
Museums Going Global

International museum expansion as a tool of soft power
for western universalism

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Introduction

The International Council of Museums (ICOM) is in need of a new museum definition. The current definition of a museum that was made in 2007 is:

“A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.”¹

ICOM is trying to come up with a new definition and are inviting people to submit a proposal.² This shows that the museum as an institution is constantly subject to change from within as well as from the outside world. The world of today is characterised by globalization. Globalization is a contested term and has various meanings in different scholarly fields. Within this research globalization will be used as a concept that describes the expansion and acceleration of worldwide relationships in the art field. It is not just an economic process, but also a social, political and cultural one. It is the result of several developments, including the introduction of the World Wide Web in 1983 to the public and the establishment of several international organizations. Especially the end of the Cold War in 1989 sped up the process.

Globalization has changed the concept of power. Power is a difficult and debated term, which has led scholars to writing whole books dedicated to defining it. The introduction of ‘soft power’ by Joseph Nye in his 1990 book *Bound to lead: The changing nature of American power* is of great significance, even though the corresponding behaviour described by this term is not new.³ Due to globalization and the information age the winning of hearts and minds has become more important than ever which means that the role of soft power on the international political field has increased.⁴ Not only states have soft power, so do institutions, corporations, NGOs and even individuals possess it.⁵ We will keep in line with the most used definition of soft power in scholarly discourse, the one of Nye. He defines power as: “the ability to influence the behaviour of others”.⁶ Soft power attracts and co-opts people instead of coercing them (hard power).⁷ He

¹ International Council of Museums, “What is ICOMs definition of a museum?” (website).

² A decision about the new definition will be made in September 2019.

³ Nye, *The future of power*, 81.

⁴ Nye, *Soft power*, 1.

⁵ Nye, *The future of power*, 83.

⁶ Nye, *Soft power*, 2.

⁷ Nye, *Soft power*, 5.

compares soft power with the power of seduction, attracting other actors in a beneficial way and shaping their preferences. According to Nye:

“In international politics, the resources that produce soft power arise in large part from the values an organization or country expresses in its culture [...]”⁸

Museums play an important role in this context, since they are closely connected to culture. However, they are often overlooked in the study of international relations as actors.⁹ Vice versa, within museum studies, international relations are left out regularly.¹⁰ All the while it has been acknowledged that the museum is a political actor, with curators even becoming political activists.¹¹ This research will dig into this gap by focusing on a trend that has emerged: the establishment of satellite museums abroad by different museums.

The first kind of transnational branching out by an established museum was when the Peggy Guggenheim Collection located in Venice became a part of the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation (Guggenheim) in New York in 1976. Marguerite ‘Peggy’ Guggenheim (1898 – 1979) was the niece of Solomon R. Guggenheim (1861 – 1949) but collected independently from her family. During her youth, Peggy visited Europe with her family, where her preference for the European lifestyle began. It was no surprise when Peggy decided to move to Paris in 1920 from where on she made frequent visits to other major European cities.¹² After World War II she decided to move to Venice where she spent the rest of her life. It was also here where she found the permanent home for her collection at the Palazzo Venier dei Leoni.¹³ Peggy collected many modern European artworks and assembled a prestigious collection of modern art.¹⁴ In 1976 Peggy decided to bequeath her collection and the Palazzo Venier dei Leoni to the Guggenheim on the terms that the collection would remain in Venice. She died a few years later. The expansion of the Guggenheim from the United States to Europe with the Peggy Guggenheim Collection can be seen as something that happened due to personal reasons and motivations. The Guggenheim missed the surrealist and early post-war American gestural

⁸ Ibid., 8.

⁹ Sylvester, *Art/museums*, 2.

¹⁰ Within museum studies, international relations often come into the picture when the subject of restitution and repatriation is being discussed. However, international relations within museum studies are quite unexplored aside from this subject.

¹¹ Arnold, “From caring to creating”, 328.

¹² Lader, “Peggy Guggenheim’s Art of This Century”, 18.

¹³ Hauri, “Becoming Peggy”, 21.

¹⁴ Ibid., 18.

painting that was present in the collection of Peggy.¹⁵ Eventually, this union would be the starting point of the Guggenheim's internationalization. After the expansion to Italy, it would take until 1997 for the institution to establish its international presence further. In that year, the foundation opened the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao (GMB) and the gallery Deutsche Guggenheim in Berlin. The Deutsche Guggenheim was a collaboration with the Deutsche Bank. They organized exhibitions until its closing in 2012.¹⁶

The GMB will be the starting point of this research, which will look into the expansion of museums to other countries with a satellite branch. The expansions will be analysed in order to answer the question to what extent western art museums' motivations for expansion have evolved and how this relates to these museum's role in the international political field. All of this will be done by exploring three cases of international museum expansion through the economic, political and social contexts they exist in. The GMB did not have the personal notion that was present in the acquisition of the Peggy Guggenheim Collection, therefore this can be seen as the first kind of branching out of a museum. The State Hermitage (Hermitage) in Saint Petersburg, Russia is the second museum being discussed. Even though Russia is not a western country, the Hermitage does find its roots in the western world as will be elaborated on later.¹⁷ The Hermitage started with its global outreach in the early 1990s by international cooperation and travelling exhibitions. Its first international branch was opened in 2000 in Somerset House in London. Afterwards they opened in collaboration with the Guggenheim a museum in Las Vegas which was used as venue for shared exhibitions. For this research the most important, international satellite museum opened by the Hermitage was the Hermitage Museum Amsterdam (Hermitage Amsterdam) in 2004. The last case of expansion explored is the recently opened Louvre Abu Dhabi. Just as the two-abovementioned museums, the Louvre is a well-established art museum. All of the satellite museums from these cases are still operational today and come from museums that have their roots in the western world. These museums can be considered so-called 'Superstar Museums'.¹⁸

¹⁵ Dennison, "From museum to museums", 53.

¹⁶ Carol Vogel. "Guggenheim to close its Berlin outpost." *The New York Times*. February 7, 2012. Accessed February 22, 2019. https://search.proquest.com/docview/1705691967?rfr_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo

¹⁷ How one defines 'western' depends on the context, but the divide made during the Cold War is mostly used and excludes Russia of the western world.

¹⁸ Bruno S. Frey describes in his article "Superstar museums" generally known and world-famous museums of art which are characterized by five aspects: 1) they are a must for tourists; 2) they have a large number of visitors; 3) they feature world famous painters and world famous paintings; 4) they have a type of architecture which makes the building itself a world famous artistic feature; 5) they are commercialized in two aspects. They do not have to meet all of these characteristics.

First of all, the financial and economic aspects of the expansion will be analysed. Due to globalization, the opening up of the art market and changes in funding, museums meet new challenges. These challenges are mainly to be found in the decrease of government funding for museums. Therefore, museums need to find other ways of getting revenue. This will lead to the need to discuss the receiving ends of the expansion and their relations to the museum and its contents. Historical and political relations are important for this analysis. It will become clear that there is a two-way dynamic of motivations going on. In the last chapter, the collections of the museum will be the central point. The museum establishes a certain kind of knowledge by including and excluding certain things. What makes this research so interesting, is the fact that it is focused on institutions that are traditionally regarded as the safe keepers of art. New ideas about art being of all people have been emerging more over the last few years, for example in the controversial *Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums* from 2002. However, this research will look beyond the traditional role of museums and more at the power they have on the international field by creating a narrative.

The significance of this research is that a trend with an uncertain future will be explored. It is interesting to see the evolution these museums went through which can provide useful information on the developments of the museum in our ever-changing world. It will hopefully also bring international relations and museum studies closer together, something that will be needed in order to understand the context in which museums operate today better.

Chapter 1

Globalization of the art market and museums

Museums and the art market

Globalization has led to the opening up of the art market. This means that the national and regional interactions around art have merged into a larger pool of global art and capital, which has changed the economy of the art world.¹⁹ Due to the opening up of borders the exchange of goods, information, knowledge and technology has increased. John Zarobell describes in his book *Art and the global economy* the world of today as: “driven by economic norms and adapting to these norms is the latent condition of a globalized world”.²⁰ This is also the case for art museums that have now changed their practices and policies. In this chapter the focus will be on the economic incentives that are at the roots of the decision to expand. The economic motives are all different, since all of the cases are situated in other parts of the world where different economic systems have been prevalent. However, certain trends can be distinguished that form the framework of the financial situations for museums.

First of all, new wealthy players are entering the field. They are mainly located in China, Brazil, India, Mexico and the Arab World.²¹ This has led to an increase in museums and other art institutions, and consequently in competition. Auction houses like Sotheby’s are multinational with locations in for example New York, Paris, Hong Kong and Doha. Especially private museums are on the rise and implementing the international expansion strategies. For example, the Indonesian-Chinese billionaire Budi Tek opened his second museum in 2014 in Shanghai, called Yuz Museum.²² His first museum was opened in 2006 in Jakarta. Another trend are the biennales and triennials that are popping up all over the world since the first international exposition in Venice opened in 1895. In the 1990s the amount of art biennales and triennials started to expand and is still growing.²³ Through biennales and triennials the art world can communicate and get in touch with local art communities all around the world. Biennales held in cities as Havana (1984), Dakar (1994) and Johannesburg (1995), promoted art from Third

¹⁹ Zarobell, *Art and the global economy*, 3.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

²¹ Schultheis, Singlem Köfeler & Mazzurana, *Art unlimited?*, 18.

²² Colin Gleadell, “Art sales: The whole world in his hands?”, *The Telegraph online*. March 4, 2014. Accessed 1 March 2019, <https://global-factiva-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/redirect/default.aspx?P=sa&NS=16&AID=9LEI000700&an=TELUK00020140304ea34003jw&cat=a&ep=ASI>

²³ Bydler, *The global art world, Inc.*, 96.

World countries and challenged the ruling western art centres.²⁴ The effect that these biennials and triennials have on the art world has been subject some research already but is too broad to go in further for this essay.²⁵ However, the end of the western domination of the art market will be a recurring trend throughout this research.

Thirdly, the funding for museums is in flux. Zarobell distinguishes two kinds of museum funding models. The first is state-funded; the government supports these kinds of museums. He calls them the 'European model'. The other is a museum funded primarily by private donors, the 'American model'.²⁶ This dichotomy is in practice less clear. Both kinds of museums are undergoing changes due to globalization. Neoliberal policies have grown, which has decreased state funding for museums but increased their costs. Budgets used to be controlled and museums were run by curators and directors with an art historical background matching the museums.²⁷ However, innovations came along when populism and financial challenges emerged. Museums gradually turned to marketing and high-profile programming in order to attract a large as possible audience to raise revenue.²⁸ Museums in general slowly became audience driven.²⁹ Commercialism started to infiltrate the museums of the United States, and not long until Europe was next. In Europe, where most museums were established as state-run, a decrease of government funding has led to them adopting policies of the American model. New hybrid museum funding models are emerging which leads to new forms of art museums.³⁰

Established museums, as the ones that will be discussed in this research, are now trying to find other sources of income. Museums are occupied with expanding their collections for which they used to rely on subsidies from the government.³¹ In combination with the growing competition on the art market and the rise of prices for artworks museums employ other measures. For example, the Rijksmuseum did not have the financial sources to acquire two portraits by Rembrandt in 2016. They teamed up with the Louvre and purchased the two portraits for 160 million euros together.³² They are making choices within their collections. This

²⁴ Ibid., 98.

²⁵ For more information on the several aspects of biennials, read Morgner, C. "The biennial: The practice of selection in a global art world." *Empirical studies of the arts* 32, 2 (2014): 275 – 282. Or: Coates, R. "From the margins to the center: The São Paulo Biennial, the Biennale of Sydney, and the Istanbul Biennial." *Museum worlds* 2, 1 (2014): 113 – 132. Or: Haines, C. "A new state of the arts: Developing the biennial model as ethical art practice." *Museum management and curatorship* 26, 2 (2011): 163 – 175.

²⁶ Zarobell, *Art and the global economy*, 29.

²⁷ McClellan, *The art museum*, 210.

²⁸ Ibid., 210 – 212.

²⁹ Ibid., 212 – 213.

³⁰ Zarobell, *Art and the global economy*, p. 31.

³¹ Ibid., 44.

³² The 'Rembrandt Treaty' was also a form of culture politics in order to strengthen the connection between Paris and Amsterdam. The governments were highly involved in this deal. It shows that the government was interested

year the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art (SFMoMA) sold an untitled Mark Rothko (1903 – 1970) painting from 1960 in order to raise money for its acquisition funds.³³ Director of the museum Neal Benezra commented upon the reasons for this sale:

“We are rethinking our exhibitions, collections and education programs to enhance accessibility and expand our commitment to a global perspective [...]. Untitled, 1960 is being sold in order to broadly diversify SFMoMA’s collection, enhance its contemporary holdings and address art historical gaps in order to continue to push boundaries and embrace fresh ideas”.³⁴

Museums are non-profit and the money they make needs to be invested in their collection and operations. Nonetheless museums want to collect large endowments to guarantee their long-term stability and to make sure they do not have to break even from their direct sources of income.³⁵

Economic motives are thus very important, especially since the traditional funding models of museums are in flux. The trust in the governments’ aid is decreasing in the west which leads to the accumulation of own buffers by museums. Their turn to fund-raising and more private incomes makes them more dependent from the logic of the market, even though a non-profit should not be.³⁶ As described by journalist Francesca Gavin, the boundaries between the “church” and “state” (the non-profit and the trade) of the art world have never been so blurred.³⁷

The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation

For the Guggenheim expansion was a tool for the financial troubles they found itself in. The appointment of Thomas Krens in 1988 as director of the museum marks the start of the international expansion interesting for this research. Krens studied political science at Williams

in the funding of these artworks, but they were not financially able to and therefore had to cooperate. Both museums fit within the European model, and therefore the government is intertwined within the museums.

³³ Nancy Kenney. “SFMoMA to sell a Rothko estimated at \$35m to \$50m.” *The art newspaper*. February 15, 2019. Accessed May 20, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/sfmoma-to-sell-a-1960-rothko-estimated-at-usd35m-to-usd50m>

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Zarobell, *Art and the global economy*, 30.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Francesca Gavin. “The only way is ethics: The art world’s networks of undue influence.” *The art newspaper*. June 7, 2019. Accessed on June 17, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/the-only-way-is-ethics>

College, Massachusetts and majored in political economy. Later he earned a master's degree in studio art at the State University of New York at Albany. Afterwards he went for a second master's degree at Yale's School of Management.³⁸ This gives Krens a different background than most museum directors at that time. When Krens applied for the function of director of the SFMoMA, the trustees were worried by his talk about flow charts, spreadsheets, computers and strategies and lack of mentioning of artworks.³⁹ Just like the SFMoMA, Krens as director also sold artworks from the collection. However, this money went into a restricted fund of its endowment, which was in conflict with the Association of Art Museum Directors' code of ethics.⁴⁰ Museums are allowed to deaccession artworks but have to use the money for further acquisitions of its collection. Krens' actions had become scandalous and heavily criticized by the press. His reaction was:

“The fact that the museum industry is in trouble, and for a very simple reason, a simple economic analysis. Audience is levelling off; government revenues have already levelled off; even though the corporate sector had been increasing, that's now tapering off; and endowment revenues are tied to the size of the endowments, and they're not increasing either.”⁴¹

Krens had a much more profit-oriented approach to his directorship than other museum directors at the time. In an interview with *The New York Times* about his appointment he talked about the international outlook that the museum had and already mentioned the possibility for expanding international programming.⁴²

When Krens arrived at his post within the Guggenheim, the museum was in financial trouble. Competition with other big New York City museums was tough. At the time of his appointment the museum operated on a tight budget, the building was in need of renovation and there was a lack of space for all the artworks.⁴³ In order to house the enormous collection, Krens decided to add a new tower to the building, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, and renovate the other parts. Moreover, he commissioned the building of a new museum dependency in the neighbourhood SoHo in New York City, designed by Arata Isozaki. The

³⁸ Haacke, “The Guggenheim Museum”, 114.

³⁹ Filler, “The Museum game”.

⁴⁰ Haacke, “The Guggenheim Museum”, 116.

⁴¹ Suau, “The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao”, 14.

⁴² Douglas McGill. “Guggenheim Museum names new director.” *The New York Times*. January 13, 1988. Accessed April 17, 2019. https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/permalink/f/1e3kn0k/TN_gale_ofa6255703

⁴³ Kimmelman, “The globe-straddler of the art world”, 52.

extra wing to the original museum had a cost of \$57.9 million, going over budget by \$17.7 million. Moreover, the SoHo project went \$4.6 million over budget.⁴⁴ This was about twice as much as the museum's endowment.⁴⁵ The museum was closed for two years, so there was no income from entrance fees, the museum shop or space rentals. Due to all the costs, the museum had to fire 10% of the staff.⁴⁶ Endowments for the museum covered 75% of the museums operating expenses in the sixties, and at the time Krens came to the museum this was only 20%.⁴⁷ He identified a hostile economic environment for his museum. Within America there is a long history of philanthropy, but due to the high competition it got tougher for the Guggenheim to answer to its financial needs.⁴⁸ As the economic strategist that he is he started adapting quickly. In his opinion, the museum industry had to look across borders. The museum had already been part of travelling exhibitions that were sent throughout the world, but the establishment of the GMB in 1997 made the international orientation of the Guggenheim truly different than that of any other museum.

Bilbao was initially not on Krens' list as a possible city for a satellite museum. The city of Bilbao approached him. Since the 1980s the cities leaders already started exploring new development possibilities. Carmen Giménez, curator for twentieth-century art at the Guggenheim, previously served as the Minister of the Spanish Ministry of Culture in the Gonzalez government. Together with her close collaborator Alfonso Otazu they were the firsts to propose the idea.⁴⁹ Krens was sceptical and initially responded with: "I won't go to Bilbao unless there are \$15 million on the table before I sit down."⁵⁰ This later even increased to \$20 million. After his visit, a talk with the Spanish king's brother-in-law and an agreement with the Basques, Krens was convinced. The agreement they had settled on was very beneficial for the Guggenheim. Next to the \$20 million franchise fee paid up front, the Basques would make \$50 million available for new acquisitions of art, \$100 million funding for a new museum building and they would subsidize the annual budget of the museum of \$12 million.⁵¹ Moreover, the Basques also had to reimburse the Guggenheim for all costs and expenses that were made in connection to the preparation of the agreement and the connected obligations.⁵² In return, the

⁴⁴ Haacke, "The Guggenheim Museum", 116.

⁴⁵ Plagens, "The man who grew too much?", 62.

⁴⁶ Haacke, "The Guggenheim Museum", 116.

⁴⁷ Feldstein and National bureau of economic research, *The economics of art museums*, 64.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 65-66.

⁴⁹ Plaza and Haarich, "The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao: Between regional embeddedness and global networking", 1461.

⁵⁰ Zulaika, "Krens's Taj Mahal", 104.

⁵¹ Haacke, "The Guggenheim Museum", 117 – 118.

⁵² Zulaika, "Krens's Taj Mahal, 110.

Guggenheim was to lend its name and remained the operator of the museum. It received control over the exhibition policy, planning and management of the museum in Bilbao.⁵³ The museum had to lend works from its collection and was obliged to pass shows through Bilbao that it had organized elsewhere.⁵⁴

However, to abdicate the expansion of the Guggenheim just on the financial benefits it received would be too easy. Krens himself said: “Money is not important. The important thing is that now we know that transnational museums are viable”.⁵⁵ Even a businessman like Krens knew that economic motivations alone are not reason enough for the expansion of a cultural institution as an art museum. The Guggenheim was experiencing financial troubles and a shortage of exhibition space. This was an incentive to do something, but global expansion was not the most obvious way to go. Therefore, other reasons should be considered in researching the motivations for the Guggenheim to go global.

The State Hermitage Museum

In the period that Krens was working out strategies for the survival of his New York-based institution, on the other side of the world the Hermitage was also encountering challenges. The museum houses more than 3 million objects in its collection and belongs in the top 10 most visited art museums of the world.⁵⁶ The Hermitage was founded in 1764 by Empress Catherine II (1729 – 1796), also known as Catherine the Great, as a private museum and since then had always been supported by the government. Between 1990 and 1991 the Soviet Union collapsed, which can be considered as one of the most encompassing events of the last century. This led to an unstable political as well as economic situation in Russia and to an end of the extremely generous government support for the museum.⁵⁷ This led the recently appointed director Mikhail Piotrovsky to start doing research into the opening up of extensions of his museum elsewhere.⁵⁸ This was already in the early 1990s, so around the same time that Krens decided to look into international expansion. Krens opened his GMB in 1997, and the Hermitage’s first international dependency was opened in 2000. It is safe to assume that Piotrovsky has looked at the way Krens went about. However, there are some essential differences between the ways the

⁵³ Zulaika, “Desiring Bilbao: The krensification of the museum and its discontents”, 151.

⁵⁴ Haacke, “The Guggenheim Museum”, 118.

⁵⁵ Zulaika, “The Guggenheim Museum”, 111.

⁵⁶ Emily Sharpe & José da Silva. “The world’s most popular exhibition? Ancient sculptures in Tokyo versus modern masters in Paris.” *The art newspaper*. March 26, 2018. Accessed June 1, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/analysis/ancient-buddhist-sculptures-triumph-over-modern-masters>

⁵⁷ Gibson, “The Hermitage and institutional change”, 20.

⁵⁸ Karmanova, “Branching out”, 30.

museums are institutionalized and their international expansion. First of all, Piotrovsky did not have the business background that Krens possessed. He graduated in Arabic Studies from the Leningrad State University and had worked as an interpreter in Yemen. He had also obtained a doctorate in history. In 1992 he became director of the Hermitage.⁵⁹ The whole management team of the museum consisted almost exclusively of scholars as a result from the former Soviet Union-system which had considered management skills unnecessary.⁶⁰

Piotrovsky and his staff needed immediate results.⁶¹ Income from ticket sales were not sufficient, and neither was the revenue of museum shops due to the low buying capacity of the Russian people. The concept of philanthropy was also relatively new within Russia.⁶² Of great importance for the Hermitage became the activity of fundraising. Therefore, they decided to look abroad for new ways of generating revenues. They looked especially to the western world, where many established museums are located and selectively applied certain policies.⁶³ Exchange in knowledge of exhibition, preservation, and organization were among the first influences that came in from the west.⁶⁴ The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) provided the museum with experience and expertise. They helped to rearrange the financial procedures and the museums' budgeting. UNESCO introduced several fundraising policies, which led to the establishment of the International Friends Club in 1996.⁶⁵ These international friend associations are located worldwide since donors within Russia were hard to find due to the economic situation. Further activities in order to connect with the international community included a collaboration with International Business Machines Corporation to create a new website.⁶⁶ This website allows visitors to view the artworks that are in the museum and take a virtual tour. This has made the collection accessible to people from all around the world.

In 2000, while the museum was still adapting to the new political environment it was operating in, the Hermitage started to go global in another context. The museum signed two agreements. The first one was with the Somerset House in London concerning the opening of the Hermitage Rooms. The Hermitage Rooms find its roots in the collaboration between Piotrovsky and the British banker Lord Rothschild. Together they created the Hermitage

⁵⁹ The State Hermitage Museum. "About us: Mikhail Borisovich Piotrovsky" (website).

⁶⁰ Gibson, "The Hermitage and institutional change", 21.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Kan, "The Hermitage comes out of its shell", 40.

⁶³ Gibson, "The Hermitage and institutional change", 21.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 22.

⁶⁵ Piotrovsky, "The Hermitage through the centuries", 10.

⁶⁶ For more information on this: Morbey, M.L. "Killing a culture softly: Corporate partnership with a Russian museum." *Museum management and curatorship* 21 (2006), 267 – 282.

Development Trust, though which they gathered seven million dollar that would be used to create an exhibition place in Somerset House. Calculations of the partnership led to annual revenue of about \$700,000.⁶⁷ The Hermitage received \$1.50 for every \$6 dollar ticket that was sold and royalties for the sale of merchandise. Somerset House took the responsibility to make the rooms suitable for the artworks.⁶⁸ The Hermitage's officials saw this dependency as a way to attract more international funding, since they could now show in Europe what kind of art they had collected for centuries. Piotrovsky himself called the Somerset House a "Russian jewel-box" that they would place in Europe.⁶⁹ However, this collaboration was not as fruitful as the involved parties had hoped. The Hermitage Rooms had to close its doors in 2007.

The Hermitage also collaborated with the Guggenheim which led to the Guggenheim Hermitage Museum in Las Vegas in 2001. The Guggenheim also became a partner of the Hermitage in the development of the east wing of the General Staff Building. They planned to have an exhibition space here from which it could loan works from the Guggenheim collection.⁷⁰ The new exhibition spaces helped to increase the awareness of the museums, like a kind of branding. International branding in order to attract more international donors was one of the strategies used by both museums to increase their income. The Guggenheim Hermitage Museum in Las Vegas closed in 2008 when the contract came to an end. This dependency had a hard time gaining community support, while it relied on corporate sponsorships, memberships and patrons.⁷¹

The most remarkable expansion by the Hermitage was to Amsterdam with the Hermitage Amsterdam. The museum opened in 2004 and moved in 2009 to the building where it is still located and operational nowadays. The idea of a branch in the Netherlands came from the collaboration from the Friends of the Hermitage Foundation, set up in 1994. Through this organization the Hermitage collaborated with the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam in organizing exhibitions and children's programmes. Ernst Veen was the director of the Nieuwe Kerk at that time and later became director of the Hermitage Amsterdam. The agreement was signed by the Ministry of Culture of the Russian Federation, the Hermitage and the Hermitage-on-the-Amstel

⁶⁷ Alan Riding, "Arts abroad" (website).

⁶⁸ Paul Levy. "Eye on London: Museums --- The Hermitage moves west, extending the brand." *The Wall Street Journal*. January 4, 2001. Accessed May 6, 2019. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB978570878572679569>

⁶⁹ Alan Riding, "Arts abroad" (website).

⁷⁰ Karmanova, "Branching out", 34.

⁷¹ Kristen Peterson. "Art museums on the strip: Why only one survives." *Las Vegas sun*. April 13, 2008. Accessed March 5, 2019. <https://lasvegassun.com/news/2008/apr/13/art-museums-strip-why-only-one-survives/>

Foundation.⁷² The Hermitage had to bring works and exhibitions to the Dutch branch. They were offered a former nursing home building at the Amstel for a symbolic price of one euro per year if it would house a cultural institution. The Hermitage Amsterdam is an independent museum with its own money flows. The museum is connected to its Russian counterpart through the Hermitage-on-the-Amstel Foundation, from which the president is Piotrovsky.⁷³ One US dollar of every sold entrance ticket is being transferred to the Hermitage.⁷⁴ There is always an exhibition on show with works from the Hermitage, but also other artworks from other museums and collections. The Hermitage has also opened a research centre in Italy, but will no further be discussed since this centre is not used as a museum but as a place to do research into their collections of Italian art.

Musée du Louvre

The last case that will be researched is the Musée du Louvre (Louvre) in Paris and the recently opened Louvre Abu Dhabi. Due to the introduction of the neoliberal doctrine the Louvre, which had a very stable government income for decades, had to start looking for new kinds of funding. For example, its subsidies represented 75 percent of the budget of the Louvre in 2000 but declined to 43.5 percent in 2012.⁷⁵ The search for new funding grew under the leadership of Henri Loyrette who was director of the Louvre from 2001 until 2013. His successor is Jean-Luc Martinez, former curator of Greek sculptors.⁷⁶ Loyrette helped to change the funding model of the Louvre, so it was less reliant on the state and had greater autonomy.⁷⁷ Loyrette made it possible for corporate funding to grow while government contributions gradually decreased. For example, he accepted \$6.2 million for the restoration of the Salle des États and \$2.2 million for moving the *Venus de Milo* (ca. 130 BC) into the Denon Wing from Japanese donors.⁷⁸ This received the critique that he worked in an American manner, which according to him was just making the museum more modern.⁷⁹ Next to his work within museums he was also active in

⁷² The State Hermitage Museum. “The opening of the Hermitage-Amsterdam exhibition complex in Amsterdam” (website).

⁷³ Karmanova, “Branching out”, 39.

⁷⁴ The State Hermitage Museum, “The opening of the Hermitage-Amsterdam exhibition complex in Amsterdam” (website).

⁷⁵ Benhamou, “Neoliberalism and French heritage policy in the context of globalization”, 54.

⁷⁶ Gareth Harris. “Louvre director Jean-Luc Martinez’s contract extended for three more years” (website).

⁷⁷ Luke, “A Legacy Revived”, 48.

⁷⁸ Dana Thomas. “Moving the ‘Mona Lisa’; Louvre director Henri Loyrette seeks out private funding for new projects.” *Newsweek international*. April 25, 2005. Retrieved March 5, 2019. <https://www.newsweek.com/moving-mona-lisa-116559>

⁷⁹ Carol Vogel. “On a mission to loosen up the Louvre.” *The New York Times*. October 9, 2009. Accessed April 29, 2019. https://search.proquest.com/docview/1030694530?rfr_id=info%3Axri%2Fsid%3Aprimo

cultural organizations, for example Admical. This organization has as its mission: “to promote corporate philanthropy in France”.⁸⁰

Loyrette received a master’s degree in history, with a specialization in 19th century art. In 1978 he started to work as a curator for the Musée d’Orsay where he was appointed director in 1994. In 2001 he became director of the Louvre. His background as an art historian does help him his work as a museum director, as he puts it himself:

“Fundamentally, I think that at the head of these big institutions you need people who are in this line of work, who know about art history and especially about our way of seeing things. [...] It is not a simple question of administration, [...]. Of course, the Louvre is largely a museum of the 19th century, so to work on the Louvre is to practice art history.”⁸¹

The idea of a Louvre museum in Abu Dhabi came from the Emirate of Abu Dhabi. The federation of the United Arab Emirates (UAE) consist of seven emirates along the Gulf of Arabia: Abu Dhabi, Dubai, Sharjah, Ajman, Umm Al Kaiwan, Ras Al Khaimah and Fujairah.⁸² Abu Dhabi found themselves being overshadowed by its neighbour Dubai, which went through an enormous economic development in the late 1990s and early 2000s.⁸³ This led Sheik Khalifa Ben Zayed Al-Nahyan to invest in cultural projects that had a global character in order to compete with its neighbour. An island was constructed especially for cultural enterprises, called Saadiyat Island. This cultural enhancement of the economy is not entirely new.⁸⁴ They had seen it applied in Bilbao with the branching out of the Guggenheim. Moreover, the Louvre had also already participated in expansion inside of the country in order to enhance the city of Lens.⁸⁵ At the end of 2012, the Louvre-Lens museum opened. The first conversations about Louvre-Lens started in 2003, and where motivated by the Louvre since they needed new sources of funding and Lens was willing to engage the region’s financial resources.⁸⁶

The Louvre was one of the first museums to be approached for the Saadiyat Island project in 2005. At the first talks the officials on the French side were not as enthusiastic as

⁸⁰ Admical. “About us” (website).

⁸¹ Luke, “A legacy revived”, 48.

⁸² Boumansour, “The role of museums in Emirati culture”, 11.

⁸³ Graebner, “The Louvre Abu Dhabi”, 188.

⁸⁴ Baudelle and Krauss, “The governance model of two French national museums of fine arts relocated in the province”.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

their Emirate counterparts. However, at the end of 2006 the French mindset had changed. Loyrette's successor Martinez, who was head of the Louvre at the time of the opening of the Louvre Abu Dhabi even said in 2018: "If another country submits a proposal, we'll consider it."⁸⁷ Within the economic context the fact that the French government cooperated with a country in the Middle East many motivations can be traced back to oil money. Within the French-Arabic relationship this plays a huge role. This also comes with many political issues, but this will be too much to explore in my research. However, it does offer an opportunity for further research.

The branch in Abu Dhabi has a different agreement than the previous two cases with their satellite museums. In the Louvre case, it is mainly the name that has been bought by Abu Dhabi. Other French museums also participated in the deal, for example the Centre Georges Pompidou and the Musée d'Orsay. They are collected under the Agence France-Muséums. At the beginning of 2007 an agreement was signed by the French Minister of Culture.⁸⁸ In the agreement a period of thirty years was specified, in which the new museum in Abu Dhabi would use the name 'Louvre'. They had bought this name for €400 million. According to the contract France was obliged to loan works of art and give assistance in the management and development of the Louvre Abu Dhabi. In total, Abu Dhabi would pay €220 million for these services. The total sum of the contract for the thirty years would cost the Emirates around €850 million.⁸⁹ But that was not all. Abu Dhabi would finance the construction of the new building. They would also fund a new art research centre in France and donations were made by Sheikh Khalifa outside of the agreement, which was used to renovate parts of France's royal palaces.⁹⁰ The deal was thus very beneficial for France. The Louvre would receive an endowment around €400 million, something which was a first in the history of French museums. The deal was thus very financially beneficial for the Louvre, that would use the money to operate autonomous from the French government as was the goal of Loyrette. However, critics were shocked, and called the commercial use of the museum and its masterpieces shocking.⁹¹

Concluding remarks

Profits are mostly the major motivations for businesses to expand international, but museum are by current definition non-profit. However, the museums discussed all have had severe

⁸⁷ Gareth Harris, "Louvre director Jean-Luc Martinez's contract extended for three more years" (website).

⁸⁸ Graebner, "The Louvre Abu Dhabi", 189.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 190.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 191.

⁹¹ Eileen Kinsella. "Louvre to launch Abu Dhabi branch; Pompidou expands to Shanghai." *Artnews*. January 23, 2007. Accessed March 17, 2019. <http://www.artnews.com/2007/01/23/louvre-to-launch-abu-dhabi-branch-pompidou-expands-to-shanghai/>

financial considerations when they decided to open a satellite branch abroad. The main trend is the need for the museums to become more autonomous and to be more in charge of their own money flows. In a world that is characterized by the concept of globalization, looking for new donors is being done more across borders than before. Roughly compared the Guggenheim, the Louvre and the Hermitage adopted a different way of international expansion from the financial perspective. This can be summed up in 'franchising' and 'branding'. The Guggenheim participated in franchising, while the Louvre and the Hermitage used branding. They took on more an advisory role. The expansion of their name across borders was used to attract new donors and new income sources. The museums received the critique that they should not profit from commercially exploiting artworks. However, the art market is closely connected to the arts and museums. Christine Sylvester points out that there is a paradox of the artistic credibility having a requirement to be exhibited in an institution that seems to be outside the social and economic norms of the world, all the while the making of art has rarely been outside of these regulations.⁹² As acknowledged by former director of the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) Glenn Lowry, no museum can be free from the marketplace but they should not let it affect its integrity.⁹³

The western museums have a hard time gaining the funds for new acquisitions that can compete with the newly emerged actors on the international stage that are rapidly amassing collections without having many financial constraints. Prices paid today for artworks are astronomically high. Most western museums can fall back on a large collection with a long history but in order to acquire new artworks they have to look at the new players that are bringing these artworks outside of the western hemisphere. Therefore, the museums have applied other measures. Cooperation is one way to go about. Within the light of globalization, museums become essential actors in the art market and in the mobility of artworks. This makes museums play an important role within the field of international relations by making sure the ties are well established with these new players. There is also the possibility of spill-over effects. This means that cooperation on one policy area will lead to greater integration on other areas as well. Consequently, this has made the western museums a political actor in the international field.

As we can see in the cases of the Guggenheim and the Hermitage, not every satellite museum was successful. This might lead to wonder why certain projects succeeded and others

⁹² Sylvester, *Art/museums*, 119.

⁹³ McClellan, *The art museum*, 230.

failed. Economic aspects alone are not enough to account for these success stories. Since museums carry culture its establishment in just any other place would be problematic and difficult. They need some kind of legitimacy. As said by Krens: “Money is not important. The important thing is that now we know that transnational museums are viable”.⁹⁴This brings us to the next chapter, where the international relations and backgrounds will be explored further.

⁹⁴ Zulaika, “The Guggenheim Museum”, 111.

Chapter 2

International dynamics

Introduction

People are travelling more than ever due to the opening up of borders and the evolution of transport, and so are the museum's contents. Collections of museums are growing and the need for expansion is becoming bigger. Museums have found themselves in need to expand their buildings in order to physically accommodate the increasing number of visitors and the growing collections. If just the economic motives were enough, why not stay in the same country or build an extra wing, which is a lot easier to realize? All of these museums have a dependency in the same country, but why did they decide on another city abroad? In this chapter the receiving end of the museum expansion will be looked at more closely. The specific circumstances mostly intertwined with the political and historical relations will be analysed and discussed. This will give a more dynamic, two-way perspective of the museum expansion and a more comprehensive idea of why certain satellites were successful and others failed. As said by Nye: "Soft power is a dance that requires two partners."⁹⁵ What the receiving end thinks, matters.

Museums have been used as a way to show a city's cultural status or as civic pride since the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁹⁶ Before the emergence of museums, the activity of collecting was a way to display one's wealth and knowledge and to impress visitors. More recently, there is the development that museums are used to boost the economy of a certain region. Some examples are the establishment of the Centre Georges Pompidou in the area Beaubourg in Paris and the opening of a Tate museum in Liverpool. By establishing a museum, the hope is that it will attract tourists which will also benefit other aspects of the region. In the three cases treated throughout this thesis, this is no different. The museums need some kind of legitimacy where the satellite branches touch down. This legitimacy is often entangled with the image these host countries have of the museum and what they hope to achieve with the establishment of a museum with an old collection that encompasses certain ideas, norms and tastes. These ideas can be summed up in 'western universalism', something that can be traced in all three case studies.

⁹⁵ Nye, *The future of power*, 84.

⁹⁶ McClellan, *The art museum*, 70.

The Guggenheim and Bilbao

Many studies have been dedicated to the so-called ‘Bilbao effect’, referring to the success story of urban regeneration that was brought to Bilbao with the help of the Guggenheim.⁹⁷ Bilbao was a former successful urban area within the Basque country that had always been very industrialized with mining as one of its main activities. The city suffered the effects of post-industrialization in the 1960s which led to economic decline.⁹⁸ Between 1979 and 1985 almost 25% of the industrial jobs disappeared.⁹⁹ With the establishment of the GMB the Basques hoped to turn the tide by attracting tourists. Initiator Otazu decided to approach the Department of Treasury first, instead of the Department of Culture of the Basques.¹⁰⁰ This shows the focus on the economic benefits the museum was supposed to bring to the city. Their hopes were achieved and even more, when instead of the anticipated 400,000 visitors a year turned out to be around a million. The building of the museum was repaid in five years and around \$33.5 million per year was added to the GDP of the city.¹⁰¹ The Bilbao effect was partly achieved through the installation of a building designed by an internationally renowned architect. According to Krens they could not lend their name and brand any more than Coca-Cola could, therefore they needed to be involved with the aesthetic decisions.¹⁰² Frank Gehry was asked to create a design for the new museum. The building that resulted had been declared as one of the greatest buildings of the 20th century by many architects. This led other museums to also invite Pritzker prize winning architects for their buildings, making museums one of the most notable building types of this century.¹⁰³

The incentive to build the museum in Bilbao came from the Spanish city. Krens was looking for other places in Europe to expand to. Most famously were his plans to create a museum in the side of a rocky mountain in Salzburg, Austria. However, many of his proposals were refused. The Salzburg idea was abandoned due to the changing political situation after the fall of the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, Krens decided to approach other countries in Europe. He turned to Spain due to the economic successes the country achieved during the 1980s and the

⁹⁷ Franklin, “Journeys to the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao”, 79.

⁹⁸ Suau, “The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao”, 31.

⁹⁹ Plaza, “Evaluating the influence of a large cultural artifact in the attraction of tourism”, 266.

¹⁰⁰ Zulaika, “Krens’s Taj Mahal”, 104.

¹⁰¹ Franklin, “Journeys to the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao”, 80.

¹⁰² Hannah McGivern. “Twenty years on: How the Guggenheim Bilbao came of age.” *The art newspaper*. November 24, 2017. Accessed June 6, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/twenty-years-on-how-the-guggenheim-bilbao-came-of-age>

¹⁰³ McClellan, *The art museum*, 53.

¹⁰⁴ Suau, “The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao”, 13.

policies of Felipe Gonzalez.¹⁰⁵ Bilbao was the fourth largest city of Spain at the time and the only one that did not have something huge yet on their agenda, for example Barcelona was organizing the Olympic Games in 1992. Krens did not react eager, but due to his need for money and the city offering payments he was willing to consider the deal.

The Basque region is very unique in Europe and the Basques have been very preservative of their culture and traditions. However, it was very problematic economically as well as politically.¹⁰⁶ The region's image had suffered from violence induced by the terroristic group ETA.¹⁰⁷ The area was starting to fade into the background and for a region characterised by pride of their traditions, history and culture, this needed to change. They weren't able to compete on a global level with their steel and shipbuilding industries anymore.¹⁰⁸ So the Basque government decided to regenerate the region's economic base by evolving the infrastructure, cultural resources and its international image.¹⁰⁹ By internationalizing the cultural field, one which was always strongly focused on their own traditions and history, they hoped to emerge on the international terrain. The establishment of the GMB is the embodiment of this aim. This goal with the implementation of the GMB was even translated by the usage of a world-famous architect who would "help focus world attention on activities in Bilbao, and a publicity strategy to present Bilbao's new image to the world".¹¹⁰

The combination of terrorism and economic decline makes Bilbao seem like a very unattractive place for the Guggenheim to establish its first international branch. In order to impress Krens the Basques invited him over and he was treated like a royal. He was flown by helicopter from place to place because a car ride through the city could scare him off.¹¹¹ He was invited to dinner by the brother-in-law of the Spanish monarch who told him about the fact that the Basque provinces had their own Treasuries. This gave the Basque region a state prerogative which was interesting to Krens.¹¹² Gímenez was in the right time on the right place, the Guggenheim and Bilbao were both in trouble and looking for ways to fix this. Krens found the whole plan the Basques had set out in order to bring the city into a new era of welfare very appealing.¹¹³ In some way, both parties had the same goal: sustainability. Already before the talks about the GMB were taking place the Basque government started developing a plan and

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 35.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 2.

¹⁰⁷ ETA (*Euskadi Ta Askatasuna*) demands separation of the Basque Country from Spain.

¹⁰⁸ Rauen, "Reflections on the space of flows", 284.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 285.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Zulaika, "Krens's Taj Mahal", 101.

¹¹² Ibid., 104 – 105.

¹¹³ Suau, "The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao", 42.

policies targeted at structural change and urban regeneration with the opening of a metro line and an airport.¹¹⁴ All of these incentives might be part of the reason that the GMB was successful, in contrast to many other similar projects.¹¹⁵ However, the GMB is often seen as the final push that made Bilbao into a tourist destination.¹¹⁶

For the Guggenheim, I believe several aspects are important in their choice for Bilbao next to their financial support. First, the fact that the Basques were willing to do everything in order to get the museum to Bilbao, even to let them control from across the ocean. The American way of life has always been closely connected to capitalism, and these actions of the Guggenheim can be considered capitalistic. As described by Rosalind Krauss in her essay ‘The cultural logic of the late capitalist museum’, industrial modes have reached spheres they were previously somewhat separated from, including the arts.¹¹⁷ The Guggenheim has become the prime example of the capitalist museum, with Krens using terms as “museum industry”, “asset management”, “mergers and acquisitions” when talking about the museum. There are several key components of the industrializations that are needed in order to produce a product efficiently.¹¹⁸ First of all, the break-up of productive units. For example, the curator is now not in charge anymore of almost every aspect of the museum. His or her activities have been split up.¹¹⁹ Secondly, there is a need for increased technologizing and the centralization of operations.¹²⁰ This centralization of operations is distinctive in the Guggenheim model, with the control over the Bilbao branch coming from New York. It has also led to much critique. Many Marxists critics have discussed the way the museum has become capitalist in its operations and the way they become more like a cooperation. One of the most prominent critics is Frederic Jameson who sees globalization as a victory for multinational corporations.¹²¹ The establishment of the GMB has become the most used and analysed example of these critics. In other cities this might not have been possible, since they were in a different position than Bilbao was in. The fact that the Basque region was in charge of their own treasury, and not the Spanish government made this possible.

Even though the Guggenheim was not a state museum, it did operate in the American society and therefore has American values embedded in its operations. It now brought it to

¹¹⁴ Plaza and Haarich, “The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao”, 1456.

¹¹⁵ Franklin, “Journeys to the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao”, 80.

¹¹⁶ Plaza and Haarich, “The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao”, 1458.

¹¹⁷ Krauss, “The cultural logic of the late capitalist museum,” 14.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 15.

¹¹⁹ Arnold, “From caring to creating”, 326 – 327.

¹²⁰ Krauss, “The cultural logic of the late capitalist museum”, 15.

¹²¹ Jameson, “Notes on globalization as a philosophical issue”, 54 – 77.

Spain, where the museum would be funded by the government of the Basque region which had their own Treasury. The location of the GMB was in a community that had their own language, traditions and history that do not always are in line with the overarching western history. The expansion of American ideals to a place in need in order to help them achieve welfare must have played some sort of role. The Guggenheim is now also building a museum in Abu Dhabi, next to the Louvre Abu Dhabi. This is again part of some plan of cultural implementation to give rise to the city. In this way, they are again helping another country by exporting their knowledge. This is a key aspect of the American foreign policy which has gotten a lot of critique ever since the Marshall plan. Serge Guilbaut, professor emeritus of Art History at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, wrote about the move of the Guggenheim to Bilbao:

“...if in the 1950s the cultural terrain was the prime place for ideological battles against communism, today, such a move by U.S. culture has to be seen in relation to the new world order in which Europe has become an open field where competition can develop without fear or internal communist party alliances. The battle for the mind of Europe is open and will be a tough one. The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao might well be a first beautiful salvo. [...] The Bilbao Museum is the first major U.S. attack on this new war front, mixing all the traditional ingredients of power, influence, sympathy, status and emotion [...].”¹²²

Soft power plays a clear role in this expansion in terms of the U.S. politics. The Guggenheim has made itself attractive enough and has given off the idea that it could help achieve the Basques their goal. The GMB has often been considered an institution promoting the U.S. values and taste and artworks.¹²³ This view of the GMB excludes the local community, which is not entirely correct, as will be discussed in the third chapter.

Another personal factor might also be in play for Krens. The first meeting with the Basques officials was held in Guernica, a city that was bombed on Hitler's initiative during the Second World War which was the inspiration for the famous painting by Picasso. In an interview with Joseba Zulaika, Krens admitted *Guernica* (1937) was the object of his desire. He even said about the GMB project: “making a heroic museum of a heroic painting”.¹²⁴ It also might be a nice symbolic touch that Bilbao as well as Solomon R. Guggenheim have received

¹²² Guilbaut, “Recycling or globalizing the museum”, 66.

¹²³ Sylvester, *Art/museums*, 121.

¹²⁴ Zulaika, “Krens's Taj Mahal”, 115.

their early welfare from mining industries. Therefore, their history might be more connected than we are aware of.

Saint Petersburg and Amsterdam

In order to understand the Dutch-Russian relationship, we have to rewind the clock to the year of 1697. Official ties were established earlier that century, but they got an impetus when Tsar Peter I (1672 – 1725), also known as Peter the Great, decided to make a trip abroad.¹²⁵ At a young age Peter I came into contact with Andries Vinius (1641 – 1717), son of a Dutch merchant. He became close friends with him and Vinius started to teach him the Dutch language.¹²⁶ In 1695 Russia was defeated by the Turks at Azov and Peter I decided he wanted to modernize his country. Therefore, he travelled distinguished with the by him commissioned embassy to western Europe where he spent a great amount of time in Amsterdam. He started collecting Dutch Masters, including the painting *David and Jonathan* (1642) by Rembrandt (1606 – 1669).¹²⁷ His collection was the beginning of the Hermitage. He was the first Russian ruler that collected non-Russian art which came from his desire to bring the western culture to Russia.¹²⁸ His visit to Amsterdam took place from 1697 until 1698. The nursing home that now houses the Hermitage Amsterdam was established only a few years earlier in 1683. It is therefore likely that Peter I knew the building that would later become part of the museum that resulted from his first acquisitions. Upon his return to Russia, Peter I decided to found Saint Petersburg which has been influenced by his trip to Amsterdam. The help of the Dutch in the new era under the reign of Peter I was the start of positive relationship between the Russians and the Dutch and something that would be repeated in the 21st century.

Catherine II came on the throne after overthrowing her husband in 1762. She continued the trend started by Peter I of an active foreign affairs policy and implementation of western modernity. Catherine II was a fervent reader of Enlightenment writers, who believed that through education and culture a population could be civilized which would lead to a flourishing society.¹²⁹ She decided to actively participate in the cultural life as explained by the Enlightenment, implementing enormous projects that made Saint Petersburg one of the most cultural developed cities of Europe. After Catherine II, her grandson Tsar Nicholas I (1796 – 1855) played an important part in the museum's history. He reigned from 1825 until his death

¹²⁵ This trip is known as the Grand Embassy (Великое посольство).

¹²⁶ Wladimiroff, "Andries Vinius and Nicholaas Witsen", 13.

¹²⁷ Hermitage Museum Amsterdam. "Dutch Masters from the Hermitage Background story for press." (website).

¹²⁸ Jackson, Palmer, Zafran and Connelly, *Art museum of the world*, 1425.

¹²⁹ Bushkovitch, "Catherine the Great", 125.

and was a collector and patron of the arts.¹³⁰ He was the ruler to open the museum to the public which made it Russia's first public museum. Nicholas I was a good drawer himself and, on his travels, he was very interested in the arts from other countries. During his reign the collection grew extensively with arts from different European countries. Especially his visit to the Netherlands and Great Britain in 1816 – 1817 were of great importance for his artistic education.¹³¹

After the fall of the Soviet Union and the decision by UNESCO to help the Hermitage, the International Advisory Board was established in 1994. This board consisted of representatives of respected cultural institutions, including the General Director of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.¹³² The first major gift of \$1.2 million came from the government of the Netherlands who wanted the money to be spent on projects to improve the museum's management.¹³³ This made it also possible for the Rovinski collection, which consisted of 640 Rembrandt etchings and prints, to be sent to the Rijksmuseum for restoration.¹³⁴ This made the connection between the Russians and the Dutch even better. Slowly the idea came up for a Hermitage room or rooms in Amsterdam and a foundation was set up in order to achieve this.¹³⁵

One might wonder why the Russians did not turn to the new wealthy players rising in other parts of the world, for example the Middle East. The answer is to be found in the international relations and the way Priotrovsky wanted to solve the Hermitage's problems: by structural change. The direct relations between Russia and the Arab world are not very old. The relations with the Muslim world in general however go back for a long time.¹³⁶ Their relationship has had its ups and downs and was mostly hostile. During the Cold War the Soviet Union did find allies in some Arab countries but in the 1970s the Arab allies started to become disappointed in their cooperation with the Soviet Union. This marked the end of the friendship between them. After the fall of the Soviet Union, relationships with the Arabs were held on a low level. The Arabs did not consider Russia as a strong successor to the Soviet Union.¹³⁷ Thus the focus of the Hermitage has mainly been on the west, where also the oldest established museums were located. The Hermitage officials looked at the western museums and selectively chose and applied new policies and procedures.¹³⁸ Many changes that were implemented were

¹³⁰ Rebecchini, "An influential collector", 45.

¹³¹ Ibid., 46.

¹³² The State Hermitage Museum. "About us: The international advisory board" (website).

¹³³ Kan, "The Hermitage comes out of its shell", 40.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Wheeler, "Russia and the Arab world", 307 – 318.

¹³⁷ Malashenko, "Russia and the Arab Spring", 5.

¹³⁸ Gibson, "The Hermitage and institutional change", 21.

part of an attempt to restructure the Hermitage in line with established western museums that had operated in a market economy for a longer time. They used many western management notions, like delegation of responsibility, localised decision-making and risk-taking.¹³⁹ UNESCO played an important role in this adaptation. The museums that have been operational as long as the Hermitage were attractive and embodied the goals that the Hermitage had for its museum. This way, the Hermitage can be seen as an expansion of a western museum.

The combination of the long and close cultural international relationship between Russia and the Netherlands and the incorporation of western management notions were motivations to turn to Amsterdam for the opening of a satellite museum. That the history between Russia and the Netherlands plays a role is explicitly mentioned in the text written by then-major of Amsterdam Job Cohen.¹⁴⁰ The motivations for Amsterdam to want another important museum in the city is very simple; to enhance all that the city had to offer on a cultural area. Also, the timing at which the State Hermitage approached Amsterdam was very beneficial. At the time, the Rijksmuseum was closed for a massive renovation and had yet to announce its reopening. Moreover, the Stedelijk Museum, a museum of modern art, was also closed for renovation.

Amsterdam already had some other big, important museums so the idea of the Hermitage Amsterdam was not completely undisputed. However, it was decided that the Hermitage in Amsterdam would take an approach that would complement the other museums and not compete with them. For example, for the exhibition *Oogappels van de tsaren* in 2017 in The Hermitage Amsterdam 63 paintings of Dutch Masters were transported to Amsterdam. This exhibition was a strong competition for the Rijksmuseum, but instead of going head to head the museums decided to collaborate. General Director of the Rijksmuseum Taco Dibbets requested a pendant for *Vogels in een park* (1686) by Melchior d'Hondecoeter (1636 – 1695). The two paintings of d'Hongecoeter were hung together in the museum.¹⁴¹ As described on the website, the Hermitage Amsterdam houses also works from collections of other Dutch museums.¹⁴² In this case, the shared history of the two countries played an important role for the success of the Hermitage Amsterdam. This shared history has given the satellite museum a legitimacy that seemed to be missing in the other cases where the dependency did not succeed.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Cohen, "Hoe de Neva voortaan uitmond in de Amstel", 7.

¹⁴¹ Daan van Lent, "Hollandse meesters terug in Nederland" (website).

¹⁴² Hermitage Museum Amsterdam. "Over het museum" (website).

France and the Emirates

Just like in the GMB case the Louvre was approached by a city which wanted to implement a new cultural incentive with economic as well as social and political motivations. Abu Dhabi had started building Saadiyat Island, which is expected to be completed in 2020. The island will consist of seven districts, including a cultural one. Next to the Louvre Abu Dhabi there will be a Guggenheim museum and the Zayed National Museum which focuses on the story of Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al Nahyan (1918 – 2004) and gives an overview of the history of the UAE.¹⁴³ The Louvre Abu Dhabi is meant to tell the story of all humanity. After the death of Sheikh Zayed, Sheikh Khalifa introduced new regulations in order to make the city play a more important role in the global economy. Cultural elevation was crucial for this plan.¹⁴⁴ The Louvre is the most visited art museum in the world. It is therefore logical to understand the hope that Abu Dhabi would attract tourists by opening a museum carrying the same name. With tourism, they hoped to achieve more economic diversification.¹⁴⁵ The trend started by Krens for the GMB by inviting a renowned architect was continued. French architect Jean Nouvel designed a building for the Emirates with a symbolic and spiritual meaning.¹⁴⁶ The building is inspired by white Arab cities and is according to Nouvel himself connected to its location. Moreover, he was also involved in designing the interior of the building which gave him the opportunity to make it in harmony with the exterior.¹⁴⁷ The whole of the complex is meant to create the appropriate feeling for the visitor. In this case it means that Nouvel tried to avoid a typical western, white cube display.¹⁴⁸

However, just attracting tourists with the new museum is not the only reason. Next to cultural elevation of the region, the Emirates are interested in establishing themselves as modern by adopting western principles as neoliberalism. This is mainly due to a new enriched social group of people within the UAE.¹⁴⁹ This is prevalent in the rise of some key characteristics of neoliberalism, like increased consumption and commodification. Non-modern images and styles are being replaced by new ones.¹⁵⁰ Especially after 9/11 there arose an unprecedented

¹⁴³ Abu Dhabi Culture. “Zayed National Museum” (website).

¹⁴⁴ Hashim, “Planning Abu Dhabi”, 24.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 278.

¹⁴⁶ Vincent Noce. “Exclusive interview with Jean Nouvel, architect of Louvre Abu Dhabi’s wondrous building.” *The art newspaper*. September 6, 2017. Accessed May 5, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/interview/the-architect-of-louvre-abu-dhabi-reveals-his-sources-of-inspiration>

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Hashim, “Planning Abu Dhabi”, 25.

¹⁵⁰ Harrington, “In focus n°2”.

dichotomy of the west versus the orient which has shaped the international political field.¹⁵¹ The UAE tried to find a connection with the western world by turning against the ‘Axis of Evil’. They became an important counterterrorism partner for the west by providing territory to the U.S. military, arresting al-Qaeda members and fighting terrorist financing.¹⁵² Recently they were involved in a boycott of Qatar based on the argumentation that it was supporting terrorism.¹⁵³ It went even further when the Louvre Abu Dhabi did not show the Qatari peninsula on a map in the museum.¹⁵⁴ The changing attitude of the UAE already started before 9/11, but the terrorist attacks sped up the process. The exact reasons for the UAE to adapt the different attitude are too extensive to research in this thesis. The way they go about however is more interesting since they are also applying cultural adaptations.

A famous museum is an expression of the political desire to rebrand the region’s identity and modernize its society.¹⁵⁵ This desire started with Sheikh Zayed, who wanted a stable state within a turbulent region.¹⁵⁶ He wanted to achieve this by uniting the seven Emirates and focus on the development of its people through education. Failure of education is seen as a reason for the restlessness in other Arab countries. This led the UAE to a programme in order to modernize its education. Therefore, a cultural ecosystem must be established that promotes knowledge. This led to the heavy investments in culture, including the creation of museums.¹⁵⁷ The term ‘creation’ is used, because the first museum in the UAE was opened only in 1971 in Dubai, the Dubai Museum.¹⁵⁸ The tradition of museums is thus very young compared with the western world where the Ashmolean Museum was founded in 1683.¹⁵⁹

To better understand the specific interest of Abu Dhabi in the Louvre, we should look into the concept of “universalism”. Universalism is highly connected to the French Revolution, but Naomi Schor traces its origins even further back to the Middle Ages. During this time, France received its reputation as a spreader of Catholicism and faith. The French Revolution

¹⁵¹ Spielhaus, “Civil society and dialogue after 9/11,” 169.

¹⁵² Henne, “The United Arab Emirates,” 119 – 120.

¹⁵³ Gareth Harris. “Qatar blockade tests cultural relations.” *The art newspaper*. July 3, 2017. Accessed June 20, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/qatar-blockade-tests-cultural-relations>

¹⁵⁴ Dawson, A. “Louvre Abu Dhabi replaces map that omitted Qatar after international outcry.” *The art newspaper*. January 23, 2018. Accessed June 20, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/after-international-outcry-louvre-abu-dhabi-replaces-map-that-omits-qatar>

¹⁵⁵ Ajana, “Branding, legitimation and the power of museums”, 318.

¹⁵⁶ Anna Somers Cocks. “Louvre Abu Dhabi aims to make up for failed education in the Middle East” (website).

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Dubai culture. “Dubai Museum and Al Fahidi fort.” Live our heritage. Accessed on June 21, 2019. <https://dubaiculture.gov.ae/en/Live-Our-Heritage/Pages/Dubai-Museum-and-Al-Fahidi-Fort.aspx>

¹⁵⁹ Museums in the western world can even be traced back further, to the Capitoline and Vatican Museums. The Ashmolean Museum is the first public museum and therefore used as the example in my thesis.

made this sense of export of their ideals and the need for civilizing other societies even bigger.¹⁶⁰ The French Revolution instituted the association of universalism with human rights. The French issued the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* in 1789, the precursor of the *Declaration of the Universal Rights of Man* by the United Nations. A few years after the publication of the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*, the Louvre opened its doors in 1793. The museum developed itself as the monument of a universalistic culture which mainly encompassed the western traditions and ideologies.¹⁶¹ Therefore we speak of a “western universalism”. How relevant this idea of a universalistic culture is, is open for discussion. Nonetheless, the Emirates demonstrate that in Arab thinking this kind of universalism is still present by approaching the Louvre for their new cultural district.¹⁶² An aspect that came with the perception of western culture as universalistic are questions surrounding the responsibility of the export of these arts and culture. These questions have been prevalent since the establishment of the Louvre.¹⁶³ Even though questions about the export of culture were not new, the deal with Abu Dhabi started a large debate and the Louvre received a lot of critique.

All of the different states within the UAE approach the art world differently, where Dubai has many galleries and auction houses, Abu Dhabi stands out as the museum capital.¹⁶⁴ Just as Paris is seen as the cultural centre of the west, it is not coincidental that the Abu Dhabi Emirates decided to borrow the name of the most famous museum from Paris. Though the Louvre Abu Dhabi is not just an extension of the original. The museum is rapidly acquiring its own collection, with the purchase of *Salvator Mundi* (1490 – 1500) by Leonardo da Vinci (1452 – 1519) as the most prominent example. However, these acquisitions are advised by the French which leads to question certain motives and connotations.

Concluding remarks

In all three of the cases the aim of cultural elevation in use for economic development is visible. However, it does not end there. The specific stories that the museums carry with them also play an important role. Bilbao wanted next to the economic growth also to become a player on the international theatre again. By approaching the Guggenheim, it shows that there is a certain value attributed to the western art it carries. The implementation of the Hermitage Amsterdam can be seen as the western management notions prevailing in the post-Soviet Union version of

¹⁶⁰ Schor, “The crisis of French universalism”, 43 – 44.

¹⁶¹ Graebner, “The Louvre Abu Dhabi”, 186.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ Genetos, “The success and sustainability of museums in the Arab Middle East”, 59.

the Hermitage. The Hermitage as a museum also finds its roots in the western world. Catherine II kept in touch with many French enlightened philosophers and adapted their ideas of arts and culture into the Russian society. Her collecting rage is now often being compared to that of the Sheiks in the Middle East. The Louvre Abu Dhabi and the Hermitage are built upon the same concept of 'universalism'.

As came forward in the first chapter, western museums have several reasons to cooperate internationally. One of these is connected to the competition for artworks on the art market and the new players that are buying many of them for prices that western art museums can't afford. The researched museums all possess a large, historical collection that they can fall back on with artworks that have been important for the writing of art history. For the newly emerged players, it is not possible to acquire these artworks. Therefore, cooperation is also important for them. These collections carry certain ideas and values that the hosts want to incorporate in their society, namely 'universal' values. Museums are thus important actors in the mobility of artworks. Through these exchanges and collaborations, they take part in cultural diplomacy.

Both parties find benefits in the establishment of satellite museums. In all instances, the international relations play an important role. The bond between the countries involved is very important for the legitimacy that a museum will need in the host region or country for its existence. The characteristic of two players that are needed for soft power also comes forth in the establishment of satellite museums. The actors that have implemented the western museum notions of 'universal', something that seems to be attractive for others. This concept of 'universal' is not as it seems, which will be discussed in the last chapter.

Chapter 3

Collections, contents and developments

Introduction

Expansionism of these institutions is such a sensitive issue is due to their contents and the role art museums originally play as guardians of the arts. Over the years, art production has been redefined several times. Most of these, if not all, developments took place in the western art world.¹⁶⁵ Western, modernist art became a way to measure progress that was made in artistic terms which led to the innovation of art history. This art history relied upon museums to show this progress.¹⁶⁶ Vice versa, museums played an important role in creating the art history canon. Therefore, a museum should be careful when expanding international, especially to non-western areas. Implementation of the museum as it is, with its western ideas and concepts, will lead to unintended effects as resistance from the local community. Described in the book written by Hans Belting, *Art history after modernism*, we have only recently begun to admit the changes happening now that affect the canon of art history.¹⁶⁷ The phenomenon of globalization has pushed for a disciplinary shift in art history towards a focus on the shared history and exchanges between cultures, a sort of world art history.¹⁶⁸ One cannot help but wonder what this would mean for the role of art museums within society and the globalized world.

This chapter will look at the collections that the museums carry in their international expansion. It brings the two previous chapters together since the artworks are embodying the museums narrative. As described in the definition by ICOM: “a museum acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment”.¹⁶⁹ According to this definition, the collection gives form to the core activity of museums. Art is closely linked to culture, and due to globalization cultures are in constant dynamic interaction which has led to a diffusing of cultures. Culture is a vague concept so first of all there needs to be a theoretical framework this word will be used in. The word has changed meaning over time,¹⁷⁰ but one thing has remained constant; culture is a process. It compasses a shared pattern of meanings, values and norms¹⁷¹ and it structures behaviour and design.¹⁷² Studies

¹⁶⁵ Belting, “Contemporary art and the museum in the global age”, 19.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., 20.

¹⁶⁷ Belting, *Art history after modernism*.

¹⁶⁸ Chiem and Colburn, “Global foundations for a world art history”, 177.

¹⁶⁹ International Council of Museum. “What is ICOMs definition of a museum?” (website).

¹⁷⁰ Wise, *Cultural globalization*, 4 – 6.

¹⁷¹ Grassby, “Material culture and cultural history”, 592.

¹⁷² Ibid., 594.

of material culture show that there is not such a thing as different secluded cultures, rather, they are exchanging these patterns. This has always been the case, but due to globalization these processes have become more intense. This has brought some challenges with it, especially for museums which have a strong nationalistic character. Balance between the local and the global has been one of the main challenges for museums nowadays from which they can receive legitimacy.

In December 2002, the *Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums* was signed by 18 major museums, including the Louvre and the Guggenheim. Collections have been investigated and claims of restitution and repatriation are more common than ever before. This declaration was a reaction from some of the world's leading museums to this trend. This development is in close relation with ethical concerns that were raised after the introduction of the 'new museology'. New museology is built upon the idea that: "universal constructs from global context are rarely appropriate entries into the daily lives of people who visit, use and are represented within museums".¹⁷³ This led to an analysis of the diversity of represented cultures, communities and nationalities within the museum. Consequently, the role of the museum in the creation of identity and knowledge became subject of investigation.

Museums participate in creating the art historical canon. For example, the Tate Modern at the moment houses an exhibition dedicated to the work of Pierre Bonnard. This is the first major exhibition about the artist in Britain for 20 years. The curator of the exhibition wants:

"to bring Pierre Bonnard to a new generation... but also to rethink his position in the history of art, as a 20th-century artist, and therefore think of him in a slightly different way from how he has been seen before".¹⁷⁴

They know that they have the power to create a certain kind of knowledge.¹⁷⁵ This is due to the authority these institutions carry with them. As Stephanie Moser explains, museum professionals are often aware of the power of museum displays. However, visitors still tend to believe that museums are institutions that provide knowledge.¹⁷⁶ It is interesting to see if the establishment of museum branches in other parts of the world can contribute in creating a more

¹⁷³ Gorman, "Universalism and the new museology", 77.

¹⁷⁴ Ben Luke. "Tate blockbuster to prove Pierre Bonnard was a great modern painter." *The art newspaper*. July 24, 2018. Accessed May 24, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/tate-sets-out-to-prove-that-bonnard-was-a-great-modern-painter>

¹⁷⁵ To read more about how this is done I would suggest the article: Moser, S. "The devil is in the detail: Museum displays and the creation of knowledge." *Museum anthropology* 33, 1 (2010): 22 – 32.

¹⁷⁶ Moser, "The devil is in the detail", 23.

global art history by the adaptation of their narrative. Looking at the collections of the discussed museums might give an indication of the direction that museum discourse is taking and if it is in line with the previously established trend of an expansion of western universalism.

In museum practice the western principles are still prevalent, even when they are calling themselves ‘universal’. The origins of this term can be traced back to the notion of a universal history which took shape around 1800 in the western world. Important for this development was German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770 – 1831). According to Hegel’s *The philosophy of history*, history is made by progression of the so-called World Spirit.¹⁷⁷ This progress is made in different stages. Through studying these stages, Hegel distinguishes four ‘theatres of history’, namely the Oriental, Greek, Roman and German.¹⁷⁸ These civilizations were the predecessors of contemporary civilizations.¹⁷⁹ Only civilizations that possessed the World Spirit, which meant that they could be connected to the ‘theatres of history’ were part of universal historic writing. This led to the creation of a universal history which only included civilizations that met Hegel’s norms.¹⁸⁰ Illiterate civilizations were ignored and not included in this universal history. Universalism became a way to identify superior civilizations. To explain the whole philosophy of Hegel would be too extensive for this research, however it is important to realise that universalism is a term that was created in the west and has always put the west in the centre.¹⁸¹ This has in turn influenced the creation of ‘universal’ collections and museums, something that is still present today.¹⁸²

The Guggenheim

The establishment of the GMB meant a break with the tradition of museums as we know them in several aspects. First of all, Bilbao was never considered a major art city. By placing a well-known art museum in a city like Bilbao there has come an end to the dominance of major cities housing important art museums. The Basque language, *Euskara*, is incorporated in the museum so not only mainstream languages were included.¹⁸³ However, even though these departures of the western construct of the museum, the Guggenheim has received a lot of critique on the fact

¹⁷⁷ Adegbindin, “Critical notes on Hegel’s treatment of Africa”, 19.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 19.

¹⁷⁹ Hoijtink, *Exhibiting the past*, 83.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 83 – 84.

¹⁸¹ To explore this subject further I recommend the book written by M. Hoijtink. For my research it is important to note how contested the term ‘universalism’ really is, but due to space it is impossible to explore this further in my research.

¹⁸² This chapter will use a lot of newspaper articles and websites because developments on this area are very topical and there is not much academic writing to fall back on within this chapter’s subject.

¹⁸³ Guasch, “Global museums versus local artists”, 186.

that operational decisions are made all the way from New York. The GMB has been described as a Trojan horse that would alienate the Basque culture in order of serving a wider community in search of economic benefits.¹⁸⁴ Being accused of cultural imperialism the Guggenheim has often fallen back on their argumentation of the museum as ‘universal’ with an international outlook. The mission statement of the Guggenheim is:

“Committed to innovation, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation collects, preserves, and interprets modern and contemporary art, and explores ideas across cultures through dynamic curatorial and educational initiatives and collaborations. With its constellation of architecturally and culturally distinct museums, exhibitions, publications, and digital platforms, the foundation engages both local and global audiences.”¹⁸⁵

Compared with the average Spaniard, the Basque people consume more so-called “cultural goods”.¹⁸⁶ However, these goods are mainly traditional and folkish of nature.¹⁸⁷ The implementation of the GMB with the focus on modern art therefore did not fit the wants of the Basque people. It did answer to the need to attract international tourists. The artworks to be found in the collection of the Guggenheim are mainly modern and contemporary. They include famous names as Edgar Degas, Claude Monet, Robert Mapplethorpe, Jean Arp, Pablo Picasso, Vincent van Gogh and many more. The Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao is another art museum in the city. This museum finds its roots in 1908 and has thus been for a long-time part of the Basque country. The collection exists of modern, western painters as Paul Cézanne and Francis Bacon, but also important Basque and Spanish artists as Jorge Oteiza, Francisco Goya and Eduardo Chillida. As can be seen in table 1 more people from the Basque country visited the Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao. Not only the percentage of the visitors coming from the Basque country is considerably higher, but also the number of visitors from the Basque country in total is higher. Even while GMB has more overall visitors. This leads to believe that the people from the Basque country are less interested in the GMB as they are in a museum that is connected more closely to their region.

¹⁸⁴ Camara, “The franchise museum”, 209 – 210.

¹⁸⁵ The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation. “Mission statement” (website).

¹⁸⁶ Plaza, Tironi and Haarich, “Bilbao’s art scene and the ‘Guggenheim effect’ revisited”, 1714.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 1714.

	Total amount of visitors	Percentage from the Basque Country	Number of visitors from the Basque Country
Guggenheim Museum Bilbao	1,169,404	11%	128,634
Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao	269,977	70%	188,985

*Table 1: Visitor numbers in 2016*¹⁸⁸

The total amount of visitors of the GMB from Spain in 2016 consisted of 32,5% of the total number of visitors.¹⁸⁹ This were around 380,056 visitors. The other 789,348 people can be considered ‘international visitors’ since they came from other countries all over the world. As stated in their mission they want to attract a global as well as local audience. The global audience is present in their museum. The arrival of the Guggenheim in Bilbao evoked many responses in the Basque art community, which were mainly negative. There were several campaigns launched against the GMB.¹⁹⁰ This was aimed at the Americanization to which the Basque government were accused of surrendering to. In order to gain more community support, the GMB decided to focus on attracting local audiences.

When looking at the collection and exhibitions of the GMB since 1997 there have been several exhibitions devoted to Basque art or artists:

1. *Cristina Iglesias*, November 1998 – February 1999;
2. *Basque and Spanish Contemporary Art*, March 1999 – July 1999;
3. *Chillida: 1948 – 1998*, April 1999 – September 1999;
4. *Chillida / Tàpies: Matter and Visual Thought*, October 2001 – June 2002;
5. *Oteiza: Myth and Modernism*, October 2004 – January 2005;
6. *Homage to Chillida*, April 2006 – June 2006;
7. *Chacun À Son Goût*, October 2007 – February 2008;
8. *Unknowns. Mapping Contemporary Basque Art*, July 2007 – September 2007;
9. *Garrmendia, Maneros Zabala, Salaberria. Process and Method*, October 2013 – February 2014;
10. *Esther Ferrer: Intertwined Spaces*, March 2018 – June 2018.

¹⁸⁸ For this chart I used: Guggenheim Bilbao corporate, “Annual report 2016”, 32 (website) and Museo de bellas artes de Bilbao, “Ejercicio 2016”, 106 (website).

¹⁸⁹ Guggenheim Bilbao corporate, “Annual report 2016”, 32 (website).

¹⁹⁰ Guasch, “Global museums versus local artists”, 191.

This are only 10 exhibitions in the museums' 22-year existence, which is not even one exhibition dedicated to the Basque arts and culture per year.

In 2017 the museum had their best year yet in terms of visitor numbers. 1,322,611 people visited the museum in 2017, which was 13% more than in 2016. Most of these visitors came from other countries, namely 62%. However, there was also an increase in visitors from the Basque country, in 2016 they were 11% and in 2017 21%. The museum accredits this to the *Opening to the Territory* initiative.¹⁹¹ This had as its goal to bring the exhibitions of the museum closer to the Basques by providing free transport and free admission throughout the month October of that year. This led to 113,966 people visiting the museum.¹⁹² Visitors from the rest of Spain have decreased with 5%.¹⁹³ The Bilbao branch of the Guggenheim thus now tries its best to attract visitors closely connected to the region.

However, one might wonder if there is a more dynamic interaction going on and if the collection of the Guggenheim has been influenced by the establishment of the GMB. In 1997 Krens wrote an article for the Guggenheim Magazine in which he stated that:

“When the new museum begins to operate within a context of museums in the United States and Europe, a new model of museum alliances will take shape. None of this would have been possible without the Basques, without their vision and leadership. In developing this new institution the Guggenheim has become Basque. Its hopes and aspirations are now ours; Basque culture will influence the program of the international Guggenheim in the same way that it will come to occupy an essential place within this new museum.”¹⁹⁴

Krens thus pinpoints an interaction between the Guggenheim and the city of Bilbao. The GMB's collection does include Spanish and Basque artists. However, the claim by Krens that the Basque culture will influence the program of the international Guggenheim in the same way might be obsolete. The exhibitions listed above have also not travelled around the different Guggenheim branches in the world. Temporary exhibitions that were on show in New York and placed in Bilbao seemed to be stripped of the relevant context when just being implemented in Bilbao. Guasch gives the example of the exhibition dedicated to the work of Helen

¹⁹¹ Guggenheim Bilbao corporate, “Annual report 2017”, 40 (website).

¹⁹² Guggenheim Bilbao corporate, “Annual report 2017”, 56 (website).

¹⁹³ Guggenheim Bilbao corporate, “Annual report 2017”, 40 (website).

¹⁹⁴ Guasch, “Global museums versus local artists”, 193.

Frankenthaler which in New York was surrounded by exhibits of De Kooning, Gorky and Rothko.¹⁹⁵ The problem remains the implementation of the artworks that are considered ‘universal’ are part of the western art history connotation.

The Hermitage

The collection of the Hermitage is one of the biggest in the world and it contains many artworks from all around the globe. They have several departments, including western art, eastern art and Russian art. In the collection of the Hermitage, western European art plays an important role including important works from French 20th century art, German and English romanticism and German realism.¹⁹⁶ A large amount of works by Dutch Masters are represented, including Rembrandt, Frans Hals, Gerard De Lairese, Hendrik Goltzius and Gerard Dou. Rembrandt received a very special place in the museum at the end of the eighteenth century when 59 paintings by him got their own space, the Billiard Room.¹⁹⁷ In the context of collecting Dutch artworks, the scholar and statesman Pyotr Petrovich Semenov (1827 – 1914), in Russia also known as Semenov-Tyan-Shansky, should be mentioned.¹⁹⁸ He started collecting in the early 1860s and amassed a collection of more than 700 paintings and 3500 works on paper by seventeenth century painters, mainly Dutch but also Flemish.¹⁹⁹ He was fascinated by their varied, realism depictions of the world, which came at a time that liberalism started to emerge in the Russian society.²⁰⁰

With around 1500 works is this the most important collection of Dutch Master’s outside of the Netherlands.²⁰¹ This led to the exhibition *Oogappels van de tsaren* to land in the Hermitage Amsterdam in 2018, becoming the best visited exhibition since its opening with 340,000 visitors.²⁰² To give an indication, in 2018 420,000 people visited the museum in total. Only fifteen of these 63 paintings in the exhibition had been in the Netherlands before since they had been bought by the tsars and aristocrats of Russia, mostly in the seventeenth and eighteenth

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 194.

¹⁹⁶ Dkel’skaja and Renne. *The Hermitage catalogue of western European painting*, 5.

¹⁹⁷ Sokolova, *The Russian passion for Dutch painting of the Golden Age*, 39.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 1.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 28.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 35,

²⁰¹ Hermitage Museum Amsterdam. “63 beroemde Hollandse Meesters naar Hermitage Amsterdam.” Persberichten, 2017. Accessed on May 2, 2019. <https://hermitage.nl/nl/pers/persberichten/63-beroemde-hollandse-meesters-naar-hermitage-amsterdam/>

²⁰² Hermitage Museum Amsterdam. “340.000 bezoekers zagen Hollandse Meesters uit de Hermitage.” Persberichten, 2018. Accessed on May 2, 2019. <https://hermitage.nl/nl/pers/persberichten/340000-bezoekers-zagen-hollandse-meesters-uit-de-hermitage/>

century.²⁰³ The Hermitage Amsterdam does not have its own collection, so it relies upon the loans it receives. The most important loans come from the Hermitage. Since the collection of the Hermitage is huge, they were only able to display about 7 per cent of its collection.²⁰⁴ Therefore, many works of art have been kept in storage and away from the public. Some of them have now found their way to Amsterdam. Dutch museums have also been lending out artworks to the Hermitage Amsterdam. If one would visit the Hermitage Amsterdam now one can visit the temporary exhibition *De Schatkamer!* which consists of masterpieces from the Hermitage. Also on view is *Hollanders van de Gouden Eeuw*, which is curated from the collections of the Amsterdam Museum and the Rijksmuseum.

The curators of *De Schatkamer!* evidently wanted to create a dialogue between different cultures in the first section. For example, two large state portraits are hung next to each other (Fig. 1). One is *Portrait of Marguerite of Savoy, Duchess of Mantua* (1608) painted by Frans Pourbus the Younger (1569 – 1622) and the other one is a portrait of a Chinese dignitary. They make the comparison of two very personal, yet stereotypical portraits. In the second part of the exhibition, an encyclopaedic overview of world history is presented where the visitor walks from one culture through the other. This aim is also written on the website of the exhibition.²⁰⁵ However, even though these kinds of comparisons and the claim of an inclusive overview of world art history are made, throughout the exhibition it is clear that the term ‘universal’ as western and its connotations are also present here. For example, there is no art from African continent except from Egypt. Since this exhibition shows masterpieces from the collection of the Hermitage it says something about its collection and the way objects are perceived. There is often a link made to the four historic civilizations that were introduced by Hegel. It shows that the concept of universal history introduced by Hegel is still a very topical issue in today’s museums’ collections.

Within this exhibition the Hermitage also promotes the museum as universal through its establishment and presence worldwide. A large plaque, accompanied with texts like it is a museum object, in a small secluded room shows the importance is attributed to their international scope (Fig. 2). The title is even ‘Hermitage Universe’. It includes the dependences within the country as well as the international museums or cooperation’s. It shows the many projects the Hermitage is working on, as well as the already closed dependences. One thing that

²⁰³ Daan van Lent, “Hollandse meesters terug in Nederland” (website).

²⁰⁴ Wrathall, “From satellites to space station”.

²⁰⁵ Hermitage Museum Amsterdam. “Background story Treasury!” Press releases. Accessed on June 22, 2019. <https://hermitage.nl/en/press/press-releases/background-story-treasury/>

is striking, the places the cooperation is taking place is in line with the represented cultures within the museum's collections. The reason why certain dependences had to close is not explained further in the exhibition.

The expansion of the Hermitage to Amsterdam was considered very valuable to the Dutch museum landscape. The Hermitage Amsterdam plays an important part in exhibiting the works of Dutch Masters. However, museums have to keep on developing. The Hermitage Amsterdam now also houses the Outsider Art Museum. Exact reasons for the opening of this, seemingly unfitting, museum within the building of the Hermitage Amsterdam are not publicized. However, it might be to gain greater legitimacy since there is the aspect of overlap with the Rijksmuseum and for the Hermitage Amsterdam to distinguish itself more.

The Louvre

Looking into the history of museums in the Arab Middle East, the enthusiasm that came with historic and prehistoric discoveries that were made in recent years gave the Emirates a need for conservation of heritage.²⁰⁶ The culture of the Emirates has been subject of dynamic interaction for centuries, since its location has made it a trading route between various continents.²⁰⁷ This is what Abu Dhabi wants to display on Saadiyat Island with the establishment of several museums. The Louvre Abu Dhabi describes itself as a 'universal' museum in the Arab World, which is defined as: "focusing on what unites us by telling the stories of human creativity that transcend individual cultures of civilisations, times or places".²⁰⁸ This shows that the UAE's idea of universal is connected to the version introduced by Hegel. As mentioned before, after 9/11 the UAE have felt a greater need to connect with the western world. Meeting the norms set by Hegel, whose theory is still leading when dissecting the term universal, is done by showing the long history of their civilization. They are creating a connection with the 'theatres of history' and show this way that they are part of the universal civilization. The collection is organized into twelve chapters on a chronological order, instead of a geographic or cultural one. This way they create a dialogue between different cultures based on shared aesthetics and techniques.²⁰⁹ They thus emphasize the shared human experience. This collaboration reflects the desire to remove the barriers between east and west and to circulate works of art between countries in order to create a better understanding of one another.²¹⁰

²⁰⁶ Boumansour, "The role of museums in Emirati culture", 12 – 13.

²⁰⁷ The most important archaeological findings are described in the article by Boumansour.

²⁰⁸ Louvre Abu Dhabi, "Our story" (website).

²⁰⁹ Young-Mason "A museum of the world and for the world", 97.

²¹⁰ Boumansour, "The role of museums in Emirati culture", 15.

The Louvre Abu Dhabi has 6,000 m² devoted to the permanent exhibition and 2,000 m² to temporary ones which will host international travelling exhibitions. Every year there will be at least four temporary exhibitions taken place for the first ten years, according to the agreement signed between France and the UAE.²¹¹ The first temporary exhibition housed in the museum is called *From one Louvre to another opening a museum for everyone*, which shows 150 pieces from the collections of Château de Versailles and the Louvre. The contract signed between France and the UAE specified a term of 30 years in which France would loan out works of art, 300 in the first two years and then decreasing the years afterwards. These loans would end after ten years. The parties hope that by this time the Louvre Abu Dhabi will have an own permanent collection.²¹² In order to acquire this permanent collection, the Louvre Abu Dhabi plans to spend 40 million euros per year.

The acquisitions by the Louvre Abu Dhabi are advised by French experts. There is thus a western, maybe even French, connotation to the universalistic idea that the Emirates are looking for to narrate in their museum. This becomes clear when looking at some of the objects that are exhibited in the Louvre Abu Dhabi. One would've never expected nudes to be on display in the Middle East, but nothing is less true. Nudes from Primaticcio, Canova and Rodin are all to be seen in Abu Dhabi.²¹³ The UAE has thus retroactively trying to write themselves into the universal history created by Hegel by the establishment of a museum that embodies this universal history. This way they can show how 'enlightened' and 'humanistic', according to western principles', they are and create a connection with the western world. This is done through culture. Other universal concepts, like universal human rights, are less applied. During the building of the Louvre Abu Dhabi, many reports have emerged surrounding the human rights of the workers, claiming they are regularly being violated.

In 2017 Krens, who was at that time already former director of the Guggenheim, stated that Abu Dhabi wasn't yet ready for an American museum carrying a Jewish name.²¹⁴ He was the one who started the project and one would think it would fit right in his expansionistic behaviour. Waiting for the Louvre Abu Dhabi was considered by him to be a strategic move, both by the Guggenheim as well as the Emirates. Now, in 2019, the Guggenheim Abu Dhabi is

²¹¹ Graebner, "The Louvre Abu Dhabi", 190.

²¹² Ibid., 190.

²¹³ Anna Somers Cocks. "Four unexpected works on show in the Louvre Abu Dhabi." *The art newspaper*. November 10, 2017. Accessed May 23, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/nudes>

²¹⁴ Cristina Ruiz. "Guggenheim Abu Dhabi should be postponed or downsized" (website).

finally set to start construction after first being planned to open in 2012.²¹⁵ Western principles of art are now starting to be accepted in the Middle East and the Guggenheim should be feeling more confident to open. According to Krens, opening the Louvre Abu Dhabi and put the global, ‘universal’ collection on display would lead to “human nature... [may] argue in favour of co-operation and co-ordination”.²¹⁶

The Louvre itself explains its universalism in terms of its collection and the diversity of its visitors. In 2017, almost 70% of the Louvre’s visitors came from foreign countries, almost 5.7 million of the 8.1 million visitors in total that year. This was also the year in which the opening of the Louvre Abu Dhabi was happening. How exactly the collection of the Louvre is changing due to the establishment of the Louvre Abu Dhabi is hard to say, since at the time of writing this thesis the museum is still very young. But it is clear that the Louvre today has had troubles with acquiring artworks due to varied causes. This has led them to turn to alternative measures. In 2017 prince Bader bin Abdoellah bin Mohammed bin Farhan al-Saoed, the first and current Minister of Culture of Saudi Arabia, bought the most expensive painting to date: *Salvator Mundi* by Leonardo Da Vinci for \$400 million. The painting was planned to be exhibited in the Louvre Abu Dhabi but is missing at the moment.²¹⁷ However, this does show how the new players on the field bring new pressures for the western museums that are not used to spend this amount of money on artworks. The acquisitions of these kinds of artworks by the UAE, informed by the French officials, can thus also benefit the Louvre in Paris. In the case of the *Salvator Mundi*, the Louvre had hoped to exhibit the painting in an exhibition since they have been struggling to acquire loans for a major Leonardo Da Vinci show to mark 500 years since the artist’s death.²¹⁸

Concluding remarks

Curators and museum officials spend a lot of time deciding how they want to extent the museum’s collections. By including certain works and excluding others, a narrative of history has been created over the course of the museum’s existence. But today there are new players

²¹⁵ Colin Moynihan & David Kirkpatrick. “Long-delayed Guggenheim Abu Dhabi moves ahead.” *The New York Times*. April 26, 2019. Accessed May 19, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/26/arts/design/long-delayed-guggenheim-abu-dhabi-moves-ahead.html>

²¹⁶ Cristina Ruiz, “Guggenheim Abu Dhabi should be postponed or downsized” (website).

²¹⁷ David Kirkpatrick. “A Leonardo made a \$450 million splash. Now there’s no sign of it.” *The New York Times*. March 30, 2019. Accessed April 29, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/30/arts/design/salvator-mundi-louvre-abu-dhabi.html>

²¹⁸ Vincent Noce. “Louvre struggles to gain loans for Leonardo show.” *The art newspaper*. May 20, 2019. Accessed June 18, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/louvre-struggles-to-gain-loans-for-leonardo-show>

emerging which brought challenges for the established actors. In order to exist, museums need legitimacy. This legitimacy has always been connected to the place and time they find themselves operating in. The story they want to tell needs to be in line with the wants and needs of the specific circumstances. Therefore, the term ‘universal museum’ has been used often as a way to legitimize the expansion of museums. Universal is used as an all-inclusive term. However, this is not the case. What they try to indicate with universal is not what they actually compass. The discussed museums use universal as a way to point to all cultures, ideas, nations and people around the world. In practice this seems to be a naïve perspective.

The term universal is connected to the western world and can be seen as a way to indicate its superiority. The GMB also took a while to interact with the local community more and mainly focused on the western universalism that was considered attractive for the international audience. The origin of this ‘universalistic’ approach can be found in the time of the Enlightenment. Catherine II of Russia kept in touch with many French enlightened philosophers and adapted their ideas of arts and culture into the Russian society. Part of this was her starting to collect enormous amounts of art objects. Her collecting rage is often being compared with the activities of Sheikhs in the Middle East nowadays. The establishment of the Hermitage is thus also rooted in the western principles of the museum, just as the Louvre Abu Dhabi. The museums have become tools of soft power that has been expanding across the globe carrying the story of western universalism with it. The head start that the museums of these case studies had with their collections is still being taken advantage off. Regions that want to show their cultural development on an international, global field, try to achieve this by using collections that are carrying a certain ‘supremacy’ with it and connect it with their own culture.

However, there has been a change within the museum field in sense of exhibitions and narrative. Museums are showing that a culture as a separate concept does not exist but rather is part of exchanges between civilizations. This idea, which is at the core of globalization, has been at the heart of the transnational museum expansions. The Guggenheim as the first museum has gotten a lot of critique on the fact that they have not been incorporating local culture enough in their collections and control from local government. The other museums’ have learnt from this critique and have used their collections as a means of justifying the expansion. In the case of the Hermitage this was the large collection of Dutch masters they owned, and the Louvre called upon the universal scope of their collection. However, the idea of a spiritual connection between civilizations that are important enough for representation are still excluding certain groups. This has developed in order to gain legitimacy. Thus, soft-power is very two way:

western museums want to expand but they need to listen to their recipients in order for its existence.

Conclusion

This research examined the expansion of three museums that opened a satellite branch abroad. Three aspects of this expansionism were analysed: the financial crisis museums are finding themselves in, background stories of the places where the expansion went to, and the development of the collections. The building of satellite museums was not always received very positive. It became clear throughout the research that there were many factors that came into consideration. The aim was to distinguish to what extent the western, ‘power’ museums’ motivations for expansion have evolved and how this relates to the museums’ role in the international political field. The three cases researched were all very different. However, some stable trends also came forward which poses questions for the future.

The museum as an institution is constantly evolving. Globalization has played a huge role in the process of art museums trying to find their new place within society that has now been more internationally orientated than ever. As has been claimed by critics that the museums are focused on the market and are just brands that now open branches abroad, is not necessarily true. Culture plays such a big role in the world of today which leads to a lot of factors that must be kept in mind for museums and their actions. They need legitimacy in order to survive. This can be seen in the development that is taken place in the researched expansions. The opening of the GMB seemed to be on a random location with no international ties and the only motivations being financial. This led to the critique that the Guggenheim was operating like a corporation. They have now focused more on the local audience, which is reflected in the museum’s visitor numbers. It clearly shows there was a niche in their approach towards the local audiences. However, even though this focus is seen in the GMB, there remains a lack of influence of the Basque audience on the museum in New York and in Venice. Vice versa however, the collections and exhibitions from New York and Venice have been travelling to Bilbao. These artworks are part of the modern western art collection of the museum. There seems to be a certain level of importance attributed to these artworks, in contrast with the Basque arts. The incorporation of the local artists only on the local level indicates that they are not of ‘global value’, but that the western art is.

The Hermitage focused within its expansion towards the Netherlands on its historical connection that the cities of Saint Petersburg and Amsterdam have. Within their collection they also found a way to legitimize their presence in the capital city of the Dutch since they had a large number of Dutch artworks. After the fall of the Soviet Union, the Hermitage with its European roots looked at the western museums. Just like the Guggenheim, the Hermitage had

been involved in other international expansions. Not all of the satellites survived. The success of the Hermitage Amsterdam was for a large part due to historical connection and the collection of the Hermitage. The fall of the Soviet Union led to western management notions being adapted in the Hermitage. The establishment of the Hermitage Amsterdam is in some ways the embodiment of these western management notions now prevailing in the Russian museum. The western museum as an embodiment of culture has made itself so attractive the Hermitage relied upon this construct. Adapting the need for its institution to remain leading, they have also expanded.

The whole concept of a museum has been used as a way to show development and civilization. Regions that have fallen outside of the universal history of civilizations are using western museums as a way to elevate themselves and retroactively try to prove they are part of this universal history. The Middle East has been catching up with the world around it since they found oil in its grounds in the 1970s. The Arabs are eager to establish western constructs to show how ‘enlightened’ and ‘humanistic’ they are with the first ‘universal’ museum in the region. This shows how much ground the idea of western as universal and humanistic still has in the world. Countries and regions that also want to qualify themselves as such, import western principles as the western museum which comes with a western narrative. The three cases all show that the incorporation of western museums turned out to be beneficial for its surroundings. For Bilbao and Abu Dhabi this is in the sense of elevation on other areas as well, like economic and political. For the Hermitage the incorporation of western museum principles turned out to be the way to survive.

Thus, there has been a two-way dynamic going on. The western museum has succeeded in making itself attractive. This has been done by advertising itself as ‘universal’ and compassing all of humanity. By proclaiming this and incorporating the civilizations to which the museums are expanding to in its collections, they have found legitimacy in these countries. The societies and regions want to be part of the universal civilization and museums have the power to do this. The term universal gives off a false idea of all-inclusiveness. Still being influenced by the writings of Hegel, universal has become a term that mainly included western ideas and cultures. This in turn indicates a western supremacy. The expansion of western museum internationally preserves western universalism, whether they do it consciously or not. Since this is happening in the institution of a museum, this narrative is often accepted as the truth by its visitors.

It also brings challenges and dangers for the western art history as we know it. Since the high interest in this ‘export product’, and the rise of new wealthy players in the art market,

important western objects can now disappear towards another country or region.²¹⁹ This poses a challenge for the western art museums since they most of the time can't compete with the money that oil sheikhs or the new billionaires on the other side of the world possess. Partnerships with these countries' cultural fields, in the way of international expansion of the museum, might be one way to be able to compete for the older western museums. This cooperation on a cultural area can spill-over on other areas as well, which makes the ties with the new players closer. Culture is used as an oil of diplomacy. Being aware of this power, its shortcomings and possibilities can make the museum an important actor in international world politics through its soft power.

Therefore, one can say that the expansion of these museums serves another agenda than just the spreading of the arts. It spreads ideas that include a western supremacy. Since museums are powerful actors in creating knowledge, they should be careful on how what knowledge is created on the international field. What more this research shows is that museums as political actors within international relations is quite unexplored. They should be seen as serious diplomatic actors that have a large role in winning hearts and minds of people in other countries. They bring stories of their origin to other parts of the world. Economic motivations alone for the museums to go abroad seemed to come short of this phenomenon. Western domination is still very accurate but is taking on new forms and incorporating new ideas from other cultures. They are picking and choosing what civilizations are becoming part of their stories. Most of the time these choices are based on many motivations, that variate from economic as oil to historic. That this phenomenon is still a very current trend is proven by the Hermitage now also focusing on the Middle East for opening up a satellite museum.²²⁰ This research thus shows that there is a paradox of the claim that the western hegemony in the art world is disappearing while at the same time it is spreading. As has been proven within this research, the soft power executed by museums play a large role in this distribution of western universalism.

²¹⁹ The western-based history is meant by export product.

²²⁰ Sophia Kiskovsky. "St Petersburg's State Hermitage ponders Saudi Arabia satellite museum." *The art newspaper*. May 29, 2019. Accessed June 3, 2019. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/news/st-petersburg-s-state-hermitage-ponders-saudi-arabia-satellite-museum>

Illustrations



Figure 1.

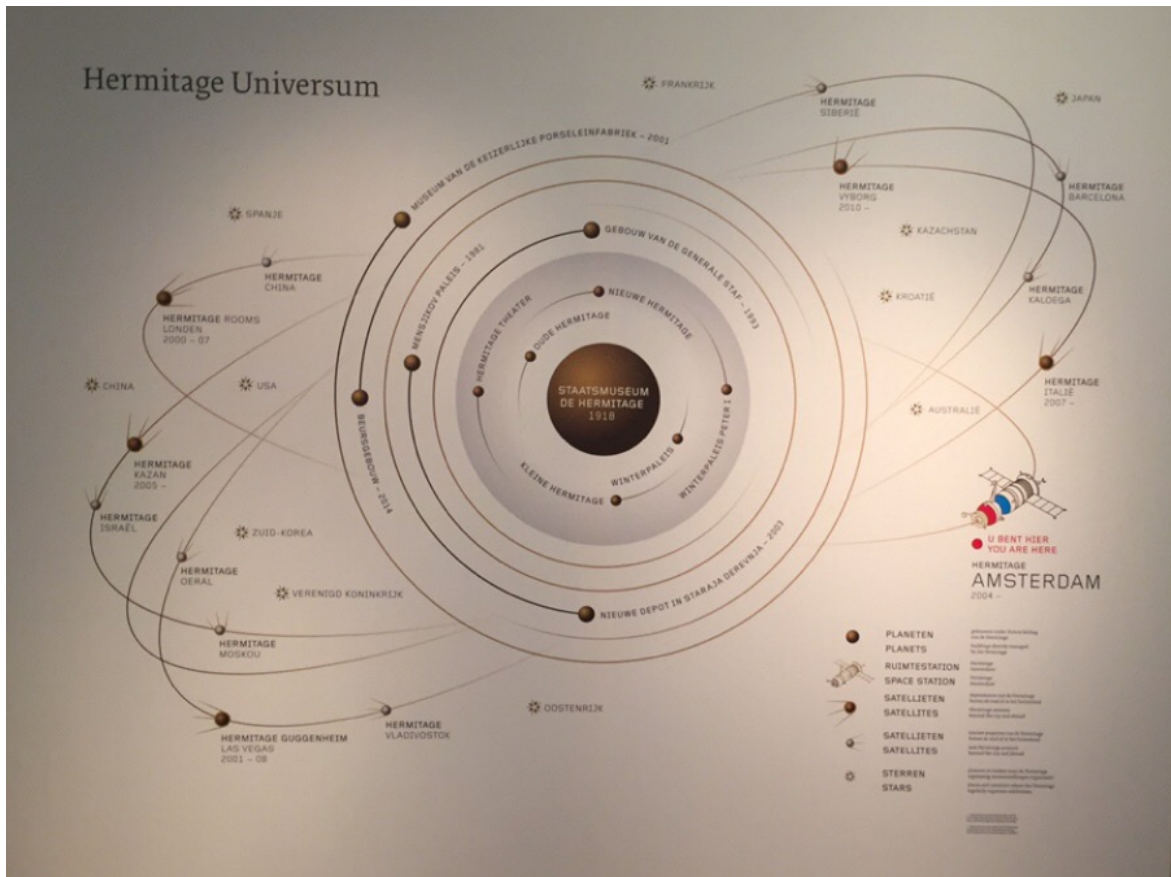


Figure 2.

Credits of illustrations:

Figure 1. Left: Frans Pourbus the Younger, *Portrait of Margaret of Savoy, Duchess of Mantua*, 1608, oil on canvas, 206.5 x 116.3 cm, (St. Petersburg, The Hermitage Museum, ГЭ-6957). Right: Unknown, *Official portrait of Chinese dignitary*, early nineteenth century, (St. Petersburg, The Hermitage Museum). Both now on view in The Hermitage Museum Amsterdam, pictured by Falkmann, D.

Figure 2. Hermitage Museum Amsterdam, *Hermitage Universum*, 2019, (The Hermitage Museum Amsterdam). Pictured by Falkmann, D.

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