

Re-presentations: Discourses of nation, historicity and normalisation surrounding the restoration of the Neues Museum, Berlin, 1998-2009

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Abstract

Despite a comprehensive amount of research conducted into the historical background, and museological and architectural aspects of the Museumsinsel and the Neues Museum, no academic account of the recent developments of the Museumsinsel, in particular the restoration of the Neues Museum, exists. However, as the Neues Museum appears as a public building of Prussian heritage with continuing importance for representations of the past in the public domain, the discourses evident in both restoration practice and the ensuing public controversies surrounding these can provide valuable insight into contemporary issues regarding German national self-understanding. This is particularly viable with regard to notions of ‘normalisation’ of Germany’s past in its public discourses during the past two decades, as well as the particular status of Central Berlin in relation to critical representations of its layers of history. Through an examination of the parameters of its historical context, the practices employed by authorities and architects, and the discourses of the controversies surrounding the restoration, notions of official critical positions towards representations of the pasts inscribed in the Neues Museum’s historical fabric, and the more nostalgic historicist tendencies in the public sphere become apparent, allowing valuable insight into perspectives on German histories and their contemporary representation.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Questions concerning the representation of the past in post-war Germany continue to be an issue in the public domain, with the built environment and conservation being one of the more prevalent. As Simon Ward observes, due to their public function and spatial dominance, buildings are - more so than other manifestations of the past – a cause for disputes over their treatment and representation.¹ In many cases, such as with the Frauenkirche in Dresden, the Residenz in Munich or the Goldener Saal in Augsburg, as well as Altes Museum and the Neue Wache in Berlin or the Semperoper in Dresden (albeit during the GDR era), architectural heritage pre-dating the World Wars was completely rebuilt, while the Berlin Stadtschloss is planned to be rebuilt in place of the Palast der Republik starting in 2010; in others, such as the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, the Gedächtniskirche in Berlin, as well as the Hackeschen Höfe a more critical approach to a rehabilitation of the buildings was taken, preserving elements of the lived histories of the building instead of reinstating the ‘original’ form. The approach of a ‘critical restoration’ as conducted on the Alte Pinakothek has also been chosen for the Neues Museum, but has been met with much protest from the public as it counters their wish for a ‘historic centre of Berlin’, with a more fragmental approach to restoring the building that makes the additions visible and avoids replacing original but damaged features. As Kucharek comments when describing the realisation of conservation architect Julian Harrap’s vision for the

¹ Simon Ward, ‘Representing Normality: Architecture in Berlin’, in: Cook/Taberner, *German Culture, Politics and Literature into the Twenty-First Century – Beyond Normalisation* (Camden House, 2006), p. 75.

Neues Museum, ‘it was a struggle for Harrap to convince the client, state property agency the Bundesbaudirektion, that this was the way to go – after all, Germany is famed for its meticulous postwar restoration of other bomb-damaged buildings such as Dresden’s Frauenkirche and Berlin’s Potsdam Palace’.² The ensuing controversies - involving a petition by a society called ‘Gesellschaft Historisches Berlin’ - surrounding the preservation, rebuilding or abandonment of cultural heritage are an indicative mirror of not only how Germany intends to represent its past, but also which position towards its past it takes in shaping its future, while on the other hand, these decisions are also influenced by current trends in international preservation practice, the UNESCO nomination of the site and related guidelines, as well as economic considerations of museum tourism.

The objectives of this piece of research are focused on how in this particular case of the restoration of the Neues Museum (and the related regeneration of the Museumsinsel in Berlin, where it is located) issues of representing on the one hand particular types of German histories inscribed in the building and the related controversies surrounding the historicity of the building as well as the restoration, for both preservationists and their opponents, can be traced in public discourse as well as conservation practice. On the other hand it focuses on how these discourses might allow conclusions to be drawn concerning ideas of German national identity with regard to its interrelation with historical self-conception, and ultimately offer insight into the process of ‘normalisation’ regarding Germany’s contemporary position towards its Nazi past.

² Jan-Carlos Kucharek, ‘Bare Essentials’, *RIBA Journal*, July 2008, 50-52 (50).

It is this interrelation between concepts of history, representations of national history and thereby identity and notions of normalisation that characterise the controversies surrounding the Neues Museum restoration. As the terms ‘history’ and ‘the historical’ are frequently used in the rhetoric of the argument in order to question the historical authenticity of the building and in turn its representative value, it is an aspect researched from three main angles in the following three chapters. Chapter Two examines the history of its origins, the nineteenth century philosophies, politics and interests involved in its design. Chapter Three traces the history of the intermediate years and its utilization or abandonment, the renewed post-unification interest and competition, and the preservationist agenda and principles invested in the restoration. Finally, Chapter Four investigates the conflicting understandings of the representation of the Neues Museum on the part of architects and civic authorities on the one hand, and their opponents on the other.

Ultimately the reading of the Neues Museum today is imbued with the understanding of its Prussian origins and the intervening periods, in particular the Third Reich and the Second World War. As the Neues Museum represents a part of Berlin’s Prussian heritage, its restoration not only has to take a position on dealing with Prussian heritage, but also avoid distancing itself too far from the original texture of the museum and the surrounding ensemble. In order to comprehend the forces and ideas involved in the actual planning and building process of the Neues Museum in the nineteenth century, it is also necessary to look at the politics involved in its creation. This will shed light on the ideas that motivated the building and the particular design of the museum, which has importance not only for interpreting the meaning of its Prussian heritage (Prussianism is viewed by some as the precursor of

National Socialism), but also for evaluating contemporary re-interpretations by both public and architects, and authorities respectively.

This historical background is the focus of Chapter Two, 'Historical Context', which discusses the origins of the Museumsinsel and the Neues Museum from the beginning of the nineteenth century until its completion in 1930 and its role in the era of National Socialism. The focus of this historical contextualisation is on the cultural, philosophical and political aspects of the developments on the Museumsinsel, in particular the Neues Museum. Some attention is given to the very early beginnings of creating the Museumsinsel with the construction of the Altes Museum by royal architect Karl-Friedrich Schinkel, who was responsible for major urban development in Berlin and Prussia. The controversies of Schinkel and his contemporaries will help to shed light on the perceived significance of museum buildings at the time and the opposing influences that created the cornerstone of the Museumsinsel, which Schinkel envisioned as a 'Spree-Akropolis', with the Altes Museum as an art museum for the moral and spiritual education of the public. The historical background of the planning and construction of the Neues Museum also highlights the political and cultural influences on its creation, and gives insight into the growing importance of history as a science and a focal point for a museum in the wake of a burgeoning German national identity under Prussian direction. It also illustrates a sense of diverging concepts of 'history' visible in the controversies surrounding the development of the concept of the Neues Museum, and reflects shifts in society, religion and politics in the nineteenth century.

After a brief summary of the following construction history of the Museumsinsel until the delayed completion of the Pergamonmuseum in 1930, a short excursus examines the appropriation of the Museumsinsel by the National Socialists, in order to assess its historical ballast for the post-war era, as sites utilised by the Nazis often had to undergo a process of denazification, or even destruction.

The destruction of large parts of the Neues Museum during bombing raids in 1943 and 1945 curtailed Nazi plans for its redevelopment, and its GDR history is briefly documented in Chapter Three, ‘The Competition’. Following an outline of the intermediate years, this chapter focuses on the objectives and proceedings of the Neues Museum architectural competition in 1994. By taking a closer look at the focus of the authorities, but also the concepts presented by the architects and the winning entries, as well as the principles and guidelines governing the restoration process, insight can be gained into the initial aims and wider framework of the restoration. Preservation (*Denkmalpflege*) was a strong original focus of the authorities, while the commissioned architects Chipperfield and Harrap also aim to adhere closely to preservation guidelines. The chapter furthermore examines current international preservation guidelines and Berlin’s preservation legislation in order to offer insight into the wider framework of the restoration, as well as to illustrate broader theoretical positions on the issue of preservation versus reconstruction and the ensuing tensions between the purveyors of conservation practice.³ An assessment of the practices of conservation conducted on the Neues Museum by Chipperfield and conservation

³ Concerning the often confusing terminology used to refer to the polar opposites of “preservation” and “reconstruction” it is important to note that here “conservation” is the overarching term for a variety of methods that range from “preservation” (leaving the relics of a building untouched and “as it is”), to the varying degrees of what is termed “restoration”, and ultimately “reconstruction” and “rebuilding”, the latter two of which are not favoured by preservationists, while “restoration” is deemed acceptable if it does not constitute a high degree of intervention or replacement of the existing historical fabric. Earlier sources, such as Dehio and Ruskin refer to “restoration” in the sense of intervention and replacement as conducted in the late nineteenth century. For more information, see the ICOMOS guidelines at <<http://www.icomos.org>> and Michael Petzet’s “Principles of Conservation”.

architect Harrap will then demonstrate the degree of implementation of these guidelines and reveal the intentions underlying their approaches to the building.

Chapter Four, ‘The Controversies’, then turns to the public controversies surrounding the restoration of the Neues Museum which illustrate some of the contemporary issues concerning the representation of the past in Berlin, but also in the wider context of Germany. These issues are reflected in the publicity campaign of the most vocal opponent of the Neues Museum restoration project, the ‘Gesellschaft Historisches Berlin’, and other public figures, as well as in the representation of both parties – architects and the opposition – in the German print media. The research materials offer valuable insight into the historicist views of the opponents of the restoration and exemplify issues pertaining to the concept of ‘normalisation’ in discourses surrounding Germany’s past since the 1980s, and the approach taken with the restoration of the Neues Museum.

The methodology and sources employed in the second chapter about the historical context of the Museumsinsel and the Neues Museum are predominantly the textual analysis of primary sources such as monographs from the nineteenth century, and secondary sources discussing various aspects of the historical background of the Museumsinsel development, as well as a range of publications of the *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* which proved to be particularly helpful.⁴ Newspaper articles were used to give a brief insight into contemporary views of Prussian heritage, while online image archives such as that of the Architekturmuseum TU Berlin and the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte München were referred to for architectural

⁴ In particular Elsa van Wezel’s ‘Die Konzeptionen des Alten und Neuen Museums zu Berlin und das sich wandelnde historische Bewusstsein’, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, Beiheft, 43 (2001), 1-244; and Christoph Martin Vogtherr’s ‘Das Königliche Museum zu Berlin. Planungen und Konzeption des ersten Berliner Kunstmuseums’, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, Beiheft, 39 (1997). 3 – 302.

drawings, wall paintings and decorations of the Neues Museum. The summary of the Museumsinsel under National Socialism used academic articles for accounts of particular branches of museum practice, including personnel dismissals and changes in academic disciplines such as Egyptology, Art History and Pre- and Early History.⁵

The competition is discussed in Chapter Three with the aid of two main publications of the organisations governing the project, the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz and the Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung (formerly the Bundesbaudirektion).⁶ It furthermore draws upon documentation and imagery of the work of David Chipperfield Architects on the Neues Museum in architectural publications, as well as their own description and summary of their work. On the basis of the related theoretical and legislative background, further analysis of writers on conservation methods as well as of international and local conservation guidelines is conducted. This is intended to illustrate the architect's theoretical background, as well as the theoretical and legislative foundations within which the restoration is being conducted, and ultimately the realisation of conservation concepts in practice.

Chapter Four focuses on the public protest the Neues Museum restoration has evoked since the competition, primarily in response to the recall competition in 1998

⁵ For more detailed information on a relatively new research focus, see the “Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte im Nationalsozialismus”, GKNS Bibliographie <<http://www.welib.de/gkns/biblio.html>> Accessed: 13. May 2008; and the Institut für Kunstgeschichte Universität Karlsruhe, “Eine Dokumentation zur Lehr- und Forschungstätigkeit an kunstgeschichtlichen Universitätsinstituten in Deutschland” in den Jahren 1933 bis 1945, <<http://www.ikg.uni-karlsruhe.de/projekte/kgns/index.htm>> Accessed: 11. May 2008.

⁶ Andres Lepik, *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin. Ein europäisches Projekt* (Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2000); Amber Sayah, *Museumsinsel Berlin. Wettbewerb für das Neue Museum/Competition for the Neues Museum* (Stuttgart: avedition, 1994).

and Chipperfield's appointment. Therefore, mainly sources such as public debates, newspaper and magazine articles and interviews, as well as protocols of the *Landesdenkmalamt's* meetings are employed to illustrate public opinion surrounding the restoration, alongside the responses of Chipperfield and the authorities defending their decisions. With the aid of these materials it is possible to detect discourses of historical representation and historicity, as well as issues relating to German self-understanding and 'normalisation'. Secondary material on Germany and normalisation, as well as the problems of historical representation of the past in Berlin, and also the built environment provide the theoretical framework for the contextualisation of the controversies.

With regard to the sources available there is an extensive amount of academic material available on the historic origins and background to the Museumsinsel and the Neues Museum, in terms of architecture and museology, however, there are no detailed academic accounts of the more recent developments of the Museumsinsel and the Neues Museum, but predominantly promotional, touristic or popular historical accounts.⁷ The restoration of the Neues Museum has received coverage from the German news and magazine press, as well as trade and architectural press,⁸ but the

⁷ Books published by the governing institutions Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz and Staatliche Museen Berlin are: Andres Lepik, *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin. Ein europäisches Projekt* (Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2000); Amber Sayah, *Museumsinsel Berlin. Wettbewerb für das Neue Museum/Competition for the Neues Museum* (Stuttgart: avedition, 1994); Günther Schade, *Die Berliner Museumsinsel. Zerstörung, Rettung, Wiederaufbau* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1986) is a post-war history from GDR viewpoint; while publications such as Peter-Klaus Schuster, *Museumsinsel Berlin* (Cologne: DuMont, 2004) and Carola Wedel (ed.), *Die neue Museumsinsel. Der Mythos, der Plan, die Vision* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2002) are popular histories with a touristic focus. Katharina Kring's Magisterarbeit 'Die Berliner Museumsinsel: Museale Präsentation im historischen Wandel' (Munich: GRIN Verlag, 2007) is an academic work on the changing focus of museum practice on the Museumsinsel.

⁸ For scientific technical and architectural accounts, see: W. Lorenz, 'The Berlin 'Neues Museum' - a microcosm of Prussian building technology against the background of beginning industrialization'; W. Henze, 'The Neues Museum of Berlin - restoration during the stage of structural stabilization as a first step towards reconstruction'; J. Seller & G. Eisele, 'The Berlin "Neues Museum" - structural analysis, stabilization and structural design for restoration', in: C. A. Brebbia, W. Jager, *Structural Studies*,

cultural and political implications of its restoration and the controversial discourses surrounding it have largely remained unexplored in academia. It is therefore the aim of this thesis to examine and discuss the restoration of the Neues Museum from a cultural and political perspective and ultimately to draw conclusions on contemporary discourses of Germany's self-understanding with regard to representations of its past, in particular in a location as charged with national history as Central Berlin.

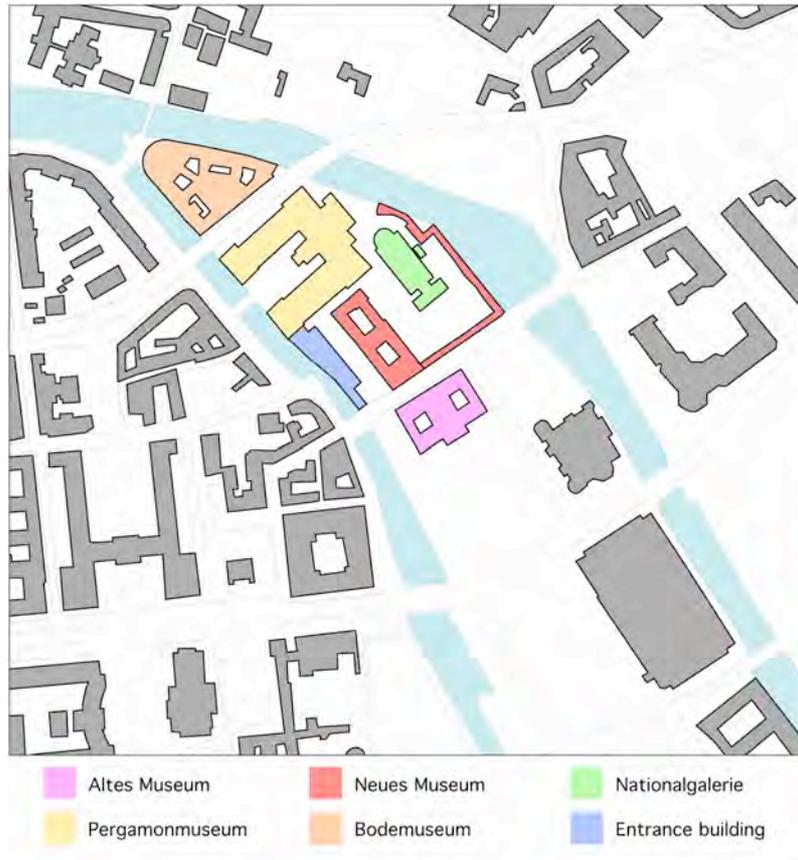


Fig. 1: Map of Museumsinsel terrain

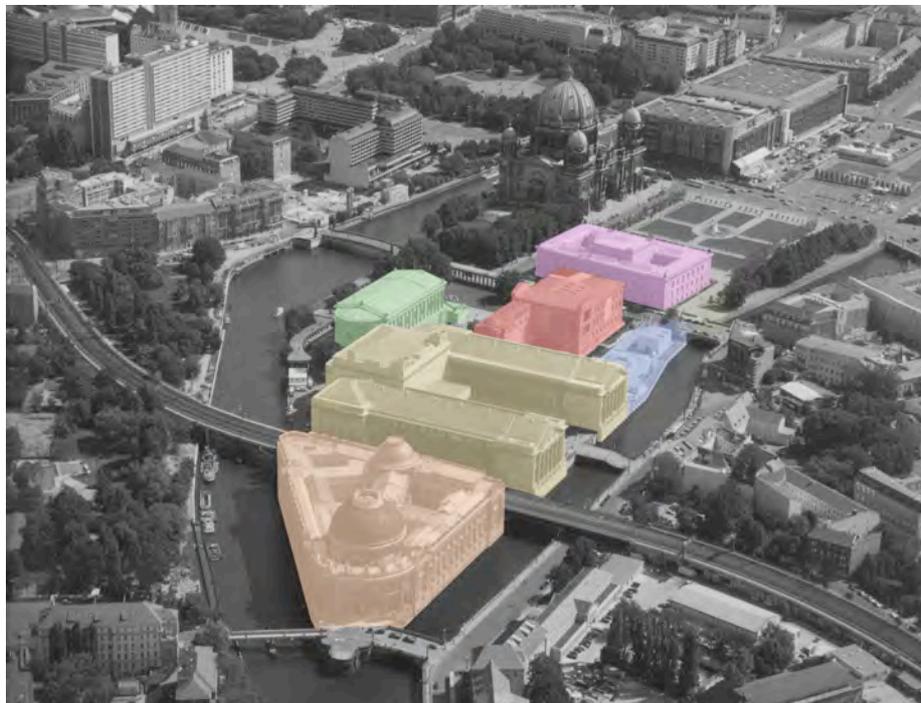


Fig.2: 3D perspective on Museumsinsel

Chapter Two

Historical Context

Introduction

In order to contextualise the ideas and intentions connected with the planning and realisation of the building projects on the Museumsinsel in Berlin, it is necessary to briefly examine the political, social, cultural and economic factors that influenced the administration of public architecture and the arts sector in nineteenth-century Prussia, and later a united Germany. Investigating the ideas and values underpinning the origins of museum politics and their interrelation with broader political questions will also illuminate issues of representation surrounding the restoration of the Museumsinsel since 1990.

Prussian political and cultural heritage and the Kaiserreich are considered by some to have led to the extreme nationalist sentiments which culminated in the Third Reich. The destruction of Prussian and Kaiserreich achievements, symbols and architecture during the bombing of Berlin in the Second World War, and later the Allied process of denazification made a later re-interpretation of Prussian heritage and its representation more difficult for Germany.⁹

⁹ The preamble to Kontrollgesetz 46, issued by the Allies in 1947, which authorized the suspension of the Prussian kingdom, stated “Der Staat Preußen, der seit jeher Träger des Militarismus und der Reaktion in Deutschland gewesen ist, hat in Wirklichkeit zu bestehen aufgehört. Geleitet von dem Interesse an der Aufrechterhaltung des Friedens und der Sicherheit der Völker und erfüllt von dem Wunsche, die weitere Wiederherstellung des politischen Lebens in Deutschland auf demokratischer Grundlage zu sichern, erläßt der Kontrollrat das folgende Gesetz...” (“Kontrollratsgesetz Nr. 46 Auflösung des Staates Preußen vom 25. Februar 1947”, <<http://www.verfassungen.de/de/de45-49/kr-gesetz46.htm>>, Accessed 10. May 2008.

Moreover, due to the sensitive and controversial issues surrounding twentieth-century German history, a careful approach to dealing with ideas, people and objects that can be linked to the origins of National Socialism is chosen in official discourse. Heuser¹⁰ argues in this respect that there is a tendency towards a teleological approach to histories, judging events and circumstances by later developments and ‘outcomes’. In the process of determining a post-war identity, the question continuously arises concerning which aspects of German pre-Third Reich history are ‘acceptable’ and which might have in some way influenced the rise of National Socialism.

While some historians would argue for an overarching Prussian heritage lasting until 1947, due to the predominantly non-democratic nature of the German state, the largely unchanging economic structure, as well as values such as militarism, authoritarian state (*Obrigkeitsstaat*) and the subject mentality (*Untertanenmentalität*), others reject the idea that the early twentieth century and even National Socialism was a continuation of Prussia’s heritage and see a break between the Prussian heritage and the nationalist imperialist militarism which took hold from the turn of the twentieth century onwards.¹¹ As it becomes evident in the controversial and often negative discourses surrounding the ideological and political heritage of Prussia a variety of interpretations regarding its values and meaning seem to exist, turning issues of its contemporary representation into public controversies.

Particularly in recent years, events such as the anniversary of ‘300 Jahre Preussen’ in 2001, the 2007 anniversary of the *Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* and

¹⁰ Beatrice Heuser, ‘Museums, Identity and Warring Historians - Observations on History in Germany’, *The Historical Journal*, 33 (1990), 417-440.

¹¹ Illustrated in: T. C. W. Blanning, ‘The Death and Transfiguration of Prussia’, *The Historical Journal*, 29 (1986), 433-459; Jacques Droz, ‘In Search of Prussia’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 55 (1983), 71-77; Zoltan Michael Szaz, ‘The Ideological Precursors of National Socialism’, *The Western Political Quarterly*, 16 (1963), 924-945.

the publication in 2006 of Christopher Clark's monumental history of Prussia¹², the questions surrounding the interpretation of the histories of Prussia and its heritage have caused mainstream media attention in Germany and sparked public debates concerning its ambiguous history of military state repression and industrial progress.¹³

In the light of these differing views and their relevance for views of Prussian heritage today, it is necessary to examine briefly the origins of public representations of histories in the form of the development of museum culture in the nineteenth century. Examining the former controversies surrounding what constitutes acceptable views and representations of heritage as national history, and the related issue of conflicting interpretations of aesthetics and historiographies will give insight to contemporary issues of historical and aesthetic representation of the past.

The Origins of the Altes Museum

From the first mention of an art museum to the establishment of a range of museums on the Museumsinsel, a century of changes in art philosophy, cultural politics and overall political transformations had taken place, each shaping the understanding of what museum culture should or should not convey.

Aloys Hirt, Professor of Art Theory at the *Berliner Akademie der Künste*, was the first to raise the idea of an exclusive art museum on King Friedrich Wilhelm III's

¹² Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600-1947* (London: Allen Lane, 2006). German edition: Christopher Clark, *Preußen: Aufstieg und Niedergang 1600-1947* (DVA München, 2007).

¹³ For examples, see: Klaus Wiegrefe, 'Staat von Blut und Eisen', *Der Spiegel* (2001), , Gerhard Spörl, Joachim Preuß und Claus-Christian Malzahn, 'Der böse Geist Europas' *Der Spiegel*, 4 (2001), Michael Klonovsky, '300. Jubiläum; Meteor am Staatenhimmel', *Focus Magazin*, 3 (2001 'Preussen's Gloria', *Der Spiegel*, (Title Special), 22 (2007), Klaus Wiegrefe, 'Die gute Revolution', *Der Spiegel*, 33 (2007), *Der Spiegel*, 'Ein Bollwerk der Demokratie' 33 (2007), Christina Tilmann, 'Kultur statt Kaserne; Ein Fest: 50 Jahre Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz', *Der Tagespiegel* (2007), Eva-Maria Goetz, 'Ende in Etappen; Der Historiker Christopher Clark in Potsdam: Wie sich die Nazis das Preußentum einverleibten', *Der Tagesspiegel*, 2008, *Die Welt am Sonntag*, Sonderausgabe 'Eine Nation – geboren aus Kohl und Stahl', Spring 2008.

birthday in 1797. However, his view of art and the purpose of a museum was fundamentally different in terms of design, access and content to Schinkel's realisation some decades later.¹⁴ Hirt's proposal concentrated on the function of the museum as a place of learning for students of the art academy and aimed to provide them with schooling in the foundations of classical art.¹⁵

After year-long efforts to realise the initial museum project Schinkel, as part of a building commission (alongside Aloys Hirt), decided to draft his own report and designs, recommending a move away from the conversion, and eventually in January 1823 suggesting moving the project to an independent museum building near the Lustgarten. Schinkel's reasoning appears to have taken considerable account of the political and financial aspects involved in commissioning the project, very much in line with the lack of money available for such project. He primarily promotes the new build on the Lustgarten site as more cost-effective, as well as beneficial to urban and traffic planning; the benefits of the relocation for the museum concept remained a secondary consideration. The shift in the concept of the museum was very much founded in Schinkel's own positions on the purpose and meaning of art and its exhibition, as he attempted to move away from an institution for the schooling of aesthetic taste and the notion of an art academy, towards a place to further the moral and spiritual education of the public.

The place of public morality, humanitarianism and spirituality in Schinkel's understanding of art and the function of an art museum becomes more evident in his own words: 'Das Vertrauen, das die Menschheit auf ihre Werke selbst legt, indem sie ihnen einen entschiedenen Werth beilegt und ihre Erhaltung auf lange Zeit erstrebt,

¹⁴ Elsa van Wezel, 'Die Konzeptionen des Alten und Neuen Museums zu Berlin und das sich wandelnde historische Bewusstsein', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 43 (2001), 1-244 (Beiheft).

¹⁵ For further discussion see: Douglas Crimp, 'The End of Art and the Origin of the Museum: The Political Unconscious in Nineteenth-Century Art', *Art Journal*, 46 (1987), 261-266 (262).

hat [...] etwas moralisch Hohes und Erhabenes.’¹⁶ Not only was the museum a place of exaltation and sublimity intended to share its spiritual values in the education of the public, but the state that recognised the importance of such a space was deemed good and virtuous.¹⁷

Unlike Stüler, Schinkel had a philosophical understanding of art and architecture that appeared to have been influenced by the changing and conflicting theories of the time, and could be most closely linked to the theories of Schelling and Humboldt.¹⁸ The design Schinkel proposed emphasised the meaning of art he sought to convey, even if his recommendations on the organisation of the exhibition were later to be largely ignored by Humboldt.¹⁹ The character of his concept was most visible in the representative elements of his design: the staircase, the rotunda and the long portico of the façade. These attributes reinforced the museum’s character as an aesthetic monument and sanctuary. The rotunda as the centre piece functioned as the sanctuary in the centre of the museum, while the portico created the notion of a temple, and the staircase can be seen as reinforcing the museum’s monumental character. More discussions surrounding the museum politics involved in the making of the Altes Museum arose with the decision over the organisation of the exhibits. The museum was meant to hold the collections of fine art (the Italian and Dutch/German masters) and ancient sculptures, but when Humboldt consulted the different parties of the commission, including Schinkel, Waagen, Rumohr and Hirt, very different views

¹⁶ Alfred von Wolzogen, *Aus Schinkel’s Nachlass*, 3 Bde. Berlin 1862/63.

¹⁷ For more details on Schinkel’s humanist idealism and its influence on the Altes Museum, see: Vogtherr, Christoph Martin, ‘Das Königliche Museum zu Berlin. Planungen und Konzeption des ersten Berliner Kunstmuseums’, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, Beiheft, 39 (1997), 3 - 302 (117).

¹⁸ Van Wezel, 46-52.

¹⁹ Christian Martin Vogtherr, ‘Zwischen Norm und Kunstgeschichte. Wilhelm von Humboldts Denkschrift von 1829 zur Hängung in der Berliner Gemäldegalerie’ *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 34 (1992), 53-64.

of exhibition culture and practice were expressed. In particular the hanging of the paintings had to be decided on, and the controversy here revolved around the choice between exhibiting objects chronologically or synchronically (by school).²⁰ In the end, Humboldt realised his vision of the arrangement that focused on the High Renaissance, as opposed to Waagen's idea of placing equal emphasis on other epochs in order to give the visitor an historical overview.

The realisation of the first Berlin art museum project illustrates the controversies concerning the way that visitors should look at art, and indicate a constant re-assessment and discussion concerning the relation between the aesthetic and historical value of artefacts. These questions of whether public art and museum buildings should be aesthetic or historical, entertaining or educational, and how questions of aesthetic value should be determined continued throughout the development of the Museumsinsel.

The Concept of the Neues Museum

Compared to the Altes Museum, Stüler's 1841 plans for the Neues Museum showed a marked shift in the understanding of a museum's function. Like the Altes Museum, the Neues Museum was intended to be for the education of the public, however in the course of the century a new historical consciousness and a focus on science had emerged, influencing the character of the Neues Museum.

While philosophy of culture and science became increasingly secularized, the new Prussian king Friedrich Wilhelm IV wished to preserve the Christian state and his politics were often criticised as impeding necessary reforms and progress. However, while the king, an amateur artist and architect himself, managed to exert a

²⁰ For further information on the controversies surrounding the organisation and exhibition of artefacts in the Altes Museum, see: Vogtherr 1992, 57f.

certain influence on the developing project, the artists, architect and historians involved undoubtedly contributed more contemporary realisations to the building. In this way the creation of the Neues Museum illustrates controversies about the importance of and relations between art, history, and science, the state and religion.

Ignaz von Olfers and history as a science

Considerations surrounding the organisation and presentation of exhibits in the Neues Museum sparked an argument between art collector Passalacqua, whose Egyptian collections had been acquired by the Prussian Court in 1827, and Ignaz von Olfers, who had been appointed museum director of the royal art collections in 1839. Olfers, appointed with the recommendation and help of Wilhelm von Humboldt, was primarily a scientist and advocated a consolidation between the disciplines of art and science. In letters to Friedrich Wilhelm IV he expressed his plans for a ‘Freistätte für Kunst und Wissenschaft’ in the area of the Spree island, combining museums, library and art academies with science institutes and emphasising the equal importance of art and science for education.²¹

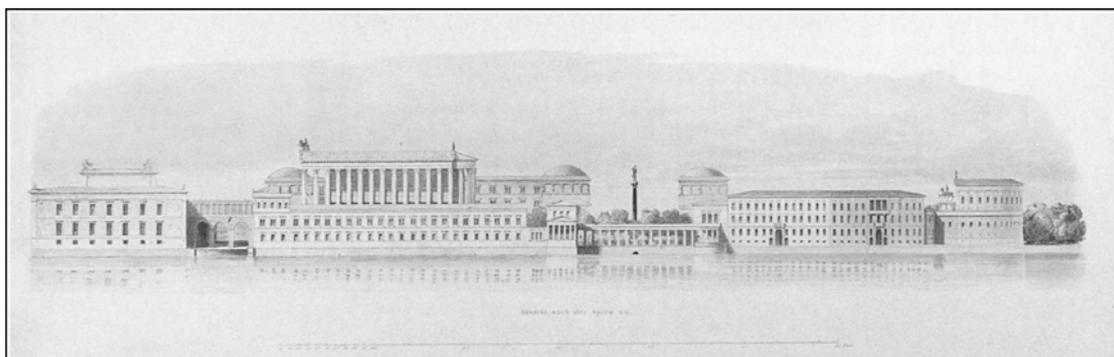


Fig.3: Friedrich August Stüler, ‘Freistätte’ sketch, in: Friedrich August Stüler, *Bauwerke von A. Stüler, Teil 1, Das Neue Museum in Berlin*, Berlin 1862, Taf. 1

²¹ Olfers to Friedrich Wilhelm IV., 20.01.1841, GStA PK, I. HA Rep. 89 H, Geheimes Zivilkabinett, Nr. 20472, 59-66; quoted in: van Wezel, p. 135.

However, lack of space for this grand project meant there was insufficient space to accommodate the art collections that had gained importance in recent years, principally those which would not have been considered for Schinkel's 'high art' museum. This shift regarding what type of collections were considered worthy of exhibition showed a higher recognition of art historical and ethnographical artefacts, not only through Olfers' individual contribution through his focus on science, but also due to the development in historical scholarship at the time.²²

Olfers' vision was primarily about the historical education of the visitors, less about the aesthetic and spiritual education as with Schinkel's Altes Museum, and incorporated the Egyptian antique collections as well as Roman and Greek plaster casts and the etchings cabinet ('Kupferstichkabinett'). This differed fundamentally from the museum idea of his predecessors as the emphasis of the Neues Museum was not on the concept of the temple of high art anymore, but on historical education and awareness.

Another shift towards a more historical consciousness became apparent in the controversy about the arrangement and decoration of collections and of the museum itself. Lepsius and Olfers strongly favoured a chronological organisation of the artefacts, in order to emphasise their historicity and to present a history of cultural development throughout the displays of the Neues Museum. As Passalacqua argued, however, it was common practice to arrange artefacts by theme or material in order not to disturb the viewing experience of the public.²³ To Passalacqua, a chronological

²² According to his judgement, and that of Egyptologist Lepsius who led numerous Prussian expeditions to Egypt and provided valuable artefacts for the Neues Museum, the Egyptian collections were significant additions to understanding human history and therefore relevant exhibits. Both Olfers and Lepsius were highly critical of the director of the Egyptian collection, Passalacqua, who advocated the creation of a museum to house exclusively Egyptian artefacts. See also: Wolfgang Müller, 'Richard Lepsius und das Neue Museum', *Forschungen und Berichte*, 24 (1984), 6-10.

²³ For more details on Passalacqua's concept, see: Joseph Passalacqua, *Entwürfe zu einem neuen Gebäude für das Königliche Preussische Museum ägyptischer Alterthümer*, Berlin 1843.

arrangement was considered unnecessary because only objects related to an ‘historical event’ could be considered ‘historical’, and the chronological arrangement of artefacts purely for their ‘historical’ value seemed unreasonable to him. Olfers criticised him for his unscientific and unfounded reasoning and his outdated understanding of history (‘Geschichtsverständnis’) and his demand for ‘historical completeness’ of the collections prevailed.²⁴

Lepsius and Olfers promoted this emphasis on history as a science not only in terms of the arrangement of collections, but also concerning the interior decoration of the museum. Whereas in the conception of the Altes Museum, as well as in Passalacqua’s plans the interior was decorative but not scenic, in order not to distract from the exhibits, Olfers, Lepsius and also Stüler favoured rich scenic wall decorations in the style and era of the respective collections. By decorating walls with script and paintings, Lepsius and Olfers intended to achieve a better understanding of and more interest in Egyptology among the general public. In order to achieve public interest they considered a complete immersion in the scenery, imagery and atmosphere of the historical period in question as most useful to narrate a story surrounding the exhibited objects in order to make them more understandable for the non-academic public.

²⁴ Van Wezel, 138-141.

Friedrich August Stüler's Design – Innovation beside Historicity

Friedrich August Stüler, as a disciple of Karl Friedrich Schinkel, had less of his master's liking for idealism and philosophy, and expressed his style in the more technical and practical aspects of the realisation.²⁵

The Neues Museum was considered an extension for the Altes Museum in two ways – first of all in order to house collections that had no other space but had increased in importance, and secondly also in order to relate the two museums to each other, with another emphasis on historical overview and development. In this way however, especially by means of the bridge Stüler constructed between the second floors of the two buildings in order to create a linear narrative, the Altes Museum could be conceived of as being subordinate to the new idea of historicity in its function as the precursor to the Neues Museum. Stüler solved Heinrich Hübsch's timely question of 'In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?'²⁶ by using Schinkel's Altes Museum as guidance in whose shadow he had to remain.

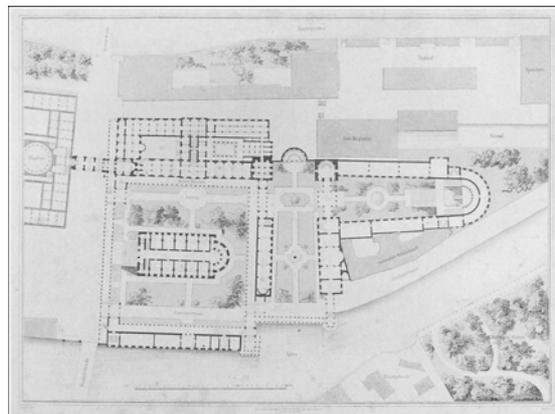


Fig.4: Friedrich August Stüler, 'Freistätte' sketch, in: Friedrich August Stüler, *Bauwerke von A. Stüler, Teil 1, Das Neue Museum in Berlin*, Berlin 1862, Taf.2
Not being able to exert his own visions over the design of the outside

²⁵ He initially developed a master plan for Olfers' idea of the "Freistätte für Kunst und Wissenschaft", but then focused on the design for a new museum mainly intended as an extension for the Altes Museum.

²⁶ Heinrich Hübsch, 'In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?' beantwortet von H. Hübsch. Müller 1828. Electronic version accessible via < <http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/huebsch1828/0004> > , Accessed : 9. May 2008.

structure, his theoretical endeavours manifested themselves in the construction, the interior and the outside decoration. Stüler used iron to add innovation to his construction, even showing its progressive use from lower to top floor, with the latter showing undecorated iron constructions.²⁷ In terms of construction, Stüler advanced the views of his colleague Carl Boetticher, whose answer to the question of style lay in a split between construction ('Kernform') and style ('Kunstform').²⁸ The new building material of the time was iron, the use of which Boetticher promoted and of which the Neues Museum is an example. Van Wezel interprets this as another element in the Neues Museum's display of historical progression, with Stüler indicating the future of architecture. Stüler showed progressive tendencies behind the classicist façade and said of the future of architecture: 'In der Zeit ändern sich ja auch die Begriffe von Schönheit und Gesetzmäßigkeit, sowie die Bedürfnisse und materiellen Unterlagen der Bauwerke. Darum thue nur Jeder mit Ernst und Treue, was seiner Überzeugung entspricht, und er darf späterer Anerkennung gewiß sein.'²⁹

However, the use of iron in the Neues Museum was not only an innovative method to make a difference, it was also a technical necessity to build as lightly as possible on the difficult terrain of the island – a novelty compared to the monumentality and solidity that was previously asked of construction. Stüler received instant criticism for his innovations, in particular the exposition of material in the top floor of the Neues Museum. Despite the technical innovation, Stüler was just a decade later to be criticised for his outdated method of imitation, especially the

²⁷ Van Wezel, 164.

²⁸ Boetticher, a classicist, believed that the new direction of architecture and construction could only lie within a synthesis of the old and the new. Boetticher saw the new element in the construction ('Kernform').

²⁹ August Stüler, 'Eröffnungsrede "Schinkelfest am 13. März 1865"', *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*, 15 (1865), 400.

realisation of a Schinkel draft in the Majolika Saal of the Neues Museum. While imitating old styles, in particular classicist styles that were considered the perfection of architecture and art, was common practice from the eighteenth century onwards, demands for more originality were to be heard from the 1870s onwards.

The art of imitation was continued in the interior of the museum as, based on the suggestions of Lepsius and Olfers, Stüler designed every room in a different style, depending on the objects exhibited, but also displayed differences in intensity of decorations between the different rooms.³⁰

The ground floor, which housed the *Vaterländische Saal*, the *Ethnographische Saal* and the *Ägyptische Saal*, not only differed in organisation in decoration, but also gives indication of former positions towards the different eras and cultures.³¹ The *Ethnographische Saal* was much less decorated due to the notion of the ‘foreign’ and the peculiar (‘eigenthümlich’) that appeared to have characterised the collections embracing the four non-European continents and their representation. Hegelian art historians such as Klemm³² or Schasler³³ pushed the discourse surrounding pre-historic, non-European artefacts towards an evolutionary view of cultures, dividing between active and passive cultures. Klemm, for example, argued that due to the lower and passive nature of their cultures, Asian, African and American cultural history should be exhibited to provide a brief overview and limited to one room. Similarly, art historian Max Schasler described the Ethnologische Abteilung of the

³⁰ For images of Stüler’s architectural and decoration drafts access the catalogue of the Architekturmuseum TU Berlin via <<http://architekturmuseum.ub.tu-berlin.de>>. More detailed images of wall and ceiling paintings can be found in the Photothek of the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte Munich via <<http://www.zi.fotothek.org/>>, Accessed: 25. November 2007.

³¹ The *Vaterländische Saal* was decorated in a relatively contained way, as a Doric hall, with some illustrations of the Nordic legends, such as the *Edda*, an image of a prehistoric grave and the “Stubbenkammer” (the location surrounding the highest chalk cliffs of the island, “Königsstuhl”, also considered a motive for romanticist nature painter Caspar David Friedrich in his painting “Kreidefelsen auf Rügen”) on the island of Rügen.

³² Gustav Klemm, *Fantasie über ein Museum für die Culturgeschichte der Menschheit*, Dresden 1843.

³³ Max Schasler, *Das Neue Museum und seine Kunstschatze* [1855], Berlin 1859.

Neues Museum as follows: ‘Die Gegenstände dieser Abtheilung zeigen eine sehr niedrige Kulturstufe.’³⁴

In Stüler and Olfers’ realisation of the Neues Museum, however, this evolutionary view of lower and higher cultures is not expressed. Van Wezel explains the distinction in decoration between the Nordic and the Ethnological exhibitions with the belief that the artefacts of one’s own heritage were not as spectacular as the foreign ones (such as ‘*Friedenspfeife der Sioux*’ or ‘*Damenschleier aus Persien*’) and their departments had to have a more narrative style of decoration in order to make them more interesting to the audience.³⁵ However it could also be argued that an overall narrative decorative style was difficult to achieve in a room housing very different objects from four different continents.

A key element of the Neues Museum was the Ägyptische Abteilung since the exhibition of Egyptian artefacts as valuable art history was a relatively new concept, as previously mentioned. The Ägyptische Abteilung was therefore the most extensive of the pre-historic and ancient collections on the ground floor and encompassing four highly decorated rooms of the north wing: the *Historischer Saal* (Historical Hall), the *Mythologischer Saal* (Mythological Hall), the *Ägyptischer Hof* (Egyptian courtyard), and the *Gräbersaal* (tomb hall), containing contemporary paintings of Egyptian landmarks, scenes of Egyptian everyday life, and papyrus scrolls, or featuring astronomical and mythological decorations and some of the mummies and sarcophagi.³⁶

³⁴ Ibid., p. 25

³⁵ See: van Wezel, 190.

³⁶ Ibid., 193ff.

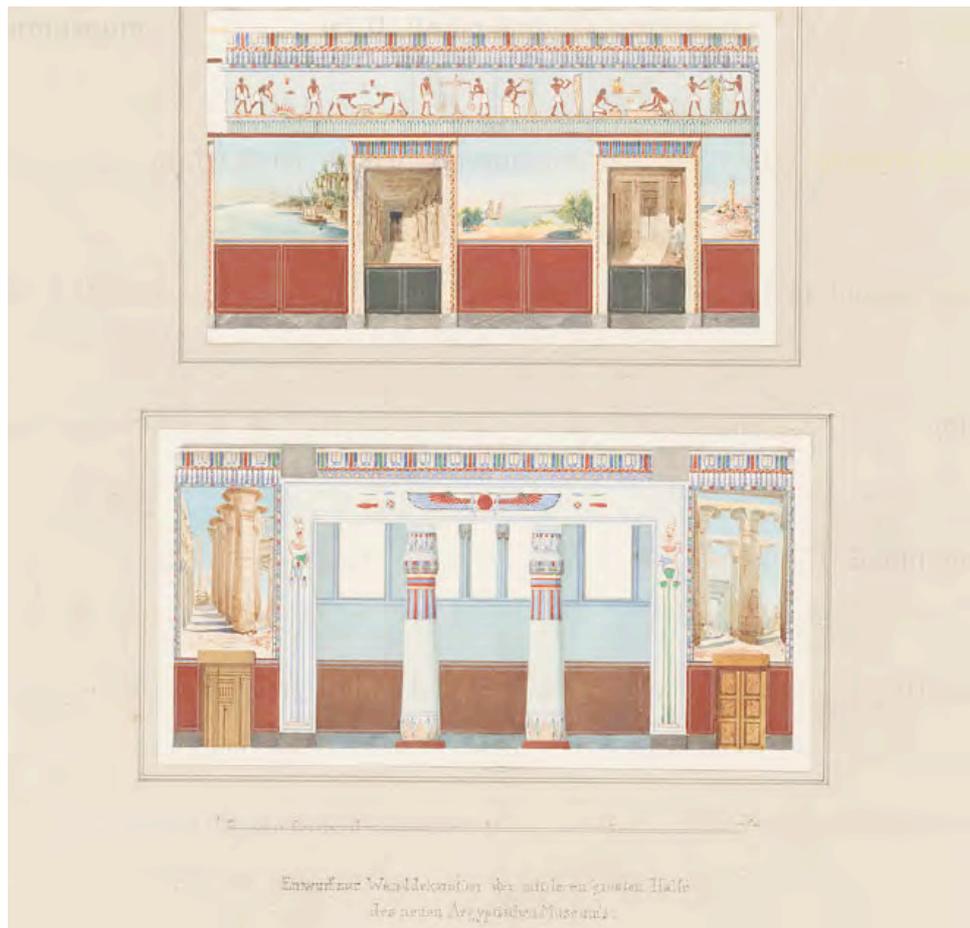


Fig.5: Friedrich August Stüler, 'Entwurf zur Wanddekoration der mittleren grossen Halle des neuen Ägyptischen Museums', TU Berlin Architekturmuseum, Inv. Nr. 17263

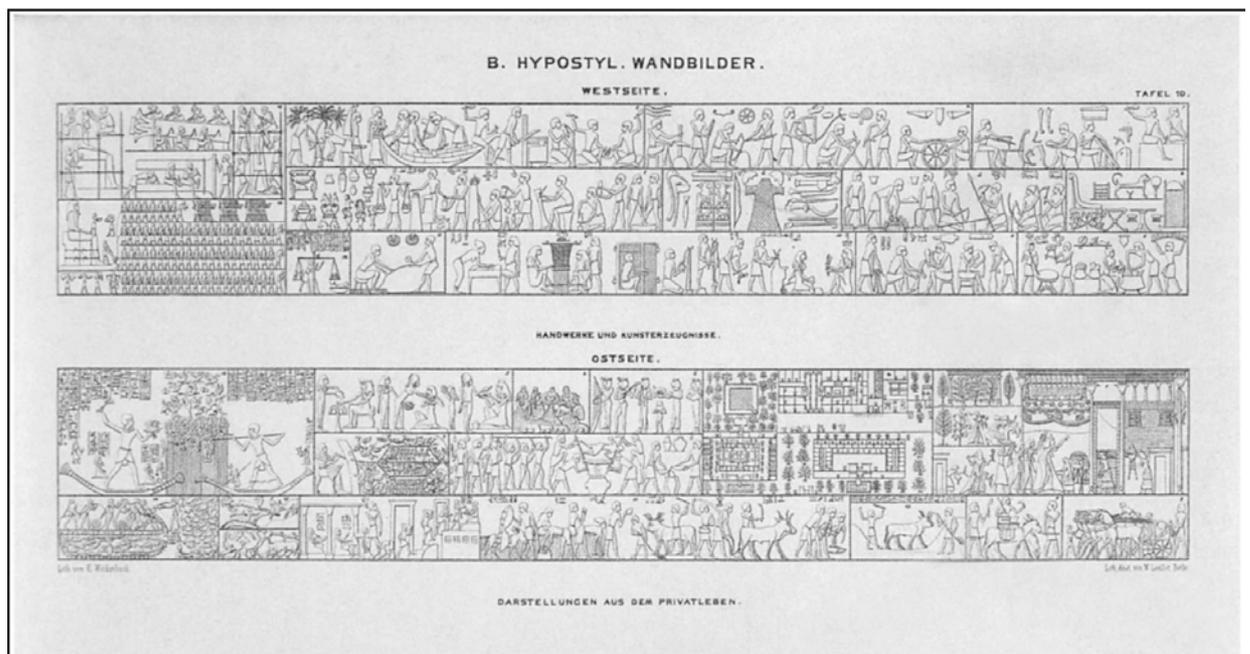


Fig.6: Richard Lepsius, Wandentwürfe für den Hypostyl des Ägyptischen Museums im Neuen Museum, in: Richard Lepsius, Königliche Museen. Abtheilung der Ägyptischen Alterthümer. Die Wandgemälde, Berlin 1855, Taf.10, SBBPK, Ns 4981

The first floor housed the collections of plaster casts and was divided into the Bacchussaal, the Römischer Saal, Mittelalterlicher Saal, Moderner Saal, Griechischer Saal, Apollosaal und Niobidensaal with the linking rooms Nord – and Südkuppelsaal, the Bernwandzimmer and the Lakoonkabinett.³⁷ While the organisation of the sculptures was chronological to begin with, in line with the ‘historicising’ concept of the museum, it was altered by director Carl Bötticher a mere ten years later, in favour of a thematic grouping of the sculptures, as he considered the dating of sculptures to be problematic and controversial.³⁸ The sculptures were therefore thematically divided to be exhibited in their respective rooms.³⁹ His successor Alexander Conze however, was opposed to Bötticher’s exhibition practices and favoured the historical organisation of the plaster casts, but the exhibition of plaster casts was to give way to an increased tendency to use originals only.⁴⁰ This example again illustrates the continuously changing and opposing positions within the museum practice of the Neues Museum and its functionaries.

The second floor housed the etchings cabinet (‘Kupferstichkabinett’) and the so-called *Kunstkammer Abteilung*, the latter of which was transferred to the newly built Museum for Applied Arts (*Kunstgewerbemuseum*). The decorations in the etching cabinet were kept relatively simple and were mainly manufactured from iron. The presentation of artefacts focussed on a representative historical organisation of selected masters and materials. The rooms of the *Kunstkammer* continued the iron

³⁷ The Greek cupola hall was embellished with mythological figures, the imagery of the Roman cupola hall illustrated the transition from Roman to Christian times. The hall of the Middle Ages accommodated ecclesiastical sculptures from Germany, France and England (van Wezel, 200). The Modern Hall held sculptures of from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century divided into German and the non-German objects. (Schasler 1855).

³⁸ Published in: Carl Boetticher, *Königliche Museen. Erklärendes Verzeichnis der Abgüsse Antiker Werke*, Berlin 1871.

³⁹ Van Wezel, 196.

⁴⁰ See: Alexander Conze, ‘Vom Berliner Museum’, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 29, 30 (1872).

constructions and decorations that were even more prevalent on the second floor, and housed arts and crafts objects.

Not only the exhibition halls were extensively decorated, but one key piece of the museum was the staircase with Wilhelm von Kaulbach's wall paintings illustrating (a very particular view of) the history of mankind. Kaulbach was initially commissioned by Friedrich Wilhelm IV after a visit to Kaulbach's studio in 1841 had impressed him with the oil painting 'The destruction of Jerusalem'.⁴¹ The sympathy dwindled however when Kaulbach started to show affinity to Hegel's evolutionary historical philosophy and planned to make the painting 'The Age of the Reformation' the centre piece of the staircase decoration, which was the overarching part of the cycle that hadn't been agreed on previously, but merely been defined by the directive 'ein noch näher zu bestimmender, den ganzen Cyklus bedeutsam abschliessenden Gegenstand; über beide werden noch nähere Beredungen stattfinden'.⁴²



Fig.7: Kaulbach: 'Zeitalter der Reformation',Architekturmuseum TU Berlin, Inv. Nr. F 9138

⁴¹ Later, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, as well as Olfers, vehemently disagreed with Kaulbach's view of the Reformation as the beginning of an age of human progress and freedom of biblical interpretation and conduct, promoting instead the view that the Reformation had brought decay and fragmentation after the prosperous Carolingian symbiosis of state and church (van Wezel, 211-216).

⁴² Ebert, Hans, 'Über die Entstehung, Bewertung und Zerstörung der Wandgemälde Wilhelm von Kaulbachs im Treppenhaus des Neuen Museums zu Berlin. Ein Dokumentarbericht', *Forschungen und Berichte*, 26 (1987), 177-204.

In this way, the organisation and representation of the ‘history of mankind’ as commissioned to Kaulbach sparked many controversies surrounding the sixth painting on the Reformation, but Kaulbach succeeded in 1859 after Friedrich Wilhelm IV.’s brother Wilhelm had gained power. Kaulbach’s work was not completed until 1865 and featured six oil paintings with the themes ‘Turmbau zu Babel’, ‘Homer und die Griechen’, ‘Die Zerstörung Jerusalems’, ‘Die Hunnenschlacht’, ‘Die Kreuzfahrer’, ‘Das Zeitalter der Reformation’.⁴³

The controversy surrounding the inclusion of the Reformation painting into the cycle also reveals more about the different influences representative of the political upheaval and the fast pace of change during the nineteenth century, against the traditionalism of the system. Moreover, the themes of the cycle, as well as the tendency towards an evolutionary view on history and cultures coming to show in Kaulbach’s work, show a shift towards a more nationalised and German-centred view on history – a notion of something not prevalent in Olfers’ or Stüler’s vision of the Neues Museum.⁴⁴

As becomes evident through the examination of the origination process and development of the Neues Museum, views on the representation of history and culture were by no means uncontroversial or monolithic, and support or criticism altered with conflicting parties and decades of construction and decoration.

⁴³ See Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Wandgemälde im Treppenhaus des Neuen Museums zu Berlin* (Berlin: 1870).

⁴⁴ The paintings also promoted a Europe, if not Germanic/Nordic-centred view on history, and a focus on the Christian European cultural victory and superior cultural development of the Germanic race. In combination with the Hegelian philosophy on history’s progression in favour of the higher developed cultures, there is a clear turn towards a national culture mirroring the developments during Kaulbach’s late completion of the cycle in 1865.

Further Development of the Museumsinsel 1867 - 1930

In 1841, before the construction of the Neues Museum had even begun, Friedrich Wilhelm IV expressed interest in a museum with national character and drafted an elevated temple-like building very similar to the later Nationalgalerie building. Stüler began drafting plans for a Nationalgalerie in 1862, which was completed by architect Johann Heinrich Strack in 1876. The Nationalgalerie was initially conceived for housing Prussian paintings, as to date no museum to house contemporary Prussian art existed. Its design and layout was celebrating national sentiments by elevating itself over the other museums and standing apart, a notion of national grandeur that was reinforced by the two-flight staircase and the statue of Friedrich Wilhelm IV. situated in front of the building, as well as the inscription 'Dem Deutschen Volke'.⁴⁵

The concept of the Bodemuseum, formerly called Kaiser Friedrich Museum, originated during the short reign of Kaiser Friedrich III. and was developed by art collector and connoisseur Wilhelm Bode, who would create an elaborate network of art collectors, patrons and traders and shape the character of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum completed under Wilhelm II. in 1904. The Bodemuseum is most commonly read as a symbol for the growing nationalist, imperialist and materialist powers shaping a unified Germany under Wilhelm II., representing the splendour and self-congratulatory style of imperialist Germany in its renaissance pomp.⁴⁶ The Museumsinsel turned into the foremost location for art and culture, with an ever more national focus on displaying cultural wealth and its appreciation as a sign of national superiority. The accumulation of very different museum buildings and concepts on one island illustrates the intentions to manifest the nation's well-educated nature and

⁴⁵ Andres Lepik, 'Die Alte Nationalgalerie', in Andres Lepik (ed.), *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin – Ein europäisches Projekt* (Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2000), pp. 81-84.

⁴⁶ Colin Eisler, 'Bode's Burden. Berlin's Museum as an Imperial Institution', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 38 (1996), 23-32.

the wealth of culture of each emperor by building a museum in the respective style and priorities of the era, each one trying to surpass the previous. The overbearing desire of displaying Germany's (and its Prussian centre's) cultural wealth and understanding was forced to a halt throughout the planning and construction of the Pergamonmuseum which, due to lack of funds, the First World War and building difficulties, was not finished until 1930.

The imperialist utilization of historic art and heritage exhibition for displays of wealth and power can be considered a product of the *Bildungsbürgertum*, according to Glaser.⁴⁷ Particularly in the era termed 'Gründerzeit' art and architecture was utilized to display one's wealth of knowledge and culture, and also to imitate manifold 'historical' styles to add aesthetic decoration to cities and the household. It was this era that brought the notion of canonical art as a status symbol for the new educated middle class and conventionalised signifier of Germany's cultural power, while adhering to strict censorship rules and a narrow image of what aesthetics and art might be. In this way, the move from idealist romanticism to idealist realism in art, the obsession with historicising imitation in architecture combined with the amalgamation of different styles, as well as turning towards historicism and the Biedermeier style in art, could be considered middle class cultural escapism from the reality of nineteenth century political upheaval and industrialisation.

⁴⁷ Hermann Glaser, *Wie Hitler den deutschen Geist zerstörte* (Hamburg: Ellert und Richter, 2005), 14-24.

The Museumsinsel under National Socialism

Research into the use and meaning of the Museumsinsel under the National Socialists is relatively sparse and focuses mainly on selected aspects of the National Socialists' dealings with the Prussian museum heritage, or on surrounding related fields such as the treatment of expressionist art, shifts in theories and personnel in archaeology and art history, architectural practice and general arts politics.⁴⁸

The National Socialist era is generally omitted from public discourse surrounding the Neues Museum and the Museumsinsel, such as newspapers, promotional material or official guides, which in most cases leave off at the completion of the Pergamonmuseum and only return to the history of the museums complex when describing them as victims of the bombings of the Second World War. Schade, however, provides a summary of the history of the Museumsinsel under National Socialism, indicating the architectural plans of Kreis's 'Germania', as well as the closure of the Nationalgalerie.⁴⁹

The well-researched phenomenon of 'Entartete Kunst' gives insight into the alteration and closure that the collections and directors of the Nationalgalerie had to experience during the Third Reich.⁵⁰ After director Ludwig Justi had managed to include Expressionist art into the Nationalgalerie in 1919 and provided an official

⁴⁸ See, for example: Stefan Rebenich, 'Adolf Erman und die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften', in: B. U. Schipper (ed.), *Ägyptologie als Wissenschaft. Adolf Erman (1854-1937) in seiner Zeit* (Berlin and New York: Gruyten, 2006), pp. 340-370; Marion Bertram, 'Zur Situation der deutschen Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung während der Zeit der faschistischen Diktatur', *Forschungen und Berichte*, 31 (1991), 23-42; Altekamp, Stefan,, 'Klassische Archäologie und Nationalsozialismus', <<http://edoc.hu-berlin.de/oa/bookchapters/reD5IMz1lbPVM/PDF/291OSMHgfjGYo.pdf>>, Accessed: 21. May 2008.

An excellent bibliography compiled by the GKNS at <<http://www.welib.de/gkns/biblio.html>>, a collaboration between the universities of Berlin, Bonn, Munich and Karlsruhe, give more insight into the research of art history under the National Socialists and comments on the fact that this field has previously been under-researched.

⁴⁹ Schade, Günther, 'Tradition und Gegenwart. Zur Geschichte der Berliner Museumsinsel', in: Andres Lepik (ed.), *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin. Ein europäisches Projekt*, (Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2000), pp. 25-38.

⁵⁰ Berthold Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich* (Pantheon, 1979), 56.

public platform for contemporary art throughout the 1920s, Expressionist art was gradually removed under the Nazis and the Nationalgalerie eventually closed in July 1937 while objects were partially sold abroad. Justi, like many other academics in the field of art history, archaeology and museum practice, was sacked by the National Socialists. While there is some information on the academic and museum politics and their relation to National Socialism, this relates more to the dismissal of personnel due to disagreements with the National Socialist ideology (e.g. Justi), or Jewish heritage of the employed, such as the Egyptologists Georg Steindorff and Adolf Erman.⁵¹ Erman, a professor at Berlin university and director of the Egyptian department of the royal museums was dismissed by the National Socialists in 1934. Fellow scholar Georg Steindorff decided to leave Germany for exile in the US in 1939, due to his growing discontent with the academy and its influence on scholarship under the National Socialists.

Bertram illustrates in this connection how the ideology of Germanic superiority had developed its roots in the nineteenth-century concept of Social Darwinism by writers such as Gobineau, Chamberlain and Günther, and influenced the role of Pre- and Early History under the National Socialists who utilized these disciplines to justify ideologies of racial superiority.⁵² Hitler himself had contradictory views on the value of pre-historic Germanic artefacts in comparison to the high Greek and Roman cultures,⁵³ but research activity and scholarship in the field

⁵¹ See also: Stefan Rebenich, 'Adolf Erman und die Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften', in: B. U. Schipper (ed.), *Ägyptologie als Wissenschaft. Adolf Erman (1854-1937) in seiner Zeit* (Berlin and New York: Gruyten, 2006), pp. 340-370. For detailed information on the "Nazification" of academia and the arts and culture sector, there is a project on the documentation of Teaching and research activity at German universities 1933-1945 <<http://www.ikg.uni-karlsruhe.de/projekte/kgns/index.htm>>. A further source is Egyptologist in exile Georg Steindorff's private letter concerning the political orientation of leading Egyptologists in Germany <http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/library/ane/digest/v01/v01.n021>.

⁵² Marion Bertram, 'Zur Situation der deutschen Ur- und Frühgeschichtsforschung während der Zeit der faschistischen Diktatur', *Forschungen und Berichte*, 31 (1991), 23-42.

⁵³ While he did not always subscribe to the Germanic Cult, criticising that while the Germanic peoples were making clay jugs, the Greeks were building Acropolis, he also stated that the Germanic peoples

of Pre- and Early History was very quickly synchronised in the *Reichsbund für Deutsche Vorgeschichte*, focusing on research, publication and excavation of Germanic cultural possessions in order to demonstrate ‘Aryan racial superiority’. The *Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften*, as a renowned representative of German scholarship, lost most of its powers and was also brought into line (‘gleichgeschaltet’) with National Socialist ideology through the replacement of personnel by National Socialist appointees.

Despite the lack of comprehensive published material concerning the role of the Museumsinsel during National Socialism, it can be assumed that the museum practices on the Museumsinsel, in terms of personnel and research, suffered a similar fate during the National Socialist regime, as can be concluded from the situation of related disciplines like Egyptology and Pre- and Early History. Apart from the adjustment of historical and art historical scholarship, the National Socialists also planned an expansion of the Museumsinsel as part of the architectural vision ‘Germania’, in combination with a relocation of existing departments. Kreis was planning the extension on the other side of the Spree, opposite the Bodemuseum, and the project included the designs for a Germanic Museum, a Museum of the Nineteenth Century, an Egyptian and Near Ancient East Museum, as well as a World War Museum and an Ethnological Museum⁵⁴. This extensive re-development plan was presumably intended to break up the collections of the Neues Museum in order to shift the Museumsinsel’s emphasis towards an ethnographically centred collection with a focus on Germanic heritage.

experienced a cultural high 1000 years before the Greeks. In: Henry Picker and Percy Ernst Schramm, *Hitlers Tischgespräche im Führerhauptquartier 1941-1942* (Stuttgart: Seewald, 1965), 446.

⁵⁴ For images taken from “Die Kunst im Deutschen Reich, März 1943” see: <<http://www.aphforum.de/forum/viewtopic.php?t=2150>>, Accessed: 21. March 2008.

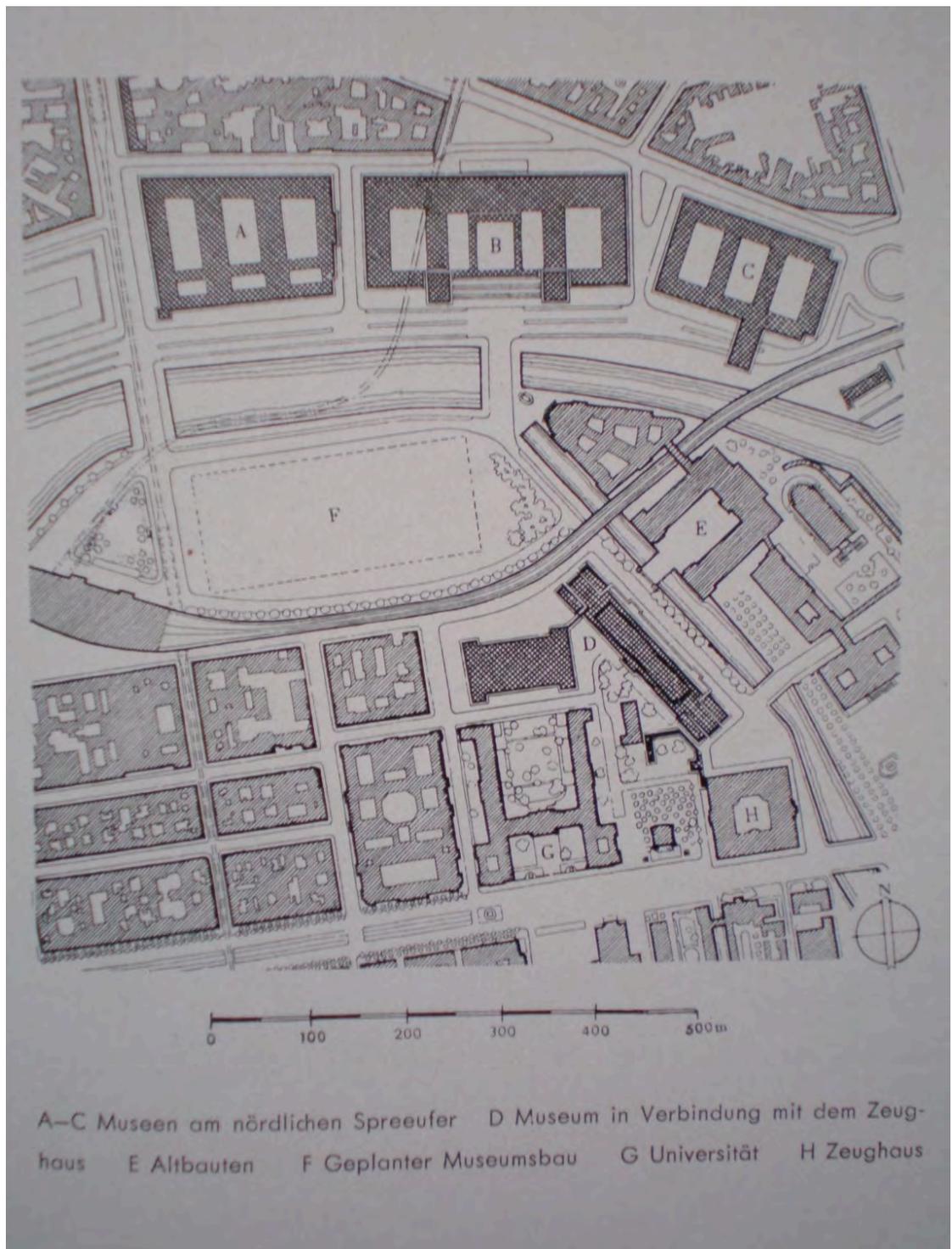


Fig.8: Map of buildings planned by Kreis and existing museum buildings, 'Die Kunst im Deutschen Reich, März 1943'

<<http://www.aphforum.de/forum/viewtopic.php?t=2150>>

As far as assumptions can be made about the position on existing heritage however, the National Socialist's affinity towards classicism is well-known and is evident not only in the National Socialist's neo-classicist architecture, but also in Hitler's interest in the utilization of the Munich Glyptothek and the Königsplatz, as well as the Lustgarten area for conventions, or the 1942 exhibition 'Das Sowjetparadies'.⁵⁵ In regards to the role of the Museumsinsel for the National Socialists, especially in comparison with the Munich Glyptothek and the Königsplatz, it is evident that Munich played a far greater role as the 'Hauptstadt der Bewegung', with its headquarters and the 'Temple of Honour' (built for Hitler to house those killed in the 1923 Putsch) adjacent to the Königsplatz. Hitler utilized the square as well as Klenze's Glyptothek (often compared to the Altes Museum) to blend in to the nationalised view on ever-present history and heritage, with the achievements of nineteenth-century Germany alongside the Nazi monuments and 'heroes'. Diebold describes in his analysis of the restoration of the Aegina pediments how the area was in need of 'de-nazification' due to its close architectural, geographical and ideological links with the National Socialists who had made the uncritical reception of this historically synchronized *Gesamtkunstwerk* impossible. National Socialist ideology had merged the histories represented into a superior nationalist one, as Hitler said on the spirit of antiquity that mankind had never been nearer to antiquity in appearance and sensibility than it was today.⁵⁶

Just as the Lustgarten was used as a military and convention area, the Nazis utilized the historical surroundings to emphasize German historical heritage, but

⁵⁵ See also: Hermann Glaser, *Wie Hitler den deutschen Geist zerstörte* (Hamburg: Ellert und Richter, 2005), 221-22; Diebold, William J, 'The Politics of Derestoration: The Aegina Pediments and the German Confrontation with the Past', *Art Journal*, 54 (1995), 60-66.

⁵⁶ Alexander Heilmeyer, 'Die Stadt Adolf Hitlers', *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* 33 (Dec. 1935), cited in Scobie, *Hitler's State Architecture*, 63; see also 'Der Führer eröffnet die "Grosse deutsche Kunstausstellung 1937"', *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* 1 (July/Aug. 1937), 60.

seemed to have been selective with the cultural goods exhibited in the different departments. Many works were sold off or exchanged for more valuable objects, as one anecdote concerning the Nefertiti head – now the key object of the re-opening Neues Museum – confirms. Göring wanted to exchange the Nefertiti against other valuable objects from Kairo but was held back by Hitler.⁵⁷ It can be assumed that this was more due to the inherent value of the object and the related power politics in possessing such foreign artefacts.

National Socialism did not pass the Museumsinsel by, as illustrated by the dismissal of personnel, the looting and sealing of valuable artefacts and artwork, the focus on Germanic research and heritage and the utilization of heritage and antiquity for National Socialist ideology, but it appears to have played a lesser role than the Munich environment and Prussian heritage due to the geographical centre of the National Socialists. Through just having reached completion before the Nazis' accession to power, it is understandable why the Museumsinsel is portrayed as a victim of National Socialism in dominating discourses, and less as a place pervaded by National Socialism itself. However, the controversy surrounding the restoration of the Neues Museum demonstrates how representing histories is generally a sensitive matter in Germany, while the question remains to what extent this issue is site-specific.

⁵⁷ Wente, Claudia. Warum Berlin die Nofrete streitig gemacht wird. 09.05.2007
<<http://debatte.welt.de/kommentare/20823/warum+berlin+die+nofretete+streitig+gemacht+wird>>, Accessed: 13. February 2008.

Chapter Three

The competition and Chipperfield's restoration concept

Introduction

After the National Socialist regime and the ensuing war brought on the conceptual and physical destruction of the merely completed museum ensemble - originally envisioned as a place of education, enlightenment and betterment of humanity - and lack of GDR funds did not allow restoration, the Museumsinsel had to be reinvented for a united Berlin and Germany following 1989. The intentions for measures to be taken on the terrain were restorative as well as regenerative, focussing on the rehabilitation of the Neues Museum, but also on accessibility of the site for tourism, as part of a regeneration of Berlin Mitte. In the initial proceedings of the competition, as well as the restoration process, it is possible to see what the fundamental propositions of both the governing bodies, as well as the architectural practices involved were, and how they tie in with contemporary issues of urban planning, as well as with guidelines of conservation practice that had to be adhered to. In this way, it can be outlined in which form the rebirth of the Museumsinsel as a whole is intended to be achieved, some 70 years after its completion and 60 years after its destruction. In terms of the Neues Museum it gives insight into the priorities and philosophy of the authorities regarding its restoration, and thereby allows conclusions concerning preferred representations of the historiographies inscribed in the location.

Between War and Unification

Having already suffered substantial losses in the museums' inventories during the first years of the Nazi regime (through the 'Entartete Kunst' programme), the museums were largely cleared following the beginning of the war from 1939 onwards and subsequently used for Propaganda exhibitions, such as the exhibition 'Großdeutschlands Freiheitskampf 1813-1815' in the Nationalgalerie in 1940, or the exhibition 'Großdeutsche Heimkehr' in the Altes Museum in 1941/42.⁵⁸ As bombing raids on Berlin started, the staircase of the Neues Museum was destroyed first in November 1943, while the whole Museum Island was heavily bombed on February 3rd 1945, and the Altes and Neues Museum were hit again on March 21st 1945, leaving the Neues Museum almost completely destroyed. Apart from the destruction of a large part of the existing buildings, the collections also suffered heavily from looting and the previous removal into storage into what was to become the Western Zone. The Soviet Red Army looted about two thousand paintings, hundreds of sculptures, hundred thousands of coins and medals as well as most of the antique collections under the pretext of confiscating them for safety reasons.⁵⁹ Other parts of the collections had previously been taken to be stored in Western parts of Germany, in anticipation of occupation at the end of the war, it was considered better to leave the art collections to the Western Allies than to have them fall into the hands of the Soviets.⁶⁰ This relocation made it politically difficult to return the collections after the formal division of Germany in 1949 and the Museumsinsel had lost its former glory in architecture and art.

⁵⁸ See: Günther Schade, *Die Berliner Museumsinsel. Zerstörung, Rettung, Wiederaufbau* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1986), p.11-13.

⁵⁹ See: Günther Schade, 'Tradition und Gegenwart. Zur Geschichte der Berliner Museumsinsel', in: Andres Lepik (ed.), *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin. Ein europäisches Projekt* (Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2000), pp.25-38 (p. 34).

⁶⁰ This episode is related in the ZDF documentary: 'Raubgut und Beutekunst: Die verlorenen Schätze der Museumsinsel' (ZDF, 2007).

During the years of the GDR period, academic and research work was taken up again after Ludwig Justi had been reinstated as the Director of the Museumsinsel in 1946, and exhibitions of relocated paintings took place in the ruins of the Schlossmuseum and the Zeughaus. Soviet functionaries had issued a decree that promised to return all evacuated artefacts, once the Germans had restored their respective museums to allow safe storage for them.⁶¹ In 1949 the GDR government together with the reconstruction committee, issued a reconstruction plan focussing mainly on the Nationalgalerie, the Pergamonmuseum and the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum (renamed 'Bodemuseum' in 1956). The Nationalgalerie opened for exhibitions on the ground floor in 1949, while the Pergamonmuseum and the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum were partially opened for exhibitions, and the Altes Museum was reopened in 1966. In 1965 plans for a new building to be erected in place of the Neues Museum, either as a new museum space or an entrance building, were developed by architect M.Woldt, but due to lack of financial means these designs remained, as Phillip Meuser termed it, 'Papierarchitektur'.⁶² In general it was not possible to conduct a full restoration of the Museumsinsel including the Neues Museum due to the lack of a significant amount of objects, as well as the critical financial situation of the GDR regime. Intentions for a restoration were then only set out in a 20 year plan in 1985, with the laying of the foundation stone in 1989, and then taken over by the Federal German government after unification.

⁶¹ See: Günther Schade, p. 34.

⁶² Phillip Meuser, 'Die ungebraute Museumsinsel', in: Carola Wedel (ed.), *Die neue Museumsinsel. Der Mythos, der Plan, die Vision* (Berlin: Nicolai, 2002), pp. 178-187 (p. 184).

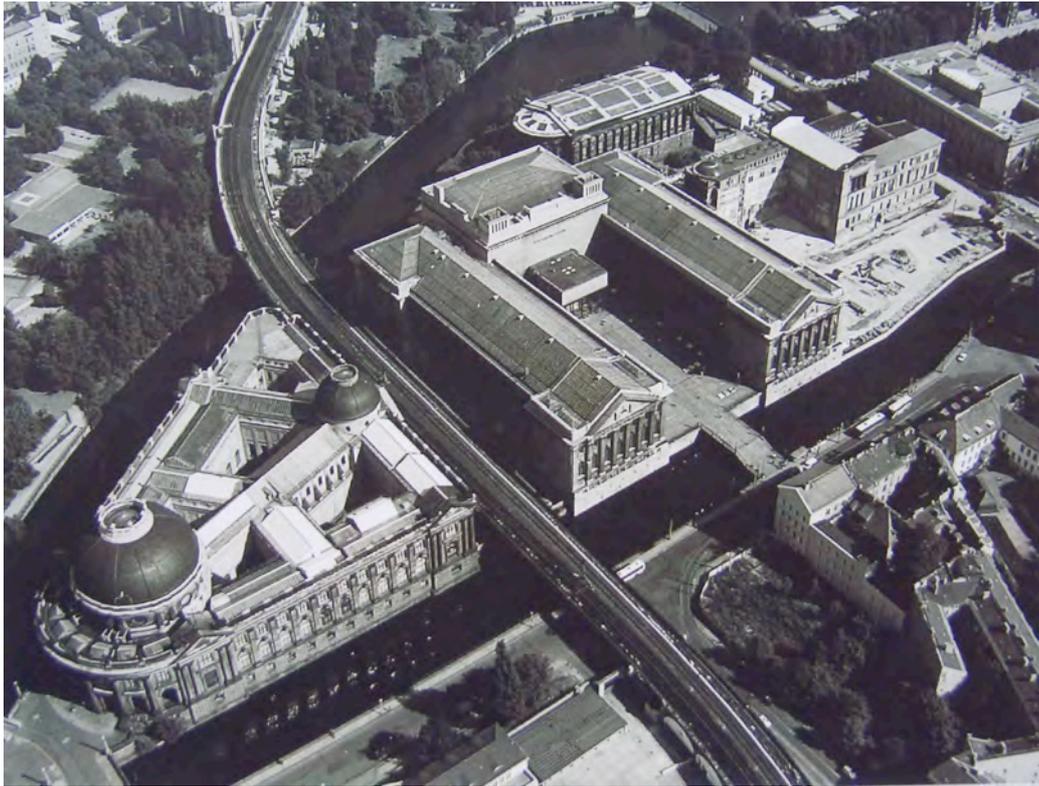


Fig. 9: Aerial view on Museumsinsel, in: Fernando Marquez Cecilia, Richard Levene (eds.), *David Chipperfield, 1998-2004: Dense Minimalism*, El Croquis 120 (El Croquis: Madrid, 2004), p. 75

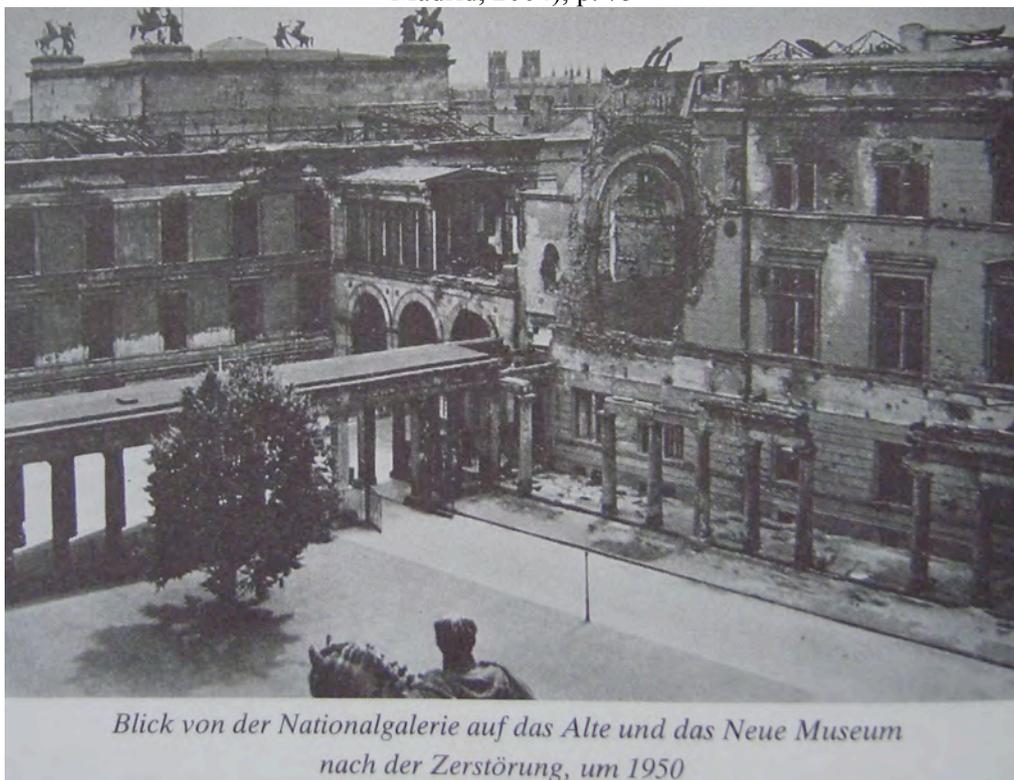


Fig. 10: View on The Altes and Neues Museum after destruction, around 1950, in: Schade, Günther, *Die Berliner Museumsinsel. Zerstörung, Rettung, Wiederaufbau* (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1986), p. 16



Fig. 11: Mittelalterlicher Saal in the Neues Museum (Photography: Ryuji Miyamoto)

The objectives of the architectural competition 1993/94

Following unification and the bringing together of the previously separated collections, the Bundesbaudirektion (BBD) with the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz announced the ‘limited competition for the restoration of the Neues Museum and erection of supplementary and connecting buildings with the aim of joining together the archaeological collections of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz’⁶³ to eighteen architectural practices in 1993.⁶⁴ The main objectives of the restoration concept were to restore the Neues Museum according to preservation guidelines, to unite the individual buildings into a more accessible ensemble, possibly by the use of colonnades, and to make the Museumsinsel more accessible to tourists by designing an entry and services building. The plan to make the existing buildings of the Museumsinsel more of an ensemble was similar to Stüler’s initial concept of the ‘Freistätte für Kunst und Wissenschaft’, but also took into account touristic and economic viability. The plans for colonnades and a museum promenade are aimed to guide the visitor towards a covered, as well as a manageable and comfortable tour of all museums, and make it a more attractive tourist destination. Similar in fulfilling the demands of twenty-first-century museum tourism is the plan to build an entry building hosting facilities and museum shop, which is a world away from Schinkel’s concept of the ‘Spree-Athen’, as described by Schuster.⁶⁵

⁶³ Amber Sayah, *Museumsinsel Berlin. Wettbewerb für das Neue Museum/Competition for the Neues Museum* (Stuttgart: avedition, 1994), p. 1.

⁶⁴ Sixteen practices responded and took part in the competition: Oswald Matthias Ungers (Cologne), Roland Simounet (Paris), Pleuser und Staab (Berlin), Hans Kohlhoff (Berlin), Josef Paul Kleihüs (Berlin), Uwe Kiessler (Munich), Hilmer und Sattler (Berlin-Munich), Busmann und Haberer (Cologne), Schweger und Partner (Hamburg), Juan Navarro Baldeweg (Madrid), Axel Schultes (Berlin), Frank O.Gehry (Santa Monica), Francesco Venezia (Naples), David Chipperfield (London), Giorgio Grassi (Milan).

⁶⁵ See: Klaus-Peter Schuster, ‘Berliner Museumspläne’, In: Andres Lepik, *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin. Ein europäisches Projekt* (Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2000), pp. 11-24, (p. 19).

On the other hand, there are clear references to a preservation-led restoration concept in the competition publication from 1994, as Wolfgang Wolters outlined in his contribution ‘Überlegungen zum Umgang mit dem Neuen Museum’.⁶⁶ Key statements illustrate the type of restoration favoured by the BBD, through Wolters’ recommendations such as ‘eine Zerstörung der konstruktiven und dekorativen Elemente ist nicht denkbar...[...]...Das ursprüngliche Konzept Stülers, die Räume in ‘größtmöglicher Harmonie mit den auszustellenden Gegenständen’ auszustatten, wäre heute nur noch in den allerseltensten Fällen verwirklichtbar[...]Die Rekonstruktion des Verlorenen scheint mir im Neuen Museum aus verschiedenen Gründen nicht durchführbar’.⁶⁷ Wolters argues from a clear preservationist perspective and approves of the preservationist approach favoured by the awarding bodies, regardless of what he calls the usual disregard for the preservation of monuments and historic buildings (‘Denkmalpflege’) in public and political opinion. He favours a sensitive and preserving approach in dealing with the Neues Museum, and declares the necessity of highly skilled preservation architects and sophisticated technical knowledge to secure existing components and conduct the restoration in an appropriate way. He rejects the idea of a complete restoration as it would firstly lead to discolouring and differences in surface colouring between the old and the new segments of restored elements, and an entire reapplication in completely destroyed parts would be an insult and a lie to both expert and layman.⁶⁸ He furthermore distances himself from the idea of imitating Stüler’s concept of a scenic presentation of the exhibited artefacts, as something not only made impossible by the wartime bombing but also not feasible as a contemporary exhibition strategy. In similar vein he refers to the restoration of the

⁶⁶ See: Wolfgang Wolters, ‘Überlegungen zum Umgang mit dem Neuen Museum’, in: Amber Sayah (ed.), *Museumsinsel Berlin. Wettbewerb zum Neuen Museum/Competition for the Neues Museum* (Stuttgart: avedition, 1994) pp. 18-20.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18-19.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

staircase not in terms of reconstructing the lost decorative elements, but the construction design of a central staircase in general. The concept of ‘preserve not restore’ is echoed in Wolter’s account of how an appropriate restoration should be conducted – showing signs of decay and destruction where inevitable, while carefully preserving existing structure and decorations, visible and invisible after completion, all in regard to the Berliner Denkmalschutzgesetz⁶⁹ (Law for the Preservation and Protection of Monuments and Historic Buildings for the Federal County of Berlin). Wolf-Dieter Dube, on the other hand, concentrates on the details of the management and regeneration aspects of the Museumsinsel as a whole in ‘Zielvorstellungen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin’.⁷⁰ He more closely describes the commonalities between the Altes Museum, the Neues Museum, and the Pergamon Museum, and proceeds to explain how the different collections⁷¹ will be hosted across the museums and intersect, and not be confined to one particular exhibition space. Dube emphasises the intention to make the collections on the Museumsinsel one entity for the visitor, by the management of the collections, as well as the connection of buildings to create round tours of the Museumsinsel - a full tour route, as well as a short tour - and the access via a contemporary entry complex designed to manage the anticipated three to four million visitors per year.

From these sources it can be concluded that the main objectives of the guarantors of the project focused on the preservation aspect in the restoration, as well

⁶⁹ Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin, Law for the Protection of Historic Properties in Berlin, <http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/service/gesetzestexte/de/download/denkmal/DSchG_Bln_en.pdf>, [Accessed: 26.08.2008].

⁷⁰ See: Wolf-Dieter Dube, ‘Zielvorstellungen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin’ in: Amber Sayah (ed.), *Museumsinsel Berlin. Wettbewerb zum Neuen Museum/Competition for the Neues Museum* (Stuttgart: avedition, 1994), p. 24-25 (p. 24).

⁷¹ Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Vorderasiatisches Museum, Ägyptisches Museum und die Papyrussammlung, Antikensammlung, Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Museum für Islamische Kunst.

as the regeneration aspect of the island as a whole. In this instance it is notable that preservation, not full reconstruction, is given such a significant role in the restoration of the Neues Museum (as opposed to the Altes Museum that was restored fully under the GDR government in 1966). Wolters explicitly mentions that it is not intended to display the 'heile Welt' (ideal world), but a fragmented, aged environment showing signs of decay and destruction.⁷² All these competition-related emphases on preservation, as well as the regeneration of the island's infrastructure for tourism, predate the listing of the Museumsinsel as a UNESCO world heritage site in 1999. However, they already establish the priority given to preservation rather than reconstruction in the minds of those judging the competition.

The three most significant competition entries

The winning entry in the initial 1994 competition was architect Giorgio Grassi (Milan), with later competition winner David Chipperfield (London) in second place. Following in third and fourth place were Francesco Venezia (Naples) and the more famous Frank Gehry (Santa Monica). In later reconsiderations for the winner, the decision appears to have been made between Chipperfield and Gehry, the latter losing to the former because Chipperfield had a more conventional approach to the restoration and regeneration.⁷³ The main regenerative planning elements in Grassi's concept were the rejection of a connection between Neues Museum and Altes Museum as designed by Stüler, the creation of an entry to the Pergamonmuseum from the direction of the Kupfergraben and the transformation of the adjoining courtyard into a garden and the connection of the existing buildings by colonnades. Concerning

⁷² "Die fast überall sichtbaren Verluste werden dabei auch zur Reflexion über Altern, Beschädigung und Zerstörung anregen [...] Nicht allein die 'heile Welt' gut erhaltener oder gar unbeschädigter Räume ist ein angemessener Rahmen für gealterte, auf vielerlei Art vom Menschen und dem Zahn der Zeit veränderte, oft fragmentierte Kunstwerke.", Wolfgang Wolters (p. 18).

⁷³ See: Klaus-Peter Schuster, p. 18.

the restoration of the Neues Museum, Grassi's plans illustrate a minimalist, non-decorative and technical reconstruction of the façade, and while there is no direct reference to the restoration of the interior, Wolters refers critically to Grassi's proposal to eliminate the Bacchussaal and supports the idea of utilising the reconstructed (but not redecorated staircase as an additional exhibition space).⁷⁴ The jury furthermore commented on the proposal by criticising the idea of the colonnades behind the Neues Museum as too casual for an access to the museum, but advocating the idea of transforming the courtyard of the Pergamonmuseum into a garden space.⁷⁵

In general Grassi's proposal appears to have won the competition for its overall restructuring and management of space and access to the museum, as well as its plans for a rather minimalist and strict restoration of the Neues Museum. Grassi's restoration concept is certainly not nostalgic in its approach, which is evident in his plans not to retain the Bacchussaal and the austere construction of a connecting building with a minimalist façade and little window space facing the Kupfergraben, and no decorations or attempts to reconstruct the original style.

David Chipperfield's 1994 concept in second place exhibits a more modern approach to the regenerative urban planning aspects, and an ambiguous view on the restoration of the Neues Museum. Chipperfield's proposal recommends a new modern building behind the Neues Museum, which would work as a 'collection link' between the Neues Museum and the Pergamonmuseum and is intended to hold the Egyptian temple and Nefertiti in a transparent glass and steel construction visibly 'enthroned' over the river. In terms of the existing building however, Chipperfield Architects proposed to rebuild the Neues Museum 'so vollständig und authentisch wie möglich', and to reconstruct the central staircase to stabilise the building. As there are no further

⁷⁴ See: Wolfgang Wolters, p. 18.

⁷⁵ See: Amber Sayah, *Museumsinsel Berlin. Wettbewerb für das Neue Museum/Competition for the Neues Museum* (Stuttgart: avedition, 1994), p. 47.

details concerning the restoration aspect, the wording of ‘as complete and authentic as possible’ leaves the degree of reconstruction relatively open. It does not allow us to conclude whether ‘full and authentic’ means structurally or decoratively authentic, nor whether it means ‘authentic’ towards the original or ‘authentic’ in terms of preservation guidelines. The wording ‘as possible’ furthermore suggests a wide scope of what is or what is not possible in the opinion of the jury and the restrictions of the highly damaged remaining material. The jury however noted that Chipperfield Architects presented the only proposal suggesting a full restoration, and in particular of the staircase, but concludes that the proposal did not win due to differences in opinion over the modern building in such a historical space.⁷⁶

The architectural practice in third place, Francesco Venezia, proposed the attachment of a new building onto the wing next to the Pergamonmuseum, but was turned down for obstructing desired pathways and connections between buildings and impeding the functionality of the museum ensemble.⁷⁷ The proposal in fourth place, Frank Gehry’s, was later reviewed again to replace Giorgio Grassi’s and carries a very Gehryesque signature in its very modern and dominating design. Gehry’s design suggests the building of a sequence of additional galleries on the Kupfergraben bank, making the Neues Museum the centre and entrance of the island, as well as structurally connecting Altes Museum, Neues Museum and Pergamonmuseum. In this way, Gehry restructures the context of the buildings to each other towards more of a connected entity, but also adds a bold, contemporary architectural contribution to the ensemble on the Museumsinsel. In the initial competition the jury considered the proposal ‘too showy’ in its modern and bold approach.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ See: *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁷⁷ See: *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

Following the result of the 1993/94 competition, the architectural firm and the authorities entered into lengthy negotiations over the exact realisation of the proposal, but could not come to an agreement. The jury committee then decided to re-evaluate the five top competition entries, excluding Grassi, in order to establish a solution for the restoration and regeneration of the Neues Museum and the Museumsinsel. After rejecting Gehry's proposal, the jury came to an agreement with David Chipperfield Architects in 1997, and to a new approach for the regeneration of the island ensemble. The new approach included the collaboration of different architects for the individual museum buildings under Chipperfield's overall Masterplan, the restoration of the Neues Museum by Chipperfield, as well as the construction of a new entrance building between Neues Museum and Kupfergraben in order to host the necessary facilities.

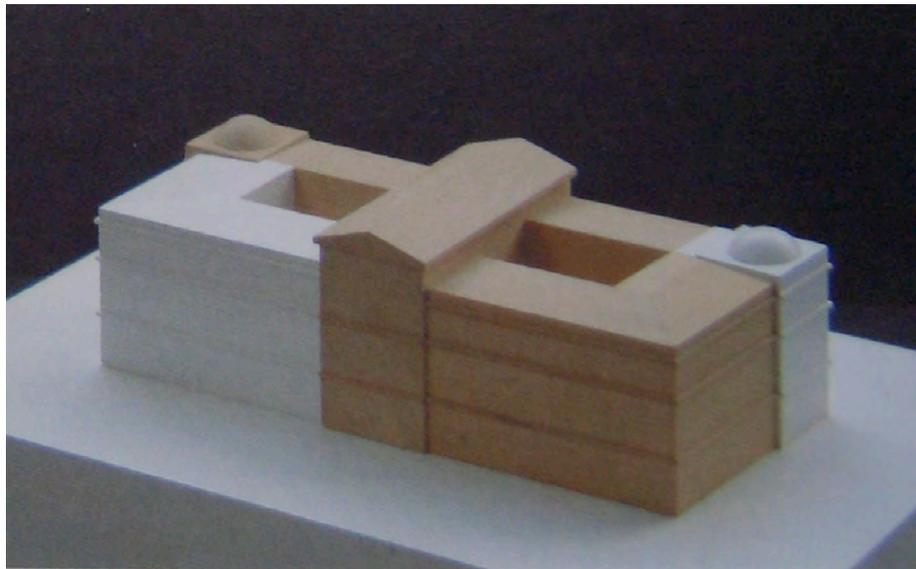


Fig. 12: Concept Model Neues Museum (David Chipperfield Architects), in: Fernando Marquez Cecilia, Richard Levene (eds.), *David Chipperfield, 1998-2004: Dense Minimalism*, El Croquis 120 (El Croquis: Madrid, 2004), p. 74

Chipperfield's restoration concept in progress

After the long period of negotiation concerning the degrees and levels to which the museum could be restored and the existing infrastructure updated to accommodate the entrance building and a pathway for tours, the committee, the BDD and the partaking architects and preservationists appear to have developed a practicable approach that is said to be conservative in nature.⁷⁹ Chipperfield and conservation architect Julian Harrap themselves refer to preservation guidelines required for heritage of such status, such as the Denkmalschutzgesetz of Berlin and the international conservation guidelines of ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites), while they also had to work according to the UNESCO operational guidelines after the Museumsinsel gained World Heritage Site status in 1999.

The Denkmalschutzgesetz of Berlin is one of the more mandatory guidelines prescribed by law to the architects and lists under §1(1) that 'The function of historic property protection and maintenance is to protect historic properties as specified by this law, to preserve and maintain them, to scientifically research and spread historic preservation ideas and knowledge.'⁸⁰ A clear emphasis is put on the prescription to 'preserve' and 'maintain', and it is declared furthermore under §11(1) that 'Only with authorization of the proper historic property authority may a historic property be 1. altered in its appearance, [...] 4. renovated, restored or modified in its use.'⁸¹ The preferred approach for dealing with historical property is to preserve and to maintain,

⁷⁹ See: Klaus-Peter Schuster, 'Berliner Museumspläne', In: Andres Lepik, *Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin. Ein europäisches Projekt* (Berlin: G+H Verlag, 2000), pp. 11-24, (p. 18).

⁸⁰ Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin, Law for the Protection of Historic Properties in Berlin (Historic Preservation Law Berlin - DSchG Bln) (Law and Ordinance Paper (GVBL.) pg. 274 of April 24, 1995, as amended per art. II no. 1 and 2 of the law of 7.4.1997 Law and Ordinance Paper (GVBL.) pg. 376, and art. IV of the law of 5.17.1999 Law and Ordinance Paper (GVBL.) pg. 178), <http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/service/gesetzestexte/de/download/denkmal/DSchG_Bln_en.pdf>, Accessed 26.06.2008.

⁸¹ Ibid.

and only after expert judgement and with permission by the Council for preservation may restoration or other degrees of modification take place. More precise guidelines on appropriate Denkmalpflege providing further information on the allowances for modifications on historical property are outlined by the ICOMOS, which is documentation also employed by Chipperfield and Harrap to illustrate their restoration concept and defend it against critics.⁸²

The principles of preservation are most concisely summarised in the Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (1964),⁸³ declaring historical sites to be ‘living witnesses of their age-old traditions’ that it is our ‘duty to hand (them) on in the full richness of their authenticity’ and goes on to define in Article 3 of the document that ‘the intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence.’ In respect to the extent and nature of dealing with historic property and sites, in particular the processes of restoration, renovation and reconstruction, the Charter prescribes in Article 6 that ‘No new construction, demolition or modification which would alter the relations of mass and colour must be allowed’; in Article 12 that ‘replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence.’; and in reference to reconstruction says under Article 15 that ‘All reconstruction work should however be ruled out ‘a priori’. Only anastylosis, that is to say, the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts can be permitted. The material used for integration should always be recognizable and its use

⁸² David Chipperfield Architects, ‘The Neues Museum – Berlin. Restoration, Repair and Intervention’, The Soane Gallery June 20-September 6 2008, Sir John Soane Museum (exhibition booklet).

⁸³ ICOMOS, ‘International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter- 1964)’, < http://www.icomos.org/docs/venice_charter.html>, Accessed: 26 June 2008.

should be the least that will ensure the conservation of a monument and the reinstatement of its form.’⁸⁴

Michael Petzet elaborates on these guidelines in further ICOMOS documentation on the preservation of monuments and sites⁸⁵ which appear to be echoed in the preservation principles of Chipperfield and Harrap with regard to the Neues Museum. In his officially acknowledged definition of what constitutes adequate conservation procedures, Petzet distinguishes mainly between the different approaches to conservation, restoration, renovation, reconstruction and rebuilding of protected historic monuments. Conservation includes the processes of maintenance and repair and is the favoured approach to preservation, entailing the careful continuous maintenance of buildings, as well as the repair within the constraints of traditional materials and techniques under the premise of the reversibility of all measures taken. The aspect of remaining within the limits of what can be considered scientifically ‘authentic’ for the respective object or site, as well as the reversibility of preservation measures continues through all the methods of preservation discussed. Restoration, according to Petzet, goes beyond mere safeguarding in order to re-establish the overall historic value and appearance of the building ‘based on respect for original material and authentic documents’, meaning the layers of time visible in the object must be respected and restoration should not falsify the historic fabric. Renovation, however, is to be avoided in the majority of all cases, as it signifies a severe modification of the object that would result in the loss of original historic evidence but is acceptable in rare cases when not renovating would result in the

⁸⁴ ICOMOS, ‘International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (The Venice Charter- 1964)’, <http://www.icomos.org/docs/venice_charter.html>, Accessed: 26 June 2008.

⁸⁵ Michael Petzet, ‘Principles of Conservation’, ICOMOS, <<http://www.icomos.de/poc.php>>, Accessed: 2 July 2008.

complete loss of the artefact. A similar stance is taken with regard to reconstruction⁸⁶ and rebuilding⁸⁷ of monuments, as Petzet explains that ‘the preservationist’s skepticism regarding any form of reconstruction is based first of all on the knowledge that history is not reversible: in certain circumstances a fragmentary state offers the only valid, unfalsified artistic statement. Indeed even a totally destroyed monument is evidence of history, evidence that would be lost in a ‘reconstruction’...’.⁸⁸ Despite his plea to avoid the most interventionist methods, he qualifies this claim by stating the need for employing different approaches in different scenarios after thorough scientific and technical research and consideration to establish what is best for each individual case.

However, Petzet treats the phenomenon of rebuilding sites of historical significance as an exceptional process that is salient for the cultural re-assertion of the nation in crisis after a catastrophe, such as Europe after the Second World War. In these cases, he concludes, the preservationist approach should still be true to the original but the collective sentiment of rebuilding what is lost to recreate a sense of familiarity, belonging and control outweighs the dogma of not rebuilding a historic site.⁸⁹

The importance of preservation for the collective national sentiment was also explored by Georg Dehio (also referenced by Chipperfield in his writing on the restoration of the Neues Museum⁹⁰), art historian and founding father of conservation

⁸⁶ “a re-establishment of a lost original on the basis of pictorial, written or material evidence” (Michael Petzet, VI.).

⁸⁷ “the re-establishment of structures that have been destroyed by accident, by natural catastrophe...or by the events of war; in general destruction took place in the recent past. The term ‘rebuilding’ does not include the necessity to approximate the appearance of the lost original.” (Michael Petzet, VI.)

⁸⁸ Michael Petzet.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ David Chipperfield Architects, ‘The Neues Museum – Berlin. Restoration, Repair and Intervention’, The Soane Gallery June 20-September 6 2008, Sir John Soane Museum (exhibition booklet), p. 1.

theory, who was famous for his catchphrase ‘konservieren, nicht restaurieren’.⁹¹ As opposed to former periods, so Dehio argued at the turn of the twentieth century, conservation is part of our national existence.⁹² He advanced the view that nineteenth century conservation, or rather restoration practice, had been misconceived and caused enormous damage to historic sites, objects and buildings through modification and falsification of artefacts to achieve the then so popular ‘unity of style’. For Dehio, these modifications were fostering a perception of the historical that is fictional and unauthentic and causing the destruction of existing original material, based on the tendency towards nostalgic delusion.⁹³

As well as drawing upon Dehio and the Venice Charter, Chipperfield employs John Ruskin’s text ‘The Lamp Of Memory’⁹⁴ whose view on rebuilding in restoration is similarly critical. Ruskin, also referring to the falsifying restorations of the nineteenth century, asks to

‘...not [let us] talk then of restoration. The thing is a Lie from beginning to end. You may make a model of a building as you may of a corpse, and your model may have the shell of the old walls within it as your cast might have the skeleton, with what advantage I neither see nor care: but the old building is destroyed...’⁹⁵

⁹¹ Georg Dehio, ‘Denkmalschutz und Denkmalpflege im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert’, Festrede an der Kaiser-Wilhelms-Universität zu Straßburg, den 27. Januar 1905, in: *Kunsthistorische Aufsätze*, (München/Berlin 1914) p. 261-281 (p. 280).

⁹² “Wir konservieren ein Denkmal nicht, weil wir es für schön halten, sondern weil es ein Stück unseres nationalen Daseins ist.” (Dehio, p. 268).

⁹³ “Auf der einen Seite, die vielleicht verkürzte, verblaßte Wirklichkeit, aber immer Wirklichkeit — auf der andern die Fiktion. Hier wie überall hat die Romantik den gesunden Sinn des konservativen Prinzips verfälscht. Man kann eben nur konservieren was noch ist — “was vergangen, kehrt nicht wieder”. Nichts ist berechtigter gewiß als Trauer und Zorn über ein entstelltes, zerstörtes Kunstwerk; aber wir stehen hier einer Tatsache gegenüber, die wir hinnehmen müssen, wie die Tatsache von Alter und Tod überhaupt; in Täuschungen Trost suchen wollen wir nicht.” (Dehio, p. 274-75).

⁹⁴ John Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (New York: Wiley & Halsted, 1857).

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 162.

In his illustration of his ideas for the restoration of the Neues Museum, Chipperfield opens with these references in order to point towards these controversies as something very contemporary, with the desire to rebuild and reconstruct still very present in the public and the media; but rejects the idea of reconstructing the museum ‘as it was’: ‘Historical reconstruction would require suppression, if not destruction, of original material in a desire for the ‘made new again’.’⁹⁶

But Chipperfield also remarks that for him, no moral authority of any of the preservation methods exists, as long as the methods for the different sites in the museum are appropriate with respect to the whole and have been thoroughly researched and tested. This relativity would depend on the specific location and state of decay at hand – varying greatly across the museum site – and is expected to offer a more multi-layered, complex dialogue with the building than a complete monolithic restoration.



Fig. 13: Restoration work on the Neues Museum (David Chipperfield Architects), in: Fernando Marquez Cecilia, Richard Levene (eds.), *David Chipperfield, 1998-2004: Dense Minimalism*, El Croquis 120 (El Croquis: Madrid, 2004), p.86

⁹⁶ David Chipperfield Architects, ‘The Neues Museum – Berlin. Restoration, Repair and Intervention’, The Soane Gallery June 20-September 6 2008, Sir John Soane Museum (exhibition booklet), p.2.

Conservation practice

The preservation methods employed in the Neues Museum vary greatly from room to room, just as there are varying degrees of destruction and decay alternate in different parts of the museum.⁹⁷ Some halls, such as the Bacchussaal, the Römischer Saal, and the Niobidensaal still seem relatively intact and show well-kept decorations and wall-paintings, whereas other elements of the structure, such as the North-West wing and the South-East projection have been completely destroyed. Some of the ceilings need reconstruction. Prior to the beginning of the restoration, a comprehensive survey of all existing artefacts and their states of deterioration, their components and condition, histories of modification and destruction, as well as building material and methods employed, was conducted to establish the appropriate preservation method.

One main component to be reconstructed is the central staircase which has been implemented structurally more than decoratively, in line with Stüler's idea of *Kernform* and *Kunstform*, as outlined in Chapter two, to restore the building's structural stability and layout.⁹⁸ The original decorative grandeur of the 'Kaulbach Staircase' will be replaced by a simple concrete staircase (a particular white concrete mixed with Saxon marble), and the bare brickwork meticulously repaired and carefully cleaned.⁹⁹ Similar solutions with concrete are applied to the destroyed halls such as the Mittelalterlicher Saal and the Moderner Saal, while the Greek and the

⁹⁷ A comprehensive summary of restoration measures and materials employed can be found at: Wiederaufbau Neues Museum Berlin, <<http://www.wiederaufbauneuesmuseumberlin.de>>, Accessed: 28 June 2008.

⁹⁸ The exhibition booklet makes reference to these principles with regard to a drawing in the Moderner Saal, by stating that "The dialectic of 'skin and bone' unintentionally echoes the main theme of the Neues Museum; 'artistic form' versus 'core form', a central theme of the architectural theory by Carl Boetticher (Tectonics of the Hellenes, 1846) that was key to Stüler." (D. Chipperfield Architects, p. 5).

⁹⁹ 'The restoration concept of the outer walls centres on a careful and technical repair of the actual brickwork [...] The cleansing of the bricks and joints was carried out with considerable restraint and the blackening – caused by the fire of 1943 – was left wherever possible.' (D. Chipperfield Architects, p. 7).

Egyptian courtyard will be roofed with glass. In order to deal with the detail and decorative work still existent, a process of careful cleaning and partial replacement of components (such as with mosaics and marble work), or colour washing on walls to indicate the difference between original and new elements has been chosen. Structurally there will also be a replacement of the hollow-pot ceilings and floors, while plastering and masonry is conducted using old near-original plaster mixture and parquet flooring repaired according to the Badmeyer patent of 1832.¹⁰⁰

The examples of conservation, repair and restoration measures listed illustrate how compliance with preservation guidelines was met in practice. The staircase was reconstructed to regain structural stability and the original layout, hence rebuilt as far as necessary but not attempting to imitate the original; the Kaulbach frescos were not repainted with help of the existing stencils as copies could not match the original and would be a falsification of the authentic remains: the carbon blackened brickwork.

Similar procedures are being applied to the walls in rooms relatively unaffected by destruction or decay, as the colour washes are carefully mixed to have the same tone as the existing colour, but result in a lighter, less intense colour coat that makes the formerly lacking elements visible. Brickwork in more derelict parts of the building is being replaced by ‘historic bricks recovered from the region of Berlin-Brandenburg’,¹⁰¹ while the façade brickwork is rebuilt using salvaged recycled bricks and lime rendered to assimilate it to the existing façade. Necessary technical updates are being made by installing air-conditioning in all exhibition areas as well as

¹⁰⁰ VE 3-28-51 Restoration / reconstruction of parquet works, <http://www.wiederaufbauneuesmuseumberlin.de/en/rg_e0_4_ve_3_28_51.html> Accessed: 10. August 2008.

¹⁰¹ David Chipperfield Architects, ‘The Neues Museum – Berlin. Restoration, Repair and Intervention’, The Soane Gallery June 20-September 6 2008, Sir John Soane Museum (exhibition booklet), p. 5.

electrical and security systems in a non-damaging way,¹⁰² whereas for example the heating system in the Moderner Saal have been reproduced in historic but simplified form.¹⁰³ The remaining historic components, such as windows, doors, furnishing, sculptures and outside decorations are also being carefully restored and used within the building.

Conservation architect Julian Harrap concludes his summary of intentions for the Neues Museum by declaring that ‘The Neues Museum, in following and adopting such a methodical and careful approach to Conservation, will serve as an exemplar of its type in Berlin and the wider European context.’ In respect to the existing trends in preservation guidelines, the Neues Museum project indeed appears to be a model of preservation practice. Even though certain components of the project resemble Grassi’s proposal more than Chipperfield’s own initial proposal, the core issue to resolve appears to have been appropriate preservation practice for a building with such complex and varied historic fabric. The intentions for the restoration of the Neues Museum were never a complete reconstruction and replacement of original material, similar to how many of Germany’s post-war ruins were treated, but to retain the only remaining war ruin of the Museumsinsel and in fact Central Berlin, in an ‘authentically historic’ state. David Chipperfield Architects write about their perception of the restoration of the Neues Museum:

Seen today alongside the four other reconstructed museum buildings on the island, Stüler’s Neues Museum is the only structure still ruined from the war -

¹⁰² Wiederaufbau Neues Museum, Rebuilding Level 0-4, <http://www.wiederaufbauneuesmuseumberlin.de/en/nm_wa_2.html>, Accessed: 28 June 2008.

¹⁰³ David Chipperfield Architects, p. 5.

a contrast that demonstrates ideas of history and decay in a compelling and powerful way [...] The power of the ruin not least stems from this exposed brickwork shell, investing the building, 150 years after it was first imagined, with the indelible presence of a picturesque classical ruin. Given this evocative yet inaccessible space, the restoration of the Neues Museum followed a principle of conservation rather than reconstruction – that is, the design gives back only enough context so that the significance of the whole structure and the sequence of spaces contained within it are legible.¹⁰⁴

For the architects Chipperfield and Harrap the fascination of the Neues Museum does not lie within the splendour of the original building and the reconstruction thereof, but with the layers of history embedded in the different parts of the building. The measures taken attempt to preserve what still exists and conserve intact components with adequate techniques (e.g. lime wash, render, slurry), to enhance damaged features while maintaining a visible difference between original and preservation measures, to rebuild destroyed important structural elements unobtrusively and visibly new (North-West wing, South-East projection, staircase, façade), to not repaint or reconstruct original features (Kaulbach staircase), and to conduct all measures with the option of reversibility (e.g. colour washes) and in line with original methods or engineering techniques (plaster mixtures, hollow-pot construction, decorative grilles for hot water heating in the Moderner Saal).

This approach is expected to offer a better insight into the history of the building than a complete reconstruction would, and seems to be restored to impress by showing the

¹⁰⁴ Fernando Marquez Cecilia, Richard Levene (eds), *David Chipperfield 1998-2004: Dense Minimalism*, El Croquis 120, (El Croquis: Madrid, 2004), p. 74.

signs of decay and destruction as signifiers of the passing of time and history having passed through it, as well as by retaining the original core to remain what is termed ‘authentic’ in the ICOMOS Principles of Conservation. Despite the fact that these methods are undoubtedly invaluable for preservation practice and will exist as a role model for preservationist ideas, it remains to be seen how the idea of a ‘the new and the old, the original and the repair, the restoration and the intervention, are fused together into a singular whole’¹⁰⁵ and the ambiguous concept of the ‘authentic spirit’¹⁰⁶ will be realised across a site with varying conditions and practices.

¹⁰⁵ David Chipperfield Architects, ‘The Neues Museum – Berlin. Restoration, Repair and Intervention’, The Soane Gallery June 20-September 6 2008, Sir John Soane Museum (exhibition booklet), p. 2.

¹⁰⁶ Michael Petzet, ‘Principles of Conservation’, VI. Reconstruction and Rebuilding, ICOMOS, < <http://www.icomos.de/poc.php>>, Accessed: 2 July 2008.



Fig.14: Römischer Saal, west wall, in: David Chipperfield Architects, 'The Neues Museum – Berlin. Restoration, Repair and Intervention', The Soane Gallery June 20-September 6 2008, Sir John Soane Museum (exhibition booklet), p. 3



Fig.15: Römischer Saal, Present condition and restoration project model, in: Fernando Marquez Cecilia, Richard Levene (eds.), *David Chipperfield, 1998-2004: Dense Minimalism*, El Croquis 120 (El Croquis: Madrid, 2004), p. 87



Fig.16: Nordkuppelsaal, Present condition and Restoration project model, in: Fernando Marquez Cecilia, Richard Levene (eds.), *David Chipperfield, 1998-2004: Dense Minimalism*, El Croquis 120 (El Croquis: Madrid, 2004), p. 85

As is evident from the above, the emphasis of the competition and the ensuing planning and restoration process appears to be the deployment of preservation principles and guidelines while distancing itself from the option of a complete restoration. However, as the documentation on preservation and Chipperfield's and Harrap's ideas demonstrate, the realisation of the restoration is intended to be a compromise between reconstruction and conserving the ruin, and an amalgamation of a wide range of preservation techniques depending on the elements in question. The principles behind the restoration project are set to retain 'the historical' texture as it is, without adding a wholly new layer replacing the old, or pretending to be the old, but at the same time making the building and its surrounding suitable for the economic aspect of museum tourism. It appears to be a complex bridging process between the

existing and the new that leaves open how the varying degree of measures taking at different sites in the museum are perceived in the consumption of the museum as a whole entity. While there were laudatory voices to be heard after the first opening at the topping out ceremony in September 2007, opponents of the critical restoration project have been campaigning for years to stop the Chipperfield/Harrap approach in fear of losing the wholesome historical appearance, and with that the experience of ‘the historical’ in the Neues Museum. These very differing notions of ‘the historical’ and the concerns involved in the controversies surrounding the Neues Museum restoration will be discussed in the following chapter and aim to shed light on issues concerning representations of the past in a German context.

Chapter Four

Controversies

Introduction

The controversy previously outlined – that of careful conservation versus complete restoration – is apparent in the wider discourse surrounding the restoration of the Neues Museum and illustrates contemporary questions of representation of histories and respective concepts of identity within Germany. The restoration of the Neues Museum has received vehement criticism from members of the public, the press and organised petitions, from Grassi's proposal to Chipperfield's realisation, indicating the symbolic significance of the representation of history surrounding the building. As Ward comments on the wider context of Berlin architecture, 'buildings are situated in public space and therefore more likely to be susceptible to the discourses that constitute the public sphere more broadly. The architectural values that shaped a specific building are not, however, the same as the meanings attributed to those values in the public sphere.'¹⁰⁷

In this respect, the Neues Museum is not only inherently public by being a building, but also by its very function both as a museum and a memorial-like edifice. It draws public value from its Prussian heritage, as well as its status as a reminder of the destructions of the Second World War, the neglect of the GDR era and

¹⁰⁷ Simon Ward, 'Representing Normality: Architecture in Berlin', in: Cook/Taberner, *German Culture, Politics and Literature into the Twenty-First Century – Beyond Normalisation* (Camden House, 2006), p. 75.

furthermore from its role of exhibiting valuable artefacts and representing Berlin to tourists and foreigners. However, behind these different motivations influenced by either ‘nostalgia, desire for prestige or for legitimacy, or even economics’,¹⁰⁸ the disputable question for the public remains which history to represent: that of Prussian heritage, whether critical of its militarism and pompousness, or nostalgic over its achievements and cultural heritage; that of the Nazis and the war, that of a repressive socialist dictatorship, or a modern cosmopolitan European city. Berlin as the city in which the Neues Museum is located has a special relationship to controversies surrounding representation of its histories, as the capital of a united Germany (1871), and reunited Germany (1990) and the intermediate eras and regimes, and decisions about what to restore, conserve, rebuild or even destroy are a historical and political minefield. This ‘topography of memory’ that Berlin has become, as Caroline Pearce¹⁰⁹ puts it, has left institutions and the public alike with the responsibility to deal with representations of existing heritage (or what Ladd calls ‘the haunts of Berlin’s famous ghosts’¹¹⁰) carefully. But as different values are attached to different layers of this ‘topography of memory’, the controversies about their future allow insight into the shaping of a contemporary image of histories worthy of representation and identification. While the Museumsinsel cannot be read as a building affiliated with National Socialism and its ideologies as some other Berlin landmarks might be, the phenomenon of a ‘topography of memory’ becomes evident in the controversies surrounding the Neues Museum, with its layers of history ranging from Prussia, to war destruction and the GDR neglect up to questions concerning its contemporary representations in a unified German capital.

¹⁰⁸ Brian Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin* (Chicago, London : University of Chicago Press, 1997), p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ Caroline Pearce, *Contemporary Germany and the Nazi Legacy. Remembrance, Politics and the Dialectic of Normality* (Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), p. 127-28.

¹¹⁰ Brian Ladd, p. 2.

The petition and public debate

The restoration of the Neues Museum has attracted both criticism and praise, from the outset, beginning with Grassi's initial concept and has carried on throughout the commission of Chipperfield's final restoration concept (and in conjunction with his initial proposal for a modern translucent and satinated glass structure as the new entrance building.) Tendencies in positions towards the museum become apparent mostly in press articles and interviews, in magazine or newspaper specials surrounding the Museumsinsel, as well as commentary on the status quo following the Open Day in September 2007. The protest against Chipperfield's approach however culminated in a *Volksbegehren* (public petition), entitled 'Rettet die Museumsinsel'¹¹¹ against Chipperfield's approach and a modern building on the island ('Rettet die Museumsinsel vor zerstörerischem Umbau und enstellem Neubau'¹¹²), which was supported by general members of the public, and by well-known public figures from the media, culture, politics and academia, such as television presenter Günther Jauch and Lea Rosh, publicist and chairwoman of the foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin. Organised by 'historian' Annette Ahme, president of the Gesellschaft Historisches Berlin (GHB), a society favouring the historicising reconstruction of formerly destroyed historical buildings in Berlin's centre,¹¹³ the petition called for an end to Chipperfield's restoration measures on the Neues Museum, as well as the abolition of the entrance building proposal. Calling the

¹¹¹ "Der Berliner Senat wird aufgefordert, die Unversehrtheit des Weltkulturerbes Berliner Museumsinsel strikt zu wahren und sicherzustellen, daß ein Neubau auf der Museumsinsel unterbleibt – mindestens bis zum Abschluß aller Sanierungsarbeiten. Keinesfalls darf ein Neubau ohne neuen Wettbewerb ausgeführt werden. Bei der Sanierung der Gebäude (Neues Museum) und der Außenräume soll der Senat festlegen, daß sich Innen- und Außengestaltung weitestgehend am Original-Vorbild bzw. an den Original-Plänen orientieren (Beispiele: Bode-Museum, Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden u. a.); laufende Arbeiten, die diesem Ziel zuwiderlaufen, sind abzubrechen."

<<http://www.ahme.de/volksbegehren001.pdf>>, Accessed: 22. October 2007.

¹¹² Annette Ahme, 'Initiative Volksbegehren - Rettet die Museumsinsel', <<http://www.ahme.de/volksbegehren202.pdf>>, Accessed: 28. May 2008.

¹¹³ Annette Ahme, 'Berlin braucht seine Mitte' (Bernd Siegmund), *Berlinische Monatszeitschrift*, 2 (1996), p. 39-43.

restoration ‘destructive’ and the entrance building ‘disfiguring’, Ahme and the GHB accuse David Chipperfield and the authorities (predominantly however Chipperfield himself, and the ‘Denkmalpfleger’), of not reconstructing the original building but giving way to ‘Ruinen-Romantik’ or ‘Ruinenfetischismus’, and defacing the historical texture of the building through the so-called ‘chipboard staircase’. The society’s polemic makes use of arguments such as the 300 million Euros of taxpayers’ money allegedly wasted on the destruction of this valuable historical building, as well as interpreting the restoration approach as falsely representing a memorial to the Second World War and its destruction, rather than its original heritage of Prussian cultural, technical and scientific advancement.¹¹⁴ Chairwoman Ahme is passionate about her concerns and promotes her aesthetic ideal of historical city centres, while strongly opposing what she terms ‘seelenlose und abstoßende’ modern ‘Kaninchenställe’ in place of liveable, homelike and idealised historical Old Towns.¹¹⁵

While Günther Jauch has not actively campaigned against the restoration in order to increase the publicity of the petition, Lea Rosh has campaigned with two open debates in 2007, including Ahme,¹¹⁶ journalists and historians, as well as Alexander Schwarz, project architect of the Neues Museum restoration from the Berlin office of David Chipperfield Architects.¹¹⁷ The report from the first public debate, ‘Wer rettet die Museumsinsel?’, featuring Ahme from the GHB, Heinrich Wefing of the newspaper FAZ, and Prof. Dr. Bernd Lindemann of the Gemäldegalerie Berlin, focused on the

¹¹⁴ Annette Ahme, ‘Initiative Volksbegehren - Rettet die Museumsinsel’, <<http://www.ahme.de/volksbegehren205.pdf>>, Accessed: 26. June 2008.

¹¹⁵ Ulrike Steglich, ‘Die Verfechterin des Stucks’, *taz.de*, 28.06.2001, <<http://www.taz.de/index.php?id=archivseite&dig=2001/06/28/a0198>>, Accessed: 29. May 2008.

¹¹⁶ ‘Wer rettet die Museumsinsel?’ (14.05.2007), Salon/Archiv LeaRosh.de, <<http://www.learosh.de/index.php?status=117>>, Accessed: 10. May 2008.

¹¹⁷ ‘Debatte zum geplanten neuen Eingangsgebäude auf der Museumsinsel’ (24.09.2007), Salon/Archiv LeaRosh.de, <<http://www.learosh.de/index.php?status=117>>, Accessed: 10. May 2008.

planned modern entrance building, but also on the restoration of the museum, in particular the concrete staircase emulating Stüler's original structure. Ahme demands a more historic approach to the staircase construction and rejects the concrete staircase as unsuitable for the Neues Museum, while Lindemann attempts to explain that a conservation of the staircase was not viable as it had been completely destroyed and the idea of reconstruction would be unacceptable. To answer Rosh's objection that the Stadtschloss was to be rebuilt again and why this would not be possible with the Neues Museum, Lindemann replies that the Stadtschloss had been completely destroyed, and not partially like the Neues Museum. Ahme proceeds to accuse David Chipperfield of breaking his alleged promise to reconstruct as close to the original as possible, with which she believes he had won the competition.

The second debate, 'Debatte zum geplanten neuen Eingangsgebäude auf der Museumsinsel', featuring Schwarz of David Chipperfield Architects Berlin, and Michael S. Cullen, historian and publicist, was less polemic and more in depth, offering more insight into the project architect's intentions and inviting more participation from the audience. Despite the title of the debate however, the discussion focused largely on the restoration of the Neues Museum as the debate took place just after temporary access to the building site Neues Museum had been provided during the three open days in September 2007. Cullen, as well as audience members, referred to the staircase as inappropriate and voiced their negative perception of what is seen as a 'brutalistische' and 'unsensibele' solution which looks like 'Spanplatten' instead of concrete and marble, something also referred to in press articles responding to the open day.¹¹⁸ Cullen, however, distanced himself from an argument based on pure aesthetics, as mostly used by the historicist supporters of the GHB and criticised the

¹¹⁸ Ulrich Schulte, 'Das Unvollendete', *TAZ, Berlin Aktuell*, 22.09.2007, p.25; Iris Brenberger, 'Bleibt das so?', *Berliner Zeitung*, 24.09.2007, p. 21.

heavy concrete staircase, as well as the rather heavy wooden ceiling as technically and structurally unsuitable as a solution for the Neues Museum. Schwarz retorted by arguing that it could not be the aim to reapply Stüler's decorations as these had been lost, but to recreate the structure and the room sequence and that this is a question of divergent tastes, not of inappropriate preservation. In Cullen's opinion the restoration approach was not congruent with the preservation guideline to restore more closely to the original and he suggested that Chipperfield's solution implied that 'Herr Chipperfield das Neue Museum nicht als ein Denkmal der Stülerschen /Friedrich Wilhelm IV- Zeit versteht, sondern als ein Denkmal des verlorengegangenen Krieges in Deutschland sieht.' Schwarz protested against this interpretation of the restoration and stated: 'Wir konservieren ja nicht die Ruine, es wird ja wieder ein geheiltes Museum. Ein vollständiges Museum, in das wieder die Sammlungen einziehen, die vor dem Krieg dort gezeigt worden sind. Es ist wirklich nicht unser Anliegen, Zerstörung, sondern unser Anliegen ist, den Bestand zu feiern, das historische Material.'

Another persistent feature of the historicists' polemic, first and foremost Annette Ahme's (also present in the audience of the debate), is the accusation that Chipperfield claimed in his competition entry that the Neues Museum would be reconstructed as closely to the original as possible, and he was now carrying out a 'destructive' restoration while pretending otherwise. This demonisation of the so-called 'star architect' making decisions on the grounds of modernism and provocation, instead of listening to the public's wishes pervades the majority of the criticism, and similar condemnations can be found in the rhetoric of the guild of preservationists (Denkmalpfleger). Schwarz indicated that the drafting, management and decision-making process was a far more complex process influenced by the

foundation, the museums association as well as the preservation department of the council, and the preservation specialists, which was not decided at the time of the competition, but developed throughout the year-long planning process. In addition to this, he claimed, the restoration was being conducted according to the competition of 1998 and the planning process following the decision in favour of David Chipperfield Architects, and never contained the statement of an original reconstruction.¹¹⁹

Protocols of the Landesdenkmalamt Berlin, part of the decision making process concerning the restoration of the Neues Museum, offer more insight into the influence of the authorities and preservation officials on the restoration.¹²⁰ The Landesdenkmalrat (LDR) discusses matters such as the materials used for the staircase¹²¹ and the use of caryatids to emulate the original staircase decoration,¹²² as well as approving the new entrance building draft following a presentation by Chipperfield architects Martin Reichert, Urs Vogt and Alexander Schwarz.¹²³ The protocols also reveal that doubts over the concrete staircase were voiced as early as 2003, as well as concerns regarding the lack of unity of style of the proposed new façade in 2000, indicating the degree of involvement of the authority. The LDR can furthermore be found to react to criticism by the GHB in its protocols, such as in 2004 and 2007.¹²⁴ In 2004, the LDR responded to a flyer published by the GHB by ‘disapproving of this type of agitation against a qualified planning and decision-

¹¹⁹ “Es gab einen zweiten Wettbewerb, den haben wir schließlich gewonnen über zwei Runden. Da haben wir aber keineswegs vorgeschlagen, das Neue Museum vollständig herzustellen. Das war auch schon allein wegen des vorgegebenen Raumprogrammes nicht möglich. Wir sind prämiert worden dafür, daß wir das Neue Museum nicht rekonstruieren!”

¹²⁰ Landesdenkmalrat Berlin, Beschlüsse und Empfehlungen des Landesdenkmalrates Berlin, <<http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/denkmal/landesdenkmalrat/de/beschluesse/>>, Accessed: 26. June 2008.

¹²¹ Landesdenkmalrat Berlin, Beschlüsse und Empfehlungen des Landesdenkmalrates Berlin, 21.Sitzung, Protokoll 29.09.2003, 22.Sitzung, Protokoll 14.11.2003.

¹²² Ibid., 13.Sitzung, Protokoll 25.01.2007.

¹²³ Ibid., 16.Sitzung, Protokoll 15.06.2007.

¹²⁴ Ibid., 25.Sitzung, Protokoll 20.04.2004, 14.Sitzung, Protokoll 23.03.2007.

making procedure' and decides to communicate the issue and its own position to the GHB, the UNESCO commissioner, the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, and possibly to the respective authorities in the German Parliament. It reaffirmed this position in 2007, however the petition commission (Petitionsausschuss) of the German parliament appears to have visited the building site in order to vet the demands for a less modern entrance building in April 2007.¹²⁵ There is, however, no sign of a recommendation in protocols or petition recommendation following this visit to the Museumsinsel, but it is possible to conclude that the three-storey entrance building with its modern glass and steel structure was generally not approved of by the authorities and had to be redrafted as a more integrated design dominated by neo-classicist colonnades and lower level facilities echoing the existing colonnade structure of the island and not obscuring the view of the museum from the river banks (which was presented to and approved by the LDR on 17.06.2008).

¹²⁵ According to a press release on the website of the Deutsche Bundestag: 'Ortstermin Museumsinsel', 26.04.2007. <http://www.bundestag.de/aktuell/archiv/2007/pet_kw17/index.html>, Accessed: 11.May 2008.



Above: Staircase Hall – situation at onset of work
Photo: May 2006 © Johannes Kramer

Below: Staircase Hall – situation at present condition
Photo: October 2007 © Johannes Kramer



Fig.17: Staircase Hall, in: David Chipperfield Architects, 'The Neues Museum – Berlin. Restoration, Repair and Intervention', The Soane Gallery June 20-September 6 2008, Sir John Soane Museum (exhibition booklet), p. 8



Fig.18 : James Simon Gallery, new entrance building for the Neues Museum, David Chipperfield Architects, <<http://www.davidchipperfield.co.uk>>, Accessed: 2. June 2008



Fig.19: Initial concept for the entrance building for the Neues Museum, in: Fernando Marquez Cecilia, Richard Levene (eds.), *David Chipperfield, 1998-2004: Dense Minimalism*, El Croquis 120 (El Croquis: Madrid, 2004), p. 96

Press commentary

The German press provided commentary on the future of the Museumsinsel and the Neues Museum from the start, commencing with the 1993/1994 competition and Grassi's design. While the general response to the competition entries was one of disappointment, some journalists praised the Grassi proposal for its modesty and restraint,¹²⁶ while others criticised it for its lack of character and its ugliness.¹²⁷ Criticism did not die down once Chipperfield had started work on the Neues Museum (2003), but press coverage often coincided with public opinion, as well as with the GHB petition and its criticism of the proposed solutions. With regard to the original competition, the theme of historicising versus preservationist tendencies was not prominent in press reactions, which focused mainly on the viability, quality and originality of the entries themselves. With the exception of *Die Welt's* Dankwart Guratzsch's contribution, coverage has been mostly balanced and related to aspects such as the uninspired proposals, the rigidity of Grassi's attempt to connect the buildings, as well as criticism of the museum authorities for putting mass tourism access before appropriate measures.¹²⁸ Guratzsch, however, responded to the competition with opinionated polemic, condemning the contemporary architectural language requested in the competition as 'dürftig, armselig, grob', and blaming the 'Ideologen der Denkmalpflege' for missing the opportunity to win back an invaluable building.¹²⁹

Generally, Chipperfield's proposal is favoured over Grassi's, sometimes due to his better integration of the buildings through links, sometimes for his modern

¹²⁶ For example: Gabriele Riedle, 'Akropolis im Sumpf'; Amber Sayah, 'Ein Preusse aus Italien'; all in: Amber Sayah (ed.), *Museumsinsel Berlin. Wettbewerb zum Neuen Museum/Competition for the Neues Museum* (Stuttgart: avedition, 1994), p. 118-126.

¹²⁷ For example: Nikolaus Bernau, 'Das Museum als Besuchermaschine'; Dankwart Guratzsch, 'Schiessscharten in Ziegelhülle'; *ibid.*, p. 114-118.

¹²⁸ See for example: Viola Vahrson, 'Zeichen der Zerstörung bewahren', *ibid.*, p. 124.

¹²⁹ Dankwart Guratzsch, 'Schiessscharten in Ziegelhülle', *ibid.*, p. 118.

entrance building, but historicising comments are almost non-existent. Reference to the historical dimension of integrating old and new is balanced and, like Stegers¹³⁰ or Lautenschläger,¹³¹ mainly discusses the missed chance of creating something that responds more imaginatively to the island and its histories, while Riedle and Sayah commend the lack of pathos otherwise prevalent on the Museumsinsel with its imperialist cultural heritage (Riedle), or the adaptability and caution that Grassi shows towards the existing context (Sayah).

More controversial reactions can be found among press coverage since Chipperfield's restoration began, although the controversy stems predominantly from the existing public controversy, such as the Chipperfield Interview in the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* in 2005.¹³² Interviewer Liebs directly refers to the controversy stirred up by the GHB and opens with the question 'Sind Sie ein Ruinenfetschist?', conducting the interview in terms of preservation versus reconstruction. Chipperfield argued for the preservationist case, and stated that one could not act as if 150 years of history had never existed and destroy the original by replacing it with a synthetic copy. He furthermore asks what image of history the society wishes to resurrect, pointing towards a one-dimensional desire to focus exclusively on the aspect of Prussian heritage within the history of the Neues Museum. A similar theme is apparent in the 2007 *Die Zeit* interview 'Ich bin kein Barbar',¹³³ which opens with the question, 'Mr. Chipperfield, warum wollen Sie die Museumsinsel zerstören?' Chipperfield goes on to explain that the restoration is being conducted according to preservation guidelines and constantly monitored by hundreds of experts, and thus bore no sign of destruction

¹³⁰ Rudolf Stegers, 'Die preussische Akropolis', *ibid.*, p. 120.

¹³¹ Rolf Lautenschläger, 'Die Musealisierung der sumpfigen Mitte', *ibid.*, p. 116.

¹³² Holger Liebs, 'Ein Haus wie eine griechische Vase', *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 4. August 2005, p. 11.

¹³³ Hanno Rautenberg, 'Ich bin kein Barbar.' *Die Zeit*, 22.03.2007, p. 54.

but was instead high quality preservation work. Concerning the prominent accusation that he did not keep his 1994 promise of reconstructing the Neues Museum, he clarified that in the 1994 competition he had not yet learnt that a reconstruction of the staircase decorations was not possible, and that he was now building in line with the 1998 competition that never proposed a reconstruction.¹³⁴

“ich wünschte mir ja auch, das Neue Museum wäre so wie früher. Ich wünschte mir, es hätte nie einen Krieg gegeben, der das Gebäude zerstörte. Aber das ist nun mal nicht rückgängig zu machen [...] Ich will nicht die Ruine erhalten, sondern die vielen Originalteile, die es noch gibt. Bitte sehr, wir könnten natürlich eine Disney-Kopie bauen [...] Doch wenn wir alles neu machen, dann wäre nicht mehr zu erkennen, was tatsächlich noch von Friedrich August Stüler stammt. Mit der Unesco wäre das nicht zu machen, sie verlangt von den Weltkulturerbestätten, dass dort das Alte erhalten bleibt und nicht unter einen pseudoalten Mantel verschwindet.”¹³⁵

Press coverage increased in Spring 2007, when the news emerged that the original entrance building was being criticised by preservationists and UNESCO representatives, following high-profile campaigning by the GHB, which included Rosh and Jauch, as well as criticism from politicians, such as the CDU's Uwe Lehmann-Brauns. Media attention also heightened around the Open Days in September 2007, but was relatively balanced in its views, as for example in the

¹³⁴ Chipperfield uses the term “Disney-Kopie” as a more recent term used by conservation proponents to critically describe the historicist's aims, first mentioned in connection with a wave of reconstructions in the nineteen seventies in: Manfred Sack, ‘Rudi Arndts Disneyland’, *Die Zeit*, 2. May 1975.

¹³⁵ Hanno Rautenberg, ‘Ich bin kein Barbar.’ *Die Zeit*, 22.03.2007, p. 54.

articles of Ulrich Schulte¹³⁶ and Rolf Lautenschläger.¹³⁷ Both acknowledge the public's difficulty understanding the layers of the 'historical collage', but also praise the interaction of old and new in the restoration approach. While Schulte infers that in this restoration the modern serves the old but does not dominate it, Lautenschläger calls the restoration a tough architectural dialogue between past and present, but terms the restored Neues Museum 'ein Museum des intelligenten Konflikts'.¹³⁸ In stark contrast is Dankwart Guratzsch's¹³⁹ article 'Das Neue Museum: Hier wird Geschichte abgetötet'.¹⁴⁰ In his response to the Open Day he attacks Chipperfield's restoration approach of the 'destruction of history' and claims: 'Stattdessen stellt sich ein Bauwerk des 19. Jahrhunderts wie eine pompejanische Ruine dar – seiner echten Geschichtlichkeit entrissen und in eine falsche, viel zu alte, bruchstückhafte versetzt. Aus Geschichte wird Erfindung.'¹⁴¹ Guratzsch's writing on Prussian heritage¹⁴² reveals the historicist understanding of 'preserving history': resurrecting the form and spirit of the past, here in the form of restoring Stüler's museum to resemble and represent precisely what it did in the nineteenth century. Acknowledging that Stüler's technical achievements were cherished by those responsible, Guratzsch then bemoaned the loss of spiritual meaning in the restoration of the museum, but also criticised the lack of decoration and unity of style in the 'reinterpretation', calling it a 'Patchwork-Version aus allen denkbaren Zwischenzuständen'. According to Guratzsch the preservationists are to blame who, by making an example of the Neues

¹³⁶ Ulrich Schulte, 'Das Unvollendete', *taz*, 22. September 2007, p. 25.

¹³⁷ Rolf Lautenschläger, 'Ein Museum des intelligenten Konflikts', *taz*, 22. September 2007, p. 25.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ previously mentioned for his polemic 1994 article against Grassi and the preservationist focus of the competition.

¹⁴⁰ Dankwart Guratzsch, 'Hier wird Geschichte abgetötet', *Die Welt*, 21. September 2007.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² See also: Dankwart Guratzsch, 'Schutzwahl für die Seele', *Die Welt am Sonntag*, Sonderausgabe 'Austellung Gründerzeit 1848 bis 1871', Frühjahr 2008, p. 16.

Museum and utilising their ‘ideology’ for their own ends, are thereby destroying the actual meaning and historical value of the building.



Fig.20: Mock-up construction of new galleries in: Fernando Marquez Cecilia, Richard Levene (eds.), *David Chipperfield, 1998-2004: Dense Minimalism*, El Croquis 120 (El Croquis: Madrid, 2004), p. 91



Fig.21: New façade of the Neues Museum as unveiled in July 2008, <<http://www.tagesspiegel.de/kultur/Neues-Museum-Museumsinsel-David-Chipperfield;art772,2573709>>, Accessed: 2. August 2008



Fig.22: Egyptian courtyard, Study and reconstruction model of South wall and new construction, in: Fernando Marquez Cecilia, Richard Levene (eds.), *David Chipperfield, 1998-2004: Dense Minimalism*, El Croquis 120 (El Croquis: Madrid, 2004), p. 83

Aspects of historicity and normalisation

These positions illustrate the conflicting discourses that on the one hand show a clash between historicism and non-places, in Marc Augé's sense of exchangeable globalised and mass-produced edifices created with economic or purely utilitarian intent,¹⁴³ but on the other hand point towards the more nation-specific phenomenon of normalisation, both imbued with questions of (national) identity and furthermore interlinked with issues of economics and power. As becomes evident in Ahme's aversion towards what she terms the 'seelenlose und abstoßende' (modernist) 'Kaninchenställe',¹⁴⁴ there is a general contemporary public concern over a perceived loss of identity proportional to the loss of historic urban structure and its replacement by functional modern architecture for reasons of previous destruction through war, or the economics of maintaining them. Augé characterises these non-places as exchangeable, non-characteristic and without memory-value, with cities everywhere losing their distinctiveness and assimilating to the non-place character created by globalisation and economic interest.¹⁴⁵ The perceived loss of identity is then derived from a lack of places with an imagined history, or an experienced memory, as well as the gradual synchronisation of human experience through creating near-identical modern globalised environments.

Attempts to counter this feeling of lacking a sense of identity are often made by what Andreas Huyssen also refers to as 'temporal anchoring'; stating that 'temporal anchoring becomes even more important as the territorial and spatial

¹⁴³ Marc Augé, *Non-places. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (London/New York: Verso, 1995).

¹⁴⁴ See above, p. 66.

¹⁴⁵ In his definition of non-places, Augé includes particular spaces of capitalist interest, e.g. cash machines, shopping centres, office buildings, and transport, e.g. airports and stations, but also housing estates. (Marc Augé, pp. 75-115).

coordinates of our late twentieth-century lives are blurred or even dissolved by increased mobility around the globe.¹⁴⁶ Temporal anchoring here relates to any memory cult designed to provide some sense of belonging in a globalised media world dominated by fleeting simultaneous information overload,¹⁴⁷ but it can be applied even more to buildings, as well as exhibition artefacts, as physical relics of the past that can survive centuries. While Huyssen¹⁴⁸ speaks of the inherent ‘memory value’ that makes an object a valuable ‘anchor’ for the public, Alois Riegl a century earlier refers to the ‘age value’ of an artefact, both identifying the significance of historic character.¹⁴⁹ While historicists, such as journalist Guratzsch in his article ‘Schutzwall für die Seele’,¹⁵⁰ argue for the preservation of Prussian architectural heritage in particular (above all Schinkel’s) by drawing a comparison between the rapid social change experienced during the nineteenth century with the changing world of the twenty-first century, Guratzsch makes this argument not simply a social but also an aesthetic one. The industrial and ‘ugly’ architecture of the developing industrial nations is equated with the modern, and historicism interpreted as a valuable force for the creation of nineteenth century eclectic ‘timeless’ architecture which in turn had spiritual significance for the public and were supposedly created to counter the bleak functionalism of the time. With regard to the Neues Museum this resentment for the modern can be detected in the protest against modern materials such as concrete being used, but can also be read as the attempt to counter increasingly modern environments devoid of affective notions of belonging and

¹⁴⁶ Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 7.

¹⁴⁷ See also: Nancy Wood, *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Post-war Europe* (New York: Berg, 1999)

¹⁴⁸ Andreas Huyssen, pp. 13-35.

¹⁴⁹ Alois Riegl, ‘Der moderne Denkmalkultus: Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung’, in: *Alois Riegl, Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Augsburg: Filser, 1928), pp. 144-93.

¹⁵⁰ See: Dankwart Guratzsch, ‘Schutzwall für die Seele’, *Die Welt am Sonntag*, Sonderausgabe ‘Austellung Gründerzeit 1848 bis 1871’, Frühjahr 2008, p. 16.

identity for which there is heightened demand in times of social change and perceived instability.

The historicist position (evident in Ahme as well as Guratzsch) appears to attach perceived objective ‘aesthetic value’ to the artefact in question. As the argument however contains reference to the ‘timelessness’ and grandeur of the object (exponential to its age), it is questionable whether this perceived aesthetic value is not very similar to the concept of ‘memory value’, or ‘age value’, where pre-twentieth century architecture is considered more aesthetic than modern architecture. Since aesthetics are commonly understood as subjective, it is possible that ‘age/memory value’ evokes a sense of belonging and awe regarding the fact that this object has survived a span of time that humans can not, so that it is perceived as ‘beautiful’. However, the understanding of modern architecture, which obviously is aesthetic to designers in particular (not least those who design it), appears to be the domain of an educated elite able to read the bare functionalism and the concrete/glass/steel structures as inherently beautiful, in a way not necessarily accessible to the masses. Bloomer and Moore illustrate in their work on the experience of architecture how modern architecture has often operated according to rational and conceptual guidelines of aesthetics, as well as functionality and economics, and largely ignored the emotional and sensual aspects that govern human perception of space.¹⁵¹ Notions of an elite conceptualisation of what connotes habitable spaces are reflected in the statement that ‘The rising protest against modern architecture’s failure to deliver strong feelings of community and space has included the accusation that architects

¹⁵¹ Kent C. Bloomer, Charles W. Moore, *Body, Memory, and Architecture* (Yale University Press: New Haven/London, 1977).

have been transmitting their message in a private code meaningless to the inhabitants of their buildings.¹⁵²

In terms of the Neues Museum the opponents of the restoration project object to the use of concrete as well as to a modern entrance building, illustrating some of the general resentment towards modern architecture, in particular in a historic space. The historic site is perceived as something with identity, sacred and of high value, experienced with reverence for its age and its grandeur regardless of its condition. Mostly built of material perceived as more natural, such as stone, (as opposed to modern versatile construction material of concrete, glass and steel) and with great celebration of itself and its cultural context, as well as architectural history, and often linked to emotions of national identity, the pre-modern ‘historic’ building of the nineteenth century evokes more of a sense of belonging and identity. The use of modern material in such a context is, to the historicist, experienced as a devaluation of the sublime ‘historic’, by adding a cold, rational and more transient, less awe-inspiring modern element that conjures up a sense of exchangeability and sobering modesty. Considering the effort, time and craftsmanship involved in building a nineteenth-century museum, or a Gothic cathedral with limited resources and technology, the mass-fabricated construction with modern materials seems less exalting and meaningful to the historicist who perceives devaluation through reproducibility.¹⁵³ Value in experiencing and enjoying historic architecture is drawn not only from a sense of age, familiarity and durability (often termed ‘timelessness’),

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 131.

¹⁵³ The notion of an ‘auratic value’ attached to objects of cultural capital is illustrated further in Ward’s account of Alois Riegl’s and Walter Benjamin’s writings. See: Simon Ward, ‘Image, Material, Sign: On the Value of Memory Traces in Public Space’, in Silke Arnold-de-Simine (ed.), *Memory Traces: 1989 and the Question of German Cultural Identity* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2005), p. 283

but also from a sense of perceived aestheticism, as well as a sense of grandeur and monumentality seldom drawn from the more generic of modern buildings.

However, apart from a general notion of discontentment with modern buildings, the aspect of identity and belonging is an important factor in the case of the Neues Museum restoration, in particular due to its reference to different aspects of its history. As previously mentioned in the introduction, Germany's, and in particular Berlin's, handling of representations of the past produce great controversy and has led to an often controversial 'topography of memory' in central Berlin, interlaced with spaces of commemoration for very different eras of its history. As Ladd observes, many Germans would probably like to forget and not be constantly reminded of the Nazi, as well as Stasi crimes,¹⁵⁴ which is an issue echoed in contemporary discourses about German self-understanding. In other countries the national myth normally constitutes a positive founding myth built on a shared glorious past, but the dominant 'German national myth' has, since the atrocities of the Third Reich, been built on the commemoration of exactly that period, in order to learn from the lessons of history.¹⁵⁵ The so-called 'German national myth' could be understood less as a 'founding myth' - as in Germany's case that would mean negative self-identification - but as taking shape in discourses of active denunciation and confrontation of the Nazi period. It is deemed impossible to distance oneself from this past and move on to more positive aspects of national identification, because, it is said, would signify the 'forgetting' and banalisation of the Nazi crimes. Despite these apprehensions however, historians (such as Nolte and Hillgruber in the 1986 Historikerstreit) and politicians such as Kohl in the 1980s raised the issue of a possible move towards a 'normal' German

¹⁵⁴ Brian Ladd, p. 1.

¹⁵⁵ Caroline Pearce, p. 12.

nation. With the intention of fostering a more positive sense of national identity, and against the background of ‘shaping the past to shape the future’,¹⁵⁶ conservative politics were central to sparking a controversy surrounding the manipulation of history as a means for the political future. While Kohl wanted to historicize the Third Reich ‘as one historical era among many and not as the inevitable culmination of a national story doomed to disaster from the very beginning’,¹⁵⁷ opponents declared the importance of remembering the Nazi crimes and warned against the normalisation of the Holocaust and a sense of victimhood among Germans. Kohl’s successor Schröder, while strengthening the discourse on memory and the Holocaust, returned to the idea of a more ‘normal’ Germany, able to combine remembrance with normality. Kohl, as well as Schröder built the regaining of ‘normality’ on involvement in NATO, as well as the EU, illustrating that Germany would only work in favour of the greater good and together with other nations, particularly prominent in the controversial decision to become involved in the Kosovo conflict in 1999. ‘Normalisation’ has continued to be a controversial issue in German self-understanding, and is echoed in discussions such as the conservative discourse surrounding ‘Leitkultur’ and ‘Nationalstolz’ in 2000, or the more recent ideas of an alleged ‘neues Selbstbewusstsein’ during the World Cup in 2006.

With respect to Berlin and the Neues Museum, notions of the normalisation controversy are also echoed in the controversy concerning restoration versus reconstruction. As Pearce notes, ‘Berlin evoked mental associations with Prussia, failed democracy, totalitarianism, the rise of the Third Reich, capitulation, occupation

¹⁵⁶ See: Stuart Taberner and Paul Cooke, ‘Introduction’, in: *German Culture, Politics and Literature into the Twenty-First Century – Beyond Normalisation* (Camden House, 2006), pp. 1-15 (5f).

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

and the Berlin Wall',¹⁵⁸ suggesting that a careful approach had to be taken in dealing with that heritage in the built environment. Ward writes of commercial Prussian architecture, that it appeared as if normalisation had indeed occurred in Berlin, as he interprets the rehabilitation of Berlin commercial buildings from the Wilhelmine and Weimar eras as 'a desire to establish and normalize connections between the self-confidence of pre-Nazi Berlin and the post unification present that necessarily glosses over the events of the intervening years.'¹⁵⁹ This, as well as the reconstructions of other destroyed buildings, seems to stand in contrast with the solution chosen for the Neues Museum and is often mentioned in arguments against the project. However, the character of the Neues Museum could be understood very differently, thereby offering reasons for its different restoration approach. First, unlike other fully restored buildings such as the Goldener Saal in Augsburg, the Frauenkirche in Dresden, or the Residenz in Munich, the Neues Museum is located in Berlin, the implications of which have been discussed above. Secondly, the Neues Museum is located in Berlin Mitte, which has not only been subject to major regeneration since unification, but is the part most charged with history and its landmarks also require the idea of critical reconstruction (as with the Hackesche Höfe not far from the Museumsinsel).¹⁶⁰ Thirdly the Neues Museum can predominantly be read as a public cultural object (albeit imbued with economic interest for city tourism) and is thus owed a different type of responsibility for its representation than private commercial architecture. It is also the last remaining untouched building on the Museumsinsel and would offer scope for a type of complex restoration not achieved elsewhere, in order to conserve original structure and features that were lost in the 1966 reconstruction of the Altes Museum, for example. It appears then that many believe that normalization is a more

¹⁵⁸ Pearce, p. 45f.

¹⁵⁹ Ward, p. 77.

¹⁶⁰ See also: Andreas Huyssen, 'The voids of Berlin', *Critical Inquiry*, 24 (1997), pp. 57-81.

sensitive issue in central Berlin, for nowhere else is the representation of memory so important, as Huyssen calls Berlin ‘a prism through which we can focus issues of contemporary urbanism and architecture, national identity and statehood, historical memory and forgetting’¹⁶¹ and furthermore states that: ‘There is perhaps no other major Western city that bears the marks of twentieth-century history as intensely and self-consciously as Berlin.’¹⁶²

The historicists who support the idea of a reconstruction of the Neues Museum, could be perceived as those wishing to forget the intervening years, eager to reconstruct an image of the museum, and of Central Berlin,¹⁶³ that represents the confidence of pre-war years while not accounting for the horrors of two world wars and the Third Reich. While it is debatable whether the Prussian and Wilhelmine era could or should be read as a pre-cursor to the totalitarianism of the Third Reich, or should be read detached from the events that followed, it is evident that an uncritical reconstruction of Central Berlin would be widely perceived as a regressive and alarming statement about Germany’s self-conception represented at the core of its capital. The nostalgia for a Prussian metropolis and the reversibility of war damage might be understandable, but due to the politically and nationally symbolic nature of Central Berlin, not justifiable when concerning the reconstruction of a historic public building.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 59-60.

¹⁶³ The reconstruction of a historic centre for Berlin is the main aim of the Gesellschaft Historisches Berlin, and this wish is supported by organisations such as Stadtbild Berlin.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

From the examination of the history of the Neues Museum, discursive practices surrounding the restoration, and the responses of the public sphere to these, we can draw a number of conclusions about the main issues surrounding the restoration of the Neues Museum, in particular regarding normalisation, perceptions of German historiographies and national self-understanding.

In Chapter Two the historical contextualisation provided a valuable insight into the influences on the development of the Neues Museum. It illustrated the political and social transformations of the nineteenth century and in particular showed the increasing meaning of history as a science for the Prussians.¹⁶⁴ The conception of the Neues Museum shows, however, the conflicting interests at work during its realisation: conflicts between the competing powers of the monarchy and the church and the progressive forces of reason and democracy, as visible in the conflicts between Kaulbach and Friedrich Wilhelm IV; between the ascending guild of art historians and the wealthy collectors in the management of artefacts and Prussian arts policy, as apparent in the controversies between Olfers and Passalacqua for example,¹⁶⁵ and, thirdly, the transforming view on the meaning of history as a science and furthermore as a necessity for the education of the public and the construction of a sense of shared history and nationhood, as exemplified in controversies between

¹⁶⁴ See: James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), p. 84f.

¹⁶⁵ See: *ibid.*, p. 104f.

Hegel and Schelling for instance.¹⁶⁶ In particular the rich and narrative decoration of the museum's interior illustrates the intentions for an affective response to this historicising display of artefacts from the ancient world, widely regarded as the birthplace of European civilisation. While the principle of nationhood in museum form peaked with the Nationalgalerie and the Bodemuseum on the Museumsinsel, the display of power, wealth and knowledge in possessing and exhibiting these cultural treasures excavated in countries that did not yet have the measures to do so themselves, bears early notions of the German imperialism yet to take centre stage in decades to come.

However, even though the conception of the Neues Museum did not in itself display ideas of superior and inferior cultures, the location of the Museumsinsel was utilised by the National Socialists, who adored Hellenic heritage in particular, and intended to make clear distinctions between the different cultures by splitting the collections, although their focus was on modern art, termed '*Entartete Kunst*' of the Nationalgalerie. It becomes apparent that not only did controversies surrounding the representation and practices of museums, history and the nations already surround the Neues Museum in the nineteenth century, but also perhaps why an uncritical reinstatement of Prussian heritage and the Neues Museum in particular might be controversial, considering its origins amid Prussian self-assertion and the notion that the history of cultures should be regarded as an odyssey towards (cultural) perfection.

Chapter Three looked at the history of the Museumsinsel and the Neues Museum since its destruction in the Second World War, and then focused on the proceedings of the post-unification competition and more closely on the emphasis on

¹⁶⁶ See: van Wezel, p. 112-113.

preservation in Chipperfield's work in order to examine the governing institutions' initial intentions and the motives guiding their decisions, as well as the implementations of these. This demonstrated that the objectives of the initial commission of the 1993/94 competition were mainly of a preservationist nature with regard to the Neues Museum, but also included the directive of making the Museumsinsel more accessible to tourists while preserving the site's UNESCO status. The analysis of the preservation guidelines and legislation showed that the practices applied by Chipperfield were part of a larger framework in conservation architecture and by no means as unfounded as the Gesellschaft Historisches Berlin claimed.

Both preservationists and historicists seem to advocate the greater good of historic heritage, but differ greatly on the issue of authenticity. While for preservationists the original historic fabric is the key to appropriate preservation, historicists appear to focus more on reinstating the character and atmosphere of the building, disregarding the original historical fabric. The preservationist position asserts itself as a rational, scientific one, whereas the historicist position comes across as a somewhat nostalgic and emotive endeavour. Historicists often regard preservationists as an exclusive elite operating according to conventions that seem difficult to read and appreciate for non-preservationists. However, aside from mutual misunderstandings, the political aspect of the historicists' aversion to preservation can not be ignored in this equation. It can be concluded, then, that the conservation practices conducted by Chipperfield and Harrap are fully scientific and based on thorough research and classification of the existing historic fabric, as well as on a foundation of a sound framework of conservation principles that take the varying degrees of decayed, destroyed and retained material into account in order to find the

most applicable solution; something not recognised by the opponents of the restoration who perceive the restoration as inappropriate and haphazard.

Chapter Four examined more closely the historicist position represented by the Gesellschaft Historisches Berlin and their campaign to halt restoration of the Neues Museum under Chipperfield and plans for an entrance building. With the aid of materials from interviews, public debates and news coverage, it was possible to uncover the historicists' attitudes and arguments against the restoration in process. The reasoning brought forward focused on the alleged destruction of the Neues Museum by Chipperfield, which the supporters of the GHB believe to consist of the concrete staircase, meaning the failure to reconstruct the decorative elements of the original, and a failure to achieve unity of style which historicists would consider a criterion for the rehabilitation of authenticity and aesthetics (these three elements seem to be inextricably linked for the historicist campaigners of the Neues Museum), as well as the construction of an entrance building that would encroach on the sight of the Neues Museum from the Kupfergraben.

It would seem that 'historic authenticity' for historicists means something very different from what the preservationists understand by it, that is the preservation of the actual original historic fabric. The GHB, however, appears to have the aim to achieve unity of style at the cost of losing or damaging existing historic fabric in order to recreate an atmosphere of what is imagined to be the past for the purpose of sentimentality and escapist nostalgia. Preservationists can certainly not be blamed for the destruction of the historic fabric considering the meticulous treatment thereof illustrated in the previous chapter. On the one hand it can be perceived as unviable to try and reinstate what has been lost, for the simple reason that that which has been lost

cannot be regained, nor does a replacement restore what has been lost, it puts something new in its place. Moreover, the past sought to be restored is too far removed to exist in the memories of the supporters, but is formed merely as an imagined concept, based on a certain, often idealised interpretation of the historical period in question. On the other hand, as previously discussed in Chapter Four, this uncritical sentimentality is often perceived as controversial, in particular in Germany, and moreover in Berlin, since it allows for the utilization of affectivity towards historical events that has been considered suspect and dangerous ever since 1945 because it echoes Nazi propaganda methods and ideologies.

With regard to this careful attitude usually taken towards sentimentalised, monolithic and uncritical approaches to representations of German histories, whether or not Chipperfield's and Harrap's solution is approved of by certain parts of the public, the requests to reinstate a particular type of Prussian cultural heritage uncritically and without regard for the existing historic fabric seems undesirable and unviable in this particular case. As discussed in Chapter Four, the particular nature of the Neues Museum as a cultural public building and the only unrestored one of its kind, and the central location of the building makes it unsuitable for reconstruction, as does the fact that it is very well retained and preservation guidelines only allow for reconstruction in exceptional cases when an entire building has been lost very recently.¹⁶⁸

While the ensuing controversy is in many ways an issue linked to questions of German national self-conception and normalisation, it is also embedded in wider issues of architecture, and public architecture in particular.

¹⁶⁸ See: Michael Petzet, 'Principles of Conservation', <<http://www.icomos.org/poc.php>>, Accessed: 2. July 2008.

As Jameson argues, there is the fundamental aspect of cultural public architecture being both business and culture, a relationship that is very different from the time of its origination.¹⁶⁹ While public buildings in the nineteenth century were more related to the formation of a sense of nationhood and centred around the myth of a shared history,¹⁷⁰ these endeavours are now suspect due to an altered perspective on history, not as a linear narrative of positivist progress, but particularly in Germany, as a discontinuous narrative of failures. The ‘emotional’ aspect desired by historicists, which tends to scorn the cold, rational and often economic character of modern architecture is controversial precisely because the ‘emotional’ and non-rational discourses of history and the nation bear parallels with the uncritical populism of National Socialist rhetoric and ideology, especially in the utilisation of art and architecture.¹⁷¹ However, public architecture, such as the Neues Museum, also needs to be in line with contemporary economic considerations of the tourist industry and the branding of Berlin as a city of museums,¹⁷² hence the incorporation of the entrance building and the ‘Archäologische Promenade’ linking up the individual buildings to a short tour for mass tourists and a long tour.

It is debatable how far this intervention detracts from the original layout of the historic terrain, but in order for the most expensive restoration project in Germany to be a profitable undertaking these measures have to be taken. The economic necessity is part of the historicists’ aversion towards the entrance building, although more aspects of the controversial nature of public buildings could be taken into

¹⁶⁹ See: Frederic Jameson, ‘Is Space Political?’, in: Neil Leach (ed.), *Rethinking Architecture – A reader in Cultural Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 255-269.

¹⁷⁰ See: Michel Foucault, ‘Space, Knowledge, Power (Interview conducted with Paul Rabinow)’, in: Neil Leach (ed.), *Rethinking Architecture – A reader in Cultural Theory* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 367-379.

¹⁷¹ See: Jim McGuigan, ‘The Cultural Public Sphere’ *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 8 (2005), 427-443 (p. 431).

¹⁷² See: Inez Boogarts and Irina van Aalst, ‘From Museum to Mass Entertainment. The evolution of the role of museums in cities’, *European Urban and Regional Studies* 9(2002), 195-209.

consideration.¹⁷³ Another way of validating the regeneration of the Museumsinsel could be detected: the touristic aspect is exploited, just as the aspect of technological advancement is capitalised by the authorities¹⁷⁴ in calling the Neues Museum a ‘technisches Denkmal’. This interpretation rules out possible controversial readings relating to its original character as a historical museum,¹⁷⁵ and thereby recalls a cornerstone of post-war West-German identity, namely, technological and economic success. The agency ART+COM, responsible for publicising the work on the Masterplan Museumsinsel, furthermore calls the ‘Masterplan Museumsinsel Berlin’ a ‘europäisches Projekt’ and only hints at this concept by calling it ‘(die) in den nächsten zehn Jahren wohl wichtigsten Kultur- und Denkmalbaustelle Europas’,¹⁷⁶ thereby constructing the project not as something exclusively German, but referring to it as common European cultural heritage.¹⁷⁷

All these measures and interpretations contain notions of the careful approaches to representations of the past discussed previously, in this case Prussian cultural heritage in Berlin’s centre, and the wish to distance oneself from monolithic, sentimental reinterpretations of the past. These issues have certainly had an influence in determining the re-presentation of the Neues Museum as a fragmented and layered witness of histories that have passed through it, with authentic fabric and visible additions that reject the idea of falsification or pretence, but also as an economic,

¹⁷³ Jameson discusses, besides the binary opposites of culture and business, the conflicting relationship between functionalism and aesthetics, as well as the public and the private.

¹⁷⁴ See: Bundesbaudirektion Berlin, ‘Das Neue Museum als technisches Denkmal’ <http://www.bbr.bund.de/cln_005/nn_21462/DE/PlanenBauen/BautenStiftungPreussischerKulturbesitz/MuseumsinselBerlinMitte/NeuesMuseum/Technisches_20Denkmal.html>, Accessed: 12. May 2008.

¹⁷⁵ The focus on technical achievement over the historicising aspect was for example also criticised by Dankwart Guratzsch in his article “Hier wird Geschichte abgetötet” (*Die Welt*, 21. September 2007).

¹⁷⁶ Berli News, ‘Blick in Griechenlands Blüte’, <<http://www.berlinews.de/archiv/2446.shtml>>, 18. Oktober 2001, Accessed: 15. May 2008.

¹⁷⁷ This echoes notions of Germany’s “normalisation” through endeavours for post-war European integration and identification as European rather than German, also see: Bertel Heurlin (ed.), *Germany in Europe in the Nineties* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).

technological and European project. While the historical aspect is treated carefully, displaying the range of aspects of the buildings history and interpreting its monumental character as a reminder to these layers of history, its less controversial readings are put forward, such as the tourist aspect, its progressive technological character and its place in Europe. As Young puts it with regard to the treatment of monuments in post-war Germany: ‘They are heirs to a double-edged post-war legacy: a deep mistrust of monumental forms in light of their systematic exploitation by the Nazis, and a profound desire to distinguish their generation from that of the killers through memory.’¹⁷⁸

The Gesellschaft Historisches Berlin and other critics might read this as a monument to a chapter in German history they would rather choose to forget and replace with their version of Wilhelmine or Prussian Berlin. There are probably elements of truth on both sides of this polarised argument, as objections towards the modern approach – in particular with the original entrance building – had also generated criticism from UNESCO itself. In addition it is possible to question the necessity of the much criticised touristic notion of the ‘Kurzdungang’ and while the entrance building is with certainty developed for economical reasons (including the museum shop and facilities) to cope with the tourists, it is merely adjusting the Museumsinsel to contemporary requirements in the age of museum tourism, particularly in Central Berlin. However, while general notions of yearning for the past might be understandable elsewhere, in the case of the Neues Museum – due to its location, character and degree of decay – representations of the past can only be multi-layered and mirror complexity, and notions of ‘normalisation’ can only be carefully approached by means of less controversial interpretations of its heritage. The

¹⁷⁸ James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory. Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 27.

Süddeutsche Zeitung dismisses the position of the GHB as ‘gedankenlose Nostalgie’.¹⁷⁹ Yet the controversy, which goes to the heart of profound issues concerning Germany’s self-understanding in the early twenty-first century, appears to remain. For some, ‘die Wunde im Herzen Berlins’¹⁸⁰ will seem to close with the completion of the Neues Museum restoration in 2009, while for others it will undoubtedly remain painfully open.

Chapter Six

¹⁷⁹ Gerhard Matzig, ‘Auf der Insel der Unseligen’, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 13. März 2007, p. 13.

¹⁸⁰ Norbert Walleit, ‘Richtfest im Neuen Museum’, *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 24. September 2007, p. 3.

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