific styles to different cultures was particularly common at the end of the 19th century, e.g. discussed by Alois Riegel in 1893; cf. Nerdinger 1992, p. 22.

³²⁶ Finn 1995, p. 18.

³²⁷ Schirmer 2005, p. 129.

³²⁸ Raffler 2007, p. 131.

³²⁹ Employing, for example, traditional Chinese roof architecture, the use of imperial color yellow, the setting of the building on a rising terrain, the imitation of an imperial garden and many other elements.

was the direct influence of the Soviet Union.³³⁰ Including national and local forms in Socialist building context was a practice well established in the architectural tradition of Socialist Realism and was also employed in different countries, as demonstrated in the application of Polish building traditions and ornamentation at the Palace of Culture and Science (1955)³³¹ in Warsaw as well as in Chinese features in the 1959 building of the National Museum of China.

Western architecture has been influential in China for at least three centuries.³³² Since the 1920s, foreign architects working in China have directly imported their architectural traditions. However, a primary influence came from Chinese students returning from Western countries and Japan.³³³ Among various Western building traditions, the classical Beaux-Arts style, introduced from the United States, was especially popular and continued to be influential for public building tasks on the mainland and in Taiwan even after 1949.³³⁴ In general, Beaux-Arts took on monumental characteristics in China.³³⁵ Following Western models, architects were in search of a national style for their multi-ethnic state, being especially conscious of the Han-Chinese building traditions. This revitalization of traditional Chinese monumental architecture was combined with Beaux-Arts features (e.g. Sun Yatsen Mausoleum, 1926–1929). Referring to Han architecture, the architect Liang Sicheng isolated nine features of Chinese architecture, which can be summarized by a three-part building division: podium, main body and pitched roof (1); a north-south axis, symmetrical outline of the building sections, enclosing a courtyard (2); a timber structure (3); the *dougong*-bracket system as a structural and decorative motive (4); multilayered beams and short-columns system determining the slope and curve of the pitched roof (5); a pitched roof (6); colorful ornamentation (7); an exposed structural system (8) and decorative elements being used on large scale (9).³³⁶ Social Realism, adopted from the Soviet Union, further supported the

³³⁰ Aman 1992, p. 95.

³³¹ For example, the wall decoration of the Palace of Culture in Warsaw, which was enhanced with masonry design, copied from Polish Renaissance palaces; cf. Aman 1992, p. 103.

³³² Zheng, Shiling 2003. "Chinese City and Architecture in Transformation between Yesterday and Tomorrow." In Gmp 2003, p. 14.

³³³ Fu, Chao-Ching. "Beaux-Arts Practice and Education by Chinese Architects in Taiwan." In Cody 2011, p. 131.

³³⁴ Influences can, for example, be seen in Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall, Nanjing (1926–1929), The National Palace Museum (1965), the Chiang Kai-shek Cultural Center Complex (1980–1987), both Taipei. For a comprehensive analysis of the Beaux-Arts practice in China cf. Fu, Chao-Ching 2011, pp. 127-146.

³³⁵ Chang, Yung Ho. "Zhang Vs. Zhang: Symmetry and Split: A Development in Chinese Architecture in the 1950s and 1960s." In Cody 2011, p. 303.

³³⁶ Xue, Charlie Q. 2006, p. 13-14.

direction of constructing after Stalin's maxim "socialist in content and national in form".³³⁷ Chinese architects eagerly reinterpreted national form for socialism: a pitched roof in concrete and timber became an emblem and a theme of national style.³³⁸ The famous building project of the Ten Great Buildings illustrates how Western and Chinese building styles alike influenced the public architecture of the People's Republic of China. These buildings were erected using different styles, such as the national revival style of the 1920s, the Beaux-Arts tradition of the West as well as modern architectural forms.³³⁹ This building scheme would introduce China as a modern state, following the example of its big Communist brother while commissioning leading artists to contribute to the didactic and ornamental display during three campaigns from 1958–1965.³⁴⁰

Following the opening policy of the People's Republic of China at the end of the 1970s, a new wave of influence reached China and Western style architecture boomed. In the late 1980s and 1990s, the national form experienced another heyday. An example of this phenomenon is provided by the extension of the West Railway Station (西站, 1996) in Beijing, where a popular national form was created by adding an extremely complex Chinese style roof to a modern design.³⁴¹ In museum architecture, national form became apparent in the 1991 building of the Shaanxi History Museum in Xi'an [**Fig. 21**], which resembled palace architecture of the Tang Dynasty (618–907).³⁴² The Shanghai Museum building of 1996 employed the ancient Chinese symbolism of a square earth and a round heaven into their somewhat postmodern design [**Fig. 22**], illustrating that the search for a national form in museum architecture was still relevant.

Just like the Great Hall of the People, the 1959 building housing the National Museum of China was architecturally designed in the neoclassical form of Socialist Realism, indebted to the Western Beaux-Arts tradition and enhanced with Chinese characteristics. With its overlong columns and rectangular form, it recalls the international neoclassical style of the 1930s and 1940s, though lacking some of the sincerity of Russian socialist style. At the end

³³⁷ Cf. Fan K. Shizheng 2011, p. 96; Hung, Chang-tai 2001, p. 460.

³³⁸ Later, the Chinese roof design was seen as wasteful and was replaced by a more functional design in the 1960s and 1970s; cf. Xue, Charlie Q. L. 2006, p. 17.

³³⁹ Hesemann 2006, p. 244; The Cultural Palace of Nationalities, the Beijing Railway Station, the National Art Gallery, and the National Agricultural Exhibition Center all evolved to national form; cf. Fan, K. Shizheng 2011, p. 116.

³⁴⁰ Andrews 1994, p. 228.

³⁴¹ Xue, Charlie Q. L. 2006, p. 22.

³⁴² Built by Zhang Jinqiu, a former student of Liang Sicheng; cf. Xue, Charlie Q. L. 2006, p. 23-24.

of the 1950s, relations between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union were increasingly poor, with the People's Republic of China stressing their claim of self-reliance. In this context, the museum architect, Zhang Kaiji, proudly announced that the museum building was executed "entirely on Chinese design and construction, without the help of any other foreign nation, including the Soviet Union".³⁴³ However, the completed museum design still adhered to Soviet neoclassical style, just as governmental buildings in China predominantly follow the monumental-socialist style at that time.³⁴⁴ For the redesign of the building at the beginning of the 21st century, the original combination of styles was of major importance and the style-mix was carefully continued. However, to understand the development of this building, one has to take a closer look at the architectural ensemble it was created for.

The Setting

Since museums are neither planned to stand alone nor to serve as objects of beauty in themselves, but rather to be part of a larger composition, the museum buildings were adjusted to fit the greater surroundings.³⁴⁵ Remarkably often, museums took a central position within the city, like the princely palaces which they had often occupied as provisional quarters (see 1.3.1.). Since the 19th century, museums have regularly fulfilled important structuring functions within the cityscape. Especially in cities which were concertedly built from scratch museums played an important role as part of the overall composition, as seen in cities such as Washington, Canberra and Brasilia. In his comparison of the city outline of Washington and Beijing, Jeffrey F. Meyer points out: "Capitals have *representative and symbolic functions*. The capital city tries to convey meaning through the spatial signifiers it contains: the form of the urban plan, the architecture used by government and parliament, and the presence of national memories."³⁴⁶ In national as well as state capitals, museums reflect the representational task of the city.

The 1959 building of the National Museum of China was part of an overall scheme, which was implementing representational buildings within the capital to manifest the new political order [**Fig. 23**]. However, in the 1950s, both the ideas of erecting museum buildings at Tiananmen Square and its significance for New China were discussed controversially, with

³⁴³ Cited after Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 922.

³⁴⁴ Hessemann 2006, p. 244.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Hesse, Michael and Petsch, Joachim. "Stadtplanung zwischen Kunst und Politik." In Busch, Werner and Schmooch (eds.). *Kunst: Die Geschichte ihrer Funktionen*. Weinheim 1987, p. 517.

³⁴⁶ Meyer 1991, pp. 16-17.

final decisions being made by the Capital Planning Committee.³⁴⁷ To understand the impact of the decision in favor of the Tiananmen Square setting and its impact for the revamping today, a closer look has to be taken at the historical importance of the site as a symbol of Chinese identification:³⁴⁸ For centuries, Tiananmen, the Gate of Heavenly Peace, served as the primary and exclusive entrance to the Imperial Palace.³⁴⁹ It is to be found on the same sacred central axis running through Beijing, on which the imperial throne in the Hall of Supreme Harmony is located. During the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), high court was held twice a year in front of Tiananmen and imperial announcements were read to the officials.³⁵⁰ It continued to be a “symbolical point of contact between the emperor and his people”³⁵¹ and a site for political announcements by the rulers; but later it also served their subjects as a platform for expressions of political will. When the period of imperial China came to a close, the space in front of Tiananmen had developed into an anti-government protest site. Its political significance continued during the Republican era, when the May-Fourth Movement (1919), the Patriotic March (1926) and the Anti-Japanese Demonstrations (1935) were held in front of Tiananmen. The significance of the square for political expression and collective memory was also apparent to foreign powers. In 1900, the Allied troops marched there victoriously, establishing diplomatic quarters in the vicinity.³⁵² In addition, the proclamation of the ‘New East Asian Order’ by imperialist Japan in 1937 took place at Tiananmen.³⁵³

The newly established Communist government chose not to break with the political heritage but to employ this powerful image of imperial rulership and revolutionary tradition, using the square for their own legitimacy and claim to power: On October 1, 1949, Mao Zedong announced the foundation of the People’s Republic of China from Tiananmen, establishing it as memorial site and the birthplace of New China. Thus, Tiananmen became the symbol of the newly formed state, an omnipresent architectural emblem to be found on official documents, stamps and banknotes.³⁵⁴ Throughout the years of communist rule, Tiananmen continued to be carefully employed as a Communist icon.³⁵⁵ In order to adapt and recreate this powerful symbol for the purpose of the new rule, and in order to express one

³⁴⁷ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 920; Wang, Zhengming 2001, pp. 16-17.

³⁴⁸ Watson 1995, p. 8.

³⁴⁹ Restricted to imperial ministers, officials and staff as well as the Imperial family.

³⁵⁰ Cf. Wu, Hung 1991, p. 91.

³⁵¹ Meyer 1991, p. 47.

³⁵² Located at the south east of Tiananmen Square, next to the National Museum of China.

³⁵³ Wu Hung 1991, pp. 84-85.

³⁵⁴ Wu, Hung 1991, p. 88.

³⁵⁵ Cf. Watson, 1995, p. 12.

coherent ideology, it was necessary to change and redesign the surroundings of Tiananmen.³⁵⁶ After 1949, the systematic extension of the square began with the intention to forge a new cultural and political core. Many houses were torn down to build a large square in the center of the capital. This genuinely Western concept of an open square in the city center³⁵⁷ blended perfectly into the People's Republic of China propaganda. Just as political dates were influential for many architectural decisions made in Beijing during the first years of New China, the approaching 10th anniversary of the People's Republic of China was crucial for the design of the square.³⁵⁸ By the order of Chairman Mao, the square was finally enlarged in 1958. The political importance of this square was further underscored by the erection of new buildings indicative of the nucleus of New China, shifting the center of power away from the Imperial Palace: The Monument to the People's Heroes (1958) at the center, the Great Hall of the People (1959) to the west, the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution (1959) to the east, and finally the Mao Mausoleum (1977) on the southern part of the square.³⁵⁹

This construction of the core of the new nation-state seems to have more or less followed somewhat universal architectural concepts for governmental centers of power. Scholars have convincingly argued that remarkable similarities exist between the redesigned center of power in Beijing as the designated center of New China and the built-for-purpose capital of Washington, D.C.³⁶⁰ Despite the fact that the two capitals emerged from fundamentally different ideological concepts, “a similar axial structure such as of the Imperial Palace, the hero's monument and the Mao mausoleum can be found in the ensemble of the capitol, obelisk and Lincoln memorial in the American capital of Washington.”³⁶¹ An ascending district leads the eye to the Capitol in Washington and in Beijing to Tiananmen with a central portrait of Mao. Similarities even occur between the Lincoln Memorial (1922)

³⁵⁶ Cf. Wagner, Rudolf G. 1992. “Reading the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall in Peking: The Tribulations of the Imperial Pilgrim.” Naquin/Yu 1992; Wu, Hung. *Remaking Beijing – Tiananmen Square and the Creation of a Political Space*. Chicago 2005.

³⁵⁷ Ledderose 1988, p. 321.

³⁵⁸ Until Republican times the space between Tiananmen in the North and Zhengyangmen (正阳门) in the South was just a narrow strip, which could only accommodate about 70,000 people; cf. Ledderose 1988, p. 325.

³⁵⁹ The last construction period of the Square was completed in May 1977: renovation of the Zhengyangmen in the south, extension of the square to 440,000 m²; cf. Ledderose 1988, p. 311; For further discussion of the monuments in Tiananmen Square see also Wu, Hung 1991.

³⁶⁰ Ledderose 1988; Meyer, Jeffrey F. “The Eagle and the Dragon: Comparing the Design of Washington and Beijing.” In *Washington History*, Vol. 8, No. 2, Fall/Winter, 1996/1997, pp. 4-21; Daum, Andreas W. “Capitals in Modern History: Inventing Urban Spaces for the Nation.” In *Daum/Mauch 2005*, pp. 3-28.

³⁶¹ Hesemann 2006, p. 244.

and the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall (1977), each featuring strikingly a parallel outline, a façade with 12 columns, a staircase on the north and south side as well as seated figure of the eponym.³⁶² Furthermore, governmental buildings and national institutions such as archives and museums are established along the central axis of both cities, providing centralized storage facilities for the nation's history. To date, both the architectural ensembles of the Washington Mall and of Tiananmen Square serve as central representations of and to their nations.

Tiananmen remains the cultural and political heart of Beijing, being a place of pilgrimage and a strong symbol for the Chinese nation. The National Museum of China is a vital part of this symbolic ensemble. Its design and reconstruction are of enormous historical, political and cultural importance, demanding a high level of sensitivity and consideration for the given context. The exterior design necessitated weighty decisions; a harmonious blending-in could preserve and even enhance the overall expression of the square. Restrictions in construction for the sake of this 'harmonious fit' were not only officially stated in the bidding requirements but also had to be carefully met by the architects. Since the design of the National Grand Theater (Paul Andreu, 2007), had caused fierce nation-wide criticism and public debate³⁶³, and even challenged the practice of foreign architects being invited to build national landmarks, the government became extremely alert. Besides the anticipated high building and operational costs, intellectuals and architects alike had criticized the design of a huge, translucent glass bubble surrounded by an artificial lake and located just behind the Great Hall of the People, as being an unsuitable contrast to the rectangular, stone-clad neighboring buildings [**Fig. 24**].³⁶⁴ Without doubt, the unique location of the National Museum of China would have an impact on the design of the new building. Following the rigorous transformation of the square, which took place at the beginning of New China, the focus changed towards conservation, especially since the Chinese government became more and more aware of the necessary preservation of the historical site. The intention to freeze the status quo and not further develop the southern part, becomes

³⁶² Ledderose 1988, pp. 314-315.

³⁶³ Edelmann, Frederic. "Das Ei von Peking." In *Bauwelt* 35/01, 92. Jahrgang, September 2001, p. 39.

³⁶⁴ Construction cost ca. 4 billion RMB (around 50 million US\$), annual operational costs of 300 million RMB; cf. Xue, Charlie Q. L 2006, pp. 41-42.

particularly noticeable at the southeast of the square. Here the historical Beijing Legation Quarters (东交民巷) are protected by the Municipal Artifact Preservation Order.³⁶⁵

Reconstruction

The restoration and reconstruction of a building requires dealing with the given environment, including the existing structure, the setting and the neighboring architecture. It has to be decided how much and precisely what should be kept or redeveloped, which necessarily influences the blueprint, sets limits and creates a direction for the new design. The task of reconstruction is tied to the point in time of its execution, to the cultural background and to the existing ideological and political undercurrents, all of which are closely linked to the perception of the outcome. After the catastrophe of World War II, differing approaches in reconstructing destroyed city centers could be encountered in a divided Germany and Poland. The former saw building new city centers as a clean start while the latter considered reconstruction of the former cityscape a heroic deed.³⁶⁶ Key motivators for architectural reconstruction are the preservation, creation and alteration of sites of cultural memory and national identity³⁶⁷, which are often employed during phases of major social and political changes. In the 1990s, the glorification of national history in the former Soviet Union and its satellite states was responsible for a boom in reconstruction. Most prominent was the rebuilding of the Cathedral of Christ the Savior (1994–1997) in Moscow, which had fallen prey to destruction for the sake of Stalin’s Palace of the Soviets in 1931.³⁶⁸ In the 1990s, Mayor Juri Luschkow exploited this reconstruction scheme for promoting local identity and for the sake of his political campaign.³⁶⁹ The decision against reconstruction and for demolition can follow similar political and ideological reasoning. A point in case is the Berlin Residential Palace (1699), which was partially destroyed during World War II, and demolished and removed by the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in 1950, without being initially replaced by another building. It was only after two decades that the GDR

³⁶⁵ Interview, Matthias Wiegelmann, project lead Beijing, gmp, Beijing, April 10, 2009; Cf. Moser, Michael J., and Yeone Wei-chih Moser. *Foreigners within the Gates: The Legations at Peking*. Hong Kong, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

³⁶⁶ Cf. Bartetzky, Arnold 2010. “Die Rolle der Rekonstruktion nach dem Wechsel der Systeme in Osteuropa.” In Nerdinger 2010, pp. 138-147.

³⁶⁷ Speitkamp, Winfried 2010. “Deutschlands ‚Superbauten‘? Rekonstruktionen und nationale Identität.” In Nerdinger 2010, p. 118.

³⁶⁸ Originally, the Cathedral was erected in 1883 and destroyed by order of Stalin in 1931 to make room for the Palace of the Soviets. In 1941, construction for the Palace of the Soviets was halted due to World War II. In the 1950s, the project was finally canceled and the foundation of the building turned in the largest swimming pool worldwide in 1960; cf. Huber 2007, p. 70.

³⁶⁹ Bartetzky 2010, pp. 145-146.

government erected the Palace of the Republic (1973–1976) on the open space as an administrative and cultural center. The current concept for this site is to reconstruct the façade of the original Hohenzollern palace on three sides, and the historical dome of the courtyard on 50,000 m², in order to house the future Humboldt Forum, a cultural meeting place and forum that will include museums, library and a scientific center by 2019.³⁷⁰ To meet this end and to accommodate this new project, the Palace of the Republic was itself completely demolished in 2008. The official justification for the destruction was asbestos contamination. Following Jan Assmann’s statement that traditions are always replaced by other traditions (see 1.2.2.), reconstruction and demolition both appear to be statements of one system in favor of another. This idea does not feature continuity of tradition per se, but rather continuity of a particularly favored tradition can be achieved. Therefore, reconstruction of *traditions* stresses both the changes as well as the continuities of political and social expressions. A decision for reconstruction is often made in favor of the architectural symbols of a community, a city or a nation. These monuments are chosen for their outstanding features. They are fixed subject matter, serving the collective cultural recollection, helping connect shared identities, stressing change and/or continuity, and providing cultural identity or the particular meaning which a society assigns them.³⁷¹ Along these lines, the reconstruction of the Church of Our Lady in Dresden (1994–2004), 50 years after its destruction during World War II, aided in creating a city identity and additionally became a powerful symbol of reconciliation. The reconstruction of a destroyed, a partially destroyed or even an existing structure brings many difficulties and poses formidable questions: which previously existing version should serve as the model; in which cases are alterations in style and material possible; where can adjustments be made to meet contemporary building standards; where are changes inevitable due to current regulations?

Due to its symbolic importance and prominent location, no substantial alteration in the outline of the National Museum of China was to be allowed during reconstruction. Despite the additional costs and an opportunity to triple the lifetime of the building³⁷², the officials responsible decided that the façade had to remain intact, to be supported from the back and

³⁷⁰ Elfenbein, Stefan 2008, “Ein Ein Königreich für die Kultur: Humboldtforum.” In Neu-Bau, Lufthansa Exklusive, 01/2008.

³⁷¹ Nerdinger 2010, p. 301.

³⁷² Following the city planning regulations in Beijing, the lifetime of a restored building is limited to 30 years, compared to 100 years for newly erected buildings; Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, January 19, 2006.

visible during the entire construction period. In the experience of the architects of *gmp*, it would have been much cheaper to tear down the entire structure and rebuild it completely.³⁷³ Initially, the architects considered a primarily administrative function for the original structure, in order to avoid the difficult transformation of the facilities to contemporary exhibition space, which had to fulfill modern requirements and museums standards. However, despite these difficulties, the museum finally decided to install the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ in the previous location of the restored north wing, which can be read as a statement for continuity within the display (see 3.4.3.). During the modernization process, 35,000 m² of the original floor space were retained whereas 156,900 m² were added, making this not only a project of reconstruction but also of a major addition.

Additions

“All architectural typologies, understood primarily in the functional sense, despite their capacity for permanence as an enduring spatial necessity, are subjects to inevitable processes of change and modernization.”³⁷⁴ Restoration, reconstruction or even additions to an existing building, whether as an individual building or a connecting building, have been architectural tasks since building itself commenced. Due to the museum’s genuine mission of assembling artifacts, its collections inevitably expand, therefore requiring that the buildings frequently undergo phases of regeneration, modernization and enlargement. The revamping of the Louvre, with the addition of a main access hall in the basement and a centrally located glass pyramid in the castle courtyard by the famous architect Ieoh Ming Pei, completed in 1993, preceded a phase of enlargement projects of many national museums.³⁷⁵ To some extent, the pre-eminent solution for museum additions is to build an extension at a different location. Ieoh Ming Pei’s East Building of the National Gallery in Washington (1978) was designed as a modern but still monumental extension of the neoclassical mall on a trapeze-shaped plot of land.³⁷⁶ The solitaire building was to be connected with the National Gallery only by an underground tunnel. As far as the National Palace Museum in Taiwan is concerned, the original building was an imitation of the Imperial Palace in Beijing; however, a cutting-edge design was chosen for its Southern Branch in Chaoyi County [Fig. 25].

³⁷³ Interview, Matthias Wiegelmann, project lead Beijing, *gmp*, Beijing, April 10, 2009.

³⁷⁴ Montaner, Joseph M. and Oliveras, Jordi. *Die Museumsbauten der neuen Generation/ The Museums of the Last Generation*. Stuttgart 1987, p. 9.

³⁷⁵ Newhouse 1998, p. 17; Pei Cobb Freed & Partners. “Grand Louvre – Phase I,” <http://www.pcfandp.com/a/p/8315/s.html> (accessed December 3, 2010).

³⁷⁶ Nitzan-Shiftan 2009, p. 128.

In general, revamping schemes are as diverse as the buildings themselves and have continually represented a particular challenge for the architect, including limiting freedom of expression, stepping back from the original design or even sacrificing a distinct signature; but at the same time, the revamping assignment stimulates creativity. Conceptual designs for additions to famous museums seem to be very rewarding tasks for architects, some of which appear even better known than the original architecture, as in case of the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart (1977–1984). Final results, however, exhibit a marked distinction between a harmonious fit with a new addition, labeled the ‘silent approach’, and an addition which purposefully contrasts with the former style, what can be defined as ‘counterpoint design’.³⁷⁷ The former is demonstrated by the postmodern structure of the Sainsbury Wing (1986–1991) of the National Gallery of Art in London, where the architects Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates blended the addition to the previous structure [Fig. 26].³⁷⁸ Another ‘silent approach’ converges in Norman Forster’s rooftop addition of the British Museum (1994–2000). An obvious example of the ‘counterpoint approach’ is the 2011 redesigned Militärhistorisches Museum in Dresden by Daniel Libeskind [Fig. 27]. The original armory (designated as a museum since 1897) was sliced in the middle by means of a translucent wedge; thereby the collection was opened to discourse about the difficult topics presented.³⁷⁹ The extension of the National Museum of China experienced a development within the overall project scheme, as the 2004 winning proposal can be described as a ‘counterpoint design’, combining tradition with modernity. The implemented 2011 design, however, demonstrated a very harmonious fit, a development to be further examined in the analysis of the building parts (see 2.4.). The development of the design raises the question as to what made the client change their path.

The Client and the Public

The preceding architecture and the setting are very important factors for the redesign and extension of a building. In principle, the decision for or against a particular design reflects the ideas and will of the client. In many national and international museum projects, the state, represented by different governmental institutions, is the client. During the revamping of the National Museum of China, various authorities had their say. The National Museum of China

³⁷⁷ Treib 2009, p. 152.

³⁷⁸ Calder, Barnabas. “Never so serious: The Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London.” In Alofsin 2009, p. 183.

³⁷⁹ Militärhistorisches Museum der Bundeswehr. “Introduction.” http://www.militaerhistorisches-museum.bundeswehr.de/portal/a/mhm!/ut/p/c4/04_SB8K8xLLM9MSSzPy8xBz9CP3I5EyrpHK94uyk-NyMXL281NL01OKSRL3EouSMzJLUbP2CbEdFAIn4OcE! (accessed August 26, 2011)

and its board of directors were directly in charge of the project. The museum is subordinate to the Ministry of Culture and the Propaganda Department of the CCP. Major decisions in the project development were made by the National Development and Reform Commission; the final go-ahead, however, was only given by Li Changchun, a member of the nine-man Standing Committee of the Politburo and the chief of propaganda of the CCP (see 2.2.1.).

Projects of this scale are mostly carried out in the form of architectural bidding procedures. A committee of specialists is frequently appointed to decide on the design proposals. Furthermore, in many large-scale cultural projects, especially in Western countries, public opinion often plays an important role in deciding for or against a displayed proposal. In July 2004, the National Museum of China followed this procedure, first launching a call for bids on an international scale and then soliciting the public opinion by means of a public vote on the display of the proposed designs [**Fig. 5**]. Gao Chongli 高崇理, director of the National Museum of China from 2003 to 2007, stated that the opinion of the public was important and suggestions by the public would be very helpful, but would not be pivotal. In actuality, the decision strictly followed the expert suggestions appointed by the National Development and Reform Commission, with public opinion taking a secondary position.³⁸⁰ The public vote for the proposals of the National Museum of China was influenced by the different architectural companies and their Chinese partner offices, which sent their staff to vote for their own proposals³⁸¹; this fact also could have contributed to a diminished rating of the public opinion for the actual revamping project. However, clients in different countries do not seem to consider it compulsory to follow public opinions or even heed to experts committee views and centralized decisions are not unheard of. While it appears that a client may pay attention to the public vote about a project, in some cases, this serves more as a recommendation or a test of public opinion and not as a move towards relinquishing the power of decision. As an example, despite the fact that Aldo Rossi had won the bidding for the revamping of the Deutsches Historisches Museum (1998–2004) in Berlin with his postmodern design, the museum leadership later decided in favor of Ieoh Ming Pei and

³⁸⁰ The public survey took place at the National Museum of China from July 11–17, 2004. Although the public selected the proposal no. 8 with 968 votes and the proposal of gmp was only placed second (with 888 votes); however, after several expert hearings the gmp proposal was selected; cf. CCTV Interview, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012).

³⁸¹ The selection was influenced, as the entire staff of the Chinese partner offices were encouraged to vote for their proposal. With more than 2000 employees, these companies had great impact on the public vote. Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design gmp, Berlin, January 19, 2006.

commissioned him directly.³⁸² In the National Museum of China revamping project, the importance of approval by influential governmental bureaucrats becomes apparent in the following incident: At a late stage of the project, a visiting high-ranking official found the glass railings, which had already been installed throughout the building, unsuitable and had them replaced by cast iron substitutes [Fig. 28].³⁸³

During the last decades, the building practices in China have tended to be bold. Examples of government projects are numerous and in no way inferior. The Jin Mao Tower (1999) and the World Financial Center (2008) in Shanghai, the National Grand Theater (2007) and the China Central Television Tower (2008) in Beijing demonstrate capability and an eagerness for extravagant expressions. Furthermore, under the rapid growths of Chinese cities during the last decades, many have developed a global if not uniform look.³⁸⁴ However, at the beginning of the 21st century a change of public opinion seems to have taken place with Beijing citizens no longer approving of new architecture, which would change their cityscape without recognition of the historical and local context. They felt that foreign architects would use their city as a playground for fanciful ideas. The previously mentioned design of the National Grand Theater of the French architect Paul Andreu was especially perceived by critics as such a ‘negative’ example.³⁸⁵ The government became more and more sensitive to the concerns about the architectural legacy, and the already approved *gmp* concept of the Grand Forum did not escape criticism. The great public hall was seen to jeopardize the representative character and dignity of the National Museum of China; furthermore, an open hall for public access was no longer desired.³⁸⁶ A change in museum leadership in 2005 increased its influence on the actual design plans. The government intentionally chose Lü Zhangshen, an architect by training, as the new director. He attended to this project with complete dedication and with the intent on leaving his mark on the project. His goal was to complete the building during his five-year term and his influence on the architectural design could not be underestimated. To bridge the particular challenges arising between the ideas of

³⁸² In 1989, Aldo Rossi had won the bidding with a postmodern design. However, his proposed design was not carried out, in fact, Iohh Ming Pei was commissioned directly for the restoration and addition in 1998; cf. “2003 – Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.” Archiseek, <http://archiseek.com/2010/2003-deutsches-historisches-museum-berlin/#.UKd5uoaADqg> (accessed October 29, 2012)

³⁸³ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, *gmp*, Berlin, January 12, 2010.

³⁸⁴ Cf. Zheng, Shiling 2003, pp. 11-12.

³⁸⁵ Cf. Xue, Charlie Q. L. 2006, pp. 41-42.

³⁸⁶ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, *gmp*, Berlin, June, 2, 2006.

the client and the architectural practice, close communication between architect and client was of major importance.

Role of the Architects

Historical, political and social parameters influence the work of architects. At the same time, they are bound to the will of the client. In 1959, the building of the National Museum of China was designed by Zhang Kaiji³⁸⁷, who was working for the Beijing Institute of Architectural Design (BIAD). After many years of Western and especially Soviet influence in building design, the withdrawal of Soviet advisors at the beginning of the 1960s led to an isolation of Chinese architects from global architectural developments.³⁸⁸ Since the 1980s, the impact on Chinese architects from the outside world has steadily increased, especially fostered by architects from Hong Kong and Taiwan working in China. One of the most prominent figures influencing Chinese architecture was Ieoh Ming Pei, who, for example, was commissioned to build the Suzhou Museum in 2002. Both the Olympics in Beijing (2008) and the Expo in Shanghai (2010) boosted major building projects. In Beijing, like in other key cities, international offices were commissioned for major architectural projects including the Beijing Capital Airport (Norman Foster), the Grand National Theater (Paul Andreu), the Capital Museum (Jean Nouvel), the Olympic Stadium (Herzog & Meuron) and the Chinese National Library (KSP Engel Zimmermann). Like in many other areas, officials in charge of governmental commissions harbored a general belief about the superiority of foreign architectural discourse.³⁸⁹ As required by Chinese regulations, foreign architects must team up with Chinese partners. However, only a few very large and influential Chinese institutions possess an official license, therefore constituting possible partners for foreign company.³⁹⁰

Following an international bidding process, to which only a group of hand-selected star architects were invited, the architectural practice of *gmp* was commissioned for the revamping of the National Museum of China.³⁹¹ Global players with experience in public and

³⁸⁷ Zhang Kaiji had graduated from Nanjing Central University in 1935 and was committed to the Beaux-Arts principals of architectural design; cf. Chang, Yung Ho 2011, p. 301.

³⁸⁸ Zheng, Shiling 2003, p. 14.

³⁸⁹ Zheng, Shiling 2003, p. 14.

³⁹⁰ Cf. Eduard Kögel 2004. "Zur Lage junger Architekten in China." In Archplus, Hochgeschwindigkeitsurbanismus, No. 168, February 2004, p. 71.

³⁹¹ Gmp was founded by Meinhard von Gerkan and Volkwin Marg in Hamburg in 1965, conducting important projects on the national (Berlin Tegel Airport 1965, Berlin Central Station, 2006) and international scale. Since 1998, the company executes small scale (German School, Beijing 2000) and large scale projects (Qingdao Airport 2008, Qingdao Grand Theater 2005-2010) in China. Furthermore, gmp designed the entire plan of 'Lingang New City'. Within the last years, the company has gained experience in gallery and museum architecture through various projects (Oriental Art Center, Shanghai 2001, first prize; Beijing Art Box, 2003).

cultural building projects, they teamed up with the China Academy of Building Research (CABR)³⁹², which was predominantly in charge of building standards, licensing and execution of construction work. In 1999, CABR had carried out restoration works at the museum and therefore was already familiar with the building structure. The main architectural guidelines as defined by the architectural practice of *gmp* are for “simplicity, uniformity in variety, identity with the location and structural order”³⁹³ and the avoidance of expressionist forms.³⁹⁴ Furthermore, the practice of *gmp* defines its philosophy as follows:

Our ideal is to design in such a reduced form, that the results endure content and time. Formal restriction and uniformity of materials contribute to this standpoint because we understand obviousness as a categorical imperative.³⁹⁵

In addition, the importance of openness for dialogue is stressed:

Society and its complex political and economic mechanisms decide what is being built in what fashion. We architects have not only the obligation, but the responsibility to lay ourselves open to this dialogue and take part in the discussions with a firm conviction.³⁹⁶

Both statements play a vital role in the understanding of the architectural design, which the National Museum of China acquired in 2011.

A common point of criticism was why, for this expressly national task, international architects were invited? Would not a Chinese architect be more capable of designing the national flagship museum, of recognizing the requirements of the client, of acknowledging the special setting of the project? Would it not be easier for the government to justify their decision for a national firm? Governments worldwide repeatedly appear to commission national firms for state projects, either in support of their own economy, for publicity or for nationalistic reasons. However, in the past and the present, it has been common practice to invite international architects to take part in bidding for large-scale building projects and to employ star architects for their tasks. The Palace of the Soviets, the most prominent building project of the capital of Soviet Russia, serves as a good example. During the first architecture

³⁹² CABR was founded in Beijing in 1953. According to their statement, it is the largest and most comprehensive research institution in the building industry in China. The firm has evolved from a state planning institution to a technology-based enterprise, affiliated to the State-owned Assets Supervision and Administration Commission of the State Council (SASAC) in 2000; cf. “Chinese Academy of Building Research.” <http://www.cabr.com.cn/engweb/index.htm> (accessed, April 6, 2009)

³⁹³ *Gmp*. “Philosophy.” <http://www.gmp-architekten.de/en/office/our-philosophy.html> (accessed, September 1, 2011).

³⁹⁴ Gerkan, Meinhard von. “Dinge so einfach zu gestalten, dass sie Bestand haben” [Create things so simple that they endure], Paper presented at Dresdner Reden, Schauspielhaus Dresden, March 1, 2009.

³⁹⁵ *Gmp*. “Philosophy.” (accessed, September 1, 2011).

³⁹⁶ *Gmp*. “Philosophy.” (accessed, September 1, 2011).

competition in 1930–1934, Western architects such as Walter Gropius, Erich Mendelsohn and Le Corbusier were invited.³⁹⁷ However, in 1934, Boris Iofan won the competition.³⁹⁸ Whether only aspects of design or also Iofan’s Soviet citizenship influenced the jury’s decision seems untraceable. Currently, it appears that a few internationally operating, highly skilled companies dominate the global market and even seem to be the only ones capable of carrying out these large-scale projects. Is it really true that foreign architectural firms would not be capable of understanding the needs of a Chinese client? Do they not consider Chinese architectural elements? Are their projects faceless and oblivious to local traditions? The Shanghai Jin Mao Tower, at 421 m the tallest building in China in 1999, was designed by Chicago based Adrian Smith as an interpretation of Chinese building tradition and inspired by Chinese pagodas [Fig. 29]. This tower, however, seems publicly well accepted as a Chinese expression, most likely because the application of national form “does not equal national identity”.³⁹⁹

The demand for architects with the correct passport was also expressed for the revamping scheme of the National Museum of China: “Shortly after we [*gmp*] won the bidding, the Chinese architects asked at once: Why do Germans built our National Museum? The complaints of the Chinese architects were taken seriously and elevated to a purportedly objective level.”⁴⁰⁰ The changing atmosphere and resentments against international companies, in fact, started with the older generation of Chinese architects.⁴⁰¹ That attitude soon became apparent when the Chinese partner office, not *gmp*, was in charge of presenting the proposal during the bidding process.⁴⁰² Although the planning was executed by the architectural practice of *gmp*, it appears that the Chinese partners partially succeeded in eclipsing the authorship of the architectural design: in the 2011 survey, 36% of the visitors stated that CABR was solely responsible for the design of the new museum, whereas only 16% identified *gmp* as the architects (see 6.2.4.).⁴⁰³ In general, there is a tendency to commission more Chinese companies instead of international architects, a move which seems to be encouraged by the government.⁴⁰⁴ During the last years, however, companies like CABR

³⁹⁷ Huber 2007, pp. 70 f.

³⁹⁸ Hatje; Lexikon der Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart 1983.

³⁹⁹ Xue, Charlie Q. L. 2006, p. 28.

⁴⁰⁰ Beyer/Doerry/Reinhardt, Spiegel Interview 2011.

⁴⁰¹ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, *gmp*, Berlin, June, 2, 2006.

⁴⁰² Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, *gmp*, Berlin, June, 2, 2006.

⁴⁰³ 38% of the participants stated *gmp* and CABR both responsible for the design. Only one participant identified the architects of the original building of 1959 (BIAD) and the restoration of 2010 (GMP+CABR).

⁴⁰⁴ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, *gmp*, Berlin, June, 2, 2006.

internally admitted not yet being capable of proceeding on their own with such major projects.⁴⁰⁵ In the 2011 visitor survey, 49% of the participants listed skill and 35% publicity and image as the main reasons for justifying the commission of an international firm. However, 41% of the participants believed that a Chinese architect alone would have been more appropriate and only 28% disagreed.⁴⁰⁶ Individual statements ranged from approval, “The sea can absorb 100 rivers – be tolerant to diversity, we should learn good things from each other”, to absolute rejection, “It should not be designed by foreigners; no foreigners can understand the Chinese culture as the Chinese understand their own culture.”⁴⁰⁷ The statement about the style development of the National Museum of China project made by Xiu Long 秀龙, the director of the Chinese partner architects intends to bring both positions into harmony:

The style is a good combination of Chinese and Western. During the planning process we experienced phases of development, neglecting, reorientation and so on, during this process controversies are indispensable. The Chinese side contributes the Chinese positions (also of the museum) which they know best, the Western side contributes to the functional aspects (which we have to learn), the cooperation is a learning process, both sides complemented one other.⁴⁰⁸

One is likely to be reminded of the Chinese self-strengthening movement during the second half of the 19th century when Zhang Zhidong 张之洞 (1837–1909) proposed the formula “Chinese learning for the essential, Western learning for the practical use”⁴⁰⁹. However, after the international landscape architect Till Rehwaldt⁴¹⁰ was commissioned at a later stage of the project, he himself wondered about having been chosen (see 2.4.3.). A dilemma arose over the commissioner’s demand for a Chinese garden design without abstraction. Furthermore, a conflict of interest between the wish for international expertise on the one hand and for localism on the other, became obvious.

A building project of this scale, with its accompanying cultural and political significance, imposes a certain level of caution on the planning process. It often results in

⁴⁰⁵ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, June, 2, 2006.

⁴⁰⁶ 22% of the participants were indifferent, 4% state not knowing and 5% of the participants stated another opinion. In 2007, 50% stated that a Chinese office alone would have been more suitable for the task, whereas 17% disagreed.

⁴⁰⁷ 海纳百川，好的东西就应相互学习，取长补短。(No. 93); 不应该由外国人设计，没有外国人会比中国人自己了解自己的文化。(No. 97); see 6.3.4.

⁴⁰⁸ CCTV Interviews, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012).

⁴⁰⁹ “中学为体，西学为用”; cf. Fairbank, John K. and Goldman, Merle 2006. *China A New History*. Second Enlarged Edition, Harvard 2006, p. 217.

⁴¹⁰ Rehwaldt, Till (b. 1965) is based in Dresden, Germany. He opened his Beijing office in 2005.

time-consuming, decision-making procedures for the team of architects and museum planners, so much so, that even though the proposal of the architectural practice *gmp* won the competition for the enlargement of the museum in 2004, the discussions about the new design seemed, in fact, to have just begun.

2.4. Analysis

2.4.1. Size and Dimension

Description

With a total floor space of 191,900 m², the new National Museum of China is currently the largest museum worldwide. The extended building stretches 330 m from north to south fronting Tiananmen Square and 204 m from east to west along Chang'an East Avenue and encompasses a total land area of 70,000 m².⁴¹¹ A semi-basement encircling the symmetrical building and a massive portico enhance the monumental character of the structure [Fig. 14]. With an overall height of only 42 meters, the museum is of horizontal expansion and fits harmoniously in the ensemble of the surrounding buildings of Tiananmen and the Great Hall of the People [Fig. 23]. By keeping the original U-shaped structure in the west, the eastern extension contains the most of the new volume, the greater part of the exhibition space as well as assembly space in the Grand Forum, the theater, the cinema and a broadcasting hall. Calculations measure that the museum can host up to 19,000 visitors at once, up to 30,000 per day.⁴¹² The museum accommodates 49 exhibition galleries, which sums up to an overall exhibition space of around 65,000 m².⁴¹³ The museum building is characterized by its enormous size, monumental nature and its horizontal expansion.

Comparison and Analysis

During the entire development process of the new design, the size of the museum seems to have been of vital importance for the client. The original construction of 1959 was orientated along the central north-south axis of Beijing, running 313 m from north to south fronting the square, and 149 m west to east along Chang'an East Road, covering an overall floor space of 65,152 m² and a land area of 50,500 m².⁴¹⁴ From the first bidding to the final realization of the revamping project, the demand for space was gradually revised and increased from

⁴¹¹ The National Museum of China, "Project Overview." (accessed, February 2, 2012).

⁴¹² The National Museum of China, "Project Overview." (accessed, February 2, 2012).

⁴¹³ Gmp 2011, "Facts and figures." n. p.

⁴¹⁴ Beijing shida jianzhu sheji 2002, p. 166.

150,000 m² in 2004⁴¹⁵ and 178,000 m² in 2007, to 191,900 m² in 2011.⁴¹⁶ Within the lifespan of the project, the museum almost tripled in size, thereby surmounting the Louvre (160,102 m²)⁴¹⁷ and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (190,000 m²).⁴¹⁸ From the beginning of the project, it was the declared aim of the client, to create one of the largest, if not the largest museum building in the world. During the rescheduling of the project in 2006, the general director of the State Art Collections in Dresden was contacted to provide information about the size of the world's major museums, such as the Louvre and the British Museum, to enable their planning to be bigger.⁴¹⁹ At a press conference in 2011, general director Lü Zhangshen declared that it was the political will of the state leadership that “a country of the dimension of China should have a corresponding large museum”.⁴²⁰ Tian Shanting 田善停, head of the foreign affairs office of the museum, emphasizes this point further with the following statement: “It is not about being the biggest, but China does have 5000 years of culture so it's not inappropriate to be the biggest”.⁴²¹ The simple equation of architectural size with political, cultural or public grandeur seems to be a universally accepted consensus. For example, the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow was planned to be the largest and tallest building during Stalinist times, displaying worldwide the triumph of Communism.⁴²² The National Museum of China took up the international competition for size, and seems for the time being, to have won over every other national museum.

However, it is legitimate to ask whether the overall size or rather the gallery space is of major importance and a decisive factor in museum planning. During the revamping project, the gallery space was gradually increased about 2.5 times from originally 23,457 m²⁴²³, to 58,000 m² in 2004, and finally up to 65,000 m² in the executed design. In addition to the amplification of the overall floor size, the change in leadership provided a crucial step towards enlarging the gallery space. In 2005, the new general director Lü Zhangshen

⁴¹⁵ Zhu, Fenghan, Paper presented at the Louvre, France, June 2004.

⁴¹⁶ “Experts muse over museums.” (accessed, September 20, 2012).

⁴¹⁷ “Le Musée National de Chine deviendra le plus grand muse du monde.” Actuchine.com, <http://www.actuchine.com> (accessed June 21, 2007);

Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, “Grand Louvre – Phase I,” (accessed December 3, 2010).

⁴¹⁸ Wikipedia contributors. “Metropolitan Museum of Art.” Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Metropolitan_Museum_of_Art&oldid=520442505 (accessed October 30, 2012).

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Johnson, Ian, “At China’s New Museum, History Toes Party Line.” *The New York Times*, April 3, 2011

⁴²⁰ Siemons, Mark. “Das Programm heißt: groß.” *FAZ*, Feuilleton, March 26, 2011; p. 33.

⁴²¹ Johnson, Ian, “At China’s New Museum, History Toes Party Line.” *The New York Times*, April 3, 2011.

⁴²² Bartetzky 2010, p. 142.

⁴²³ Beijing shida jianzhu sheji 2002, p. 166.

demanded more than the originally planned exhibition space to allow for displaying a larger amount of the collection. Bearing in mind that the museum must supply storage facilities for over one million artifacts, it is a considerable step to provide exhibition space in one third of the entire museum as well. The gallery space of the National Museum surpasses the gallery space of the Louvre by only 5000 m².⁴²⁴ However, with its 130,000 m², the Metropolitan Museum of Art still by far provides the world's largest museum gallery space.⁴²⁵ Despite the efforts of the new director to increase the gallery space, nevertheless, the total floor space seems to have been the decisive factor for building the National Museum of China.

From the outside, however, the gigantic dimension of the new building is not visible. The design adapts rather harmoniously in the given context of Tiananmen Square. It even helps to compensate for the visual imbalance in height and expansion between the National Museum of China and the originally much larger Great Hall of the People, which was erected with the dimensions of 336 by 174 m⁴²⁶ and with an overall floor space of 171,800 m². This discrepancy in size was historically routed and politically intended: In October 1958, a draft version for the museum building was presented to Premier Zhou Enlai, who ordered that the museum building could symmetrically oppose the Great Hall but should be smaller.⁴²⁷ This statement ranks the museum second in importance after the Great Hall of the people. At that time, size was already a decisive factor in the context of Tiananmen Square, which was extended from accommodating 70,000 people in 1949, to 400,000 people in 1959.⁴²⁸ Zhang Kaiji, one of the chief architects of the CCP and architect of the National Museum of China stated: "There are a lot of things I regret. Tiananmen Square is too big. We wanted to show how great our country was. At that time, there was a feeling that bigger was better, but I think that is wrong, it was just to show off. It wasn't really to serve the people."⁴²⁹ The square itself gradually ascends about 3 m from Zhengyangmen in the south to the Hall of Supreme

⁴²⁴ Wikipedia contributors. "Musée du Louvre." Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Musee_du_Louvre&oldid=409543855 (accessed October 30, 2012).

⁴²⁵ Wikipedia contributors. "Metropolitan Museum of Art." Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Metropolitan_Museum_of_Art (accessed October 30, 2012).

⁴²⁶ Beijing shida jianzhu sheji 2002, p. 162.

⁴²⁷ Wang, Zhengming 2001, p. 22.

⁴²⁸ Mao originally planned to accommodate one million people. The length of the square of 880 m was predetermined by Tiananmen in the North and Zhengyangmen in the South; however the expansion of the width of the square to 350, 400 or 500 m was discussed controversially and finally decided on 500 m. Only after 1976, the square was further expanded to hold 600,000 people. With an overall size of roughly 440,000 m², Tiananmen Square is often referred to as the largest public square in the world. Cf. Wu Hung 1991, p. 90; Ledderose 1988, p. 325.

⁴²⁹ Lim, Louisa. "Beijing building revolution." BBC News, published 2004/03/09, <http://www.new.bbc.co.uk/go/pr/fr/-2/hi/asia-pacific/3543419.atm>; (accessed, August 10, 2009).

Harmony in the center of the Imperial Palace. The ascending terrain visually emphasizes Tiananmen, however, creating a difficult optical situation for the Great Hall of the People and the museums flanking the square on the sides. This was partially solved by the introduction of a semi-basement and of a green belt of vegetation in front of the museum bridging the sights. In the 1958 design of the museum, the competitive delusion of grandeur had to take a step back in favor of the local context of Tiananmen Square and the Great Hall of the People. In 2011, the largest museum in the world was constructed; however, its forms still integrate harmoniously in the context of the square. The size of the museum becomes only apparent in the 260 x 30 m dimensions of the Grand Forum of 2011 (see 2.4.5.), surpassing the 3300 m² Turbine Hall of the Tate Modern by more than half.⁴³⁰

One prevailing feature of major museum architecture is monumentality. The term and the concept of monumentality emerged from Greek temple architecture, taking the human figure as a basis of scale. In modern discourse, the term is commonly used to describe an oversized building or building features, such as pillars, rising to encompass more than one register of the façade. From the very beginning, the appearance of museum buildings was seldom modest, but of monumental dimension and with monumental features. Explanation for this phenomenon is to be found in the frequency of imperial palaces being rededicated for housing early museums and in the architectural form of the first genuine museum buildings. These buildings, which developed parallel to the institution of the museum in the second half of the 18th century, favored monumentality. Museums shared this characteristic with the buildings of most public and governmental institutions. During the Stalin era, monumentality was employed in architecture in combination with the Russian return to classical form in order to display the power and the grandeur of the Soviet state. Though monumental form suffered some disrepute due to its exploitation by German and Italian fascist regimes and by Soviet socialist architecture⁴³¹, it nevertheless appears to have persisted in the museum architecture of many countries. Examples of museum buildings in monumental form are numerous and traverse place and time (Altes Museum Berlin, 1830; Tokyo National Museum, 1938; National Gallery Washington D.C., 1941; National Museum of Anthropology, Mexico City, 1963). The application of a monumental and historicizing building style was a method

⁴³⁰ Tate Modern. "Facts and Figures."

<http://www.tate.org.uk/about/projects/constructing-tate-modern/facts-and-figures> (accessed October 30, 2012).

⁴³¹ For example, post World War II Germany seemed to have developed a phobia against monumentality in architecture, because of its abuse during the Nazi Era. Many public commissions in post-war Germany were preceded by a discussion about a democratic building style; cf. Flagge/Stock 1992.

well established in the building practice of the Republic of China, which developed from the Western Beaux-Arts tradition and is characterized by its symmetrical outlines. With the implementation of the first Five-Years-Plan in New China, the monumental style was predominantly applied to public buildings⁴³² and introduced through consultation with Soviet advisors. The 1959 building incorporated the monumental Soviet design, a symmetrical outline and was decorated with Chinese ornaments. These features were maintained in the 2004 design proposal of *gmp* and even appear in the newly constructed museum of 2011. With *gmp*, the museum chose an architectural practice committed to a rationalistic approach which pursued the tradition of Beaux-Arts academicism, visible in such symmetrical outlines and in the monumental forms.⁴³³

Building height represents another means of expression universally utilized in governmental as well as private architectural projects, which again can be seen in Soviet Russia. In the Soviet Socialist ideology, high-rise buildings seem to function as an expression of capability of the new nation, of its technical potential and as a symbol of a better world.⁴³⁴ In Moscow, the most prestigious building project of the Palace of the Soviets foresaw a Lenin sculpture as pinnacle of the building, which in the first design of 1934 already measured 80 m. In its final blueprint the building height was recorded with 415 m.⁴³⁵ During the Stalin Era, the Seven Sisters building program was planned as a sequence of high-rise buildings, which changed the outline of Moscow dramatically.⁴³⁶ They were constructed in the design of American skyscraper architecture of the 1920s and 1930s, using steel skeleton construction jacked with a neoclassicist façade, commonly applied by architects who had studied in the United States. From this program, the Moscow State University (1953) was constructed on the Sparrow Hills and became a landmark of the city [**Fig. 30**].⁴³⁷ Moscow's building program influenced its satellite nations. In Warsaw, for example, a series of three high-rise public buildings in the Soviet Socialist style were planned. However, only 'The Palace of Culture and Science' (1955) with its 231 m tower was actually built [**Fig. 31**]. A gift of Soviet Russia, the building was executed with the help of Russian advisors and 3500

⁴³² Hesemann 2006, p. 243.

⁴³³ I am grateful to Michael Hesse for pointing out this remarkable continuity in the architectural approach of the museum buildings.

⁴³⁴ Cf. Aman 1992, p. 90.

⁴³⁵ Construction started in 1937; cf. Huber 2007, p. 70.

⁴³⁶ The scheme originally encompassed eight high-rise buildings, marking the eight centuries of the city's history; cf. Noever 1994, p. 151.

⁴³⁷ Huber 2007, p. 152.

construction workers, who had mainly been involved in building the Moscow State University before.⁴³⁸ For many decades, this represented the highest building in Poland, providing a signpost of Socialism and the influence of the Soviet Union.⁴³⁹ In other satellite countries, more high-rise building programs were on their way, for example, at the Marx and Engels Square in East Berlin, where a high-rise building of more than 100 m was planned after the Soviet model. However, with the end of the Stalin Era, architectural policy changed and due to economic considerations as well as political realignment, high-rise buildings became the main target of criticism.⁴⁴⁰

The Seven Sisters were planned for different purposes such as governmental institutions, hotels and residential buildings; their main function was shaping the new cityscape so that the logistics and the structuring of the buildings played basically a subordinated role. The concept of erecting a set of landmarks within the city seems to have served as a model for the Ten Great Buildings program, which was implemented in Beijing. During the first years after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, it was most likely that the belief in high-rise buildings as an expression of progress would have influenced Chinese architecture, not at least through Soviet advisors. However, it appears that the equation of high-rise buildings symbolizing the power and capability of their Socialist neighbors was not significant for governmental buildings in Beijing. In fact, a horizontal outline of the city was kept. One reason for this might have been the late realization of the architectural program, then under the auspices of the above-mentioned change in Soviet architecture after Stalin's death coupled with the Sino-Soviet ideological split (1960–1989). More importantly, Chinese architecture is known for its low-rise building tradition. With the exception of temples, bell and drum towers and selected ceremonial buildings of the Forbidden City, one or two story courtyard houses have forged the impression of Beijing for centuries. Among the Ten Great Buildings, the majority of structures stick to the horizontal outline, most suitable for the Beijing cityscape.⁴⁴¹ The Military Museum represents the strongest allusion to Soviet forms with its central projection and a vertical finish in a socialist star; however, still the horizontal outline is dominating [Fig. 32]. Decorative towers in Chinese pagoda style are also added on to the horizontal building blocks of the National

⁴³⁸ Aman 1992, pp. 125 ff.

⁴³⁹ Aman 1992, p. 90.

⁴⁴⁰ At the 20th Party Congress in February 1956, Khrushchev severely criticized Stalin. In succession, the abolition of Socialist Realism was announced; cf. Aman 1992, pp. 89-90.

⁴⁴¹ Beijing shida jianzhu sheji 2002, pp. 161 ff.

Agricultural Exhibition Center [Fig. 33] and to the Beijing Railway Station [Fig. 34]. Of all ten buildings, the Cultural Palace of Nationalities possesses the tallest tower, which is placed in the center of an apart from that horizontal structure [Fig. 35]. With 67 m in height, and an almost 200 m long façade⁴⁴², it still does not come close to the vertical dimension of the Soviet model. At the time of its construction, the architecture of the National Museum of China was executed as a horizontal structure, relating to Tiananmen, the Great Hall of the People and the Monument of the People's Heroes, and harmonizing with the dimensions of the square.

Today, the simple equation between high-rise buildings as symbols of power and demonstration of the capability of their commissioners seems more valid than ever. New technology and the computer-based calculation of masses allow for more gigantic buildings to be constructed. The claim for high-rise buildings has reached China, which is competing with young, dynamic nations, primarily in the Middle East, in establishing the highest landmarks on the global map. The Shanghai World Financial Center (上海环球金融中心) was completed in 2008 with a height of 492 m, at that time the tallest building on Mainland China and the second tallest building in the world.⁴⁴³ In Moscow, the Russia Tower was planned to reach 648 m in 2012.⁴⁴⁴ The Nakheel Tower in Dubai (previously called Al Buri) was planned to reach a height of more than 1000 m. When the global financial crisis hit, both projects came to a standstill in 2009.

For more than two decades, skyscrapers emerged in Beijing and continually changed the cityscape. The China Central Television Tower (2008), the state television headquarter executed by Rem Koolhaas, for example, shapes the skyline of the central business district in the east of the city. It is 'only' 234 m high; however, its grand floor-size of 500,000 m² strives for more superlatives.⁴⁴⁵ Size combined with an extravagant tilted Z-shape design put this building on the fiercely fought-over map of international landmarks. The main administration building caught fire in February 2009, just before its scheduled completion.

⁴⁴² Beijing shida jianzhu sheji 2002, p. 176.

⁴⁴³ Wikipedia contributors. "Shanghai Financial Center." Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Shanghai_Financial_Center&oldid=349739315 (accessed September 20, 2012).

⁴⁴⁴ Due to the global financial crisis, construction was halted in November 2008. In January 2012, construction commenced on a smaller scale with a building height of only 360 m; cf. Wikipedia contributors. "Russia Tower." Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia,

http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Russia_Tower&oldid=508812433 (accessed September 20, 2012).

⁴⁴⁵ Lim, Louisa, "Beijing building revolution." (accessed, August 10, 2009).

Since then, it has remained unfinished [Fig. 36]. In order to protect the historical center of Beijing from extinction through fancy new constructions, the city government issued a ‘Conservation Planning of Historical & Cultural City of Beijing’ in September 2002. From then on, the building height was restricted within the boundaries of the second ring road with high-rise buildings banned in order to maintain the historical look of the city.⁴⁴⁶ The redesign of the National Museum of China in vertical terms was never considered an option. It was carried out as low-rise structure and carefully amended to the dimensions of Tiananmen Square.

From the initial planning stage until the redesign of the museum in 2011, its proportions in relation to the square and to the surrounding buildings were vital parts of the consideration. However, how was the general structure of the building modified? In 1959, the axis-symmetrical rectangular building housed two different institutions, the Museum of Chinese History in the south wing, and the Museum of Chinese Revolution, in the north wing, each encircling a courtyard on four sides. A central structure behind the main courtyard provided access to both parts. The museum building was erected on 40,000 m² and had the capacity to accommodate 10,000 people. To gain the required floor space of initially 150,000 m², the call for bidding already foresaw an extension to the east of the original building in 2004. The solutions provided by the various proposals suggested either a more or less harmonious addition to the east, a roofing of the courtyards or an implementation of building structures within the former courtyards. In many cases, the candidates chose a combination of these possibilities. Only few of the candidates decided to establish an independent addition to the east, although it was a logically feasible solution considering the available space. The winning design of 2004 allowed for the complete re-roofing of the original structure. Furthermore, three bubble shaped cubes were planned to house the cinema, conference and reception halls to the east. These independent structures had been criticized as dispensable by the former architect of the building Zhang Kaiji, who was convinced that “if you have the money, you should not spend it on the back.”⁴⁴⁷ In the implemented design of 2011, however, the inner structure of the former building and the eastern building block were replaced by a new core, and the south and the north courtyards were diminished to one third of their original size, giving the building a denser, statelier character. In 1959, both museums were

⁴⁴⁶ Yutaka, Hirako and others, “Beijing Hutong Conservation Plan”, The Tibet Heritage Fund, http://www.tibetheritagefund.org/media/download/hutong_study.pdf (accessed May 25, 25.5.2012); Meyer 1996/1997, p. 13.

⁴⁴⁷ CCTV Interviews, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012).

entered via the main entrance gate from Tiananmen Square, by crossing an inner courtyard, ascending an outside staircase and entering the lobby of the main access building. In the 2011 design, four entrances with different functions were implemented. The central gate entrance remained in the west with an additional entrance for tour groups installed to the north; access to theatre and cinema and for VIP guests was facilitated in the east and the south entrance remained the staff entrance. This design solved an earlier problem for the museum, providing an alternative entrance when the square is closed for political events.⁴⁴⁸

Summary

In conclusion, the analysis of the building structure in regard to its dimensions has brought forth the following results: through its reconstruction, the National Museum of China has entered the international competition for building size. With the initial call for bids, the intent was not only to create a state-of-the-art functional museum, but its size was of major importance. Although the competition focused mainly on the overall floor area and the National Museum of China won the title as largest museum to-date, a relatively large gallery space was also created, only outclassed by a few museums worldwide. It became apparent that the exhibition space gained in importance during the project development and particularly with the change in the museum leadership. The monumental form, deriving from international museum design, Beaux-Arts principles and Socialist building traditions of 1959, was retained for the outer appearance of the building. In addition, monumental features further enhanced the interior design of the Grand Forum.

The competition for size arouses memories of the Seven Sisters high-rise building project in Moscow, where the newly established government intended to express capability by the equation of building height. Unlike these attempts, the National Museum of China is in-tune with the Chinese architectural tradition of low-rise buildings; it especially blends in the context of Tiananmen Square and the ensemble of surrounding buildings contributing to the square's balanced composition. The Great Hall of the People and the museums were executed with symmetrical façade design as an ensemble, and in correspondence with the dimensions of Tiananmen. The monumental size of the museum was not only evocative of Socialist large-scale building practice; it also recalled the dimensions of Chinese imperial buildings in the vicinity of Tiananmen. In 2011, the outer design of the world's largest museum is in harmony with the ensemble of Tiananmen Square, only revealing its claim for

⁴⁴⁸ "Experts muse over museums." (accessed, September 20, 2012).

dimension in the interior of the building. It is the Grand Forum, which is designed with the intention of impressing through its size and monumental forms, while the outer façade balances the form with the surrounding structures.

2.4.2. Elevation and Façade

Description

The former museum building underwent considerable restoration and reinforcement procedures, with the façade remaining almost unchanged, as originally required by the client. The main façade, which faces Tiananmen Square to the west, consists of two symmetric wings that are divided by a grand main portico in the center [Fig. 15; Fig. 37]. It reflects the style of Soviet Socialist neoclassicism and is enhanced with Chinese and local features. Horizontally, three symmetrically arranged rows of windows structure the façade, with the windows in the semi-basement being noticeably smaller. Monumental and grooved pilasters give vertical order. A central staircase leads up to the main portico, which is characterized by 24 square pillars arranged in two rows and interconnected by an entablature. This main entrance is framed by two immense pillars on each side, protruding over the front roofline with an overall height of 33 m in a pyramidal finish.⁴⁴⁹ They are ornamented with three torches in relief and the name of the National Museum of China in Chinese and English on each side. The emblem of a five-pointed star encircled by stalks of grains and flanked by eight red flags on each side, is set above the entrance. The eaves are designed with a combination of traditional yellow and green glazed tiles. Although the old and new eaves of the staggered roof seem quite similar from afar, instead of glazed tiles in imperial yellow the new building parts are enhanced with slightly curved bronze-colored metal plates.⁴⁵⁰ The new eaves are carried by an abstract, minimized appearance of a Chinese *dougong* system in white.⁴⁵¹

The three remaining façades mirror the front elevation, albeit with slight variations, such as the implementation of a loggia design instead of a pilaster order. To the east, the front of the new core is visible, protruding over the north and south façade of the original structure [Fig. 38]. These new façades are clad with hammer-finished granite and repeat the former

⁴⁴⁹ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 921.

⁴⁵⁰ Gmp 2011, n. p.

⁴⁵¹ The Chinese *dougong* (斗拱) architecture describes a unique building technique of interlocking wooden brackets, which join pillars to the frame of the roof. It is one of the most important elements in Chinese traditional wood architecture.

design in a simple, unornamented manner. Monumental windows echo the former double line of windows of the historical façade. The eastern façade seems to reverse the façade in the west by a recoiling central entrance and a reduced number of windows and pillars. A central staircase divided in three sections lead to a back entrance via the revolving platform as well as to the basement entrance allowing direct access to the cinema and auditorium. In front of the north gate a 7.9 m high, 17-ton heavy bronze sculpture of Confucius by the famous sculptor Wu Weishan 吴为山 (b. 1962) was installed in January 2011 [Fig. 39].

Comparison and Analysis

The original façade remains the predominating visible feature of the outer design. In 1959, the museum was built as part of the ensemble of the square, relating to Tiananmen in the horizontal outline and to the Great Hall of the People [Fig. 40] because of the similar structure and style, albeit on a smaller scale.⁴⁵² Both buildings share a comparable distribution of masses, the arrangement in symmetrical building blocks and a central front staircase.⁴⁵³ The main difference in the two façades is provided by a pronounced median risalit in the Great Hall of the People, in contrast to an inverted center flanked by two corner projections at the museum. This inverted center, which opens up the museum building, helps to balance the different sizes of the buildings of the square.⁴⁵⁴ The design of the museum of 1959 is indebted to Soviet neoclassicism, which predominantly features rectangular building structures, a façade design with monumental overly long columns, grid-like arranged windows, flat roofs and an entrance emphasized by central projections.⁴⁵⁵ Furthermore, motives of the five pointed stars and bundles of grain are incorporated on numerous decorative details of the façade, for example in the reliefs, the tile decoration and the emblem on top of the museum entrance. These motives illustrate symbols of bumper harvest and the Communist Revolution [Fig. 41].⁴⁵⁶

In 1959, the introduction of the Soviet neoclassicism at Tiananmen Square helped to remodel it to become a symbol of New China (see 2.3.). Keeping the façade, especially the entrance gate was a requirement made by the client during the bidding in 2004. The wish for the continuity in form was overtly met by the concentration of the architects' creativity

⁴⁵² Wang, Zhengming 2001, p. 22.

⁴⁵³ Chang, Yung Ho 2011, p. 303.

⁴⁵⁴ Chang, Yung Ho 2011, p. 303.

⁴⁵⁵ Hesemann 2006, p. 244.

⁴⁵⁶ Hung, Chang-tai, p. 921; Beijing shida jianzhu sheji 2002, p. 166.

concerning the center and the eastern parts of the building. Although the core façade remained unchanged in the implemented design of 2011, certain aspects of the elevation have altered the appearance of the museum due to the addition of building parts; these features will be discussed in detail below. The new staggered roofline, which involves several roof interconnections, is one of the most prominent features of the new façade [Fig. 42]. By breaking up the flat austere single roof structure and introducing multifaceted roof scenery, a softer contour line is created, which echoes traditional forms of Chinese roof shapes. Furthermore, the elevation of the roofline to 42 m changed the outline of the museum and the impression of the square to a considerable extent. It helped to lend the building a lighter appearance and to equate the shortcomings of the former design, in that the discrepancy between the height of the Great Hall of the People (46 m) and the museum was harmonized. However, the remaining four-meter difference preserves the original intention of a ‘perspective of importance’. In addition, the elevated roofline blacks out the sight of the Ministry of State Security at the rear of the National Museum, which had disturbed the view from Tiananmen Square for decades. Already in 2004, the architects of *gmp* had considered the necessity of raising the height of the museum in order to compensate for the imbalance of the various buildings heights at the square, a step which was taken by the finalist Kohn Pedder Fox in his proposal as well [Fig. 43]. In reviewing the 2004 winning design, the architect of the former Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution of 1959, Zhang Kaiji, admitted that the adjustment in size would create a more harmonious look with the ensemble of the Great Hall of the People.⁴⁵⁷ Being a main decorative motive of the new design, the staggered roofline structures the monumental, more or less solid building block, while at the same time giving it a somewhat lighter appearance.

In the 2004 winning proposal, the architects made their roof design already a core feature of their exterior look: A bronze-colored roof was to span the entire expansion of the original building [Fig. 6]. From the outside, the old and the new structures were only connected by a translucent glass front, giving the light impression of a freely hovering roof. Inside, the ceiling was to be supported by twelve monumental pillars. Despite the use of materials purposefully chosen in reminiscence of Chinese building traditions (e.g. gold

⁴⁵⁷ CCTV Interviews, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012).

glimmering bronze panels, monumental pillars from natural red stone⁴⁵⁸), this blueprint can be described either as an addition, which is purposefully in contrast with the former style, or as a combination of tradition with exiting modernity, a ‘counterpoint design’.⁴⁵⁹ One of the major reasons given for the rejection of the approved design in 2005 was the client’s concern that the new roof structure would devalue the facade of 1959.⁴⁶⁰ It was exchanged for a much more harmonious fit, a design which retreats in favor of the existing situation, a somewhat ‘silent approach’.

The eaves on the original façade of 1959 had been ornamented with an overhanging, yellow and green tile cladding.⁴⁶¹ Their structuring in zones, the application of various tiles imitating a coffered ceiling and the use of wooden bracket-supports insinuated the traditional *dougong* wood architecture [Fig. 44]. The yellow tiles, which can be encountered as resembling yellow glazed roof tiles of the Forbidden City, were implemented not only for the museum architecture, but as a unifying band combining the museum with the Great Hall of the People and later even, the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall. In 2011, the ornamentation of the old and new rooflines appeared quite similar from afar. However, instead of the yellow glazed tiles, which had been originally requested by the client for the extension as well, the new building parts are actually enhanced with bronze-colored metal plates. The repetition of former style elements, originally implemented to add to the Chinese characteristics as well as the local form, can be found throughout the roof of the new building sections. As a result of this repeating yellow color scheme in the modernized features, the former gentle allusion to Chinese forms is strengthened. In 2011, the addition of rooflines not only created an important feature for the museum, but also laid strong ties with the surrounding buildings at Tiananmen.

The façade design of the newly erected building to the east includes architectural reference to decorative and structuring elements from the previous design. Most prominent are the main gate situation, carried forward by the pillar structure of the western façade of the new entrance building [Fig. 45] and the before-mentioned complex roof with its several roof

⁴⁵⁸ “Peking: Die Hamburger Architekten von Gerkan, Marg und Partner bauen Chinas neues Nationalmuseum.” Rheinischer Merkur, Nr. 45. 4.11.2004; www.merkur.de/archiv/neu/rm_0445/ku/ku_044501.html (accessed November 30, 2004).

⁴⁵⁹ Treib 2009, p. 152.

⁴⁶⁰ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, June, 2, 2006.

⁴⁶¹ Beijing shida jianzhu sheji 2002, p. 166.

interconnections and yellow glazed tiles being reassumed by eaves cased in bronze-colored metal plates. The new roof is in-tune with the former façade and the new building compound blends in almost indistinguishably from the view of Tiananmen Square. Nevertheless, the new façade is executed in sober, unornamented building forms, giving the building a somewhat modern appearance, which can be better observed at close quarters. The style mix applied to the original as well as to the new building becomes apparent in the 2011 visitor survey, in which 24% of the participants stated that the façade looked modern, 21% defined it as Chinese, 14 % as Socialist and 9% as international (see. 6.2.4.).

Unlike many Western museums, the façade of the National Museum of China does not provide space for advertising current exhibitions or the permanent museum display. With the opening of the museum in 2011, the policy of abandoning advertisement on the façade was continued, although many visitors have expressed their wish for more information in front of the museum in 2003.⁴⁶² Only small, insufficient, moveable signs in front of the ticket booths and entrances inform the visitor about current events and opening hours. In the past, one major display was provided in the most prominent location on the stairwell of the main gate. Here, from the 1990s, a clock showed the countdown for the transfer of sovereignty of Hong Kong (1997) and Macao (1999) and towards the Beijing Olympics (2008) However, it was removed for the reopening of the museum in 2011.

The erection of the Confucius sculpture in front of the north entrance of the museum on January 11, 2011, was aimed to fill a void in the outer appearance of the museum. Director Lü Zhangshen stated that “the great museums in Western countries usually have statues in front of their entrances”⁴⁶³; therefore, a Confucius sculpture was installed in front of the museum. With its monumental form, static posture, its rough finish, imitating the texture of carved wood or stone, the sculpture meets the design of the façade on equal terms. The lively facial expression of the wise scholar, nevertheless, sets an energetic ‘counterpoint’ to the stationary museum. The sculptor, Wu Weishan, was convinced that his work “blends in well with the Russian style square”.⁴⁶⁴ Furthermore, he claimed that the statue was designed as a

⁴⁶² Hao/Huang 2005, p. 52.

⁴⁶³ “Authorities tight-lipped over Confucius statue removal.” Global Times Beijing, April 22, 2011, http://msn.huanqiu.com/english/2011-04/1646824_2.html (accessed September 20, 2012).

⁴⁶⁴ “Authorities tight-lipped over Confucius statue removal.” (accessed September 20, 2012).

“monument to display the characteristics of traditional Chinese culture”.⁴⁶⁵ During the inauguration of the sculpture, director Lü Zhangshen explained the choice for Confucius in front of the National Museum of China by stressing Confucius’ importance as a representative of traditional Chinese culture, identifying him as “the calling card for Chinese culture to the world.”⁴⁶⁶ Director Lü nourished high hopes that the new sculpture would become another landmark of the Chinese capital. The statue was celebrated by Chinese and foreign media alike as a signal of the revival of China’s most famous philosopher, who in the past was dismissed and criticized by Mao Zedong.⁴⁶⁷ The trend of reinstalling Confucius as a symbol of Chinese identity can be encountered in various fields, most prominently in the implementation of over 300 governmental so-called ‘Confucius Institutes’, serving to promote Chinese culture worldwide.⁴⁶⁸ Yet, the erection of this sculpture in front of the north gate of the museum and just a few hundred meters from Chairman Mao’s famous portrait at Tiananmen was a bold move. The over-night removal of the statue, only three months later⁴⁶⁹, and its relocation to the north courtyard of the museum [**Fig. 47**], must be understood as a result of an ongoing power conflict within the party-leadership and the enduring controversy about the approach to the heritage of Confucius.⁴⁷⁰ Although the official newspaper Beijing Wanbao⁴⁷¹ made haste to state that the moving of Confucius was planned from the beginning and that the sculpture was to be part of a new sculpture park of the museum, speculations

⁴⁶⁵ Since 1994, Wu Weishan has created more than 20 statues of Confucius of different sizes and styles (e.g. for the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK); cf. “Confucius stands tall near Tian’anmen”, People’s Daily Online, January 13, 2011, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90882/7259160.html> (accessed September 20, 2012).

⁴⁶⁶ “Confucius Statue Standing High outside the National Museum of China”, China News, translated and edited by Hunan Museum, January 14, 2011, <http://www.hnmuseum.com/hnmuseum/eng/generalIntro/introContent.jsp?infoId=012d833e34fe402884832d6da776038e> (accessed September 20, 2012).

⁴⁶⁷ Confucius thoughts and teaching was dismissed by Mao Zedong. Rehabilitation of Confucius only began in the mid 1980s. In the 1990s, the party’s “spiritual civilization campaign” promoted Maoism and Confucian ethics in fear of the growing materialism in society; cf. Zhu, Linyong, “Confucius stands tall near Tian’anmen.” China Daily, January 13, 2011; “Confucius joins Mao at Beijing’s heart.” Asian Pacific News, January 12, 2011, http://news.monstersandcritics.com/asiapacific/news/article_1611096.php/Confucius-joins-Mao-at-Beijing-s-heart, (accessed, September 20, 2012); Tagesspiegel 01.04.2011, “Die Kunst ist unschuldig.” Interview mit Tilman Spengler, Tagesspiegel, Kultur, April 1, 2011, p. 25.

⁴⁶⁸ “Confucius joins Mao at Beijing’s heart.” Asian Pacific News, January 12, 2011.

⁴⁶⁹ Jacobs, Andrew, “Confucius Statue Vanishes Near Tiananmen Square.” April 22, 2011, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/23/world/asia/23confucius.html?_r=1 (accessed October 30, 2012); Huang, Sally, “Confucius removed from Tiananmen.” The China Post, April 23, 2011, <http://www.chinapost.com.tw/china/national-news/2011/04/23/299705/Confucius-removed.htm> (accessed October 30, 2012); “Confucius statue removed from outside Beijing’s National Museum.” Asia-Pacific News, April 22, 2011, http://www.monstersandcritics.com/news/asiapacific/news/article_1634622.php/Confucius-statue-removed-from-outside-Beijing-s-National-Museum (accessed October 30, 2012).

⁴⁷⁰ “Confucius statue removed from outside Beijing’s National Museum.” Asia-Pacific News, April 22, 2011

⁴⁷¹ “Confucius statue ‘disappears’ in Beijing 22.04.2011.” April 22, 2011, Beijing Evening News, <http://tert.am/en/news/2011/04/22/confucius/?sw> (accessed October 30, 2012).

about the reasons for its removal did not cease among the public.⁴⁷² On the internet, one micro-blogger speculated that “maybe Confucius has been taken away by police for suspected economic crimes”⁴⁷³, referring to the imprisonment of the artist Ai Wei Wei 艾未未 (b. 1957) earlier in the same month. However, on the outside, the disappearance of the Confucius sculpture remained a “mystery of the Communist party”, as one member of the museum staff remarked during an unofficial meeting.

Summary

The first and most sustaining impression of the museum is its façade. It is here that the commissioner and architects express themselves most significantly. The outer shell was of major importance for both the design of the building in 1959 and in the redesign of the National Museum of China in 2011. In 1959, the implementation of Soviet neoclassical forms followed the political development of the time. Although a first impression of the building reveals the strong influence of the Soviet style, presenting hardly any Chinese characteristics, the building possesses several Chinese features and reminiscence of local form. For example, the main gate situation, with its pillars, entablature, and yellow glazed tiles was already seen as a resemblance of Chinese wood palace architecture; with the repetition of the scheme in 2011, this impression is even stronger. During the revamping, the building adopted the original design and met the requirements of the location, following the client’s demand to keep the original façade intact. Wherever visible, the contemporary style of 2011 lent the impression of a sober, unornamented, universal look.

From the far side of Tiananmen Square, the new design is almost indistinguishable, fitting in very harmoniously in the former structure. However, as one approaches the museum, the unornamented new style can be clearly differentiated from the previous architecture of 1959 and even seems to dominate the original form—an effect both intended by the architects and considered necessary as an expression of present times. The key to understanding the outer design of the building, however, lays in the recognition of the building ensemble of Tiananmen Square. Already in 1959, the museum was erected as part of the newly designed ensemble of the square, and carefully adjusted to the situation. The strong demand for

⁴⁷² This can even be encountered in the visitor survey of 2011, where one participant mentioned the removal of the Confucius statue; see 6.3.4.

⁴⁷³ “Konfuzius vor Nationalmuseum in Peking entfernt.” April 22, 2011, Monopol Magazin für Kunst und Leben, <http://www.monopol-magazin.de/artikel/20102707/Konfuzius-vor-Nationalmuseum-in-Peking-entfernt.html> (accessed October 30, 2012) .

keeping the façade during the revamping project was due to the concern for the building ensemble, as pronounced by the deputy director of the National Museum of China, Chen Lüsheng: “The new architecture is important in present and in the future. On the exterior there are no changes, because due to the history to be kept for the museum and for Tiananmen Square, this unity must not be destroyed.”⁴⁷⁴

In 2004, the most sensitive approach to the original style was selected and further amended to the requirements of preserving the original design. Although the 2011 implemented design seems to be more restrained than the 2004 approach, it is perfectly adjusted to the situation of the square. This idea was acknowledged by 26% of the participants of the visitor survey in 2011. The roofline developed as a major style element from the ‘contrasting’ approach of the winning design in 2004, to a design which is in-tune with the original building as well as the local situation. The adjustment of building height even seemed to overcome the shortcomings of the former design. The changes made can be seen both as an improvement to but also as a continuity of form, creating at once a more monumental but restrained appearance.

2.4.3. Courtyards and Landscape Design

Description

The National Museum of China encompasses a green belt of vegetation including pine and willow trees and three main courtyards with diverse landscape design. A sober front courtyard paved with granite tiling is located between the entrance gate and the central building [**Fig. 45**]. It measures about 120 x 40 m and is encircled by tall pillars on four sides. A flight of three steps and two ramps, respectively, lead to the main entrance at the west, which mirrors the main gate design in a contemporary form (see 2.4.3.). Movable porcelain pots with evergreen shrubs are placed in front of each pillar of the entrance area. Through the pillars on the north and south side, two symmetrically encircled courtyards are visible, which measure approximately 90 x 27 m each. These similarly arranged courtyards are fitted with grass, evergreens, old pine trees, and trimmed shrubs. In the center of the south courtyard, an undulating granite stone rim separates a planting bed with shrubs and flowers, which is surrounded by a pathway, lawn and pine trees on both sides. [**Fig. 46**]. A flagpole with the Chinese flag stands in the back. It is framed by the installation ‘Flesh and Blood Great Wall’

⁴⁷⁴ Interview, Chen, Lüsheng, deputy director, NMC, Beijing, April 22, 2011.

血肉长城 (1989) by Hou Yimin 侯一民 (b. 1930). The shrubs and pine trees in the north courtyard are arranged within four elevated granite frames, functioning like a *passé* partout.⁴⁷⁵ They are surrounded by a granite-paved pathway and embedded in lawn [Fig. 47-48]. The sculpture of Confucius, which was originally installed in front of the north gate, is placed in the back of the north courtyard.

Comparison and Analysis

The original museum of 1959 had a green belt in correspondence to the greens of Tiananmen Square as well as three public courtyards with vegetation.⁴⁷⁶ This green belt was installed during the redesign of the square and the erection of the National Museum of China and was still visible before the revamping of the museum in 2007. Pine trees played a major role in the planting. In reference to the symbolism at the Monument to the People's Heroes, Wu Hung identified pines and cypresses as symbol of the "eternal revolutionary spirit"⁴⁷⁷. In fact, to the south of the monument, a pine forest with forty-four rows of trees was planted, existing until it had to make way for the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall in 1977.⁴⁷⁸ In the course of the redesign of the National Museum of China, the green belt was carefully kept and restored.⁴⁷⁹

In 1959, planting beds with pine trees were located on the left and right side of the front courtyard [Fig. 49], which led to the main entrance hall and to the north and south courtyard. In addition, two minor courtyards flanked the central building on both sides [Fig. 50]. In 2004, the majority of proposals for the revamping of the museum retained the front courtyard, however, predominantly abandoning the vegetation. The winning design of *gmp* opted to replace the courtyard with a wide staircase ascending from the main gate platform to the entrance of the new core building. In the 2011 implemented design, the architects and client agreed to keep the original courtyard in front of the entrance.⁴⁸⁰ Therefore, the outline of the courtyard remained unchanged; however, pine trees and flowerbeds were discarded. At present, moveable flowerpots are placed in front of the access hall, to soften the austere look at the entrance area, which during opening hours is filled with people [Fig. 51].

⁴⁷⁵ "Kolossale Dimensionen: Dresdner Architekten an Museumsbau in China beteiligt," Top Magazin Dresden, Winter 2008.

⁴⁷⁶ Additionally, two small courtyards were used by the staff e.g. for their lunch breaks.

⁴⁷⁷ Wu, Hung 1991, p. 94.

⁴⁷⁸ Wu, Hung 1991, p. 94.

⁴⁷⁹ Thereby following the visitors wish for maintaining and extending the greens surrounding the museum, expressed by a majority of 68.7% of the participants of the 2003 museum survey; cf. Hao/Huang 2005, p. 59-61.

⁴⁸⁰ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, *gmp*, Hamburg, May 19, 2011.

In the 1959 outline, the courtyards to the north and south were arranged symmetrically and encircled by the museum buildings on four sides. A circular fountain centered the south courtyard of the former National Museum of History, surrounded by willow trees and embedded in a rectangular lawn encircled by shrubs. In a rectangular grid, two lines of flowerbeds planted with evergreen shrubs and pines were divided by paved walkways [Fig. 52]. The design of the north courtyards was quite similar, also including a central circular fountain surrounded by planting beds. The type of plants inside the courtyards appears to be the same as the plants used for the green belt at the square. In the design proposals of 2004, the north and south courtyards were eligible for changes. Of the finalists, only Norman Foster kept the courtyards in original size, however planting two symmetrical lines of 6 x 3 trees divided by an access path from north to south. The roof of Foster's additional structure was designed as a lookout point and open-air sculpture exhibition [Fig. 53]. Kohn Pedderson & Fox integrated the two courtyards in glass cubes, which were presumably to be planted with bamboo [Fig. 54]. Since the winning design of 2004 replaced the northern and southern courtyards with a central hall [Fig. 55], the client requested that they would be kept in the 2011 implemented design, albeit diminished to around one third of their original size.

The first concept for the new design of these courtyards, presented by Till Rehwaldt and entitled 'men and nature', was rejected by a Chinese expert committee, which expected a more Chinese design approach. In the next step, Till Rehwaldt produced a design in which the two courtyards represented the diversity of China by means of a north and south landscape. Following the concept of Yin and Yang, the north courtyard was to depict the topography of the mountains, while the vegetation of the south courtyards symbolized waterscape in a highly abstract design (e.g. by blankets of grasses which should symbolize floating water). Taking the continental climate of Beijing with its dry and cold winters and hot and humid summers into account, the use of real water was dismissed. However, this proposal was declined by the client as being too formal, lacking 'Chineseness' and not taking the differences between the eastern and western landscapes into account. As the museum should make a clear and non-ambiguous statement in representing all of China, the client suggested the creation of a Chinese garden.⁴⁸¹ The next proposal included classical Chinese garden elements, old pine trees and evergreens, all suitable for the Beijing climate, and was accepted enthusiastically. The pine trees, which had been carefully moved and replanted in

⁴⁸¹ Interview, Till Rehwaldt, Rewaldt Landschaftsarchitekten, Dresden, January 4, 2008.

2007, would have been very suitable in size for the new courtyards; their whereabouts, however, could no longer be detected.⁴⁸²

Originally, the landscape architect planned that the gardens should be accessible to the visitor from various angles on meandering pathways.⁴⁸³ Unlike in the early European adaptation for Chinese gardens, which provided a guided path through a scenic landscape and included a sequence of vistas, Till Rehwaldt's concept stressed the freedom of choosing one's own route.⁴⁸⁴ Considerations about the correlation between the expected high number of visitors and the small greens might have caused an apparent last-minute decision prohibiting visitor access to the greens. The statue of Confucius, which was temporarily placed in the north courtyards, seems to integrate perfectly. It was complemented by the installation of the 'Flesh and Blood Great Wall' (1989) by Hou Yimin. This exhibit had been part of the former display of the Museum of Chinese Revolution. In April 2011, it was integrated in the south courtyard, arguably placed here as counterbalance to the sculptural display of Confucius. A further idea in which the garden architecture possibly correlated to and changed along with the specific topics of 'The Art of the Enlightenment' exhibition, as first discussed by the curators, was not pursued further (see 3.4.3.).

Summary

The comprehensive adjustments in the landscape design from its first proposal to the final realization in 2011 reflect the development of the outer design of this building project. During the selection process, an international architecture office, which suggested a strong, conceptual and abstract approach to the courtyard design, was chosen. At this phase of the project, both internationality and the conceptual design were seen as crucial reasons for the architect's success.⁴⁸⁵ However, in the course of the project development, the architects were required to adjust their approach to the Chinese tradition, to the local situation and to the previous design of the courtyards. The earlier proposals were criticized for a lack of Chinese characteristics, to a point where the architects asked themselves why the client had not commissioned a Chinese company if their intent was to obtain a traditional Chinese garden design.⁴⁸⁶ Director-general Lü Zhangshen, an architect by training, contributed to the design

⁴⁸² Interview, Till Rehwaldt, Rewaldt Landschaftsarchitekten, Dresden, January 4, 2008.

⁴⁸³ Interview, Till Rehwaldt, Rewaldt Landschaftsarchitekten, Dresden, January 4, 2008.

⁴⁸⁴ Interview, Till Rehwaldt, Rewaldt Landschaftsarchitekten, Dresden, January 4, 2008.

⁴⁸⁵ Interview, Till Rehwaldt, Rewaldt Landschaftsarchitekten, Dresden, January 4, 2008.

⁴⁸⁶ Interview, Till Rehwaldt, Rewaldt Landschaftsarchitekten, Dresden, January 4, 2008.

of the courtyards at a late stage of the project.⁴⁸⁷ As it was carried out, the final design reflects a strong resemblance to the original form and the selection of plants to the vegetation of Tiananmen Square. The courtyard design changed from a proposal of an accessible park to a framed, evergreen ornament, a living sculpture and therefore an additional exhibit for the museum.

The outer design of the façade and the courtyards were carefully amended to suit the previous design and the local situation of the square. For the inner design of the building, however, different measures applied. On the one hand, a considerable amount of freedom can be exerted in the search for an appropriate form; on the other hand, functional necessities like the guidance of visitor streams, the display facilities as well as the safety and security measures play an important role. In the following, the Grand Forum, serving as the most important access and possessing a significant structuring function for the entire museum, will be analyzed.

2.4.4. Grand Forum

Description

The Grand Forum constitutes the centerpiece of the new architecture appearing in a classic, clear design [**Fig. 56**]. Its size is monumental, as it stretches 260 m from north to south, and 34 m from east to west, resulting in a total floor space of 8840 m². The hall thus can hold 14,000 people at a time.⁴⁸⁸ This new core allows access to different parts of the museum. From the center of the hall, two monumental staircases ascend evenly in opposite directions, leading to a spacious open gallery on the second floor. Above the second floor walls, a revolving zone with windows in steel frames is implemented, illuminating the interior of the Grand Forum as well as the neighboring building units. Four monumental pillars, located in each corner of the central entrance area of the Grand Forum, accommodate elevators to the top floor. To the east of the hall, two corridors house escalators and staircases, serving as the main access to the exhibition galleries [**Fig. 57**]. In the central axis of the entrance, a giant 36 m wide relief modeled after the famous painting ‘The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains’⁴⁸⁹ (愚公移山) of 1940 by Xu Beihong is the only illustration in the hall [**Fig. 58**]. The western wall allows for the illumination of the Grand Forum with natural light; it is

⁴⁸⁷ On-Site Presentation, Stephan Schütz, Matthias Wiegelmann, gmp, NMC museum staff, Beijing, April 9, 2009.

⁴⁸⁸ Gmp 2011, “Facts and Figures”, n. p.

⁴⁸⁹ For the translation of the title, the well established English title is used.

composed of a structure including slender pillars, monumental windowpanes in steel frames and heavy cast-bronze doors [Fig. 59]. These doors are cased with perforated bronze plates, which allow sunlight to cast decorative patterns on the floor. [Fig. 60]. A white, coffered 27 m high ceiling with square *oculi* completes the structure. Local, light-colored granite is used on the floor, the staircases, the gallery, on the walls and for the columns. The walls on the second floor are covered with panels made of cherry wood. The main building materials used for the inside are Chinese granite, wood, glass and cast iron-colored steel.

Comparison and Analysis

During the bidding process of 2004, the enlargement and substitution of the inner building sections with a new core was already seen central to the extension: “The current building offers generosity and dignity by the building’s high colonnades, but at the same time it lacks openness and transparency inside, because it is blocked by the central entrance building.”⁴⁹⁰ Furthermore, it was criticized by the architects and decision makers alike that the former entrance hall separated the two U-shaped museum buildings from each other.⁴⁹¹ The replacement of the former core was therefore a priority. More than half of the eleven bidding participants, including all three finalists, took the same step towards changing the former core design by incorporating a light glass and steel architecture in the new central building.

The main feature of the proposed architecture of the finalist Kohn, Pedderson & Fox and their Chinese partners included three central glass cubes to be integrated into the former courtyard and to replace the original entrance building, respectively [Fig. 54]. To the east, the building was to be extended by another three solid building units, mirroring the glass cubes in the center [Fig. 5]. These cubes were taller than the original building and changed the outline of the museum to a certain extent. By using translucent glass as building material, however, the addition appeared light and the character of the façade was preserved on three sides. Inside, the cubes served different functions including an entrance area with trees, a grand hall and daylight exhibition space. In his proposal, the finalist Norman Forster [Fig. 61] replaced the former entrance building with an ostentatious, gradually ascending staircase, providing access to the newly designed additional building on the east side. This rectangular block with the same length as the original museum, enlarged the structure harmoniously. The staircase was enclosed by an overhanging roof on slim elegantly swung pillars and by glass walls,

⁴⁹⁰ Gmp 2004, n. p.

⁴⁹¹ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, January 19, 2006.

serving at the same time as an entrance hall and gallery space for sculptures. The use of glass and steel as building materials in Kohn, Pedder & Fox and Forster's proposal deviated from the Chinese building tradition, but conformed to international museum design, thus establishing a contrast to the style of the original museums.

From the outside, the winning design of *gmp* offered the most restrained approach of the three finalists; it nevertheless provided a contrast to the original architecture predominantly visible in the Grand Forum [**Fig. 62**]. The key idea was to integrate a central hall over the entire core area of the former building, a hall which would have been even larger than the design which was actually implemented. This design foresaw twelve monumental red pillars carrying an almost free-floating roof. Light was to be channeled through the newly designed glass walls and floor openings from the second story into the central hall. The lucid glass and steel structure, the giant ceiling hovering above, and the free-swinging escalators all gave the building a contemporary, modern look. The plan of the architects with their "human-orientated concept of the museum"⁴⁹² was to create a forum which would function as a "public square"⁴⁹³ not only enabling access to the exhibition galleries, but also inviting people from all walks of life to stay, even after museum opening hours.⁴⁹⁴ Like the entrance hall in the Centre Pompidou in Paris (1971–1977) [**Fig. 63**], which at the time of construction was praised for its sense of welcoming openness⁴⁹⁵, the entrance hall was to serve as a central meeting point, offering a cafeteria, adjoining gardens, ticket and information counters. Furthermore, it was to allow visitors a first glance into the galleries on the upper levels. The visitor could then reach the exhibition galleries via steep, airy, free-spanning escalators and elevators which were integrated into the supporting pillars. However, the approved design of 2004 with the intention to create a 'museum for the nation' rather than a 'museum of the nation' was never implemented. Despite the positive feedback from the jury, which had selected the design in 2004, praising the plausibility of the overall concept, other experts in the field of architecture expressed criticism. Under the new leadership in 2005, the idea of an open public hall no longer found approval because it was seen to jeopardize the representative character and dignity of the National Museum of China.

⁴⁹² CCTV Interviews, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012).

⁴⁹³ CCTV Interviews, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012).

⁴⁹⁴ The intention as described by the architects was that the Grand Forum would be accessible to the public even after the exhibitions were closed and would offer a venue for special events; cf. CCTV Interviews, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012).

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. Newhouse, Victoria. "Pei, Painting and Sculpture: The Perception of Art in the East Building." In Alofsin 2009, pp. 65-79.

Furthermore, an open hall for unrestricted public access was no longer desired.⁴⁹⁶ Especially after the introduction of free admission for Chinese state museums in 2011, there was a fear of being overrun, not only by the interested or semi-interested crowds. This led to a very restrictive entrance policy established within the first months after the opening of the museum (see 3.4.3.). For these reasons, the light glass architecture of 2004 with its ceiling above one central hall had to give way to a more complex, solid structure. In comparison to the design of 2004, the implemented design corresponded more closely to the original appearance of the interior. The enhancement of monumental forms, the use of light-colored stone cladding, and the structuring of the hall with galleries, stairs, escalators and railings, allowed a comparison with the well-known atrium of the East Wing of the National Gallery in Washington (Ieoh Ming Pei, 1978). Although this museum court conveys a welcoming atmosphere to the public, at the time of construction it was classified as more ‘elitist’ in contrast to the Pompidou ‘populist’ approach.⁴⁹⁷ Other critics compared the sober and functional style of the Washington atrium to that of an entrance of a shopping mall or a luxurious transit lounge [**Fig. 64**].⁴⁹⁸ Despite all criticism, the atrium with its imposing monumental design still appeared welcoming to the visitors, who apparently flocked to the new building.⁴⁹⁹ The interior of the new National Museum of China seems to have gained similarly popularity as witnessed by daily queues in front of the entrance⁵⁰⁰ and by some visitor’s declaration to have primarily come for to see the new architectural design (see 6.2.4.).

In the original museum design of 1959, the segmentation of building units and the application of a coffered ceiling as well as the use of red columns are reminiscent of traditional Chinese palace architecture [**Fig. 65**]. The winning design of 2004 applied eye-catching features, such as 12 red, monumental pillars supporting a cantilevered roof and a bronze-colored ceiling, in reference to Chinese palace architecture.⁵⁰¹ Liang Sicheng, in his accounts about Chinese architecture, identified a three-part building outline with podium,

⁴⁹⁶ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, January 19, 2006.

⁴⁹⁷ Newhouse 2009, p. 65.

⁴⁹⁸ However, criticism possibly arose because the architecture at that time leaned towards postmodernism and modernism was already seriously questioned; cf. Anthony Alofsin. “The Opening of the East Building: Acclaim and Critique.” In Alofsin 2009, p. 53.

⁴⁹⁹ Within a few weeks after the opening, the new building received one million visitors; cf. Alofsin 2009, p. 51.

⁵⁰⁰ After the opening of the museum, access was limited to 8000 visitors a day. At that time, tickets were already gone before noon. The museum then slowly increased the admission limit; however, the queues still did not disappear.

⁵⁰¹ CCTV Interviews, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012).

main body and pitched roof as being typical Chinese building characteristics for the outer design. In 2011, a three-part Chinese building structure with a stone base, wooden center and coffered ceiling was introduced by the architects for the inner design of the Grand Forum.⁵⁰² Furthermore, the coffered ceiling, with its enormous dimensions, evolved as the dominant feature of the Grand Forum. The application of black cherry wood paneling recalls the use of traditional building materials. In general, the 2011 design of the Grand Forum refers to Chinese building traditions in subtle ways; however, the references seem more sophisticated than in either the 2004 design or even in the original building.

The central relief depicts the story of a man and his sons, who according to legend worked together to remove two mountains from their doorstep [**Fig. 66**]. This relief reproduces Xu Beihong's picture of 1940, which was initially painted to encourage the Chinese people in their resistance against the Japanese invasion.⁵⁰³ In his concluding speech of the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in June 1945, Mao Zedong also referred to this story, identifying the two mountains blocking the path as feudalism and capitalism, which needed to be removed by the Chinese people.⁵⁰⁴ It conveys the timeless moral for the Chinese people that, with perseverance and cooperation, everyone can achieve the impossible. The director-general chose the motive of the relief⁵⁰⁵, which remains the only pictorial decoration in the hall, replacing earlier depictions of leading socialist figures namely Marx and Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao, which were previously to be found in the entrance hall as persons of identification for Communist China.⁵⁰⁶ In contrast to the new design of the National Museum of China, the Military Museum in Beijing in 2007 still presented a sculpture of Mao Zedong [**Fig. 67**].

Although the clients could have decided upon an interior design without considering the exterior, the 2011 design responds sensitively to the original appearance of the building. In addition to having a coffered ceiling, red marble pillars structure the relatively undersized

⁵⁰² Gmp 2011, n. p.

⁵⁰³ The painting is currently located in the central hall together with other famous paintings of New China. Cf. Kolesnikov-Jessop, Sonia. "Xu Beihong: A Chinese master of styles that straddle East and West," April 11, 2008, *New York Times*, <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/11/arts/11iht-jessop.1.11901116.html> (accessed October 30, 2012); Andrews, Julia F. 1994, p. 32.

⁵⁰⁴ Mao Zedong, Concluding Speech of the 17th National Congress of the CCP, June 11, 1945, cited after http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3_26.htm (accessed October 30, 2012).

⁵⁰⁵ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, October 26, 2009

⁵⁰⁶ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 921.

hall of 1959 in square sections. This design shows similarities not only to Chinese interior divisions, but also to the stairwell of the Russian State Library (former Lenin Library, completed 1941) in Moscow, as well as to the Great Hall of the People [**Fig. 68**] and the Military Museum, which were both erected in 1959 as part of the ‘Ten Great Buildings’ program. The extensive use of white, the sequencing of square shapes, marble floors and columns are characteristic features of the Soviet building tradition, all of which can be encountered in the 1959 original design of the museum. The design implemented in 2011 incorporates the original form into the new look through the use of similar materials, monumental windows and columns, and the color white, which along with the coffered ceiling as a main feature, are all integral to the design. The western wall with its window front and slender pillars recalls the main gate situation of 1959.⁵⁰⁷

However, the new design incorporates modern, unornamented forms, which restrain themselves in favor of the overall appearance of the museum building and are easily distinguished from the former style. The monumentality remains a key feature of the Grand Forum. It was hardly softened by the introduction of cherry wood paneling or by the introduction of sunlight through the steel and glass construction of the west wall. This precise, unpretentious approach leaves a modern, clear and sober impression. This assessment is supported by the results of the visitor survey of 2011, in which 59% of the participants rated the Grand Forum as either international or modern in look, whereas 16% stated it was befitting Tiananmen; 11% rated its look Chinese and 9% Socialist (see. 6.2.4.).

Summary

The Grand Forum, which was added to the original structure and planned for from the beginning, represents the key feature of the new museum. Within the development of the project, it experienced the most severe changes. In 2004, all three finalists had planned a new core building and suggested incorporating a light glass and steel architecture; these proposals seemed quiet independent of the original form and reflected international museum practice. However, in the implemented design, the use of a free hovering roof and the idea of an open square as a public meeting point were rejected in favor of a more conservative if monumental approach.

⁵⁰⁷ CCTV Interviews, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012).

In the original design of the entrance hall, Chinese characteristics were used in combination with international socialist building features. The 2004 winning design foresaw the introduction of Chinese features in the building structure, as well as in the color scheme employing red and yellow. Reminiscent of both Chinese form and of the former Socialist building design, the final architecture of 2011 refers to the local situation in many ways, even incorporating prior features like the coffered ceiling in new dimension. These references, however, appear more subtle and at the same time more sophisticated than in either the 2004 design or even the original building of 1959.

In the course of the project, the architects' original playful intention of creating a public square in the entrance hall had to give way to a more harmonious but also a more imposing and authoritative design. Though the dimensions predominantly shape the initial impression of the Grand Forum, the introduction of sober, unornamented building forms, supplementing glass, steel and wood to the main building material of granite also added to the impact of the contemporary, monumental hall. However, by assigning the Grand Forum the task of providing additional exhibition space for the museum, some of the atmosphere of the original public square idea has returned [**Fig. 69**].

2.4.5. Reception Halls

Description

The National Museum of China stages two kinds of reception sites within the building. On the one hand, large-scale venues in the style of the modern museum are provided for. On the other hand, special reception halls furnished in Chinese style offer space for state guests and VIP visits. The Grand Forum supplies a setting for grand-scale exhibition openings, including a flight of low stairs flanked by ramps on both sides leading up to a platform in front of the entrance to the Central Hall. The previously mentioned relief and a title banner of the particular event frame this stage. The Central Hall is an almost square-shaped venue of 2000 m² [**Fig. 70**]. It can be accessed from the Grand Forum via three bronze doors, which resemble the style of the main entrance doors. A polished marble floor, a coffered ceiling with an inlaid lighting system and a red fabric wall paneling embedded in granite stone characterize the elegant environment, making the hall suitable to serve as a temporary exhibition hall as well as a functional venue, for which it was originally planned. Currently, the Central Hall houses the oil painting and sculpture exhibition of the former Museum of Chinese Revolution. The so-called Jade Hall, on the upper floor of the museum [**Fig. 71**], is

accessible through the elevators in the four pillars of the Grand Forum. Here the motive of the coffered ceiling, already implemented in the Grand Forum and the Central Hall, is repeated by a grid structure with flat, backlit glass panels. The walls are divided in a base section with granite and red fabric paneling and an upper section with a grid structure of eight glass panes letting light through e.g. from the Grand Forum. On the same floor, small compartments for the uninterrupted reception of VIP guests open to the roof terrace in full-length windows [Fig. 72-73]. The use of stone, glass and wood as building materials is harmoniously repeated in this section. Four small-scale reception halls in Chinese style flank the Central Hall of the main level on both sides [Fig. 74]. Here traditional Chinese building materials and motives were applied for the interior decoration. These venues are named VIP Wood Hall (贵宾楠木厅), VIP Stone Hall (贵宾石厅), VIP Brick Hall (贵宾转厅) and VIP Bronze Hall (贵宾青铜厅).⁵⁰⁸ In the Bronze Hall, for example, the 291-character inscription of the famous 'Da Yu Ding' (大盂鼎) bronze vessel of the Zhou Dynasty is partially mounted to the wall [Fig. 75].

Comparison and Analysis

For a Chinese governmental institution, the reception of official guests represents an important part of its responsibilities. Consequently, the provision of reception halls in sufficient size and quantity has been of major importance for the redesign of the National Museum of China. In the original structure of 1959, the main access building already incorporated a reception hall of 1390 m², as well as a meeting hall with a capacity for 700 people. The museum of 2011 provides reception halls in different sizes and for various functions. On the one hand, the Grand Forum, the theater [Fig. 76], the cinema and the lecture hall and the Central Hall are all used for large scale receptions; on the other hand, the museum supplies special VIP locations to host their guests. While the VIP venues on the top floor are designed with high-class building materials and techniques reflecting the design, which is evident throughout the museum, the VIP venues neighboring the Central Hall are executed in high-class Chinese interior design. For these venues, special Chinese designers were contracted. Here, not only the reference to Chinese culture was employed, but the interior design of the Bronze Hall relates directly to the museum's collection by applying the bronze inscription of the 'Da Yu Ding' bronze vessel to the wall. The 291-character

⁵⁰⁸ Cf. Lü, Zhangshen 吕章申 2012. Zhongguo bowuguan jianzhu sheji fang'an tu ji 中国国家博物馆建筑设计方案图集 / Collection of Architectural Design of the National Museum of China. Beijing / 北京: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe 中国建筑工业出版社, 2012, p. 132.

inscription records the enfeoffment deed of minister Yu by King Kang of Zhou⁵⁰⁹ and represents an important legacy of the Chinese calligraphy tradition. From this 19-line inscription, only eleven lines were partially quoted on the wall installation, stressing the importance of the calligraphy over the actual contents of the inscription. The very same inscription is also applied as a recurrent cover design of the museum catalogues, creating a corporate identity by using the masterpieces of the collection. In the unornamented inner design of the museum, the special VIP venues provide a Chinese enclave and seem to be well received by the official guests. The idea of designing rooms in a Chinese national style brings to mind the concept of the Great Hall of the People, where for every province a hall was decorated in its own distinguished style, serving as a means of cultural identification [Fig. 77].

Summary

The National Museum of China provides various venues for receiving guests, predominantly incorporating the same style implemented in the design of the Grand Forum. In addition, a small number of VIP venues are designed in richly ornamented Chinese style and traditional building materials such as stone, wood, brick and bronze. The interior of the Bronze Hall relates even specifically to the museum collection. These rooms offer a counterpart to the more international look of the interior of the museum, enriching its design and functionality: with the introduction of the additional VIP venues, the reception of guests, which is grounded deeply in the Chinese society and culture, can take place in a Chinese setting within the modern National Museum of China.

2.4.6. Exhibition Halls

Description

The new museum encompasses a total of 49 exhibition halls, which vary from 500 to 2000 m² and a ceiling height from 5.25 to 12 m.⁵¹⁰ The reconstructed north part of the building was especially tailored for hosting the permanent display of the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ of the former Museum of Chinese Revolution on over 6000 m².⁵¹¹ The new core building to the east accommodates the majority of exhibition space, providing for long-term, theme-oriented and temporary exhibitions on four levels. Level -6 hosts the permanent exhibition of ‘Ancient China’ of the former Museum of Chinese History on 9450 m², encircling the theater, the

⁵⁰⁹ Exhibition of Chinese History 1998, p. 46.

⁵¹⁰ Gmp 2011, n. p.

⁵¹¹ On-Site Presentation, Stephan Schütz, Matthias Wiegelmann, gmp, NMC museum staff, Beijing, April 9, 2009.

cinema and the reporting hall from three sides. Four exhibition halls with almost equal dimension and a clear height of 5.25 m, are established on the north and south part of the building on the three levels above ground [Fig. 78]. On level + 6 and +13.5 m² they occupy a floor space of 3312 m² on each side; on level +21 m, the taken floor space totals 2932 m² on each side, respectively. All of the four halls share a central access area, which allows using the exhibition halls independently from each other. A set of two floor-length windows provides views into the next gallery or into the hallway, respectively [Fig. 79]. Furthermore, three exhibition halls have floor-to-ceiling windows to the outside, making it possible to launch natural light exhibitions.⁵¹² The galleries are equipped with natural stone, terrazzo, screed or wooden floors. The ceiling is either open, or sealed with lamella or gypsum board, providing the most flexibility among the different exhibition halls. Light tracks and venting are installed in the ceiling. Electric supply stations are located in the floor and on the walls. All galleries are air-conditioned and fulfill the latest security and safety standards. An additional circular passageway connecting the exhibition halls with workshops and storage areas provides a separation between logistics and visitor streams.

Comparison and Analysis

In the original museum of 1959, the overall exhibition space added up to 23,472 m².⁵¹³ Most of the ground floor was reserved for administrative purposes (office space, logistics and storage facilities), with the central access building leading to the two major exhibitions of the Museum of Revolution in the north wing and the Museum of Chinese History in the south wing on the first and second floors. In the eyes of museum staff members, one major reason for the redesign of the museum was the creation of new and improved exhibition space, as the existing gallery space was too small, outdated and could not meet the requirements of the museum today (see 6.2.2.). The location and design of the exhibition halls were influenced by the exhibitions they were planned for. In 2004, an extension of the exhibition space to 58,000 m² was targeted.⁵¹⁴ The client demanded that the new gallery space be equally distributed between the exhibition of the former Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution.⁵¹⁵ The majority of the exhibition halls were planned for the basement and above the Grand Forum of the new core building. A preliminary exhibition outline foresaw theme exhibitions featuring object groups like jade, bronze and earthenware in the

⁵¹² On-Site Presentation, Stephan Schütz, Matthias Wiegelmann, gmp, NMC museum staff, Beijing, April 9, 2009.

⁵¹³ Beijing shida jianzhu sheji 2002, p. 166.

⁵¹⁴ “Experts muse over museums.” (accessed, September 20, 2012).

⁵¹⁵ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, June, 2, 2006.

basement. For these archaeological objects, a cave-like setting was intended as an introverted space with artificial light in order to allow concentration on the pieces of art [Fig. 80]. In order to achieve the allusion of archaeological excavation sites, the architects had the additional idea of presenting some exhibits in showcases buried in the floor.⁵¹⁶ On the level above the Grand Forum, an exhibition entitled ‘A Course through Chinese History’ was planned (see 3.4.). The proposal of whether to place the important wax figure collection on the top floor or in the basement was controversially discussed.⁵¹⁷ In the restored historical wings, only temporary exhibitions including international loan exhibitions and Chinese painting galleries were envisaged. Just as the Great Hall of the People dedicates one hall to representing each province, in an early planning stage, the curators also considered establishing 33 exhibition halls to represent the Chinese provinces⁵¹⁸ and their artifacts as well as a permanent gallery for ‘The Palace Museum’. The design, as carried through in 2011, not only enhanced the exhibition space up to 65,000 m², but it also afforded for a more flexible, universal design of the exhibition galleries. The ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition was moved back to its original venue in the historical north wing and the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition was installed in the basement, allowing for flexible use of the other galleries for theme exhibitions (jade, bronze, painting galleries), temporary exhibitions (Chinese painting galleries) and international loan exhibitions.

For the design of exhibition galleries, ceiling height is a decisive factor. In particular, for the lighting of the exhibition and spotlighting specific objects using ceiling-mounted light tracks, high ceilings can represent difficult challenges. Following the neoclassical building tradition, the exhibition galleries of the 1959 museum were already high. In 2004, some scholars criticized the winning design with its gallery heights of up to 20 m as being unsuitable for the display of petite Chinese artifacts.⁵¹⁹ In the 2011 design, this criticism was taken into account and the heights were adjusted. Gallery heights now vary from 12 m to fit large-scale objects to 5.25 m, installed in the majority of the new galleries. Nevertheless, a ceiling height of 5.25 m along with the gigantic dimensions of the exhibition halls themselves, still presents enough challenge for the curators as well as exhibition designers to be able to

⁵¹⁶ “Peking: Die Hamburger Architekten von Gerkan, Marg und Partner bauen Chinas neues Nationalmuseum.” (accessed November 30, 2011).

⁵¹⁷ The basement was deemed unsuitable for the importance of the collection, however, the top floor with its daylight exhibition space was also not applicable for the material; cf. Interview, Matthias Wiegmann, project lead Beijing, gmp, Beijing, October 16, 2007.

⁵¹⁸ In detail, 22 provinces, 4 municipalities, 5 autonomous regions, 2 special administrative regions.

⁵¹⁹ CCTV Interviews, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012).

present even mid-sized objects and illuminate them from above. To solve this problem, the majority are displayed in showcases which contain their own lighting systems.

The galleries of the 1959 building were structured by the alternation of pillars and monumental windows, common for Soviet style buildings. These windows, however, are rather unsuitable for the display of art. The exposure to too much light can cause severe damage to the majority of the exhibits; the regulation of light quantity, which is necessary for reasons of conservation, is extremely difficult when relying on a natural light source. In addition, the changing light can even inhibit the visitor's view of the objects. As a result, the curtains in some exhibition halls were permanently closed, and in front of the lower portion of some galleries, specially constructed display panels were in place [Fig. 81]. In the restored building, the problematic monumental windows are closed and covered by the exhibition architecture of the 'Road of Rejuvenation' display. Only one window, which faces Tiananmen Square to the west, remains uncovered. This window serves to incorporate the view of the Square into the exhibition itself, providing an authentic backdrop for the exhibits and illustrating the proclamation of New China from Tiananmen Square on October 1, 1949 [Fig. 82]. Only a limited number of windows make daylight exhibitions possible in the exhibition halls of the new building. However, these modern exhibition halls are better suited for the display of light-sensitive materials using artificial lighting. Due to the light-sensitive objects as well as the mix of displays in 'The Art of the Enlightenment' exhibition, artificial lighting was chosen. In order to integrate the window covers into the exhibition design, semi-translucent blow-up images of some displays were mounted on the blinds [Fig. 83].

Within the new exhibition galleries, the electric supply stations were originally planned to be imbedded in the floor in a 6 x 3 m grid. Due to cost efficiency measures, however, they were reduced in number and the distance between the supply stations was extended. Therefore, additional electric, security and climate control panels were scattered along the walls. Besides raising questions of aesthetics, this change creates inconveniences for the installation of art works: showcase setups are limited to certain positions on the floor, where electricity is within reach and the wall space, which is interrupted by supply panels, cannot be used to a full extent [Fig. 84]. A circular pathway connects the exhibition halls to the logistics centers (storage, workshops, delivery zone). It is designed like a belt around the exhibition halls. The separation of logistics and visitor streams is an innovation much desired by the museum staff. The introduction of flowerpots not only in the courtyard and the Grand

Forum, but also in the exhibition halls, followed an established decorative tradition at the National Museum of China as can be seen in the former display of the Museum of Chinese Revolution [Fig. 151].

Summary

The exhibition halls of the National Museum of China correspond to international museum standards. In the old structure of the north wing, exhibition designs were harmoniously adjusted to the 'Road of Rejuvenation' display, nevertheless fulfilling all modern exhibition criterions. The reduction of ceiling heights, the sophisticated use of windows and the flexible structure of most galleries can be seen as an improvement to the original design and of the planning of 2004. Asked about their first impression, visitors to the museum in 2011 rated the new exhibition halls as modern (42%) and international (26%) in look. Only a minority described the new exhibition halls as Chinese (12%), Socialist (5%) or befitting Tiananmen (5%; see 6.2.4.). The size of the galleries coincides with the size of the museum, creating many possibilities for the exhibition design. Due to the large scale, it nevertheless provides a challenge for the installation of exhibitions.

The design of the Grand Forum as the central access area allows the visitor to decide which exhibitions he wants to see. With a pathway separating logistics units from visitor streams, a new standard in museum design was set. The exhibition galleries satisfy the functional demands of the modern display of art. The interior of the museum was built to the highest standard regarding display technique, safety and security measures. In detail, however, supply boards, which are scattered along the building walls, distract from the artwork and leave a lot to be desired.

2.5. Conclusion

The National Museum of China is a showcase of Chinese culture and identity and its building, located in the heart of China, at Tiananmen Square, is an exhibit in its own right. With the construction of the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution in 1959, the building took a vital position in presenting the self-image of the new political order, manifesting itself as part of the newly established center at Tiananmen Square. In 2011, the National Museum of China was redesigned to meet the contemporary requirements of a memorial to the nation-state. The analysis of the 2011 architectural form based on the

exterior (size, façade, courtyards) and the interior designs (Grand Forum, reception and exhibition halls) leads to the following findings:

For the exterior design of 1959, the setting and the application of the local, Chinese and international forms all played a major role and became an integrated part of the newly shaped Tiananmen Square. This guaranteed a careful shifting of the cultural and political center from the Imperial Palace to the new core of the People's Republic of China. The implemented design of 2011 continuously employed local, Chinese and international features. However, through the development of the project, the Chinese and local ornaments of the original design were enhanced, reproduced, and became more sophisticated. From the far side of Tiananmen Square, these features seem to dominate the building, whereas the sober, unornamented forms of the new building parts became subordinate. In addition, the courtyard design developed from a strong conceptual approach to the resemblance of the original form. All this served to develop an outer façade in-tune with the original design and the local setting and to eventually resolve the shortcomings of the former structure in many ways. Even the size of the museum, designed to be the biggest museum in the world, remains obscured by the harmonious blending in of the exterior design. Only upon close observation can the new style be clearly distinguished from the original building parts.

The interior design of 1959 incorporated local, Chinese and international forms as well, which can also be found in the implemented design of 2011. However, for the new interior design, the priorities were different. The exhibition halls were designed according to international standards. VIP reception halls in Chinese style added to the requirements of the National Museum of China. The grandeur of the museum was expressed in the design of the Grand Forum. Although the Forum evolved more independently from the original form, the blueprint nevertheless developed from a 'counterpoint approach' in 2004, stressing the idea of a public square within the museum, leading to a much more restrained and monumental outcome. The interior and the exterior designs of 2011 express a clear statement for the continuity of the original design, yet do not repudiate modern architecture.

The process of finding the right design for the National Museum of China was a long and continuous struggle of the architect in dialogue with the client. Over many years, the project evolved to a design in great harmony with traditional forms and the highly symbolic location of Tiananmen Square, in which representational aspects and the expression of stately

power played a vital role. Already with his architectural proposal of 2004, the architect Meinhard von Gerkan intended to achieve the following with the museum:

In this environment the visitor should, on the one hand, find his own identity and on the other hand, learn about the Chinese history. For us it is of vital importance to combine tradition and modern architecture. In other words, we take particular care to combine history and reality, the past and the present as well as the old and the new.⁵²⁰

In 2011, the first visitors were asked about their opinion of the new museum design. The majority of participants to the survey were in favor of the new design (see 6.2.4.); one participant considered the following: “Old and new buildings represent the characteristics of each period, and they reflect the social environment of their specific time; therefore I like both.”⁵²¹

During a somewhat painful and time-consuming process, the different parties involved have not always spoken with one voice; nor has the client himself. The development of the design and especially the fate of the statue of Confucius are graphic illustrations of this continuing struggle. Furthermore, they reveal the direction the project took until the National Museum of China found its answer in a new form: The museum presents itself as the largest museum in the world, a continuous harmonious form without a break in design. The message it conveys is the rise of the Chinese nation on the one hand, stability and continuity, on the other.

⁵²⁰ Meinhard von Gerkan during the CCTV Interviews, September 13, 2004 (accessed, September 20, 2012)

⁵²¹ 新旧建筑代表了各个时期的特点，反映了当时特定情况下的社会环境，所以新旧都喜欢。(No. 93); see 6.3.4.

3. Shaping History: The Presentation of the Collection

3.1. Introduction

The display of its collections is one of the museum's genuine tasks, by which the institution fulfills its educational mandate and provides a communication platform for presenting its perspective to society. Within the museum, the presentation of history is shaped by means of targeted object selection and arrangement, didactic material and modes of display. Each era and each society individually phrase their own questions about history. Thus, responses to history change according to how the questions are formulated. This process not only affects how history is observed over time, but it also changes the perception of the history itself. With this in mind, it is worthwhile analyzing the new presentations of the National Museum of China. What characterizes the selection for presentation? Is it possible to recognize changing viewpoints regarding Chinese history due to the developments in presentation, whether marginal or substantial? Is the new exhibition just another remake, a rejuvenation of the former display reflecting the current political trend, or does it offer a completely new approach to understanding Chinese history?

The new exhibition design of 2011 serves as point of departure for the analysis with the following method: First, an overview of the general exhibition outline of 2011 is given. In the next step, display conditions such as the collection as the basis for display, the role of Chinese historiography, educational aspects of the presentation, the ephemeral nature of exhibitions, aesthetics and viewing traditions, security and safety requirements are considered. These basic conditions have a great impact on the form the exhibition finally adopts; they apply to all museums helping facilitate, shape and limit displays. This paves the way for the core of the chapter, which constitutes the analysis of the following three exhibitions: 'Ancient China' and 'The Road of Rejuvenation', which are the major successors in permanent display of the former Museum of China History and the former Museum of Chinese Revolution, and 'The Art of the Enlightenment', which was the first international presentation after reopening of the museum. The chosen exhibitions will be considered according to a consistent, albeit flexible, set of parameters, including exhibition history, object selection (quality and quantity), order of display (chronologically, material or context based), exhibition design (use of color, lighting, showcases and didactic material) and didactic infrastructure (use of texts, charts, and supportive materials). After a short description, each exhibition will be compared

and contrasted with previous displays and corresponding exhibitions of distinct museums worldwide.

The strategy of analysis will focus on the present display and must be adjusted to the available sources. For each of the contemporary exhibition, on-site observation, photographic documentation and staff interviews were obtainable. Furthermore, the 2011 visitor survey provided first hand information about the reception of the exhibition. In some cases, selected objects and the history of their presentation could be analyzed to demonstrate the curatorial path taken. The short life span and ephemeral nature of the exhibition poses challenges for the analysis of display. Especially, for the early predecessor exhibitions records are often scarce, incomplete or unavailable. In the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition, mainly text-based references in form of former exhibition outlines were available for the comparison, whereas for the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition photographic materials, predominantly from the direct predecessor exhibition in the Military Museum, as well as excerpts of work reports of 2007 and 2008 were accessible.

3.2. The Overall Concept

Based on its comprehensive collections of more than one million objects, the display of the National Museum of China covers the history of the Chinese realm from its early beginnings of the first human settlements of the region approx. 1.5 million years ago until the 21st century (see 3.3.). It contains works of art and various objects of the material culture. Despite the enormous gain in exhibition space to 65,000 m², which takes up approximately one third of the entire museum building, the large number of collection items only allows for the display of a small proportion of artifacts at a time. The restored and newly created exhibition venues vary in size, design and equipment. They encompass the ‘Ancient China’ (3.4.1.) and the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ (3.4.2.) exhibition. Besides these two major presentations, theme exhibitions, temporary displays and loan exhibitions are installed within the new addition to the east.

The arrangement of objects based on material group classification⁵²² is a practice well founded in the Chinese collection tradition (see 1.3.2), and can be encountered in other major museums such as the Nanjing Museum, the Shanghai Museum, the Capital Museum in

⁵²² The arrangement of the display following material classifications is also applied to European museums, however, often the collections are already divided into painting galleries, porcelain or sculpture museums.

Beijing and the National Palace Museum on Taiwan. Due to the limitation of exhibition space, material-based exhibitions were only displayed on a short-term basis in the National Museum of China before. In the new exhibition concept, several permanent exhibitions feature material-based displays of porcelain, bronze, jade, ancient Chinese money and Buddhist sculpture, respectively. The ‘Ancient Chinese Bronze’ exhibition is located in the central exhibition hall on level +21 m [Fig. 85] and shares its 2000 m² venue with the exhibition of ‘Ancient Chinese Buddhist Sculpture’ [Fig. 86]. A wood paved corridor running from north to south divides both exhibitions. The bronzes are exhibited in a mix of older historical and new showcases. The largest pieces, such as the so-called ‘Houmuwu Square Cauldron’ (后母戊大方鼎), are presented in the center of the hall on pedestals of various heights. The exhibition of ‘Ancient Chinese Jade’ features artifacts from the Neolithic to the Qing Dynasty⁵²³, and the exhibition of ‘Ancient Chinese Money’ displays more than 1700 objects from the Zhou to the Qing Dynasty.⁵²⁴ The porcelain gallery encompasses a very modern exhibition design and generates a treasure chamber atmosphere through the direct illumination of the objects and the relinquishing of other light sources [Fig. 87]. The Underwater Archaeological Research Center of the National Museum of China, which depicts the history and development of underwater archaeology and its findings of the last two decades, provides a special exhibition. The introduction of permanent material-based masterpiece exhibitions was in accordance with the visitors’ quest expressed in the comprehensive survey of 2003. Here, almost 90% of the participants voted in favor of permanent masterpiece displays. Most popular were the displays of coins, porcelain, calligraphy and painting, followed by bronze and jade, whereas the display of biographies of famous people was rated least popular.⁵²⁵

The Chinese calligraphy and painting galleries change their display regularly, featuring different themes, artists and periods. The first painting exhibitions in the new premises were dedicated to three significant Chinese calligraphers and painters of the 20th century: Pan Tianshou 潘天寿 (1897–1971), famous for his traditional landscape painting [Fig. 88]; Li Keran 李可染 (1907–1989), bridging the traditional Chinese and Western art

⁵²³ In 2010, a collection of 80,000 artifacts of the Chinese Cultural Heritage Information Centre was combined with the National Museum of China collection; cf. National Museum of China. “Jade Exhibition.” <http://www.chnmuseum.cn/english/tabid/520/Default.aspx?ExhibitionLanguageID=169> (accessed July 21, 2012).

⁵²⁴ National Museum of China. “Ancient Chinese Money.” <http://www.chnmuseum.cn/english/tabid/520/Default.aspx?ExhibitionLanguageID=121> (accessed July 21, 2012).

⁵²⁵ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 41.

[Fig. 89]; and Huang Zhou 黄胄 (1925–1997), the 20th century master of figure painting [Fig. 90]. The ‘Classical Paintings of Ancient China’ exhibition, which opened in December 2011, features, for example, the Qianlong Emperor’s Southern Inspection Tour. At the Central Hall, a permanent display of the ‘Highlights of Chinese Modern Masterpieces’ is dedicated to 20th century sculptures and paintings. The majority of these oil paintings were commissioned by the museum, for example, in 1951, 1959, 1964 and 1972 to illustrate historical themes.⁵²⁶ The artworks in the Central Hall are well known by every schoolchild as they are used to illustrate history in class.⁵²⁷ One of these masterpieces and key work of the former Museum of Chinese Revolution is the ‘The Founding Ceremony of the Nation’ 开国大典 of 1953 by Dong Xiwen 董希文 (1914–1973), which since the opening of 2011 is displayed in two versions⁵²⁸: The original version on the left side of the hall was reworked by the artist himself. Before his death in 1973, he had erased the figures of Liu Shaoqi 刘少奇 (1898–1969) and Gao Gang 高岗 (1905–1954) due to political tides. A 1972 copy of the original work by Jin Shangyi 靳尚谊 (b. 1934) and others, in which also the figure of Lin Boqu 林伯渠 (1886–1960) was missing, is installed on the right side of the hall [Fig. 91]. This picture was repainted in 1980 to illustrate the original version of the Dong Xiwen painting.⁵²⁹ Furthermore, Xu Beihong’s painting of ‘The Foolish Old Man Removing the Mountains’ of 1940 [Fig. 66], which was used as model for the large relief in the Grand Forum, is on display.⁵³⁰ The Central Hall does not exclusively serve for the display but also for receptions, just like the central hall of the former building, which displayed the busts of Soviet leaders and Communist thinkers, Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin.⁵³¹

The wax figure display was originally part of the permanent exhibition of the Museum of Chinese Revolution, featuring famous figures of Chinese history, politics and society. Having been a crowd puller for decades, this collection was not included in the new display

⁵²⁶ For the ornamental fitting of the museums, different programs were inaugurated and Chinese artists commissioned. The most influential paintings of the campaigns initiated by the Ministry of Culture were displayed in the Great Hall of the People, the Military Museum, the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution; cf. Andrews 1994, p. 228.

⁵²⁷ Interview, Chen, Lüsheng, deputy director, NMC, Beijing, April 22, 2011.

⁵²⁸ Correspondence, Chen Yu, curator, NMC, December 17, 2012.

⁵²⁹ The history of this painting is documented in Andrews 1994, p. 79-86.

⁵³⁰ This painting exists in three versions: two oil paintings and one version in Chinese style (watercolor and ink on paper). Correspondence, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, December 13, 2012.

⁵³¹ “The Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution.” <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/beijing/31082.htm> (accessed October 20, 2012).

of 2011, maybe even indicating a changing approach of the museum.⁵³² Though a decision is pending, in the future, it might be displayed in the north wing above of the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition.⁵³³ The displays of the national minorities as well as that of patriotic education are important to the museum.⁵³⁴ “The long-standing emphasis on regarding minority groups as integral elements of the Chinese population is reflected in many museums, which contain sections devoted to local minority groups, with an emphasis on the part they played in the local community and history.”⁵³⁵ It seems that there has been a continuing and even emphasized display of national minority legacy as part of Chinese history, which can, for example, be encountered in the national minorities and folklore art galleries at the Shanghai and Nanjing Museums. Unlike these two museums, the National Museum of China has not yet dedicated gallery space exclusively to this topic, but includes these themes in its general historic display, thereby stressing the unity of the historical development.

In order to reach the ambitious goal of becoming the top national museum and one of the first internationally, which the National Museum of China had set for itself, the museum decided to display not only Chinese artifacts, but also to present cultures of the entire world.⁵³⁶ The visitor survey of 2003 revealed that more than two thirds of the participants wanted to see international objects in addition to the Chinese display (see. 6.2.1.). However, the museum collection encompasses hardly any artifacts from other continents. This shortcoming has been met by establishing collaborations with the major collections worldwide, such as the Getty, the British Museum, and the Louvre. Although the National Museum of China had already housed many international exhibitions since the opening policy of the 1980s, having sent its own exhibition in exchange⁵³⁷, the new concept bequeaths the former collaborations: It is intended that long-term exchange exhibitions in sequence provide a permanent display of international artifacts and serve to claim universality within the museum display. Tian Shanting, the director of international relations, phrased the intentions as follows: “China wants to demonstrate its openness to the entire world, but

⁵³² During the Olympics, the wax figure collection was partially displayed at the Chinese International Science and Technology Exhibition Center (中国国际科技会展中心); correspondence, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, October 15, 2012.

⁵³³ Interview, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, April 21, 2011.

⁵³⁴ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 91.

⁵³⁵ Capon 2002, p. 10.

⁵³⁶ *Magazin für Außereuropäische Kunst und Kultur: Afrika, Australien, Asien, Amerika*, “Interview mit Herrn Dong Qi,” 2/2010, pp. 98-99.

⁵³⁷ Cf. *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian* 2002, p. 50.

prefers the path of international cooperation.”⁵³⁸ Following the museum’s concept, a minimum of four galleries are permanently reserved for the display of long-term loan exhibitions to be equipped in the future by international institutions of all continents.⁵³⁹ Initially, it was planned that the four continents excluding Asia, which was already represented by the Chinese collection, be simultaneously represented by loan exhibitions at the opening of the museum in 2011. Although this initial plan could not be fulfilled, the concept of long-term cooperation with museums worldwide prevailed, however executed as a sequence of international exhibitions. To start the series, the Berlin State Museums (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), the Dresden State Art Collections (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden) and the Bavarian State Painting Collections Munich (Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen München) were chosen as partners. The first long-term international loan exhibition opened to the public on April 1, 2011. It featured ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’, corresponding with the scheme of presenting individual thematic approaches and content rather than a pure masterpiece exhibition (see 3.4.3.).⁵⁴⁰

The National Museum of China provides gallery space for special exhibitions, such as for the ‘100 Years Anniversary of the Tsinghua University’ [Fig. 92]. Furthermore, it leases its gallery space, for example, to house exhibitions of Louis Vuitton and Bulgari [Fig. 93], two companies successfully operating in China. The concept and design of these exhibitions were developed by the tenants themselves.⁵⁴¹ Although the exhibitions were very successful and high in visitor perception, as documented by the visitor survey of 2011, the question whether a public museum should operate commercially and house exhibitions of brands caused controversy throughout the public.⁵⁴²

Since 2011, the National Museum of China has followed the nation-wide guidelines of free entrance for public museums. In the visitor survey of the same year, almost 90% of the visitors welcomed this policy and stated it was the right decision for a public museum. Only 7% believed that free admission would devalue the exhibitions and a small fee would be better. Among the staff, the new entrance policy seemed more controversial, because it

⁵³⁸ Cf. Siemons, Mark. “Das Programm heißt: groß.” FAZ, Feuilleton, March 26, 2011; p. 33.

⁵³⁹ Magazin für Außereuropäische Kunst und Kultur 2010, pp. 98-99.

⁵⁴⁰ Interview, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, April 21, 2011.

⁵⁴¹ Interview, Chen, Lüsheng, deputy director, NMC, Beijing, April 22, 2011.

⁵⁴² Dzodin, Harvey, “Name Game.”

http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2011-06/13/content_22772582.htm (accessed October 20, 2012)

meant that people who were not really interested would take the available tickets and therefore limit the chances of admission for intrigued visitors.⁵⁴³

3.3. Preliminary Considerations and Exhibition Conditions

The Collection

The backbone of every museum is its collection, which determines the potentials and limitations of each display and shapes the focus of the museum's presentation. Before an exhibition can be set up, it is necessary to know the range of available objects of one's own collection as well as alternative loans of other cooperation partners. The National Museum of China, with over one million objects at its disposal, possesses one of the most comprehensive collections from both the Chinese material culture and art from prehistoric times until the 21st century. The comprehensive collection includes various archaeological finds, oracle bones, bronzes, jade, Buddhist sculpture, porcelain, books and historical records, paintings, coins, weapons as well as symbols of the Chinese Revolution.

The collection of the former Museum of Chinese History is famous for its archeological objects, which were primarily acquired from excavation sites. It owns the country's most important artifacts such as remains of the so-called 'Yuanmou and Beijing Men' from the Paleolithic Age [**Fig. 98**]⁵⁴⁴, the 'Houmuwu Square Cauldron' of the late Shang dynasty [**Fig. 85**]⁵⁴⁵, with its 832.84 kg the heaviest bronze ware ever excavated, the 'Da Yu Ding' inscribed bronze vessel from early Western Zhou Dynasty⁵⁴⁶, Qin Shi Huangdi warriors and horses [**Fig. 101**], a jade burial suit with gold ties of the Western Han Dynasty [**Fig. 102**], bronze human figure with acupuncture points [**Fig. 109**] of the Ming Dynasty and many more.⁵⁴⁷ Serving as the prime museum of the country, for several decades, the National Museum of China had the first priority on major objects from newly excavated finds within the country. Although, in some cases, finds were shared between the respective provincial

⁵⁴³ Interview, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, April 21, 2011.

⁵⁴⁴ Li/Luo 2004, p. 69.

⁵⁴⁵ Previously known as the 'Simuwu Square Caldron' (司母戊大方鼎); Recent studies discovered that the first character of the bronze inscription reads 'hou' 后 instead of 'si' 司. This artifact was rated first among the most valuable collectives identified by the staff in the museum survey of 2007 (see 6.3.2.).

⁵⁴⁶ Exhibition of Chinese History 1998, p. 46.

⁵⁴⁷ Other masterpieces of the collection identified by the staff in 2007 were the Shang Dynasty 'Square Vessel with Four Rams' (四羊方尊) and a gold-inlaid bronze 'Tiger-Shaped Tally' (阳陵虎符) used by Qinshihuang for military affairs; see 6.3.2.

museum and Beijing⁵⁴⁸, masterpieces were often sent to the Museum of Chinese History while the provincial museum received a replica of the classified national treasures.⁵⁴⁹ This was, for example, the case for the 'Houmuwu Square Caldron', which was excavated in 1939 near Anyang and integrated into the collection of the Museum of Chinese History.⁵⁵⁰ The Anyang Municipal Museum was provided with a copy. At that time, only very few museums fulfilled the requirements for storing and displaying first-class national treasures as rated by the State Cultural Relic Bureau, which demanded guaranteed optimum preservation and maximum-security conditions. The Museum of Chinese History being first level national museum was equipped with the highest available standard of museum technology. It therefore provided the most suitable environment to safeguard objects and fulfilled the conditions, which identify its predominant role in preserving, safekeeping and displaying Chinese masterpieces. After standards in most museums were raised during the last decades, this policy of the central display of masterpieces was dropped.⁵⁵¹ Serving as a representative for the nation, the National Museum of China is now faced with the problem of maintaining its priority for the best objects. The solution, on which the museum leadership is working, is the installation of permanent loans.⁵⁵²

During the revamping of the National Museum of China (2007–2011), parts of the museum collection traveled to twelve different provinces, and were exhibited for the first time in the museums near their excavation site.⁵⁵³ The objects returning to the place of their origin met an interested public and the exhibitions were well received by visitors and media alike. The concept of the exhibitions originated with the curators from the National Museum of China, working in consultation with the local museums, which occasionally even included objects from their own museum in the display.⁵⁵⁴

The collection of the former Museum of Chinese Revolution encompasses artifacts and objects of material culture from 19th and 20th century China, mainly illustrating CCP history and containing personal belongings of important political figures. The collection was acquired primarily when the CCP issued public proclamations for gathering materials

⁵⁴⁸ Besides the Museum of Chinese History, the Shanghai Museum followed a similar policy for excavations in the neighbouring provinces; cf. Capon 2002, p. 9.

⁵⁴⁹ Capon 2002, p. 8.

⁵⁵⁰ Exhibition of Chinese History 1998, p. 36.

⁵⁵¹ Interview, Chen, Lüsheng, deputy director, NMC, Beijing, April 22, 2011.

⁵⁵² Interview, Chen, Lüsheng, deputy director, NMC, Beijing, April 22, 2011.

⁵⁵³ *Magazin für Außereuropäische Kunst und Kultur* 2010, pp. 98-99.

⁵⁵⁴ Interview, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, April 21, 2011.

necessary to establish this museum. The first object of the collection was the gallows on which Li Dazhao 李大钊 (1899–1927), the cofounder of the CCP, was hanged by the GMD in 1927 [Fig. 125]. In the process of searching for relics showing the heroism of the CCP, Wang Yeqiu, who later became the director of the museum, describes how the Red Army went straight to the prison to save the gallows for the museum after the Communist take-over of Beijing on January 31, 1949.⁵⁵⁵ Furthermore, historical documents, such as the ‘21 Demands’ of the Japanese government against China issued in May 1915, make up an important part of the collection. Other highlights of the collection are objects related to Mao Zedong and his role in the establishment of Communist rule including a stone inscription with a calligraphy by his hand “seek truth from facts”⁵⁵⁶ which was installed to mark the completion of the auditorium of the Central Party School in Yan’an in 1943 [Fig. 130]; the shoes he wore when fighting in Northern Shaanxi in 1947; the original microphone, with which he proclaimed the establishment of New China in 1949; and the spade and basket he used in construction work at the Ming Tombs reservoir site [Fig. 138]. Furthermore, the collection includes a number of sculptures and oil paintings, which were commissioned for the permanent exhibition in 1959, in the 1960s and 1970s as well as for the new exhibition in 2009. The majority of the earlier artworks are now on display in the Masterpiece Exhibition at the Central Hall, as they have become icons of Chinese history. The previously mentioned wax figure collection of important Chinese historical figures has not returned to display in the newly designed National Museum of China as a correct venue was still discussed in 2011.

With the unification of the museum in 2003, the collections of the former Museum of Chinese History and Museum of Chinese Revolution were officially united; however, for practical reasons the museum kept the collections in separate storage facilities maintained by two separate curatorial divisions (see 2.4.6.). Unlike many Western museums, such as the British Museum, which pursued the universal approach of collecting world treasures, the National Museum of China collection encompasses almost exclusively artifacts from Chinese and neighboring countries leading to the previously described exhibition concept.⁵⁵⁷ In Chinese museum history, collecting and handling collections have generally followed Western museum traditions defining, the “physical integrity of an art object as an essential

⁵⁵⁵ Johnson, Ian, “At China’s New Museum, History Toes Party Line.” *The New York Times*, April 3, 2011.

⁵⁵⁶ The slogan ‘seek truth from facts’ (实事求是) was first mentioned in the *Han Shu*, employed by Mao Zedong and later Deng Xiaoping referred to it during the opening policy.

⁵⁵⁷ *Magazin für Außereuropäische Kunst und Kultur* 2010, pp. 98-99.

value”⁵⁵⁸. The Chinese tradition of enhancing an object through connoisseur seals and calligraphy has been abandoned in the context of the museum collections in the second half of the 20th century.⁵⁵⁹ However, the Western ideal of valuing the original object was not a priority for the collection in the past. Until the turn of the 21st century, it was a widely accepted practice to work with reproductions in the museum context.⁵⁶⁰ Within recent years, visitors’ demands for original objects seem to have grown much stronger.⁵⁶¹ In 2011, the use of replicas at the National Museum of China was limited and they were clearly labeled as such.

The Role of Historiography

Throughout times, historical writing has served as a legitimizing tool for the ruling elite, in defining their interpretation of the past (see 1.2.1.). At least since the emergence of modern historiography as a legacy of the Enlightenment, it has been clarified that history does not provide a true presentation of the past, but is a contemporary interpretation from various standpoints. The display of history in the National Museum of China presents the government standpoint and historical interpretation, and is subject to official supervision.

The master narrative of the People’s Republic of China was adapted from the Soviet Union, modified for its own needs and implemented in the museums. It served for many decades as the true interpretation and periodization of the past. Marx’s general theory of history and society supplied an interpretive basis, defining history as an ongoing class struggle of different social groups fighting for the means of production.⁵⁶² Furthermore, his description of the exploitive character of capitalism was applied.⁵⁶³ Following this model, the historical development of China was established as having five stages: primitive communism, slave society, feudalism, capitalism and communism.⁵⁶⁴ To squeeze Chinese history in this rather rigid corset, official interpretation proclaimed that feudalism ended in 1911 with the abdication of the last emperor. Another difficulty was that this allocation of history neglected

⁵⁵⁸ Ledderose 1985, p. 47.

⁵⁵⁹ At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China still placed their seal on the mounting, however, not on the painting itself; cf. Ledderose 1985, p. 47.

⁵⁶⁰ Cf. Capon 2002, p. 9.

⁵⁶¹ Authors experience in the Chinese exhibition context.

⁵⁶² Shaw/Smith 1996, p. 524.

⁵⁶³ Shaw/Smith 1996, p. 526.

⁵⁶⁴ Ma, Xueping 2005, p. 53.

the fact that since Qin Shi Huangdi unified the country in 221 BC, “Chinese society was not organized in any system that can be called feudalism”.⁵⁶⁵

Soviet influence was played down in the exhibition of 1961 due to the divergence about Marxist ideology between the People’s Republic of China and Soviet Russia and the enhancement of Mao’s central role.⁵⁶⁶ The basic Marxist concept was followed within the historical outline of the exhibition. It divided Chinese history in three main periods: primitive society (first traces of human existence–4000 BC), slavery society (2100 BC–475 BC) and feudal society (ca. 221 BC–1911). In 1954, official rules were established for displaying the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ (中国通史陈列)⁵⁶⁷ of the Museum of Chinese History, restricting the display of history from the primitive era to 1919: The exhibition had to be arranged according to the Marxist concept, including, however, the traditional dynasty eras, too. The exhibition concept described in 1954, refrained to allow any room for interpretation, but offered absolute conclusions about the historic development which described Chinese history as a succession of revolutionary events (see 3.4.2.).⁵⁶⁸

The display of the Museum of Chinese Revolution continued the history discourse from the 19th century, acknowledging Mao’s bisection of modern Chinese history into the Old Democratic Revolution (1840–1920) and the New Democratic Revolution under Communist rulership (from 1920).⁵⁶⁹ In his work *On New Democracy* of 1945, Mao Zedong had argued that the “the historical characteristic of the Chinese revolution lies in its division into the two stages: democracy and socialism.”⁵⁷⁰ Mao continued his argument as follows: “The first step is to change the colonial, semi-colonial, and semi-feudal form of society into an independent, democratic society. The second is to carry the revolution forward and build a socialist society”.⁵⁷¹ The descriptive approach following this periodization was evident in the display of the Museum of Chinese Revolution. In 1954, a canon of important episodes of recent history, originally intended for the Monument to the People’s Heroes, was established by a team lead by chief Marxist historian Fan Wenlan 范文澜 (1893–1969) and supervised

⁵⁶⁵ Fairbank/Goldman 2006, p. 102.

⁵⁶⁶ Hung, Chang-tai 2001, p. 933.

⁵⁶⁷ The English exhibition title is cited after the official English translation from the website of the National Museum of China. (accessed April 10, 2012).

⁵⁶⁸ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian 2002, p. 144.

⁵⁶⁹ Wu, Hung 1991, p. 99.

⁵⁷⁰ Mao, Zedong. Selected Works of Mao Tse-Tung, Volume II, First Edition, Foreign Language Press, Beijing 1965, p. 342.

⁵⁷¹ Mao Zedong 1965, p. 342.

by Mao. It included the following milestones: the Opium Wars (1839–1842; 1856–1860), the Taiping Rebellion (1850–1864), the Xinhai Revolution (1911), the May Fourth Movement (1919), the Anti-Imperialist Movement (1925), the Nanchang Uprising (1927), the War of Resistance against Japan (1937–1945), and the Yangtze River Crossing of the Red Army (1949).⁵⁷² These major turning points of modern Chinese history defined by the Communists show the teleological approach of “progressing episodes moving forward in an irreversible direction and leading eventually to the ultimate triumph of the CCP in 1949.”⁵⁷³ The history of the People’s Republic of China was conventionally divided into decades characterized by the following turning points: the foundation of the People’s Republic of China (until 1949), establishment of New China (until 1957/58), the Anti-Rightist Campaign, the Great Leap Forward and the Famine (until 1966), and the Cultural Revolution (until 1976).⁵⁷⁴ The official periodization of Chinese history and its turning points were discernible in the display of the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution, respectively.

The opening policy of the last decades allowed for the emergence of some unofficial historiography. In this context, it is important to examine how the National Museum of China and its official historiography have responded to the changes in society, whether they are tolerant of different viewpoints of the historical narrative, or even if the master narrative has changed in its new display. In short, can a developmental trend away from the norms before 1980s be encountered or are the new exhibitions “merely repacking old messages in new buildings”?⁵⁷⁵ This point will be evaluated in the analysis of the new display.

Educational Aspects of Display

Closely linked to the role of historiography within the exhibition is the museum’s responsibility of functioning as a place of instruction and public education, which began during the era of Enlightenment. To date, the majority of museums follow a didactic program most visible in the exhibition content and design. In contrast to a pure aesthetic display, which is a possible approach for art galleries, history museums have to engage in ‘telling a story’. Therefore, since the emergence of history museums in the 19th century, object contextualization has served as a model for the historical display.⁵⁷⁶ Didactical guidelines can

⁵⁷² For further information of this topic cf. Hung, Chang-tai 2001, pp. 464-466.

⁵⁷³ Hung, Chang-tai, 2001, p. 466.

⁵⁷⁴ Cf. Stauss 2006, p. 861.

⁵⁷⁵ Denton 2005, p. 44.

⁵⁷⁶ The Neues Museum in Berlin (1841–1859) broke new grounds in the contextualization of the displayed objects and was long seen as a prototype for a historical museum; cf. Schuster 2006, pp. 31-40.

be applied through the focus of the exhibition, the selection and arrangement of objects, the design of the display and the additional explanatory material including the employment of new media. One of the main guiding principles to date is the application of text in form of titles, section and group descriptions, object captions and quotations. These texts can be mounted on the exhibition or made available in audio guide or on multi-media devices. In order to understand pedagogical intentions in general it is important to evaluate these media.

Within the time span of a few hours, which a museum visitor has at his disposal, he has to limit himself and make choices from a large number of exhibitions on display at the National Museum of China. Therefore, every display competes for the interest of the visitor, making good explanations a key objective for the museum. In the visitor survey of 2003, the National Museum of China already received over 80% approval for their guided tour program. The 12% interviewed which were not satisfied, complained about a lack of special knowledge by the tour guides, followed by criticism of their commitment and attitude.⁵⁷⁷

In general, the education of the public follows ideological perceptions and official state narratives in a more or less dominant and obvious way. At its first congress of museum workers in Soviet Russia in 1930, guidelines for the Stalinist museum practice were established putting the Soviet museums “in the service of constructing socialism”.⁵⁷⁸ In correspondence with the political agenda of Stalin’s first Five-Year Plan, radical changes in the exhibition design transformed the museums, a development directed to support the construction of socialism from the 1930s and to display the political agenda.⁵⁷⁹ The aim was to educate the public on “the cultural goals of Stalinist communism”.⁵⁸⁰ The museum policy of the People’s Republic of China also foresaw didactic concepts, visible, for example, in the historic exhibition outlines of the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’. Although already traceable in the 1958 exhibition outline, the 1971 outline stressed educational values of the exhibits most clearly, advising, for example, a critical division between artifacts supporting educational purposes and harmful cultural heritage to be made by the curators.⁵⁸¹ These sources also reveal that the education and spread of patriotism was an intrinsic task for the

⁵⁷⁷ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 36-37.

⁵⁷⁸ Jolles 2005, p. 430.

⁵⁷⁹ For example, the ‘Art of the Capitalist Era’ at the Tretyakov Gallery; cf. Jolles 2005, pp. 432-434.

⁵⁸⁰ Jolles 2005, p. 434.

⁵⁸¹ This distinction is made in the introduction of the exhibition outlines of 1972; however, the ‘harmful’ cultural heritage is not defined in detail.

predecessor museums, still to be encountered in the 2011 exhibition text such as the afterword of the 'Road of Rejuvenation' exhibition (see 3.4.2.).

In the 2011 display of the National Museum of China, two different approaches were pursued. On the one hand, the chronological exhibitions still primarily follow educational intentions to be encountered in the exhibition texts. On the other hand, the museum sees itself as an art museum, in which aesthetic aspects are stressed and thus made particularly visible in the displays arranged in material object groups such as bronze, porcelain or Buddhist sculpture. Although the display of porcelain follows the chronological sequencing of dynasties, the objects are displayed for their aesthetical value and only few explanations are given. In the bronze and Buddhist sculpture exhibition, a mixed form of aesthetic display was chosen, including large explanation boards.

The Ephemeral Nature of Displays

Compared to the building structure itself, interior design and exhibition design have a much shorter life span. Although so-called permanent exhibitions are installed without a temporal limitation of display, they do undergo substantial changes according to the requirements of object safety, the adjustments to technical innovations and the modification of content following developments in society. Technical innovations include, for example, improvement of equipment, climate control and lighting. The 'Ancient China' and the 'Road of Rejuvenation' exhibitions, with their history of multiple adjustments, can serve as vivid examples for the constant adaptation of the exhibition display (see. 3.4.1; 3.4.2.).

The display of light-sensitive objects, such as prints and textiles, generally does not extend over a period of more than three months, depending on the individual material quality. Loan exhibitions might run up to one year, whenever less sensitive materials are on display or when the opportunity to replace sensitive objects is given. 'The Art of the Enlightenment', the first loan exhibition after the reopening of the National Museum of China, was originally planned with an exceptional duration of 1.5 years, almost counting as a permanent installation. It followed the initial intention of the National Museum of China to integrate the world culture into the museum (see 3.4.3.). However, due to the delay in the construction, the exhibition period had to be reduced to only one year. During the exhibition period, some light sensitive exhibits such as prints and textiles had to be substituted in three, four and six month

intervals, and replaced from the collections of the German museums, proving a difficult challenge for the logistics.

Due to the short life span of an exhibition and the frequent adjustments to its content and design requirements, exhibition architecture is necessarily built with relatively inexpensive materials. For the analysis of the exhibition development, frequent changes promise to be effective. However, due to the transient nature of exhibitions, reference material can be scarce and insufficient. This fact especially applies to the early stages of exhibition design, when, for example, photographic documentation was still limited. Therefore, exhibition outlines cannot be fully reconstructed. The materials available are used as comparative reference points for the newly implemented design, on which the focus lies.

Aesthetics, Object Selection and Viewing Habits

Every culture develops a distinctive code of aesthetic appreciation. Content and exhibition design, therefore, have to follow specific visual traditions and understanding of one culture for a successful conception, acceptance and appreciation. Tradition and culture build the framework, set the limitations and create prospects of display. Simple examples such as the use of color and its cultural connotation as well as traditional walking and reading directions illustrate the importance of these cultural connotations for the exhibition design. They gain even more importance for international collaborations, where the exhibits, the context and the design are perceived and read by an audience mostly unfamiliar with the cultural context of its origin. In the exhibition entitled ‘Golden Dragon – White Eagle: Art in the Service of Power at the Imperial Court of China and at the Saxon-Polish Court 1644–1795’ in Dresden in 2008, a joint display of European and Chinese court art was accomplished. The predominant German audience welcomed this side-by-side cultural comparison [Fig. 94]. This approach of a mixed cultural display, was not adopted for the exhibition ‘The Splendor of the White Eagle: Art and Power at the Saxon-Polish Court 1670–1763’ of 2009 in Beijing.⁵⁸² Here the curators assessed their audience as preferring a genuine Western exhibition to a mixed display of artifacts in a culture-comparing manner. An interesting example of a misinterpretation of the cultural context is provided by the experience while installing a European porcelain display wall from the 18th century. In the hands of a Chinese curator, this display turned into a modern replica of a Chinese collector’s cabinet. These

⁵⁸² Goldener Drache – Weißer Adler: Kunst im Dienste der Macht am Kaiserhof von China und am sächsisch-polnischen Hof (164–1795), Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, 11.10.08–11.01.2009; Im Zeichen des Weißer Adlers, The Palace Museum Beijing, 08.04–08.07.2009.

changes in the exhibition design were explained to be necessary due to safety requirements of the display [Fig. 95].

Approaches to the thematic as well as the aesthetic conception of exhibitions frequently differ and can stem from cultural, institutional, or personal diversities. Many Western institutions try to bring new content and research into their exhibitions. In contrast, the Palace Museum in Beijing provides a consistent pool of objects for their international exhibitions, which is only marginally altered and adjusted to illustrate the few predefined themes. The limited selection cannot solely be explained by the nature of their collection providing only imperial art. Successful exhibitions are also repeated in the West. However, due to reasons of conservation and exhibition concept, there are often limitations pertaining to a maximum travel time applying to the artifacts. The Palace Museum's policy seems to limit the number and selection of objects, so that the majority of the collection remains protected from the stress of traveling. In international collaborations, various factors can demand additional preparation time for professionals on both sides, including the different cultures and languages, mindsets and not least, a lack of knowledge about the other collection. Asked for the best strategies in international cooperation, Chen Yu, Chinese curator of 'The Art of the Enlightenment' exhibition, summarized "that the most important criteria in international cooperation is to understand colleagues and make oneself understood".⁵⁸³

Unlike many major collections in the West, the National Museum of China maintains its own design and exhibition department to implement the design ideas with its own staff. Therefore, the whole exhibition concept stems from one source, in many cases facilitating a more harmonious implementation in the museum. In the visitor survey of 2003, more than 70% of the participants stated that they were satisfied or very satisfied with the exhibition design, testifying that the designers did a good job in catering for the needs of their audience.⁵⁸⁴

Technical Requirements

Requirements for the display change continuously owing to the technical evolution of climate and light control and safety instrumented systems. For example, developments in air-conditioning today allow for temperature and humidity control and are standard required for

⁵⁸³ Interview, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, April 21, 2011.

⁵⁸⁴ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 18-20.

most exhibitions setups.⁵⁸⁵ These standard measurements were not feasible only a few decades ago. Furthermore, there are many different methods for individual application of object security and safety available today. The National Museum of China was modeled on the international museum standards and is provided with state-of-the-art technical equipment such as central air and humidity conditioning and control. During the revamping process, the museum consulted different institutions to find the best possible solutions. Among them, the Dresden State Art Collections have shared their experiences with their own museum restoration projects of the last decades. Every change of the technical framework constitutes a dangerous period for the safety of the artifacts on display. In the case of the revamping of the National Museum of China, these changes were severe, as new technical equipment in a new venue had to be operated by employees who founded a team that was almost newly established. Therefore, some experimentation time was required before the artifacts were installed. With this in mind, a three-month trial period for the climate control was agreed upon before the German partners would bring their loans to the exhibition hall. This period, however, could not be fully adhered to. Nerve-racking circumstances throughout the exhibition installation sadly proved how necessary this trial period would have been to get the system running smoothly.

The National Museum of China expects to host an average of 20,000 visitors a day and eight to ten million visitors per year.⁵⁸⁶ The improvement of public accessibility and the exposure of the exhibits to a permanently increasing number of visitors, however much desired, require special safety and security measures. The majority of exhibits are displayed in showcases. In the bronze gallery, however, low and high display pedestals with surrounding barriers are employed to protect objects from direct contact [Fig. 85].

As was previously mentioned, the exposure to light can cause a severe damage of the artifacts in specific object groups such as textiles, calligraphy and painting. To regulate the amount of light exposure most efficiently, artificial light exhibitions are established nowadays. The implementation of artificial light affects the design of the exhibition halls and the handling of existing windows to a great extent. The rather dark exhibition halls seem to be commonly accepted by the visitors. In the visitor survey of 2003, a majority of over 75%

⁵⁸⁵ Exceptions are, for example, stone sculpture and porcelain exhibitions, which due to their material do not require any stable climate conditions.

⁵⁸⁶ Cf. Siemons, Mark. "Das Programm heißt: groß." FAZ, Feuilleton, March 26, 2011; p. 33.

agreed that the reduction of lighting in the exhibition halls for conservation reasons was necessary (see 6.2.1).⁵⁸⁷ Like many other major collections, the National Museum of China has issued rules against taking pictures within the exhibition venue for the majority of exhibition galleries.⁵⁸⁸ These measurements have been implemented for copyright reasons on one side, on the other side, they protect numerous sensitive exhibits from the exposure to camera flash light.

International exhibitions become more and more frequent owing to worldwide developments in the modes of transportation. The traveling of the art objects enables a large number of visitors to see artifacts from different cultures, which, otherwise, they would not be likely to see in their lifetime. On the other hand, international loan exhibitions put much stress on the selected objects. Therefore, only objects decided upon by professional restoration staff and in accordance with museum regulation are selected for travels. Facility reports provide priori information about the condition of the galleries. However, due to the lack of experience with a new venue, these reports can only be insufficient. Quality standards have increased throughout the years and are comparable for most international operating museums, nevertheless, small differences in the approach in object handling and climate definition can cause great logistical difficulties. In ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition, for example, the three German collections used differing and non-interchangeable mounting systems for their paintings, which then had to be in accordance with the National Museum of China’s newly implemented hanging system. This caused not only logistic difficulties but also challenged a coherent exhibition design.

These underlying preconditions facilitate and limit the display of artifacts at the same time, influencing the outline, content and design of every exhibition. They played a decisive role in the establishment of the ‘Ancient China’, ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ and ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibitions, which will be analyzed in the following section.

⁵⁸⁷ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 21-22.

⁵⁸⁸ With the exception of the Road of Rejuvenation exhibition, taking photos is forbidden in the other exhibition galleries. A special permission may be purchased from the museum.

3.4. Analysis

3.4.1. Ancient China

Chronology

The first exhibition of the Museum of Chinese History was opened to the public on October 10, 1926 at the Meridian Gate of the Imperial Palace. Under the Communist leadership, the museum established the ‘National Capital Exhibition of Archaeological Finds’ and presented Qin and Han Dynasty relics within their premises at the Meridian Gate in 1954. One year later, displays of the Wei, Jin, Sui and Tang Dynasties were officially added, laying the foundations for later presentations. The ‘Ancient China’ exhibition is the successor to the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ of the former Museum of Chinese History, which was on display from 1959 until 1999 encompassing numerous revisions and breaks. The main steps in the development were the following: The first draft for the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ including the content outline and a display plan was prepared in 1958.⁵⁸⁹ After the collection moved to the newly erected building at Tiananmen Square in September 1959, the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ opened in a trial period with public access on October 1, in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the People’s Republic of China. Shortly after, the exhibition closed for necessary adjustments.⁵⁹⁰ On July 1, 1961, the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ officially opened to the public and was visited by the Belgian Queen within the same month.⁵⁹¹ During the high time of the Cultural Revolution, both museums were shut, and in 1968, the People’s Liberation Army was stationed in the building to protect the cultural heritage site from vandalism.⁵⁹² In 1970, a revision period of the exhibition began and the content was amended to further emphasize the rebellion against imperial rulers, the class struggle as motivation of historical progress and the working class as pioneers of history.⁵⁹³ The guidelines of display were adjusted and the exhibited period extended to include the May Fourth Movement of 1919. The revision continued in 1972 and was closely monitored by Zhou Enlai.⁵⁹⁴ During these years, content was added, generated under the influence of the Cultural Revolution. In 1975, the official preview of the exhibition began, with the exhibition finally opening to the public in 1978

⁵⁸⁹ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan choujian xiaozu 1958.

⁵⁹⁰ The exhibition was closed on October 9, 1959; Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian 2002, p. 146.

⁵⁹¹ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian 2002, p. 146.

⁵⁹² Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian 2002, p. 147.

⁵⁹³ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian 2002, p. 147.

⁵⁹⁴ Wang, Hongjun 1990, p. 448.

after major revisions and the omission of some of the content from the Cultural Revolution.⁵⁹⁵ In 1984, the display of the Tang, Ming and Qing Dynasty was adjusted and the exhibition reduced by 800 m² to make room for special displays.⁵⁹⁶ The General History exhibition of 1989 had the following characteristics:

1989 年的陈列方案与 1978 年的比，有不少变化。1978 年的方案虽然删除了受文化大革命影响的内容，但也存在一些毛泽东时期（不仅是文化大革命时期）形成的历史观点，有些观点在后来看是错误的。1989 年的通史陈列清除了这些错误观点的大部分。⁵⁹⁷

In 1989, the exhibition scheme had many similarities to the exhibition of 1978. Although the content, which had been influenced by the Cultural Revolution in the exhibition of 1978, had been omitted, nevertheless the opinions and perceptions of the Mao Era outlasted (not only the period of the Cultural Revolution). Some of these opinions in retrospective have been wrong. In the general history exhibition of 1989, most of the wrong viewpoints were deleted.

By the end of 1992, the exhibition had to be de-installed for a brief period to allow for necessary restoration and enforcement of the roof.⁵⁹⁸ The ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ was finally closed in 1999. In 2000, a Collector’s Special exhibition was launched with the most representative objects of the former displays.⁵⁹⁹ In February 2007, all exhibitions closed and the galleries were cleared for renovation. Within the next years, parts of the collection traveled throughout China to present masterpieces at museums near their original excavation site. In May 2011, the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition opened for a preview and probation period, followed by the official opening of the exhibition in June.

Although the revision of long-term exhibitions and adjustment to the necessities of time seem to be common practice, in analyzing the major line of development of the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’, the influence of political changes on the display becomes apparent. Internal museum guidelines and exhibition outlines, which illustrate some major development steps, were made available for this study, namely the 1958 draft outline of the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’（中國通史陳列計劃草稿）⁶⁰⁰; the unpublished major revision of the outline of 1971（中国通史陈列大纲）⁶⁰¹, which was compiled at the height of the Cultural Revolution; the 1981 revised catalogue book（中国通史陈

⁵⁹⁵ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

⁵⁹⁶ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan chenliebu 1993.

⁵⁹⁷ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, January 27, 2010.

⁵⁹⁸ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan chenliebu 1993.

⁵⁹⁹ Correspondence, Chen Yu 陈煜, curator, NMC, Beijing, October 15, 2012.

⁶⁰⁰ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan choujian xiaozu 1958.

⁶⁰¹ Zhongguo geming lishi bowuguan geming weiyuanhui 1971.

列展品详目及说明)⁶⁰² and the 1993 catalogue book of the museum (中国通史陈列展品详目及说明)⁶⁰³, which documents the status of 1989. These accounts will be effective major sources of information for the comparisons with the now implemented design.

Description

The new presentation of the former History Museum is located in the basement (– 6 m) of the eastern building compound. It encompasses 11 exhibition halls to the south (hall 15-20) and north (hall 21-25), connecting on the east side of the building with an overall floor space of 9450 m² [Fig. 19]. The exhibition commences with an elevated geographical map of China [Fig. 96-97] and a ‘Chronology of Ancient Chinese History’ introducing the exhibition sections at the entrance to the first gallery. It features Chinese history from prehistoric times, beginning with the earliest traces of human settlement in China around two millennia BC until the end of the last Chinese dynasty in 1911. The 2520 artifacts on display range from excavation finds of human remains and of ritual and burial objects to imperial collector’s items. They are arranged chronologically in eight sections commencing with ‘Prehistoric Times’ (Section 1; c. 2 million years ago–c. 21st century BC) [Fig. 98]. The second section entitled ‘Xia, Shang, Western Zhou Dynasties’ (c. 21st century–771 BC) [Fig. 99] features the early forms of state formation in China, the zenith of bronze casting, including artifacts and records about the economy, politics and culture of that time. Within this section, the implementation of the hierarchical order of the Western Zhou is highlighted and identified as a foundation for generations of Chinese society. The third section presents the ‘Spring and Autumn & Warring States Periods’ (770–221 BC) [Fig. 100], which was forged by the collapse of the Western Zhou ritual system, the widespread use of iron, the flourishing of academic thoughts as well as the development towards a unified inter-ethnic nation. The fourth section is dedicated to the ‘Qin and Han Dynasties’ (221 BC–220 AD) [Fig. 101-103], depicting the unification of China under Qin Shi Huangdi and stressing the invention of new technology, economic and social development and cultural exchange. The fifth section is entitled ‘Three Kingdoms, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties’ (220–589 AD) [Fig. 104-107]. It features a time which was shaped by frequent changes of political power and by foreign and Chinese cultural interference. In addition, the display depicts the political unrest of the time, which led to significant changes in social life, culture and ideology. Section 6 is dedicated to the cultural development during the ‘Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties’ (581–960

⁶⁰² Zhongguo lishi bowuguan chenliebu 1981.

⁶⁰³ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan chenliebu 1993.

AD) [Fig. 108]. Section 7 is entitled ‘Liao, Song, Xia, Jin, and Yuan Dynasties’ (916–1368 AD) [Fig. 109] and features the development towards a unification of a multi-ethnic country, overseas trade, and economical and cultural exchange with other countries. The eighth and final section, entitled ‘Ming and Qing Dynasties’ (1368–1911) [Fig. 110], depicts the last imperial dynasties of China, their prosperity and their decline. The exhibition concludes with an enlarged copy of Mao Zedong’s famous ‘Patio Spring Snow’ poem (沁园春雪) of 1936 and the painting ‘The Yellow River’ (黄河) of 1973 by Yao Zhonghua 姚仲华 (b. 1939) [Fig. 111].

The exhibition is designed with rather simple and unornamented features, displaying the majority of objects in showcases with a few large objects on pedestals. The color scheme throughout the exhibition halls is beige, with the floor and showcases being grey. Similar to the porcelain gallery, lighting effects on the objects play a central role. Each section starts with a title and an introductory text in Chinese and English, with additional information for object groups on panels. Every object is provided with a caption; in addition, didactic models and illustrations are placed throughout the exhibition.

Theme

Since its first opening in 1959 until its final closure in 1999, the main exhibition of the former Museum of Chinese History has undergone severe changes, restructuring and periods of closure. However, throughout the entire period, the exhibition kept its descriptive title of ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ (中国通史陈列). With the reopening in 2011, the exhibition of the former Museum of Chinese History was renamed to ‘Ancient China’ (古代中国). The new title, even shorter than the previous, is less descriptive. However, it seems more capable of stimulating the visitor’s imagination. An alteration of the title after so many years exudes the message that the exhibition content has been adjusted and the presentation has been changed. The major themes depicted in the 2011 exhibition are the development in politics, economy, culture, ethnic religion and foreign exchange.⁶⁰⁴ A comparison with the former exhibition outlines allows a description of the development in the exhibition themes:

In 1957, the objectives for the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ were set to display the nation’s past by means of people’s communal and multi-ethnic history as a part of

⁶⁰⁴ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

the history of the worldwide labor force and by the progress of historical development.⁶⁰⁵ Furthermore, this exhibition was designed to propagate patriotism.⁶⁰⁶ The exhibition followed the historical outline of Marxism-Leninist (historic materialism) and Mao's thoughts explaining and stressing historical development and the progress of society as an ongoing struggle of the different social classes for the means of production (see 3.3.). In addition, each development within the dynasties as shown in the subdivision of the exhibition, followed the pattern of political formation, a blossoming followed by decline, applied in the traditional Chinese historiography.⁶⁰⁷

The most ideological display was developed during the Cultural Revolution, apparent in the goals formulated in the 1971 preface to the exhibition outline, which can be summarized as follows:⁶⁰⁸

1. To portray and stress the working class achievements within the class war against corrupt rulers, as defined in the continuing revolutionary traditions.
2. To praise the national heroes and revolutionary leaders and stress the contributions of scientists, thinkers, inventors and artists. The ruling elite, which contributed to the development, should be mentioned while the reactionaries of the ruling elite should be criticized.
3. The history of the different ethnic nationalities should be stressed in regard to a unified state, with the Han nation being depicted as the primary nation of Chinese history. The reasons behind the unification should be described as a mutual cooperation and supported by the different nations.
4. In regard to international relations, the Chinese contributions to world history and good foreign relations should be stressed. Foreign aggression since the Opium War should be emphasized in particular.⁶⁰⁹

The content of the section about foreign aggression and the Old Democratic Revolution (1840–1920) was transferred and integrated into the exhibition of the Museum of Chinese

⁶⁰⁵ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian 2002, p. 144.

⁶⁰⁶ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian 2002, p. 144.

⁶⁰⁷ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan choujian xiaozu 1958.

⁶⁰⁸ Zhongguo geming lishi bowuguan geming weiyuanhui 1971, Preface.

⁶⁰⁹ Zhongguo geming lishi bowuguan geming weiyuanhui 1971, Preface.

Revolution since 1984.⁶¹⁰ From then on, the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ only depicted the historical development until the decline of the last dynasty, defining the end of feudal society in 1911.⁶¹¹ Although many alterations of the exhibition outline were made, the basic themes established in the outlines of 1957 and 1971 prevailed throughout decades. The ‘Ancient China’ exhibition of 2011, however, experienced downsizing of the political theme, resulting in the change of exhibition title as one member of the staff explained during the preparatory phase:

因为政治的文物较少，以往感到表现困难，所以对政治内容简化，而重点表现其它几个方面，特别是经济、文化的文物多，可以设计的内容丰富，因此将不再是《中国通史陈列》那样平均表现几方面的展览，所以改了名。⁶¹²

Because of only limited artifacts being available illustrating the theme of politics, which in the past had already been seen as a difficult task, the content of politics would be simplified. The focal points therefore are on other aspects, especially on economy and culture, where there are many expositis enabling a rich creation of context. Consequently, there will no longer be an equal emphasis of aspects like in the ‘General Chinese History’ and the exhibition was renamed.

One important theme for the exhibition was the focus on revolutionary events. Since its beginnings in 1959, the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ has stressed the revolutionary history of the peasant class rebelling against the elite; a development of this general theme throughout the history of the exhibition and until the new display of 2011 can be identified in the use of a specific terminology, for example, of the terms ‘peasant uprising’ (农民大起义) and ‘peasant war’ (农民战争) in the descriptions of the display:

In the 1958 outline of the exhibition, the terminology occurs first in the explanation of the Daze Village Rebellion initiated by Chen Sheng 陈胜 (d. 208 BC) against the Qin Dynasty in 209 BC. In total, three events are described as peasant wars and six events are classified as peasant uprisings, which in two cases were even defined by the character ‘large’ (大).⁶¹³

In the revised exhibition outline of 1971, the rebellion of Chen Sheng is also introduced first, this time with the quotation “cutting wood to make a weapon, lifting bamboo to

⁶¹⁰ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan chenliebu 1993, Preface.

⁶¹¹ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

⁶¹² Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

⁶¹³ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan choujian xiaozu 1958.

make a flag” (斩木为兵，揭竿为旗)⁶¹⁴, which refers to the particular peasant uprising of 209 BC.⁶¹⁵ In total, five events were classified as peasant wars and six events as peasant uprisings, one case additionally being characterized as large. Furthermore, the 1971 description identified the Yellow Turban Rebellion (184 AD) as a peasant uprising. In this exhibition outline, almost every section or even subsection of history ended with a peasant uprising. In the outline of 1981, the classification of an event as peasant war (4) and peasant uprising (5, of which two are defined as large uprisings) started to decline and the Yellow Turban rebels were not equated with peasants any more.⁶¹⁶

In 1993, only the Daze Village Rebellion during the Qin Dynasty was defined as a peasant war and three events were classified as large peasant uprisings.⁶¹⁷ Until then, all of the events defined as uprisings by the various exhibition outlines had been placed in feudal times and started with the rebellion of Chen Sheng in 209 BC. For events that occurred at the end of a dynasty (e.g. Tang, Yuan, Ming), the term uprising was more frequently employed.

In the 2011 outline, the rebellion of Chen Sheng remains the only reference to a peasant uprising, however, the term no longer occurs in the section title but is only included in the descriptive text. A decline of the revolutionary theme can therefore be stated for the entire exhibition.

In contrast, ethnic unification and the progress of society, which were significant themes of the former display, remain important to the 2011 exhibition outline and can be found in the description of almost every section, for example, in the introduction for the Spring and Autumn Period and Warring State Period:

春秋战国时期（约公元前 770 年-公元前 221 年）春秋战国时期，西周以来的礼制分崩离析，社会结构发生根本性变化；铁器的广泛使用促进了生产力和 socioeconomic 的发展；学术

⁶¹⁴ The quotation originally stems from the ‘Guoqin lun’ (过秦论) of Jia Yi 贾谊 (200–169 BC) of the Western Han Dynasty: “斩木为兵，揭竿为旗，天下云集响应，赢粮而景从，山东豪杰并起而亡秦族矣。”

⁶¹⁵ Zhongguo geming lishi bowuguan geming weiyuanhui 1971, p. 22.

⁶¹⁶ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan chenliebu 1981.

⁶¹⁷ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan chenliebu 1993.

思想百花齐放。民族间相互融合，华夏民族主体形成，整个社会在征战兼并中逐步走向统一。⁶¹⁸

Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period (approx. 770–221 BC): During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Period, the ritual system inherited by the Western Zhou disintegrated, and fundamental changes in the social structure took place; the widespread use of ironware promoted productivity and socio-economic development; academic ideas blossomed. With the mutual ethnic integration the formation of the Chinese nation started, with the whole society gradually moving towards reunification through the merging campaigns.

Throughout the description of the 2011 exhibition, the unity of the different ethnic nations is stressed, whereas social conflicts are deemphasized.⁶¹⁹ In general, the presentation concentrates on the economic and cultural development. In contrast to the previously strong political alignment of the exhibition theme, the economic and cultural development can be better supported by the museum's collection. Apparently, the officials of the Party's Department of Propaganda, which had observed the museum meetings, even required putting an emphasis on cultural aspect and the aesthetic value of precious objects themselves, which was in turn achieved through the object selection.⁶²⁰

Object Selection

The comprehensive collection of the National Museum of China includes an object range from prehistoric excavation finds up to collector items of the 20th century. This enables the illustration of multiple cultural, social and historical themes, and a display in chronological order along with the possibility of following thematic as well as aesthetical considerations. However, despite the size of the collection, several themes cannot be illustrated appropriately. For other themes, a large variety of objects is available so that choices have to be made and many interesting artifacts have to remain in storage. In the 2011 exhibition the deemphasizing of the political theme, which had caused difficulty in the presentation before, and the emphasizing the economic and cultural phenomenon, which the collection illustrates best, met this challenge. The artifacts whether stemming from above the ground (inherited collections) or underground sources (archaeological sites) mainly represent high art and illustrate the cultural legacy of a privileged group in society. The curatorial selection for the display of everyday life proves difficult, because only a small fraction of objects stems from this origin. In addition, the masterpieces of each epoch, and not the everyday objects, draw the visitor's attention. In many cases the dichotomy occurs that "collectives that are of high

⁶¹⁸ Ancient China, Section 3: Introduction; Cited after the exhibition display.

⁶¹⁹ Johnson, Ian. "At China's New Museum, History Toes Party Line." *The New York Times*, April 3, 2011.

⁶²⁰ Johnson, Ian. "At China's New Museum, History Toes Party Line." *The New York Times*, April 3, 2011.

historical value do not possess high artistic value,”⁶²¹ as one participant of the staff survey described it (6.2.2.). The selection of objects for their aesthetical value rather than for the historical focus played a major role in 2011, which is accounted for by the fact that 2026 of the 2520 objects on display are classified cultural relics, with 521 rated as being first-class.⁶²²

In 1997, the exhibition had already occupied a gallery space of 7800 m², even containing 5450 exhibits.⁶²³ This meant for the new display a reduction to less than half of the objects while, at the same time, extending the exhibition space by around 2000 m². This development can be explained by the overall exhibition concept: Except for some short-term special exhibition displays, the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ was the only display of the Museum of Chinese History in 1959. The situation had remained unchanged for decades; however, at the turn of the 21st century there were considerations to divide the museum exhibition into an abbreviated chronological display and an additional display of national treasures.⁶²⁴ Therefore, masterpieces were selected from the chronological display to be presented at the new exhibition, resulting in the closing of the permanent exhibition (1999) in favor for the ‘masterpiece display’ (2000). The dual concept resumed in 2011 with the chronological approach of the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition and masterpiece displays of different material groups such as bronze, porcelain and jade. However, besides the long practiced integration of masterpieces into the permanent display (former concept) and the design of two individual exhibitions (new concept), a third path would have been possible. At the National Palace Museum in Taiwan, for example, the display is organized consistently into material groups; however, within the galleries, the object arrangement also follows a chronological order. Furthermore, displays proceed from the ancient past (bronze, oracle bones etc.) on the first floor to decorative arts (snuff bottles, curiosity cabinets) on the top floor.⁶²⁵ With its dual display practice of a chronological path through Chinese history and the separate display of masterpieces, the National Museum of China chose a new approach, thereby aiming to fulfill its parallel assignments as a history and art museum.

⁶²¹ “历史价值高的藏品艺术欣赏价值不高，正在逐步解决。” (No. 30), see 6.3.2.

⁶²² National Museum of China, “Ancient China.”

<http://www.chnmuseum.cn/english/tabid/531/en/tabid/520/Default.aspx?ExhibitionLanguageID=84> (accessed April 10, 2012).

⁶²³ Exhibition of Chinese History 1998, Preface.

⁶²⁴ Capon 2002, p. 30.

⁶²⁵ Hamlish 1995, p. 29.

Order of Display

Closely linked to the object selection is the order of display, which can follow thematic, chronological or aesthetical considerations. The ‘Ancient China’ exhibition primarily follows a chronological order; the sequencing of the exhibition was nevertheless altered. Since 1959, the chronological display of the exhibition has encompassed the Marxist segmentation of history with the addition of Maoist thoughts, which was distinguished by the subsequent phases: primitive society, slave society, feudal society, followed by a semi-colonial and semi-feudal period.⁶²⁶ Each of these phases was subdivided further according to Chinese dynasties.⁶²⁷ This periodization continued during the apex of the Cultural Revolution and only gradually lost in importance.⁶²⁸

In 2011, traditional chronology phasing of Chinese history was applied, which can be read on the Chronology of Ancient Chinese History chart at the entrance to the exhibition. The exhibits were arranged in eight sections grouping the Chinese dynasties. Each of these major sections was divided in subsections, featuring the political and administrative development, the social situation, economy, culture and ethnic minorities of the depicted time span. With the exception of the first and last topics, other subsections were occasionally combined. Comparing the section titles of the 2011 exhibition with the previous exhibition outlines from 1958, 1971, 1981 and 1993, the following findings can be made:

The first section of the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition is entitled Prehistoric Times (远古时期) and scheduled from approx. two million years ago to 21st century BC. In all previous exhibition outlines, the title followed the Marxist classification of Primitive Society (原始社会). The time span this section covers remained the same, with the exception of the 1958 Primitive Society Gallery (原始社会陈列馆), which covered only the history from 500,000 to 50,000 years BC.

The second section of the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition features the Xia, Shang, Western Zhou Dynasties (c. 21st century–771 BC). In 1958, this section was called Slave Society

⁶²⁶ The semi-feudal and semi-colonial phase, also described as a period of foreign aggression and Old Democratic Revolution (1840–1920). It was transferred to the display of the Museum of Chinese Revolution in 1984; cf. correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

⁶²⁷ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

⁶²⁸ Zhongguo geming lishi bowuguan geming weiyuanhui 1971, Preface.

Gallery (奴隶社会陈列馆) and thereafter Slave Society (奴隶社会: 1971, 1981, 1993), respectively. Although, this heading followed the Socialist periodization, from 1958 onwards, traditional Chinese periodization was included in sub headers (e.g. Xia to Spring and Autumn period: 夏至春秋). The periodization of each section, however, differed so that the Slave Society in 1958 was defined from 2033 AD–475 BC and in 1993, from approximately 21st century–16th century BC.

The third section of the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition depicts the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods (770–221 BC), whereas all previous outlines referred to this period as ‘Feudal Society’ (封建社会: 475 BC–1840 AD). In 1958, the exhibition outline defined an early (Spring and Autumn Period–Qin Dynasty, 475–221 BC), first middle (Qin/Han, Northern and Southern Dynasty 221 BC–589 AD), second middle (Sui- Yuan, 589–1368) and a final phase of feudalism (Ming and Qing Dynasty, 1368–1911). In the 1971 and 1981 outline, the display of the Semi-Colonial and Semi-Feudal Society: the Old Democratic Revolution (半殖民地半封建社会: 旧民主主义革命时期) succeeded as a final section. In 1993, a conclusion followed immediately after the three main parts. The ‘Ancient China’ exhibition of 2011 encompasses five more sections in accordance to the traditional sectioning of Chinese history.

It becomes apparent by this delineation that the sectioning of the exhibition complying with the Marxist distinction of historical eras in primitive, slave and feudal society was especially problematic for the display of ancient Chinese history. Because of the disparate distribution of exhibits, the permanent display of the third section depicting the feudal society, originally made up three quarters of the whole exhibition, while the two other sections were quite small.⁶²⁹ In 1958, the curators managed to get by with the large third section by splitting the feudal period into four equal partitions and many subsections, which then employed the Chinese historical periodization. However, the Marxist subdivision remained decisive. In 2011, the Marxist theory no longer dominates the historic periodization and the exhibition returned to the traditional Chinese periodization according to dynasties.

⁶²⁹ Li/Luo 2004, pp. 70 ff.

Exhibition Design

Like the majority of galleries at the new museum, the design of the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition is rather simple and unornamented. It was judged by more than one third of the participants of the 2011 visitor survey as being traditional (see 6.2.4.). Throughout the entire exhibition, a light color scheme evolves from beige paint on the walls to much lighter nuances of white on the cloth-covered pedestals, the interior design of the showcases and on the boards provided for exhibition texts. In contrast, the floor and the showcases are kept in dark gray. The visitor’s path meanders through the exhibition halls intersected by mounted walls and showcases. Heavy wooden benches welcome the visitor to rest [Fig. 107]. The section titles are given in raised characters applied to an exhibition wall [Fig. 104].

The set up with high ceilings appears spacious, similar to the preceding exhibition, which was on display on two floors of the former south wing [Fig. 112-113]. Spotlights for the objects are installed in the ceiling lamella and in the showcases so that objects are lit directly and shine as in the masterpiece exhibitions. With the exception of only a few large objects and models displayed on pedestals, the majority of exhibits are placed in showcases. These display cases were especially designed for the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition in only a few different sizes. In rare occasions, showcases were made to serve particular specifications. Furthermore, display cases have been integrated in several partition walls [Fig. 103]. The majority of freestanding showcases are scattered throughout the center of the exhibition galleries, following curatorial considerations rather than obeying structural ideas of the interior designers, such as can be encountered in the perfect alignment of showcases in the Capital Museum [Fig. 114]. By the predominant use of freestanding showcases, the exhibition design remains very flexible and capable of swift alterations. A distinctiveness of the exhibition, which can be encountered in the application of mixed media showcases along the walls of the ‘History of Beijing’ exhibition at the Capital Museum, [Fig. 115], however, was not achieved.

At the first gallery, a sculpture reconstructing the ‘Beijing Man Carrying a Deer’ and an installation of a caveman’s dwelling represent some of a very limited set of three-dimensional installations. In Section 4, copies of freestanding terracotta warriors are framed by a blow up image of the excavation site in the back. Both installations serve as prelude for the new section. Architectural elements and cast reliefs of Tang horses are integrated in

partition walls [Fig. 105, 108]. Furthermore, wooden scale models of early machinery, such as the ‘Water Driven Armillary Sphere and Celestial Globe’ from the Northern Song, have been skillfully designed according to contemporary illustrations [Fig. 106, 109] and are presented throughout the exhibition.⁶³⁰ The former ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ incorporated various sculptures and history paintings originally made for the display. Already in the 1990s, this approach was cancelled. At the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition the Beijing Man remains the only reference of the former practice.⁶³¹ Except for the rare installations mentioned, the exhibition abstains from contextualizing objects in an artificial setting or from creating the illusion of an interior setting, which can be encountered in previous displays and, for example, in the furniture exhibition of the Shanghai Museum [Fig. 116].

The unornamented exhibition design combined with this type of illumination put the object itself at the center. After the opening of the exhibition in 2011, 26% of the participants of the visitor survey stated that the exhibition looked Chinese, 37% opted for traditional, only 9% opted for modern, 7% for socialist and 6% for international, respectively (see 6.2.4.).

Didactic Infrastructure

Text is one of the main media to transport the message of the exhibition. It is provided in Chinese and in English introducing each section by title, time span and description. In rare cases, group texts incorporate various objects under one topic. Every artifact holds a caption giving a descriptive title, the period of production, and the date and location of its discovery. In addition, some multi-media screens throughout the exhibition halls provide the visitor with supplementary object and background information. Despite all these texts, the on-site explanations for over 2500 objects, illustrating more than 5000 years of Chinese history are provided on a reduced scale. This becomes especially apparent in comparison with other exhibitions, which chronologically display the history of China. The ‘History of Beijing’ exhibition [Fig. 115] in the Capital Museum introduces not only a great variety of explanations for each object displayed, but it also juxtaposes the showcases with a timeline depicting important historical events outside China. In the National Palace Museum on Taiwan, a similar timeline exists in the introductory room, where images of masterpieces from the collection have even been included. In both cases, the chronological display and the media-mix provide comprehensive information and guidance for the visitor, commonly

⁶³⁰ Exhibition of Chinese History 1998, p. 146.

⁶³¹ Correspondence, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, October 15, 2012.

applied in history exhibitions. It becomes apparent again that within the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition the aesthetic presentation exceeds the explanation of the historical context.

The use of quotations plays a significant role in the transportation of didactic messages. Quotations were applied throughout the development of the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition in various forms. Therefore, they qualify to serve as sample for the analysis of change and continuity of the didactic approach. In 2011, quotations were reduced to only two locations, commencing and concluding the exhibition. The map of China in front of the exhibition halls includes the quotation from Mao Zedong [Fig. 96]:

从很早的古代起，我们中华民族的祖先就劳动、生息、繁殖在这块广大的土地之上。
From ancient times, our forefathers have laboured, lived and multiplied on this vast territory.⁶³²

The exhibition concludes with an enlarged copy of Mao Zedong’s famous poem ‘Patio Spring Snow’ at the exit of the exhibition, where a bookshop and a reading area are located [Fig. 111]:

北国风光，千里冰封，万里雪飘。望长城内外，惟余莽莽；大河上下，顿失滔滔。山舞银蛇，原驰蜡象，欲与天公试比高。须晴日，看红妆素裹，分外妖娆。江山如此多娇，引无数英雄竞折腰。惜秦皇汉武，略输文采；唐宗宋祖，稍逊风骚。一代天骄，成吉思汗，只识弯弓射大雕。俱往矣，数风流人物，还看今朝。⁶³³

North country scene: / A hundred leagues locked in ice, / thousand leagues of whirling snow. / Both sides of the Great Wall / One single white immensity. / The Yellow River's swift current / Is stilled from end to end. / The mountains dance like silver snakes / And the highlands charge like wax-hued elephants, / Vying with heaven in stature. / On a fine day, the land, / Clad in white, adorned in red, / Grows more enchanting. / This land so rich in beauty / Has made countless heroes bow in homage. / But alas! Qin Shihuang and Han Wudi / Were lacking in literary grace, / And Tang Taizong and Song Taizu / Had little poetry in their souls; / And Genghis Khan, / Proud Son of Heaven for a day, Knew only shooting eagles, bow outstretched. / All are past and gone! / For truly great men / Look to this age alone.⁶³⁴

Written during the Long March in 1936, Mao Zedong depicts his idea about China, describes the beauty of the country, and refers to a new historic interpretation by criticizing historical figures and defining the end of feudal society as the turning point in history. In his

⁶³² 毛泽东. 毛泽东选集第二卷, 中国革命和中国共产党. 一九三九年十二月, cited after Chinese Communist Party. “Mao Zedong: Selected Works.” <http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64185/66616/4488919.html> (accessed October 30, 2012); Mao, Zedong 1965, p. 305.

⁶³³ Ancient China, exit area, ‘Patio Spring Snow’ poem of Mao Zedong.

⁶³⁴ Translation cited after Andrews 1994, pp. 230-231.

view, the new era creates better heroes than the Chinese history had brought up so far. This poem found countless imitations and artistic interpretations in the following.

The two quotations cited remain the only quotations within the exhibition and frame the display by Mao's encounter with history. From 1959, the exhibition had included several quotations reflecting the historical foundation of Communism as formulated by Marx and Engels, Lenin and Mao Zedong, which is documented in various exhibition outlines. During the Cultural Revolution, the use of quotation was at its height. In the 1971 exhibition outline, many quotations of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao introduced every principal section of the exhibition.⁶³⁵ Most numerous were the quotations by Mao Zedong (24), the fewest by Stalin (2). In the 1981 exhibition outline, quotations were reduced significantly by over 50%, eliminating all quotations by Stalin. At this time, the concept foresaw quotations from Chinese history and the Chinese classics. By 1989, the quotations from the classics were eliminated⁶³⁶; by this time, citations were already reduced to Mao Zedong's famous 'Patio Spring Snow' poem and the following statement by him at the end of the exhibition:

我们这个民族有数千年的历史，有它的特点，有它的许多珍贵品质。对于这些，我们还是小学生。今天的中国是历史的中国的一个发展；我们是马克思主义的历史主义者，我们不应割断历史。从孔夫子到孙中山，我们应当给以总结，承认这一份珍贵的遗产。这对于指导当前的伟大的运动，是有重要的帮助的。⁶³⁷

Our national history goes back several thousand years and has its own characteristics and innumerable treasures. But in these matters we are mere schoolboys. Contemporary China has grown out of the China of the past; we are Marxist in our historical approach and must not lop off our history. We should sum up our history from Confucius to Sun Yat-sen and take over this valuable legacy. This is important for guiding the great movement of today.⁶³⁸

In summary, within the development of the exhibition changing approaches in the use of quotations are noticeable and can be analyzed as follows:

- 1) An increasing application of quotations including famous Socialist leaders from the first display up to the Cultural Revolution can be noticed.

⁶³⁵ In the last section of the exhibition (1840–1919), the quotations are not assembled at the beginning, but scattered throughout the exhibition, here only Mao (9) and Lenin (2) quotations were found; Zhongguo geming lishi bowuguan geming weiyuanhui 1971.

⁶³⁶ However, in connection with the sculptures of Kongzi, Laozi and Sunzi quotations were directly applied (1993).

⁶³⁷ Cited after Mao Zedong. Xuanji 选集. Di'er juan diyiban 第二卷第一版 [Mao Zedong, Selected Works, Volume II, First Edition] 1948, p. 522.

⁶³⁸ Mao Zedong 1965, p. 209.

- 2) A decline in the use of quotations from Socialist leaders commenced in the 1980s, accompanied by the introduction of quotations from Chinese classics, however only lasting until 1989.
- 3) A reduction to only two quotations of Mao Zedong ensued already in 1989: First, the 'Patio Spring Snow' poem evoked patriotic feelings, and presented a strong attitude to a change in historic interpretation by criticizing historical figures and welcoming new heroes. The second quotation from Mao Zedong's Selected Works made a clear statement for the Marxist approach in the interpretation of Chinese history, even playing on the theme of being "schoolboys" of the new Socialist history writing.
- 4) The 2011 display includes the 'Patio Spring Snow' poem at the exit of the display and a new quotation at the beginning of the exhibition. Both quotations frame the exhibition and address the visitor in Mao Zedong's patriotic voice. By the exchange of the first quotation and placing the 'Patio Spring Snow' poem last, the attitude of the address has changed. It does not stress a Marxist interpretation of history, but praises the achievements of the ancestors and the contemporary heroes. Though the order and partially the content of the quotations have changed, they still adhere to the common practice of Chinese museums to offer a quotation from Mao as farewell.⁶³⁹ At the exit, the 'Patio Spring Snow' poem is accompanied by the painting 'The Yellow River' (1973) by Yao Zhonghua, a further reference and symbol of the Chinese nation. Remarkably is the instance that the first quotation on the map is not even attributed to Mao Zedong any more. It indicates the popularity of the quotation, which is still remembered by the Chinese people. As various staff members mentioned, the introduction of quotations was discussed controversially, and not everybody welcomed the placement of the 'Patio Spring Snow' poem at the end of the 'Ancient China' exhibition.

⁶³⁹ Denton 2005, p. 61.

Summary

The 'Ancient China' exhibition emerged from a well-established history exhibition, which started in 1959 and was amended over the years. Although the overall theme of the display is to present a chronological path through more than 5000 years of Chinese history, nevertheless, the opening of 2011 saw not only the title but also the focus of the exhibition experiencing fundamental changes. The new display presents masterpieces of Chinese culture arranged in chronological order and in thematic subdivisions of politics, economy, culture, ethnic religion and foreign exchange. Within these themes, special focus is on the economic and cultural development, which the artifacts illustrate best. In comparison with the 'Road of Rejuvenation', the 'Ancient China' exhibition and its predecessors seem to have always focused more on the object itself than on ideological explanations. One of the major reasons for this approach might be the availability of predominantly high-class masterpieces, which were collected for their historical as well as their aesthetical value. These artifacts seem less capable for the illustration of political ideas, as objects specifically collected for this purpose by the ruling government. The historical perspective of the exhibition has changed as seen in the use of terminology, the elimination of quotations of socialist thinkers and leaders, the relinquishment of history paintings and sculptures and in the explicit return to traditional Chinese chronology for the segmentation of the exhibition. The quotation at the entrance and Mao's 'Patio Spring Snow' poem at the end of the exhibition represent two reminders of the former display and serve to awaken patriotic feelings. An explicit design, a clear structuring of the exhibition and a didactic program mainly relying on limited text explanation altogether illustrate that the new focus is clearly set on the perception of the object itself. Furthermore, it answers the visitor's desire to see an exhibition, of history and art, which were both rated favorites in the comprehensive museum survey of 2003.⁶⁴⁰ The new focus delineates a development of the self-image of the museum, which had for many decades stressed the historic progression.⁶⁴¹ In the new display of the 'Ancient China' exhibition, the historical presentation and the appreciation of the artifact are both incorporated.

⁶⁴⁰ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 14-15.

⁶⁴¹ Interview, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, April 21, 2011.

3.4.2. The Road of Rejuvenation

Chronology

The ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition is tied to a history of alterations, closing and reopening in order to adjust to the official party line. Initially, the exhibition was scheduled to open with the new museum building on October 1, 1959; however, on September 20, Premier Zhou Enlai criticized that the display would not sufficiently emphasize the ‘Red line’ and Mao Zedong’s Thoughts.⁶⁴² The revision took many months and was executed by various committees with Deng Xiaoping inspecting the exhibition and giving his final approval for the opening on May 16, 1961. On July 1, 1961, after almost two years of searching for the right display, the exhibition of the Museum of Chinese Revolution formally opened to the public on the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the CCP depicting the ‘History of the Chinese Revolution’ (中国革命史) from 1840 until 1949.⁶⁴³ Within the next decades, the display of the Museum of Chinese Revolution experienced periods of openings and closings accompanied by various phases of restructuring. It was closed in 1966 during the heyday of the Cultural Revolution and after a series of openings and closings it opened again in 1979.⁶⁴⁴ After another revision period starting in 1988, it was reopened in 1990. In 2001, the display of the Museum of Chinese Revolution closed for good. In February 2007, the unified museum shut down for renovation followed by the clearance of the entire museum. On October 13, 2007, an interim exhibition called ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ (复兴之路) was held in the Military Museum, for the first time under this name [Fig. 117].⁶⁴⁵ This exhibition encompassed 630 (sets of) artifacts and 760 illustrations.⁶⁴⁶ The design and content were altered in February 2008 when 9 artifacts and 131 illustrations were added, some installations redesigned and some new display cases introduced.⁶⁴⁷ Especially Part 2, ‘Search for National Salvation’, experienced the modification of content. For the foreign visitors, English translations of the introduction, section descriptions and captions as well as audio-guide tours

⁶⁴² Johnson, Ian, “At China’s New Museum, History Toes Party Line.” *The New York Times*, April 3, 2011; Cf. Andrews 1994 and Hung Chang-tai 2005.

⁶⁴³ Denton 2000, p. 208.

⁶⁴⁴ Johnson, Ian, “At China’s New Museum, History Toes Party Line.” *The New York Times*, April 3, 2011.

⁶⁴⁵ Fuxing zhi lu 2007. 复兴之路, 大型展览工作简报 2007 年 10 月 25 日 [work report of the large scale ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition, October 25, 2007].

⁶⁴⁶ Fuxing zhi lu 2007.

⁶⁴⁷ Fuxing zhi lu 2/2008. 复兴之路, 大型展览工作简报 2008 年 2 月 25 日 [work report of the large scale ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition, February 25, 2008].

and films were included.⁶⁴⁸ In 2007, CCTV broadcasted a series of six documentaries following the outline of the exhibition.⁶⁴⁹ In October 2009, the first part of the renovated museum, the reinforced north wing, opened with the new display of the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition on the 60th anniversary of the People’s Republic of China. However, only three months later, the exhibition had to be closed for necessary amendments to the architecture and the display.⁶⁵⁰ The exhibition was changed and only reopened in time for the Chinese spring festival in February 2011.⁶⁵¹

For the analysis of the new display, photographic documentation, exhibition texts, staff interviews and visitor surveys were available. The major sources for comparison were provided by the well-documented exhibition of 2007 in the Military Museum and the 2009 exhibition prior to restoration as well as by excerpts of the work reports from 2007 and 2008.

Description

The ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition expands over 6000 m² on two floors within the premises of the former museum space in the renovated north wing. The exhibition picks up the historical thread from the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition, featuring Chinese history from 1840 until today. The exhibits are arranged chronologically into five main parts, each of which is subdivided in up to four sections. A terracotta-colored wall relief depicting ‘Ancient Civilizations – Brilliant Today’ (古代文明今日辉煌) of 2009 by Tian Kuiyu 田奎玉 (b. 1954) leads to the entrance of the exhibition. Part 1 illustrates how ‘China is reduced to a semi-colonial and semi-feudal status’ in the mid 19th century. It depicts ‘The world and China before the Opium War’ (Section 1), ‘The invasion of China by imperialist powers’ (Section 2) [Fig. 118-120] on the first floor and ‘The struggle and the awakening of the Chinese people’ (Section 3) on the second floor [Fig. 121]. Part Two, entitled ‘Looking for a way to save the nation’, focuses on the ‘Early attempts to find a way out for the country’ (Section 1), ‘The Revolution of 1911 overthrows the feudal monarchy’ (Section 2) [Fig. 122-127] and ‘The failure of the Revolution of 1911 and the rise of the New Cultural Movement’ (Section 3). Part 3, labeled as ‘The Communist Party of China takes on the historical burden’, features the Chinese Communist Party’s search for a way to take on a leading role and the creation of

⁶⁴⁸ Fuxing zhi lu 3/2008a. 复兴之路, 大型展览工作简报 2008 年 2 月 25 日 [work report of the large scale ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition, March 1, 2008].

⁶⁴⁹ Cf. CCTV, “Fuxingzhilu.”

<http://finance.cctv.com/special/C19478/20070928/101537.shtml> (accessed October 30, 2012).

⁶⁵⁰ Interview, Stephan Schütz, architectural design, gmp, Berlin, October 26, 2009.

⁶⁵¹ Magazin für Außereuropäische Kunst und Kultur 2010, pp. 98-99.

China under party rule: ‘An earth-shattering event’ (Section 1), ‘Searching for a new path for the Chinese Revolution’ (Section 2), ‘The tower of strength in the people’s War of Resistance against Japanese aggression’ (Section 3) [Fig. 128-134] and ‘Struggling to create New China’ (Section 4) [Fig. 135]. Part 4 features ‘Building a new socialist China’ and is subdivided into ‘The Chinese people have stood up’ (Section 1) [Fig. 136-139], ‘Setting up the basic socialist system’ (Section 2), ‘Setbacks and progress in the exploration of socialist construction’ (Section 3), ‘Enhancement of China’s international standing and improvement in its international environment’ (Section 4). Part 5 is displayed on the first floor and entitled ‘Taking the path of socialism with Chinese characteristics’. It features the development of the People’s Republic of China from the reform and opening up policy, which started in 1978 until the most recent developments. The display is subdivided into the following sections: ‘Ushering in a new era of development in the course of socialism’ (Section 1) [Fig. 140-141], ‘Opening a new chapter in reform’ (Section 2), ‘Opening up and modernization’ (Section 3) [Fig. 142-143], ‘Opening a new chapter in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects’ (Section 4). The exhibition ends with a relief entitled ‘Ode to the Motherland’ (2011) by Tian Kuiyu and others, which depicts different people of the Chinese nations similar to the theme of the entrance relief [Fig. 144-145].

Throughout the display, each part and section is provided with an introductory text. Relics and documents from time witnesses, which were collected in association with the CCP history, the civil war, the foundation of the People’s Republic of China and Mao Zedong as leader, form the core of the exhibition. They are complemented by history paintings and sculptures featuring important historical events. The majority of exhibits are displayed in showcases along the gallery walls; paintings are framed and directly applied to the wall, and sculptures often take a central position within the exhibition galleries. In the showcases, diverse objects are arranged together with blow up photographs and captions [Fig. 122]. Numerous blowups of contemporary photographs in black and white and later in color are clustered along the walls, providing an illustrating frame for the memorial exhibits and serving as a dominant feature throughout the exhibition. Several sculptures and paintings initially produced for this and earlier exhibition setups illustrate scenes of Chinese history in a dramatic gesture and set emotional accents within the display [Fig. 123, 128]. An installation of the Tiananmen on the second floor, places the visitor at the scene of the foundation of New China [Fig. 136-137]. It allows a view of Tiananmen Square visible through the only uncovered window of the exhibition. A daring mix of diverse exhibition

objects, paired with sculptures, oil paintings, blow up pictures and other didactic material is applied throughout the exhibition. Furthermore, multi-media screens, illuminated maps, and interactive media stations introduce the latest available exhibition technology.

Theme

During the last decades, the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition was renamed several times. The first exhibition of the Museum of Chinese Revolution was entitled ‘History of Chinese Revolution’ (中国革命史). After the Cultural Revolution, the name of the exhibition was changed to ‘History of the Chinese Communist Party’s Period of Democratic Revolution Exhibition’ (中国共产党历史陈列: 民主革命时期)⁶⁵²; in 1990 it regained its original name. From 1996 to 2007, the exhibition was entitled ‘Modern China’ (近代中国).⁶⁵³ Since its interim display at the Military Museum in 2007, the exhibition has used the current Chinese title ‘Fuxing zhilu’ (复兴之路), which was officially translated to ‘Road of Rejuvenation’. The refraining from the reference to the ‘Revolution’ in the title indicates a change to a less militant approach of the exhibition. However, is this development also reflected in the thematic choice of display?

The ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ in 2011 displays the history of China from the first Opium War (1839–1842) until today. The coverage of most current events illustrates a change in the exhibition outline. When the exhibition initially opened to the public in 1961, it followed a partition of recent history into three periods based on Mao’s Thoughts: the Old Democratic Revolution (1840–1919), the New Democratic Revolution (1919–1949) and the socialist period (since 1949). The focus of the display, however, was on the New Democratic Revolution and the rise of the CCP, which was illustrated by over 3600 artifacts taking up three quarters of the total exhibition space of 4152 m².⁶⁵⁴ From 1959 to 1997, the focus remained primarily on depicting the history of the CCP and events between 1921 and 1949.⁶⁵⁵ Since 1998, artifacts from the ‘General Chinese History Exhibition’ enhanced the period from 1840 to 1920⁶⁵⁶, however, no reference of the time after 1949 was included. For many decades, official historians have been reluctant to approach events after the foundation

⁶⁵² Correspondence, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, October 15, 2012.

⁶⁵³ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

⁶⁵⁴ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 929.

⁶⁵⁵ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009; interview, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, October 15, 2012.

⁶⁵⁶ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

of the People's Republic of China, as the master narrative for this period seemed not to have been decided about.⁶⁵⁷ The display and ample inclusion of contemporary events in 2011, not only describe a change of historical focus, it might also be encountered as a general trend of more openness starting in the 1980s.

To further analyze the general theme of the 2011 display, the English preface and afterword of the exhibition are quoted in full length:

[Introduction] The Chinese nation is a great nation whose people are industrious, courageous, intelligent and peace-loving and have made incredible contributions to the progress of human civilization. For generations and generations the Chinese people have been pursuing a dream of national strength and prosperity. "The Road of Rejuvenation" is a permanent exhibition showcasing the explorations made by the Chinese people of all walks of life, who after being reduced to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society since the Opium War of 1840, rose in resistance against humiliation and misery and tried in every way possible to rejuvenate the nation. The exhibition also highlights the glorious history of China under the leadership of the Communist Party of China (CPC), in which all the ethnic groups joined forces to achieve national independence and liberation and strove building a strong and prosperous country for the wellbeing of the people. The exhibition therefore clearly demonstrates the historical course of the Chinese people of choosing Marxism, the CPC, the socialist road and the reform and opening up policy, and China's firm determination in building socialism with Chinese characteristics through adherence to this great banner, this special road and this theoretical system. Today the Chinese nation is standing firm in the east, facing a brilliant future of great rejuvenation. The long cherished dream and aspiration of the Chinese people will surely come to reality.

[Afterword] Over the last hundred years and more, the Chinese people have written a magnificent epic of solidarity, struggle, self-improvement and resilience. Since the founding of the Communist Party of China ninety years ago, under the strong leadership of the CPC, our great nation has successfully achieved many historic changes: from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society to a brand new society of national independence and rule of the people; from new-democratic revolution to socialist revolution and construction; from highly centralized planning economy to vibrant socialist market economy and from semi-closure to comprehensive openness. History has proven, that without the CPC, the People's Republic of China would never have come into being, nor would socialism with Chinese characteristics; socialism is the only way to save China, and reform and opening-up is the only way to develop China, develop socialism and develop Marxism. Standing on this new historic point and facing the future, one cannot but feel the weight of mission upon our shoulders. We shall closely unite around the CPC central leadership with Hu Jintao as its General Secretary, hold high the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, follow the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought, Deng Xiaoping Theory and the Important Thought of "Three Represents", carry out the Scientific Outlook on Development thoroughly, join efforts to forge ahead and persistently strive for the great goals of implementing the 12th Five-Year-Program and building a moderately prosperous society.

⁶⁵⁷ Strauss, Julia 2006, "Editor's Introduction: In Search of PRC History." In *The China Quarterly*, 2006, No. 188, p. 859.

Besides the awakening of patriotic feeling through the glorification of the Chinese people, the nation and their achievements, these exhibition texts clearly reveal continuity in the thematic approach following earlier exhibition outlines. The main narrative illustrates the development of Modern China under the guidance of the CCP and based on the theoretical framework described as Socialism with Chinese characteristics.⁶⁵⁸ Following this ideological frame, Chinese history is portrayed as progress of society and of a people freed from imperial suppressions. Furthermore, it takes up the theme of national unity. These findings match the resolutions of the mid-term revisions in the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition of March 2008, which was to build the basis for the display in the renovated museum.⁶⁵⁹ It was determined that the exhibition should be reconstructed respecting the previous exhibition, under the guidance of the above stated ideological framework and remaining the exhibition outline with five parts, all units and groups. Only those modifications were allowed which would enrich the new display.⁶⁶⁰ This approach served the following:

以马克思主义、毛泽东思想、邓小平理论和“三个代表”重要思想为指导，深入贯彻落实科学发展观，根据十七大精神……筹备《复兴之路》基本陈列，充实历史厚重感，增加文化丰富感，增强时代精神感。⁶⁶¹

Under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thoughts, Deng Xiaoping Theory and the important thinking of “Three Represents” the scientific concept of development has to be thoroughly implemented. According to the ideas of the Seventeenth CCP National Congress, the basic exhibition of ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ should be arranged and prepared correctly in order to contribute to the historical significance, to enrich the cultural variety and to enhance the sense of the spirit of the time.

In the succeeding work report of September 2008, the resolutions were specified:

《复兴之路》的基本陈列内容设计方案，是本着中宣部领导关于“主题不变，线条不变，框架不变”的指示精神，在《复兴之路》大型主题展览内容设计方案的基础上，针对博物馆陈列面积增加，原有方案不变，原有方案不足内容时限延长等问题。⁶⁶²

The design proposal of the content of the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition is under the instruction of the Central Propaganda Department of the CCP, which dictates no changes in the motive, in the orientation, and in the framework of the exhibition. Based on the design and organization of the Road of Rejuvenation exhibition, a detailed plan for the alteration is

⁶⁵⁸ This includes Marxism, Mao Zedong Thoughts, Deng Xiaoping Theory and the important thinking of “Three Represents”.

⁶⁵⁹ Fuxing zhi lu 3/2008b. 复兴之路, 大型展览工作简报 2008 年 2 月 25 日 [work report of the large scale ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition, March 17, 2008].

⁶⁶⁰ Fuxing zhi lu 3/2008b.

⁶⁶¹ Fuxing zhi lu 3/2008b.

⁶⁶² Fuxing zhi lu 9/2008. 复兴之路, 大型展览工作简报 2008 年 2 月 25 日 [work report of the large scale ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition, September 29, 2008].

executed, which refers to the extension of the exhibition space, the retaining of actual motif, the shortcomings of the original design and the longer duration of the renovation.

These statements determine the exhibition in ideological, thematic and structural continuity of the former display and only allow its expansion in scope. This expansion, however, included the contemporary history since 1949, comprising almost two entire parts of the five main divisions. For this significant enlargement, a feasible historical approach had to be found in the discourse of contemporary history. In his essay “From Revolution to Modernization: The Paradigmatic Transition in Chinese Historiography in the Reform Era”, Li Huaiyin describes the transformation of the Chinese master narrative from a revolutionary to a modernization approach, which became stronger during the reform era of the 1980s and 1990s.⁶⁶³ This new narrative tends to either ignore or downplay the role of Communist Revolution and class struggle; furthermore, Chinese traditions such as Confucianism play a new part in the modernization theory and a shift from peasant history to urban history is noticeable.⁶⁶⁴ Like the revolutionary approach before, the modernization approach has a strong teleological alignment, explaining history as a successive line of improvement.⁶⁶⁵ In his analysis, Li Huaiyin compared the two approaches and their interpretation of the 19th century Western presence in China: The traditional revolutionary narrative describes Western imperialism and the humiliating occupation of 1840 as the root for the decline of China. Foreign institutions and investments are interpreted as being obstacles for Chinese independence.⁶⁶⁶ It was the revolution, which allowed for modernization.⁶⁶⁷ In contrast, the modernization narrative stresses the stimuli of reform as created by Western imperialism in China and that the reason for the fall of the Qing Empire was its own backwardness. This viewpoint pictures the negative effects in the short run but the positive effects in the long run. In the Shanghai Municipal History Museum the display, which is housed at the base of the oriental Pearl Tower, seems to take the modernization theory into account by not offering a revolutionary line of development, but rather a nostalgic imitation of Republican Era Shanghai with miniatures and models, depicting the heyday of its commercial and capitalist past in a positive light. Here the interpretation of history occurs to be developed unimpeded by the official party line.⁶⁶⁸ In the 2011 ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition, the modernization

⁶⁶³ Li, Huaiyin 2010, p. 348.

⁶⁶⁴ Li, Huaiyin 2010, p. 355.

⁶⁶⁵ Li, Huaiyin 2010, p. 350.

⁶⁶⁶ Li, Huaiyin 2010, p. 350.

⁶⁶⁷ Li, Huaiyin 2010, p. 351.

⁶⁶⁸ Denton 2005, p. 59.

theory is not apparent in ‘The Invasion of China by Imperialist Powers’ (Part 1 Section 2), but rather a clear statement for the revolutionary approach is given. This continues throughout the first part of the display. The explanation to Part 3, ‘The Communist Party of China takes on the historical burden’, even manages to obscure the Western origin of Marxism as follows: “The imperialist power’s invasion shattered the dreams of learning from the West. The October Revolution in Russia sent Marxism to China and caused progressive Chinese to turn their attention from the West to the East and from bourgeois democracy to socialism” (Section 1). Like the 1961 display⁶⁶⁹, the first part of the new presentation continues to explain history as an ongoing revolution and the struggle of the Chinese people fighting under the leadership of the Communist Party against the warlords, the nationalist party and the Japanese invaders. It also depicts their final success with the establishment of the People’s Republic of China and states the primacy of Communist Revolution to modern Chinese history.⁶⁷⁰ However, the theme of Western colonial suppression (Opium War), with which the exhibition commences, has been alternated. In the 2007 display at the Military Museum this thematic approach was depicted comprehensively, even including original ruins from the Old Summer Palaces⁶⁷¹, which had been destroyed by European troops in 1860 [Fig. 146]. In contrast, the new display appears reduced in scale and in emotionality.

The display featuring ‘Building a New Socialist China’ (Part 4) and ‘Taking the Path of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics’ (Part 5) extends the exhibition scheme to the period after the foundation of New China, in which the revolutionary approach seems to have been applicable only with difficulty. Especially the post-Mao reform period can hardly be described as a sequence of revolution and revolutionary thoughts and assumingly a new approach had to be found. Would it be within these parts of the exhibition that the modernization theory described by Li Huaiyin was implemented? By analyzing the section texts, it becomes clear that the achievements and the progress in societal development under the leading role of the CCP are central to the generated narrative. A transition from the revolutionary to the reform approach can, indeed, be noticed. However, a reflection on the historic catastrophes of the 1950s and 1960s hardly exists. Although the section entitled ‘Setbacks and progress in the exploration of socialist construction’ indicates that not

⁶⁶⁹ Correspondence, staff member A, exhibition department, NMC, September 12, 2009.

⁶⁷⁰ Denton 2005, p. 59.

⁶⁷¹ In 1860, British and French troops looted and burned down the Old Summer Palaces (Yuan Ming Yuan) during the Second Opium War. Many artifacts were stolen and transferred to Europe.

everything about the past was glorious, the visitor searches in vain for events like the great famine or the Cultural Revolution in the introductory text of the section:

[Introduction Part IV Section 3] After the establishment of the socialist system, New China entered a period of socialist construction in all respects. The CPC led the people of all China's ethnic groups to painstakingly explore the laws of socialist development, and clearly set forth the great goal of achieving the four modernizations. They developed their self-reliance and overcame hardship in the course of creating an independent and relatively comprehensive industrial system and economical system, which laid a crucial foundation of material and technology for socialist modernization.

The text only praises the progress, just mentioning the “overcoming of hardship”. The exhibition itself apparently presents one photograph depicting the reviewing of the Red Guards and the masses at Tiananmen Square during the Cultural Revolution. According to Kirk Denton, already in 1990, the curators proposed a much franker look at problems of the decade from the late 1950s to the 1960s for the display in preparation, which, however, was rejected by the authorities. For the 2011 display, the curators made a similar attempt, arguing that after so many decades, these events could not be a threat to the party's authority.⁶⁷² However, their proposal was once more declined, after long debates with the Ministry of Culture.⁶⁷³

The decades after the opening and the introduction of market economy are described in the 2011 display as a period of successful reform based on Deng Xiaoping's Theory, striving to create socialism with Chinese characteristics [Fig. 141]. This period is illustrated by events such as the successful space program, the return of Hong Kong and Macao to the People's Republic of China [Fig. 142], the Wenchuan earthquake measures, the 2008 Beijing Olympics [Fig. 143] and the 2010 Shanghai Expo. However, how could the ideas of globalization and market economy be implemented in the socialist master narrative of an ongoing struggle and a revolution of the working class? In the afterword of the exhibition, socialism, reform and opening-up policy are defined as an alliance to save and develop China, “which would continue its victorious path under the rule of the CCP”. The new display remains to be based on the master narrative once formulated by the CCP and still well

⁶⁷² Johnson, Ian, “At China's New Museum, History Toes Party Line.” *The New York Times*, April 3, 2011.

⁶⁷³ Johnson, Ian, “At China's New Museum, History Toes Party Line.” *The New York Times*, April 3, 2011.

established within the official historiography. Historical progress is described as a succession of victories; however, the formerly dominant revolutionary element is de-emphasized. What Kirk Denton stated in 2005 still seems to be valid in 2011: “Conventional socialist narratives of martyrdom and revolutionary liberation have not disappeared by any means, but they are being reshaped to downplay class issues and to legitimize commercial interests, a work ethic ideology and nationalism.”⁶⁷⁴

Object Selection

The ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ features the collection of the former Museum of Chinese Revolution including historical documents, national symbols, weapons, material culture, personal belongings of political leaders and photographs, predominantly from the 19th century until today. The current exhibition displays 1280 (sets of) artifacts and more than 870 documentary photographs.⁶⁷⁵ Although the majority of the objects that had been included in the former display have remained, there are many objects on display for the first time due to the extension of the exhibition scope.⁶⁷⁶ In total, 560 (sets of) objects were added to the previous display, of which more than 140 (sets) are first-rate classical artifacts or cultural relics from the museum.⁶⁷⁷ Furthermore, over 130 photos and 27 works of art were added.⁶⁷⁸ Among the highlights there are relics relating to the history of the Communist Party, for example, a copy of the Communist manifesto of Shanghai (1920), relating to political events such as the 21 demands of the Japanese of 1915 or concerning revolutionary uprisings and relating to the lives of political leaders. Several objects and photos illustrate Mao Zedong’s primary role, his work and life. Although still numerous throughout the exhibition, they do not have the same dominance as in the previous display, when, for example, a huge bust of Mao Zedong welcomed the visitor at the entrance to the display.⁶⁷⁹ In 2008, a full-size Mao sculpture still greeted the visitors in the entrance hall of the Military Museum [Fig. 67], where the temporary display of the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition was presented from 2007 to 2009. The display of 2011 also includes a sculpture of Mao Zedong, however, in a less prominent position within the exhibition display [Fig. 135]. The first exhibition was of a predominantly militaristic nature featuring proletarian weapons such as knives and axes used

⁶⁷⁴ Denton 2005, p. 43.

⁶⁷⁵ Correspondence, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, October 15, 2012.

⁶⁷⁶ Zhu, Linyong. “The twists and turns of a new road into the past.” *China Daily*, October 1, 2009, <http://cblog.chinadaily.com.cn/blog-165757-537697.html> (accessed October 30, 2012).

⁶⁷⁷ *Fuxing zhi lu* 9/2008.

⁶⁷⁸ *Fuxing zhi lu* 9/2008.

⁶⁷⁹ Hung, Chang-tai, p. 929.

by workers during urban uprisings and peasants movements.⁶⁸⁰ In the exhibition of 2011, simple weapons are still delineating, for example, the Nanchang Uprising of 1927. Displays of weapons are often related to the presentation of specific rebellion leaders, such as the sword of the ‘Heavenly Prince’, Li Xiucheng 李秀成 (1823–1864), a loyal military leader of the Taiping Uprisings.

In addition to the display of material culture, photographs, oil paintings and sculptures configurate the new exhibition. Photographs illustrating contemporary events provide the main structuring feature of the exhibition. These images count as a group of exhibits in their own right. Their importance is revealed by the fact that in 2008 only 9 artifacts but 131 photographs were added during the improvements to the interim exhibition in the Military Museum. Furthermore, oil paintings and sculptures feature important events and specific turning points of Chinese history, such as uprisings, combats, conventions and Chairman Mao making decisions. These stately commissioned artworks, some of which have become the most recognized paintings of modern China, were executed by contemporary artists in preparation of the first display during the 1960s and 1970s, as well as for the reopening of the museum in 2009. Material, themes and schemes originated in the 19th century French history painting tradition of revolutionary and heroic style of Jacques Louis David, for example, and were transmitted via the artistic practice of Soviet Russia.⁶⁸¹ In the new display, a copy of ‘Lenin Proclaiming the Founding of the Soviet Government’ of 1947 by Vladimir Serov (1910–1968) is included. This oil painting, which had already been on display in 1961, is mounted in a heavy gilded frame and depicts the establishment of Communism in Russia [**Fig. 124**]. Material, style and content of this work are prefigurations for the Chinese history paintings, the first series of which was predominantly implemented by Chinese artists who were influenced by Soviet Russia or even trained there.⁶⁸² These pieces of artwork continued to be executed in an overdramatic manner and with a narrative content; however, they often incorporated some elements of traditional Chinese painting. This can clearly be seen in the famous 1953 painting, ‘The Founding Ceremony’, by Dong Xiwen, which apparently employs elements of Chinese New Year paintings [**Fig. 137**].⁶⁸³

⁶⁸⁰ Hung, Chang-tai, p. 930.

⁶⁸¹ Denton 2000, p. 206; Andrews 1994, pp. 236 ff.

⁶⁸² Andrews 1994, p. 238.

⁶⁸³ Cf. Feng Linggang, Description of the painting ‘The Founding Ceremony,’ The National Museum of China, <http://www.chnmuseum.cn/english/tabid/549/Default.aspx?AntiqueLanguageID=2421> (accessed October 20, 2012).

The oil paintings on display today depict various themes such as the ‘The Nanchang Uprising’ 南昌起义 of 1957 by Li Binghong 黎冰鸿 (1913–1986), Mao Zedong as a leader in ‘For Truly Great Men Look to This Age Alone’ (数风流人物还看今朝) of 1977 by Jin Shangyi [Fig. 134], or the ‘Capitulation of Japan to China in Nanjing on September 9, 1945’ (公元一千九百四十五年九月九日九时) of 2003 by Chen Jian 陈坚 (b. 1951) [Fig. 132-133]. For many of the early works, Kirk Denton has isolated themes such as the crossing of rivers and mountains, the movement of the masses as well as the depiction of intellectuals.⁶⁸⁴ The crossing of the Yellow river seems to be most symbolic for the Chinese culture; Denton interprets it as the idea of crossing from the past to the future.⁶⁸⁵ The paintings of the 21st century are in strong reminiscence of the former works, in some cases hardly distinguishable from the paintings of the earlier program.⁶⁸⁶ The previously mentioned painting depicting the Japanese Capitulation by Chen Jian, for example, is executed in photo-realistic style, but the composition follows the former history painting tradition.

Excepting a few sculptures, such as ‘Hong Kong Seamen Strikers’ of 1959 [Fig. 126], or ‘Difficult Tales’ of 1956 both by Pan He 潘鹤 (b. 1925), the majority of the sculptures have been designed for the exhibition in 2009, most impressive being ‘Flesh and Blood Great Wall’ (血肉长城) by Ye Yushan 叶毓山 [Fig. 128]. This installation is an interpretation of the sculpture with the same title by Hou Yimin executed for the Modern China display in 1989. In the 2007 interim exhibition of the Military Museum, a lot of original sculptures and oil paintings were still on display. Having become classics illustrating the majority of Chinese textbooks, many were included in the Masterpieces Exhibition at the Central Hall in 2011. If ever an oil painting was indispensable in the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ display, its reproduction is presented, for example with ‘Fighting in Northern Shaanxi’ (转战陕北) of 1959 by Shi Lu 石鲁 (1919–1982).

Order of Display

In the exhibition of 1961, the display of the Old Democratic Revolution (1840–1919) included seven major events: the Opium War, the Taiping Rebellion, the Sino-French War, the First Sino-Japanese War (1894), the Reform Movement (1898), the Boxer Uprising and the Revolution of 1911. The New Democratic Revolution (1919–1949) was divided in five

⁶⁸⁴ Denton 2000, pp. 211 ff.

⁶⁸⁵ Denton 2000, pp. 211-212.

⁶⁸⁶ Andrews 1994, p. 238.

episodes, beginning with the establishment of the CCP (1921), the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924–1927), the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927–1937), the War of Resistance against the Japanese (1937–1945), and the Third Revolutionary Civil War (1945–1949).⁶⁸⁷ Furthermore, a display of the Socialist Period cited the achievements of the new People's Republic of China.⁶⁸⁸ The focal point of the exhibition was the second phase depicting the revolutionary events, which lead to the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The third section was omitted for the display, not least due to the fact that many of the role players of this period were still alive and that the master narrative was still a subject of change. The Revolutionary events followed the composition of the Russian model, which was, for example, provided in the National Museum of Revolution on Gorki Street in Moscow. Here the Bolshevik revolution was chronologically divided into four periods: 1. Stage – Russian society before the October Revolution, 2. Stage – prelude to the revolution, 3. Stage – the revolution itself, 4. Stage – construction of socialism following the revolution. In the 'Road of Rejuvenation' exhibition of 2011, these major steps of periodization can still be found.

The exhibits are arranged in chronological order. Five main parts, up to five sections and specified groups segment the display of recent Chinese history. The current division of the 'Road of Rejuvenation' exhibition into five parts also reflects the traditional subdivision in the Old Democratic Revolution and its failure (Part 1 and 2), the New Democratic Revolution and its Success (Part 3) and the socialist period (Part 4 and 5). The Old Democratic Revolution describes China as falling into a "semi-feudal and semi-colonial status" and the first unsuccessful attempts to save the nation. Similar to the original display of 1961, Part 3 starts with the focus on Soviet Russia, the introduction of Marxism to China and the formation of the CCP, which is defined as "an earth-shattering event" (Section 1). The copy of the previously mentioned 'Lenin Proclaiming the Founding of the Soviet Government' by Vladimir Serov introduces the section, just as in 1961.⁶⁸⁹ In many instances, the previous exhibition and order of objects were reinstated. However, the installation documenting the site of the first party congress in Shanghai, which was still on display in 2007, is not to be found any more. The historical events continue to be displayed in chronological order, following the master narrative, taking the visitor by the hand and leading

⁶⁸⁷ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, pp. 926-927.

⁶⁸⁸ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, pp. 926-927.

⁶⁸⁹ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 930.

him through a history pathway, as the title of the exhibition indicates. However, the established exhibition also leaves the visitor with no choice but to follow the entire pathway.

Exhibition Design

The exhibition offers a very vibrant and diverse display including historical artifacts, sculptures and oil paintings, photographs, models, three-dimensional installations, and multimedia terminals in a mixed setting. The artifacts are mainly presented in showcases, above which rows of photographs are displayed along with intermittent large-scale history paintings. The basic color scheme of the exhibition is constituted by differing shades of gray. In addition, separate wall elements are painted in various bright background colors in order to highlight the exhibits and to create a more interesting setting.

Photographs are a main structuring feature of the display. These primarily black and white images are mounted on boards in innumerable formats and measure up to at least one meter in width [Fig. 129]. They depict contemporary events and portraits often accompanied by an explanatory text underneath the image. The different sizes of the boards and the scattered display leave a remarkable, occasionally even chaotic impression. In some cases, the variation of size is intentional. This can be encountered, for example, in a gallery of portraits, in which Mao Zedong's photograph is not only singled out but is also much larger than the others [Fig. 127]. Here, the singling out of Mao's depiction becomes especially apparent as it creates a gap in the otherwise complete rows of portraits. The application of photographic illustrations for underlining of historic themes is a practice well established by history museums worldwide. The photographs were already shown in the preceding exhibitions of the National Museum of China for example in the 2001 display [Fig. 147-148] and in the 2007 interim exhibition in the Military Museum [Fig. 149]. They do not only remain an exceptionally dominant feature in the new display, the 'Road of Rejuvenation' also brings them to a new level by including magnified and backlit images as an inventive design idea [Fig. 129]. Through the illumination from the back, the images appear very vibrant and among the various boards with photographs especially attract the eye of the visitor. They decorate various gallery walls, often depicting Mao Zedong while writing, reading or conversing with comrades. In addition, new and easily exchangeable projection technology is applied throughout the exhibition. In case of the Yuan Ming Yuan display [Fig. 119], the stage before the destruction of the palaces is illustrated by projecting a sequence of prints of

Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766) to the exhibition wall, creating a livelier and more engaging display.

The display is arranged with the use of artificial light. Only at the climax of the gallery tour does an uncovered window allow the visitor to enjoy the view over Tiananmen Square. The employment of borrowed scenery for the exhibition was already planned for in the winning design of 2004. *Gmp* acknowledged the importance of the original sites of the Forbidden City and Tiananmen Square to be integrated into the display of Chinese history. The architects even suggested that not only windows were to be uncovered to allow the view, but also through the installation of the exhibition on the top level, an observation terrace was to be accessed during the tour.⁶⁹⁰ In 2011, the scene of Tiananmen Square revealed by the uncovered window creates the background for the installation of Tiananmen with its chief exhibit of the microphone used for the public announcement of the People's Republic of China [**Fig. 136-137**]. Furthermore, a blowup copy of the original version of the famous 'Founding Ceremony of the Nation' (1953) by Dong Xiwen is on display in the center of the installation. Already in the 1961 exhibition, this important propaganda painting, describing the final victory of the Communist Revolution was installed and formed a climax of the display.⁶⁹¹ The new design of 2011 marks this installation as the focal point, shortly after the tour is led to the ground floor.

The sculptures throughout the exhibition are often included in scenic installations, which give the Wuchang Uprising, for example, a lively and dramatic twist [**Fig. 123**]. This installation practice was used in previous exhibitions, and could be encountered in the 2007 display of the Military Museum [**Fig. 150**]. The newly designed sculpture 'Flesh and Blood Great Wall' by Ye Yushan [**Fig. 128**] is backed up by a model of the Great Wall. Compare to the restrained design of the former installation by Hou Yimin (1989) with the same title, which is now on display in the south courtyard of the museum [**Fig. 151, 46**], the sculpture of 2009 encompasses much more movement. The reliefs 'Ancient Civilizations–Brilliant Today' (2009) and 'Ode to the Motherland' (2011) mark the entrance and exit of the exhibition, respectively. The latter has replaced a colorful illustration entitled 'National Unity' [**Fig. 145**] of 2009. The theme of the illustration and the relief both show great similarities in content,

⁶⁹⁰ Gmp 2004, n. p.

⁶⁹¹ Hung Chang-tai 2005, p. 930.

with the depiction the harmonious unity of various ethnic groups of the People's Republic of China cheering to the visitor, however, the display quality of the painting had not satisfied the curatorial staff.⁶⁹² With the employment of the same technique and style as seen in the entrance relief, the exhibition seems to have gained an aesthetic frame. Furthermore, the design takes up the theme of national unity – a recurrent theme throughout the exhibition.

In comparison to the former display at the Museum of Chinese Revolution and the 2007 interim exhibition at the Military Museum, it seems that not only similar themes with partially identical objects have been displayed, but also similar design features have been employed, albeit further enhanced by new technology. The changes implemented after the closure of the exhibition in 2009 appear to have only concerned single aspects of the exhibition design. For example, the visibility of objects in the group depicting the Japanese surrender in 1945 was enhanced by bringing the frontal showcases into vertical position and raising the oil painting in the back [Fig. 132-133]. The relevance of the oil paintings, the sculptures and photographs of the current display follows the design concept of the former display. These observations are confirmed by the visitor survey of 2011, in which 31% of the participants voted that the exhibition looked traditional, 26% that it appeared Chinese, and 14% socialist, with only 17% voting for modern and 5% international (see. 6.2.4.).

In comparison to the 'Ancient China' exhibition, the objects appear not central to the display of the 'Road of Rejuvenation', but rather to recede in a restless series of blow-up images, installations and text. On the one hand, this can be explained by the lack of artistic value of the exhibits, which are rather chosen for their historical and symbolic significance and by the display strategies of general modern history exhibition on the other. In many areas of the 2011 display, the didactic infrastructure seems more important than the establishment of an aesthetic exhibition design.

Didactic Infrastructure

The 'Road of Rejuvenation' has a strong didactic focus with narrative aspects dominating the display. The different methods used to convey the message of the exhibition are descriptive texts, models and charts, didactic illustrations, reproductions, audio guides, media terminals and films. In addition, volunteer guides are trained by the museum. The implementation of a

⁶⁹² Correspondence, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, October 15, 2012.

sculptural and painting program featuring specific events can be seen as additional guidance for the visitor.

The major source of explanation throughout the exhibition is text-based media in various forms. All major texts such as preface and afterword, titles, section introductions and captions are provided in Chinese and English. Sub headings, group texts, inscribed maps and charts as well as quotations scattered along the exhibition walls are in Chinese only. The preceding exhibitions did not offer English translations, until in the interim exhibition of 2007 in the Military Museum, English translations were partially included for the first time. Although not all explanations of the 2011 display are in Chinese and English, yet, the general availability of English information meets the international standard for large-scale exhibitions. This constitutes a significant improvement for foreign visitors who previously were interested but could not understand much of the display.

While titles and introductions structure the main units of the display, quotations fulfill the role of additionally informing the visitor in Chinese. These quotations are statements from political leaders, predominantly stemming from Mao Zedong. They, for example, include the quote “Let go and mobilize the masses, expanding the power of the people, under the leadership of my party, defeating the Japanese aggressors, liberate the whole population, and establish a new democratic China”⁶⁹³ [Fig. 131]. This statement, which is an encouragement to build New China, stems from Mao Zedong’s speech held at the Seventh National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (1945). In this speech, he drew a parallel between the struggle of the Chinese people and the story of the ‘The Foolish Old Man Removing the Mountains’. Due to the lack of adequate sources, a further comparison with the former use of quotations as executed in the analysis of the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition is not possible.

Summary

On the 60th anniversary of the People’s Republic of China, the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition was the first to open at the newly designed museum. Because it was installed under great time pressure in order to meet the scheduled opening date, it had to close for necessary amendments shortly after and remained closed for one and a half years. This procedure, not

⁶⁹³ 放手发动群众，壮大人民力量，在我党的领导下，打败日本侵略者，解放全国人民，建立一个新民主主义的中国。毛泽东（愚公移山）；Cited after the exhibition display.

unheard of in museum practice⁶⁹⁴, recalls the history of the first exhibition of the Museum of Chinese Revolution of 1959. At that time, the museum represented a “political institution to serve the interests of the Party”⁶⁹⁵ and its exhibition was a “political arena where the Chinese Communists narrated and presented their own story.”⁶⁹⁶ Controversial from the start, the process of agreement and the phrasing of one single master narrative took time. In the aftermath of the opening, disagreement about the display continued among officials.⁶⁹⁷ In 2009, it seemed that technical and design problems rather than ideological concern and controversies had been responsible for the closure of the exhibition.

In 2011, the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition presents itself with a new name and a comprehensive scope of display extending from 1840 up to the current time. The content, the design and the message it conveys, however, seem to follow the earlier display and the elaborate official master narrative. In general, the presentation encompasses the chronological outline, the themes, and the order of display of previous exhibitions. The history of the Old and New Democratic Revolution is described as a series of revolutions leading up the glorious establishment of the People’s Republic of China. Although the revolutionary struggle does not dominate the historic display after 1949, the newly added content upholds the historical line explaining modern history as a series of national successes following the guidance of the CCP and the reform policy of Deng Xiaoping, thereby mainly neglecting the historical catastrophes of the past. These findings are supported by the design concept. Although the design includes modern display technology, the overall impression of the exhibition, which is created predominantly by the use of photographs, sculpture and oil paintings, is that it remains very similar to and even indistinguishable from the previous display. Although some of the exhibits are icons of modern Chinese history, the majority of exhibits are nevertheless immersed in the somewhat cluttered exhibition design. The program of introducing sculpture and oil painting to represent specified important events in history which started in 1959 display was continued. With the commission of additional works specifically made for the 2009 display, a clear statement for the continuity of the former practice was given. Internationalization took place by providing the major texts in Chinese and English; the text itself, however, supported the previous master narrative.

⁶⁹⁴ E.g. in March 2009, the redesigned Neues Museum in Berlin (David Chipperfield Architects) opened to the public for three days, before it was closed again the internal installation.

⁶⁹⁵ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 914.

⁶⁹⁶ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 931.

⁶⁹⁷ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 928.

For national museum displays worldwide, the depiction of contemporary history remains highly political, influenced by the governments or even dependent on the official view held by the regime. However, the scope of influence varies to a great extent. The ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition, has always presented the official historical interpretation of the CCP.⁶⁹⁸ With the new display, this tradition is followed. Although the museum staff actively suggested changes in the selection of themes for the exhibition setup, the traditional approach and the guideline forbade “changes in the motive, in the orientation, and in the framework of the exhibition”⁶⁹⁹, which was formulated in the exhibition work reports by the Propaganda Department of the CCP and was followed closely.

3.4.3. The Art the of Enlightenment

Chronology of the Exhibition

Since the opening policy of the 1980s, the Museum of Chinese History has systematically built up its relationships to institutions worldwide. In 1982, the museum launched an exhibition program including international and domestic partner institutions.⁷⁰⁰ This was the starting point for establishing many cooperative exchange exhibitions, with exhibitions alternately on display in China and in the partner institution, for example in Greece, Italy, Germany, USA, Hong Kong, Canada and Japan. After Reunification in 2003, the National Museum of China hosted at least 2-3 exhibitions at home and abroad, respectively, until it shut down for renovation in 2007.⁷⁰¹ At this time, visitors participating in a large-scale survey welcomed the museums pursuit of cultural exchange and cooperation with foreign museums. Over 90% of the participants stated that not only should Chinese exhibitions be sent abroad, but also international exhibitions should be brought to China.⁷⁰²

‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition was installed as the first international exhibition after the reopening of the museum and as a fundamental component of the new concept of display, which foresaw long-term exhibits of world heritage in newly installed international exchange galleries.⁷⁰³ In the original planning of the museum, which was to reopen during the 2008 Beijing Olympics, the concept encompassed the display of the entire world through permanent exhibitions from all continents. The National Museum of China had

⁶⁹⁸ Hung, Chang-tai 2005, p. 922.

⁶⁹⁹ Fuxing zhi lu 9/2008.

⁷⁰⁰ Zhongguo lishi bowuguan 90 nian, p. 50.

⁷⁰¹ Interview, Chen, Yu, curator, NMC, Beijing, April 21, 2011.

⁷⁰² Hao/Huang 2005, p. 44.

⁷⁰³ Magazin für Außereuropäische Kunst und Kultur 2010, pp. 98-99.

already begun negotiations with leading international museums. In this preliminary concept, the British Museum was to provide an exhibition about Mesopotamia, the Louvre an exhibition on Antiquities, the Metropolitan Museum of Art an exhibition featuring the 19th century, and the German museums were scheduled to present an exhibition about European Baroque Art. These exhibitions were all to be located in permanent galleries with a planned change of content every two years.⁷⁰⁴

The decision of inviting the German museums to present their collections first was of personal nature, and clearly depended on the good relationship, which the German museum directors and especially Martin Roth from the Dresden State Art Collection, had established with the National Museum of China: Already in 2002, president Jiang Zemin 江泽民 visited the Dresden State Art Collections, when Martin Roth first expressed the possibility of cooperation between Chinese and German museums.⁷⁰⁵ Probably triggered by this visit, a delegation of German museum directors then toured museums in Shanghai, Hangzhou, Xi'an and Beijing on invitation of the Chinese Ministry of Culture in May 2004.⁷⁰⁶ Following the delegation's visit to China, a mutual agreement between the National Museum of China and the Dresden State Art Collections was drafted the same year.⁷⁰⁷ A more general agreement of cultural cooperation between China and Germany was signed in October 2005. This initial agreement provided for an exhibition at the then established international exchange galleries of the National Museum of China during the 2008 Olympics with a duration of two years. In preparation for the cooperation, academic seminars were held in Beijing (2004) and Dresden (2006) to set the theoretical framework for the exhibition concept.⁷⁰⁸ In 2005, the German curators first visited Beijing, at that time examining the idea of featuring the 'Mutual Exchange and Influence of Chinese and European civilization between 16th and the 19th century'. The preparations for the exhibition had already advanced, when due to the delay in

⁷⁰⁴ Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. "Press release." 49/2004, November 2004, www.skd-dresden.de/de/presse/pressearchiv.html?id=65 (accessed November 2, 2012).

⁷⁰⁵ Böttcher, Dirk. "Die Kunst des Luftanhaltens." Brand eins 01/2012, <http://www.brandeins.de/magazin/nein-sagen/die-kunst-des-luftanhaltens.html> (accessed October 30, 2012).

⁷⁰⁶ Members of the delegation were Hans-Peter Schuster (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin), Martin Roth (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden), Reinhold Baumstark (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich), Udo Kittelman (Museum für Moderne Kunst, Frankfurt), Christian von Holst (Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart).

⁷⁰⁷ It included an agreement on mutual projects in Germany and China such as exhibition cooperation, staff and scholarly exchange programs and collaboration in publication and scientific research; cf. correspondence, Chen, Shujie, Director of Foreign Affairs Office, NMC, 2006.

⁷⁰⁸ Symposium 'Mutual Exchange and Influence of Chinese and European civilization between 16th century and the 19th century,' November 15-21, 2004 in Beijing; Symposium 'China and Europe: Alternating Views,' September 26-28, 2006 in Dresden.

construction, the National Museum of China was no longer available to host exhibitions in 2008.

With the belated completion of the National Museum of China, initial cooperation ideas had to be altered and the exhibition postponed. For the presentation, which was already in planning, a new partner was found. The Palace Museum represented an even better match because the planned exhibition foresaw the display of palace art. This exhibition was integrated into a larger scheme, as the Dresden State Art Collections set a goal to present a China Exhibition Year during the 2008 Beijing Olympics. They launched their program entitled ‘Dresden in China in Dresden’ presenting four Chinese exhibitions in Dresden and three German exhibitions in Beijing within that year. ‘Humanism in China’⁷⁰⁹, a contemporary record of Chinese photography, started the year off. This was followed by ‘Chinese Garden of Living. Illusion into Reality’ and ‘The Transforming Marks of Ink. Contemporary Chinese Ink Painting’, both exhibitions organized in cooperation with the National Museum of Modern Art in Beijing. The series was concluded with ‘Golden Dragon – White Eagle: Art in the Service of Power at the Imperial Court of China and at the Saxon-Polish Court 1644–1795’⁷¹⁰ in cooperation with The Palace Museum. In Beijing, the exhibitions ‘Living Landscapes. A Journey through German Art’ and ‘Gerhard Richter. Paintings 1963–2007’⁷¹¹, both on display in the National Museum of Chinese Art and ‘The Splendor of the White Eagle: Art and Power at the Saxon-Polish Court 1670–1763’⁷¹² at The Palace Museum were presented in exchange.

In 2007, the directors-general of the three German collections of Berlin, Dresden and Munich and the director of the National Museum of China signed the first cooperation agreement at the Great Hall of the People, with the attendance of Federal President Horst Köhler and President Hu Jintao. Besides mutual cooperation in various fields of museum work, the conception of ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition was included. Attended by Federal Chancellor Angela Merkel and Premier Wen Jiabao 温家宝 at the Berlin Chancellery

⁷⁰⁹ Originally, this exhibition was only planned for a Chinese audience. In 2004, it was on display in Shanghai and encountered by the delegation of German museum directors. In May 2006, it opened in Frankfurt, as first product of this German-Chinese museum cooperation. Thereafter, it toured throughout Germany (Stuttgart, Berlin, Munich and Dresden).

⁷¹⁰ ‘Goldener Drache–Weißer Adler: Kunst im Dienste der Macht am Kaiserhof von China und am sächsisch-polnischen Hof (1644–1795),’ October 11, 2008 to January 11, 2009 in Dresden.

⁷¹¹ ‘Gerhard Richter. Bilder 1963–2007,’ and ‘Living Landscapes. A Journey Trough German Art,’ May 15–July 2, 2008 in Beijing.

⁷¹² ‘Im Zeichen des Weißen Adlers,’ April 8–July 8, 2009 in Beijing.

in 2009, a second contract was signed confirming the agreement.⁷¹³ ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition was under the auspices of the Chinese President Hu Jintao 胡锦涛 and Germany’s Federal President Christian Wulff. It was mainly sponsored by the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs along with the Chinese Ministry of Culture.⁷¹⁴

Work on the exhibition started in 2008 with the formation of an international team of curators from the three German collections and the National Museum of China. The three collections of Berlin, Dresden and Munich had already cooperated in various international exhibitions, most recently in ‘Views of Europe’, an exhibition in the context of the German EU Council Presidency in Brussels in 2007 and within the Olympics 2008 exhibition scheme in China. The three German collections represent some of the oldest and most important museum complexes in Germany; in cooperation, they often refer to themselves as a substitute for a comprehensive German national museum. In the past, the general directors operated well together, which had been a decisive factor for their collaboration projects. However, due to the retirement of Reinhold Baumstark (Munich) and Klaus-Peter Schuster (Berlin), the team had to form anew. As successors, Michael Eissenhauer (Berlin) and Klaus Schrenk (Munich) adapted this exhibition collaboration quiet eagerly, not least as a means for shaping their profiles. During the conception phase, the German curatorial team allocated responsibilities for different aspects of the project. They conferred on a monthly basis or whenever necessary, with additional professionals contributing their various expertise. In September 2009, the Chinese curatorial team visited Dresden, Berlin and Munich to examine potential loans. In December 2009, a team of German curators returned the visit for on-site information about the exhibition venue, which at that time was still under construction. The first object list was finalized in May 2010. However, due to further delays in construction, the opening had to be postponed from September 2010 to April 2011. The rescheduling led to a reduction of the exhibition period from original 18 months to only 12 months making further alteration in the object selection necessary.

⁷¹³ The final contract including the details of the exhibition was only signed in the beginning of 2011.

⁷¹⁴ The German Ministry of Foreign Affairs spent 6.6 million Euro of the total budget of 10 million Euros on the German side. This budget included exhibition costs and the supporting program which was established in cooperation with the Goethe Institute and Stiftung Mercator. Further sponsoring partners were found in German companies. The German and Chinese partner shared many costs such as for transportation, insurance and catalog production.

Throughout the project, organizational and logistic challenges continued. The newly established galleries were unfamiliar to the lender as well as to the Chinese staff. On the German side, three institutions with more than 30 museums⁷¹⁵ worked together on equal terms and had to mutually agree upon every decision. Although experience of this type of collaboration between the German museums already existed, nevertheless, the number of equal partners presented a challenge for the progress of decision-making. On the Chinese side, many new colleagues were introduced to the team so that responsibilities were not always clearly distributed. Only a close cooperation between the German collection and the Chinese National Museum made this project possible.

On April 1, 2011, the German foreign minister, Guido Westerwelle and Chinese State Councillor Liu Yandong 刘延东, a member of the Politburo, jointly opened ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition to the public. The arrest of Ai Weiwei 艾未未 (b. 1957), immediately after the opening, evoked some protest against the exhibition within the German media and discussion among the government representatives of culture. During the 12-month exhibition period, a comprehensive program supported the exhibition, including, for example, scientific forums and salons organized by the endowment of Stiftung Mercator, thematic tours and on-site activities by the German Goethe Institute as well as an International Youth Congress initiated by the museums.

In a joint ceremony on March 25, 2012, the Minister of State in the Foreign Office, Cornelia Pieper and Zhao Shaohua 赵少华, Deputy Minister of Culture for the People’s Republic of China, concluded the exhibition.⁷¹⁶ As a symbol of the friendship and ongoing cooperation, the German museums presented a plaster copy of the famous ‘Crown Princess Louise and Princess Frederica of Prussia’ of 1797 by Gottfried Schadow (1764–1850) to the National Museum of China. Within one year, around half a million visitors had seen the exhibition, with the average visit lasting for about two hours. Furthermore, 3000 participants had attended the scientific forums and discussion salons, which the initiators promised to continue after the end of the exhibition. In 2012, the initiative ‘Germany – Land of Ideas’ selected ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition to be one of 365 landmarks for 2012.

⁷¹⁵ The Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin State Art Collection) and the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Dresden State Art Collections) are museum compounds combining numerous museums under one umbrella. The directors of these individual museums decide relative independently about their own collection. Therefore, the curators had to negotiate about each potential loan with every museum directly.

⁷¹⁶ Siemons, Mark. “Das Programm heißt: groß.” FAZ, Feuilleton, March 26, 2011; p. 33.

Description

The first loan exhibition in the newly established museum featured European Art of the 18th and early 19th century based on the collections of three major German museum complexes. By displaying art, this exhibition illustrated how the arts and artists were involved in social change during the Enlightenment period and how enlightened thoughts inspired the reception and production of art itself. Almost 600 artifacts were arranged thematically in nine sections and in three exhibition halls, encompassing a total floor space of 2700 m² on the south side of the extended building on level + 13.5 m.⁷¹⁷ The exhibition commenced with a blow-up image in the central entrance area by Christian Gottlieb Schick (1776–1812), a portrait of Heinrike Dannecker of 1802. This emblem of the exhibition was framed by a series of plaster busts of famous figures of the Enlightenment: Voltaire, Rousseau, Kant, Lessing, Schiller and Humboldt [Fig. 152].⁷¹⁸ Each bust stand included biographical data as well as a famous quotation by the depicted person, for example, Immanuel Kant's "Have the courage to use your own understanding!" On the walls, there were quotations by Feng Yingjing 冯应京 (1555–1606) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), which refer to a cultural comparison of their own nation with the other and further opened up the topic. In the back of the entrance hall, maps of China and Europe as well as a combined timeline of events, and multimedia terminals served as a reference for the visitor. The objects arranged in nine thematic sections featured substantial developments during the Enlightenment period. The first section entitled 'Court Life in the Age of Enlightenment' [Fig. 153] introduced the artistic traditions at the courts of Berlin, Dresden and Munich. Furthermore, it illustrated the specific roles of these courts in both facilitating and hindering enlightened thoughts and actions. Although caught up in traditions and Baroque etiquette, it was at these courts that enlightened nobility, such as Frederic the Great (1712–1786) in Prussia, provided important impulses for development through patronage and their own amateur attempts in arts and sciences. The second section entitled 'Perspectives of Knowledge' [Fig. 154] featured the birth of modern science and illustrated how the arts contributed in development and documentation. Electricity, optics, experiments with vacuums and science in general became fashionable and worthy of depicting and had an immense influence on art. The third section, called 'The Birth of History' [Fig. 155] focused on the new historical consciousness of the 18th century, the genesis of the museum and the establishment of history as a scientific

⁷¹⁷ Due to necessary replacements, a total number of more than 850 objects were on display during the whole exhibition period.

⁷¹⁸ These busts were newly cast after the original sculptures.

discipline, which was, for example, expressed by an enthusiasm for antiquity (Pompeii, Herculaneum). The fourth section, entitled 'Far and Near' [Fig. 156-157], featured the 18th century interest in world exploration, a fascination with different cultures and its manifestation in the arts. On numerous voyages, artists accompanied explorers and documented new discoveries in biology, geography and cultural studies. Furthermore, they also started to explore and depict regional landscapes, thereby discovering their own country for tourism. In addition, this section presented the image of 18th century China as an enlightened nation and a counterpart to Europe as well as its exotic idealization that inspired artists, writers and philosophers alike. The fifth section, called 'Love and Sensibility' [Fig. 158], illustrated how emotions became accepted in society and how the concept of love as a basis for a relationship gained in importance. It presented how the new approach in marriage, family and children was reflected in the arts. Rousseau's famous postulate of 'Back to Nature' [Fig. 159-160] designated Section 6. This was the only section that, with the exception of one graphic series, solemnly relied on a selection of famous paintings such as landscape portraits, Arcadian landscapes and seascapes to illustrate the new attitudes towards nature, which had developed in the 18th century, a new admiration for the sublime nature as well as an awareness of its untamable character. This section marked the transition to the 'The Dark Sides' of Section 7 [Fig. 161]. Predominantly showing black and white drawings and prints, this division portrayed the fears and terror of the new world of reason, the burdens of self-reliability without the easing of religious belief. Section 8, entitled 'Emancipation and the Public Sphere', illustrated the emergence of public consciousness, the formation of modern society, and the appearance of visual mass media [Fig. 162]. Section 9 featured 'The Revolution of Art' as a bridge to the contemporary art [Fig. 163]. It showed how the ideas of the enlightenment forged the work and the self-concept of modern artists up until today. A small graphic depicting Voltaire with a lantern and entitled 'I enlighten' guided the visitor out of the exhibition halls [Fig. 164-165].

Theme

'The Art of the Enlightenment' exhibition was the largest theme exhibition featuring European Enlightenment ever encountered in Asia. The general directors of the three German museums involved jointly stated that "the exhibition unveils the visual world of an epoch on the verge of modernity, whose ideas were of defining importance for art and remain so even today: the effective history of those sweeping ideas is now to be made palpable to a Chinese

audience.”⁷¹⁹ The German partners provided their comprehensive art collections as the basis for the exhibition theme. The focus on the art of this epoch rather than on a historical or political display was therefore vital and only logical.

The impulse for the theme of ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ was provided by the three directors-general, Klaus-Peter Schuster, Martin Roth and Reinhold Baumstark. At first, the project was provisionally titled ‘Me and the World: About the History and Art of the European Enlightenment from the Renaissance to the Present’⁷²⁰ and encompassed a wider range of European art. During the development of the project, the team of curators controversially discussed the exhibition title ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ for its ambiguity referring not only to the arts of a European epoch but also to the skill of enlightening the people. In the Chinese translation (启蒙的艺术), however, this ambiguity was lost. Therefore, it was only significant to a very small fraction of visitors capable of understanding the English. The Chinese term for enlightenment ‘qimeng’ (启蒙) is well embedded in the communist terminology and as a key word of the May Fourth Movement it has continuously kept a positive connotation.⁷²¹ The use of this term for the exhibition title therefore ran the risk of misinterpretation by the Chinese visitor, as the European usage was not immediately evident in the context of the National Museum of China in Beijing.

Although the art historical discourse does not identify a genuine stylistic epoch of the Enlightenment, the period from the 18th to the early 19th century represents a significant phase for the development in European art. It is regarded as a time of emphasis on the museum’s educational approach, as well as an epoch with increased interest in China – all criteria ensuring that a display of the topic was worthwhile. The initiators of the project clearly pushed the thematic limits of what was possible at this location. However, the main patron of the project, German ambassador Michael Schaefer, made the German standpoint clear: “We do not want political indoctrination, but the dialogue of society.”⁷²² The goal was

⁷¹⁹ “The Art of the Enlightenment.” Exhibition brochure,

http://www.kunstderaufklaerung.de/media/kda_broschuere.pdf (accessed October 31, 2012).

⁷²⁰ ‘Ich und die Welt: zur Geschichte und Kunst der Europäischen Aufklärung von der Renaissance bis zur Gegenwart’.

⁷²¹ Siemons, Mark. “Das Programm heißt: groß.” FAZ, Feuilleton, March 26, 2011; p. 33.

⁷²² Quoted after Landwehr, Andreas. “Aufklärung am Tiananmen: Deutsche eröffnen große Kunstausstellung in China.” Berliner Zeitung, March 25, 2011.

not to propose a German social model, as blueprint for China, as some critics later claimed.⁷²³ When the idea was born, both sides were very open to the topic, which made the proceeding possible in the first place. During the entire planning and execution of the project, the ‘enlightenment’ topic per se never caused any conflict among the curatorial staff; the theme was developed professionally and in mutual cooperation. Furthermore, neither the Chinese nor the German curators experienced governmental interference with the subject matter with one insignificant exception regarding the object selection process (see below). Although the work on this topic was not hampered with, the curators themselves probably applied some extra care and worked in close cooperation. To meet the challenges of the topic concerning a non-European audience, specific provisions were taken. It soon became apparent that a comprehensive support program including guided tours and academic lectures was necessary to provide the interested public with the basic background of the epoch on display. Director Lü Zhangshen acknowledged that “this exhibition is profoundly significant for China in furthering its understanding of the international world as well as recognizing and embracing its own cultural values”.⁷²⁴ The theme developed over many years in a mutual ping-pong environment among the curating staff.

After the opening of the exhibition, the theme of Enlightenment was criticized by German media as inappropriate for the setting at Tiananmen Square. Their criticism was nourished by the fact that the sinologist Tilman Spengler, who was to travel with the delegation of Guido Westerwelle to the opening ceremony, was denied a visa. The reason given by the Chinese authorities was that he was “no friend of the Chinese people”. In 2010, Spengler had held a laudation for Nobel Prize winner Liu Xiaobo, who had been imprisoned as a dissident in the People’s Republic of China since 2005. On April 3, the well-established international artist Ai Weiwei was detained just before leaving for a trip to Germany. For many weeks, the Chinese government revealed neither his whereabouts nor a reason for his arrest. Later, he was accused of economic crimes. In the German media, these incidences were portrayed as offences against ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition and the German cultural exchange policy. Furthermore, the initial museum policy granted free entrance to the entire museum with the exception of the international exhibition. The lack of advertisement on the museum façade was unusual for German exhibition practice but not exceptional for the

⁷²³ Cf. Landwehr, Andreas. “Die Aufgeklärten kommen.” *Freie Presse, Kultur & Services*, S. A1, March 26, 2011; “Kunst der Aufklärung soll China beglücken.” *Ludwigsburger Kreiszeitung*, March 25, 2011.

⁷²⁴ Quoted after Szártó, András. “China’s new Age of Enlightenment.” *The Art Newspaper*, No. 223, April 2010.

National Museum of China.⁷²⁵ These circumstances, however, did not help the course of the German exhibition. Headlines criticized that the German government financed a “system sustaining”⁷²⁶ exhibition. Chinese cultural bureaucrats were blamed for fashioning themselves as liberal-minded while remaining true to the party principles, as well as for hiding the exhibition within the museum walls. The German counterpart was accused of vanity in wanting to be the first at attempting such an exhibition and of instrumentalism in presenting such a “harmless and boring” display.⁷²⁷ Various media repeated these accusations, condemning the directors-general of the German museums as being ignorant and vain. In the next step, the topic became a moral issue, with some media even declaring that the museum location was “contaminated”⁷²⁸, referring to the 1989 governmental suppression of protests at Tiananmen Square. The demand to close exhibition as symbol of protest was repeated by many, who were convinced that this action would make an impression on China. In Berlin, the Representative of the Federal Government for Culture, Bernd Neumann, launched an open discussion about the imprisonment of Ai Weiwei and ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition at the end of April, 2011. He discussed the question, whether the exhibition should be closed or not inviting the general-directors to take position. In China, this debate of closing the exhibition went almost unnoticed.

In the German media, only a few people publicly supported continuing the exhibition. In their eyes, culture policy and dialog were important for society and throughout history; the termination of dialog had never been proven helpful. Their main argument was that the early termination of the exhibition would only affect the interested public for which the exhibition initially was meant, nobody else would notice. Furthermore, they criticized a self-righteous, and know-it-all better mentality within their own culture, and demanded respect for the maturity of Chinese society.⁷²⁹ China and even the CCP was not a monolithic bloc, in which all the orthodox power shared one opinion against the economical liberal.⁷³⁰ Tilman Spengler remarked, for example, that the government had not interviewed the entire populous before claiming “he was no friend of the Chinese people”. He believed it was wrong to cancel the

⁷²⁵ Although a common practice for many Western museums, since the museum opening in 1959, the National Museum of China has never advertised its exhibitions on the façade.

⁷²⁶ Bork, Henrik. “Luftpumpe statt Kant.” Feuilleton, Süddeutsche Zeitung, March 31, 2011.

⁷²⁷ Köckritz, Angela. “Kunst und Kotau.” Die Zeit, Politik, April 14, 2011; Bloch, Werner. “Die Kunst des Gähnnens.” Die Welt, March 31, 2011.

⁷²⁸ Beyer/Doerry/Reinhardt, Spiegel Interview 2011.

⁷²⁹ “Fall Ai Weiwei: Das Schwarz-Weiß-Denken muss ein Ende haben.” Die Zeit, Kultur, April 26, 2011.

⁷³⁰ Siemons, Mark. “Was Aufklärung in China bedeutet.” FAZ, Feuilleton, April 1, 2011.

exhibition and the sophisticated scientific program. Some others stated that by closing the exhibition, Germany would overestimate its influence in China and look ridiculous.⁷³¹ Furthermore, to stop and forbid the exhibition would not serve the spirit of enlightenment. Martin Roth, who had been highly criticized in the media, countered the following: “We need the cultural dialog, not a wagging-the-forefinger style of politics”.⁷³²

The intention of the exhibition organizers was the cultural exchange, with the development of the project over many years experiencing the support of both governments. The theme of this exhibition was mutually agreed upon by the Chinese and German partners and evolved in a somewhat open atmosphere. Due to changes in the political situation, some members of the curatorial team agreed that at the time of the exhibition opening, the chosen theme might no longer have been possible. At that time, the political situation reflected nervousness and a tighter censorship of the government due to the Arabic spring and the so-called Jasmine protests in China. Aware that the exhibition theme could serve as a potential trigger for conflict, the museum team prepared themselves for a demand to prematurely end the show. However, it never occurred to them that this request might be raised by the German side. The 12-month duration of the exhibition served the project and made it possible to present the ideas of the Enlightenment by means of art. The exhibition was still on, while the critics became silent. It encouraged Chinese and international visitors to use their own wit for judgments of any kind.⁷³³

Object Selection

The objects selected stemmed exclusively from the three major German collections, Berlin, Dresden and Munich, combining more than 30 different museums and collections and encompassing a wide range of objects from the first human traces to masterpieces of contemporary art. From these comprehensive sources, artifacts were chosen from different media, including not only painting and sculpture but also prints, porcelain, drawings, crafts, scientific instruments, furniture and garment. Among the masterpieces, there were works of Pesne, Füssli, Piranesi, Goya, Boucher, Chodowiecki Gainsborough, Hogarth, Kauffmann, Watteau, Vernet, Beuys and Warhol. Besides a large number of masterpieces, significant

⁷³¹ Spengler, Tilmann. “Flaschenpost nach China.” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, April 14, 2011; Hammerschmidt, Ulrich. “Sonderzug nach P...” *Freie Presse*, April 18.2011; Schmidt-Glitzner, Helwig. “Die Wissenschaft von China und die Aufklärung.” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Geisteswissenschaften*, April 13, 2011.

⁷³² Cf. “Die wirtschaftliche Erneuerung hat die soziale überholt.” *DNN, Kultur*, March 29, 2011.

⁷³³ This had been acknowledged by some journalists at the end of the exhibition; Rauterberg, Hanno. “Dekoratives Alibi.” *Die Zeit, Feuilleton*, March 29, 2012.

objects cast light on various aspects of the arts of European Enlightenment. These included garments, costumes and accessories depicting aristocratic life in the 18th century; instruments illustrating the development in science; Chinese export art featuring the 18th century European fashion for everything Chinese; figurines of public theaters depicting interest in the world; diaries and educational literature expressing a different approach to friendship and a tribute to childhood; prints illustrating the development and importance of graphic techniques for the epoch and its influence up to today. Due to the size and diversity of the three collections with their status as collaboration partners, and due to the considerations of logistics, the German museums refrained from including suitable objects of other collections and solely relied on their own objects.

The objects were chosen following scientific and conservation criteria, the capacity to be moved and the condition of display. Regarding the curatorial choice, objects were selected for their context relation, artistic value, originality and their ability to illustrate a particular aspect of importance from the depicted epoch. The German team prepared a selection and discussed it with the Chinese partners subsequently. Each object was mutually agreed upon, though the length of discussion varied: curators from both sides identified Chinese export art, Western artifacts in a Chinese fashion and the influence China had on the ideas of European Enlightenment as the major points of interest for the Chinese audience. The visitor would encounter a ‘view of China’ digested and amended by European society of the 18th century, then returned to be presented to a Chinese audience. The proven popularity of the topic was documented by the visitor’s response throughout the exhibition period. The German curators controversially discussed the curiousness of certain objects, including Immanuel Kant’s shoes, which admittedly lacked any artistic value, while nevertheless illustrating the onset of the cult of personality during the Enlightenment period. As finally displayed, they were not only the object mostly mentioned in the Chinese media covering the exhibition⁷³⁴, but also drew a notable line of context to the display of Mao’s slippers worn when fighting in Northern Shaanxi in 1947 and as symbols of the ongoing cult of personality. The Chinese organizers wanted to cater to their audience by presenting recognizable examples from foreign cultures and found it vitally important to include well-known masterpieces, a practice well perceived by any major exhibition project. Furthermore, Chinese curators expressed the wish to include impressionist art in the last section of the exhibition, because of its popularity among the

⁷³⁴ Erling, Johnny. “Was nützen Kants Schuhe den Chinesen.” *Die Welt*, March 26, 2012.

Chinese audience. However, impressionist art was not included due to the deviant exhibition concept. Despite the claim for internationally declared masterpieces, however, the Chinese side was particularly interested in a full spectrum of the different artistic media including three-dimensional objects such as scientific instruments, furniture and textiles. They were especially open to the addition of extraordinary objects and sets, capable of illustrating a specific exhibition theme.

The uncommonly long twelve-month duration of the exhibition presented a challenge for the external lenders for various reasons including the selection of objects. The partners had agreed on the presentation of masterpieces to make the display most attractive and to publicize both the hosting and the lending museums. The lending museums, although eager to present their collection at such an important site at Tiananmen Square, were hardly willing to relinquish a great number of highlights from their own museum display for such an extended length of time. Even for comprehensive collections, the absence of major pieces presents a hazard of annoying regular visitors who expect the artifacts to be on display. In addition, some masterpieces were already booked for other international shows. Conservation staff examined each object in regard of its capability to travel. If permission was granted, they were professionally handled and supervised throughout the whole journey. Nevertheless, every change of location, packing and transport, unpacking and installation all put stress on the object. Due to the long exhibition period, a vast number of light sensitive objects such as textiles, drawings and graphics had to be exchanged in three, four and six month intervals. Therefore, replacement pieces, which matched in quality and in content, had to be found for the alternation during the exhibition period. By the end of the exhibition, about one third of the exhibits had been replaced by thematically and qualitatively corresponding substitutes, resembling a curatorial as well as a logistic nightmare.

Throughout preparation and exhibition, the curators chose the artifacts following the thematic guideline of ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’, only led by scientific and conservational criteria and the limitations of their own collections. All sides involved discussed the selection openly. No higher level of censorship was executed, with the exception of one exhibit: The German side suggested the display of the Andy Warhol self-portrait on wallpaper depicting a counterfeit of Mao Zedong by the same artist. This suggestion, which illustrated the artist’s critical reflection about the development of the artist cult and the cult of personality, was turned down after doubts from Chinese officials were

expressed. For the general theme of the exhibition, however, this object was of minor importance and dispensable.

Order of Display

The nine sections were arranged thematically featuring different aspects of the influence of art during the period of Enlightenment and how art itself was influenced by the epoch. The first and the last sections each presented a chronological framework of the exhibition theme, depicting the origin of new ideas at the courts of enlightened and semi-enlightened rulers, and illustrating the influence of these ideas on modern art up to the present day. Within each section, a chronological order was dismissed in favor of thematic units, illustrating various aspects of the epoch. In this theme-based display, all object categories were mixed, with two exceptions: Section 2 (Perspective of Knowledge) predominantly featured three-dimensional scientific instruments; Section 6 (Back to Nature) displayed only paintings with the exception of one graphic series, which depicted the earthquake of Lisbon (Le Bas). This curatorial decision aimed to limit quality shifts in a division, which mainly featured masterpieces of Kobell, Gainsborough, Friedrich, Raeburn and Vernet. In Section 7, predominantly black and white graphic works and series of prints by Goya, Hogarth and Piranesi were on display helping to illustrate the ‘Dark Sides’ of the Enlightenment.

The thematic display provided an opportunity to present the relevant content in context. However, it also harbored the hazard of confusing the visitor, particularly because an entire epoch with its internal developments was on display. The curators faced this problem not only by introducing didactic material, but also by establishing object sequences in various sections, which depicted a chronological development. For example, in the first section, a series of four escritorios presented the evolution of the European writing cabinet from its aristocratic origins in the early 18th century to bourgeois adaptation in the Biedermeier period. In addition, a sequence of prints executed in different techniques illustrated the important development of printing techniques. The introduction of these comprehensive sequences, which took up a fair amount of exhibition space, was limited, however, by the availability of fitting objects as well as by the wish to illustrate a wide range of topics within the exhibition.

The thematic order of display in this loan exhibit created an exception within the exhibition scheme of the National Museum of China, where either a chronological organization or a material-based display according to aesthetic criteria (porcelain, bronze

exhibition etc.) predominates. The major exhibition of ‘Ancient China’ and the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ follow a chronological outline, a tradition well established in history museums. Even the material-based displays such as bronze and porcelain grouped in dynastic periods, although their arrangement predominantly follows aesthetic criteria. The thematic organization of ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition demanded different approaches in the exhibition design and the didactic infrastructure of the exhibition.

Exhibition Design

The exhibition was arranged in three major halls, each encompassing three thematic sections. Partition walls divided all venues into thematic compounds and created space for the installation of exhibits. Within the halls, the walls were painted in different pastel colors of red (hall 1), brownish green (hall 2) and blue (hall 3). For a more exquisite design, all freestanding walls were covered with cloth corresponding to the color of the exhibition hall. Paintings and prints were grouped thematically, framed and either attached with wires from the ceiling (track and slide) or screwed onto the wall. In addition, a support in the fitting color was mounted underneath the frames of large paintings. Three-dimensional objects were presented either on pedestals or in showcases along the wall or in the center of special exhibition units. The design included didactic materials in the form of text and blow-up illustrations, technical models as well as media terminals. Texts were presented on room-colored panels (introductions), directly plotted to the wall (quotations), on white boards accompanying each object or object group (captions) or were beamed to the floor of each section (titles). Black, semi-translucent curtains with blow-up images of artifacts presented in the exhibition blocked the light from the existing windows [Fig. 83]. These illustrated curtains and the light concept represented the main features in the rather neutral exhibition design.

The continuing challenge of this exhibition cooperation existed in the presentation of Western art and Western content to a mostly Chinese audience in a Chinese museum environment. Due to the increasing numbers of international exchange exhibitions, this phenomenon seems more and more common; however, the impact of viewing habits and the cultural background of the audience cannot be underestimated. Furthermore, for most exhibition collaborations, a mutual development or at least a joint reconciliation of a thematic exhibition is quite rare. Frequently, a ready-made exhibition travels to different locations in the world and is only adjusted to a few specific requirements. In case of ‘The Art of the

Enlightenment' exhibition, the German team was in charge of the thematic arrangement of the exhibits whereas the Chinese side made suggestions for the overall exhibition design. The task was to create a Western context and exotic atmosphere in the exhibition galleries not only through the objects but also through the design, without neglecting Chinese viewing traditions.

The implemented design seemed rather minimalist and allowed the objects to speak for themselves. In some sections, the exhibition space even appeared to be too large for the presentation of European art of the 18th and 19th century. The introduction of installations and illusionary architecture, common in many international exhibitions or historic exhibitions such as the 'Road of Rejuvenation' display, was omitted in favor of the artifacts, which are in the focus of interest. This is more typical of the design of an art exhibition and can also be found in the 'Ancient China' display. The basic color scheme was developed in reference to the historic color scheme of the 18th century and the taste of the Chinese visitor. The blow-up images on the curtains integrated perfectly into the exhibition and set distinct visual focal points within the galleries. The overall concept of an artificial light exhibition attributing a different light quality to every section and thereby creating a specific atmosphere for each thematic approach was central to the design of the exhibition. This light concept was, for example, apparent in the illumination of the 'Megalithic Tomb in Snow' (1807) and 'View into the Elbe Valley' (1807) by Casper David Friedrich (1774–1840) in cold spherical light [Fig. 160]. Section 2, which illustrated the Perspective of Knowledge by means of optical instruments, was kept rather dark and contained self-illuminated historical artifacts [Fig. 154]. Following an idea of the Chinese curator, the exhibition titles were beamed to the floor at the entrance to each section. Almost half of the visitors, who participated in the 2011 survey, stated that the exhibition design looked international, one third rated it modern and only 2% sensed it to look Chinese (6.2.4.). The exotic touch, which this exhibit conveyed, compared to the other exhibits in the museum, seemed to stem primarily from the objects and their elaborate illumination. Although the design remained quite reserved, the exhibition contained a wide-ranging didactic framework.

Didactic Infrastructure

Since the early planning stage of the project, the curatorial team had agreed upon the necessity of providing a comprehensive didactic framework for the introduction of this challenging exhibition theme to a Chinese audience. A way had to be found so that, on the one hand, sufficient descriptions would be available wherever required, but on the other hand, the visitor would not be overwhelmed by supplementary information. Therefore, the didactic infrastructure was designed as an offer which the visitor could use or not and which extended from inside the exhibition to the periphery.

The exhibition focused on a theme-based display and a narrative approach. Almost every object of the exhibition illustrated a singular, important phenomenon of the time. In the foyer of the exhibit, maps of Europe and China and a timeline including European and Chinese events was provided to aid visitor orientation. Replicas of an electrostatic generator and a moveable *theatrum mundi* figure were placed within the exhibition for the visitor to try out [Fig. 83, 157]. Blow-up illustrations of 18th century manuals were included within the section to further demonstrate the function of the scientific instruments.

Throughout the exhibition, section titles, section introductions, as well as captions for each object or object group were provided in Chinese and English as a main means of background information. The curators took some effort in composing the different levels of texts, with each caption including up to three explanatory sentences to illustrate why the object was chosen and what thematic idea it stood for within the exhibition context. In comparison to the other exhibitions of the National Museum of China, ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ provided the most explanations within the display. The direct accessibility of the exhibition text represented a major gain, which was proven by the fact that the visitors frequently read these explanations. In the entrance area, quotations by Wilhelm Leibniz and Feng Yingjing led the visitor into the topic and the idea of cultural exchange.⁷³⁵ Furthermore, each bust stand was invested with a quotation of the famous contemporary it carried. Within

⁷³⁵ These quotations were provided in Chinese and English: “Like the Westerners, who have never heard about the teachings of Chinese sages, I have never before known the writings by Western saints. Today we are illuminating and inspiring each other. As peoples in the world share one mind, we are not to fail in the communication between East and West.” (Feng Yingjing, Preface to Complete Map of the World, Ming Dynasty, 31st year of Wanli Era, 1603) and “Who would have believed that there is a nation of earth which surpasses us, refined as we hold ourselves to be, in the rules of an even more cultivated life? Nevertheless, it is exactly this which we witness in China since we have come to know this nation better.” (Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, 1646–1716).

every section, a selection of two to three quotations from representatives of the Enlightenment was applied to the walls in Chinese. Throughout the exhibition, these quotations provided philosophical ideas, which were difficult to illustrate solely with artifacts. Furthermore, they helped to create an atmosphere of the displayed time. A small free-of-charge booklet featuring the main sections and introducing a selection of objects for each topic was planned for a handout. However, due to organizational difficulties it was only available at the end of the exhibition period. A comprehensive exhibition catalogue was published in Chinese, English and German featuring the nine exhibition sections, with introductory texts by the curators and an object selection of each section, as well as essays by outstanding scholars from China and Germany. Due to its size and the price policy of the National Museum of China, however, the catalogue was only available to a small number of interested and affluent visitors.⁷³⁶

Curators on all sides welcomed the introduction of new media technology for background information such as PDA and computer terminals. On media terminals, the visitor could gain additional information about the historical background of the exhibits and participate in a crash course about the Enlightenment period, which could also be accessed via the website of the exhibition. The general audio guide of the museum provided a one-hour tour through the exhibition and gave further insights to a selection of objects. Furthermore, guided tours were available for groups in German, English and Chinese.

To extend the exhibition topic by one important aspect, the German curators suggested designing one of the outer courtyards as a European Garden of Enlightenment during the exhibition period. This garden design would have featured, for example, plants from China, which were introduced to Europe during the age of Enlightenment. Furthermore, it would have provided introductions to the exhibition theme of the garden. This plan, however, was discarded during the preparation process.

Various additional activities supported the exhibition. An educational museum program developed by the German Goethe Institute in Beijing in cooperation with the National Museum of China offered numerous tours and events for diverse groups. It also initiated the establishment of educational centers within the museum to be used for

⁷³⁶ Similar to the catalogs of the National Museum of China collection, the exhibition catalog was priced at around 900 RMB.

workshops and events even for further exhibitions to come [Fig. 166]. An International Youth Congress entitled ‘Enlighten my Future’ employed the exhibition as its thematic framework. The endowment Stiftung Mercator developed the ‘Enlightenment in Dialogue’ program, staging five scientific forums with panel discussions by international experts on the field and related topics. Furthermore, it realized nine salons with a more unofficial character, extending to philosophical, social and artistic aspects of the Enlightenment.⁷³⁷ The first forum commenced on April 2, 2011 with a panel discussion by Chinese and German museum directors about the future development of museums and cultural exchange projects, a day after the exhibition opening. Hopes were high and although this forum had more the character of a reaffirmation event, it nevertheless paved the way for more intensive debate at later panel discussions. More than 3000 visitors attended the events and in 2012, the dialogue of culture was converted to a long-term program continuing beyond the exhibition period.

The efforts to not only make the exhibition attractive but also give explanations about the theme were hindered by the museum entrance policy in the first month after the opening of the exhibition. This policy allocated a price of 30 RMB per ticket for the international exhibition, while the entrance to the entire museum was free. During this time, only 8000 free tickets were handed out per day and usually they were gone by noon. In the afternoon, many people bought tickets for ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ in order to access the new museum, but not primarily to see the German exhibition. In summer, the ticket price for the exhibition dropped to 10 RMB and in autumn, it was free of charge just like the rest of the museum. In many museums worldwide, it is common practice that special exhibitions and international loan exhibitions cost extra. Nevertheless, after the general introduction of a free entrance policy for state-run museums, this approach was difficult to communicate to a Chinese audience. With its entrance policy in 2011, the National Museum of China intended to test the capacity of the new venue; gradually they opened up the museum for more visitors. The fear of being overrun by too many visitors certainly played a major role for the restrictive entrance after the opening of the museum.

⁷³⁷ Initiated and with 1.5 million Euros funded by the endowment Stiftung Mercator in cooperation with the National Museum of China, the Berlin State Art Museums, the Dresden State Art Collections, and the Bavarian State Painting Collections Munich. The program was greatly supported by the German ambassador to China and by the Chinese Minister of Culture.

Summary

On March 25, 2012, the first international loan exhibition in the newly designed National Museum of China came to a close. For the first international display after the reopening and one of the first exhibitions of the entire museum, the Chinese and German staff had to overcome many thematic, logistic, and operational challenges with their collaboration. ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ itself seems to have been a good addition to the overall exhibition concept and enriched the museum by a thematic display of international art. Surprisingly, the theme, which was conceived positive by museum professionals from both sides, seems to have caused more controversy with the German public than on the Chinese side. The didactic infrastructure enabled not only the enjoyment of masterpieces but also provided necessary context information for a non-Western audience. Within one year, half a million people had viewed the display. Although not the highest number in attendance ever seen in a Western exhibition in China, some of the visitors returned up to five times and stayed in the exhibition on average more than two hours.⁷³⁸ The initiators were satisfied with the outcome and stressed the long-term effect and the necessity of the cultural dialogue.

‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition set high standards in various fields of international cooperation. It started the new concept of displaying world culture by means of long-term international loan exhibitions within the National Museum of China. However, this display was just the first in a long line of international exhibitions, followed by the ‘Ancestors of the Incas’ by the Peruvian Ministry of Culture or the ‘Passion for Porcelain: Masterpieces of Ceramic’ by the British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum and many more.

3.5. Conclusion

The National Museum of China represents the prime museum for the display of Chinese history and culture. By analyzing the overall exhibition concept of 2011, as well as the three major displays of the ‘Ancient China’, ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ and ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibitions the following findings could be made:

With the opening in 2011, the National Museum of China has extended its overall exhibition concept from a primarily historic focus to the display of art on equal terms.

⁷³⁸ Information based on an internal visitor survey of 2011.

Besides the display of history, permanent exhibits of material groups such as bronze, porcelain and jade were added to the museum. Although these exhibitions follow the chronological order of the Chinese dynasties, they focus on the aesthetic presentation of masterpieces themselves. Previously, special exhibits had already featured different themes and object groups; however, the permanent display of masterpieces takes the exhibition concept to a new level. By including long-term international loan exhibitions, the National Museum of China strives for new dimensions. The first long-term loan exhibition featuring ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ added a theme exhibition, in which each artifact or group seems to illustrate a different aspect and which is further explained by various didactic materials.

The major displays of the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ and ‘Ancient China’ experienced adjustments, reaching from a close continuity of content and design to an extensive new interpretation of the displayed collection. The ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition follows the former set-up most closely by stressing the narrative storyline and using the exhibits primarily as supporting statements. The newly added content of contemporary history is integrated continuing similar structures, display techniques and themes. In contrast, the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition experience major changes such as the return to the Chinese chronology and the deemphasizing of political themes. In the new approach, a strong focus is laid upon the material and the aesthetic quality of the objects.

Seeds of change are to be encountered in the unexpected scenario of the ‘Modern Masterpiece’ exhibition of the former Museum of Chinese Revolution. Here, the iconic work of Dong Xiwen, ‘The Founding Ceremony of the Nation’ (1953), is displayed in two versions. These paintings illustrate the extremely versatile political development of the People’s Republic of China and its adding on or erasing of prominent figures caused by political tides. Within the display, there are no explanations, and even on the website, where Dong Xiwen’s painting is described in length, there is no reference about the fascinating history of the oil painting and its counterpart. However, for the informed visitor, the presentation of both pictures reveals a changing approach and allows a new involvement in the display of modern Chinese history and the memory of its people.

4. Conclusion: Presenting Identity—Past and Present

After many years of planning and reconstruction, the National Museum of China has risen like a phoenix from the ashes of a controversial planning process. Hardly any museum is better qualified than the National Museum of China to build memory, to shape history and to present the identity of the current People's Republic of China. This study analyzed the most recent development of the National Museum of China. It revealed continuity and changes in the architecture as well as in the museum display in order to further understand the newly defined self-image of the museum and the message it conveys: Framing the Subject (Part 1) defined concepts in relation to the National Museum of China and traced the origins of the museum and its development within the political circumstances. Furthermore, the National Museum of China of 2011 and its self-defined goals were presented. In Building Memory (Part 2), the new architecture of the museum was analyzed, and compared with the previous stages of development and with relevant national and international examples of museum architecture. Both changes and continuities in the architectural design were examined in order to understand the new role of the museum building. Shaping History (Part 3) focused on the analysis of the new presentation, taking into account former exhibition setups as well as worldwide contemporary exhibition practice. From this analysis, the following findings could be made:

The National Museum of China has achieved its goal in evolving into the largest museum worldwide. However, the comprehensive redesign of the museum carried further ramifications. “Leading within China and first-class internationally” became a well-quoted slogan among museum personnel and directors alike. The government's intentions were to improve the facilities of the museum in regard of its hard- and software, to equip the venue with the latest technical innovations and to increase the professional museum staff. A more forward looking, technically updated and supreme ‘hall of culture’, featuring both Chinese history and art from prehistoric to present times was targeted. These improvements were planned in order to better fulfill the contemporary tasks of a national museum and to serve the audience by offering them a more comprehensive museum experience. By comparing the predefined goals with the outcome of the project, it becomes apparent that the revamping of the museum presented no easy task, but a difficult struggle in redefining and reshaping the institutional identity in the context of a changing China.

In its architecture, the museum expanded in size creating generous amounts of space for display. In the course of the project, and in particular, after the change of museum leadership, the planning for overall size and for gallery space were both continually extended. Although the competition for size was overtly embraced, the museum's true dimensions are only appreciable in the interior of the Grand Forum. As in 1959, the client refrained from equating building significance with merely the height of the building. The newly established low-rise museum blends harmoniously into the context of Tiananmen Square and its surroundings, an approach very important for the outer design of the museum. The original façade of 1959 has made a statement for a new beginning, employing Socialist building style. At the same time, it connected with the former center and the surrounding buildings by the implementation of Chinese characteristics such as the use of yellow tiles. In 2011, the design followed the clients' demand to keep the original façade intact; the project developed from a 'counterpoint approach' in 2004 to a façade in tune with the original design. Only at close range are modern forms recognizable. In addition, the layout of the courtyards reflects the development of the façade; it evolved from an initial abstract design to a proposal that resembles the original composition, resuming the use of vegetation as can be seen on the square. The outer design of the 2011 museum provides a statement of continuity: the key to understanding this approach being the integration of the museum in the ensemble of Tiananmen Square. Although this continuity of form generally prevails in the interior, more freedom was applied in the employment of modern elements and in the design of a state-of-the-art functional museum building. In addition to an international look the establishment of reception halls in Chinese style pays tribute to the Chinese culture and can be seen as an important addition to a national museum. In contrast, the exhibition halls are provided in international museum standard, with state-of-the-art functionality, as exceptionally flexible and neutral containers. Still their enormous size provides challenges for the installation of exhibitions. The Grand Forum developed from an independent glass and steel architecture to a more conservative and monumental approach, which is in tune with the former design. The initial idea of an openly accessible public square within the museum had to make way for a much more restrained design, returning, however, in the assignment of the Grand Forum as exhibition space. Ultimately, this approach serves to emphasize the character of the building as a memorial of the People's Republic of China.

In the display, different approaches extending from continuity to renewal have been discovered. The showcasing of masterpieces in permanent exhibitions and the introduction of

long-term international loan exhibitions expanded the scope of the museum from the predominantly historical focus to the display of art on equal terms. The ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ has developed in scale, now including modern history up to the present. A change in exhibition title from ‘revolution’ to ‘rejuvenation’ provides for a less militant approach. Internationalization was achieved by introducing modern display techniques and providing additional English explanations. Despite these changes, Chinese history continues to be described as sequence of revolutionary events in the display of the Old and New Democratic Revolution (1840–1949). Furthermore, the newly introduced scope of modern history (1949–2011) is explained as a series of accomplishments under the guidance of the CCP. Challenges and setbacks of the historical development are partially mentioned in the introductory text; however, no further details or explanations are given. The continuity of the exhibition outline and theme, the consistency in the exhibition design, the application of photographs, and even the resumption of the program of oil paintings and sculptures, all support the impression of a persevering exhibition approach. The new exhibition closely follows the guidelines of the Propaganda Department, which forbade changes in motive, orientation and framework. It continues to serve as a platform for the display of the official party line with the master narrative of the victorious path of the Chinese people under the guidance of the CCP still in place, expressing political stability to the outside world. However, the exhibition makers thereby missed the chance of a new interpretation of a society, which has undergone fundamental changes.

In contrast, the well-established ‘Ancient China’ display experienced a change in the focus. The historic display adapted a downgrading in the importance of political themes, a return to the traditional Chinese chronology and an emphasis on the objects themselves. This change in perspective is visible in an alteration of the employed terminology, the renunciation of socialist quotations, history paintings and sculptures and in the explicit return to the traditional Chinese chronology. Due to the available collection of masterpieces the focus on the objects themselves was always stronger than in the predecessors of the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition. However, with the new display, the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition emphasizes the aesthetic value of the objects even more, thus revising the former interpretations without openly opposing it and in addition fulfilling the new governmental guidelines formulated for the museum. This new focus on the objects seems to be better suitable for the presentation of the Chinese nation and its treasures. With the opening of ‘The Art of the Enlightenment’ a further step in the new exhibition concept was taken. The original

planning foresaw an ambitious display of museums representing all continents at the same time. With the implementation of long-term international exhibitions in a sequence, the original idea could be preserved. The German contribution added a thematic exhibition to the display, which is predominantly arranged according to chronological and aesthetic criteria. Being the first international exhibition after the reopening, it had to overcome various logistic and legitimization difficulties. It was, however, well received by the audience. In general, the new display of the National Museum of China ranges from close continuity in concept and design (Road of Rejuvenation), to a new interpretation of the collection with an emphasis on its aesthetic value (Ancient China, Masterpiece Exhibitions), and to including a thematic international approach (The Art of the Enlightenment). The development of the exhibition design reflects the approach taken in the architectural scheme, in that a slow adjustment and a not entirely new interpretation was pursued.

During the process of reshaping the National Museum of China, the client – composed of various governmental bodies – has not always expressed the same opinion. The project has shifted between a traditional and a new approach, an interior revision and an exterior presentation of the institution. The erection of the statue of Confucius [Fig. 39] in front of the northern façade of the museum, viewed as symbol of détente, and its fate, describe vividly that although reforming forces were vital, a traditional approach was, for the time being, stronger. The installation of the two versions of the famous painting ‘The Founding Ceremony of the Nation’ [Fig. 91] at prominent positions in the Central Hall on the other hand, tells the story of a subsequent, but not strident, ongoing change. With the display of both versions, history is presented not only as one true line of interpretation, but the visitors’ eyes are opened to the controlling power, which the creation of history can encompass. In the Grand Forum, the giant relief of the ‘The Foolish Old Man Removing the Mountains’ [Fig. 58] forms an intermediate between the second and third dimension, a bridge between the museum’s architecture and the display, as well as a link between the past and the future: Remodeled after the famous painting of Xu Beihong of 1940, this ancient legend served to evoke patriotic feelings in Republican times. Furthermore, the theme was employed for the ideological fight against capitalism and feudalism of the Communist regime as stated by Mao Zedong in his speech during the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1945. In 2011, it seems that no specific enemy is defined and the focus has switched to propagate a uniting and mutual effort of the Chinese people to build their country. The core message this relief conveys for the Chinese society up to this day is that with the right

set of mind and real cooperation, it is possible to move mountains and achieve anything. The current museum intentionally chose this motto of striving jointly for a better society to greet their visitors.

The development of the National Museum of China at the turn of the 21st century evolved parallel to the enormous changes the People's Republic of China has experienced during the last decades, challenging its previous approach in the depicting of history, the creation of memory and the presentation of identity. This project reflects the ongoing struggle to keep up with and provide answers for the changing society within the presentation of the National Museum of China. It shows governmental willingness to modernize this important memorial of the Chinese nation and its cultural and historical presentation on the one hand; on the other hand, the development of the project illustrates not only a very protective approach and hesitant permission of changes but also a strong attempt to maintain the established themes and forms. Although the museum reinvented itself anew; a harmonious dialogue with the past was pursued and dominated the evolving project. The assertion to maintain its role in legitimizing the government in power explains the careful approach in the permitting of changes. However, the continuity of theme and form bears the risk of losing the ability to bridge the gap between real life and real experiences and the official party line. At the National Museum of China, a complete redefinition of modern Chinese history and social changes that some Chinese and Westerners were hoping for, has not yet taken place. The revamping of the museum is an ongoing process, articulating the continuous development in society and among governmental leadership. The re-evaluation of the museum stressed the general trend of deemphasizing the historic approach in favor of the presentation of an art museum displaying national treasures. With the continuity of traditional forms in architecture, the enduring theme of national unity in display, and the competitiveness in the size, the National Museum of China underlined its role as the representative museum of a united Chinese nation. It continues to explain history following the official party line, but now it also celebrates Chinese cultural achievements as part of a globalized world and a treasure chamber of the nation.

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6. Appendix

6.1. Timeline

This timeline is compiled from various sources listed in the references (see 5.). It is assembled with the intention of providing an overview and background information about the history and development of the museum [M] in general and the National Museum of China [NMC] in particular. Furthermore, it lists relevant historical events of Chinese history [CH] and the general historical development [GH]. This timeline is not comprehensive.

Time	Place	Event
16.–11. c. BC	[CH]	Shang Dynasty
1045–221 BC	[CH]	Zhou Dynasty
221–206 BC	[CH]	Qin Dynasty
206 BC–220 AD	[CH]	Han Dynasty
220–280	[CH]	Three Kingdoms
265–420	[CH]	Jin Dynasty
420–589	[CH]	North and South Dynasties
581–618	[CH]	Sui Dynasty
618–907	[CH]	Tang Dynasty
907–960	[CH]	Five Dynasties
960–1279	[CH]	Song Dynasty
1279–1368	[CH]	Yuan Dynasty (Mongolian)
1368–1644	[CH]	Ming Dynasty
1644	[CH]	Qing Dynasty (Manchurian: until 1911)
1750	[M]	Palais de Luxemburg, Paris; opening of the painting gallery to the public on Wednesdays and Saturdays.
1753	[M]	British Museum, London, established based on the comprehensive collection of Sir Hans Sloane and a universal, encyclopedic approach (1759: museum opening).
1764	[M]	Hermitage, St. Petersburg
1792	[M]	National Museum, Stockholm
1793	[M]	The Louvre opens as state collection.
1802	[M]	National Museum, Budapest (1837-1847: neo-classicist museum building)
1807	[M]	National Museum, Copenhagen
1808	[M]	National Gallery, Budapest
1818	[M]	National Museum, Prague, (1891: museum building) Prado, Madrid
1839–1842	[CH]	The First Opium War ended with the Treaty of Nanjing: Shanghai, Ningbo, Xiamen, Fuzhou and Canton were opened for Western trade.

1849	[CH]	Lin Cheng visits American museums and reports his experience in a 'Journey through the Western Sea' (西海纪游草).
1851–1864	[CH]	Taiping uprising: Hong Xiuquan, the leader of the religious sect declares himself the younger brother of Jesus Christ and proclaims the 'Heavenly Kingdom' (太平天国). In 1864, the occupied Nanjing fell and the rebellion ended; the total death toll numbered approximately 20 million.
1851	[GH/M]	In the Paxton Crystal Palace, London, the Great World Exposition began. In the aftermath, The South Kensington Museum (Victoria & Albert Museum) was founded. At that time, the encyclopedic system of arranging the artifacts was exceptional.
1852	[M]	Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg: due to private initiative, intended as universal museum of the German culture, fostered by the romantic national movement and the 1848 Frankfurt Assembly.
1856–1860	[CH]	The Second Opium War ended in the looting of the Summer Palaces by Anglo-French forces. Treaty of Tianjin (1858): opening of the Yangzi valley and eleven additional treaty ports for foreign trade, legalizing the opium trade, granting foreigners the freedom to move throughout the country as well as free and unrestricted propagation of Christianity.
1861	[CH]	Establishment of the Zhongli Yamen, the office for foreign relations of the Imperial government.
	[CH]	The Tongzhi Emperor ascends the throne and reigns until 1875.
1862	[M]	National Museum, Warsaw
1866	[CH]	The first Chinese government delegation travelled to Europe (Denmark, Holland and Germany). Bin Chun, head of the delegation, and Zhang Deyi documented their experience including reports about the 10-20 museums they had visited.
1868	[GH]	Meiji Reforms in Japan: since 1639, Japan had been closed to the outer world. Emperor Meiji (r. 1868–1912) opened up the country and initiated fundamental reforms. Japan went from borrowing to mastery of Western techniques and style. The foundation for the industrial revolution and future success of Japan was laid.
, 01	[M]	The French missionary Pierre Heude SJ founded the Museum of National History in Shanghai, which is today's Shanghai Etymological Museum (rebuilt 2002).
1871	[CH]	Chinese students leave to study abroad (USA) for the first time. In the following years, China sent students to the US, England, France and Germany.
1872	[M]	State Historical Museum of Russia, Moscow
1876	[M]	Alte Nationalgalerie (Old National Gallery), Berlin
1877	[GH/CH]	The First Chinese Diplomatic Mission opened in London.
1889/1891	[M]	Naturhistorisches Museum (Natural History Museum), Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum (Museum of Art History), Vienna

1894–1895	[CH]	The Sino-Japanese War ended with the treaty of Shimonoseki, in which China had to surrender Taiwan to Japan (Japanese rule: 1895–1945). The defeat by an ‘inferior’ Asian nation created a feeling of great humiliation in China and fostered the understanding of necessary changes throughout the Chinese intelligentsia.
1897	[CH]	The murder of two German missionaries by the Big Sword Society, gave Germany an excuse to complete the long planned occupation of Jiaozhou, Shandong. In the following negotiations with the Chinese government, the Germans succeeded in gaining leasehold of the area for 99 years.
1898	[CH]	Hundred Days’ Reform: A comprehensive reform plan including the restructuring of institutions developed by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao was approved and launched by the Guanxu Emperor. The reform was halted after 100 days, due to the interventions of Empress Dowager Cixi. Six reformers were executed and the Guanxu Emperor imprisoned in the Summer Palace. Kang Youwei escaped to Japan.
	[CH]	Hong Kong leased to Britain for 99 years.
1899–1900	[GH]	The Boxer Uprising: Xenophobia and anti-Christian unrest was ended with the conquest of Beijing by the Eight-Nation-Alliance on August 14, 1900. The so-called Boxer protocol legalized the presence of foreign troops in China and forced China to pay high indemnities.
	[CH]	Translation of Western literature into Chinese by Liang Qichao, Cai Yuanpei, Yan Fu, Lin Shu, Ma Junwu and others.
	[M]	Discovery of the Dun Huang manuscripts and paintings.
1902	[CH]	In course of the year, the practice of binding feet is condemned.
1904–1905	[GH]	Russian-Japanese War: Japan defeated Russia.
1905	[CH]	Traditional Chinese exams were abolished, the court ordered two missions overseas to study the constitutions of other nations.
	[GH]	Musée de l’ Armée, Paris
	[CH]	Tongmenghui (Chinese United League) established by Sun Yatsen and others in Tokyo.
	[M]	The industrialist Zhang Jian established the first Chinese Museum in Nantong, Jiangsu Province.
1908	[CH]	Death of Former Emperor Guanxu and Empress Dowager Cixi; Puyi the last emperor ascended the throne under the title of Xuan Tong.
	[CH]	The Imperial Court issued an outline of the constitution.
1910, 08	[GH]	Korea under Japanese occupation (until August 15, 1945). Japanese influence in this region began already in 1876 (Treaty of Ganghwa).
1911	[CH]	Revolution of 1911, Wuchang; Sun Yatsen became president of the provisional government in Nanjing; end of Imperial China.
	[M]	The south part of the Forbidden City opened to the public. Emperor Puyi and his family still occupied the Inner Palaces in the north.
1912, 02	[CH]	February 12, foundation of the Republic of China in Nanjing. Emperor Puyi abdicated. On February 14, Sun Yatsen handed over power to general Yuan Shikai, who became president of the Republic.
1912, 05	[GH/CH]	British troops moved into Tibet.

	[CH]	The Guomindang (GMD) is founded in succession of Sun Yatsen's Tongmenghui.
, 07	[NMC]	On July 9, the 'Preparatory Office of the National History Museum' was set up as the predecessor of the Museum of Chinese History, originally located at the site of the former Imperial College Guozijian of the Qing dynasty. Its first director was Hu Yujin 胡玉缙.
1913	[NMC]	The Wanguo Printing Exhibition including a jade carved preface of the 13 classics is presented in Leipzig, Germany.
1914–1919	[GH]	World War I, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia after the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne on July 28, 1914.
1914, 03	[M]	Tianjin Natural History Museum was established by the French Priest and biologist E. Licent (桑志华). In 1952, Tianjin Municipal government took over the museum, which had already assembled 200.000 items.
, 04	[CH]	Japanese occupied the German concessions in Shandong.
, 10	[M]	The Ministry of Internal Affairs established the Exhibition Office of Ancient Artifacts Institution for Exhibiting the Cultural Heritage (1914–1947) at the Hall of Literary Glory and the Hall of Military Glory, in which treasures from the collections in Shenyang, Chengde, the Summer Palaces and the Qingyi Garden of the Qing dynasty were presented for public display.
1915, 01	[CH]	Japan formally presented 21 Demands, which were accepted with modifications by Yuan Shikai in May.
, 06	[M]	The Institution for the Safekeeping of Cultural Treasures (古物保存所) was founded at the Imperial Ming Palaces at the Nanjing Court.
, 09	[CH]	Foundation of the Journal 'Youth' (青年) in Shanghai by Chen Duxiu, renamed to 'New Youth' (新青年) in 1916.
, 12	[CH]	Yuan Shikai declared himself Emperor of a new dynasty.
1916, 06	[CH]	Death of Yuan Shikai, end of his dictatorship.
	[CH]	Western literature was translated on a large scale and served as influential basis for modern Chinese literature.
1916–1926	[CH]	Warlords seized power resulting in regional fragmentations and fighting.
1917	[CH]	Hu Shi advocated literary reform in vernacular language (白话) in the influential magazine 'New Youth'.
	[NMC]	Per decision of the Ministry of Education The Museum of Chinese History was relocated to the Forbidden City, where it occupied the Wu Gate and the buildings between Wu and Duan Gate.
, 08	[GH]	China entered World War I on the side of the Allies.
1918	[M]	Beijing National Institute of Fine Arts founded by Cai Yuanpei.
1919, 05	[CH]	May Fourth Movement: The Chinese delegation refused to sign the Versailles Peace Treaty of April 28, which awarded the former German settlement in China to Japan. Anti-imperialist student protests grow into a cultural and political movement with nation-wide boycott of Japanese goods.
1920	[CH]	The Ministry of Education accepted vernacular language for textbooks.

	[NMC]	Excavation of ancient heritage starts; new relics from excavation sites were collected within the following years.
1921	[CH/M]	Cataloging of and investigation on the imperial collection commenced; many cases of stolen and lost objects were identified.
, 07	[CH]	Foundation of the Communist Party of China (CCP), initially established by Chen Duxiu und Li Dazhao and others in Shanghai.
, 11	[GH]	Washington Conference: Japan agrees to return Shandong to China (December 1922).
1923–27	[CH]	First United Front: Alliance between the GMD (Sun Yatsen) and the CCP (Chen Duxiu) to fight warlordism with support of Soviet Russia.
1924	[CH]	November 6, Emperor Puyi is finally expelled from the Forbidden City.
1925	[M]	The Committee for the Disposition of the Qing Imperial Household Possession was established to record the cultural relics of the collection.
, 03	[CH]	March 12, death of Sun Yatsen.
, 04	[M]	Exposition Chinoise d'Art Ancien et Moderne at the Palais du Rhin, Straßbourg
, 07	[M]	Exposition of National Education System (全国教育展览会) in Nanjing
, 10	[M]	October 10, Foundation of the National Palace Museum in Beijing. The opening ceremony in front of Gate of Heavenly Purity was held on the 14 th anniversary of the Republic of China.
1925–1927	[CH]	Anti-Imperialist Movement: boycott of foreign companies and goods in the cities.
1926–1928	[CH]	Northern Expedition of Chiang Kai-shek to unify China and end the reign of the warlords.
1926, 03	[M]	The Palace Museum is under warlord governance. In the following two years, leadership of the museum changed four times.
, 10	[NMC]	October 10, the National History Museum, which originated from the 'Preparatory Office of the National History Museum', officially opened to the public. The museum counted 45,000 visitors within the first month, including the monarchs of Sweden and Siam.
1927, 01	[CH]	The GMD moves the capital to Wuhan, the same year Chiang Kai-shek declared Nanjing the capital.
, 04	[CH]	April Twelve Incident; purge against Communists conducted by the GMD in Shanghai ended the First United Front.
1928, 06	[M]	The Republican government takes over The National Palace Museum.
, 08	[CH]	August 1, foundation of the People's Liberation Army during the Nanchang Uprising in Hunan.
, 10	[NMC]	The Central Congress of the GMD Party (国民党中央政治会议) filed an application to the foundation of the Museum of Revolutionary History at the Central Executive Committee (中央执行委员会).
1929	[M]	The first official National Art Exhibition organized by the Ministry of Education is opened by Cai Yuanpei in Shanghai.
, 01	[M]	Large-scale Chinese art exhibition in Berlin.

	[NMC]	Due to university system reforms, the former history museum was under the regulation of the Ministry of Education; its name was changed to Central Research Centre, Beijing Museum of History.
1930	[GH]	The global economic crisis hits Asia.
, 06	[CH/M]	The Republican Government announced the ‘Law for Protection of Historical Items’ (古物保护法).
	[M]	The sorting and counting of Imperial treasures from The Palace Museum ended.
	[NMC]	The museum started replication of historical artifacts, tomb figurines, and paintings.
1931, 09	[CH]	Mukden Incident: near Shenyang, railway tracks owned by a Japanese company were sabotaged. This incident was used as an excuse for Japanese troops to invade Manchuria.
, 11	[CH]	Mao Zedong declares the Chinese Soviet Republic (disestablished in 1937).
	[NMC]	The museum’s collection exceeded 215,000 artifacts.
1932	[CH]	Manchuria was completely under Japanese rule, a puppet state named ‘Manzhouguo’ (满洲国) was established and the abdicated Chinese emperor Puyi was installed as the nominal ruler. In 1945, after the defeat of Imperial Japan, the Manzhouguo government was abolished.
1933, 02	[M]	Due to the threat of a Japanese attack, artifacts from the National Palace Museum, the Exhibition Office of Ancient Artifacts and the National University collection were divided into five categories, packed into 20,000 crates and shipped to Nanjing and further on to Shanghai. An odyssey began, and ended for most artifacts in the National Palace Museum in Taipei only in 1965.
	[M/NMC]	‘Preparatory Office of the National Central Museum’ under the initiative of Cai Yuanpei: Nanjing Museum opened as the first comprehensive state museum; the History Museum in Beijing shipped parts of its cultural relics south to Nanjing Museum.
1933, 05	[NMC]	The provisional government of the Chinese Soviet Republic announced the Museum of Revolution (革命博物馆启事) and gave notice to collect memorable items.
1933–34	[M]	Exhibitions of Modern Chinese Painting in France, Italy, Germany and the Soviet Union curated by Xu Beihong.
1934	[M]	The first exhibition of woodcuts and paintings from ‘Revolutionary China’ was held in Paris. The writer Lu Xun (1881–1936), initiator of the Chinese woodcut movement, influenced European artist like Käthe Kollwitz and Frans Masereel.
1934–35	[CH]	Long March of the Chinese Communists: under the guidance of the People’s Liberation Army, the Communists escaped from the troops of the Nanjing government.
	[CH]	Establishment of a new power center of the Communists in Yan’an under guidance of Mao Zedong.

1935	[GH]	Soviet advisors influenced the city planning in China after the Moscow model: big street axis, squares at nodal points and monuments are their characteristics.
, 05	[M]	The Association of Chinese Museums (中国博物馆协会) was founded in Beijing. In September, the first volume of its journal was issued.
, 11	[CH]	At the Zunyi Conference, Mao Zedong was installed as the leader of the Communist Party of China.
, 11	[M]	Eight crates of specially chosen artifacts were shipped from Shanghai to the Royal Academy in London, where an Exhibition of Chinese Masterpieces was held.
1936 , 01	[M/ NMC]	The Association of Chinese Museums published an overview of the museums in China (中国博物馆一览) The National Museum of China joined the Association of Chinese Museums.
, 04	[M]	The National Central Museum (国立中央博物院) in Nanjing elected Cai Yuanpei as chairman of the managing board.
	[M]	The National Palace Museum crates were moved from Shanghai to Nanjing. A sub-branch of the National Palace Museum was established in Nanjing in 1937.
, 12	[CH]	Second United Front: after Chiang Kai-shek was kidnapped by followers of Zhang Xueliang in Xi'an, the GMD agreed to a new alliance with the Communists.
1937, 07	[CH]	The Marco Polo Bridge Incident on July 7 marked the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War: In August, Beijing was conquered by the Japanese Army. Chongqing became Chiang Kai-shek's provisional capital.
, 08	[M]	Due to the Japanese threat, the combined collection of Chinese art (17,000 crates) was moved on three different routes West to Chongqing.
1937	[GH]	Construction started on the Palace of the Soviets in Moscow.
, 12	[CH]	Nanjing Massacre: on December 13, Japanese troops conquered the city and proceeded against the civilians with extreme brutality.
1938, 01	[NMC]	The museum was bombed and looted by the Japanese Army in Beijing. It was renamed "Museum of History of the Central Ministry of Education" (教育总署历史博物馆) and under control of the puppet regime.
1939, 09	[GH]	Outbreak of World War II, due to the invasion of Poland by Hitler Germany.
1941, 07	[CH]	Declaration of war against Germany and Italy.
, 09	[CH]	In Yan'an, Fan Wenlan published 'A Brief History of China' (中国通史简编) after receiving instructions for writing a revolutionary history from Mao Zedong.
1942	[CH]	Mao's Yan'an speech about literature and art, following the Marxism-Leninism view on aesthetics.
	[CH]	The Rectification Campaign was initiated by the Communist Party of China as their first ideological mass movement, attacking intellectuals, adopting the party constitution based on Marxist-Leninism and Mao

		Zedong's Thoughts as guiding ideologies, consolidating Mao's prime position.
1943	[GH]	Treaty signed with the United States and Great Britain, abolishing the Boxer protocol, concessions and extraterritorial rights in China.
1945–1949	[CH]	Civil War between the National Party (GMD) and the Communist Party of China (CCP). Foreign powers support each side by means of material supply.
1945, 01	[M]	The shipment of cultural relics of the National Palace Museum from Sichuan province back to Nanjing started.
, 04	[M]	The Guomindang regime founded the 'Board of Protecting Cultural Heritage During War' (战时文物保存委员会).
, 05	[NMC]	Foundation of the 'Preparatory Office of the Museum of Revolutionary History'. The administration of the GMD decided to integrate the Museum of History in Beijing into the 'Preparatory Office of the National Central Museum'.
, 08	[GH]	World War II ended with the drop of atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki; Japan surrendered. At the Potsdam Peace Conference, Japan had to return Taiwan to China.
, 08	[NMC]	After the withdrawal of the Japanese troops, the museum was under the administration of Beijing University.
, 12	[M]	The last shipment of cultural relics, which was prepared by the 'Preparatory Office of the National Central Museum', arrived in Nanjing. Here, a dependence of the National Palace Museum was set up and special storehouses were built.
1946	[CH]	The government officially returned to Nanjing, civil war commenced.
1947	[CH]	In Nanjing, Chiang Kai-shek was elected president of the Republic of China.
, 06	[CH]	With the crossing of the Yellow River on June 30, fortunes of war turned to the Communist People's Liberation Army.
, spring	[M]	The first post-war exhibition in the Nanjing Museum, hence under the auspices of Beijing University.
, 02	[M/NMC]	Beijing University launched a museum committee. Members of the committee were Sun Yunzhu 孙云铸, Xiang Da 向达, Han Shouxuan 韩寿萱 and others. At the same time, Beijing University starts a degree program of Museum Studies and appoints Han Shouxuan, the leader of the National Museum of History, as director.
, 11	[M]	When the Communists approached, the Nationalist government selected objects of the imperial collection and subsequently shipped them from Nanjing to Taiwan in 4000 crates.
, 12	[GH]	December 18, Stalin's 70s birthday: in the course of the following year, celebrations continued within the nations of the East Block; many streets were renamed in his honor, exhibition galleries presented special displays.
1949, 01	[M/NMC]	On January 31, the People's Liberation Army took control over the north of China. The new government adopted more than 20 public institutions, including the Palace Museum, the Museum of History and the former National Central Museum.

, 04	[CH]	The Red Army crossed the Yangzi River to liberate the south.
, 09	[CH]	Mao Zedong was elected Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic.
, 10	[CH]	October 1, Foundation of the People's Republic of China.
	[NMC]	Upon the founding of the People's Republic of China, the museum was renamed 'Beijing National Museum of History' (国立北京历史博物馆), and was under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture of the Central Government (中央人民政府文化部).
	[M]	Private collectors were encouraged by the government to donate to the Palace Museum collection to cope with the losses to Taiwan; artifacts were bought back from foreign countries.
, 11	[NMC]	The People's Revolutionary Pictorial Exhibition attracted North Korean and Russian VIPs.
, 12	[CH]	Chiang Kai-shek fled and established the National government on Taiwan, he reigned as president until 1987.
1950–1956	[CH]	Land reforms in the People's Republic of China.
1950, 02	[CH]	February 14, Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship; Alliance and Mutual Assistance resolved upon the sending of 20,000 Soviet advisors from different professions (engineers, designer, architects, and scholars) to assist in the establishment of New China.
, 03	[NMC]	'Preparatory Office of the National Museum of Revolution' was set up by the Ministry of Cultural Heritage.
1950, 06	[GH]	Outbreak of the Korean War (ends 1953); China sends troops.
1951	[CH]	Confiscation of foreign businesses began.
	[NMC]	The Ministry of Culture issued directives for the exhibition of relics; archaeological studies were taken up again.
, end	[CH]	Three-Anti Campaign (against corruption, waist and bureaucracy), issued by Mao Zedong and consolidating his base of power.
1952, 01	[CH]	Five-Anti Campaign (against bribery, theft of state property, tax evasion, cheating on government contracts and stealing state economic information) was launched to target on the capitalist class.
1953, 03	[GH]	Death of Stalin, de-Stalinization began.
	[CH]	First Chinese Five-Year Plan (1953–1957) was installed based on the Soviet model (land reform completed, economical growth, and focus on heavy industry).
	[CH]	A Central Committee of History Study was established by the central government for the overall control of Chinese historical studies.
1954	[CH]	First meeting of the National People's Congress, Mao Zedong was to become President of State.
	[NMC]	Official exhibition on Qin-Han dynasties relics opened at the Meridian Gate.
1955	[GH]	Nikita Khrushchev proclaimed the end of Socialist Realism in architecture.
	[NMC]	Wei, Jin, Sui Tang dynasties officially exhibited.
1956, 02	[GH]	Nikita Khrushchev criticized the worship of Stalin during 20 th Party Congress. This marks a turning point of Soviet history and the beginning of overcoming Stalin's dogmatism.

, 05	[CH]	With the Hundred Flowers Movement, named after the famous speech of Mao Zedong, the CCP encouraged its citizens to openly express their opinions about the Communist rulership. However, the campaign was halted after harsh criticism in July 1957 and was followed shortly after by the Anti-Rightist Movement, which resulted in the persecution of intellectuals and dissidents labeled as ‘rightists’.
, 10	[GH]	Hungarian Uprising against the government and the Soviet-imposed politic. It was suppressed by Soviet forces.
1957	[CH]	Second Chinese Five-Year Plan (1957–62) focused on agricultural reforms, and led to the Great Leap Forward (establishment of people’s communes).
	[M]	Objectives for museums were set up for the conservation of the cultural legacy.
1958–1961	[CH]	The Great Leap Forward attempted to speed up the industrialization of China and fostered agricultural collectivization. It led to the so-called Three Bad Years.
1958, 08	[NMC]	In August, the Conference of the CCP agreed upon the foundation of a building to contain the Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution. The Ministry of Culture launched a campaign to collect artifacts for the museums in all provinces.
, 10	[M]	In October, the foundation stone was laid at the northeast of Tiananmen Square. Construction works for the China People’s Revolution Military Museum (中国人民革命军事博物馆) as part of the Ten Great Buildings program began.
1959–1961	[CH]	The Three Bad Years caused by the Great Leap Forward, defined years of catastrophic famines with an estimated death toll of approximately 20 million people.
1959, 03	[CH]	The Tibetan Rebellion began; the Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa.
, 08	[NMC]	The construction of the main building for the two museums was completed in only 293 construction days. The Beijing National History Museum was renamed Museum of Chinese History (中国历史博物馆). The nameplate above the entrance of the museum was written by Guo Moruo.
, 10	[NMC]	October 1, the two museums opened for a try-out period. The Museum of Chinese History opened with a preview of its exhibition; it was adjusted after October 9. The Museum of Chinese Revolution launched an internal try-out exhibition and only opened to the public in 1960; at that time, the museum changed its name from ‘Preparatory Office of the National Museum of Revolution’ to ‘Museum of Chinese Revolution’.
, 10	[M]	October 1, The Geological Museum of China (地质博物馆), which was established in 1916, opened to the public in Beijing.
1960	[CH]	The Soviet Union announced the withdrawal of Russian technicians followed in 1963 by the official break with Soviet Russia.
1961, 07	[NMC]	July 1, the ‘General History of China Exhibition’ officially opened to external parties. The Belgian queen attended the ceremony.
	[M]	Over 200 artifacts from the National Palace Collection, Taiwan, were exhibited in five cities of the United States of America.

1962	[NMC]	The Ministry of Culture endorsed a task force to select top paintings. 319 artifacts were identified as ‘first class’ national treasures and published in a catalogue. Replication of Shang Dynasty bronzes started.
1964	[GH]	Nikita Khrushchev replaced by Leonid Brezhnev as First Secretary.
	[NMC]	The Ministry of Culture approved Xinhua News as the agent to assist the museum in collecting foreign artifacts and promoting the ‘General History of China Exhibition’.
1965	[M]	The Beijing Palace Museum and the Central Museum of Nanjing established a joint administration office and merged into The National Palace Museum.
, 11	[M]	The National Palace Museum in Taiwan moved to its present venue at the outskirts of Taipei and opened to the public.
, 11	[CH]	Wu Han’s play ‘Hai Rui’s Dismissal from Office’ was criticized by Zhao Chunqiao and Yao Wenyuan for being deviationist. This event marked the beginning of the Cultural Revolution (until 1976).
1966–1976	[CH]	The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched to enforce socialism and to remove capitalist elements. The troops of the Red Guards were formed and began to attack the “Four Old Things” (old custom, old culture, old habits, and old ideas).
1966	[CH]	Third Chinese Five-Year Plan (1966–1971) focused among other things on national defense and economy of self-reliance.
	[M]	The Palace Museum was closed by order of Zhou Enlai and guarded by army troops during the height of Cultural Revolution (1966–1971) in order to protect the historical site.
	[NMC]	In order to protect cultural relics from the rallies of the Red Guards, the exhibition on ‘General History of China Exhibition’ was closed (until 1973).
1968, 01	[GH]	The Prague Spring reforms ended with the invasion of Soviet troops in August.
	[NMC]	The Red Army was stationed in the museum to protect the cultural relics at the height of the Cultural Revolution.
1969, 09	[NMC]	The Museum of Chinese History and Museum of the Chinese Revolution merged and was renamed as Chinese Revolution History Museum (中国革命历史博物馆).
1970	[NMC]	The ‘General History of China Exhibition’ was changed with focus on smashing the monarchial rule, emphasizing the class struggle as motivation for progress, and installing the working class as pioneers of history.
1971	[CH]	Fourth Chinese Five-Year Plan (1971–1976) focused on infrastructure. By 1973, all major industrial and economical targets could be fulfilled or even exceeded.
1971, 09	[CH]	September 13, Marshall Lin Biao died in a mysterious airplane crash. He was officially accused of having been engaged in a coup d’état and of fleeing the country.

, 10	[GH]	The People's Republic of China became member of the United Nations beginning diplomatic relations with Japan and Great Britain (1972) as well as the United States of America (1979).
1972, 02	[CH]	Ping Pong Diplomacy: visit of President Richard Nixon in Beijing.
, 12	[NMC]	Revision of the 'General History of China Exhibition' instructed by Premier Zhou Enlai.
1973, 09	[GH/M]	Britain resumed full diplomatic relation with China; an exhibition of 372 artifacts toured London with wide media coverage.
1973, 10	[NMC]	The 'General History of China Exhibition' reopens, after the peak of the Cultural Revolution and comprehensive renovation.
1975, 10	[NMC]	Official preview to the 'General History of China Exhibition', attended by Secretary of State (USA) and Japanese diplomats.
	[NMC]	Exhibition in commemoration of the 30 th anniversary of the Long March held at the Museum of Chinese Revolution.
1976	[CH]	Fifth Chinese Five-Year Plan (1976–1980): investments in infrastructure to enable increasing steel and petroleum production, shift to economical reforms in 1978
1976, 01	[CH]	Premier Zhou Enlai died; Deng Xiaoping held a commemorative speech.
, 04	[CH]	During the Qingming Festival, many people gathered at the Monument to the People's Heroes to mourn the deceased Premier Zhou Enlai, thereby entering a protest against radical Communist leaders.
, 07	[CH]	On July 28, the Great Tangshan Earthquake hit and killed an estimated number of 650,000 people; a further one million lost their homes. The earthquake was seen as an omen and the change of the Heavenly Mandate was discussed in public.
, 09	[CH]	On September 9, Mao Zedong died: the Cultural Revolution formally ended, the People's Republic of China re-established contacts to the outside world.
, 10	[CH]	October 6, the 'Gang of Four' was arrested and convicted in 1981.
, 11	[CH]	November 29, the foundation stone to the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall was laid at Tiananmen Square by Hua Guofeng, his nominated predecessor. Due to the erection of the building, within only six months, the Square was extended to the south.
1977, 01	[NMC]	Exhibition in memory of Premier Zhou Enlai in the Museum of Chinese History. The official preview was attended by the Secretary of the United States and the United Nations.
, 07	[CH]	Deng Xiaoping rehabilitated and regained political posts; in 1978, his reform and opening-up policy started.
, 09	[CH]	Inauguration of the Chairman Mao Memorial Hall; Hua Guofeng held the commemorative speech.
1978, 01	[NMC]	The renovated 'General History of China Exhibition' opened to the public.
, 06	[M]	East Wing Building of National Gallery in Washington D.C. was opened by Jimmy Carter.
, 08	[CH]	Peace treaty with Japan.

, 12	[CH]	The Third Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee made decisions for socialist modernization, reforms and the pursuit of an opening policy.
1979, 01	[GH]	Full diplomatic relations with the United States of America; joint venture law; Deng Xiaoping visited the US, followed by 'The Great Bronze Age in China' exhibition in April 1980.
	[CH]	Deng proposed the 'Four Cardinal Principles': socialist road, dictatorship of the proletariat, leadership of the CCP, and upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's Thoughts.
	[NMC]	Inauguration of National History Museum Journal; 'Hubei Tomb Archaeological Finds Exhibition'.
1980	[NMC]	Cooperation with external bodies from Japan & Korean. The Central Committee did not want to split the museums, however, official outward announcements still divided the Museum of Chinese History Museum and the Museum of Chinese Revolution.
, 03	[M]	Chinese Society of Museums (中国博物馆学会) is founded in Beijing.
1981	[CH]	Sixth Chinese Five-Year Plan (1981–1985): reforms of the economic and fiscal situation.
1983, 01	[NMC]	On April 1, The Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution were separated and retained their original structure.
, 07	[M]	The Chinese Society of Museums became member of the International Council of Museums.
1983–1984	[M]	Exhibition Cooperation between the Shanghai Museum and the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.
1984	[CH]	14 coastal cities open for foreign investment.
, 09	[NMC]	'Ancient Chinese Civilization Exhibition' was held in Yugoslavia. The 'General History of China Exhibition' was condensed to allow for more short term-special exhibitions display.
1986	[CH]	Seventh Chinese Five-Year Plan (1986–1990): All-round plan for social and economical development, reforms were put on the top of the agenda.
	[M]	The Heritage Board and museum co-organized a 'National Heritage Conservation Scientific Results Exhibition', which was attended by the Italian singer Luciano Pavarotti. The 'Ancient China Civilization Exhibition' opened in Venice.
1987	[M]	The Forbidden City was one of six places in China to become a Unesco World Heritage Site.
	[NMC]	First meeting of the Underwater Archaeological Studies Coordination Group.
1988	[NMC]	Re-editing the 'General History of China Exhibition' guidelines. The museum received 276 pieces of smuggled goods from the British Government in Hong Kong.
1989, 04	[CH]	On April 15, Hu Yaobang 胡耀邦 died: public mourning turned into a movement with demands of economical and democratic reforms. The protests on Tiananmen were halted thoroughly and the Square was cleared through military force.
	[NMC]	Spain and China cooperated for a 'Gaudi Architectural Exhibition'.

, 08	[GH]	Communism in Poland collapsed.
, 10-11	[GH]	Fall of the Berlin Wall (Iron Curtain): the German Democratic Republic (GDR) collapsed.
1990	[NMC]	Graduation ceremony for Training for Underwater Archaeological Study. Reopening of the 'General History of China Exhibition', Opening of 'Ancient China Technology Exhibition' which received representatives from Taiwan Heritage Relic Society.
1991	[CH]	Eighth Chinese Five-Year Plan (1991–1995): beginning of a phase of renewed economical reforms under Deng Xiaoping.
	[NMC]	Porcelain Exhibition held in Hong Kong; more smuggled artifacts received.
1992, 01	[CH]	Deng Xiaoping Southern Speech called for economical reforms and restoration.
, 08	[CH]	Diplomatic relations established with South Korea.
, 10	[CH]	The 14 th National Congress of the CCP established Deng Xiaping's theories of building socialism with Chinese characteristics as guiding policy for China.
	[NMC]	Renovation works put the 'General History of China Exhibition' to a halt; beginning of short-term exhibition program included international and domestic organizations as well as private individuals.
1993, 03	[CH]	The National People's Congress conceded amendments to the constitution of 1982: development of a market economy; reforms and opening politic are goals of the state politics. Jiang Zemin became president.
	[CH]	Three Gorges Project began.
	[NMC]	Opening of the 'South China Sea Shipwreck Relic Exhibition'.
1994	[CH]	'Patriotic Education Campaign' established for the education system.
1995	[NMC]	Chinese Imperial Tombs Exhibition (US), 'Ancient China Human and Gods Exhibition (Germany).
1996	[CH]	Ninth Chinese Five-Year Plan (1996–2000): continuing to build the socialist market economy system.
	[NMC]	'Hongxi Exhibition' (Taiwan), 'Porcelain and Civilization Exhibition' (Japan).
	[NMC]	Touch screen computers were introduced for the first time in the Introduction Hall of the 'General History of China Exhibition': 'Dun Huang Art Exhibition'.
1997, 02	[CH]	Death of Deng Xiaoping.
, 07	[CH]	July 1, Great Britain handed over Hong Kong to the Peoples Republic of China: one country, two systems policy commenced.
	[NMC]	Exhibition of Relics from the Three Gorges Construction Site, Exhibition of new archaeological findings, Revision and Addition to the 'General History of China Exhibition'
1998	[CH]	Jiang Zemin reasserted Deng's 'Four Cardinal Principles'.
1999, 05	[GH]	May 8, NATO Bombing in Belgrade destroyed the Chinese Embassy and caused a national uprising in China.
	[NMC]	Approval for official National Museum of China website was obtained and it was launched in December; sound-directed guide to 'General History of

		China Exhibition' commenced.
, 12	[CH]	December 20, Portugal handed over Macao to the People's Republic of China: one country, two systems policy commenced.
2000	[CH]	Tenth Chinese Five-Year Plan (2000–2004): key objectives were the improvement of medical care, the increase of forest coverage, and the increase of population income.
	[NMC]	'Treasures of the National Museum of China Exhibition'; alongside many other exhibitions, the decision for the establishment of a National History Museum Research Centre was made.
2001, 01	[CH]	Beijing was elected to host the Olympic Summer Games in 2008.
, 12	[GH/CH]	China officially joins the World Trade Organization as 143 rd member.
2002, 04	[CH]	Jiang Zemin visited Dresden; suggestions about cooperation with German museums.
, 11	[CH]	Hu Jintao replaced Jiang Zemin as head of Communist Party.
2003, 02	[NMC]	February 28, Unification and Renaming: The Museum of Chinese History and the Museum of Chinese Revolution unified to become the National Museum of China.
, 12	[CH]	German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder visited China.
2004, 08	[NMC]	The National Museum of China invited architect firms in bidding for the revamping of the museum building.
, 09	[NMC]	September 1, The National Development and Reform Commission appointed the China Academy of Building Research (CABR) and <i>gmp</i> winners of the architecture bidding.
, 11	[NMC]	November 15-21, academic seminar 'Mutual Exchange and Influence of Chinese and European civilization between 16 th century and the 19 th century' held in the museum.
2005, autumn	[NMC]	Revision of the architecture proposal commenced.
, 11	[M]	German and Chinese governments signed an agreement about cultural cooperation.
2006	[CH]	Eleventh Chinese Five-Year Plan (2006–2011) focused, for example, on the further opening of science and technology.
	[M]	'Humanism in China. A Contemporary Record of Photography', toured Germany (2006–2008), after being on display in Guangzhou, Shanghai and Beijing (2003–2004).
	[NMC]	Friendship contract established with German museums: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden and Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen München.
2007, 02	[NMC]	The exhibitions were closed and the museum is cleared off; artifacts moved to storage in the outskirts of the city and offices to an external office building.
, 03	[NMC]	On March 17, construction started with the foundation stone ceremony.
, 07	[NMC]	On July 21, in the presence of President of the State Hu Jintao and Federal President Horst Köhler, the National Museum of China and Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, the Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden and the Bayerischen Staatsgemäldesammlungen München signed an agreement at the Great Hall of the People: establishing a long-term strategic partnership

		and mutual cooperation including an exhibition to be displayed for the opening of the museum (The Art of the Enlightenment).
	[NMC]	On July 23, the National Development and Reform Commission issued the preliminary design and approved the investment budget.
, 10	[NMC]	On October 13, the interim exhibition 'Road of Rejuvenation' was opened at the China People's Revolution Military Museum.
2008	[M]	The Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden initiated their 'China in Dresden in China' program including four exhibitions in Dresden (Humanism in China: Ein fotografisches Portrait; Moderne Chinesische Tusche-Malerei; Chinesische Gartenarchitektur; Goldener Drache-Weißer Adler. Kunst im Dienste der Macht am Kaiserhof von China und am sächsisch-polnischen Hof) and two exhibitions in Beijing (Gerhard Richter; Living Landscapes. A Journey through German Art). The mutual exhibition contract with The Palace Museum was fulfilled with the 'Splendor of the White Eagle: Arts and Power at the Saxon-Polish Court' in 2009.
2009, 10	[NMC]	At the 60 th anniversary of China, the north section of the historic building was reopened with the display of the 'Road of Rejuvenation' Exhibition. In November, it closed for revision.
2009, 12	[NMC]	The shell construction of the new building complex was completed. Offices moved into the south wing of the historical building.
2010, 05	[GH/ M]	May 1, The World Exposition opened in Shanghai (until October 31).
, 09	[NMC]	First visit of the Chinese curatorial team in Germany (Dresden, Berlin, Munich) in preparation for 'The Art of the Enlightenment Exhibition'. In December, a team of German curators visited Beijing. The Scientific Exchange program between Beijing, Berlin, Dresden and Munich commenced.
2011, 01	[NMC]	A statue to Confucius was erected in front of the north gate of the National Museum of China and removed only three months later.
, 02	[NMC]	The 'Road of Rejuvenation' reopened to the public after amendments.
, 03	[NMC]	On March 1, the museum opened to the public with an access limitation of 8000 people per day; free ticket policy was installed. The National Museum Collection 'Highlights of Chinese Modern Masterpieces' was opened to the public. On March 25, the 'Ancient Chinese Buddhist Sculpture' and 'Ancient Chinese Bronze Art' exhibitions were opened to the public. On March 26, 'The Art of Pan Tianshou', 'The Art Of Li Keran', 'The Art of Huang Zhou' and the 'Ancient Chinese Porcelain Art' exhibitions were opened to the public.
, 04	[NMC]	On April 1, the 'The Art of the Enlightenment', on April 25, the '100 Years Anniversary of the Tsinghua University', and on April 28, the 'Ancestors of the Incas' exhibitions were opened to the public.
, 05	[NMC]	The 'Ancient China' exhibition opened for a probation period; in June, it was fully opened to the public. On May 31, the 'Louis Vuitton Voyages' exhibition opened to the public.
, 09	[NMC]	On September 4, the 'BVLGARI: 125 Years of Italian Magnificence' and on September 28, the 'Ren: Good Design' exhibitions opened.
2012	[NMC]	100 th anniversary of the National Museum of China.

6.2. Surveys

6.2.1. Visitor Survey (2003/2004)

At the end of 2003, the National Museum of China, in cooperation with the Beijing Normal University, conducted a large-scale survey among its visitors. Since 2000, the annual number of museum visitors has steadily increased. In 2002, one million visitors came to the museum and in 2004, the number had already doubled. These rising numbers made considerations about technical innovations and the enlargement of the museum necessary.⁷³⁹ The initiators stated that the purpose of the survey was to seek out public opinion in order to help the museum in making future decisions. Among other things, the results were expected to help the museum to improve its exhibitions, support the administration, to increase the competitive strength of the museum by means of creativity, to increase visitor attention through renovation, to increase the educational value of the exhibition and to enhance the staffs working moral.⁷⁴⁰ Following the procedures of the Natural Science Museum in London in the 1990s, the initiators wanted to use the results of a public survey as a solid base to find out and implement necessary changes in the museum.⁷⁴¹

To achieve the identified goals, a set of 33 questions were raised focusing on the satisfaction of the visitor, the exhibition facilities, the exhibition contents, the entertainment and services provided by the museum. The questionnaire contained an even number of multiple-choice answers in order to avoid that the middle answer was chosen without consideration. In addition, each question provided space for comments. The participants had the opportunity to answer the questionnaire in either Chinese or English. From a total number of 10,000 distributed questionnaires, a turnout of 4350 could finally be evaluated. Visitors were chosen randomly originating from different social backgrounds and from 33 different Chinese provinces; in addition, a limited number of foreigners participated, precisely five US and one Pakistani citizen. Although the survey included visitors of all age groups, the majority of participants of up to 77.4% were between 15 and 35 years of age and 51.7% were students.⁷⁴² Considering the time of implementation, the sample size and the questions raised, this survey is an ideal source of information in preparation for the reconstruction of the

⁷³⁹ Hao/Huang 2005, pp. 1-2.

⁷⁴⁰ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 2.

⁷⁴¹ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 2.

⁷⁴² Hao/Huang 2005, p. 7-8.

museum as well as for the dissertation project. For this purpose, some of the key results are summarized below:

- The participants stated the following topics of interest: history and culture (2472), science (1098), art (923), military (536), astronomy (501), geography and oceanography (384). When they were asked which kind of exhibition they would be particularly be interested in, history and art exhibitions were rated as the two favorites.⁷⁴³
- The participants used television (1599), print media (1149) and internet (1007) as principle sources of information about the museum and its exhibitions.⁷⁴⁴
- A majority of 53.3% of the participants (2320) stated being very satisfied with the key exhibitions, 41.8% (1819) stated being satisfied. 12.7% (551) of the participants were very satisfied with the exhibition design, 58.9% (2562) stated being satisfied with the design.⁷⁴⁵
- The majority of the participants were satisfied with the reduction of lighting in the exhibition halls for conservation reasons: 11.8% (513) stated to be very satisfied: 64.7% (2813) were satisfied.⁷⁴⁶
- A large majority of over 90% of the participants sympathized with the measures taken to secure the museum: 65.8% (2864) judged that the security measures were extremely necessary, 25.1% (1090) encountered them as necessary.⁷⁴⁷
- A large majority of over 86% of the participants were satisfied with the services the museum provided.⁷⁴⁸ They especially were in agreement with the guided tours, but also liked the services, which the cloakroom and information staff provided. Around 12% of the participants were not satisfied with the service, mostly criticizing that the tour guides

⁷⁴³ Hao/Huang 2005, pp. 14-15.

⁷⁴⁴ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 15.

⁷⁴⁵ Hao/Huang 2005, pp. 18-20.

⁷⁴⁶ Hao/Huang 2005, pp. 21-22.

⁷⁴⁷ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 31-33.

⁷⁴⁸ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 34-35.

should improve their specialized knowledge (2220), their commitment (1208), and their attitude (936).⁷⁴⁹

- A majority of 87.2% of the participants was interested in special exhibitions with artifacts from the collection of the National Museum of China. The different object categories were rated from 1 (not interesting) to 7 (extremely interesting) in the following order: coins (5.12), porcelain (4.88), calligraphy and painting (4.81), bronze ware (4.36), jade (4.29) and biographies of famous people (3.32).⁷⁵⁰
- A majority of 84.6% of the participants rated cultural exchange and cooperation with foreign institutions important⁷⁵¹, whereas 90.2% of the participants stated that not only Chinese exhibitions should be on display abroad, but more international exhibitions should be brought to China.⁷⁵²
- A majority of 77.7% of the participants regarded the extension of the museum building as necessary; 82.7% opted for the introduction of an academic lecture hall and 77.7% stated that a didactic multimedia room for visitor activities would be necessary.⁷⁵³
- A majority of 82.2% of the participants would like to be informed about special exhibitions and events by a big screen display in front of the museum.⁷⁵⁴
- 46.6% of the participants stated that they would make use of a reading room, which related to the exhibitions, and 48% stated that they would probably make use of it.⁷⁵⁵
- Only 23.6% of the participants regarded the product selection in the souvenir shop sufficient; 22.8% rated it not sufficient. About 51.3% of the participants did not care for the products the souvenir shop had to offer.⁷⁵⁶

⁷⁴⁹ Hao/Huang, p. 36-37.

⁷⁵⁰ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 41.

⁷⁵¹ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 43.

⁷⁵² Hao/Huang 2005, p. 44.

⁷⁵³ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 51.

⁷⁵⁴ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 52.

⁷⁵⁵ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 53.

⁷⁵⁶ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 56.

- For a majority of 59.5% of the participants, a restaurant within the museum compound was not regarded as absolutely necessary but 38.7% stated it to be essential.⁷⁵⁷ 10.6% of the participants would often visit a cafeteria within the museum compound, 24.6% sometimes and 47.5% only if it was not too expensive.⁷⁵⁸
- A majority of 68.7% of the participants stated that an extension of the green area around the museum was necessary and voted for an extension of the grass area more than for bushes and trees; 23% of the participants were indifferent.⁷⁵⁹
- Only 33.5% of the participants considered parking an urgent matter. Of these participants, 33.8% declared bicycle stands and 33.3% car parking facilities of major importance; 46.3 % of the participants were indifferent and for 14.6%, parking space did not matter.⁷⁶⁰

The survey stated that around five million people have visited the over 100 exhibitions of the National Museum of China between 2000 and 2005.^{761f} Admission was free for children, senior citizens and disabled. Guided tours were free of charge; however, they were only provided by volunteer tour guides. The museum staff supplied guided tour services for VIP guests and was also responsible for developing the text of the tour and training the volunteers.⁷⁶² Audio guides were available in Chinese, English and Japanese.

⁷⁵⁷ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 57.

⁷⁵⁸ Hao/Huang 2005, p. 58.

⁷⁵⁹ Hao/Huang 2005, pp. 59-61.

⁷⁶⁰ Hao/Huang 2005, pp. 61-62.

⁷⁶¹ Hao/Huang 2005, pp. 91-92.

⁷⁶² Hao/Huang 2005, p. 92.

6.2.2. Museum Staff Survey (2007)

In April 2007, a survey among 32 staff members of the National Museum of China was conducted. The majority of the participants stem from the staff of the former National History Museum. With a limited distribution and a sample of only 32 participants, answers cannot be considered representative; however, the individual statements and contributions of the participants were nevertheless a useful source of information since members of the staff have a great knowledge about the museum and present an insight view. About 65% of the questions followed the open question format, considering a greater staff willingness to answer questions related to their work and regarding the individual statements as a primary source of information. As expected, not every participant answered the questions raised in open question forma; however, the average turnout of 35% answers per question as well as the quality of individual answers given, proved very valuable for further research. Other questions followed the multiple-choice (23%) as well as the half-open question format (12%). To allow comparison, the structure of the questionnaire bares similarities to the questions raised in the surveys conducted among the interested public in 2007. However, the focus of this survey was on the exhibition concept and internal museum processes, calling forth the staff's knowledge in particular.

The questionnaire is divided into four parts: a general enquiry about the participant and his background (1.), questions about the National Museum of China in general (2.), the museum's architecture (3.) the museum's exhibition and collection (4.). Multiple-choice questions were asked in section 1, 3 and 4 (1.2.; 1.3.; 1.4; 1.5.; 3.3.; 4.6.). Occasional multiple answers were permitted. In a few cases, it was possible to add individual comments to multiple-choice questions (2.4.; 2.5.; 3.2.).

The open-question format applied to the following questions: Describe your position at the museum: (1.1.); what were the reasons for the unification of the two museums? (2.1.); what special focus does the museum now have? (2.2.); in what manner are the two former museums represented in the unified institution? (2.3.); how is the new museum structured internally? Describe the changes (2.6.); unification and renaming was just a first step and the museum will soon be a "House of the Cultures of the World". Which idea is behind this? (2.7.); why was the extension of the museum essential? (3.1.); what impression should the new museum architecture evoke with the viewer? (3.4.); in which tradition do you see your

collection? what was and is the main focus? How do you meet these tasks? (4.1.); unification of the two collections, which problems did you face? Is the process of unification already completed? (4.2.); what was the exhibition design like before? (4.3.); what are the most valuable/ sought after items of your collection? (4.4.); how do you plan to present them in the exhibition? (4.5.); what role does the wax figure collection play? How will it be presented in the exhibition? (4.7.); do you plan an extension of the exhibition? In what way? (4.8.); what is the idea behind presenting an exhibition of cultures? (4.9.); in your opinion, which impression should the new exhibition design evoke with the visitor? (4.10.).

Due to an inaccuracy in the translation (instead of ‘*fuzhipin*’ 复制品 for replica, ‘*yanpin*’ 赝品 fake was applied), the results of question 4.6. “Do you use reproductions in the exhibition?” are not taken into account. Wherever possible, similar answers were grouped thematically under generated headers,⁷⁶³ as to the rest the individual statements were listed. Unanswered questions were counted for statistical reasons.

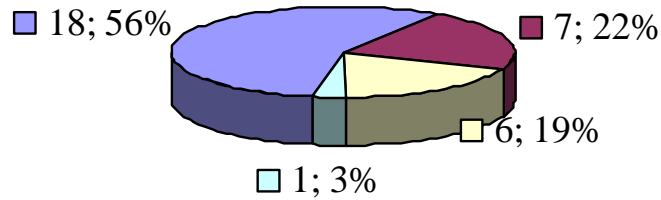
Evaluation

Background Information

1.1.-1.3. When asked about their position at the museum, 14 participants (44%) stated being members of the academic staff, 4 participants (13%) worked for the exhibition department, 3 (9%) for the design and technical department respectively, 1 participant each for the foreign affairs, marketing and administration department, respectively; 5 participants (16%) did not answer the question. 56% of the participants (18) have been working in the museum for over ten years. 13% (4) have been working for the museum over 5 years. 28% (9) have been working for 1-5 years and only one participant recently began working for the NMC. 14 participants (44%) have been working in their position for more than 10 years, 3 participants (9%) for more than 5 years, 13 participants (41%) for 1-5 years, 1 participant less than a year and 1 participant did not answer the question. These results show quite a stable working situation with 53% of the participants working in the same position for at least more than 5 years. Four participants (13%) stated to have worked in another museum before, whereas 26 participants (81%) have not worked for another museum before; two participants (6%) did not answer the question.

⁷⁶³ Meuser/Nagel 2005, pp. 71-94.

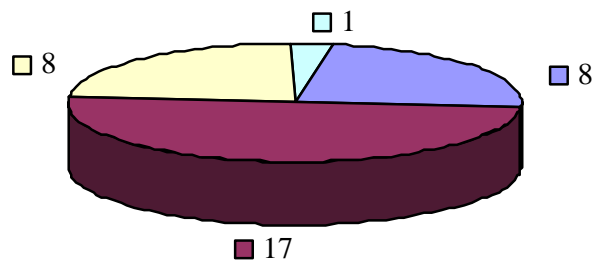
1.4. Do you feel honoured to work in an institution like this?



■ yes, very much so
 ■ yes, a little bit
 ■ no, I am indifferent
 ■ no opinion

1.4. For this multiple-choice question, four answer options were given: 1) Yes, very much so; 2) Yes, a little bit; 3) No, I am indifferent; 4) No opinion.

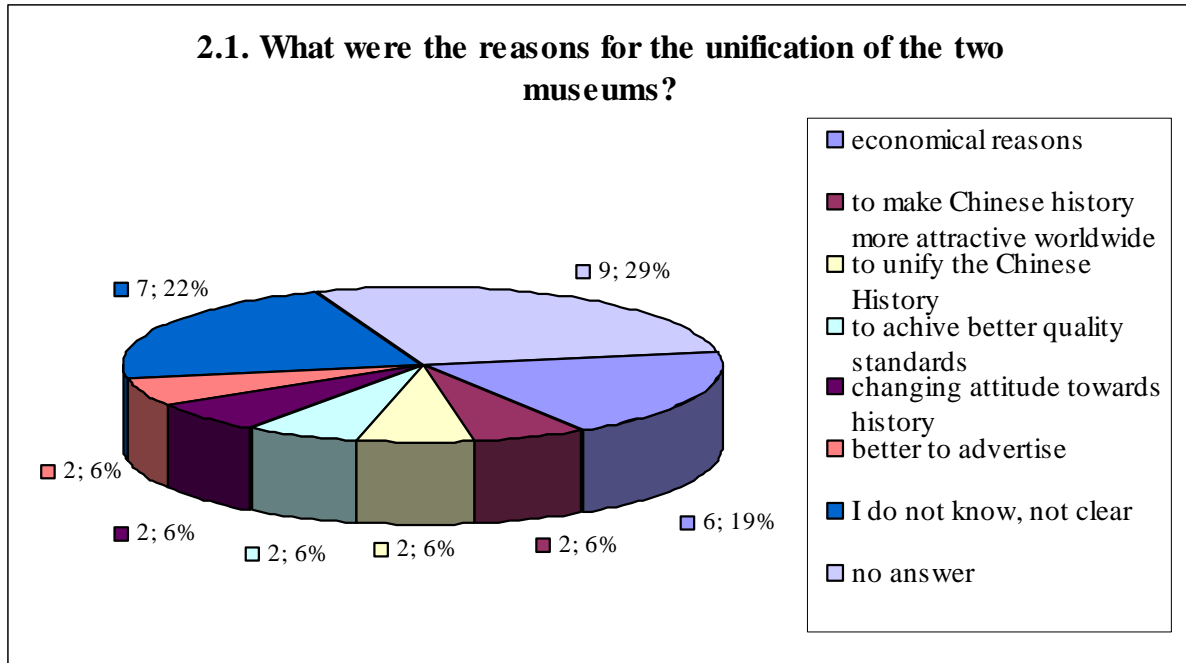
1.5. How do you feel about working in the unified National Museum of China?



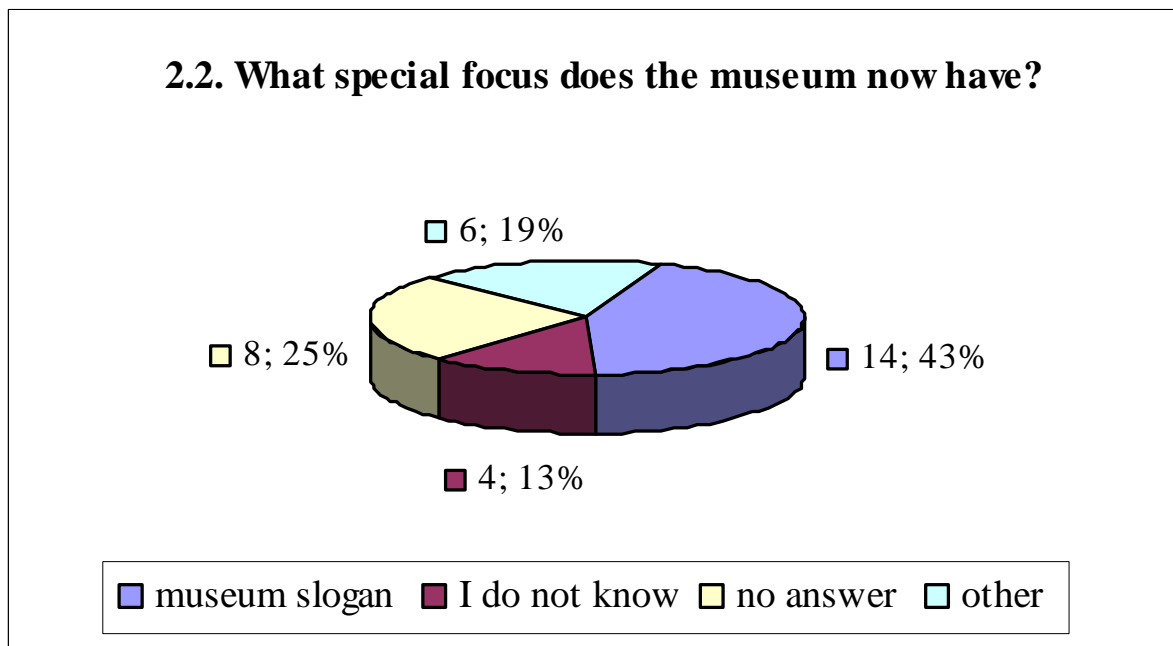
■ yes, I am proud to work here, because the museum is more famous now
■ no change
■ I experienced that the new museum faces different challenges
■ no answer

1.5. In this multiple-choice question, four answer options were given. Some participants opted for more than one answer.

Museum



2.1. For this open question format similar answers were grouped, all answers were counted.



2.2. For this open question format, similar answers were grouped. Almost half of the staff stated the museum slogan “Leading within China and first-class internationally” (国内领先, 国际一流), which is also officially stated on the museums website. Other individual statements (6) are listed below.

Individual answers:

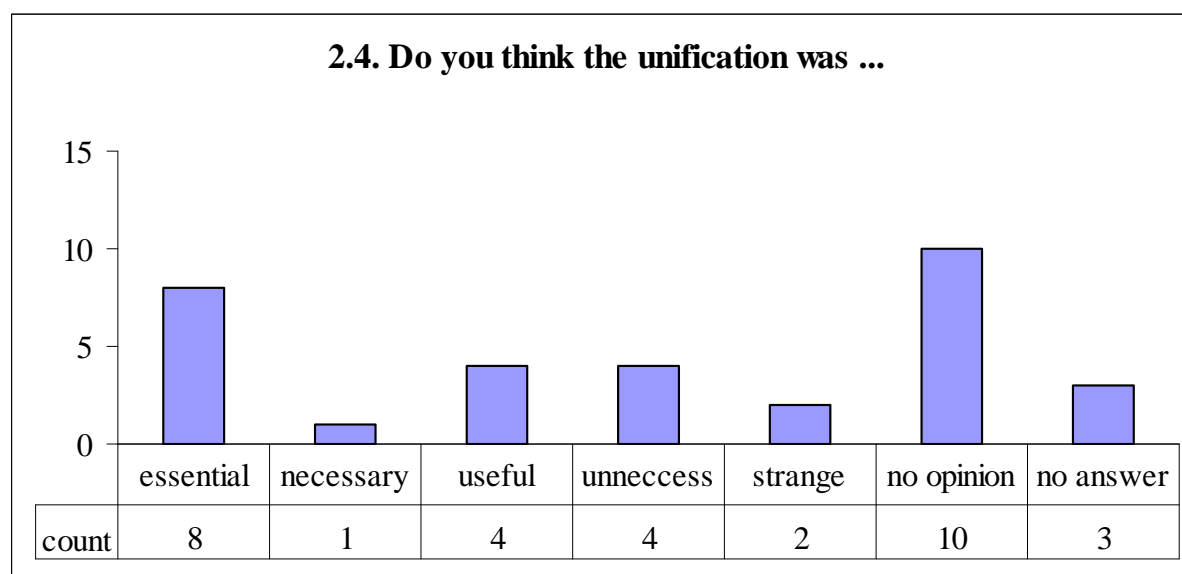
No.	Statement	Translation
06	我认为独一无二的中国通史展览。	I think it is the unique “Exhibition of Chinese History”.
08	为大众服务	To serve the people
12	提高地位	To improve the status
18	国际化	Internationality
30	打造世界一流的博物馆。	Building a world-class museum.
32	建馆目标国内领先。综合性博物馆不仅重视历史，也要重视艺术，应并重。	The goal is to build the leading museum in China. This comprehensive museum should not only be about history, but also to an equal extent about art.

2.3. In what manner are the two former museums represented in the unified institution? For this question, the open question format was applied. 11 individual answers (35%) are listed below, 17 participants (55%) did not answer the question and 3 participants (10%) stated that they did not know.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
02	以传统文化为本。	They are based on the traditional culture.
07	发挥原馆各自的作用。	It emphasizes the functions of each museum.
08	继承部分优秀传统。	They maintain parts of the excellent tradition.
15	突出原先两个旧博物馆的展览特色。	The museum emphasizes the special exhibitions of the former two museums.
18	学术主管	Academics are in charge.
23	仍旧分开搞。	They are still separated.
24	展品没有变化特色也不会有太大变化。	The exhibits have not changed and the special character will not change much.
28	很难保留两馆特色。关键是革命博物馆是否自己想改变为近代史陈列。 “革命”也可以长期保留下去，也可以变成近代史一部分。	It is difficult for the two museums to maintain their own character. The key is whether the Revolutionary Museum will change its exhibition to a display of contemporary history. The “Revolution” can be kept, or become integrated part of the contemporary history.
29	展览主题不同，面向的观众群也不同。	The themes of the exhibitions are not the same; the target audience is also not similar.
30	陈列设计和藏品收集依旧以各自的特色为主。	The design of the galleries and the collections still retain their individual characteristics.

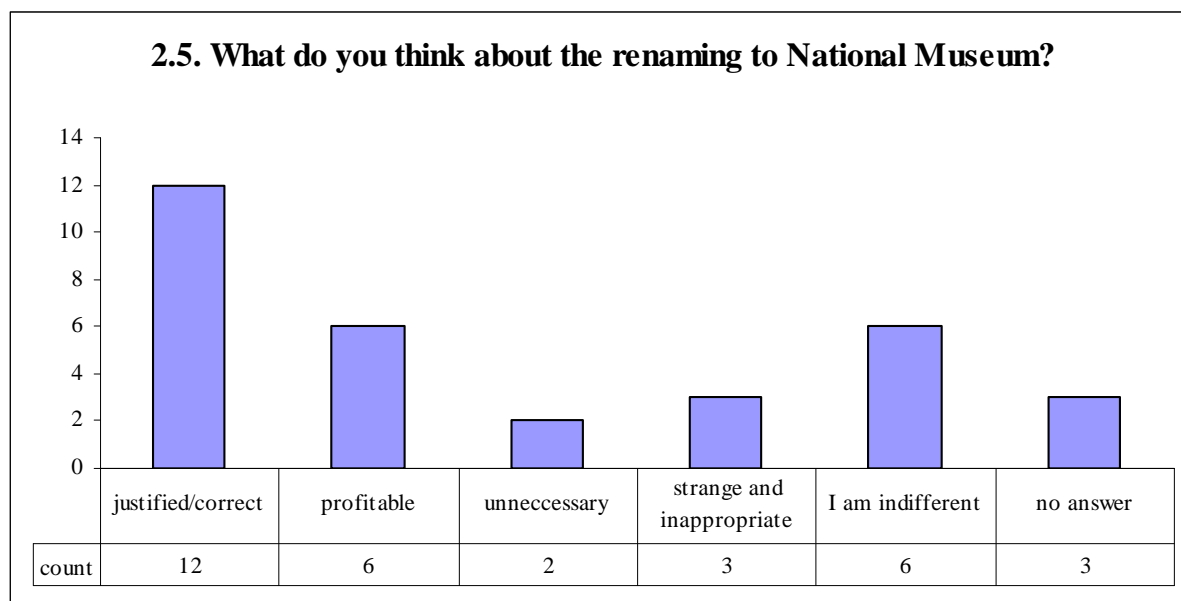
31	应主要在文物征集展览陈列方面保持原有特色。	The new museum should retain the original character in the exhibition as well as in the collection.
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2.4. The question format was half-open with six multiple-choice options. 8 participants (25%) thought the unification was essential, 1 (3%) necessary, 4 participants (13%) useful, whereas 4 participants (13%) found it unnecessary and 2 participants (6%) even strange and inappropriate. 10 participants (31%) had no opinion while 3 participants (9%) did not answer the question. Some participants used the opportunity to comment on their standpoint. These individual statements are given below.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
02	本该就是一家。	They belong together anyway.
14	不能充分发挥各自的优势。	The museums cannot fully show their superiorities/strengths.
15	提升实力。	To enhance the strength of the museum.
18	提高博物馆水平。	To improve the level of the museum.
24	没必要人为的把历史分为两部分。	There is no reason why the history should artificially be divided into two parts.
28	但似乎是要告别革命。	However, it seems that it will part with its revolutionary character.
29	博物馆的知名度提高了。	The publicity of the museum has increased.
30	文化大国的重要体现之一。	It is one of the most important representatives of Chinese culture.
31	有利于文物的收藏研究，展览陈列的连贯性。	Useful for the scientific research of the objects and the continuity of the exhibitions.



2.5. The question format was half-open with six multiple-choice options. 12 participants (38%) stated that the renaming was justified/correct, 6 participants (19%) stated it was profitable, 2 participants (6%) judged it unnecessary, 3 participants (9%) judged it strange and inappropriate. 6 participants (19%) had no opinion, while 3 participants (9%) did not answer the question. Some participants used the opportunity to comment on their standpoint. These individual statements are given below.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
02	能让人们更加重视。	It obtains more importance and attention by the people.
06	应该: 国立中国历史博物馆	It should be: State Museum of Chinese History
15	符合中国大国地位。	It corresponds with China's status as a great power.
23	国家需要有个至高级博物馆。	The nation needs a prime museum.
26	只有它可以代表中国博物馆的面貌。	Only this name can represent the appearance of the Chinese Museum.
27	更名前实际上也是事实上的国家博物馆。	It had already been the "National Museum" before renaming.
28	馆名不准确, 不知是人文, 还是自然的; 也不是陈列“国家”; 也没说是国立的; 说国家所有制, 也没说清楚。是一位外行长官之言。	The museum title is not accurate. It is not clear whether it is a science or cultural museum. Furthermore, it does not display the "country"; it does not indicate being a state institution; it is said to be national, but it is not clearly stated. This is a statement of an amateur official.
29	知名度高了, 地位也高了。	The publicity and the status of the museum have

		increased.
30	国家对文化软实力的重视。	It shows national importance and attention of culture.
31	有利于文物的征集，国家的投资等。	It is profitable for the collection of cultural relics, an investment of the state.
32	一个国家应有一个代表国内最高水平的综合性博物馆。	A country should be represented by its own comprehensive museum of the highest level.

2.6. The question about the internal structure of the museum and its changes was phrased in open-question format and similar answers were grouped. Five participants (16%) stated that there was hardly any change in the museum structure after reunification. 15 participants (46%) did not answer the question, whereas four participants (13%) stated that they do not know. Individual answers (8) and supplement supporting statements (2: No. 07, 14) are listed below.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
04	根据工作性质，业务不同进行设置。	Set according to the nature of the work and the different business.
06	合并只是后勤行政部门，业务部分仍然是分开的，因为研究对象和展览对象不同。	After unification, logistics and administration are unified, but other areas remained separate, because research and exhibition work are not the same.
07	合并后的博物馆组织形式与过去没有太大的不同，只是有的部门由原来的两个合并成一个部门。	The forms of organization of the unified museum are not much different from before. Only some departments of the two museums merged into one department.
14	合并后组织形式并未发生根本变化，只是一些两馆原来重复的部门合并在一起，至于业务部门各自保持原来的形式。	After unification the structure of the museum has not changed fundamentally; in case of two similar departments, they were merged, but all other areas remained in the original form.
27	整合尚未完成。	The unification has not been completed.
28	面和型不合，业务不一样。组织还走两样子，似乎随时还可以再分出去。	The exterior and interior are not united, the work area is not the same. The structure is still divided; it seems the museums could be separated any time.
29	行政后勤部门合并，主要部门独立，因为虽然两馆合并，但主要业务还是差别很大。	Administration and logistics are unified. The main departments are still separated. Although the museums have been unified, their work areas are quite different.

30	行政资源整合，业务相对独立，合并之前各馆旧的形式服从于各自的职能，合并后则服务于一个遵旨，新博物馆内部在最大限度的整合资源。	It unifies the administrative resources, but there are separate working areas. Before unification, the structure of each museum served its own needs. After the unification they just follow one goal; the new museum aims to unify its resources to the greatest extent.
31	合并后职能部门和行政部门二个部合二为一，但保管部展览陈列部等分开工作。	After unification, administration and technical support were unified, but not the storage units and the exhibition departments.
32	行政部门已几乎全部平稳合并运作，但业务部门因其从事的工作内容不同，难以实现真正意义上的合并，这点需加强。	The administration is already unified and working together; but it is very difficult to completely unify the working units, because the work is different. It is difficult to achieve a real unification, this has to be improved.

2.7. For the question about the ‘House of the Cultures of the World’, 9 participants (28%) gave individual statements. One participant stated that they did not know and 22 participants (72%) did not answer the question. The individual statements are listed below.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
07	更名后叫中国国家博物馆而不是世界文化博物馆。	After renaming, it is called National Museum of China and not House of the Cultures of the World.
14	似乎无改名世界博物馆。	It does not seem to be renamed Museum of the Cultures of the World.
18	不只是简单的合二为一，而且是强强联合。	Not simply combined, but powerful combination.
21	将尽可能展示世界各国文化。	Aim to display cultures of different countries.
22	展示中华文明的地点。	The museum will be the center where Chinese culture is displayed.
23	更大型，更综合，更丰富	Greater, more comprehensive and more diverse
24	个人认为展示世界文化不是本馆未来发展的重心。	I believe that an exhibition of world culture will not be the focus of the museum development in future.
30	国家软实力的体现，国家的文化名片。国家的文化形象展示中心。	It represents the expertise of the country; it is the cultural name card of the country. It is the exhibition centre of the country's cultural image.
31	合并和更名体现了我党和我国政府对文化事业的高度重视，	The unification and renaming reflect that our party and our government attach great importance to culture; it is beneficial for the

	有利于中国历史的传承，有利于中国文化在世界的传播。	historical tradition and for the spread of the Chinese culture in the world.
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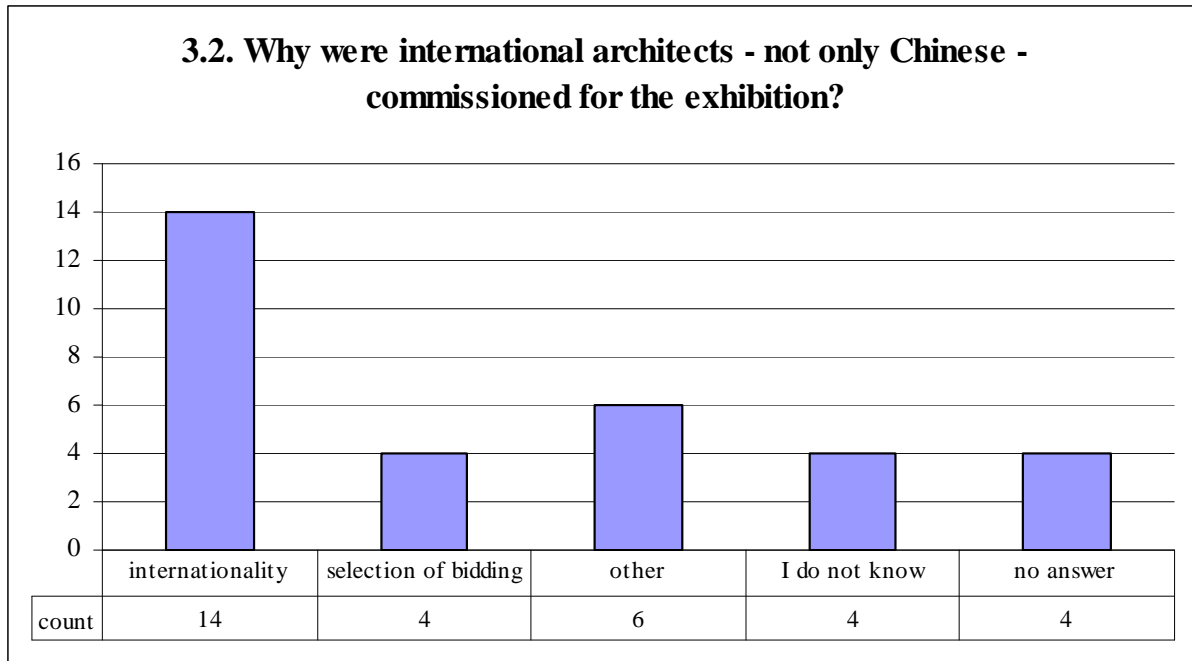
Architecture

3.1. Why was the extension of the museum essential? For this open question, 18 participants (56%) gave an individual statement, 12 participants (44%) did not answer and two participants stated that they did not know the reason. The individual statements are listed below.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
04	充分展示中国五千年的历史文化。	To show the wide range of 5000 years of Chinese history and culture.
05	原博物馆古老、陈旧的建筑已不适应博物馆事业发展的需要。	The old outdated architecture of the former museum did no longer meet the needs of development in the museum.
06	主要应该改善旧建筑的防火抗震等，另外建立久保的恒湿恒温系统。	The main points were improving the old buildings regarding fire and earthquake protection etc. Furthermore, to install a constant climate control.
07	旧馆的保管。展览场地不足老化。	For the custody of the old building. The exhibition area was not sufficient and outdated.
09	几十年前的老建筑从硬件设施等方面已不能满足当今博物馆需要。	The building is a few decades old and therefore does not satisfy the needs for the equipment of today's museum.
13	展厅面积及条件不适合博物馆的发展。	Exhibition area and the equipment were not suitable for the development of museum.
14	扩建博物馆似乎并不重要。	The extension might not have been so important.
15	中国文化资源丰富。打造文化品牌。	Chinese culture is rich in resources to establish a cultural trademark.
18	时代发展	The development in time
21	原来的展馆面积太小，设备老化，需扩大博物馆。	The former exhibition space was too small, equipment was too old, and it was necessary to extend the museum.
22	旧馆不适应展出。	The old building is not suitable for exhibition.
23	规模大可使展示空间增大，内容更多，设施更现代化。	After the extension, the exhibition space will be enlarged, there will be more themes and facilities that are more modern.

24	主要是内部的楼宇自控，改善展厅环境，扩大面积，增加人性化设施，建立新藏品库房。	Most important aspects were the security in the inner parts of the building (security system), to improve and extend the exhibition space, to provide user-friendly facilities and to create a storage for new objects.
27	现代化的馆舍是建设一流博物馆的物质基础。	A modern building is the material basis for the construction of a leading museum.
29	原博物馆设备陈旧。展地小。	The equipment of the former museum was old and the gallery space too small.
30	适应时代发展	To adapt to the development of the time
31	因为现有的建筑是五十年代的产品，无论是展厅面积还是功能方面都不能满足现在的需求，要与国家博物馆的职能相匹配，就需要扩建博物馆的旧建筑。	The current architecture is a product of the 1950s. The size of the galleries as well as its equipment are not sufficient for the present demands. To fulfill the demands of the National Museum a renewal of the old architectural structure is needed.
32	硬件上已经不适应 museum 发展需要。扩建为进一步发展提供基础保障，更好将我们的藏品展示给观众。扩建也是 China government 对文化发展重视的一种表现。	The equipment was not sufficient to fulfill the demands for the development of the museum. The extension will support the further development and improve the presentation of exhibits for the visitor. The extension expresses the attention the Chinese government is paying to the development of culture.

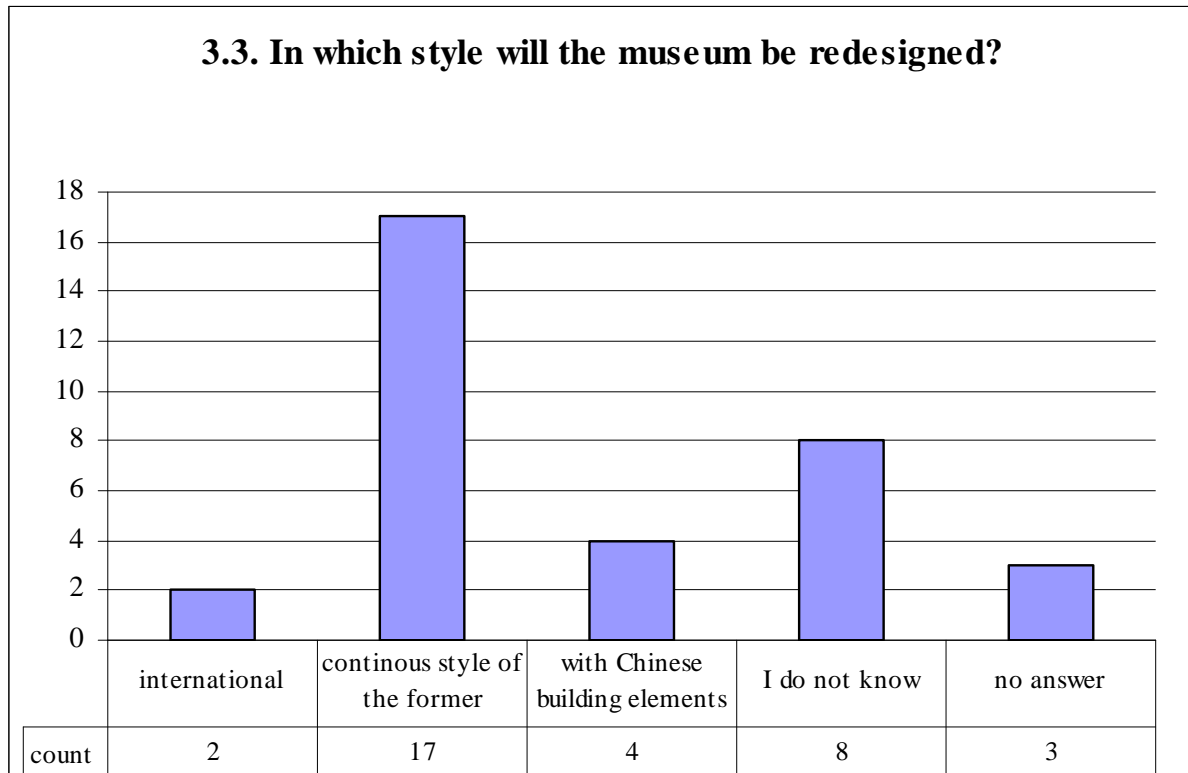


3.2. The question format was half-open with four multiple-choice options. The categories “prestige, all important architecture today is from international offices” and “because it is Western style architecture, foreign knowledge was needed” were not opted for. 14 participants (43%) believed that the commission of an international architecture office was due to a more international approach whereas 10 participants (31%) stated individual opinions. Of these individual statements 4 participants stress that the commission of international architects followed the “selection of bidding”, these answers were grouped in a new category. 4 participants (13%) did not answer or stated that they did not know the reason for the selection, respectively. Individual statements (6) are given below.

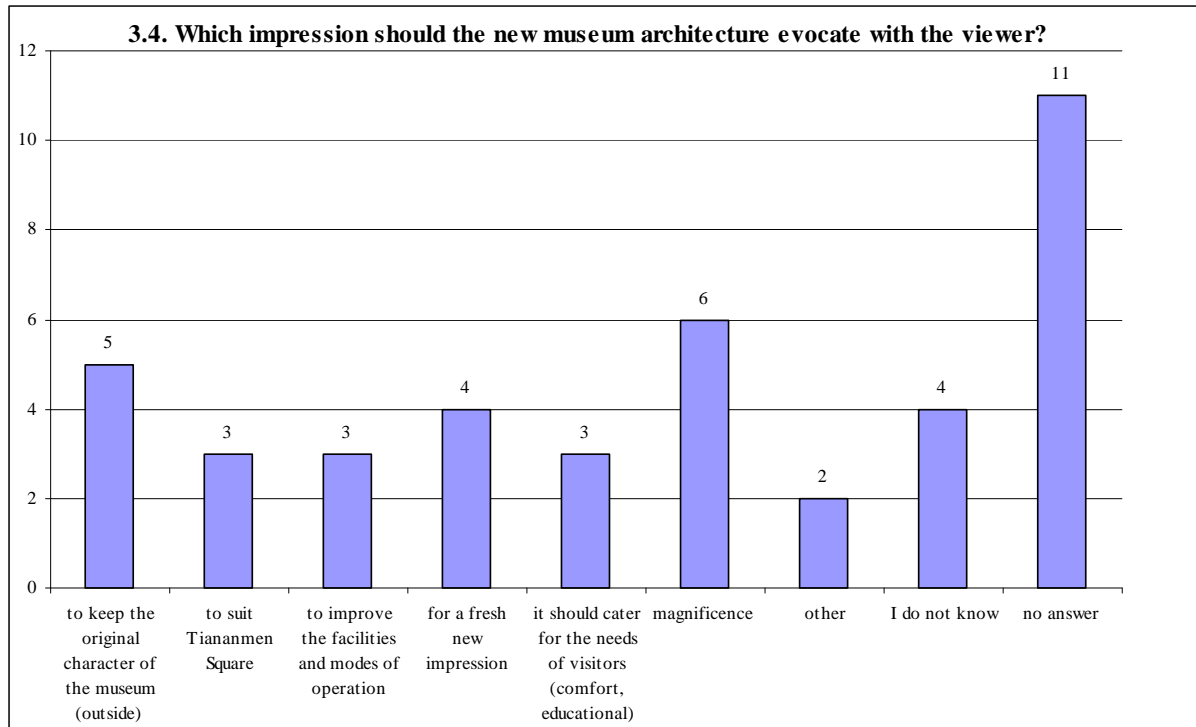
Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
06	不清楚。我认为应该和故宫相呼应，所以民族化更好。	I am not sure, I believe the new structure should be harmonious with the Imperial Palace; this would intensify the national characteristics.
08	引进新设计理念及技术。	To introduce new design concept and techniques
13	因为国外在博物馆建筑以及配套设施的设计理念上先进，有实际经验	Because the concepts design of museum architecture and facilities are advanced abroad, and they have practical experience.
22	外国建筑师没有修建新.....	Foreign architects have not built it new...
27	外国的月亮更圆。	In other countries, the moon is more round.
32	不是一定用外国设计师而不用中国的，判断标准是看谁的设	It is not necessary that foreign designers instead of China are employed, to determine the design criteria is to see who's concept is better and

计方案更好，更适应并服务于 Museum 发展。	more appropriate for the development of the museum.
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3.3. For this multiple-choice question five options were given. In some cases, multiple answers were chosen. The answer that the museum would be built in the style of ‘traditional museum buildings e.g. Nanjing Museum’ was not voted for. One participant (No. 8) additionally stated the following: “To secure the character of the old design and improve the inner modes of operation and technical equipment” (保持原有建筑风格，提高内部功能与技术条件) 3 participants did not answer and 8 participants stated that they did not know.



3.4. For this open question format multiple answers were given. Similar answers were grouped; 2 individual statements are listed below:

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
24	希望不要给人高级宾馆的印象就好。	I hope that it does not give people the impression of a luxurious hotel.
32	更实用，更现代，更适应博物馆，更好地服务于博物馆发展。	More practical, more modern, more adapted to the museum, to serve the museum development better.

Exhibition and Collection

4.1. This open question format about the tradition of the collection and its focus was answered by 10 individual statements listed below (31%). 17 participants (53%) did not answer and 5 participants (6%) did state that they did not know.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
07	原来的收藏品以体现历史性为主。现在的重点也应该这样。但可适当增加艺术品。	Originally, the museum kept objects to show the importance of history. The focus today should be the same. However, the number of art objects may be increased.

15	当然有一定标准。	Of course, there are certain standards.
18	多，新，精	More, new, refined
21	重视有历史意义的文物而不是它的艺术性。今后也以历史类文物为主。	Before, the historical significance was more important than the artistic value. In the future, historical objects are still in the focus.
22	有，历史价值和现实意义。	Yes, the historical value and the modern meaning.
23	过去收藏大都为精品，现在和以后也应如此。	Before objects were carefully selected, in future it should be the same.
28	有。没有分别。	Yes, the focus did not change.
29	当然有特殊的历史及标准。就古代部分而言，过去的收藏品有一些反映古代历史的重器，但现在缺乏新的发掘品。现代历史而言，应丰富藏品。	Of course, we do have a special history of the collection and standards. Concerning the ancient history in the former collections there were some valuable objects, but now there is a lack of new findings. Concerning the more contemporary history the collection should be enlarged.
30	有，以历史类为主。过去以反映各个时代的标本性藏品为主，现在逐步向艺术品侧重。这需要转变思路，吸收艺术类的专业人才来完成。	Yes, the focus is on class-based history. Before, the main aspect was to use representative objects to illustrate each period. Now the focus has slowly changed to art, which demands a change in the approach and experts of art and art history are needed.
31	我个人认为还是有一定的标准的。过去收藏品可能偏重于历史方向，现在会较过去有所扩宽，比如，会增加艺术方面的藏品等。	I myself believe/ think that there is a standard. Before the focus laid on history, now it is a broader approach, for example the museum now also exhibits art etc.

4.2. Unification of the two collections, which problems did you face? Is the process of unification already completed? For this open question similar answers were grouped: 3 participants stated that the unified museum was facing “financial challenges” (9%), furthermore, 7 individual statements are listed below (22%). 17 participants did not answer (53%) and 5 participants stated that they did not know (16%).

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
07	合并以后两个博物馆的收藏品依然是分开保存的，目前尚未合并。	After the merger the collections of the museum are still in separate storages, they have not yet merged.

09	没有问题，因为收藏品仍归原属部门管理。	There is no problem, because the objects still belong to the former departments.
14	两馆合并后收藏品合并，仍是由原来各自的保管部门收藏。	After the merger of the two museums, the collections were unified. However, The objects were still kept in the original department.
28	各有特色。	Every collection has its own character.
29	古代历史收藏品缺少新发掘品，现代历史收藏品不应只重视革命题材。应注重人们的生活品收藏。这两个问题都没得到解决。	In the ancient history collection new objects are missing, in the contemporary collection not only revolutionary themes but also objects of all day life should be paid attention to. These two problems are both not solved yet.
30	革命题材的藏品很多无法作为时代发展的标本性收藏，历史价值高的藏品艺术欣赏价值不高，正在逐步解决。	Many collectives of the revolution theme cannot serve as good examples for the development of times, collectives that are of high historical value do not possess high artistic value, this problem is gradually being solved.
31	主要还是编目的方法不同。还没有得到解决。	The main problem is that the methods of cataloguing differ. It has not been solved yet.

4.3. For this open question about the former exhibition design, 8 individual statements are listed below (25%). 20 participants did not answer (62%) and 4 stated that they did not know (13%).

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
05	陈列文物实物为主。附以图片，模型等加以辅助说明。	The exhibits were mostly three-dimensional objects. With pictures and models, etc. for supporting explanation.
07	以前的展览主要是依据中国历史的顺序展览。也有一些专题展览。	The former exhibition mainly followed the chronological timeline of Chinese history; there were also some theme exhibitions.
09	与现在无区别。	There are no differences.
14	展览以实物展出为主，适当地配以照片。	The exhibition showed three-dimensional objects, accompanied by suitable photographs.
15	先设计大纲。	First, an outline was designed.
18	时间为线。	Following the timeline
22	形式+内容+风格	Form + content + style
29	中国古代边疆文化系列展，如新疆，内蒙古，云南，宁夏，	There was a series of exhibitions of the culture of former Chinese border areas such as Xinjiang,

	西藏等。世界古代文明系列展，如古埃及，希腊，罗马，日本等文物展。	Inner Mongolia, Yunnan, Ningxia, Tibet, etc. Also there was a series of exhibitions about ancient civilization such as ancient Egypt, Greece, the Roman Empire and Japan.
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4.4. What are the most valuable/ sought after items of your collection? For the open question format similar answers were grouped. 11 participants identified the ‘Houmuwu Square Caldron’ as most valuable item of the collection. 2 participants acknowledged the ‘Square Vessel With Four Rams’ (四羊方尊) and the bronze collection, respectively as most important, whereas 1 participant stated the ‘Tiger-Shaped Tally’ (阳陵虎符) as most valuable and sought after object. 3 participants stated that there were too many famous objects to list them. 16 participants did not answer and 5 participants stated that they did not know.

4.5. How do you plan to present them in the exhibition? For this open question similar answers were grouped, 9 individual statements are listed below (28%). 19 participants (59%) did not answer the question and 4 participants (13%) stated that they did not know.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
06, 23	放在醒目的位置。	Placed in (most) prominent positions
07	用现代化的手段展示。	Use modern means to display.
09	以专题展览的形式。	To present the main ideas by theme exhibitions.
14	根据具体的展览，适当利用。	Depending on the exhibition, fitting objects are used.
18	通史陈列与专项展览相结合。	To combine the ‘Exhibition of Chinese History’ and special exhibitions.
29	独立展柜。特殊灯光。	Independent Showcases. Special lighting.
30	采用多媒体手段，全方位还原藏品蕴含的信息量。	To inform about the exhibition objects comprehensively with the help of multimedia technique.
31	通过数字化的手段。	By means of digital methods

4.6. Not evaluated.

4.7. For this open question about the role of the wax figure collection and its planned presentation in the exhibition 10 individual statements are listed below (31%). 17 participants (53%) did not answer and 5 participants (16%) stated that they did not know.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
01	更好展示三维仿真艺术，利用声，光，电设备，博物馆	It is better to display a three-dimensional simulation of art, by using sound, light, and electronic devices in the museum.
02	进行广泛的爱国主义教育，并且能为博物馆带来一定收益。可得社会效益与经济效益的双赢。	It widens the education in patriotism and, moreover, it brings some benefits for the museum. It could lead to an economical and social win-win situation.
08	眼球经济，观众的兴趣点。	To attract the eyes and gain people's attention.
14	展示杰出人物，表彰他们的贡献。	To display prominent figures and recognize their contributions.
15	生动形象地展示名人风采，结合文物道具展出。	To present the prominent figures combined with their real accessories and props life-like.
18	随时更新，与场地相配合。	Kept up to date, compatible with the site.
21	展示中国历史上的重要人物，仿效欧洲一些博物馆的做法。	To present the important figure of Chinese history, to follow the practice of some European museums.
22	纪念	Memorial
28	蜡像是通俗文化，不宜放在馆内。	The wax figures are popular culture and not suitable for the museum.
30	展示蜡像艺术，根据不同专题进行陈列。	Presenting the art of wax figures according to different topics on display.

4.8. Do you plan an extension of the exhibition? In what way? For this open question 10 individual statements (31%) are listed below. 17 participants (53%) did not answer and 5 (16%) stated that they did not know.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
06	除常设展览外，增加引进临时展览。	In addition to permanent exhibitions, there will be temporary exhibitions on display.
07	计划扩大展览，但不是扩大某一个展览的面积，而是增加专	It is planned to extend the exhibition, however, but not to extend the exhibition space but to

	题展览。	present more theme exhibitions.
09	展厅数量，面积加大。展览的数量，规模增加。	Extend the number of exhibition halls and the exhibition area. The number and scale of exhibitions should be increased.
14	是的，通过扩大对外交流，并及时展示考古新成果。	Yes, through expansion of foreign exchange, as well as display of archaeological results in a timely manner.
18	是，展厅增加，展厅面积扩大。	Yes, increase the numbers of exhibition halls and the exhibition area.
23	有，多增设专题馆和临时展览。	Yes, more theme exhibitions and changing exhibitions.
29	有，和国内及国际有名博物馆合作。选有影响的主题。	Yes, we will cooperate with famous museums on national and international scale. We will choose impressive topics.
30	有，通过改扩建工程。	Yes, with an improvement and enlargement project.
31	有计划，未定。	Yes, but it is not decided yet.
32	我认为我馆展览会有扩大，通史陈列将重新开放，这将是十分重要的一个项目。并且将开设国际交流展厅，借来国际其它博物馆的藏品来我馆展览，并定期更换，我认为这将极大丰富展览内容。	I believe our exhibition will be extended; the reopening of the general history exhibition will be very important. There will be international exhibition rooms, we will loan objects from international museums and change them periodically. I believe this will enrich the content of the exhibition to a great extent.

4.9 What is the idea behind presenting an exhibition of cultures? For this open question 10 individual statements (31%) are listed below. 18 participants (56%) did not answer and 4 participants (13%) stated that they did not know.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
04	服务大众,传播文化。	To serve the people and broadcast culture.
06	思想的交流与互动。	Exchange of ideas and interaction.
07	展示中华文明悠久的历史。	To display the long history of Chinese civilization.
14	了解历史与文化。	For understanding of history and culture.
18	中国特色	Chinese characteristics
22	为社会大众服务。	To serve the people
23	展示中国漫长，丰富，灿烂的	To show the enduring, rich and glorious Chinese history and culture.

	历史和文化。	
29	向观众介绍中国和世界各地的历史及文化。	We will introduce the history and culture of China and the countries of the worlds to the visitors.
30	向社会公众提供包括展览藏品在内的全方位资源，推动社会进步与发展。	To offer the visiting public comprehensive resources including exhibits, to promote social development and progress.
31	记忆历史，宣扬文化，满足人民群众日益增长的文化需求，为创建和谐社会服务。	Memory of the history, presentation of the culture. To fulfill the growing interest of the citizens concerning culture, to serve the creation of a harmonious society.

4.10. In your opinion, which impression should the new exhibition design evoke with the visitor? For this open question about the extension of the exhibition, 12 individual statements (38%) are listed below. 17 participants (53%) did not answer and 3 participants (9%) stated that they did not know.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
05	深刻而难忘的印象。	Deep and unforgettable impressions.
06	有人喜欢有人不喜欢。	Some will like it, some will not like it.
07	新展览应该是内容丰富，有新意的。	The new exhibition should be rich in content, and hold innovative ideas.
14	对历史与文化有一个感性的认识。	To gain emotional understanding of history and culture.
15	受到了一次文化熏陶。	To immerse into culture.
18	满意	Satisfying
21	比过去设计新颖一些，但展品的质量和数量变化不大。	Compared to before the design will be newer; however, the quality and number of objects has not changed much.
23	为古人的博大精深而惊叹。	To admire the profound thoughts of the ancestors.
29	丰富知识，陶冶情操。	To enrich your knowledge, to cultivate the character.
30	形式和内容统一的新展览会赢得公众的注意和媒体的报道。	A new exhibition in which the exterior and the interior design harmonize will gain public and press recognition.
31	会对展览的内容形式，展品，[illegible character] 和服务留下较深的印象。主要还是展览内	Leaving a deep impression in form, content, exhibits, [illegible character] and service. Most important is whether the content shows what the

	容是否说明主题要表达的意思。	theme of the exhibition is.
32	更生动，更吸引人，更贴近现实生活，更乐于参与其中，从而获得更多知识及对历史的理解。	More vividly, more attractive, more closed to real life, so that the visitor will be more willing to participate, and gains more knowledge and understanding of history.

Questionnaire 2007 (museum staff)**I. General**

This questionnaire builds an essential basis for the scientific research for my PhD. 您好, 此份问卷用于我的博士论文。非常感谢您的帮助和宝贵的时间!

I.1 Please describe your position at the museum. 请问, 您在博物馆的工作是什么?

--

I.2 For how long have you been working in the institution? 请问, 您在这个博物馆工作多久了?

- less than one year 少于一年
- 1-5 years 介于一到五年
- more than 5 years 超过五年
- more than 10 years 超过十年

Have you been working in a museum before 您在其它博物馆工作过吗?

- no 否 yes 是, at 在哪里, 哪个部门_____

I.3 For how long have you been working in this position? 请问, 您在这个职位工作多久了?

- less than one year 少于一年
- 1-5 years 介于一到五年
- more than 5 years 超过五年
- more than 10 years 超过十年

I.4. Do you feel honored to work in an institution like this? 请问, 您对在这个博物馆工作感到骄傲吗?

- Yes, very much so 是, 很荣幸
- Yes, a little bit 是, 一点点
- No I am indifferent to my employee. 不是, 我觉得所有工作都一样
- No opinion 无可奉告

I.5 How do you feel about working in the unified National Museum of China?

请问, 您在合并后的博物馆工作感觉如何?

- Yes, I am proud to work here, because the museum is more famous now 我对在合并后的

博物馆工作感到更骄傲

no change 没变化

I experienced that the new museum faces different challenges. 我发现合并后的博物馆面临着更新的挑战, 请举例说明_____

II. Museum unification and renaming (2003) 博物馆

II.1 What were the reasons for the unification of the two museums? 请介绍合并这两个博物馆的主要原因?

II.2 What special focus does the Museum now have? 请问, 合并后博物馆的目标是什么?

II.3 In what manner are the two former museums represented in the unified institution? 请问, 新博物馆如何保留原两个旧博物馆的特色?

II.4 Do you think the unification was 您对博物馆合并的看法

essential, in which way 必要且重要。请说明理由_____

necessary, in which way 必要。请说明理由_____

useful, in which way 有益有利。请说明理由_____

unnecessary 不必要_____

strange & inappropriate 不适当。请说明理由_____

no opinion 没有意见

II.5 What do you think about the renaming to National Museum? 请问, 您对博物馆更名为中国国家博物馆 的感觉如何

justified/correct, why 正确的。请说明理由_____

profitable, in which way 有利的。请说明理由_____

unnecessary 不必要_____

strange & inappropriate 不适当。请说明理由_____

I am indifferent 没有意见

II.6 How is the new museum internally structured? Describe the changes

请问, 合并后博物馆的组织形式是怎样的? 请介绍说明合并前后的不同? 新博物馆内部是如何构造的?

II.7 Unification and renaming was just a first step and the museum will soon be a “House of the Cultures of the World”. Which idea is behind this? 合并和更名只是第一步。为何将名字改为世界文化博物馆而不是中国国家博物馆？可否介绍一下二者的区别以及新名字的涵义？

III. Architecture 建筑

III.1 Why was the extension of the museum essential? 请问, 为什么扩建博物馆很重要?

III.2 Why were international architect - not only Chinese- commissioned for the extension 请问, 为什么雇用外国建筑师, 而不是中国建筑师 来修建新的博物馆?

- prestige: all important architecture today is from international offices 声望: 现代有名的建筑物都是来自外国建筑师。
- more international 更国际化
- because it is Western style architecture, foreign knowledge was needed 因为是西方建筑风格, 所以需要外国建筑知识。
- other 其它。请说明_____

III.3 In which style will the museum be redesigned? 请问, 博物馆会以什么样的风格重新设计?

- traditional museum buildings e.g. the History Museum of Nanjing 传统博物馆建筑, 如南京历史博物馆
- international style 国际风格
- continuous style of the former building 保有原博物馆风格
- including Chinese building elements 蕴含中国建筑风格
- I don't know 不知道

III.4 What impression should the new museum architecture evoke with the viewer? 请问, 您认为新博物馆的建筑构造会带给参观者什么样的印象呢?

IV. Exhibition and Collection 展览和收集

IV.1 In which tradition do you see your collection? What was and is the main focus? How do you meet these tasks? 请问, 馆中收藏品有特殊的历史及一定的标准么? 过去和现在的重点分别是什么? 如何处理这一衔接工作?

IV.2 Unification of the two collections: which problems did you face? Is the process of unification already completed? 请问, 合并两个博物馆的收藏品遇到了哪些困难与问题?

是否已得到解决?

IV.3 What was the exhibition design like before? (photographs, exhibition catalogues etc.)? 请问, 以前的展览是如何设计的 (例如照片, 展览目录等)

Where can I get documentation/ information about it? 请问, 从哪里可以找到/得到相关的文件及资料?

IV.4 What are the most valued/ sought after items of your collection/ exhibition? 请问, 博物馆内最有价值/最受欢迎的收藏品 是哪一件?

IV.5 How do you plan to present them in the exhibition? 请问, 您计划如何展示这些收藏品呢?

IV.6 Do you use reproductions in the exhibition? 您在博物馆用赝品吗?

yes 用 no 不用

IV.7 What role does the wax figure collection play? How will it be presented in the new exhibition? Where will it be presented? 请问, 蜡像收藏品作用为何? 馆内如何展出这些藏品? 预计的摆设地点?

IV.8 Do you plan an extension of the exhibition? In what way? 请问, 贵馆是否有计划扩大展览? 如何扩大?

IV.9 What is the idea behind presenting an exhibition of the cultures? 请问, 博物馆呈现文化展示的理念及涵义为何?

IV.10 In your opinion, which impression should the new exhibition design evoke with the visitor? 您认为一般大众参观过新展览后会有怎样的印象?

非常感谢您的帮助和宝贵的时间! Many thanks for your help!

6.2.3. Public Survey (2007)

In March 2007, the National Museum of China closed for renovation. A public survey was conducted mainly in April (31 of 44 samples), June and July 2007. Due to limited distribution and a sample of only 44 participants, answers cannot be considered representative for statistical analysis. However, individual statements by the participants and diagrams of distribution can serve as a source of information about how these citizens in Beijing judge this significant public project: The major aim of the 2007 survey was to open up the field of research, to get an overview of important issues and help to frame the focus of this dissertation. The questionnaire was divided into four parts and is closely related to the structure the museums survey took: a general enquiry about the participant and his background (1.), questions about the National Museum of China in general (2), its architecture (3.) and its exhibition and collection (4.). Multiple-choice questions were asked in all four parts of the survey (1.1.; 1.2.; 1.3.; 1.4; 2.4.; 3.3.; 4.3; 4.4). Occasionally multiple answers were permitted. In several cases, it was possible to add individual comments on multiple-choice questions (2.5.; 2.7.; 3.4.; 3.5.). Almost half of the questionnaire followed the open question format: What is your profession? (1.5.); what do you think is inside this museum/ what is the collection like? (2.1.); why do you think the museum is closed? (2.2.); when will it open again? (2.3.); what will the future name be (2.6.); when was this museum built? (3.1); what do you know/think about the plans for extension? (3.2.); what do you expect of the new exhibition? (4.2.). Open questions carry the risk of not being answered. However, if open questions are answered, they picture the opinion much more comprehensively. This was the intention of asking open questions in the first place. Wherever possible, similar answers were grouped (1.5.; 2.1.; 2.2.; 2.3.) and the individual statements were listed. Unanswered questions were counted for statistical reasons.

Evaluation

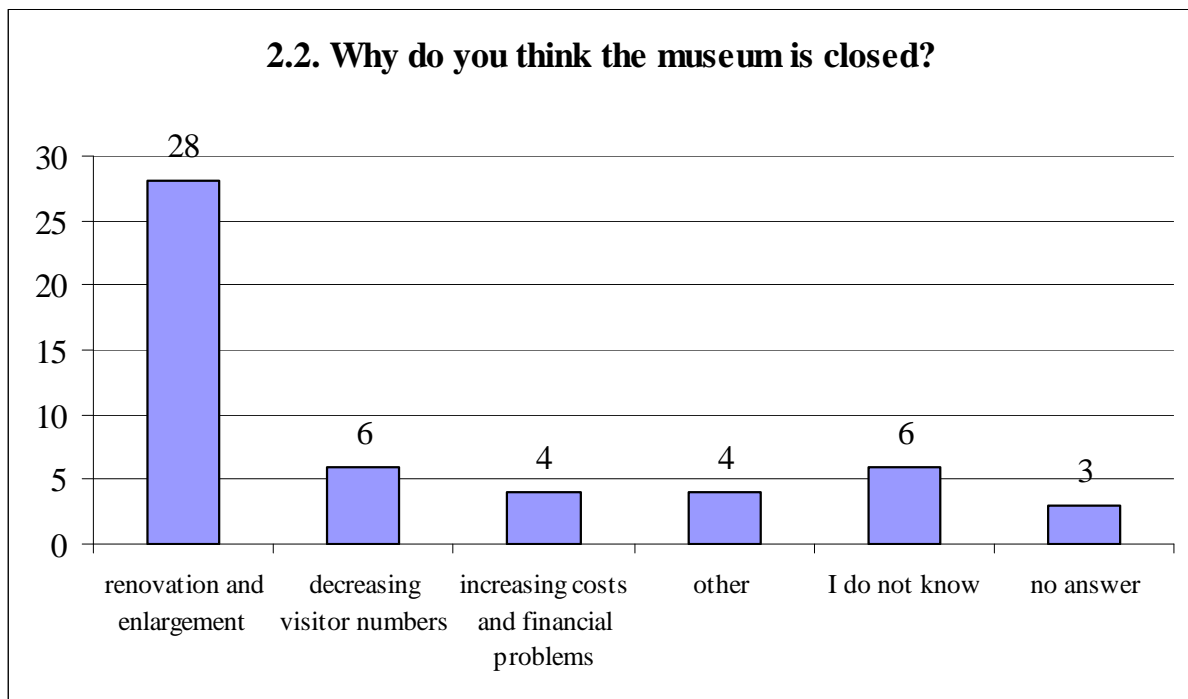
Background Information

1.1.-1.5.: All of the participants were Chinese citizens (44). Additionally, 29 participants stated to be from the Han majority, whereas only one participant identified himself stemming from an ethnic minority. 41 participants stated that they were living in Beijing, some naming their home province (7); two stated that they had been in Beijing many times and one did not answer the question. None considered themselves as being tourists. The sample represents a young age group, with no participant over 50 years of age and only 5% of the participants (2)

over 35. University students (32) and teaching staff (2) make up 76% of the occupation, whereas engineering (2), tourism (2), service (2), finance (1) and art (1) are the remaining professions listed. The question about the profession was answered by 100% of the participants with 34 women and 8 men having participated, whereas 2 did not reveal their sex.

Museum

2.1. What do you think is inside this museum/ what is the collection like? The enquiry about the content of the National Museum of China served as a warm-up question. Similar answers were grouped in the following categories: Historical / cultural artifacts and memorials (31), artifacts representing Chinese history (18), documents / books (12), painting and calligraphy (10), treasures / valuables (8), artifacts from other countries (5), sculpture (4) and porcelain (2). Furthermore, 8 individual statements listed the following: “symbolic objects”, “cameras”, “exhibitions”, “documentation material”, “wax figures”, “experts and scholars working in the museum”, “scientific display” and “jade objects”.



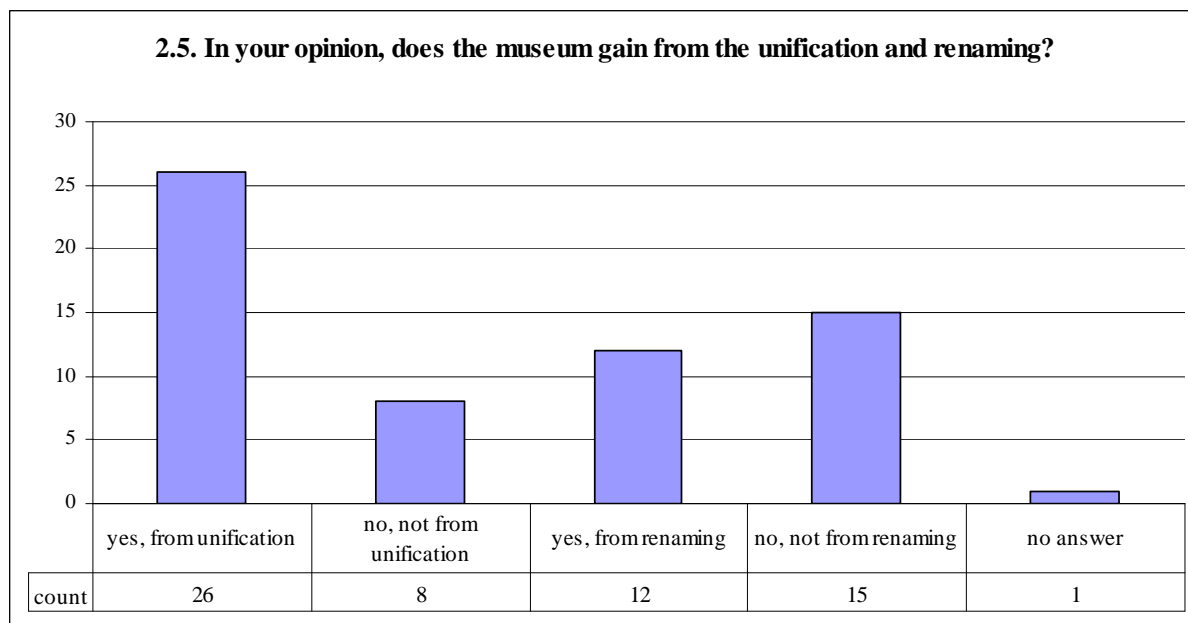
2.2. For this enquiry, multiple answers were given and similar answers were grouped: 28 participants stated that the museum was closed due to renovation and enlargement, 6 participants believed the reason to be decreasing visitor numbers and 4 participants stated financial problems causing the closing of the museum. Furthermore, 4 individual statements are listed below.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
04	因为少有人看或不能展示新鲜有趣和有用的东西。	Because only few people come to visit or because it is not possible to display new, interesting and useful objects.
14	Many Chinese do not care for Chinese culture.	
21	经营不善，大众不理解，不支持。	Poor management, the public does not understand and does not support the museum.
41	政府不重视。	The government does not pay attention.

2.3. Do you know when the museum will reopen? For this multiple-choice question, five answering options were given: 16 participants (36%) believed that the museum would open in 2008, the year the Summer Olympics were to be held in Beijing; 2 participants (5%) stated that the museum would open in 2007 and 2009, respectively. Only one participant (2%) stated that the museum would open in 2010; 7 participants (16%) did not answer the question; 16 participants (36%) stated that they did not know the answer.

2.4. What is the official name of the institution? This multiple-choice question referred to the official name of the museum. A choice of six names was given; however, Chinese State Museum 中国国立博物馆 was not chosen. The diagram shows that the majority of 70% of the participants (31) knows the current name of the 2003 unified National Museum of China 中国国家博物馆. Nevertheless, the former names of the two separate institutions, The National History Museum of China 中国历史博物馆 (6: 14%) and the National Museum of Chinese Revolution 中国革命博物馆 (2: 5%) seem not to be forgotten. 1 participant (2%) opted for the name Comprehensive Museum of Chinese Culture and History 中华民族悠久文化历史的综合性博物馆 and Museum of the Cultures of the Word 世界文化博物馆, respectively, with 3 participants (7%) not answering the question. The official name was already given at the introduction of the questionnaire so that the answers can only be evaluated with restrictions.



2.5. This multiple-choice question allowed additional explanatory statements. In some cases, multiple answers were given. A majority of 26 participants believe that the museum has gained from unification of the two museums with only 8 participants denying this. However, the renaming did not seem so rewarding to the participants: 15 disagreed that the renaming was beneficial to the museum whereas only 12 agreed to it. One participant did not answer the question. Some participants used the opportunity of the half-open question and backed their standpoint with individual statements.

Individual answers: Unification

No.	Statement	Translation
01	Es besitzt jetzt zwar die besten Schätze, leider zu wenig, und die Ausstellung ist schlecht organisiert.	Although it has the best treasures now, however, there are too few and the exhibition is badly organized.
04	国家博物馆合并更综合。	The unified National Museum is more comprehensive.
08	减少资金	Reduce costs
09	It can be enlarged.	
10	馆藏更集中。	The collections are more focused.
13	可以系统地进行管理, 更好地分配利用资源。	It can be managed more systematically and resources can be used better.
15	可以让更多人了解, 更多东西可以看。	So that more people can understand and more objects can be seen.
16	可以吸引更多的人来参观。	More visitors can be attracted.
17,	充分利用资源。 / 整合资源。	To use the resources efficiently. / To unify

42		resources.
19	可以联合展出更完整的历史风貌。	Because of the unification one can present the historical display more comprehensively.
21	可以增加公众支持度。	It could help to evoke more public support.
22	能吸收新事物。	New objects can be acquired.
23	To receive better reservation.	
27	展览内容更丰富全面。	The exhibition will be more comprehensive and richer.
28	可展览参观的东西会更多。	There will be more objects to see in the exhibition.
31	Revolutionary museum is so political.	
39	It can attract more people.	
40	革命历史也是中国历史的一部分。	The revolutionary history is also part of Chinese history.

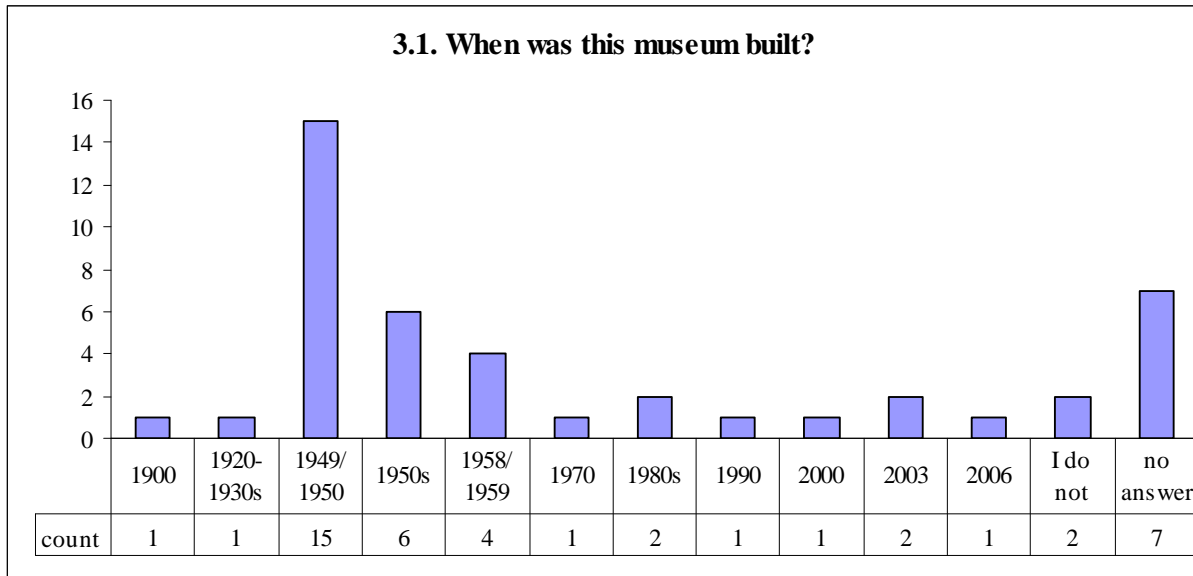
Individual answers: Renaming

No.	Statement	Translation
01.	Wenn ich mich nicht irre, hieß es früher das Historische Museum Chinas, das aber falsch definiert war. Sein jetziger Name ist gut.	If I am not mistaken, it was named the Chinese History Museum before; however, this was a wrong definition. Its current name is good.
04.	变名更显特色。	The renaming brings out the special characteristics of the museum.
14	It will be more fascinating	
16	让人有焕然一新的感觉。更能体现时代气息。	The new name creates a brand new feeling among the people. It provokes a new atmosphere of the time.
27	更贴合新馆内容。	The new name fits better to the content of the museum.
31	China needs a cultural symbol.	
38	可以同时参观两个博物馆。	One can visit two museums at the same time.
40	更符合改革开放的要求，有利于展示历史，文化。	More in line with the requirements of reform and opening up, it will help to display the history and culture.
42	更宏观更贴切。	The new name is broader and more appropriate.

2.6. What will the future name of the museum be? This question lost its relevance during the enquiry and due to its insignificance was dropped in June 2007. Therefore, the results will not be evaluated in the survey.

2.7. Do you know when the first National Museum was founded in China? 35 participants (79%) stated not knowing the founding year of the National museum, 3 participants (7%) stated knowing the answer and 6 participants (14%) did not answer the question. From the three answers given, only one participant placed the founding year of the National Museum of China before 1950.

Architecture



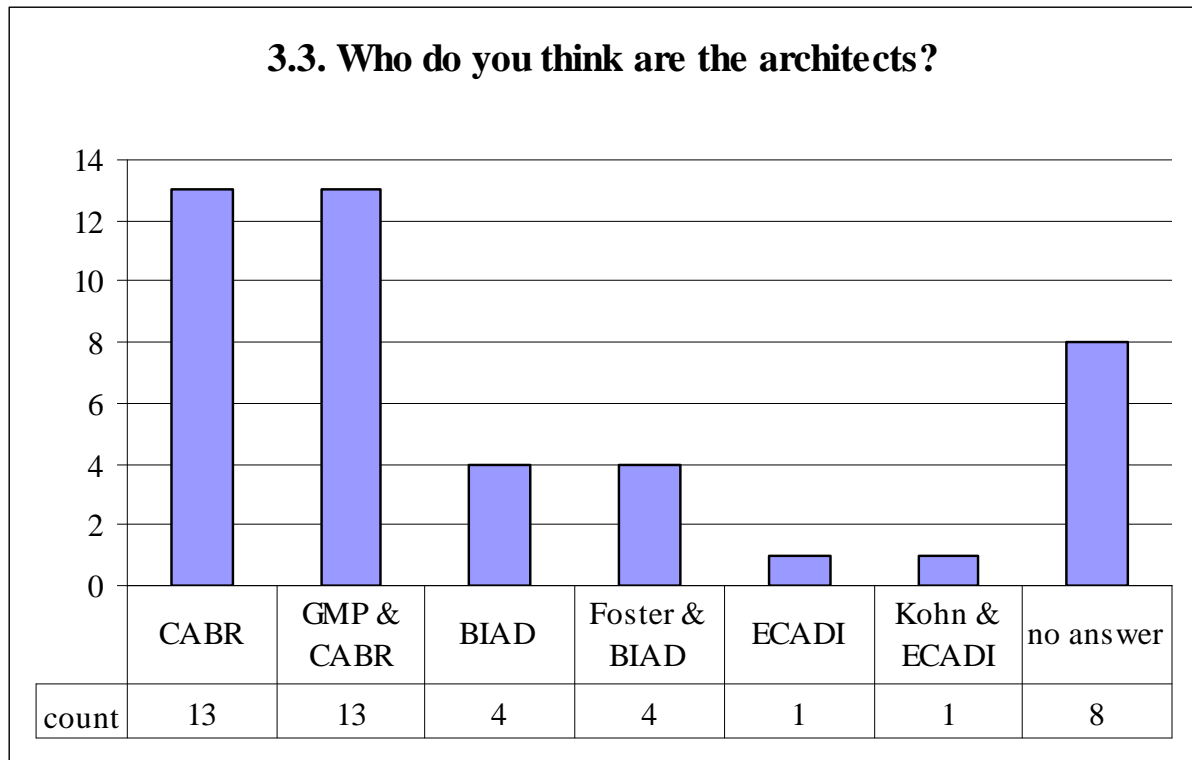
3.1. The open question format caused a wide range of different answers spanning over more than one century. Wherever possible, answers were grouped in reasonable periods. However versatile the result looks, 15 participants (34%) stated that the museum was constructed in 1949/50, the foundation year of the PRC. Only 4 participants (9%) knew the actual year of construction in 1958/1959 and 6 participants (14%) placed the construction period in the 1950s. Therefore, a majority of 57% placed the construction of the museum within the first 10 years after the PRC was established. The question for the construction of the museum did not take any restoration and reconstruction dates into account; however, 4 participants (9%) placed the construction of the museum in 2000 and thereafter. Two participants stated that they did not know, whereas 7 participants (16%) did not answer the question.

3.2. What do you know/think about the plans for extension? For this open question format, similar answers were grouped. Multiple answers were given: 10 participants approved the extension plans as very good, 6 participants stated that they were necessary and useful, whereas 2 participants believed that the extension plans were unnecessary. Other individual

statement (6) and further supporting comments are listed below. 10 participants did not answer the question or stated that they did not know the answer, respectively.

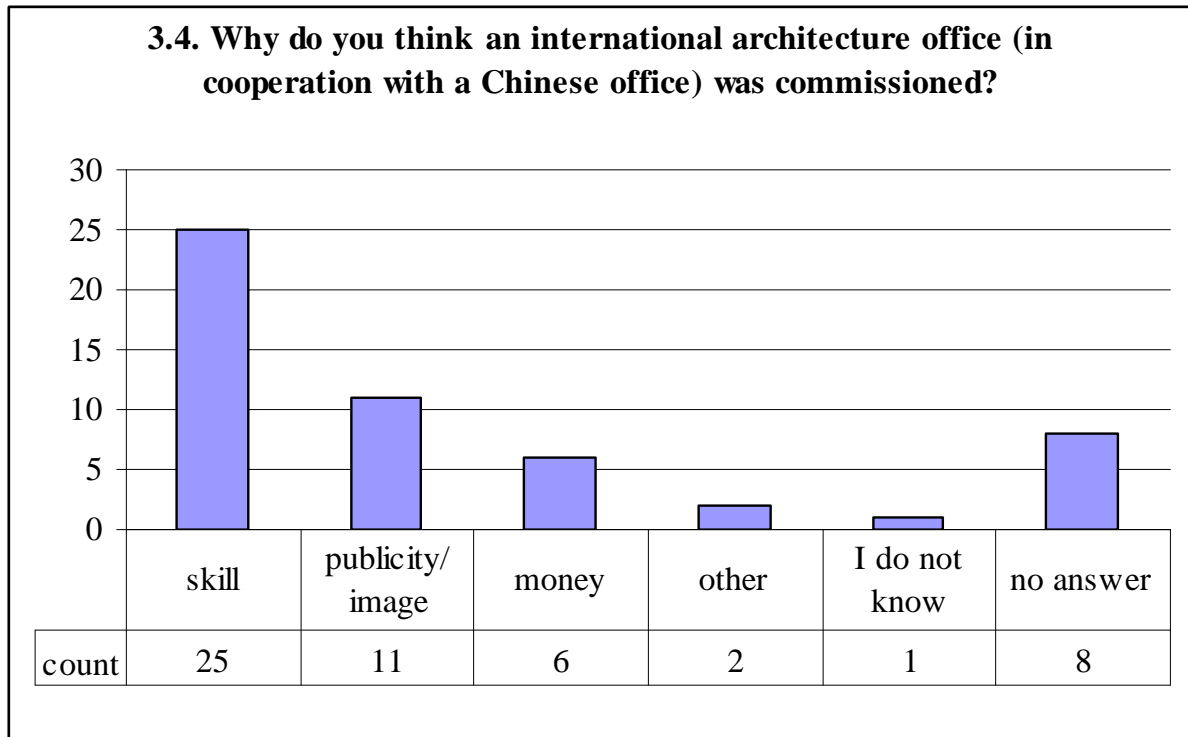
Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
05	It will attract more tourists and let more people know more about China and its history.	
08	有必要，让更多的人了解中国的发展史。	It is necessary; more people can understand the history of China's development.
13	很好，应该保护自己的东西。	Very good, the own objects should be protected.
14	I do not know. In my opinion, it is more important to let more people know the importance of culture.	
15	应该扩展。收集更多东西。	It should be extended. More objects should be collected.
20	不赞成，博物馆不应盲目求大。应该各具特色。	I do not agree, the museum should not blindly follow “big”, it should remain something special.
21	扩大收藏量，增加知名度。	The size of the collection should be enlarged and the knowledge about the collection improved.
22	可向国际化建筑学习。	One can learn from the international architecture.
23	应该挺好的。	It should become quite good.
31	It is not necessary to take up such a large area. A great museum is not defined by the acreage it takes.	
38	我认为博物馆应该增加多一些中国近现代史的文献。	I think the museum should collect more historical Chinese documents from the 19 th century until today.
40	扩大使用面积，完善功能。	Expanding the floor space and improve functionality.

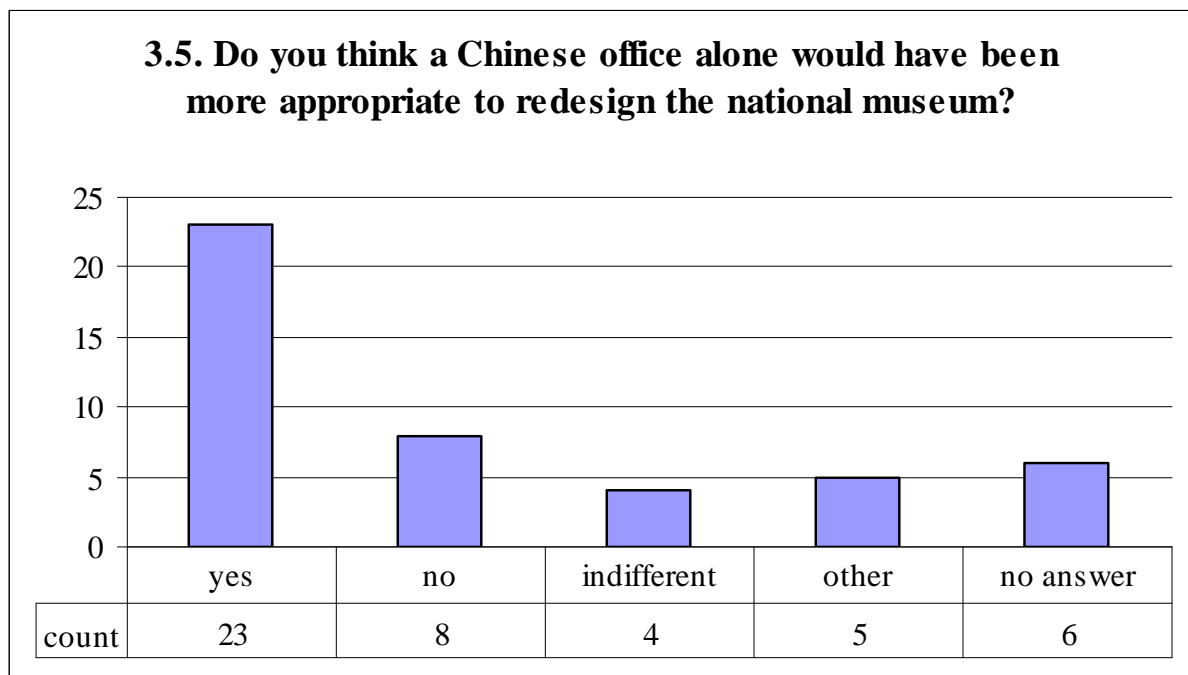


3.3. Who do you think are the architects? 13 participants (30%) identified the cooperation between *gmp* and China Academy of Building Research (GMP+CABR) as the architects of the museum. The same number of participants (13) identified CABR alone responsible for the architecture of the building. Four participants (9%) stated that Beijing Institute of Architectural Design (BIAD) were the architects of the museum, whereas another 4 participants 9% opted for the cooperation between them and Norman Foster (Foster +BIAD), which were among the finalists of the bidding. 8 participants (18%) did not answer the question. In fact, BIAD was in charge of the original museum architecture in 1958/1959; the cooperation of BIAD and Norman Forster were amongst the finalists for the enlargement project in 2003. CABR had already been commissioned with a renovation project of the museum in the 1990s, whereas CABR in cooperation with *gmp* was commissioned for the 2003 enlargement of the museum.

Where did you get your information? For this half-open question format, multiple answers were given: 11 participants stated that they gained their knowledge about the museum from the internet and the museum press, respectively; 8 participants stated to have consulted the local press. “Museum press” and “local press” were multiple-choice options given, whereas all other answers were individual statements, similar answers were grouped. Multiple answers were given with 13 participants not answering the question.



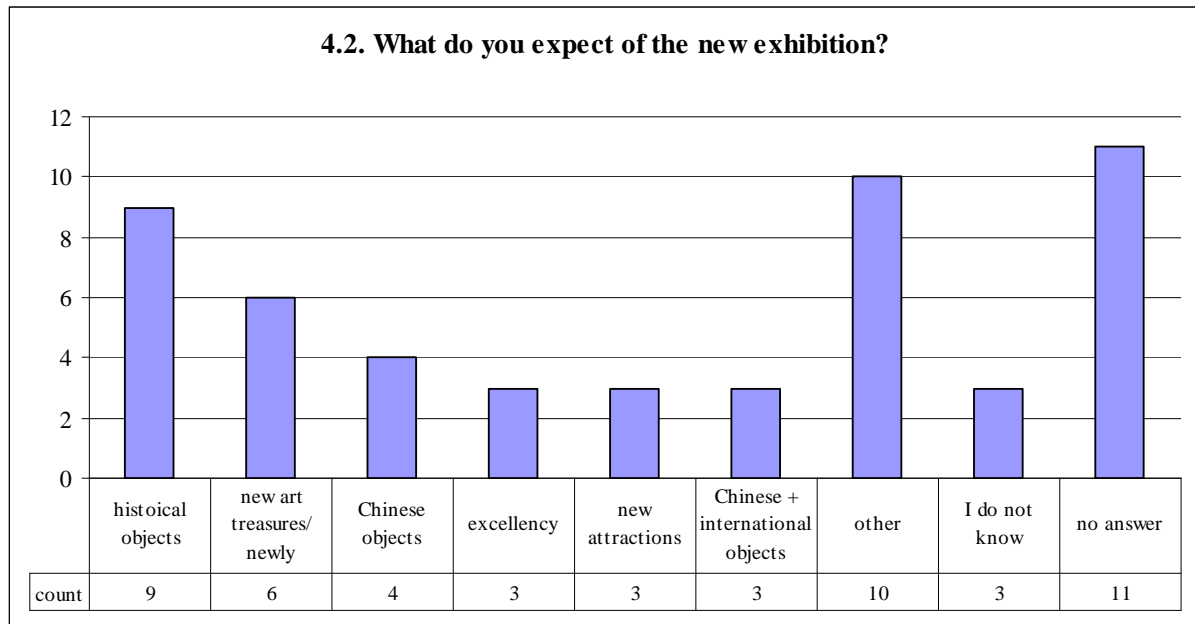
3.4. The question format was half-open with multiple-choice options for the following categories: publicity/image, skill, money, other. Multiple answers were given. The option to specify any other reason given was dismissed: 25 participants named skill, 11 participants named publicity/image, 6 participants named money as reason for the commission of an international architecture office; 2 participants stated other reasons without specifying them, 8 participants did not answer and one participant stated that they did not know the answer.



3.5. The question format was half-open with multiple-choice options for the following categories: yes, no, indifferent, other: 23 participants (50%) stated that a Chinese office alone would have been more suitable for the task, 8 participants (17%) disagreed, 4 participants (9%) were indifferent and 5 of the participants (11%) opted for other. Two participants specified the category other by the following statement “I do not know” and 6 participants (13%) did not answer the question.

Exhibition and Collection

4.1. Are you familiar with the former exhibition? In this question two answer options were given: yes and no. 19 participants (43%) were familiar with the former exhibition which was closed just a month before the survey and 18 participants (41%) stated that they did not know the former exhibition. 7 participants (16%) did not answer the question (16%).

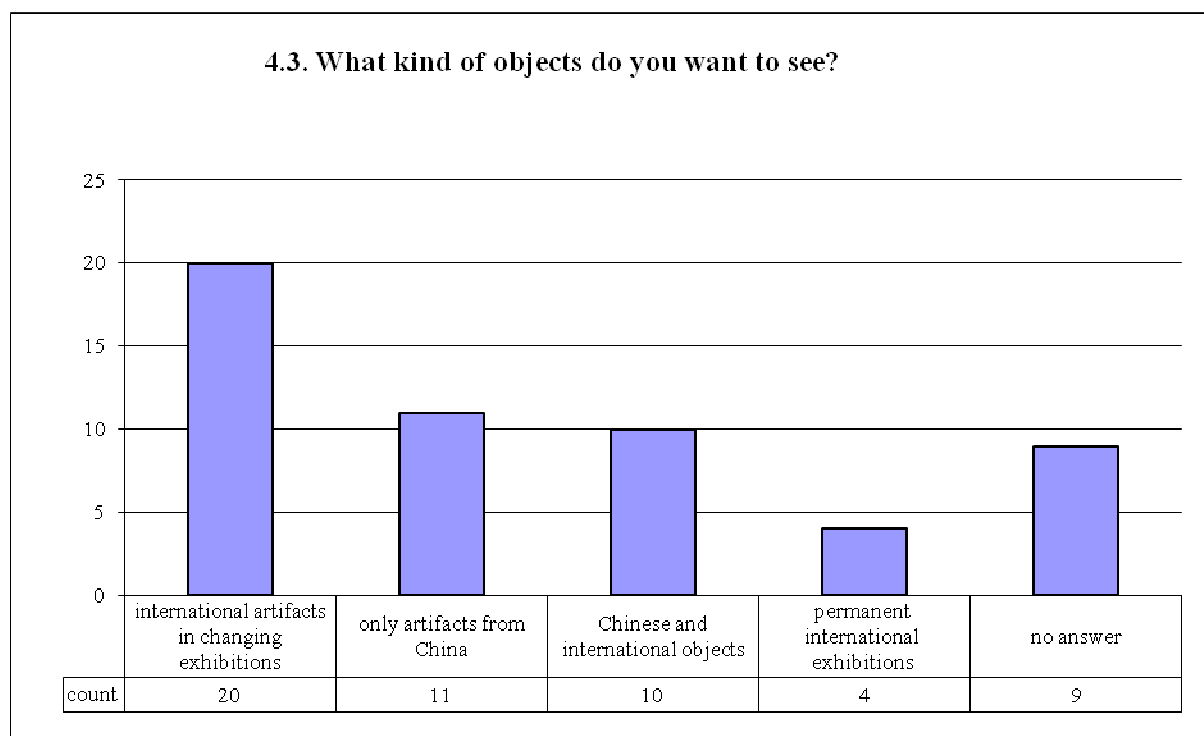


4.2. For this open-question format, multiple answers were given. Similar answers were grouped. Individual statements (10) are listed below; 11 participants did not answer the question and 3 participants stated that they did not know.

Individual results:

No.	Statement	Translation
01	Es wäre schön, wenn die Ausstellungen des Nationalmuseums sich in Athen ein Vorbild nehmen würden.	It would be nice if the exhibitions of the National Museum of China would be modeled on the museum of Athens.
08	当代的高科技产品	Contemporary high-tech equipment
18	Bild, Foto usw.	Pictures, photographs etc.

19	可以邀请国外博物馆共同展示一些流落在外的中国文物。	One could invite the foreign museums to exhibit Chinese objects from abroad together.
20	更有特色，生动形象。	It should become more distinct and give a lively impression.
21	出土文物，宇宙外物。	Archaeological excavations, objects of the material universe.
22	多些香港历史物品!	More historical artifacts from Hong Kong!
32	被八国联军掠夺走的和因其它原因流失海外的中国文物作为新的展品展出。	Chinese objects, which were looted by the Eight Allied Forces or which are abroad for other reasons, should be on display in the new exhibition.
37	不需要其它展品，也不需要其它展厅了。	There is no need for other exhibits or exhibition space.
40	反映近年来中国发展状况的展品。	The exhibits should reflect the development of China in recent years.



4.3. For this multiple-choice question, four options were given: only artifacts from China, Chinese and international objects, permanent International exhibition, and international artifacts in changing exhibitions. Multiple answers were chosen with 9 participants not answering the question.

Questionnaire 2007 (public)**DATE/ 日期:**

*This questionnaire is for a dissertation project about the History and Development of the National Museum of China in Beijing. For my research I kindly ask you to take a few minutes of your precious time to answer these questions. Your answers will be handled anonymously and with consideration. **THANK YOU VERY MUCH!***

您好, 此份问卷作为我论文研究使用, 内容是有关北京中国国家博物馆的历史和发展, 请您花几分钟的时间帮我回答此份问卷。非常感谢您的协助, 您的回答将不记名的列入考虑。

I. General

1.1. Gender 性别	<input type="checkbox"/> male 男 / <input type="checkbox"/> female 女
1.2. Nationality 国籍	<input type="checkbox"/> Chinese (from China) 中国 (居住在中国内地) <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese (other country) 中国 (居住在其它国家) <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese (Han) 中国 (汉人) <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese (other) 中国 (其它民族) <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese 日本 <input type="checkbox"/> Korean 韩国 <input type="checkbox"/> Asian (other) 其它亚洲国家 <input type="checkbox"/> European 欧洲 <input type="checkbox"/> USA 美国 <input type="checkbox"/> other 其它_____
1.3. Age 年龄	<input type="checkbox"/> under 20 years 20 岁以下 <input type="checkbox"/> 20-35 years 介于 20 到 35 岁 <input type="checkbox"/> 36-50 years 介于 36 到 50 岁 <input type="checkbox"/> 50-65 years 介于 50 到 65 岁 <input type="checkbox"/> 65+ years 65 岁以上
1.4. You are 您是	<input type="checkbox"/> tourist in Beijing 北京的游客 <input type="checkbox"/> first visit 第一次到北京 <input type="checkbox"/> second visit 第二次到北京 <input type="checkbox"/> already been to Beijing many times 已到过北京多次
1.5. What is your profession? 您的职业?	

2.1. What do you think is inside this museum/what is the collection like? 您认为博物馆/展览里面会有什么?

2.2. Why do you think the museum is closed? 请问, 您认为为什么关闭博物馆?

2.3. Do you know when the museum will reopen? 请问, 您知道博物馆何时面对公众重新开放吗?

- this year 今年
- in 2008 (Beijing Olympics) 2008 年北京奥运会时
- in 2009 (60th anniversary of the PR China) 2009 年中国 60 周年纪念日
- in 2010 2010 年
- in 2011 2011 年
- I do not know 不知道

2.4 What is the official name of this institution? 请问, 这个机构的正式名字是什么?

- National History Museum of China 中国历史博物馆
- National Museum of Chinese Revolution 中国革命博物馆
- Museum of the Cultures of the World 世界文化博物馆
- Comprehensive Museum of Chinese Culture and History 中华民族悠久文化历史的综合性博物馆
- Chinese State Museum 中国国立博物馆
- Museum of Chinese History 中国历史博物馆
- The National Museum of China 中国国家博物馆

2.5. In your opinion, does the museum gain from the unification and renaming?
请问, 您认为合并或更名对博物馆有益吗?

- Yes, from the unification, in which way? 是的, 我认为合并对博物馆有益。请说明:

- Yes, from the renaming; in which way? 是的, 我认为更名对博物有益。请说明:

- No, not from the unification 不, 我认为合并对博物馆没有益处
- Not from the renaming 不, 我认为更名对博物馆没有益处

2.6. What will the future name be? 请问, 未来的博物馆将如何命名?

2.7. Do you know when the first National Museum was founded in China? 您知道中国第一个国家博物馆创建于什么时候么?

no 不知道

yes, in 知道_____

3. Architecture 建筑

3.1. When was this museum built? Can you guess?

请问这个博物馆是何时兴建的? 如果不知道, 可以猜测

3.2. What do you know/think about the plans for extension? 请问, 您了解博物馆扩建计划的那些方面/您认为扩展计划如何?

3.3. Who do you think are the architects? 请问, 您认为博物馆的建筑师是谁?

BIAD Beijing Institute of Architectural Design 北京市建筑设计研究院

ECADI East China Architectural Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd. 华东建筑设计研究院

Gmp International GmbH architects and engineers & CABR China Academy of Building Research
德国 gmp 国际建筑设计有限公司和中国建筑科学研究院

CABR China Academy of Building Research
中国建筑科学研究院

Kohn Pederson Fox, New York & ECADI East China Architectural Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd.

Kohn Pederson Fox, New York 和 华东建筑设计研究院

Foster and Partners & BIAD Beijing Institute of Architectural Design

Foster + Partners 和 北京市建筑设计研究院

Where did you get your information? 请问, 您是从哪里得到相关信息的?

museum press 博物馆相关出版物

local press 地方报刊

other 其它, 请说明_____

3.4. Why do you think an International Architecture office (in cooperation with a Chinese office) was commissioned? 请问, 您觉得为什么一家国际建筑设计公司 (与中方合作) 被委托承接了这个项目?

publicity/ image 名声/印象

- skill 技术
- money 资金
- other 其它_____

3.5. Do you think a Chinese architectural office alone would have been more appropriate to redesign the national museum? 请问, 您觉得中国的建筑设计单位独立操作, 是否更适于完成重新设计国家博物馆的任务?

- yes 是的
- no 不是
- indifferent 没什么不同
- other 其它, 请说明_____

4. Exhibition and Collection 展览和 筹集

4.1. Are you familiar with the former exhibition? 请问,您知道旧的展览展品吗?

- yes 是的, 知道
- no 不知道

4.2. What do you expect of the new exhibition? 请问,您希望新的展览品为何?

4.3. What kind of objects do you want to see? 请问, 您希望参观哪一类型的展品?

- only artifacts from China 来自中国的艺术品
- international artifacts in changing exhibitions 国际艺术品轮流展出
- Chinese and international objects (50%/ 50%) 中国和外国各半的收藏品
- permanent international exhibition 长期的国际性展览

Thank you very much for your kind support! 非常感谢您的合作!

6.2.4. Visitor Survey (2011)

After the opening of the National Museum of China in 2011, a survey was conducted among museum visitors from September 16th to October 27th, 2011. A random sample of 112 Chinese and foreign visitors was taken on different days of the week, at different times and different locations within the museum. The questionnaire was based on the 2007 public survey and developed according to the experience of the project. Some of the questions remained similar, and therefore, can be compared with the public statements of 2007 possible. The questionnaire is divided into three parts: a general enquiry about the participant, his background and his general knowledge of the museum (1.), questions about the museum architecture (2.) and its exhibition and collection (3.). Multiple-choice questions are especially used for the participant's background information (1.1-1.4; 1.6.), occur however in all parts of the survey (2.3.-2.8.; 3.2.; 3.4.; 3.7.-3.11.). For the questions about architecture style and exhibition style, standardized multiple-choice answers provided better prospects for evaluation. In many cases, multiple answers were permitted. Occasionally, it was possible to add individual comments on multiple-choice questions (1.7.; 1.8; 2.9.-2.11.; 3.5.; 3.6.; 3.14.). Other questions followed the open question format: What is your profession? (1.5.); when was this museum originally built? Can you guess? (2.1.); what do you know about the extension of the museum? (2.2.); what do you think is inside the museum/what is the collection like? (3.1); what do you expect from the new exhibition? (3.3.); what did you like most about the new presentation? (3.12.); what did you like least about the new presentation? (3.13). whenever possible, similar answers were grouped and the individual statements were listed. Unanswered questions were counted for statistical reasons.

Evaluations

Background Information

1.1-1.5. 59 (53%) female and 47 (42%) male participants took part in the survey, whereas 6 participants (5%) did not reveal their gender. In regard to nationality, multiple answers of a total count of 131 were given: From these answers, 20 participants (15%) stated to be foreigners: 13 came from Europe (10%), 3 from the USA (2%), and two from Australia and Canada respectively (other: 4, 3%). Notably, no Japanese or Korean took part in the survey.

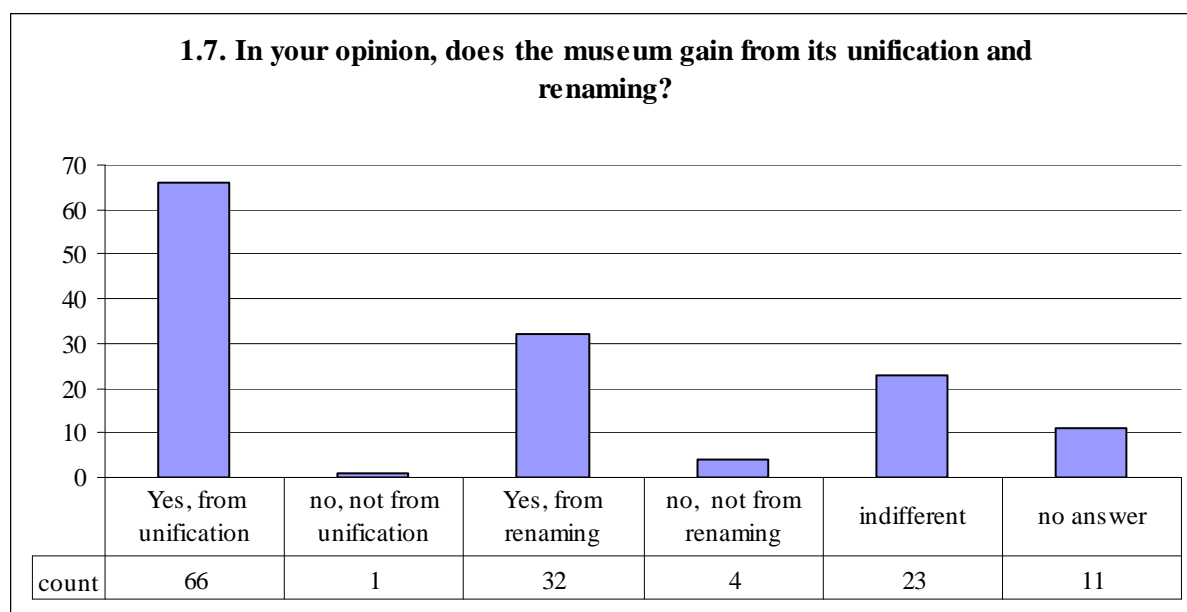
This questionnaire allowed Chinese citizens to answer in multiple fields as to whether they were Chinese from China (79), Chinese from another country (5), or Chinese from the Han majority (24) or from a minority group (2). Five Chinese participants (4%) stated to be

citizens of another country. Only one participant (1%) did not answer the question. The sample represents a young age group with 66% (74) of the participants under 36 years of age and 82% under 51; only 18% of the participants were over 50 years of age. 11 participants (10%) stated to be under 20 years, 63 participants (56%) were between 20 and 35 years old, 18 participants (16%) were between 36 and 50 years of age, 14 participants (13%) between 51 and 65 years of age and 6 participants (5%) were older than 65 years. Everyone answered the question.

In regard to their place of residence, 37 participants (33%) stated to living in Beijing and 8 participants (7%) did not answer the question. Where 60% were identified as tourists, 31 participants (28%) identified this as their first visit to Beijing, 9 participants (8%) stated it their second visit and 27 participants (24%) had already been to Beijing many times. 25 participants additionally specified their home provinces, autonomous regions and cities within China: Shandong (3), Anhui (3), Fujian (3), Hebei (2), Shanxi (2), Hubei (2), Liaoning (2), Shanghai (2), Guandong (2), Heilongjiang (1), Tianjin (1), Ningxia (1), Qinghai (1), Hunan (1), Hainan (1). Asked about their profession, matching the young age of the majority of participants, 35 participants (30%) stated to be university students, 12 participants (11%) worked in education and research, 8 participants (7%) worked in IT, 7 participants stated being employed (6%), and 6 participants (5%) were state officials. Five participants (4%) were retirees or worked in arts and music, respectively; four participants (4%) worked in health care or stated to be workers, respectively, three participants (3%) worked in industry and engineering. Two participants (2%) were architects or worked in journalism and one (1%) participant stated being a farmer. 13 participants (12%) did not answer the question.

Museum

1.6. What is the official name of the museum? 96% of the participants (107) stated “National Museum of China” as the current name of the museum; only 2% of the participants (2) voted for “National History Museum”, the name of the predecessor museum. 2 participants (2%) did not answer the question. The question was raised in comparison to the survey of 2007, where only 70% of the participants stated the current name of the institution correctly (2.4.).



1.7. The question followed the half-open question format, multiple answers were given, individual answers are listed below, and the total count is 137. A majority of 66 participants think that the museum gained from the unification of the two museums; only one participant doubted that the unification was helpful; 32 participants stated that the renaming of the museum was profitable; 4 participants disagreed with the renaming. 23 participants stated to being indifferent, while 11 participants did not answer. Several participants used the possibility of the half-open question to comment with individual statements on their standpoint.

Individual answers: Unification

No.	Statement	Translation
12	综合性更强，更大。	The museum is now more comprehensive and on a larger scale.
18	可以提高综合实力。	Unification can improve the overall strength of the museum.
21	很好	very good
24, 36	方便了	convenient
28, 38	整合资源	integration of resources
29	大气了	it is more impressive
44	资源共享，使文物得到更好保护。	To share resources and to provide a better protection for the cultural heritage.
45	资源得到了融合，对文物的保护会更有利。	The integration of resources will be more beneficial for the protection of the cultural heritage.

46	各类文化艺术的交融性与互联性。	Integration and connectivity of various types of arts and culture.
48	共享，规模做大。	Resources are shared; the scale of the museum is expanded.
49	展示人类的精神财富，创意，聪明才智和历史，对文化艺术传承有意义。	It shows the spiritual wealth, creativity, ingenuity and history of mankind; it is meaningful for the passing on of culture and art.
50	更加多元化，完善，展览全面。	It is more diversified and improved; it makes the exhibitions more complete.
51	便于游客浏览。	It is better for visitors browsing through.
56	综合性更强，全方位，更能体现中国的方方面面。	Unification reinforced the museum and made it more comprehensive; it now better reflects the various aspects of China.
57	使博物馆可以容纳更多的东西。	The museum can now accommodate more objects.
58	拥有更多的资源。	There are more resources now.
59	有更强大的实力进行更好的展览。	The capacity to show better exhibition has improved.
60	资源整合，利于公民了解国家历史。	Integration of resources, which will help citizens understand the country's history.
61	资源共享，扩大规模和实力。	Sharing resources and expanding scale and strength.
68	规模更大。	The scale is larger now.
70	文化气息更浓重。	The cultural atmosphere is condensed.
72	提升国家的形象。	Enhance the country's image.
74	适应时代发展需要。	It correlates with the needs of the time.
75	利大于弊。	The advantages outweigh the disadvantages.
82	节约资源	Saving resources
83	让更多有文化的事物更集中呈现在群众面前。	More cultural objects are presented to the masses in more detail.
86	各取所长，集合了各自的精髓。	It joins the advantages of each collection.
88	丰富多元化，信息综合，更吸引人	Rich and comprehensive, integration of information, more attractive
90	综合性更强	More integrated
92	少买门票，少跑路，经济又效率。	Less buying of tickets, less running, economic and efficient.
93	事物的发展总是有一定的必然	The development of things always has certain

	性。	inevitability.
94	可以有更多的展品在同一博物馆展出。	It is possible to have more exhibits in the same museum.
102	使国家资源得到充分, 合理的利用和配置, 节约成本, 扩大效应。	The national resources are adequate and reasonably used and distributed, cost savings is expanded effect.
103	合并之后可以提供给观众更多的展品。	After the merger more exhibits can be provided for the audience.
104, 107	内容更加多元化。/内容更全面。	The content is (much) more comprehensive.
105	更加系统全面。	More systematic and comprehensive.
108	历史与艺术并重。	History and art have the same importance.

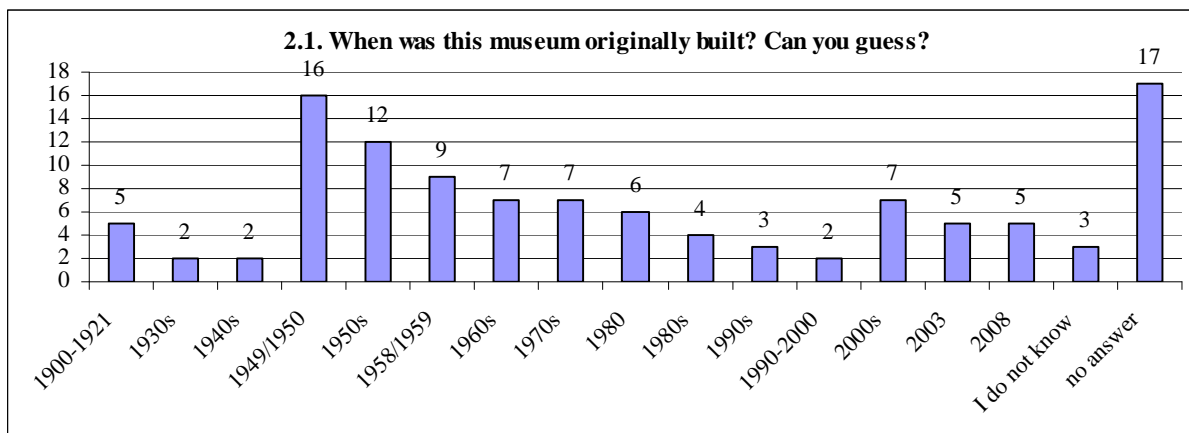
Individual answers: Renaming

No.	Answer	Translation
12	中国的标志性博物馆。	It is China's landmark museum
18	使博物馆的内容更加广泛。	The content of the museum will be more comprehensive.
25	国家博物馆的重新命名, 给人一种整体的聚集的感受。	With the renaming of the National Museum of China, it gives a much more connected feeling.
36	更正确	More appropriate
44	使博物馆更加吸引人。	It makes the museum more attractive.
52	展示更多的文化。	More culture is on display.
57	更国际化, 多元化。	More international and more diversified.
68	新名字感觉很高端。	The new name gives a high-end impression.
69	方便记住。	Easy to remember
70	使人感觉内容更加丰富。	It makes the people feel that the content is more substantial.
73	听上去更像是一个博物馆的名字。	It sounds more like a name for a museum.
75	利大于弊。	The advantages outweigh the disadvantages.
88	新名字很有宏大感, 专业, 高端, 会认为有很好的展品。	The new name feels to be great, professional and excellent; it makes one believe that the exhibits are good.
90	代表的是国家的文明。	It represents the national civilization.
98	简明	concise
103	可以有一个供观众参观的国家级的博物馆。	A national museum can be provided for the visitor.
107	突出国家, 更庄重。	It highlights the country, more imposing.

108	国家博物馆具有代表性。	The National Museum of China holds a representative function.
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1.8. Do you know when the first National Museum was founded in China? 91% of the participants (102) stated that they did not know the founding year of the first National Museum in China. Only 6 participants (5%) stated to know the answer: before 1949 (No. 21), 1949 (No. 43), 1950s (No. 23), 1958 (No. 83), 2001 (No. 106). One participant did not specify a year (No. 41). The answers are wide ranging, appearing that the participants who answered either did not know the year of foundation or they did not understand the question. Four participants (4%) did not answer the question.

Architecture

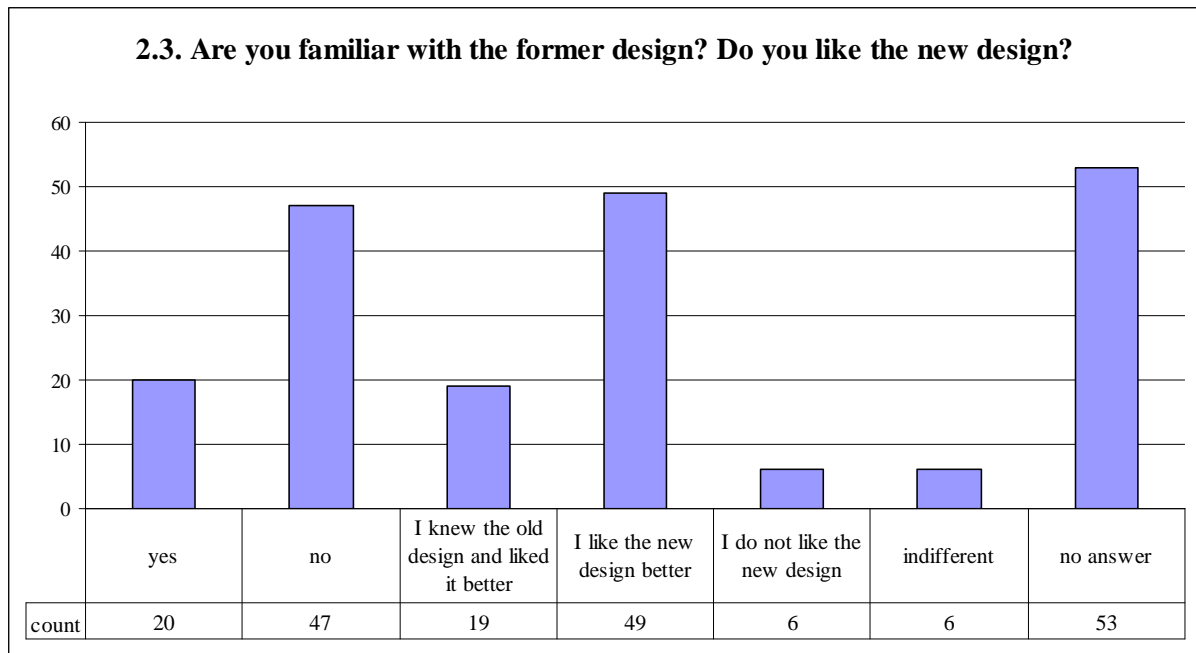


2.1. The open-question format caused a wide range of answers; nevertheless, wherever possible, the answers were grouped (e.g. in decades). To avoid double counting, a precise year (e.g. 1949) showing in the statistic is not integrated in the decade (e.g. 1940s). 16 participants (14%) guessed that the museum was built between 1949 and 1950, when New China was established. 9 participants (8%) knew the actual years of construction between 1958 and 1959 and 12 participants (11%) placed the construction period in the 1950s. One third of 37 participants (33%) placed the building of the museum within the first 10 years after the PRC was established. 22 participants (20%) believed that the museum was constructed between 1990 and 2008. 17 participants (15%) did not answer the question, 3 participants (3%) stated that they did not know the answer.

2.2. What do you know about the extension of the museum? 35 participants did not answer this open-question format and 56 participants stated that they did not know about the extension of the museum. Unlike the answers of the 2007 survey, it was not possible to group the individual statements of the participants. The results are listed below.

Individual answers: Extension

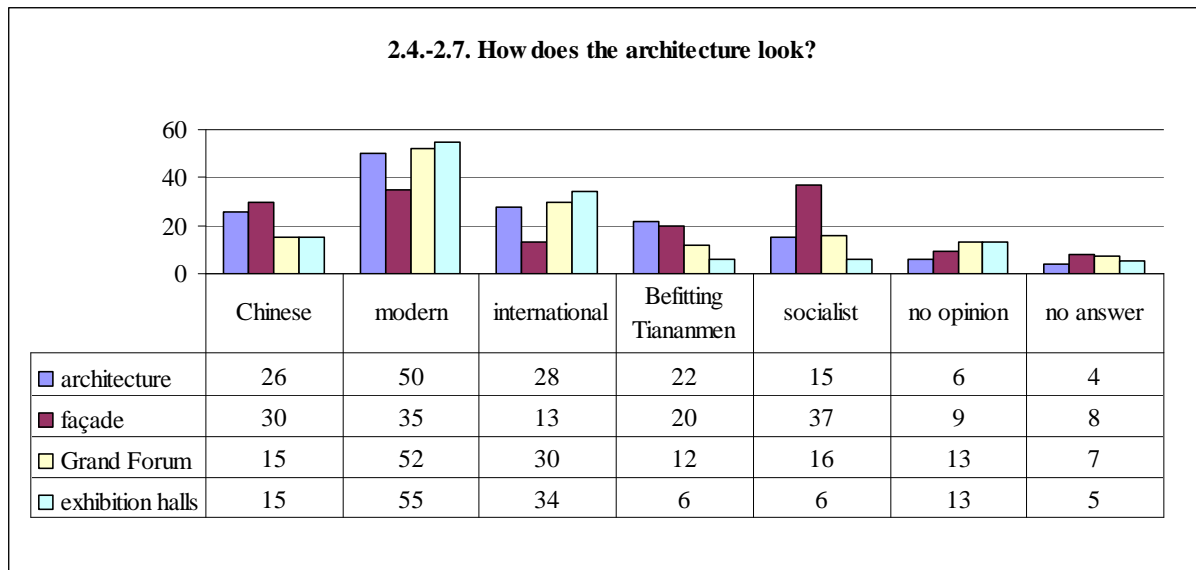
No.	Statement	Translation
06	German	
07	Nice	
23	土建工程建筑结构方面。	Architecture and construction design
32	彻底	Thorough
40	面积扩大，功能增加，展品增加。	The area is expanded, the functionality is increased, and the exhibits are increased in number.
42	选址	Choose a location
43	gmp	
48	规模进度等	Scale, progress, etc.
69	自然	Natural
70	不太清楚，大门可能改过。	I am not quite sure; the main gate might have been changed.
73	扩建了很久，立了一尊孔子像，后来又撤了。	The expansion took a long time, first there was a statue of Confucius erected, but later removed.
76	2010	
86	配套设施更加齐全。	The supporting facilities are more complete.
87	文物藏品，展览规模，硬件设施。	Cultural objects, the exhibition scale, equipment.
90	19 万平方米	190.000 m ²
92	扩建计划是某些人决定的，国家出资的，由建筑工人扩建。	Expansion plans were decided by particular people, were funded by the state and conducted by construction workers.
99	了解。	I know about it.
101	面积扩大，设备更新。	The area is extended, the equipment is upgraded.
104	内容更丰富。	The content is more comprehensive.
107	面积	Area
110	规模扩大	Extended scale



2.3. For this multiple-choice question, multiple answers were given (total count 210): Some stated that they were familiar with the old design; however, they still liked the new design better. It can be assumed that these participants knew the old design of the famous building from the media, if not personally, and judged according to this knowledge. 53 participants did not answer this question and 6 participants were indifferent. Only 20 participants knew the old design, whereas 47 stated not to have known the old design. 19 participants liked the old design better, whereas 49 like the new design better; 6 participants stated not to like the new design. Some participants gave additional comments.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
33	rigid	
49	建筑（内部更适合展览）并具有一定的现代性。	Building (internal is more suitable for exhibitions) and has certain modern characteristics.
93	新旧建筑代表了各个时期的特点，反映了当时特定情况下的社会环境，所以新旧都喜欢。	Old and new buildings represent the characteristics of each period, and they reflect the social environment of their specific time, therefore I like both.

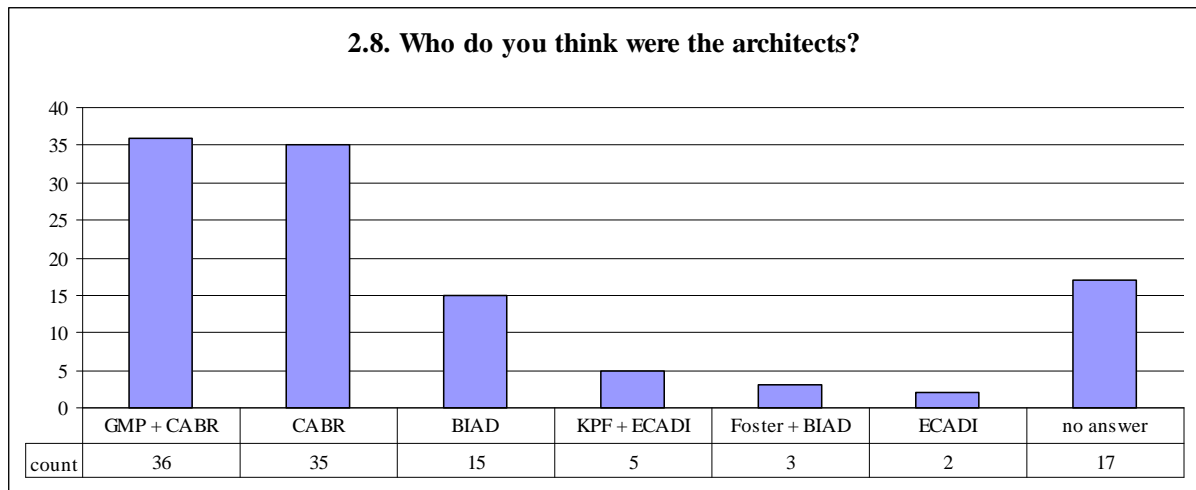


2.4.-2.7. Multiple answers were permitted. From 147 answers given, 34% (50) rated the architecture as modern, 19% (28) stated the architecture would look international, 18% (26) stated it would look Chinese. 15% (22) rated the architecture befitting Tiananmen and 10% (15) rated it as socialist. 4% (6) did not have an opinion.

From 144 answers given, 26% (37) rated the façade as befitting Tiananmen, 24% (35) stated the architecture looked modern and 21% (30) perceived the façade as Chinese in look. 14% (20) rated the architecture as socialist and only 9% (13) as international; 6% (9) stated not to have an opinion.

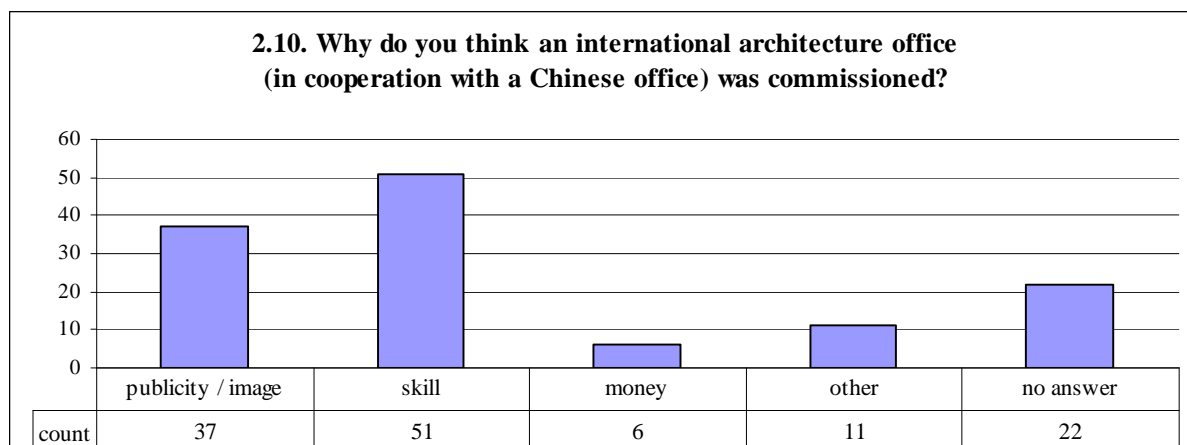
From 138 answers given, 37% (52) rated the main entrance hall, the so-called Grand Forum, modern and 22% (30) stated it looked international; 12% (16) stated it was befitting Tiananmen; 11% (15) rated its look Chinese and 9% (12) socialist. 9% (13) stated not to have an opinion about the Grand Forum.

From 129 answers given, 42% rated the exhibition halls as modern in look, 26% (34) stated that they looked international and 12% (15) that they looked Chinese. 5% (6) rated the exhibition halls as socialist in look and befitting Tiananmen, respectively. 10% (13) stated not to have an opinion about the exhibition halls.



2.8. The architects of the original building of 1959 (BIAD) and the restoration of 2010 (GMP+CABR) differed, therefore multiple answers were possible. Only one participant (No. 88) checked both options and both answers were counted (total count 113). From the participants who answered the question, 38% (36) stated GMP + CABR, whereas 36% (35) guessed only CABR as the architects commissioned; 16% (15) participants stated that the BIAD, which were in charge of the original building, as the architects; 5% (5) of the participants stated KPF + ECADI as architects and 3% (3) Forster + BIAD and 2% (2) ECADI alone.

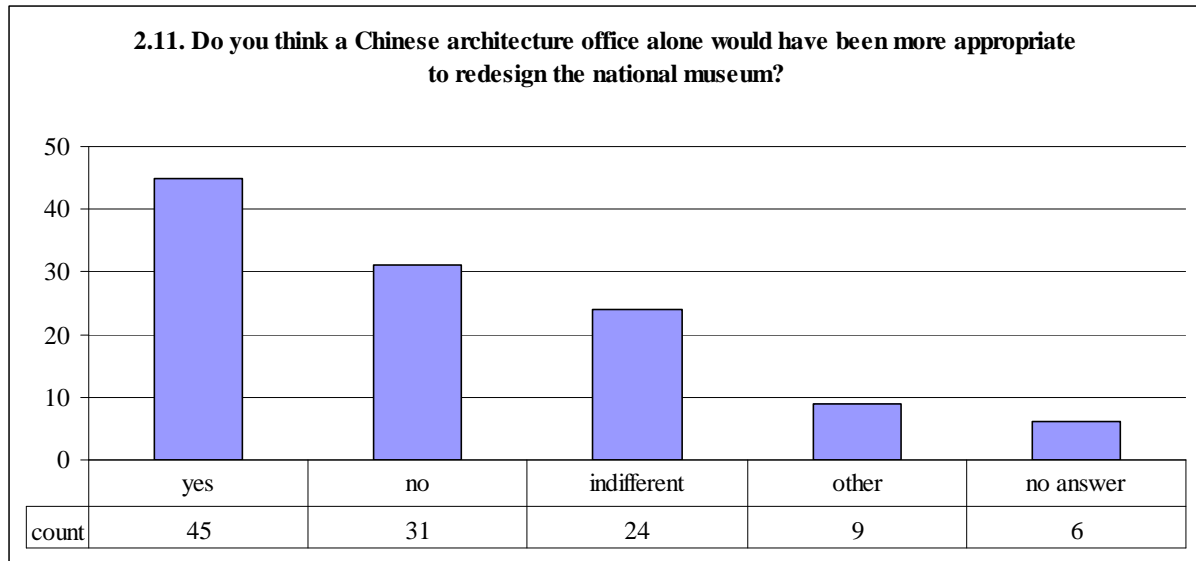
2.9. Where do you get your information? For this half-open question, multiple answers were possible. Museum press, local press and other were given categories, while TV, internet and word of mouth were extracted from other answers. From the total of 102 answers given, internet, local press and museum press with 20 votes made up around 20% of the statements; 15% (15) stated word-of-mouth and 5% (5) reported television as their source of information. Among other sources of information (22; 21%) were guidebooks, maps, and educational material. Two participants stated they were guessing whereas 15 participants did not answer.



2.10. The question was raised in half-open question format. Multiple answers were possible. From the total of 105 answers given, 51 (49%) stated skill, 37 (35%) stated publicity and image, 6 (6%) stated money and 11 (10%) other reasons for the decision for an international architecture office. Other additional comments, detailed accounts and individual statements are listed below with a total of 22 participants not answering the question.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
18	使博物馆更加国际化。	It makes the museum more international.
25	因为感觉建筑不仅具有中国的风格还具有外国的风格。	Because the architectural design feels not only Chinese but also foreign.
29	感觉	Feeling
43	我是建筑师。	I am an architect.
46	体现中华文化艺术特色。	It reflects the characteristics of Chinese culture and the arts.
48	因为中国的建筑艺术没能得到很好的传承，国外的先进理念又学得不到家。	Because the Chinese architecture was not passed on completely, and the advanced foreign concepts were not studied sufficiently.
58, 107	设计理念	Design idea
79	中国建筑走向国际化。	Chinese architecture experiences internationalization.
89	万事不绝对。	Nothing is absolute.
90	不了解。	I do not know.
93	海纳百川，好的东西就应相互学习，取长补短。	“The sea can absorb 100 rivers”: Be tolerant to diversity, we should learn good things from each other.
97	不应该由外国人设计，没有外国人会比中国人自己了解自己的文化。	It should not be designed by foreigners; no foreigners can understand the Chinese culture as the Chinese understand their own culture.



2.11. For this question, multiple answers were given: three participants stated ‘yes’ as well as indifferent (No. 41, 75, 105); 6 participants did not answer the question. From the total answers given (109), 41% (45) believed a Chinese architecture office alone would have been more suitable for the task, 28% (31) disagreed, 22% (24) of the participants were indifferent, 4 (4%) participants state not knowing and 5 (5%) participants stated another opinion. Additional comments and detailed accounts were given from various sides. The individual statements are listed below:

Individual answers:

38	更有中国特色。	It would have more Chinese characteristics.
43	都有可能。	Everything is possible.
59	若与别的事务所一起合作会有不同的视角。	If one works with other countries, one will gain a different perspective.
79	合作有益互补。	The cooperation helps to mutually supplement.
102	集思广益。	Collecting opinions is of wide benefit.
103	共同设计，各取所长。	Designing jointly, to gain their respective merits.

Exhibition and Collection

3.1. What do you think is inside this museum/what is the collection like? The inquiry about the content of the museum served as a warm-up question to open up the new topic of exhibition and collection. 63 participants (56%) answered the question and 19 participants (17%) stated that they did not know the answer, whereas 30 participants (27%) did not answer the question. The statements given are comprehensive and diverse; however, wherever possible, similar answers were grouped:

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
01	Good collection, but more alternative art would be good to see.	
02	Good collection of different arts	
03	Impressive collection	
04	Interesting objects	
05	Like it - more English	
06	Excellent	
09	I expect to see traditional arts, I just came in and have not seen the exhibition now.	
10	Good collection of socialist art	
11	Very good	
12	文物精品及其它国家文物展览	Antiques and exhibition of other nation's heritage
15, 27	古代的	Antiques
18	清明上河图	"Along the River during the Qingming Festival"
21	历史和革命	History and revolution
22	名画, 乐器	Famous paintings, musical instruments
23	中国革命历史, 中国古代史和文物, 应有爱国主义教育的图片	Chinese revolutionary history, Chinese ancient history and culture, and pictures for teaching patriotism
24	中国旧式的文物	China's cultural legacy
25	感觉很满意。	I feel very satisfied.
26	国家的文物	The country's heritage
28	中国古代展品	Ancient Chinese exhibits
29	中国风的东西	Objects with Chinese characteristics
31	关于中国的	About China
32	Chinese Art	
33, 34	China	
36	中国古代, 近现代	Old and new China
37	文物, 瓷器, 青铜器等, 中国	Cultural relics, porcelain, bronze, etc. Chinese

	历史。	history
38	当代中国成就展	Exhibitions about the successes of contemporary China
42	现代化的东西	Modern objects
43	类似“复兴之路”，“路易维登专题展”	Exhibitions like „The Road of Rejuvenation” and “Louis Vuitton”
44	各个时代，国家的艺术品	National artifacts of different times
45	古代的瓷器，有价值的画	Ancient porcelain, valuable paintings
48	中国的东西多一些，但国外世界其它国家的不多，远不如大英，大都会博物馆。	More Chinese objects, but not so many foreign objects from different countries, by far not like the British Museum or the Metropolitan Museum.
49	人类一切精神的优秀的东西都可以不分国籍，世界性的。	Important spiritual objects of civilization regardless of nationality, with international character.
50	瓷器，青铜器，艺术品设计	Porcelain, bronze, artifacts
52	各国的历史文物	Historical relics of different countries
53	代表国家的	Representations of the nation
54	中国古代到现代，国外近现代展览，艺术领域。	Chinese exhibitions from antiquity to modern times, modern foreign exhibitions on the subject of art.
55	多样	Various things
56	我想肯定会有体现中国五千年历史，科技，农业，老百姓生活等。	I believe that certainly the 5000 years of Chinese history, science and technology, agriculture, the everyday life of the people will be presented.
58	古代展，现代设计展，实物藏品。	Exhibition of antiques, modern design exhibitions, collections of physical objects.
60	中华五千年历史的印迹	Imprints of 5000 years of Chinese history
61	中国和各国的艺术品	Artifacts from China and other countries
63	Chinese stuff, but there is also things from different countries	
65	古代青铜器。	Ancient bronzes
66	中国古代文明，西方远古文明。	China's ancient civilization, ancient Western civilization.
68	关于中国古代文化的，世界各地传统民俗的，世界前沿艺术思想的展览。	Exhibitions about ancient Chinese culture, folk traditions around the world, the world's cutting-edge exhibition of artistic ideas.
69	历史发展各阶段	Stages of historical development
70	历史著作，画作，手工艺品	historical scripts, paintings, handicrafts
71	灭绝的动物模型与讲叙	Models of extinct animals and explanations

72	展示中华民族特色文化，精品，世界优秀文化，但不可商业化，世俗化。	Exhibitions of the special culture and excellent artifacts of the Chinese peoples and about the outstanding world culture, but not commercial or tacky.
74	以前历史博物馆比现在的更系统，更详细。	Before, the museum was much more structured and detailed.
75	古代和现代藏品	Contemporary and antique artifacts
78	历史	History
79	中国文化，中国藏品等	Chinese culture, Chinese artifacts etc.
80	历史文化科学	History, culture and science
82	国际的，世界的，著名的，珍贵的	International, worldwide, famous and precious objects
83	蕴含着中华历史文化的出土文物，与世界有关联的著名艺术品。	Contains unearthed relics of Chinese history and culture, as well as famous international artifact.
85	铜，瓷，木器，绘画展，字画展	Bronze, porcelain, wooden artifacts, as well as painting and calligraphy exhibitions
86	从古到今发展历程中的珍藏品，瓷器	Collectable items originating from ancient times until today, porcelain
87	中国古代历史的文物遗迹	The cultural heritage of the ancient Chinese history
88	中国特色，各国异域风情的展览	Objects with Chinese characteristics and exotic exhibitions of other countries
90	经典艺术品，文物	Classical works of art and artifacts
92	现代的，中国的	Contemporary, Chinese objects
93	有关国家历史的	Objects concerning the country's history
94	中国科学技术兴起之路	The rising path of Chinese science and technology
95	古代的东西比较多。	There are a lot of antiquities
96	从古代到现代国内外具有影响力的藏品	National and foreign, influential collectives from the ancient to the modern times.
97	非物质文化遗产，手工艺之类	Intangible heritage, handicraft and the like.
98	瓷器，青铜，佛像	Porcelain, bronze and Buddhist sculpture.
99	古代陶器，玉器，复兴之路	Ancient ceramics, jade, the exhibition "Road of Rejuvenation".
101	各国历史文化展	Exhibition about the history and culture of all nations
102	中国历代有历史意义和价值的珍品，不乏国外一些珍品。	China's ancient treasures of historical significance and value, which relate to every period of Chinese history, whereas some foreign

		treasures are not lacking.
103	各种文物和美术作品	A variety of artifacts and art works
104	名画	Famous paintings
105	全面，精美	Comprehensive, fine
107	历史，近现代，古代著名物品	Historical, famous objects of the ancient, modern and contemporary phase
108	中国古代瓷器	Ancient Chinese porcelain
109	瓷器，丝绸，绘画	porcelain, silk, painting
110	古代大家的书法，绘画，及中国瓷器等	Ancient masterly calligraphy, painting, and Chinese porcelain, etc.
111	historical national artifacts, art	

3.2. Are you familiar with the former exhibition? 76 participants (68%) stated not to have known the former exhibitions, 34 participants (30%) knew the former exhibitions and 2 participants (2%) did not answer the question.

3.3. What do you expect from the new exhibition? For this open-question format, similar answers were grouped, wherever possible. 38 participants (34%) did not answer the question and 74 participants (66%) used the opportunity for individual statements; of these, three participants (No. 10, 42, 111) stated that they did not have any expectations. The statements given are comprehensive and diverse, so that grouping was not possible:

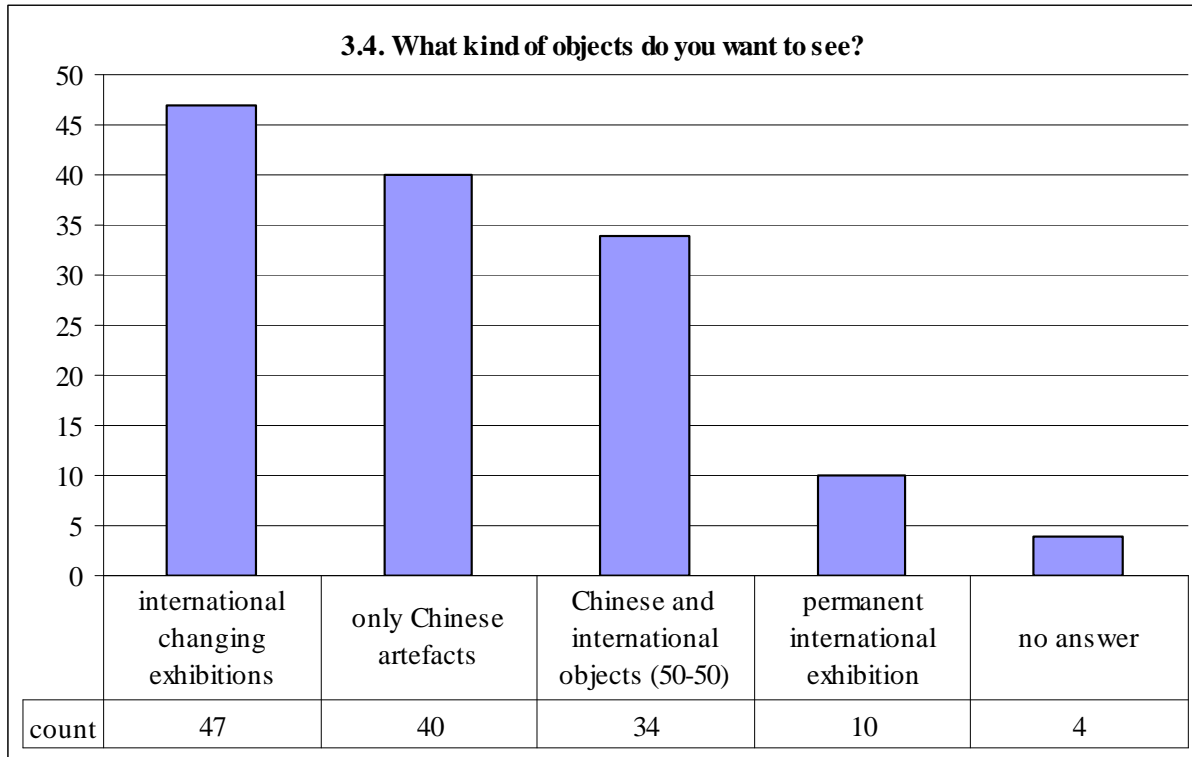
Individual answers: Expectations

No.	Statement	Translation
01	To see how national art is presented	
02	To get a feeling for traditional Chinese art	
03	To see Chinese art	
06	Informative, well designed and presented	
07	Modern interpretation	
12	文艺复兴时期	Renaissance
15	关于国宝或者台湾故宫里的藏品	Exhibitions of national treasures or exhibits of the National Palace Museum in Taiwan
18	看到那些遗失在国外的图画。	I want to see the pictures which were lost to foreign countries.
19	西方文化	Western culture
20	历史科学方面	History and science
21	已经全了	Everything is there already
24	中西方的	Chinese and Western artifacts

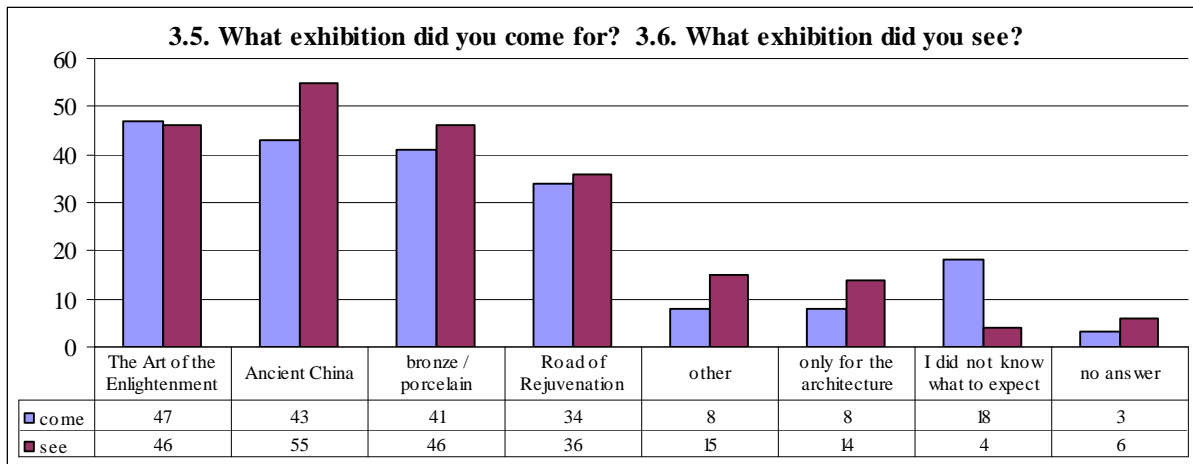
25	钱币	Coins
26	简单的主题明显的	Simple and clear themes
27	古代其它国家文明的	Antiquity exhibitions of other countries civilizations
28	装置	Equipment
29	小规模, 综合的, 能在短时间内参观完的展览	Small scale, but thematic comprehensive exhibitions which can be visited in short time
31	西方的	Western exhibits
32	经典当代	Classical and contemporary
36	艺术展	Art exhibitions
37	各种古代文化文物	Different kind of relics of ancient culture
40	中外历史文化新发现	New discoveries in Chinese and foreign history and culture
43	古文明专题展	Special exhibitions of ancient civilization
44	更多国家的展品	Exhibits from several nations
45	现代的或大师级别的画作	Modern paintings or masterpieces
48	面对的观众有限, 应有层次性(小孩, 老年人, 年轻人)。	Concerning the audience there are limitations, there should be structures (for children, the elderly, young people).
49	中国的精品, 世界的精品	Chinese and international masterpieces
50	更加系统, 丰富的创意设计展。	It is more systematic; exhibitions are more diverse and more creative.
54	艺术展, 儿童类	Art exhibitions and educational classes
56	我们国家在各个领域取得的成就	Our country's achievements in various fields
58	古埃及展	Exhibitions of ancient Egypt
59	我希望更国际化, 我们很少接触的事物的展览。	I hope more international, exhibitions about objects we have little contact with.
60	中国书画展览	Exhibitions about Chinese painting and calligraphy
61	凡高的画, 戴珍珠耳环的少女; 更珍贵的展品, 来自中国和其它国家	Van Gogh's pictures, "Girl with a pearl earring", more precious exhibits from China and other countries
65	古代字画, 诗词	Ancient calligraphy, painting and poetry
66	关于世界新技术的	Objects illustrating new world technology
68	多些艺术展	More art exhibitions
69, 80	高科技	High-tech
71	先进技术之类的	Advanced technologies and alike
73	关于中国历史的客观资料实	Objective information about the history of China

	物	
75	中国和外国古代藏品	Antiquities from China and other countries
76	近代史	Modern history
78	更权威	More sovereign
79	艺术气氛更浓，更形象，而不是全部的图片，有声，音乐的。	The artistic atmosphere will be enhanced, but not everything should be pictures, but also audio and musical objects.
82	有意义的	Interesting things
83	更多经典的，著名的中华历史文物，紧跟时尚的艺术作品。	More classical and famous Chinese historical relics, as well as contemporary works of art.
85	民间艺术品	Folk art
87	外国的艺术设计	Foreign art and design
88	乐器方面，音乐艺术	Musical instruments, music and art
89	时尚，复古，极端	Fashion, retro, extreme
90	经典艺术设计	Classical art and design
91	建筑模型	Models of the building
92	全面的，新潮的，跟世界接轨的	Comprehensive, fashionable, and connected to the world
93	贴近民生的：房价等热点问题	Close to people's all day life: real estate prices and other hot issues
94	国际上的艺术品	International art
95	关于其他国家的一些艺术品	Some works of art of other countries
96	国际化展览	International exhibitions
97	应该有更多的互动环节。	There should be more interactive sessions.
98	武器	Weapons
99	艺术性	Artistic quality
101	更多地涉及各国历史文化，珠宝展，艺术展	More exhibitions about the history and culture of all nations, jewelry and art exhibitions
102	国际展品，最好是外国的珍品	International exhibits, preferably foreign treasury art
103	多展一些名画	More exhibitions about famous paintings
104	前沿设计	Cutting-edge design
105	国外美术品	Foreign artifacts
106	当代艺术	Contemporary art
107	现在很满意。	At the moment I am very satisfied.
108	各个国家的名画	Famous paintings of different countries
109	建筑历史方面	Aspects of architecture and history

110	关于京剧戏服和脸谱等。	Costumes, masks and other paraphernalia from the Beijing opera.
112	I was open to the experience	

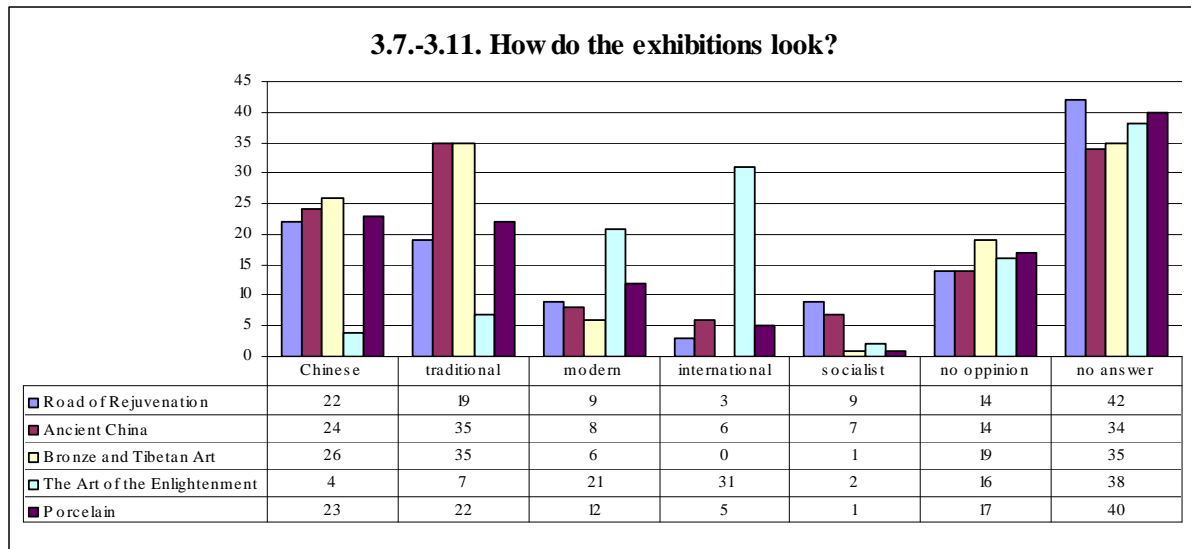


3.4. For this multiple-choice question, multiple answers were given. From the total number of 131 answers given, 35% (47) wanted to see international changing exhibitions, 31% (40) wanted to see only Chinese artifacts, 26% (34) stated to prefer Chinese and international objects on a 50-50 basis and 8% (10) wanted permanent international exhibitions installed. One participant (No. 23) additionally stated that he wanted to see: “pictures evoking patriotism, including these pictures showing the division of the country” (爱国主义教育图片, 包括那些分裂国家的图片). 4 participants did not answer the question.



3.5. What exhibition did you come for? For this multiple-choice question, multiple answers were given. From a total of 199 answers given, 23% (47) came for the German exhibition “The Art of the Enlightenment”, 22% (43) for the “Ancient China” exhibition, 21% (41) for the theme exhibitions of bronze and porcelain; 17% (34) stated to have come for the “Road of Rejuvenation” exhibition, 4% (8) stated to have come for the architecture alone; 4% (8) came for other exhibitions, in particular the Bulgari exhibition (No. 34, 53, 58, 59, 83, 101) and the jade exhibition (No. 40). One participant stated that he wanted to see all (No. 102: 都想参观). 9% (18) admitted not to have known what to expect and 3 participants did not answer the question.

3.6. What exhibition did you see? For this multiple-choice question, multiple answers were given. From the total number of 216 answers given, 26% (55) stated to have visited the “Ancient China” exhibition, 21% (46) have visited the “Art of the Enlightenment” exhibition and the porcelain and bronze exhibition, respectively; 17% (36) have seen the “Road of Rejuvenation” exhibition, whereas 6% (14) stated to have just come for the architecture. 7% (15) did state to have visited other exhibitions and venues, in particular the Bulgari exhibition (No. 2, 3, 10, 34, 53, 58, 59, 82, 88, 95, 101), the Grand Forum (No. 35), the Inca exhibition (No. 88) and 2% (4) still did not know what to expect. 6 participants did not answer the question. Although some participants came without expectation, in general it seems that they have visited more exhibitions than they had planned to. The “Ancient China” as well as the bronze and porcelain exhibitions were visited by significantly more people who did not plan a visit, whereas almost the same number visited the “Art of the Enlightenment” and the “Road of Rejuvenation” exhibitions as planned.



3.7. How does the ‘Road of Rejuvenation’ exhibition look? For this multiple-choice question, multiple answers were given. From the total number of 76 answers given, 29% (22) stated that it looked Chinese, 25% (19) opted for traditional, 12% (9) opted for modern and socialist, respectively; 4% answered that the look was international and 18% (14) did not have an opinion. 42 participants did not answer the question. However, previously, only 36 participants have stated to have seen the “Road of Rejuvenation” exhibition. If only the total 42 answers are counted, 26% (11) opted for Chinese, 31% (13) for traditional, 17% (7) for modern, 14% (6) socialist, 5% (2) international and 7% (3) no opinion.

3.8. How does the ‘Ancient China’ exhibition look? For this multiple-choice question, multiple answers were given. From the total number of 94 answers given, 26% (24) stated that it looked Chinese, 37% (35) opted for traditional, 9% (8) opted for modern, 7% (7) for socialist and 6% (6) for international; 15% (14) did not have an opinion. 34 participants did not answer the question. However, previously, only 55 participants stated to have seen the “Ancient China” exhibition. If only the total 66 answers are counted, 27% (18) opted for Chinese, 40% (27) for traditional, 9% (6) for modern and 8% (5) for socialist, for international or had no opinion, respectively.

3.9. How does the ‘Bronze and Tibetan Art’ exhibition look? For this multiple-choice question, multiple answers were given. From the total number of 87 answers given, 30% (26) stated that it looked Chinese, 40% (35) opted for traditional, 7% (6) for modern and 1% (1) for socialist. 22% (19) did not have an opinion and 35 participants did not answer the question. However, previously, only 46 participants stated to have seen the “Bronze and

Tibetan Art” exhibition. If only the total 54 answers are counted, 35% (19) opted for Chinese, 43% (23) for traditional, 7% (4) for modern, 2% (1) for socialist and 13% (7) had no opinion.

3.10. How does the ‘Art of the Enlightenment’ exhibition look? For this multiple-choice question, multiple answers were given. From the total number of 81 answers given, 5% (4) stated that it looked Chinese, 9% (7) opted for traditional, 26% (21) for modern, 2% (2) for socialist, 38% (31) for international and 20% (16) did not to have an opinion. 38 participants did not answer the question. However, previously, only 50 participants stated to have seen the “Art of the Enlightenment” exhibition. If only these answers are counted, 2% (1) opted for Chinese, 8% (4) for traditional, 28% (14) for modern, 2% (1) for socialist, 48% (24) for international and 12% (6) had no opinion.

3.11. How does the porcelain exhibition look? For this multiple-choice question, multiple answers were given. From the total number of 80 answers given, 29% (23) stated that it looked Chinese, 28% (22) opted for traditional, 15% (12) for modern, 1% (1) for socialist and 6% (5) for international and 21% (17) did not have an opinion. 40 participants did not answer the question. However, previously, only 46 participants stated to have seen the porcelain exhibition. If only the total 51 answers are counted, 39% (20) chose Chinese, 27% (14) traditional, 18% (9) modern, and 2% (1) socialist, 6% international (3) and 8% (4) had no opinion.

3.12. What did you like most about the new presentation? 62 participants (55%) used this open-question format to state their opinion and 50 participants (45%) did not answer the question. Similar answers were grouped.

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
01, 02	The collection	
03	The pictures	
04	I did not know the old- but I like the big room of Ancient China.	
05	Clean, well organized	
06	Divided into three rooms	
07	Exponats, concept, quality	
08	I do not know the old.	
10	I did not know the old presentation but liked the exponats.	
11	Volume of items, good range	

12	都不错。	Everything is good.
15	有文字说明，不过很费时间。	There are captions, but it takes too much time to read.
18	不清楚。	I am not sure.
19	有说明。	There are captions.
24	都很喜欢。	I like everything very much.
25, 103, 105	复兴之路	The Road of Rejuvenation exhibition
26, 31, 101	还好	It is all ok.
27	区域划分还可以。	The sequencing of the exhibition was all right.
28	观看路线比较合理。	The guidance of the tour is logical.
33	I liked the combination of topics /themes.	
34	nothing	
35	nice	
41	还未参观。	I did not see the exhibition yet.
42	动感的。	It is dynamic.
43, 90	光线	Lighting
44	有简单的介绍。	There are simple explanations.
45	有层次，有介绍。	There are structure and explanation.
50	随意排放。	Gratuitously designed.
56	还没看到，但我想我都喜欢。	I have not seen it yet, but I think I will like all.
60	近距离	Close intervals
65	瓷器展览	Porcelain exhibition
68	光影效果不错。	The lighting effects are not bad.
69	免费	Free of charge
70	感受厅，交流厅，角色体验厅	Hall of senses, hall of communication, experimental hall
74	略显简要	A little bit brief
75	都很喜欢。	I like everything.
77	yes	
78	比以前大气。	More spacious than before.
79	瓷器系列，佛像系列。	Porcelain, Buddhist sculpture
80	影音，影像。	Music and video
82	整洁干净	Neat and clean
83	Bulgari, 'Ancient China' exhibition	
85	空旷	Open
86	瓷器，青铜器。	Porcelain, bronze
87, 98	瓷器	Porcelain

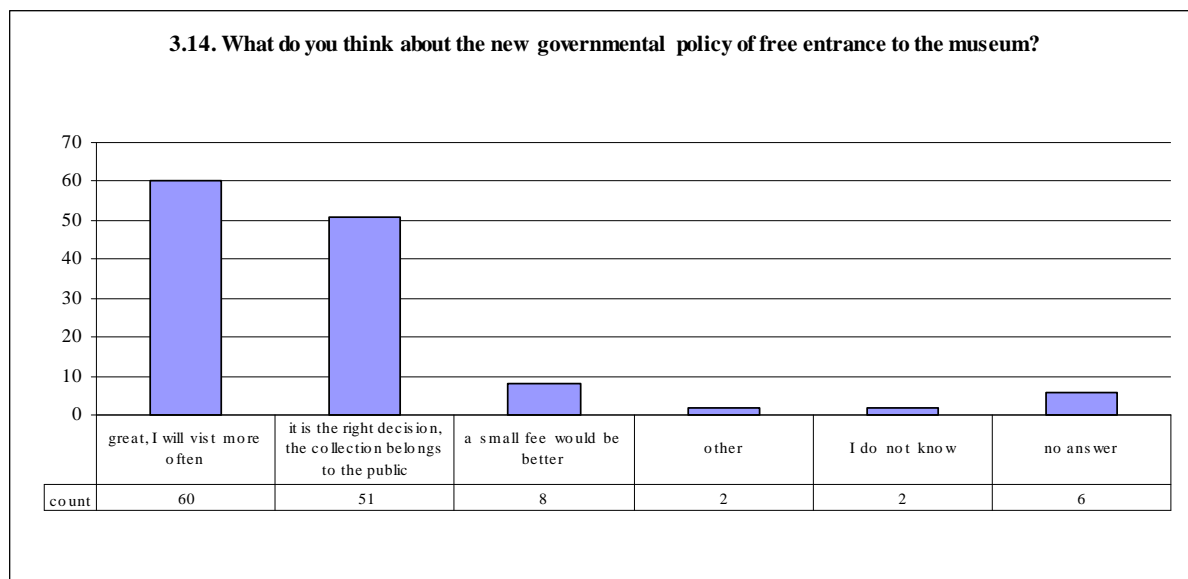
88	展厅设计，灯光环境。	Exhibition design and lightening
92	陈列+讲解	Display + explanation
94	描绘具体。	The descriptions are precise.
95	语言讲解服务。	Guided tours
97	需要互动，更多的专业讲解。	One has to be interactive, there are more professional explanations.
99	高科技	High-tech
102	还没看。刚进入大门就产生了兴趣，特别喜欢里面的建筑和陈列。	I have not seen it yet; as soon as I entered the door, I was interested and I am particularly fond of the architecture and the display.
107	环境等	The atmosphere etc.
108	展品分类清晰	A clear classification of the exhibits
109	风格	Style
110	融入了一点民族特色。	National characteristics are incorporated.

3.13. What did you like least about the new presentation? 62 participants used this open question format to state their opinion: 17 participants (15%) stated that there was nothing they did not like and 45 participants (40%) gave further individual statements. Similar answers were grouped. 50 participants (45%) did not answer the question,

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
01	The glass cases looked dirty.	
02	Too many people taking photos.	
05	All in Chinese	
06	No information at the exponents	
10	No idea	
11	Dark	
15	对展品没有详细说明，应该改成广播形式的介绍，而不是书面的。	There are no detailed explanations of the exhibits; they should be introduced by audio guides instead of captions.
18	都比较现代化。	Everything is very modern.
19, 79	还不清楚。	I am not quite sure.
20	说明介绍的不太清楚。	The captions are not clear enough.
24, 25	都很喜欢。	I like everything very much.
26	布局有些零乱。	The exhibition layout is a bit chaotic.
27	有的看不懂。	I did not understand some things.
28	空调太冷。	Air-conditioning is too cold.

34	清洁/墙	Cleaning/ wall
35	No	
41	没意见。	No comments
42	没有互动性。	There is no inter-action.
43	字太小。	The captions are too small.
44	没有具体简介。	There is no detailed outline.
45	解说词太少。	The captions are to scarce.
50	不够丰富。	Not comprehensive enough.
68	展厅内可放些凳子。	There could be some benches in the galleries.
69	品种分类有些繁杂。	The classification is too complex.
70	收费的。	There are admission fees.
72	青铜器展览不是最优秀的。	The bronze exhibition is not the best.
78	没以前顺序。	Not as well structured as previously.
82	占地面积大，排列不够有序，参观的晕头转向。	It is a large area, which is a not arranged orderly, leading to confusion and disorientation.
85	可以加上背景音乐。	Background music could be added.
87	古代中国陈列	'Ancient China' exhibition
90	[Illegible statement]	
92	再好的形式也怕人。	Even if everything is great, there are always people finding fault.
93	展品只列名称，不作详细介绍，作用说明。	There are only object titles, but no detailed explanations or functional descriptions.
94	无说明	No explanations
97	所配文字说明不够详细。	The text description is not detailed enough.
98	外国文化	International art
102	还没看。	I have not seen it yet.
108	各展区距离比较远。	The distance between the exhibition halls is very large.
110	比较空旷。	There is too much space.



3.14. In this multiple-choice question, multiple answers were given. From the total number of 123 answers, 48% (60) welcomed the policy and wanted to visit more often. Furthermore, 41% (51) stated that this was the right decision because the collection belonged to the public; 7% (8) believed that a small fee would be better, 2% (2) did not know nor had another opinion. Six participants did not answer the question. Some participants used the opportunity for an individual statement:

Individual answers:

No.	Statement	Translation
23	收费 1、2 元每人更好，每次	A fee of 1 - 2 Yuan per visit per person would be better.
41	对于广大的低收入者有好处。	This has a great advantage for the majority of low-income groups.
49	多展，多看，开阔眼界，提升人的素质。	More exhibitions, more to see, widen the horizon, develop the people's qualifications.
77	No	
99	好	Good

Questionnaire 2011

DATE/ 日期:

This questionnaire is for a dissertation project about the history and development of the museum. For my research I kindly ask you to take a few minutes of your precious time to answer these questions. Your answers will be handled anonymously and with consideration.

Multiple answers are possible. THANK YOU VERY MUCH!

您好，此份问卷作为我论文研究使用，内容是有关博物馆的历史和发展，请您花几分钟的时间帮我回答此份问卷。**非常感谢您的协助**，您的回答将被匿名使用。

I. General

1.1. Gender 性别	1.1.1. <input type="checkbox"/> male 男 / 1.1.2. <input type="checkbox"/> female 女
1.2. Nationality 国籍	1.2.1. <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese (from China) 中国 (居住在中国内地) 1.2.2. <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese (other country) 中国 (居住在其它国家) 1.2.3. <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese (Han) 中国 汉族 1.2.4. <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese (other) 中国 (其它 民族) 1.2.5. <input type="checkbox"/> Japanese 日本 1.2.6. <input type="checkbox"/> Korean 韩国 1.2.7. <input type="checkbox"/> Asian (other) 其它亚洲国家 1.2.8. <input type="checkbox"/> European 欧洲 1.2.9. <input type="checkbox"/> USA 美国 1.2.10. <input type="checkbox"/> other 其它
1.3. Age 年龄	1.3.1. <input type="checkbox"/> under 20 years 20 岁以下 1.3.2. <input type="checkbox"/> 20-35 years 介于 20 到 35 岁 1.3.3. <input type="checkbox"/> 36-50 years 介于 36 到 50 岁 1.3.4. <input type="checkbox"/> 50-65 years 介于 50 到 65 岁 1.3.5. <input type="checkbox"/> 65+ years 65 岁以上
1.4. You are 您是	1.4.1. <input type="checkbox"/> resident in Beijing 北京市民 <input type="checkbox"/> _____ 1.4.2. <input type="checkbox"/> tourist in Beijing 北京的游客 1.4.3. <input type="checkbox"/> first visit 第一次到北京 1.4.4. <input type="checkbox"/> second visit 第二次到北京 1.4.5. <input type="checkbox"/> already been to Beijing many times 已到过北京多次
1.5. What is your profession? 您的职业?	
1.6. What is the official name of the museum now? 请问，这个博物馆的正式名字是什么?	
1.6.1. <input type="checkbox"/> National History Museum 中国历史博物馆	1.6.5. <input type="checkbox"/> The National Museum of China 中国国家博物馆
1.6.2. <input type="checkbox"/> National Revolutionary Museum 中国革命博物馆	

1.6.3 <input type="checkbox"/> M. of the Cultures of the World 世界文化博物馆	1.6.6 <input type="checkbox"/> Museum of Chinese History 中国历史博物馆
1.6.4. <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese National Museum 中国国立博物馆	

1.7. In 2003, the museum was unified and renamed. In your opinion, does the museum gain from its unification and renaming? 2003 年, 这个博物馆进行了合并, 并重新命名。请问, 您认为合并和重新命名对博物馆有益吗?

1.7.1. Yes, from the unification, in which way? 是的, 我认为合并对博物馆有益, 理由是: _____

1.7.2 Yes, from the renaming; in which way? 是的, 我认为重新命名对博物馆有益, 理由是: _____

1.7.3 No, not from the unification 不, 我认为合并对博物馆没有益处

1.7.4. No, not from the renaming 不, 我认为重新命名对博物馆没有益处

1.7.5 I am indifferent 没什么不同

1.8. Do you know when the first National Museum was founded in China? 您知道中国最早的国家博物馆创建于什么时候?

1.8.1. no 不知道

1.8.2. yes, in 知道_____

2. Architecture 建筑

2.1. When was this museum originally built? Can you guess?

请问这个博物馆是何时兴建的? 如果不知道, 可以猜测

2.2. What do you know about the extension of the museum? 请问, 您了解博物馆扩建计划的那些方面?

2.3. Are you familiar with the former design? Do you like the new design? 您了解旧的博物馆的建筑吗? 您喜欢新的建筑设计吗?

2.3.1. Yes, I knew the old design 是, 我了解旧的建筑

2.3.2. No, I did not know the old design 不, 我不了解旧的建筑

2.3.3. I knew the old design and liked it better 我了解旧的建筑, 比较喜欢旧的建筑

2.3.4. I like the new design better 我比较喜欢新的建筑

2.3.5. I do not like the new design 我不太喜欢新的建筑

2.3.6. I am indifferent 没什么不同

2.4. Does the new architecture look <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> Modern <input type="checkbox"/> International <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist <input type="checkbox"/> Befitting Tiananmen <input type="checkbox"/> no opinion 新的建筑看起来 <input type="checkbox"/> 中国 <input type="checkbox"/> 现代 <input type="checkbox"/> 国际 <input type="checkbox"/> 社会主义 <input type="checkbox"/> 与天安门相称 <input type="checkbox"/> 无意见?	
2.5. Does the façade look <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> Modern <input type="checkbox"/> International <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist <input type="checkbox"/> Befitting Tiananmen <input type="checkbox"/> no opinion 外墙看起来 <input type="checkbox"/> 中国 <input type="checkbox"/> 现代 <input type="checkbox"/> 国际 <input type="checkbox"/> 社会主义 <input type="checkbox"/> 与天安门相称 <input type="checkbox"/> 无意见?	
2.6. Does the entrance hall (Grand Forum) look <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> Modern <input type="checkbox"/> International <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist <input type="checkbox"/> Befitting Tiananmen <input type="checkbox"/> no opinion 入口大厅看起来 <input type="checkbox"/> 中国 <input type="checkbox"/> 现代 <input type="checkbox"/> 国际 <input type="checkbox"/> 社会主义 <input type="checkbox"/> 与天安门相称 <input type="checkbox"/> 无意见?	
2.7. Do the exhibition halls look <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> Modern <input type="checkbox"/> International <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist <input type="checkbox"/> Befitting Tiananmen <input type="checkbox"/> no opinion 展览厅看起来 <input type="checkbox"/> 中国 <input type="checkbox"/> 现代 <input type="checkbox"/> 国际 <input type="checkbox"/> 社会主义 <input type="checkbox"/> 与天安门相称 <input type="checkbox"/> 无意见?	
2.8. Who do you think were the architects? 请问，您认为博物馆的建筑师是谁?	
2.8.1 <input type="checkbox"/> BIAD Beijing Institute of Architectural Design 北京市建筑设计研究院	2.8.4 <input type="checkbox"/> CABR China Academy of Building Research 中国建筑科学研究院
2.8.2 <input type="checkbox"/> ECADI East China Architectural Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd. 华东建筑设计研究院	2.8.5. <input type="checkbox"/> Kohn Pederson Fox, New York & ECADI East China Architectural Design & Research Institute Co. Ltd. Kohn Pederson Fox, New York 和华东建筑设计研究院
2.8.3 <input type="checkbox"/> Gmp International GmbH architects and engineers & CABR China Academy of Building Research 德国 Gmp 国际建筑设计有限公司和中国建筑科学研究院	2.8.6. <input type="checkbox"/> Foster and Partners & BIAD Beijing Institute of Architectural Design Foster + Partners 和北京市建筑设计研究院
2.9. Where do you get your information? 请问，您是从哪里得到相关信息的?	2.9.1 <input type="checkbox"/> museum press 博物馆相关出版物 2.9.2. <input type="checkbox"/> local press 本地报刊 2.9.3. <input type="checkbox"/> other 其它，请说_____
2.10. Why do you think an International Architecture office (in cooperation with a Chinese office) was commissioned? 请问，您觉得为什么一家国际建筑设计公司（与中方合作）被委托中承接了这个项目?	
2.10.1 <input type="checkbox"/> publicity/ image 名声/印象 2.10.2 <input type="checkbox"/> skill 技术 2.10.3 <input type="checkbox"/> money 资金 2.10.4 <input type="checkbox"/> other 其它_____	
2.11. Do you think a Chinese architectural office alone would have been more appropriate to redesign the National Museum? 请问，您认为中国的建筑设计事务所独立工作会更好重新设计国家博物馆吗?	
2.11.1 <input type="checkbox"/> yes 是的	2.11.3 <input type="checkbox"/> indifferent 没什么不同

2.11.2 <input type="checkbox"/> no 不是	2.11.4 <input type="checkbox"/> other 其它, 请说明_____
---------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------

3. Exhibition and Collection 展览和 藏品

3.1. What do you think is inside this museum/what is the collection like? 您认为这个博物馆里面会有什么样的展览和藏品?

3.2. Are you familiar with the former exhibition? 请问, 您了解以往的展览吗?

3.2.1 yes 是的, 知道 3.2.2. no 不知道

3.3. What did you expect of the new exhibition? 请问, 您希望有什么样的新展览?

3.4. What kind of objects do you want to see? 请问, 您希望参观哪一类型的展品?

3.4.1 only artifacts from China 来自中国的艺术品

3.4.2 International artifacts in changing exhibitions 国际艺术品轮流展出

3.4.3 Chinese and international objects (50%/ 50%) 中国和外国各半的收藏品

3.4.4 permanent international exhibition 长期的国际性展览

3.5. What exhibition did you come for? 您到这个博物馆准备参观哪个(哪些)展览?

3.5.1 only for the architecture of the new building 只参观博物馆的新建筑

3.5.2 Road of Rejuvenation 复兴之路

3.5.3 Ancient China'Exhibition 古代中国陈列

3.5.4 Foreign Exhibition: The Art of the Enlightenment 国际交流展: 启蒙的艺术

3.5.5 Bronze, Porcelain Exhibition etc. 青铜器、瓷器等展览

3.5.6 other 其他, 请说明

3.5.7 I did not know, what to expect and what was on display beforehand 来此前并没有特定的目的

3.6. What exhibition did you see? 您在此参观了哪个(哪些)展览?

3.6.1 only for the architecture of the new building 只参观博物馆的新建筑

3.6.2 Road of Rejuvenation 复兴之路

3.6.3 Ancient China Exhibition 古代中国陈列

3.6.4 Foreign Exhibition: The Art of the Enlightenment 国际交流展: 启蒙的艺术

3.6.5 Bronze, Porcelain Exhibition etc. 青铜器、瓷器等展览

3.6.6 other 其它, 请说明_____

3.6.7 I did not know, what to expect / what was on display beforehand 来此前并没有特定的目的

3.7. Does the exhibition design of the Road of Rejuvenation Exhibition look Chinese Traditional Modern International Socialist no opinion
复兴之路展览的设计看起来 中国 传统 现代 国际 社会主义 无意见

<p>3.8. Does the exhibition design of the Ancient China Exhibition look <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> Traditional <input type="checkbox"/> Modern <input type="checkbox"/> International <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist <input type="checkbox"/> no opinion 古代中国陈列展览的设计看起来 <input type="checkbox"/> 中国 <input type="checkbox"/> 传统 <input type="checkbox"/> 现代 <input type="checkbox"/> 国际 <input type="checkbox"/> 社会主义 <input type="checkbox"/> 无意见</p>
<p>3.9. Does the exhibition design of the Bronze and Tibetan Art Exhibition look <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> Traditional <input type="checkbox"/> Modern <input type="checkbox"/> International <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist <input type="checkbox"/> no opinion 青铜器，藏族艺术展览的设计看起来 <input type="checkbox"/> 中国 <input type="checkbox"/> 传统 <input type="checkbox"/> 现代 <input type="checkbox"/> 国际 <input type="checkbox"/> 社会主义 <input type="checkbox"/> 无意见</p>
<p>3.10. Does the exhibition design of the German “The Art of the Enlightenment” Exhibition look <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> Traditional <input type="checkbox"/> Modern <input type="checkbox"/> International <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist <input type="checkbox"/> no opinion 德国的启蒙的艺术展览的设计看起来 <input type="checkbox"/> 中国 <input type="checkbox"/> 传统 <input type="checkbox"/> 现代 <input type="checkbox"/> 国际 <input type="checkbox"/> 社会主义 <input type="checkbox"/> 无意见</p>
<p>3.11. Does the exhibition design of the Porcelain Exhibition look <input type="checkbox"/> Chinese <input type="checkbox"/> Traditional <input type="checkbox"/> Modern <input type="checkbox"/> International <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist <input type="checkbox"/> no opinion 瓷器展览的设计看起来 <input type="checkbox"/> 中国 <input type="checkbox"/> 传统 <input type="checkbox"/> 现代 <input type="checkbox"/> 国际 <input type="checkbox"/> 社会主义 <input type="checkbox"/> 无意见</p>
<p>3.12. What did you like most about the new presentation? 对新的展览陈列形式您最喜欢的是什么? _____</p>
<p>3.13. What did you like least about the new presentation? 对新的展览陈列形式您最不喜欢的是什么? _____</p>
<p>3.14 What do you think about the new governmental policy of free entrance to the museum? 您怎么看博物馆免费开放的新政策?</p>
<p>3.14.1 <input type="checkbox"/> great, I will come more often to the museum now 太好了，我会更多地参观博物馆 3.14.2 <input type="checkbox"/> it is the right decision, the collection belongs to the public and shall therefore be accessible for everyone for free. 这个政策很好，藏品属于社会，所以每个人都应该可以免费参观它们。 3.14.3 <input type="checkbox"/> I think a small fee would express more the value of the object and would be more suitable. Otherwise one could think, something free is also not worth anything. 我认为少许收费能够更好地体现展品价值,也更合适。否则人们会感到，免费的不足以珍贵。 3.14.4 <input type="checkbox"/> other 其它，请说明_____</p>
<p>3.14.5 <input type="checkbox"/> I do not know 不知道</p>

Thank you very much for your kind support! 非常感谢您的合作!

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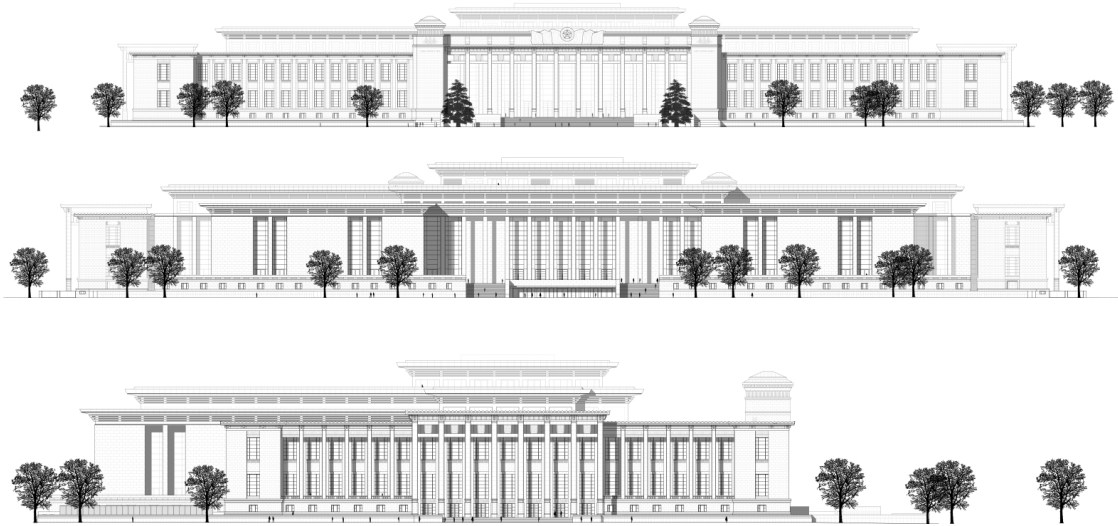


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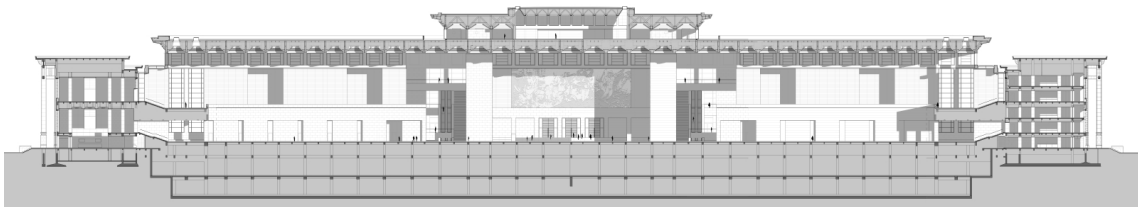


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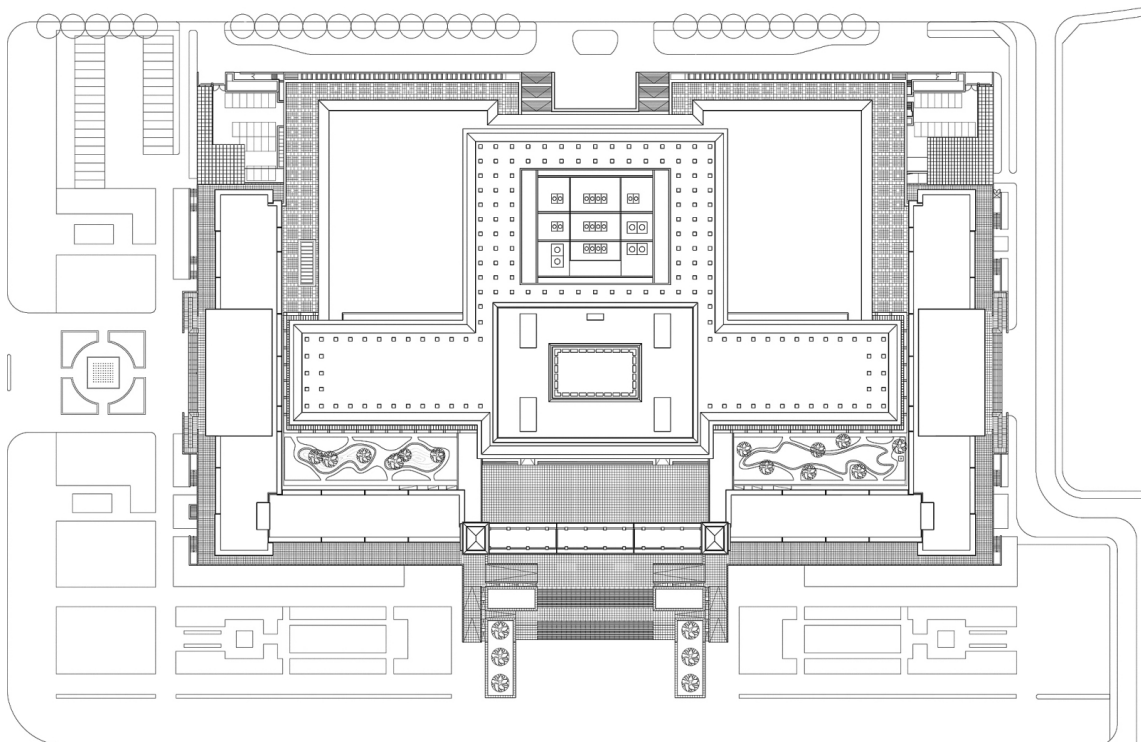


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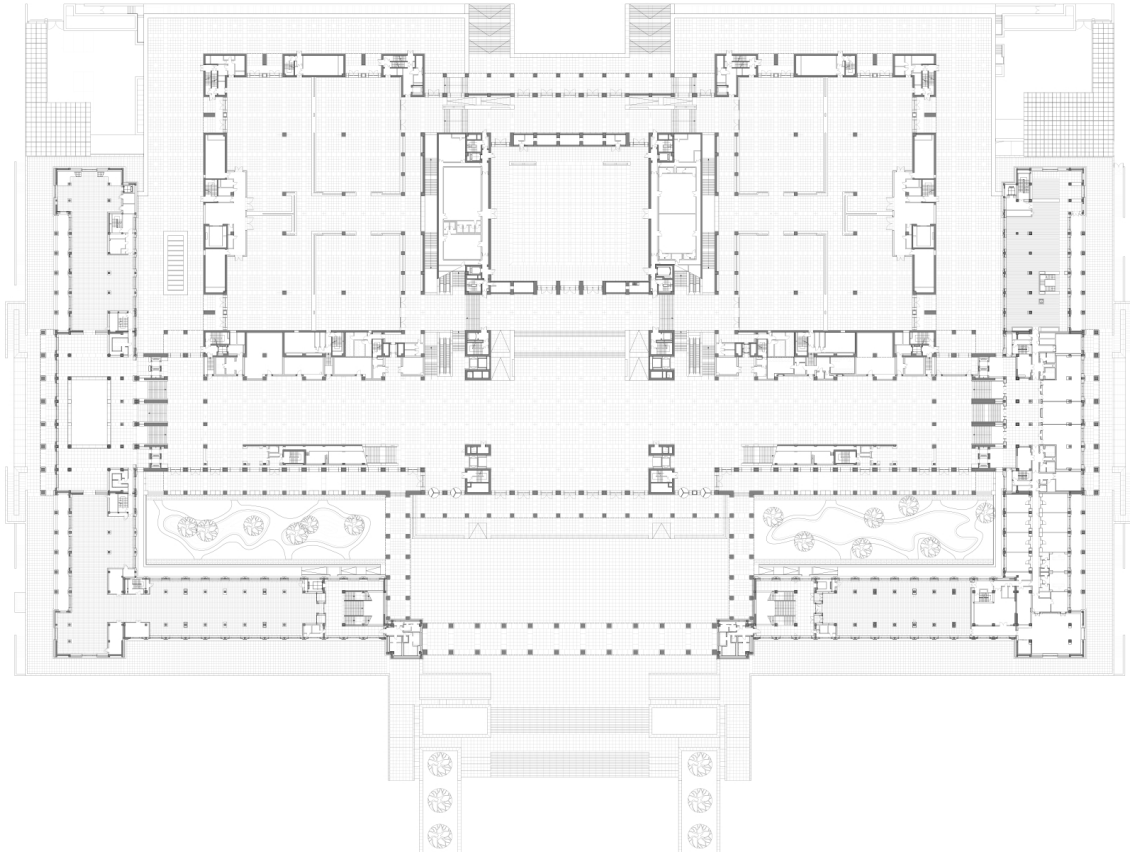


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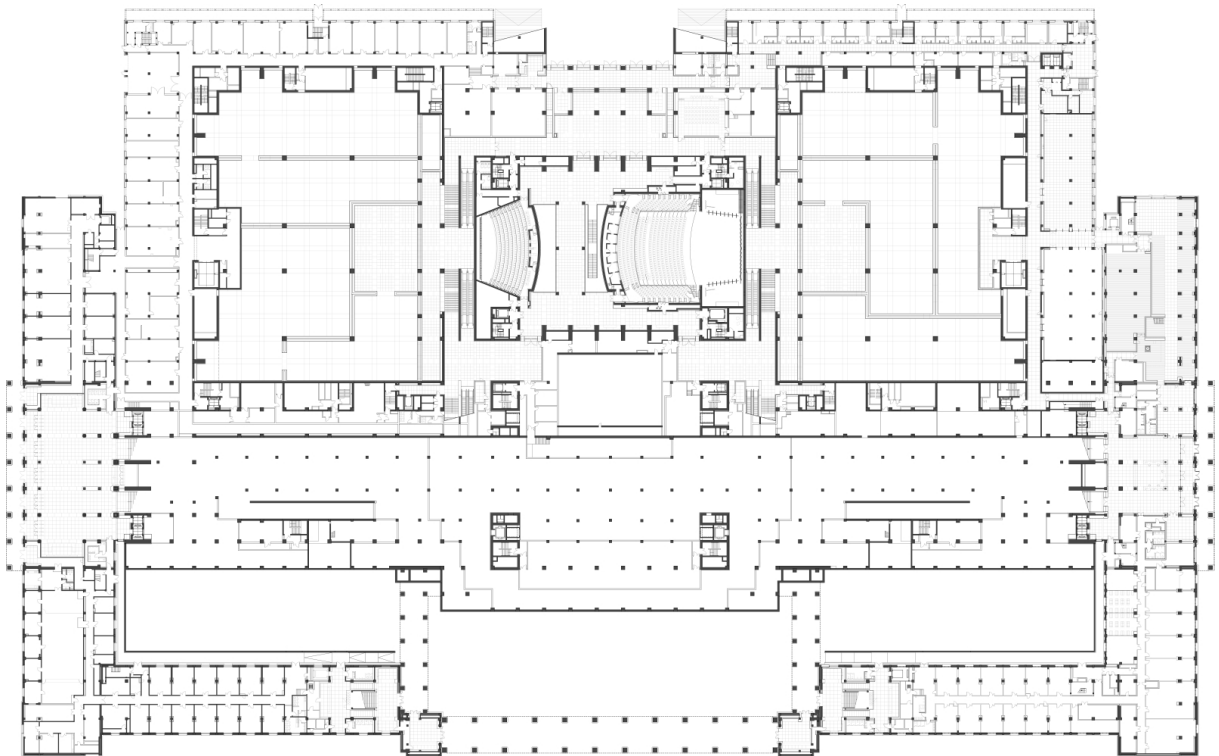


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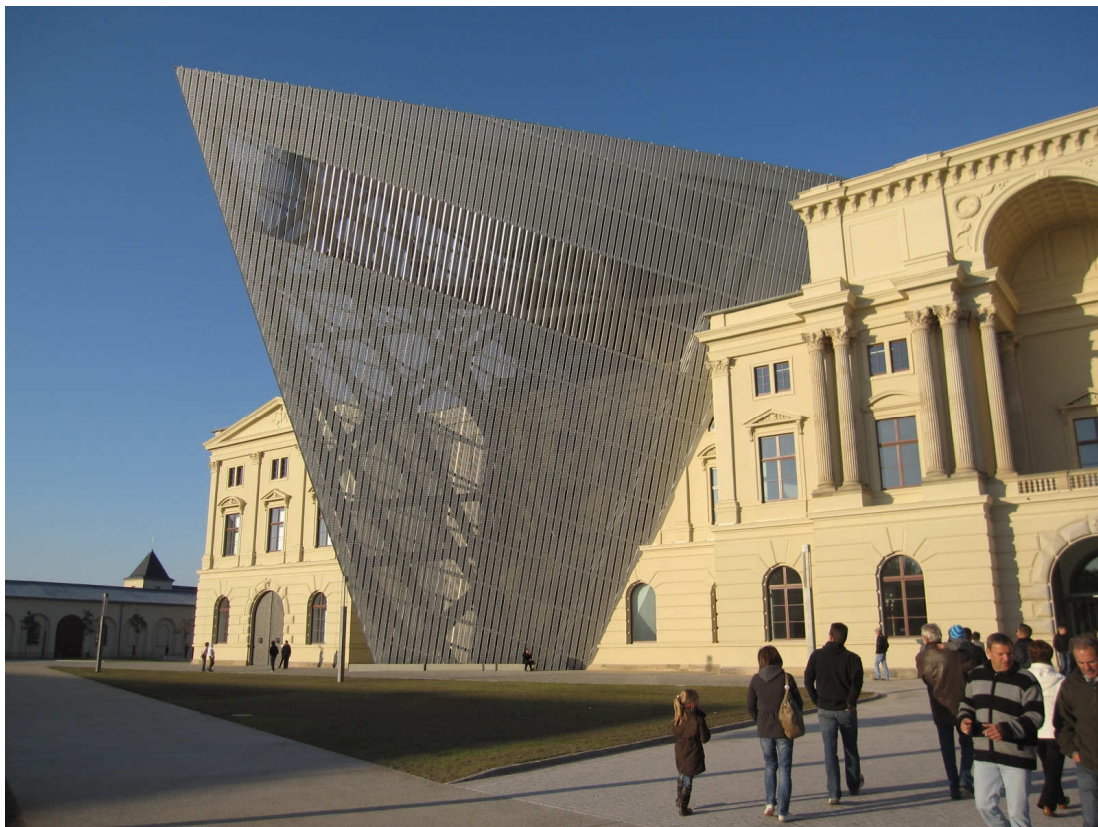


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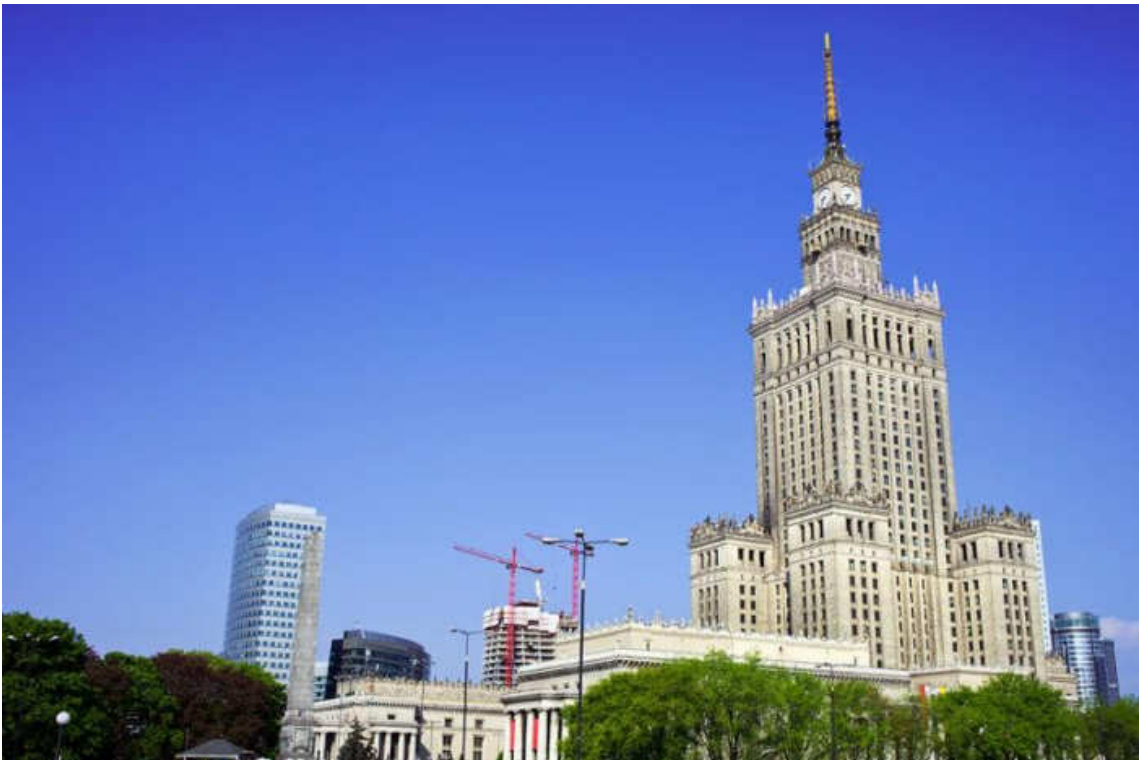


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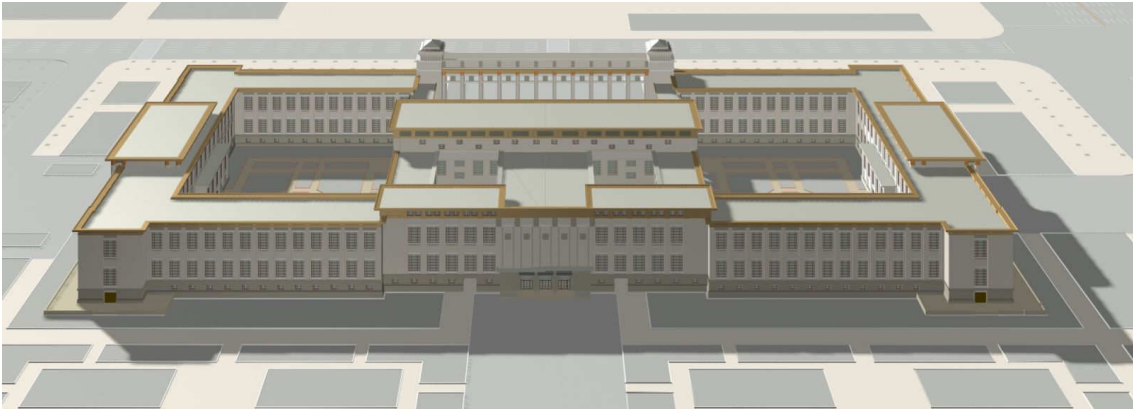


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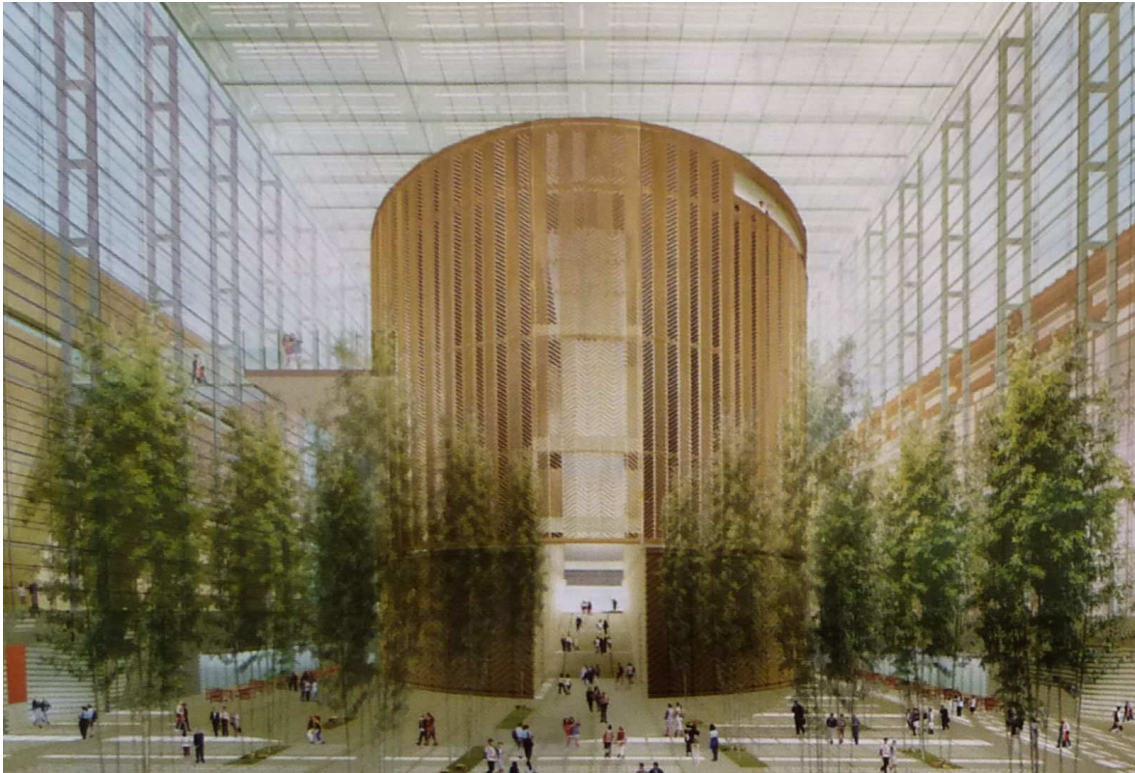


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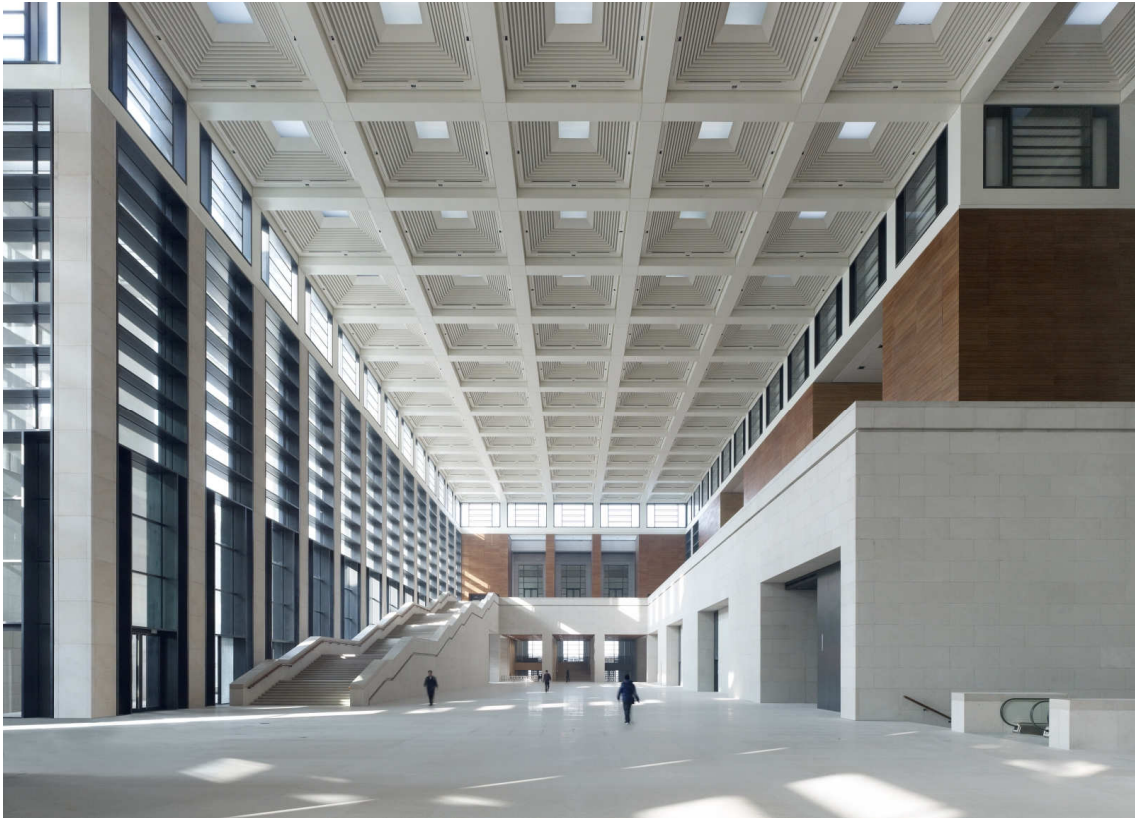


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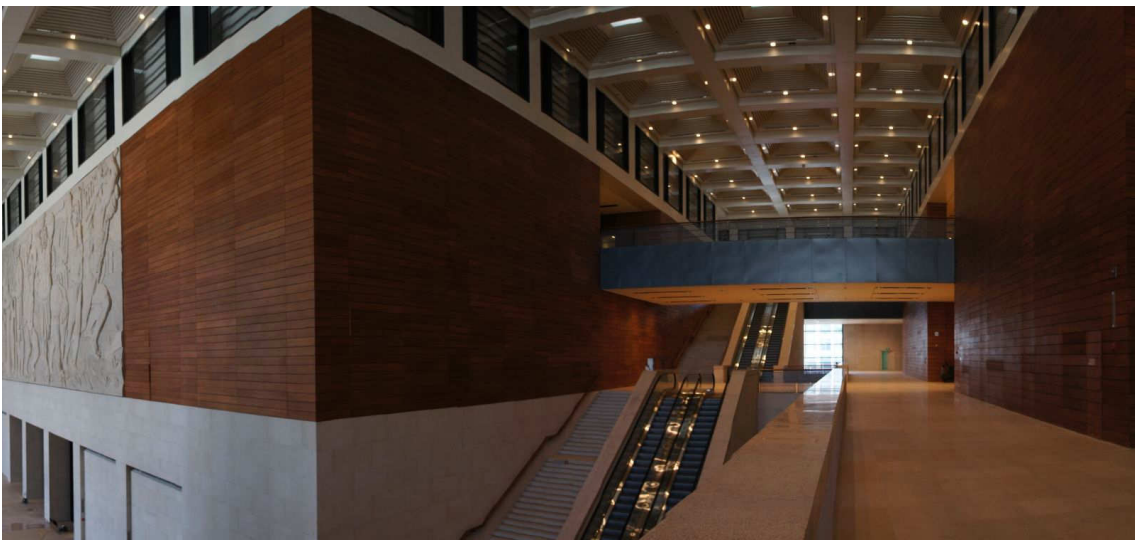


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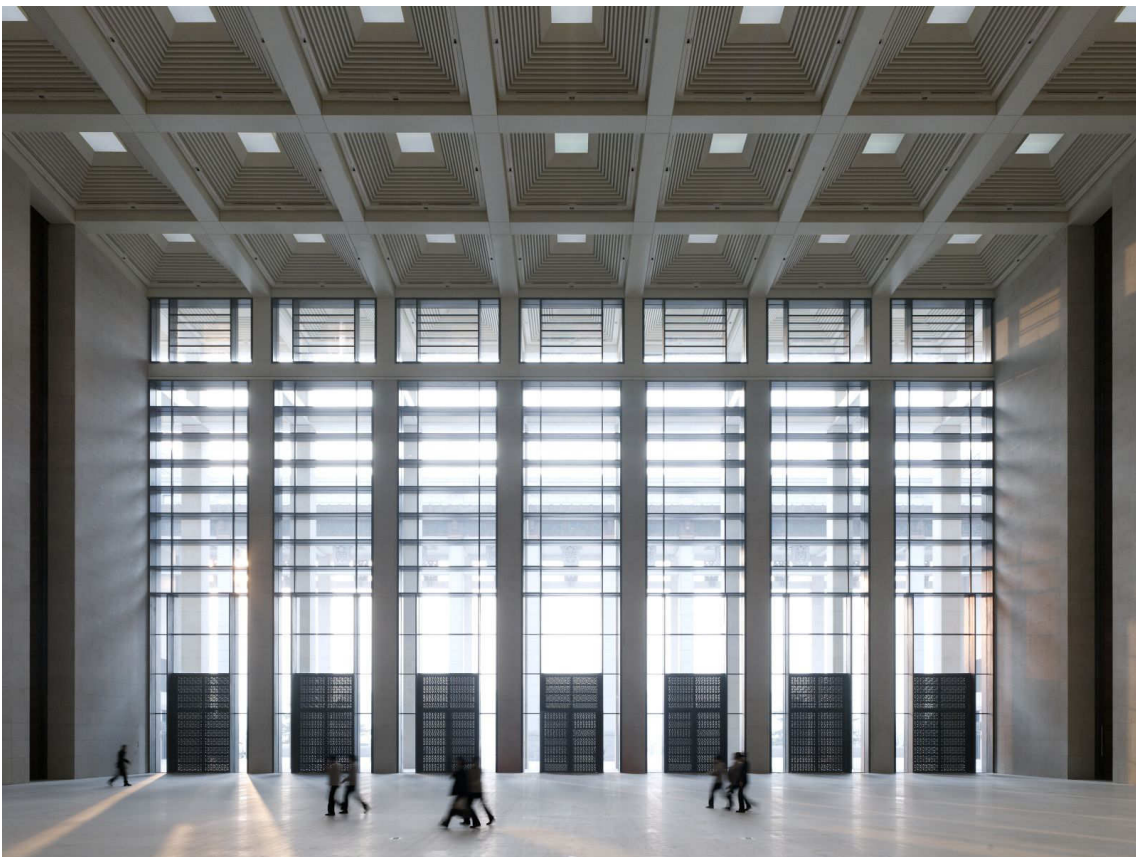


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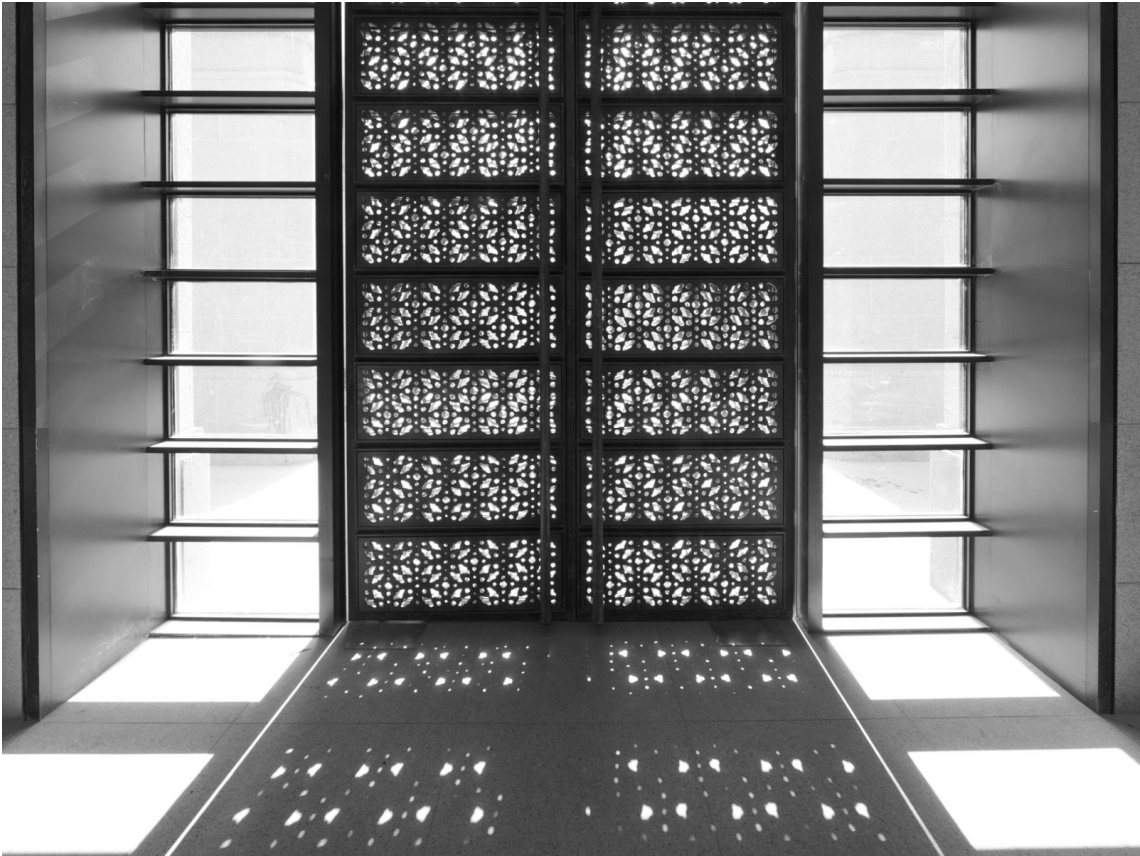


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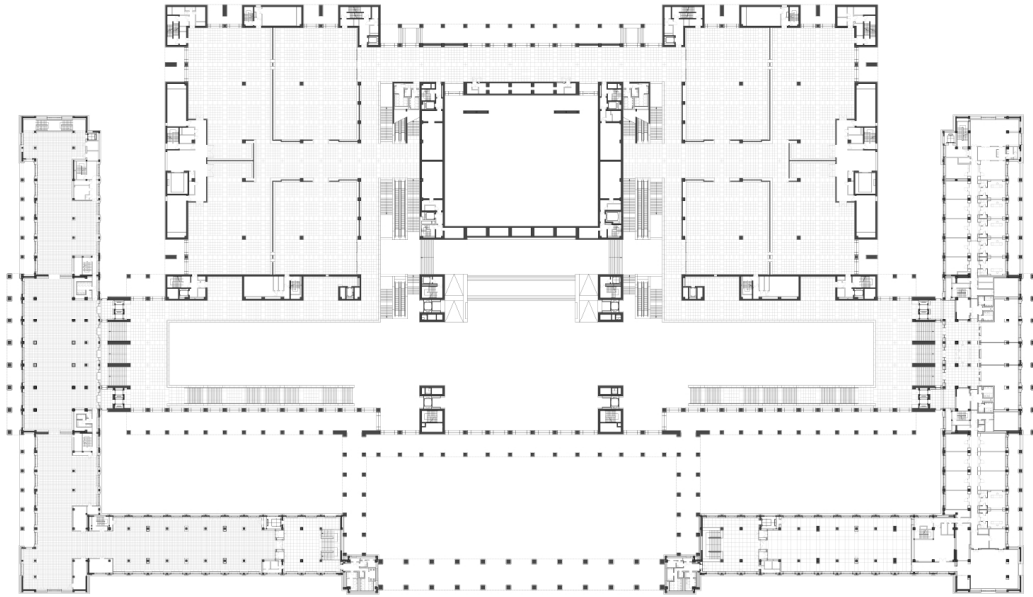


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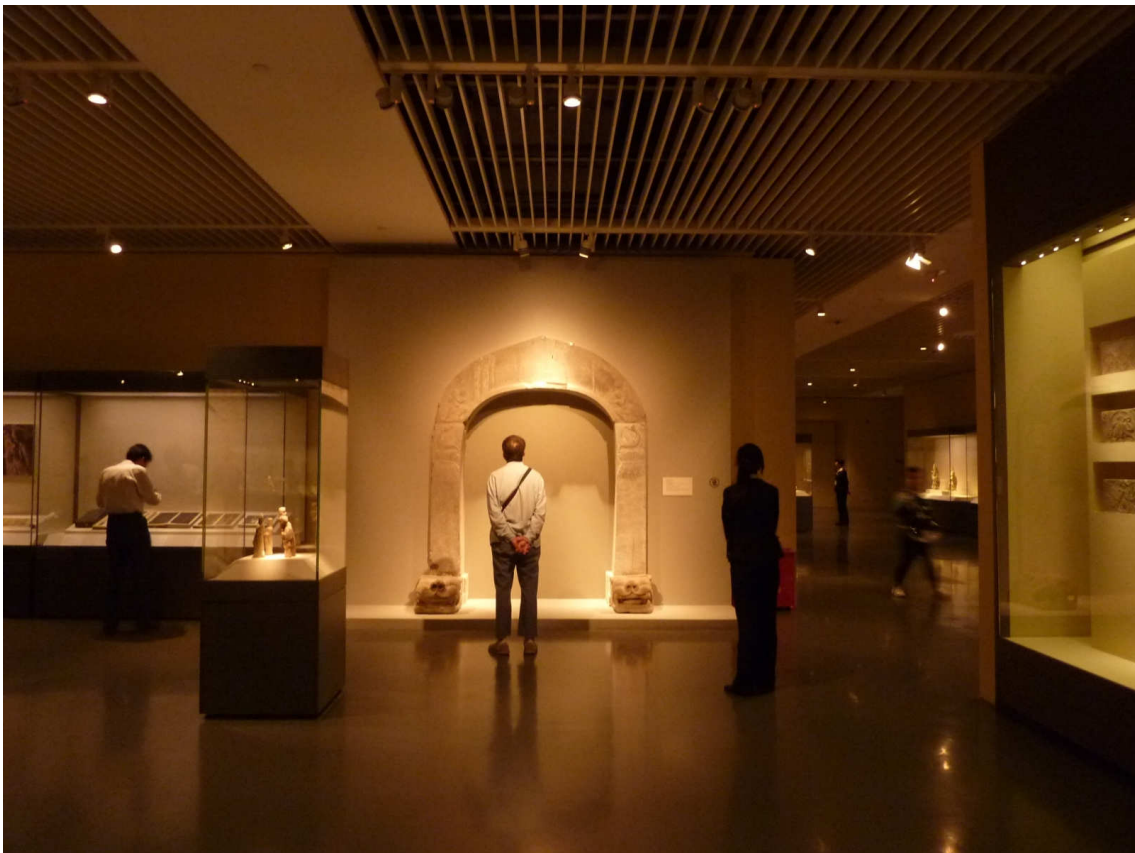


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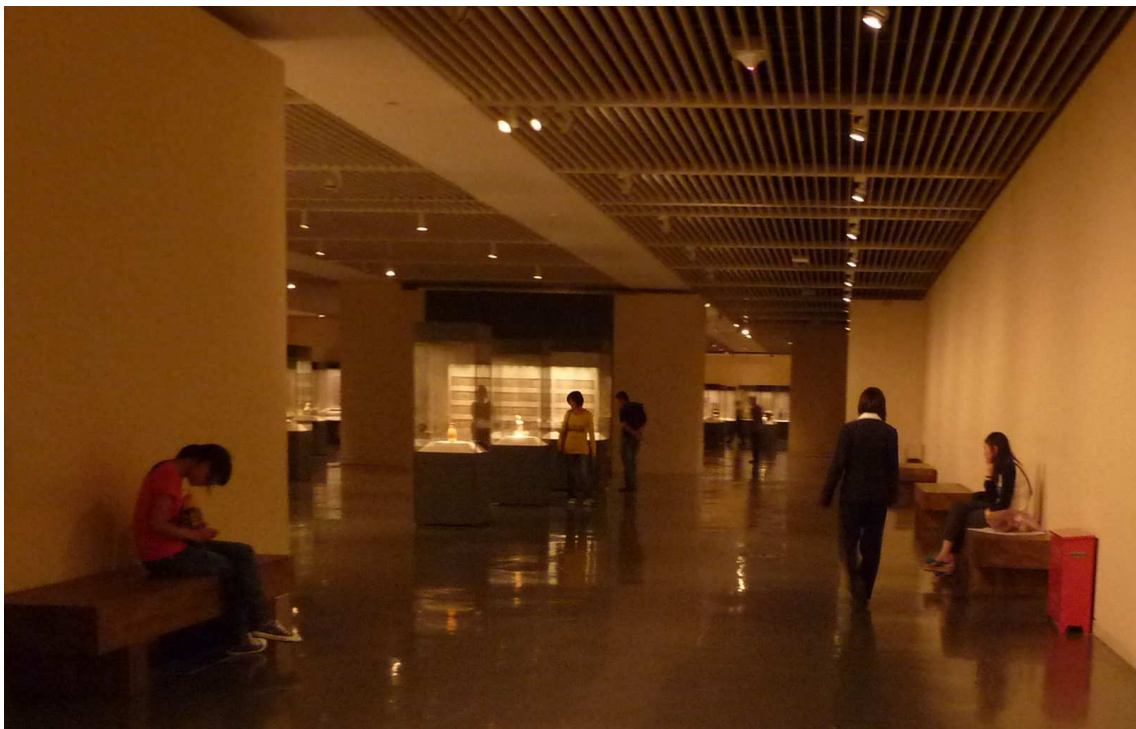


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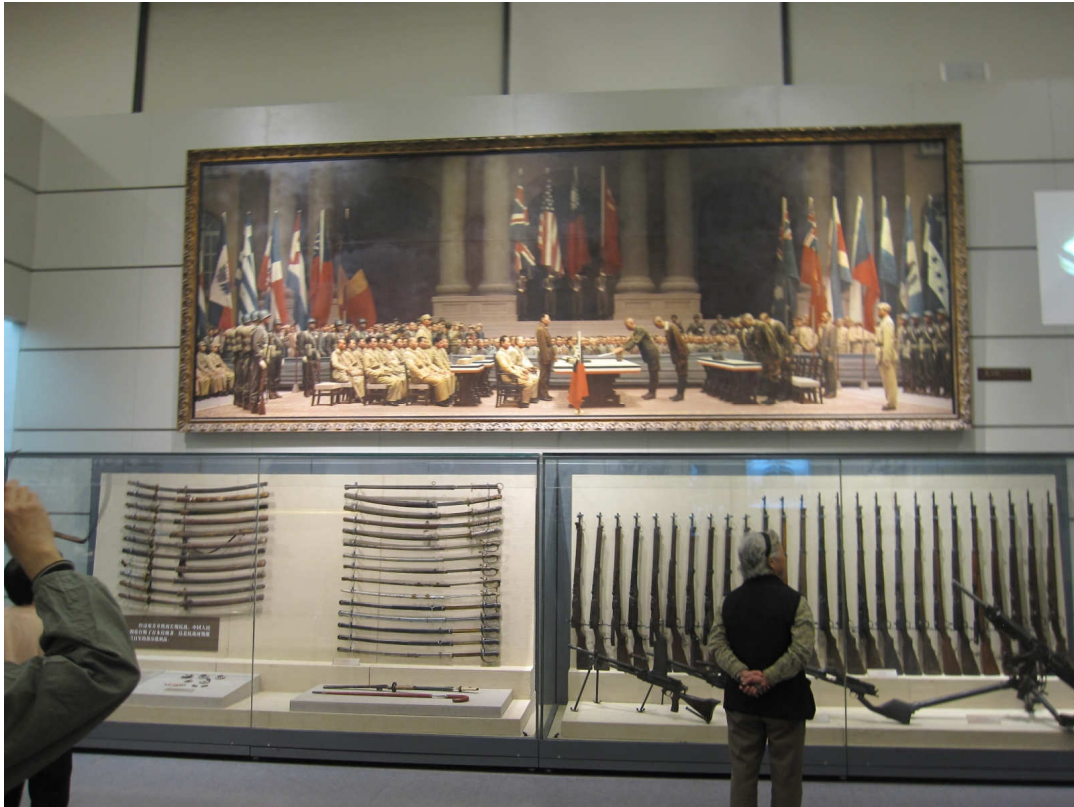


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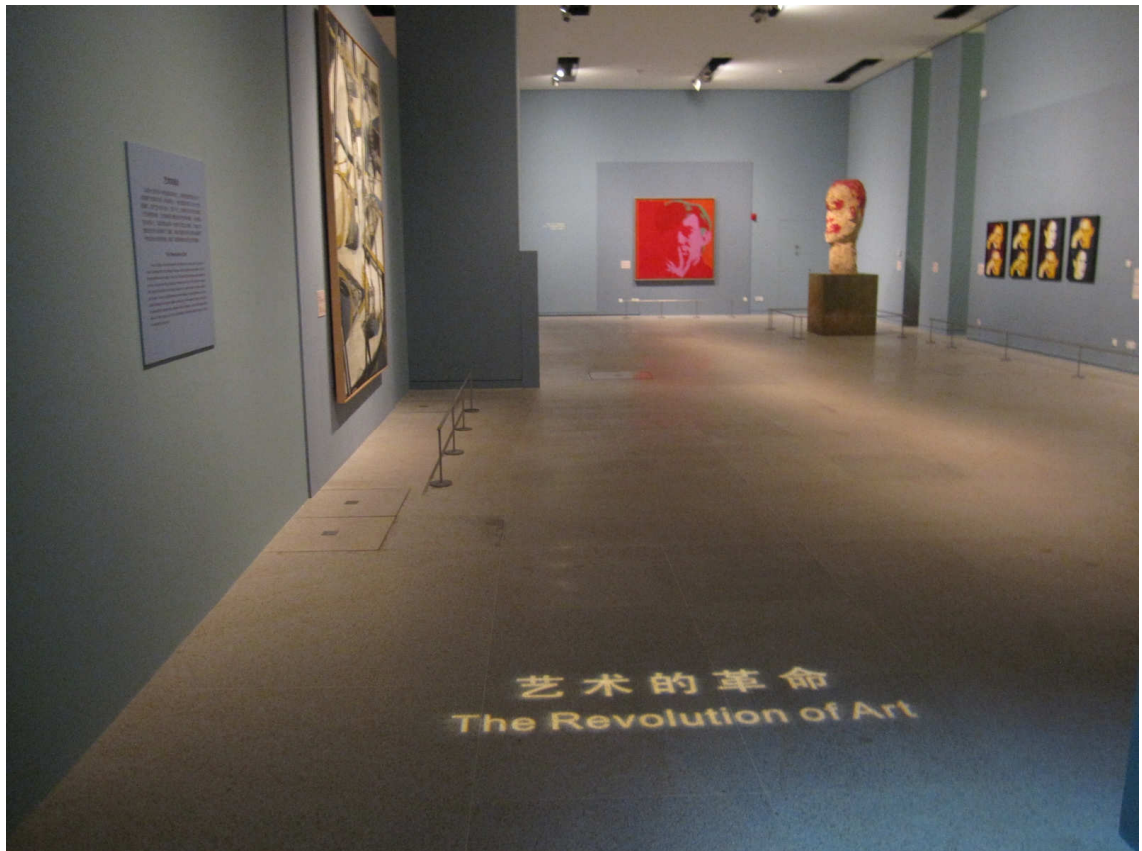


Figure 163: The Art of the Enlightenment, Section 9: The Revolution of Art, April 2011

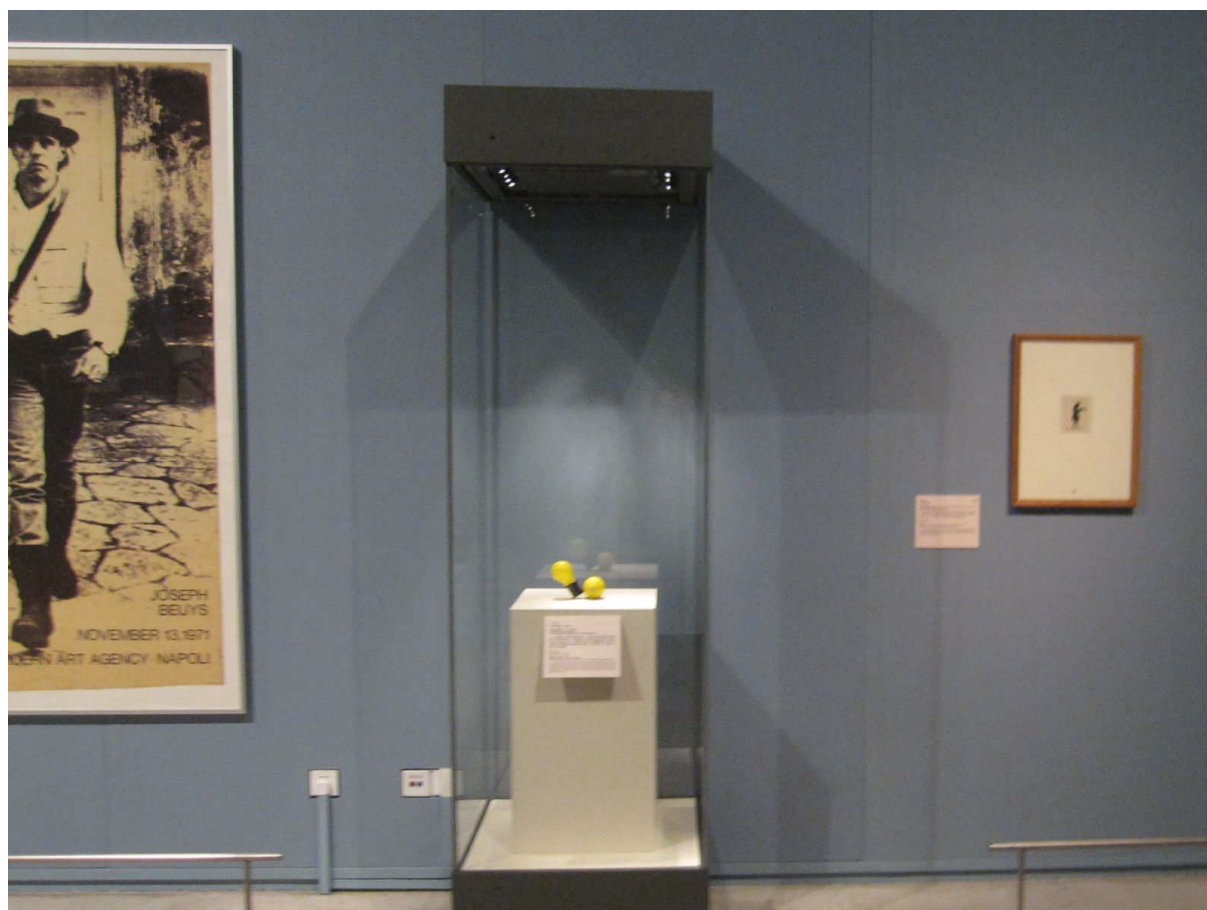


Figure 164: The Art of the Enlightenment, Section 9: Josef Beuys: ‘Modern Art Agency Napoli, November 13, 1971’, ‘Capri-Batterie (center) and Johann Heinrich Lips, attributed, ‘Portrait of Voltaire’ (right), April 2011

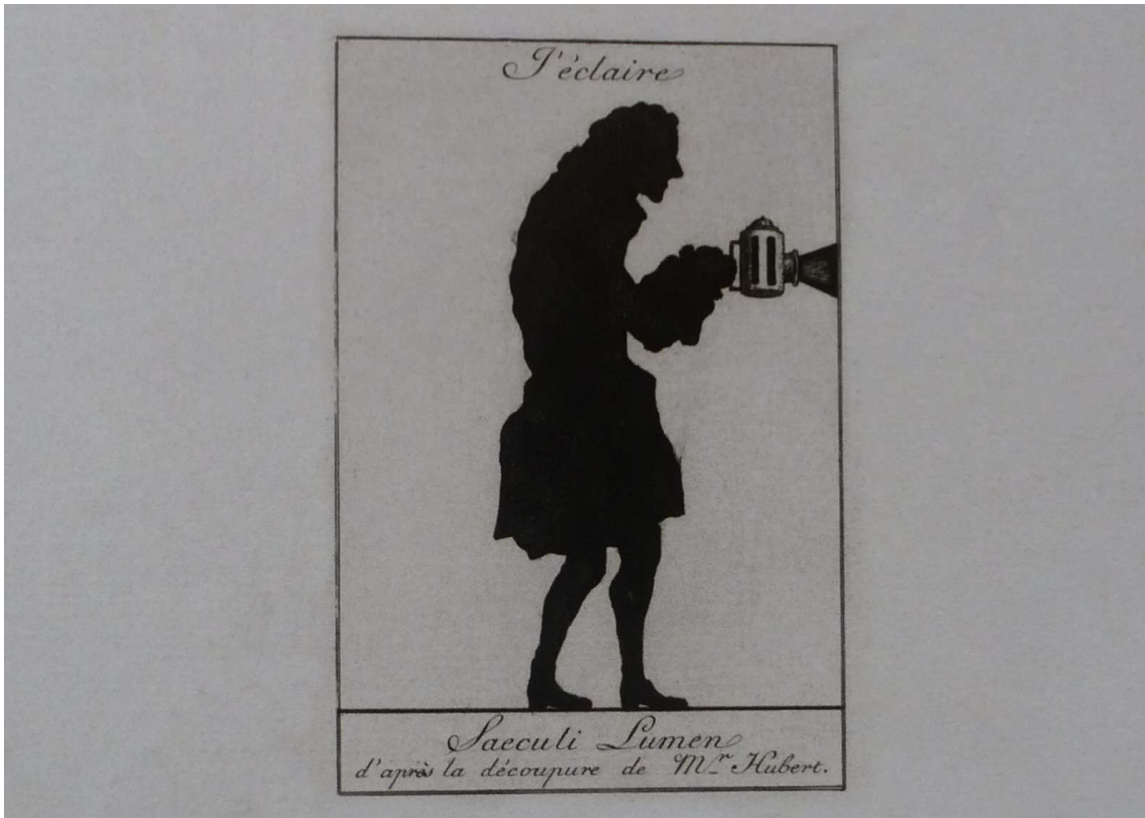


Figure 165: The Art of the Enlightenment, Section 9: Johann Heinrich Lips, attributed, 'Portrait of Voltaire' (detail), April 2011



Figure 166: The Art of the Enlightenment, educational centers, courtesy of Cordula Bischoff, Sept. 2011