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Museum De Lakenhal's Leiden: How Museum De Lakenhal has displayed the city Leiden through the new museology of the 1980s.

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Museum De Lakenhal's Leiden

How Museum De Lakenhal has displayed the city of Leiden through the new museology of the 1980s.

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Introduction

The museum always plays a role in presenting identity. This happens on a national level, but on a city level as well. City museums, specifically, contribute to the identity of the city: they come into play when it comes to the development of new, important structures within the city, and work to retain the city. Doris Teske, cultural historian, describes it as follows: “Their [city museums, A.K.] role is to manifest the city and its population in the museum building itself, in its location and in the exhibitions mounted.”¹ Local history and art in the city museum provide an idea of renewal and reinvention of the city itself.² Visitors of the city museum will learn about the history of the city the museum is situated in, providing the visitor with a new view on the city. There is an exchange between the collective memory of the visitors – whether they are living in the city or merely visiting – and the city identity.³

Collective memory in general is understood as “a form of memory that transcends individuals and is shared by a group”.⁴ In addition, Yadin Dudai, neuroscientist, states that this collective memory can be considered a body of knowledge, an attribute and a process. The attribute is considered “the distinctive holistic image of the past in the group [who share this collective memory, A.K.]” and the process is considered “the continual evolution of the understanding between the group and the individual”.⁵ Collective memory also exists in the specifically museal context. Graham Black, historian, mentions the friction between the museum wanting to “support an authorised collective memory, frequently linked to a linear narrative of progress” and wanting to “act as places of pluralism and inclusion”, giving a voice to minorities so they, too, can become part of the collective memory. Visitors of the museum also interact with the objects and construct their own meanings and understanding of these

¹ Doris Teske, ‘Site and sights: The urban museum in a changing urban structure’, *European Studies* (23) 2006, 259-274, there 260.

² Ibid., 271.

³ Ian Jones, ‘Cities and museums about them’, in: Ian Jones, Robert R. MacDonald and Darryl McIntyre (eds.), *City museums and city development* (Plymouth 2008), 1-15, there 8-10; Lianne Gibson, ‘Piazas or stadiums: toward an alternative account of museums in cultural and urban development’, *Museum worlds: advances in research* (1 2013), 101-112, aldaar 106-107; Peter Burger and Bart van der Steen, ‘Studenten strooien hete centen voor het volk: stedelijke identiteit en de geschiedenis van een omstreden herinnering in Leiden (1841-2016)’, *Tijdschrift voor Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis* (15:1 2018), 66-88, there 68.

⁴ James V. Wertsch and Henry L. Roediger III, ‘Collective memory: conceptual foundations and theoretical approaches’, *Memory* (16:3 2008), 318-326, there 318-319.

⁵ Yadin Dudai, *Memory from A to Z: keywords, concepts and beyond* (Oxford 2002).

objects. By this process the collective memory is constructed and expanded through the museum.⁶

The city museum can thus be seen as a display of the city identity and the cultural memory of the city. Many of these city museums were founded in the 19th century and had the main goal of showing the city's riches and pride: paintings, statues, silver; all that was considered of worth and was owned or acquired by (the elite of) the city. This way of collecting and displaying remained the same for a long time, but developed overtime, especially during the last decennia.⁷ Starting halfway into the 20th century and especially during the turn of the century, many ideas surrounding the museum changed. This also changed the city museum: there started to be more interest in the city at the present moment, the artists living in the city, and the problems the city dealt with were also touched upon, rather than just the history of the city and its highlights.⁸

Thanks to this development, people such as city planners, geologists, sociologists and many other academics and researchers interested and involved with the city play a role when shaping the city museum. This allows for the city museum to become a source of historical knowledge on the city, as well as a source to help understanding the city in its current state.⁹ The visitor expects this involvement more and more in the city museum: past, present, and future are discussed in the city museum. We also see minorities given a voice or a stage in the museum, this goes for the city museum as well. More specific cultural groups that are prevalent in the city can be highlighted here, for the city museum has a closer connection to the city.¹⁰ Tatiana Gorbacheva, historian, has written on the city museum, its values, and the change within them and sees the city museum develop into a complex structure that includes different objects and spaces in the city. According to Gorbacheva's research "The dialogue of the museum with the city community and conducting large-scale social programmes and projects has become the main task of museum activities, which are based on humanitarian values and resist ideas of destruction and violence."¹¹ Examples of this are the activism of museums during the war between Ukraine and Russia, showing they do not condone

⁶ Graham Black, 'Museums, memory and history', *Cultural and social history* (8:3 2011), 415-427, there 415.

⁷ Tony Bennett, *The birth of the museum: history, theory, politics* (New York 1995), 2.

⁸ Tatiana Gorbacheva, 'The city museum and its values', *Museum international* (58:3 2006), 50-54, there 51-52; Ian Jones, 'Cities and museums about them', 4-5.

⁹ Ian Jones, 'Cities and museums about them', 6-7; 10.

¹⁰ Gorbacheva, 'The city museum', 52.

¹¹ Ibid., 54.

destruction and violence. Also, the condoning of racism and specifically, for example, the Dutch history of slavery with the VOC, often shown in opening up the dialogue between the museum and those whose ancestors were enslaved, usually followed up with renewed wall texts and more attention to people of colour being represented in art and objects. Besides this, many city museums organise special tours and activities for different groups of visitors. Specific examples of activities in the city museum where we see a more social role, would be the *Memorable* tour in Museum De Lakenhal and *City and language: meet art* in Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.¹² The museums take on a social and political role in these cases.

We can also see this shift in the change in definition of ‘museum’ provided by the International Council of Museums (ICOM). This definition has put more focus on inclusivity, diversity, and conversation. Before, the definition was as follows:

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

In 2022, the definition was changed to the following:

“A museum is a not-for-profit, permanent institution in the service of society that researches, collects, conserves, interprets and exhibits tangible and intangible heritage. Open to the public, accessible and inclusive, museums foster diversity and sustainability. They operate and communicate ethically, professionally and with the participation of communities, offering varied experiences for education, enjoyment, reflection and knowledge sharing.”¹³

After lots of discussion regarding the increased attention for the visitors and contemporary issues such as diversity and ethics, this definition still came to be. This tells us a lot about how the museum world is viewed and thought of and what the role of the museum is considered to be.

Besides this presence in a more social role, the city museum is also present in its physical appearance: the building. The skyline may be changed through the building or renovating of the museum, the infrastructure has to be adapted, signs have to be placed

¹² Original text: *Memorabel* and *Stad en taal: ontmoet kunst*. Own translation.

¹³ ‘ICOM approves a new museum definition, ICOM, <https://icom.museum/en/news/icom-approves-a-new-museum-definition/> (consulted: March 3, 2023).

around the city, and so generally the environment is changed. Research on city identity and the role of architecture also shows that identity formation is done through, amongst other things of course, the physical appearance of architecture. It reflects the social and cultural values of those concerned with the city, complying with the aspired identity of said city. City government attempt to unite identity and image.¹⁴ The building of a museum is naturally no exception here and in this way is involved with the city identity, besides the museum's role as teacher and interlocutor.

In short, the city museum provides a grip on the history of the city and the identity of the city. The museum has been doing this in different ways throughout the years, first most generally as a place to display those objects and stories that were the pride of the city; later through telling stories of the city's history, the city's present – both the good and the bad – and through thinking about the city's future. The museum and the way a city is viewed through the museum are always a dynamic process. The way history and art are interpreted and told are always subject to change, thus the exchange between society and museum. We can see this in all sorts of museums, including the city museum on which I shall focus for this master thesis.

In 1639 the Laecken-Halle was built, a building where woollen cloth was approved, in Leiden. Leiden was an important city when it came to textiles. For almost 200 years, the building remained to be in use for cloth approvals, until in 1866 it became a hospital. Two years later, the Laecken-Halle started to take on its museal shape: on the upper floor 'city antiquities' were kept.¹⁵ In 1872, this floor was opened for the public to celebrate 3 October, the relief of Leiden. Already at 1574, several pieces of art regarding the relief were collected, stored in the town hall. Now, they were public. In 1874, the Laecken-Halle was officially turned into *City Museum Leiden*.¹⁶ In 1900, this name is changed to *City Museum De Lakenhal* (from here on Museum De Lakenhal or De Lakenhal in this thesis), the name the museum still goes by.¹⁷

¹⁴ Wouter Jan Verheul, 'Plaatsgebonden identiteit: het anker voor stedelijke ontwikkeling', in: Wim Hafkamp, Jos Koffijberg, Ton Rutjens and Geert Teisman eds., *Kennis voor krachtige steden: de stad kennen, de stad maken* (2015 Den Haag), 35-49, aldaar 40.

¹⁵ Original text: *stedelijke oudheden*. Own translation.

¹⁶ Original text: *Stedelijk museum te Leiden*. Own translation.

¹⁷ Frank de Hoog, 'Tijdlijn', in: Meta Knol, Aukje Vergeest and Jori Zijlmans eds., *Museum De Lakenhal* (Rotterdam 2019), 39-44. Original text: *Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal*.

De Lakenhal has been part of the city Leiden from the very moment it was built. First as the building of textile approval, when Leiden was known for its cloth, later on to celebrate a Leiden holiday and show art regarding this holiday, and then – still – as City Museum De Lakenhal. De Lakenhal can be considered ‘*Leids*’ through its historical roots and its commitment to the city, but how do we see that specifically? What is it that makes Museum De Lakenhal Leids, and what is ‘Leids’ to begin with? Identity is first of all considered in the light of other identities. Leiden is, for example, no Haarlem – the architecture is different, the geographical location is different, its history is different, and the people living in the city are also different. The residents from Leiden also make the city their own through the collective memory of the city. Of course, the identity of a city is fluid and dynamic, and changes through time and by its citizens. There are many factors to consider when thinking of the city identity.¹⁸ This is what makes it interesting to see how a city museum such as Museum De Lakenhal portrays the city it is situated in. In this case: Leiden.

This thesis will analyse the way Museum De Lakenhal considers and presents the Leiden identity and how this is influenced by the new museology that came up in the 1980s. Throughout this analysis I will look in what ways the turn toward new museology can be seen – the turn from the city museum as a place where objects and stories are presented with a more encyclopaedic and prideful idea in mind, to the city museum as a place where objects and stories are questioned and where the city’s history is not only presented, but also its present and future, and where the city museum is in conversation with the visitor and society. To see this turn, I will compare two periods: the 1960s, and 2012 until now, 2022. By comparing these two periods, the shift in the museum should be visible, for it manifested most clearly in the 80s and continued to develop onwards. We can no longer consider the museum a place for storage where objects are shown with little context and only to fuel the pride of the city. There is more of an exchange between the objects and the city and its residents visible now.¹⁹ This way, the museum is not just talking *about* the city but also *with* the city, connecting objects with the collective memory.²⁰

¹⁸ Ariadne Schmidt, *Mensen maken de stad. Gender en diversiteit in de geschiedenis van de Leidse stadscultuur* (Leiden 2020), 5; J.H.C.Blom, ‘Epiloog’, in: R.C.J. van Maanen and J.H.C. Blom (eds.), *De geschiedenis van een Hollandse stad. Deel 4 Leiden vanaf 1896* (Leiden 2004) 233-243, aldaar 239.

¹⁹ Gibson, ‘Piazas or stadiums’, 106; Bennett, *The birth of the museum*, 2-3.

²⁰ Burger and Van der Steen, ‘Studenten strooien’, 87.

This study analyses three subjects: the permanent exhibition, the temporary exhibitions, and the educational programs. The permanent exhibitions will show us what the museum deems most relevant and most important to tell, and it shows us the main focus of the museum. It tells us about priorities and through that tells us about the goals Museum De Lakenhal wants to achieve and the way it sees the city. Using temporary exhibitions, we can see the ways the museum wants to connect with the city even more: Leiden artists, Leiden as a subject, or – when the connection is not that clear – how the museum finds connections in different ways. The educational programs will show us what Museum De Lakenhal deems important to teach others, but also what they want to have a conversation about. The sources used for this analysis are all available in the archive of Museum De Lakenhal, located in *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken*. Through this analysis I will be able to paint a picture of the way through which Museum De Lakenhal has carried out the Leiden identity over the last 60 years and how the museum has shifted from taking a more passive role to a more active role.

Permanent exhibitions

In this first chapter, I will be looking at the role of the permanent exhibition in the city museum and how this is used to display a certain identity of the city the museum is situated in. I will also look at whether the permanent exhibition allows for opportunities where the visitor might have a say, or whether there is any interaction between the exhibition and the public or more broadly with any changes within the city itself. The permanent exhibition forms the foundation of the museum and shows the objects it deems most important to reflect on itself and for the city museum also to reflect the city, its culture, and its history.

Tony Bennett, sociologist, looks at the museum and its exhibitions through Foucault's lens and describes that the museums:

"[...] were involved in the transfer of objects and bodies from the enclosed and private domains in which they had previously been displayed (but to a restricted public) into progressively more open and public arenas where, through the representations to which they were subjected, they formed vehicles for inscribing and broadcasting the messages of power (but a different type) throughout society."²¹

According to Bennett, the exhibition and museum match the idea of the spectacle that keeps society in check. The museum can be seen as spectacle, as well as part of the surveillance society Foucault so often speaks of. Through the city museum, this is seen in "attempts to render the city visible, and hence knowable, as a totality."²² The museum is thus both surveyed by being on display for visitors, as well as keeping the visitors in check. The museum and the permanent collection can also be considered a permanent display of power through knowledge. This power and knowledge, though, is shared between the museum and its visitors when the museum and its objects become a public place like it is now.²³ Thus, the museum and the permanent exhibition it houses are sources of knowledge and through that they are sources of power, and initially meant to keep society in check. Here we can think of the museums popping up more generously in 18th-century Europa. Their main goal was creating a national identity. In the late 19th century, the museum was to educate the

²¹ Bennett, *The birth of the museum*, 60-61.

²² Ibid., 65.

²³ Ibid., 66-67.

‘uncultured’ masses, labourers for example.²⁴ On the one hand, this belittled the workers, but on the other hand, it also allowed them inside the museums where before they had been shunned from these collections. Bennett then describes the early-20th-century museum as “show and tell” for the disciplines on exhibit. A lot of items received through imperialism and colonialism were displayed to show the culture of ‘uncivilised’ peoples that were now being westernised, or ‘modernised’.²⁵

After this short recap of museum development, we arrive at the late 20th century. Cities grew more involved in the urban, economic, and social transformations of the time and wanted to preserve what objects and stories they could from these cultural shifts.²⁶ Francesca Lanz, PhD in interior architecture and exhibition design, paints a picture of this part of city-museum history, where the city museum was often based in a historical building that was also historically important for the city. What objects were on permanent display at the time? Collections represented the city and celebrated mostly its past, therefore items were usually organised chronologically. This was quite like how the museum started off the centuries before, although in the 1960s, the city museum was starting to also get interested in the city it was situated in at *present*.²⁷ Jean-Louis Postula, historian and museologist, looks at how the city museum has reflected on its relationship with the present and future of its represented city.²⁸ Primarily on display were historical pieces and thus local history.²⁹ Important priorities were displaying the city for the sake of the visitors, but also reinforcing a sense of a city’s identity for the citizens of said city. Still, the city museums of the 60s continues to try to reflect on their present as well, although not to the extent we do at present.³⁰ In conclusion, Postula states that “[...] each of the city museums of the past generations, given the means available at a given time, has contributed in its own way to a form of social interaction and to the improvement of the urban condition.”³¹

²⁴ Ibid., 73.

²⁵ Ibid., 75-77.

²⁶ Francesca Lanz, ‘City museums in transition: a European overview’, in: Luca Bassa Peressut, Francesca Lanz and Genmaro Postiglione eds., *European museums in the 21st century: setting the framework vol. 2* (Milan 2013), 411-440, there: 414.

²⁷ Ibid., 414-415.

²⁸ Jean-Louis Postula, ‘City museum, community and temporality: a historical perspective’, in: Ian Jones, Eric Sandweiss, Marlen Mouliou and Chet Orloff eds., *Our greatest artefact: the city. Essays on cities and museums about them*, 31-44, there: 31.

²⁹ Ibid., 38.

³⁰ Ibid., 42.

³¹ Ibid., 43.

When analysing the meaning of the museum in 2011, Eugene Dillenbourg, museologist, states that exhibits “are *the* defining feature of the museum. They are what make us different from every other type of public service organization [...] Only the museum uses exhibits as its primary means of fulfilling its public service mission”.³² The exhibition can be considered a means of communicating, and it is, still in accord with Dillenbourg, a physical environment where objects are displayed. For the persons visiting this exhibition, this is an experience, because the visitor is not considered passive: they are sharing and exploring the space and obtaining information through all of their senses. After all, the exhibition is fully embedded with information, designed to be so.³³

Analysing the culture of display is, as art history Emma Barker states, important due to museums and galleries not being neutral; they are mediated and display specific ideas and values that influence the story that is told through art and objects.³⁴ Whereas Barker in her research focusses more on the influence the way something is displayed has on the objects themselves, I will focus more on how the choice of what to display influences the story a museum tells. Museums classify and create order in a collection by creating a context for them through the story of the exhibition.³⁵ Barker also mentions that the change of the 80s, the new museology mentioned in the introduction, is most strongly seen in the ordering and selection of art, and the way canons and value are ascribed this way.³⁶ We cannot deny the power a museum holds with its collection and what it chooses to display, and what it prioritises to put on display permanently. What is told and what remains untold are choices that influence much of the information and interpretation of a city, let alone the way things are told, whose voices are heard, et cetera. The city museum, through the permanent collection, is like Postula states: displaying the city for visitors and reinforcing the city identity for its citizens.³⁷ For many city museums, this means a historical permanent collection. I will start off with analysing the permanent exhibition of Museum de Lakenhal in the 1960s. I will be looking at the objects of the exhibition, the art, and the topics. What topics are chosen to represent Leiden? What stories were told about the objects that were and are permanently

³² Eugene Dillenbourg, ‘What, if anything, is a museum’, *Exhibitionist* (30:1 2011), 8-13, there: 11.

³³ Ibid., 12-13.

³⁴ Emma Barker, ‘Introduction’, in: Emma Barker ed., *Contemporary cultures of display* (London 1999), 8-21, there: 8.

³⁵ Ibid., 10.

³⁶ Emma Barker, ‘Introduction to part 1’, in: Barker ed., *Contemporary cultures*, 23-25.

³⁷ Postula, ‘City museum’, 33.

on display? I will then do the same for the permanent collection that is on display right now and see how this has changed over the last 60 years.

Permanent exhibition in the 1960s

I will start at the 1960s. For this analysis I am dependent on the archives of *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken*. They were able to provide a floorplan and a small information booklet regarding the permanent exhibition. Within the archive, there was very little available considering the acquisition, for example, or the basis of collecting or anything of the sort for the 1960s. Still, the booklet provides information that we can use and compare with what Museum De Lakenhal provides at present through their floorplan and website.

The old guide booklet starts off with a short history of the museum, including a description of the decoration that is on the building.³⁸ Then, the descriptions are divided into three categories: *Old Lakenhal*, *Painting rooms*, and *Papevleugel*.³⁹ On the floorplan, every room and hallway is given a letter and number. *Old Lakenhal* are shown as L#, *Painting rooms* are S#, and *Papevleugel* are P#. Everything is described quite extensively. *Old Lakenhal* is a collection consisting of historical objects. It starts off with furniture and weapons from the 16th and 17th century. The collection of tiles is also part of this category. *Old Lakenhal* contains the different old Dutch rooms, such as a kitchen. Of course, part of the *Old Lakenhal* collection is also the history of cloth and thus through that the history of De Lakenhal itself. There are stamping presses, the large press, and the rooms that were occupied by for example sampling officials and governors back in the Laecken-Halle era. There are many items to do with other guilds and officials from the city Leiden, too, such as the surgeons and brewers. This goes to show that it is not only the old Lakenhal, but also old Leiden. Another example of the focus on not just De Lakenhal, but on Leiden entirely, are the themes on display in the pavilion on the second floor. These are religion, the siege and relief of Leiden, and trade and industry. There are, for example, designs of the churches in Leiden, and maps of Leiden and its trade partners on display here.⁴⁰

³⁸ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 1057.

³⁹ Original text: Oude Lakenhal, Schilderijenzalen, en Papevleugel.

⁴⁰ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 1057.

The second category are the *Painting rooms*. This is the smallest category mentioned. Consisting of only four numbers, S17-S20, whereas *Old Lakenhal* had 16 pieces and the *Papevleugel* had 12. The first number of the *Painting rooms* mentions the *Harteveltzaal* and the large triptych by Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533), *Last Judgement*. The booklet describes the history of the piece quite extensively, who it was made for and where it had been before. There are a few sentences dedicated to the other pieces in the room, which are religious pieces, portraits and portrayals of the siege and relief of Leiden. The second room contains pieces of Leiden's landscapes, meaning both still lives, and history pieces, but also genre pieces, all from the first half of the 17th century. These are generally all done by Leiden artists, like Rembrandt (1606-1669) and Jan van Goyen (1596-1656). There is a small hallway for 17th-century portraits, and then the final room contains paintings from the second half of the 17th century. Jan Steen (1626-1679) is on display, for example, and pieces from the Leiden painting school founded by Gerrit Dou (1613-1675). The booklet has a sidenote here, saying that the collection is not very representative of this painting school. Critical sidenotes like these are usually reserved for the more scientific catalogues museums publish nowadays, rather than posted in the guide booklets and floorplans.⁴¹

Finally, the *Papevleugel*. These are, again, focused on objects regarding interior design. There are pieces of furniture, such as vitrines with Chinese porcelain and large mirrors from the 18th century. The interior of the *Green Papezaal* is from an Arnhem home from 1739, taken out full painted walls and ceiling. Here, too, are pieces of furniture on display. The *Yellow Papezaal* is designed with paneling from two Leiden buildings and furniture, all in style of Louis XV and XVI. There is silverware on display here, too. The *New Hallway* contains a large collection of glassware and silverware. Some of these are decorated with scenes from the relief of Leiden. After this, we enter the *Biddermeier Room* with furniture and objects in the Empire style (1800-1820) and Biddermeier period (1820-1850). Finally, we have the *Boulevard Room* for smaller exhibitions out of the museum's own collection, and the staircase with a display of Mayor Van der Werff's heroic action, romanticised by Mattheus Ignatius van Bree (1773-1839).⁴² On the other side, there are old toys from the 19th century on display. We see

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Original text: *Singel zaal*. Own translation.

these items and pieces are generally from the 17th, 18th, and 19th century. The last three rooms of the *Papevleugel* are dedicated to temporary exhibitions.⁴³

So, what we can observe here is a quite extensive guide booklet. There are many details described in the booklet, not all of them mentioned here, but enough of a taste to understand the amount of information this gives in comparison to what floorplans and guides we see now in the 21st century provide. Museum De Lakenhal was also more focused on historical objects than on art, it seems from this booklet. There is a lot of history, both in objects and in art on display, and only space for modern art in the temporary exhibition space. We do see a lot of interest in Leiden, everything mentioned seems to be rooted into the city. Of course, there is a lot of it connected to De Lakenhal's personal history, and lots of interest in the cloth creation and the sampling process. The museum seems to be divided into types of objects and theme. The *Old Lakenhal* items are very Leiden-based historical items, telling the visitor a story of the city's history through these objects and the events during which they were used. The visitor is shown a lot of history of the museum itself, too, and its use back when it was the Laecken-Halle. In the *Painting rooms*, the visitor sees art by Leiden artists, all from the 17th century. In the *Papevleugel*, the visitor is confronted with objects and furniture from the 17th up until the 19th century, not all of them specifically from Leiden, but many still somehow tied to the city, whether it is sourced from the city or picturing events in the city.

Looking at the standards of the 1960s city museum, the permanent exhibition of Museum De Lakenhal is very much in line with this. Objects are organised chronologically within their themes, which are nearly all of them based on the city that the museum is located in: Leiden. According to the literature, in the 1960s the city museum started to show interest in the city at present. Based on the limited available sources, this is something we cannot clearly see within the permanent exhibition. Perhaps this shift is visible through the temporary exhibitions analysed within the upcoming chapter. Since most of the items and objects on display are very historic, it is hard to see from our point of view to what extent the relationship between the past and present is highlighted like was becoming a priority in the 1960s. Still, through telling the history of a city, the identity of the city can very well be reinforced, and a new point of view can be handed to the visitor.

⁴³ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 1057.

Permanent exhibition in the 21st century

Now, I will turn to the 21st century. Museum De Lakenhal has its mission statement, vision and profile published on their website. We see here that the main aims of the museum are to make objects regarding visual art, applied art, and history accessible for a broad audience, and to inspire and add onto people's personal development. One of the means through which the museum hopes to do this, is by creating a dialogue with a large museum audience. They give information, but also stimulate its visitors to give input through their own interpretations and stories.⁴⁴ Already, we see that there is a lot of space for new ideas in the museum. In Museum De Lakenhal at present, there are multiple floors where parts of the permanent collection are on display. Starting on the ground floor, two of the rooms are dedicated to temporary exhibitions. The other eight rooms are filled with objects and art from the permanent collection. The highlights of the collection are added with letters on the map.⁴⁵ On the website, the museum provides us with a clear profile that we can also find within the permanent collection:

“Museum De Lakenhal is the museum for visual art, history and applied art of the city Leiden. The illustrious history of the city is highlighted through seven exhibitions, amongst them *The cradle of the Golden Age*, *Leiden university city*, *The siege and relief of Leiden*, and *Seven centuries of Leiden cloth*.”⁴⁶

All of the seven topics are not mentioned in the guide that is provided at the museum. They are given at the website, though. Besides the ones mentioned, we are to see: *The plantations of cloth merchant Daniel van Eijs*, *The Modern era*, and *Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*.⁴⁷ Each of these ‘core topics’ has their own story on the Lakenhal website. *Seven centuries of Leiden cloth* is a given, considering the history of Museum De Lakenhal's building.

⁴⁴ ‘Missie en visie’, *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/nl/verhaal/missie-en-visie> (accessed: June 11, 2023).

⁴⁵ Appendix I.

⁴⁶ ‘Missie en Visie’, *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/nl/verhaal/missie-en-visie> (accessed: June 11, 2023). Original tekst: “Museum De Lakenhal is het museum voor beeldende kunst, geschiedenis en kunsthijverheid van de stad Leiden. Het roemruchte verleden van de stad wordt belicht in zeven collectiepresentaties, waaronder De Bakermat van de Gouden Eeuw, Leiden Universiteitsstad, Het Beleg en Ontzet van Leiden en Zeven Eeuwen Leids Laken.” Own translation.

⁴⁷ ‘Background stories’, *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/en/overview/stories> (accessed: June 11, 2023).

This topic considers the history of Leiden as a city of cloth and the Laecken-Halle as an important part of this, while also considering the specifics of the cloth.⁴⁸ At first, this seems mostly a historical collection, but there is also involvement of contemporary artists using the history of Leiden cloth as inspiration. This we see at the *Atelier Van Lieshout* and the *New cloth from Leiden* headers, where some designs for Leiden cloth are displayed.⁴⁹ There are two highlights on the map that are connected to Leiden cloth: the Lakenhal sample books from 1730, and a series of paintings by Isaac Claesz. van Swanenburg (1537-1614) that show the process of making Leiden cloth.

Second, we have *Leiden university City*. The website page starts off with a story about the history of the university of Leiden and its role in collecting information and objects. The website calls the university “forerunner of the contemporary museum”.⁵⁰ One of the pieces that is considered a highlight of the permanent collection, is *Last judgement* by Van Leyden. This is also one of the pieces previously collected by Leiden University and later given to De Lakenhal. Leiden University has had much influence on the development of the city, which for Museum De Lakenhal is reason to cooperate so intensely with the university: it is a part of Leiden.⁵¹ The *Leiden siege and liberation* is the third core story. The online page tells the story of this historical event and how it is still celebrated.⁵² An important highlighted piece regarding this theme is the large photograph made by Erwin Olaf (1959), *Liberty*. It is a historically themed photograph, models dressed up in period costumes, but also involving modern items such as an iPod. The photograph represents the siege and its suffering. The photograph was made on commission by Museum De Lakenhal and Leiden University together.⁵³

For the fourth topic, *Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Museum De Lakenhal tells the visitors a story about the role of the church and Christianity when it comes to art. The cloth industry thrived and thus the city prospered, allowing for artists to be commissioned by the wealthy elite and the church. Important, again, is *Last judgement* that

⁴⁸ ‘Seven centuries of Leiden cloth’, *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/en/story/leiden-cloth> (accessed: June 17, 2023).

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ ‘Leiden university City’, *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/en/story/leiden-academic-city> (accessed: June 22, 2023).

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² ‘Leiden siege and liberation’, *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/en/story/siege-and-relief-of-leiden> (accessed: June 22, 2023).

⁵³ ‘Liberty – Pest en honger tijdens Leidens beleg, 2011’, *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/nl/collectie/s-5646-1> (accessed: June 22, 2023).

was up in the Pieterskerk.⁵⁴ Core topic five is *Leiden as the birthplace of Dutch painting*. This topic regards the 17th century and focusses on painters such as Rembrandt and David Bailly. Museum De Lakenhal profiles Leiden as an important city where very influential painters were born and worked at, that would greatly shape the art from the Golden Age in the Netherlands.⁵⁵ The painting *Brillenverkoper* by Rembrandt fits this theme when we look at the highlights.

Then, we look at *The Modern era*, which is the late-19th and the 20th century for Museum De Lakenhal. Again, Leiden is put in the spotlights through the artists involved in modern art, but also when it comes to science.⁵⁶ Of course, *De Stijl* and its foundation in Leiden is mentioned, as well as Theo van Doesburg (1883-1931). Van Doesburg has also made one of the highlights of the permanent exhibition: *Contra-compositie VII*. The other piece from the Modern era which is highlighted, is stained glass by Harm Kamerlingh Onnes (1893-1985). Kamerlingh Onnes, too, was a Leiden artist. Last but not least, core topic *The plantations of cloth merchant Daniel van Eijs*. This topic is researched by Museum De Lakenhal through letters, to see what Daniel Van Eijs' thoughts were on slavery. It shows the connections between Leiden history and slavery.⁵⁷

Looking at these themes in Museum De Lakenhal's permanent exhibition, we see that they are all very historical and very Leiden-centred. This makes sense when once again considering the way Museum De Lakenhal profiles itself: visual art, history and applied art are its main focusses. The latest addition is the story of Daniel van Eijs, which suits a quite recent interest of museums to be inclusive and diverse. This means, among other things, that it is important to represent stories of minorities and recognise that, for example something like a 'Golden Age' is not representative of the entirety of the Netherlands, or Leiden for that matter. The highlighted objects found on the guide booklet of Museum De Lakenhal, all match with one or more of the core stories the museum tells. They are all historical pieces, with two from a more modern era. There is one exception, which is *Liberty* by Olaf, which is very

⁵⁴ 'Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance', *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/en/story/devotion-in-the-middle-ages-and-renaissance> (accessed: June 22, 2023).

⁵⁵ 'Leiden as the birthplace of Dutch painting', *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/en/story/leiden-as-the-birthplace-of-dutch-painting> (accessed: June 22, 2023).

⁵⁶ 'The Modern era', *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/en/story/the-modern-era> (accessed: June 22, 2023).

⁵⁷ 'The plantations of cloth merchant Daniel van Eijs', *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/en/story/de-plantages-van-lakenhandelaar-daniel-van-eijs> (accessed: June 22, 2023).

contemporary. Still, that which is displayed on his work is historically themed and in line with the history and representation of Leiden. Olaf states on his website, too, that his works centre around diversity and marginalised individuals.⁵⁸

Finally, what can we conclude about the permanent exhibition of Museum De Lakenhal at present? First of all, the way they represent Leiden and the city's identity is very much in line with where the museum lies its focus, namely with history and art. This is where the representation is based on and thus, for Museum De Lakenhal, where the foundations of a city's identity lie. Second, we can see some influence of the new museology of the 80s. We see how there is a timeline of different moments in history on display, but there are not only works from their respective periods displayed: we see art from Olaf, who is our contemporary, for example, in a room that is dedicated to the siege and relief of Leiden. So, we see conversation and reinterpretation. We also see certain contemporary dynamics in the permanent exhibition, for example in how the story of slavery in Leiden is told through one of the cloth merchants of the Laecken-Halle. These choices are all in accordance with what is expected of a museum in general at present, and is reflected in the new museology and the new ICOM definition of the museum.

How can we compare the 1960s and the 2010s and '20s here, looking at the permanent exhibition? Considering the information at hand, we must keep in mind the opportunities the internet has given us when it comes to informing the visitor. Both De Lakenhal in the 1960s as well as De Lakenhal in the 2010s and 2020s have extensive information available on what is on display, considering the available resources through which this information can be given. Both during the 1960s as well as at present, De Lakenhal has divided its permanent exhibition into subcategories. Some of these are recurring, although not by the same name per se. *Old Lakenhal*, for example, in part overlaps with *Seven centuries of Leiden cloth*. We also see the siege and relief of Leiden come back in larger numbers, as well as religious pieces. The paintings on display in the 1960s are for a large part from the Golden Age, and this is a theme that Museum De Lakenhal still touches upon in their permanent exhibition at present. So, we can conclude that the themes have been mostly historical over time. A difference we see, is that De Lakenhal in the 2010s and 20s has a space dedicated to modern art. Besides that, contemporary art is included within the themes that are on display – the museum is less

⁵⁸ 'Biography', *Erwin Olaf*, <https://www.erwinolaf.com/biography> (accessed: June 22, 2023).

chronological now than it used to be, it seems then. Then, De Lakenhal presents a story on slavery and its connections with the city of Leiden and the cloth industry. This interest in minorities and the negative stories in history is a recent development. This shows the power of a permanent exhibition, too: it validates the stories and voices of minorities. In conclusion then, we can say that while overall the permanent exhibition of Museum De Lakenhal remains historical, there is more openness for modern art and contemporary art. Another change is the rise of inclusivity, seen here through the displaying of a piece of history of black people and enslavement.

TEMPORARY EXHIBITIONS

In the 1960s, city museums often used a temporary exhibition as an extension of the fixed collection: simply a display to promote information, art and objects from the museum's own collection through. The museum, both national and the city museum, was an encyclopaedia or a textbook to walk through, and so were the temporary exhibitions.⁵⁹ The city museum was generally shaped by those with expertise and knowledge, without the participation of the visitors or the current issues in the city. There was mostly attention for the rich history of a city. The temporary exhibitions represented the same things, specifically made of or made within the city, or made by artists who are rooted within the city. Besides that, the temporary exhibitions were opportunities to show the items that were simply rarely on display.⁶⁰

City museums in the 21st century occasionally use temporary exhibitions to deal with current city issues and other controversial and popular topics that are at play at that moment. These temporary exhibitions are also used to experiment with new curatorial practices. Lastly, temporary exhibitions allow for the opportunity to display and reinterpret stored items to acquire new items.⁶¹ According to Francesca Lanz, museologist, temporary exhibitions in city museums help to give rise "to new and multiple interpretations of the history [of the city], connecting the past more directly with the present, while the filter of the past may simultaneously help to address some current city issues which may be difficult or contested."⁶² A specific strategy to do this, often adopted by city museums, is organizing a thematic and diachronic display around a main topic and explored through the city's history.⁶³ Therefore, temporary exhibitions in the context of the 21st century are important in understanding how the city museum exhibits an image of the city's identity.

One of the aspects to be analysed, is the temporary exhibitions done by or in Museum De Lakenhal. 'By' due to the fact that from 2016 until 2019 the museum was under construction and could not exhibit within its own building. At the end of this chapter, I will

⁵⁹ Kathleen McLean, 'Museum exhibitions and the dynamics of dialogue', *Daedalus* (128:3 1999), 83-107, there 84; Kenneth Hudson, *Museums of influence* (New York 1987), 1.

⁶⁰ Hudson, *Museums of influence*, 4; 14-15.

⁶¹ Lanz, 'City museums in transition', 429.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 435-436.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 435.

consider how the topics and the use of temporary exhibitions have changed over the past 60 years. I will also analyse how this change is related to the developments considered part of the new museology, as explained in the introduction.

Temporary exhibitions in the 1960s

Museum De Lakenhal during the 60s had, on average, 11 temporary exhibitions every year, 109 in total.⁶⁴ These can be divided into different bigger ideas: exhibitions with works by an artist or from an artistic company from Leiden (or what is considered Leiden region, such as Noordwijk and Oegstgeest), Leiden-themed exhibitions (meaning exhibitions where the city of Leiden is the inspiration or is directly pictured), Leiden collaborations (meaning that the exhibition was made in collaboration with another institute in Leiden, such as Rijksmuseum van Oudheden or Leiden University), Dutch artists (not from Leiden, so think Vincent van Gogh and Hendrick Goltzius here, but also more contemporary Dutch artists), and international works (for example famous Italian artists). Besides these subjects, I will also be considered how these works and exhibitions are linked to Leiden if they are not explicitly done so through Leiden artist or Leiden as subject of the art and objects. I have chosen these categories, because through these I will be able to analyse whether the focus was on showing the splendour of the collection through international big names on display, or on big Dutch names that show the reach of the collection of Museum De Lakenhal; or whether the focus was on Leiden and its artists and history. I will then be able to see whether the new museological shift of the 80s can be seen before and after this shift through the temporary exhibitions of Museum De Lakenhal, and where the priorities lay at the time. By looking at the temporary exhibitions, specifically those about Leiden or by Leiden artists, I will also be able to see how Museum de Lakenhal displayed or reflected the Leiden identity.

A manual on how to organise the museum, published in 1960, talks about how the temporary exhibition should be used. Considered the “chief virtue” of the temporary exhibition is the possibility trying out different ways of modifying the building space,

⁶⁴ Full overview: ‘Tentoonstellingsoverzicht 1970-1961’, *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/nl/verhaal/1970-1961> (accessed: March 20, 2023).

controlling the circulation of visitors, and arranging material.⁶⁵ The text also states that the pace of the temporary exhibition is swift and needs to communicate quickly. One of the main reasons these temporary exhibitions were set up, was to hopefully attract new visitors to the museums. Another way of using the temporary exhibition is to outline a program or define certain aspirations of smaller museums, and for larger museums they can be used to call attention to certain aspects or objects of their collections, and filling in gaps of their permanent collections.⁶⁶

Through the website of Museum de Lakenhal, we are provided with a list of the old temporary exhibition titles, without much more detail besides the dates the exhibitions were on display. In the 1960s, most prominent categories of these are exhibitions by Leiden artists or artistic companies, and Dutch artists.⁶⁷ What is immediately striking, is the fact that in the catalogues regarding Dutch artists, there is no connection made with the city Leiden whatsoever. This can be seen for the exhibition with works by David van de Kop (1937-1994), for example.⁶⁸ The same is the case for the temporary display *Young Dutch art 67_68* and *Contemporary Dutch graphics*.⁶⁹ There are many Dutch artists on display, but they are not elaborated upon. From the catalogue, this exhibition seems solely a display – nothing more, nothing less.⁷⁰ Another example would be the exhibition by Kurt Löb (1926-2015), an artist that could be considered either international or Dutch – Löb had lived in the Netherlands since 1939 and took his art classes in Amsterdam.⁷¹

At first, a complete lack of connection to Leiden also seems the case with the collection of Jean François George Boom (1920-1953) that is on display in 1968. Upon reading, though, it becomes clear that part of the collection was in hands of the print room of Leiden University, meaning there was a collaboration between the museum and the university. This is the sole connection that is made with the city:

“After his passing in 1953, his drawings and prints remained in the family home. In the beginning of 1967 Mr. And Mrs. Boom-Sybrandi donated a large collection of drawings

⁶⁵ Philip Adams, ‘The exhibition’, in: Philip Adams and others eds., *The organization of museums: practical advice* (Paris 1960), 126-145, there: 129.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ See appendix II.

⁶⁸ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 613 (1968).

⁶⁹ Original titles: *Jonge Nederlandse Kunst 67_68* and *Hedendagse Nederlandse Grafiek*.

⁷⁰ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 597 (1967); NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 608 (1968).

⁷¹ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 605 (1967-1968).

and graphics to the print room of the State University of Leiden. Only drawings of this collection are included into the exhibition.”⁷²

The collection itself, also provided in the catalogue, is very heterogeneous and contains artists from all over the world. Considering the lack of elaboration on the collaboration between Museum De Lakenhal and Leiden University, it seems that these drawings could very well be considered to be simply loans, nothing more, nothing less. The same can be said about another collaboration between these two institutes: *The early landscape*.⁷³ The reason given in the catalogue as to why Museum De Lakenhal and Leiden University have chosen to work together, is because the university cannot exhibit its pieces and it is important for students of Art History to learn and see how these exhibitions are made.⁷⁴ The works of art themselves are mostly Dutch artists, with some Italians, Germans, and Netherlandish artists sprinkled throughout. Although the connection to Leiden is not made through these works, the connection with the city through the university seems clearer here: the museum takes a role in helping students of the city learn. Another example of Museum De Lakenhal providing with an exhibition opportunity for Leiden University is seen in 1966 when the temporary exhibition *French graphic from the 19th century* is opened during the ‘French Week, organised by Leiden University.’⁷⁵

A temporary exhibition displaying works by a non-Dutch artist, is the exhibition displaying works by Picasso (1881-1973), specifically, his recent prints. The catalogue provides another small biography and a list of works on display. These prints are all from the years 1946 until 1965, so they are very modern and recent. The catalogue describes Picasso’s journey with making prints such as etchings and lithographs.⁷⁶

One of the many exhibitions by Leiden artists, is *Nine photographers from Leiden* (1968).⁷⁷ The catalogue which Museum De Lakenhal provided, barely has any information regarding these specific photographers, and their connection to Leiden is not mentioned at

⁷² NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 609 (1968). Original text: “Na zijn overlijden in 1953 zijn de tekeningen en prenten in het ouderlijk huis gebleven. In het begin van het jaar 1967 schonken de Heer en Mevrouw Boom-Sybrandi een keuze uit de grote verzameling, welke tekeningen en grafiek bevatte, aan het Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Alléén de tekeningen van de schenking zijn in deze tentoonstelling opgenomen.” Own translation.

⁷³ Original title: *Het vroege landschap*.

⁷⁴ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 596, (1966-1967).

⁷⁵ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 595 (1966); original title: Franse grafiek uit de 19e eeuw.

⁷⁶ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 598 (1967).

⁷⁷ Original title: Negen Leidse fotografen.

all.⁷⁸ The same cannot be said about the catalogue regarding the temporary exhibitions *Surrounding Rembrandt*: the catalogue provides all of the paintings that were on display, and includes an elaborate biography on Rembrandt, his pupils and teachers.⁷⁹ However, while these artists are very broadly described, the city of Leiden remains in the shadows.

The exhibitions regarding the city of Leiden itself, are more historically coloured. They display objects, for example in *248 objects in the inner city of Leiden*, which provide the visitor a new perspective on the city.⁸⁰ The same goes for the exhibition on the history of the tram in Leiden. There is more connection and more openness to the visitor in these exhibitions, especially considering the possibility of the visitor to have taken the tram or to have already seen these objects. There is more incentive for interaction, but still these exhibitions were quite closed off and monologuing rather than conversing.

We can quite clearly see here that the main objective, in general, was to display the works available in the collection of Museum de Lakenhal, which is considered one of the main aims in the 1960s as we have seen in the manual on creating temporary exhibitions. Another aim of temporary exhibitions was to attract new visitors. The attempt at achieving this can be seen through the bigger and more classical names such as Rembrandt who were elaborated upon broadly when it comes to the catalogues, and more big, international names and contemporary artists were exhibited. The exhibiting of contemporary art also allows for a more contemporary way of designing an exhibition, as the temporary-exhibition space is also an important space to experiment with designs. The connection with Leiden was rarely made, even with art about or by Leiden artists. Even if the connection was made at all, it was not a priority to elaborate upon. On the other hand, we do see how Museum De Lakenhal is occupied with collaborating with the city of Leiden. It seems that the museum here is conscious of its social role in the city when it comes to providing help and exhibition space to help teach students at Leiden University, whether it be future art historians or those into French culture, for example. Still, any mentioning of the collaboration and the connection with Leiden specifically is rarely explicitly made within the guidebooks or catalogues. Of course, these booklets have a rather different shape than we are used to now. The guidebooks are small, and provide only a snippet of the information we might expect now. They are closer to

⁷⁸ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 612 (1968).

⁷⁹ NL-LdnRAL-0530A Leiden, inv. no. 611 (1968); original title: Rendom Rembrandt.

⁸⁰ Original title: 248 objecten in de binnenstad van Leiden.

leaflets than they are to the guidebooks we are used to now, which give us a bit more contextual information on the art, artist, objects, or exhibition in general. The catalogues, of which few are saved in the archive of Museum De Lakenhal, also do not provide extensive information on the collaborations between Leiden institutes and the museum, or the connection an exhibition, artist, or collection might have to Leiden.⁸¹ This has in part to do with the more passive view that the museum had of its visitor, and the ‘edification’ of the museum, as historian Ludmilla Jordanova calls it, had not gotten the form it has today.⁸² It was more widely-assumed that knowledge often came from objects itself and the context they were placed into by being put together with other specific objects. The museum was generally not as tied with scholarship in the way it is now.⁸³ So, while we do see that Museum De Lakenhal works together with Leiden University occasionally, this was not to provide critical and scientific context regarding the exhibitions through catalogues and guidebooks, not in the way we are familiar with in the 2020’s.

Overall, the temporary exhibitions were most often contemporary art, something Museum De Lakenhal also mentioned in their titles, using words such as ‘contemporary’, ‘in our own time’ or ‘recent’.⁸⁴ When it comes to exhibitions about the city itself, they are more often focused on history, for example the tram in Leiden or the objects in the city – they are there to represent a history. Still, these leave very little room for conversation and exchange.

Temporary exhibitions in the 21st century

We have just looked at the way temporary exhibitions were arranged before the new museological turn in the 80s. We will now look at the situation at present, some decades after this turn. Looking at the exhibitions from 2012 until 2022, there are multiple aspects that need to be considered. There are fewer exhibitions to be examined, namely 23 rather than 109,

⁸¹ This is also based on the guidebooks and catalogues provided by the archive of Museum De Lakenhal, and the guidebooks they provide nowadays.

⁸² Ludmilla Jordanova, ‘Objects of knowledge: a historical perspective on museums’, in: ed. Peter Vergo, *The new museology* (London 2006), 22-40, there: 22.

⁸³ Ibid., 25-26.

⁸⁴ Original text: ‘hedendaags’, ‘in eigen tijd’, ‘recent’. Own translation.

meaning there are approximately 2-3 temporary exhibitions each year.⁸⁵ This might have to do with the renovation of the museum building. On the other hand, these temporary exhibitions are on display for a longer period of time. There has been a change in the way temporary exhibitions are organised, it seems. Still, just like in the 60s, temporary exhibitions are considered testing grounds for new ways of organizing and designing exhibitions. What is a newer idea though, is seeing the temporary exhibition as a way to focus on things that are more of current interest. The city museum of the 21st century is more occupied with urban history and heritage, and how these are still relevant today, and so are its temporary exhibitions. This also leaves more room for interaction with visitors.⁸⁶

Another striking difference is the large amount of art about Leiden. There are far fewer exhibitions done by Leiden artists as its main connection to the city, and far more considering Leiden as its main theme. In the 60s, Museum De Lakenhal displayed 6 temporary exhibitions with Leiden as the main topic – 5.5% of all exhibitions. In the years 2012 until 2022, they displayed 10, which is 38.4% of the total amount of temporary exhibitions. In this period, there have been 4 exhibitions with works done by Leiden artist(s) or by an art collective based in Leiden, making up 15.4% of the total. In the 1960s, this was 28.4%.

We can see a change in the way Museum De Lakenhal now collaborates with other Leiden institutes. While these collaborations have taken place before with Leiden University and other institutions, in the 2010s and early 2020s the collaboration was way broader and more strongly connected to the city and the goal of the museum to represent the Leiden identity. An important catalyst of this change might be Leiden presenting itself as city of science and city of discovery.⁸⁷ An example of a strong and broad collaboration with other museal and scientific institutes, is *Misleading – Fakes in art and science*.⁸⁸ This exhibition consists of pieces of art and other objects that are fake in one way or another: taxidermies of animals that do not exist, art fakes and copies, but also prosthetics. The items in this exhibition were provided by nine different collections, all based in Leiden, amongst them Museum De Lakenhal, Museum Boerhaave, and *Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken*. These types of

⁸⁵ Overview of exhibitions available at: 'Tentoonstellingsarchief', *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/nl/overzicht/tentoonstellingsarchief>. (accessed: March 22, 2023). See appendix III for categorization.

⁸⁶ McLean, 'Museum exhibitions', 100-101.

⁸⁷ Leiden promoted as 'stad van ontdekkingen' and 'kennisstad' is done for example at <https://www.visitleiden.nl/nl> and <https://leidenkennisstad.nl/>.

⁸⁸ Original title: *Misleiden – Fakes uit kunst en wetenschap*.

collaborations were not present in the 1960s. Of course, lends are an important part of exhibitions and this did occur in the 1960s, but there were no exhibitions presented by multiple Leiden institutes in this way. Another example of an exhibition fitting this category, would be *Treasures of the world!*, which was a collaboration between Museum De Lakenhal and the Leiden University Library.⁸⁹ On the information webpage of De Lakenhal, they explicitly state their goal to work ‘in synergy’ with the city Leiden, and their ambition to represent many facets of the Leiden identity:

“The ambition of Museum De Lakenhal is to display the history, art, and arts and crafts of the city Leiden as well and as appealing as possible within the museum and outside of it, synergised with the city. Leiden University has been an important determining factor in the development of Leiden since 1575. The exhibition *Treasures of the world!* Was the start of a more intensive cooperation between Museum De Lakenhal and the Leiden University Library.”⁹⁰

When we look at the mission statement and vision of Museum De Lakenhal, we can see that “Museum De Lakenhal wants to make visual arts, applied art and Leiden’s history accessible for as many people as possible, to inspire them and to contribute to their personal development.”⁹¹ This is done through the presenting of the historical objects and collections of visual and applied art; through presenting exhibitions based on Leiden sources; through developing interdisciplinary projects and cooperating with external partners to renew the museum practice; and through seeking a dialogue with the museum audience.⁹² We see how the statement at the end of the *Treasures of the world!* page matches this mission Museum De Lakenhal has.

What could be deduced from this is the following view Museum De Lakenhal has considering the city’s identity: the identity of the city consists of history, art and crafts; Leiden University has played an important role in this and is therefore part of the city’s identity and

⁸⁹ Original title: Wereldschatten!

⁹⁰ ‘Wereldschatten!’, *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/nl/verhaal/wereldschatten> (accessed March 23, 2023). Original text: “Museum De Lakenhal heeft als ambitie de geschiedenis, kunst en kunstnijverheid van de stad Leiden zo goed en aansprekend mogelijk te tonen in het museum en daarbuiten, in synergie met de stad. De Leidse universiteit is al sinds 1575 een belangrijke bepalende factor in de ontwikkeling en de identiteit van Leiden. De tentoonstelling Wereldschatten! vormde het begin van een meer intensieve samenwerking tussen Museum De Lakenhal en de Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden.” Own translation.

⁹¹ ‘Mission and vision’, *Museum de Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/en/story/mission-and-vision> (accessed June 11, 2023).

⁹² Ibid.

thus makes up an important factor in our goals of representing identity. Looking at this ambition and the way Museum De Lakenhal types what they view makes up the identity of Leiden they want to represent, we can also say that the other collaborative exhibition with nine Leiden institutions and museums fit this idea very well.

Regarding the connection made with Leiden when considering the Dutch art and the international art categories, we can see that there has been made more effort than there was back in the 60s. We have already seen that with *Treasures of the world!*, but we can also see it in the exhibition *Imagine intuition*, on display October 2022 until January 2023. For this display, multiple Dutch artists created art inspired by intuition. While there is no direct connection to Leiden, there were a lot of activities surrounding the exhibition through which there was more attention for Leiden, for example through science and readings (Leiden University).⁹³ The exhibition by Claudy Jongstra (1963) was strongly connected to Leiden through the city's history in textile handling and sales.⁹⁴ *Utopia 1900-1940. Vision on a new world* is linked to Theo van Doesburg and his idea of 'a new awareness of time', which he formulated in Leiden.⁹⁵ We can conclude, then, that the connections made with Leiden are more strongly made through historical roots, rather than a connection with an institution such as Leiden University.

When looking at the temporary exhibitions regarding Leiden as its main subject, most of the exhibitions are contemporary art, made specifically for the exhibition. The same is the case for this category in the 1960s, although we have also seen that during the 60s there were some exhibitions directly related to the history of the city. All this goes to show that on the one hand, Museum De Lakenhal is in conversation with people viewing and thinking about Leiden and creating art based on their experience at that moment, and has been doing so for 60 years. On the other hand, Museum De Lakenhal prioritises this more in our current day, considering the influx of exhibitions on the topic of Leiden and voicing this specific connection more clearly. In the period of 2012 until 2022, Museum De Lakenhal clearly states its goal to provide representation of the city through telling stories about history, art and crafts, and

⁹³'Tentoonstelling imagine intuition', *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/nl/verhaal/tentoonstelling-imagine-intuition> (accessed March 27, 2023).

⁹⁴'Tentoonstelling Claudy Jongstra', *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/nl/verhaal/solotentoonstelling-claudy-jongstra> (accessed March 27, 2023).

⁹⁵'Utopia 1900-1940. Visie op een nieuwe wereld', *Museum De Lakenhal*, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/nl/verhaal/utopia> (accessed March 27, 2023). Original title: Visie op een nieuwe wereld.

does so by using its network with other institutions that played a role in the shaping of this cultural identity in the city Leiden. The museum seems to be more closely related to the city, both through its own roots and through its contemporary connections with these other institutions.

In conclusion, through the temporary exhibitions we can quite clearly see the shift to the new museology idea and the new definition of the museum by ICOM. We see this very well when looking at the mission that Museum De Lakenhal has published on its website, with a large role for accessibility and interaction with the visitor. This idea is very much in line with the idea we have of the museum nowadays and with the definition ICOM provides. It is also unlike how the museum and its role was viewed in the 1960s, when having a collection was the starting point, education and stability were important and the maintaining of exhibition rooms was the main priority of what made the museum a museum.⁹⁶ We see these different ideas through catalogues and guidebooks, and through the contextualization of the exhibitions as being part of the city, or how this was barely – if at all – done in the 1960s.

Most prominent is the large number of temporary exhibitions dedicated to the city Leiden during the period 2012 until 2022, compared to back in the 1960s. In the 60s, while Museum De Lakenhal worked hard to display Leiden artists, the representation of the city was not as high up on the agenda as displaying art by Dutch artists in general, or works by Dutch artists in general. This Dutch orientation has dwindled largely when we look at 2012-2022. One could say, then, that Museum De Lakenhal realises its role in the city – a role bigger than simply displaying art – is a role that consists of collaboration and conversation with the city through art about the city and art by people in the city.

Another important idea of collaboration with the city and the museum also comes to view in the period from 2012 until 2022: collaboration with Leiden institutes and museums. While lending works from other museums or private collectors is a phenomenon of all times, Museum De Lakenhal begins to work together more often and on a larger scale with important cultural institutes in the city to create exhibitions. We have already seen that Museum De Lakenhal lends works from the print room of Leiden University and provides a connection with

⁹⁶ Martina Lehmannová, '224 years of defining the museum', *International Council of Museums* (2020), https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/2020_ICOM_224-years-of-defining-the-museum.pdf (accessed: June 11, 2023).

the city through its academic prominence in the 60s. We also see its collaboration with different smaller institutes such as Vereeniging Oud-Leiden or committees working for events around the relief of Leiden in the 16th century. In the period from 2012 until 2022, though, we see more clearly the efforts and the explicit explanation regarding this connection between museum and university and city. We see Museum De Lakenhal describing its goal as representing history, art and crafts when representing the city, and through that we can also see which institutes they deem important for this cultural development of Leiden. Museum De Lakenhal roots itself deeply into the city and tangles its branches with those of others to create a network of institutions representing the city. With Leiden presenting itself as the 'science city' and 'city of discovery, Museum De Lakenhal find itself having an important role with representing the science, culture, and history.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES

Museums have seen themselves as educational since the latter half of the 19th century, whether that was with passive or with active visitors in mind. As we have read in the historical overview in the chapter on permanent exhibitions, the museum started off as a display case for the city's or the country's splendour and pride. For a long time, visitors were considered more passive and were to only obtain information without interacting with the exhibitions and the information given at the objects. In the late 19th century education came more clearly into play. It is at this time that didactic labels were provided by the objects and exhibitions, and that lectures and course programs for visitors and schools were provided by the museums. The educational programs of the museum grew hand in hand with the developing of the universal school system and even supported it.⁹⁷ Education had, by the late nineteenth century, become the "prime function of the museum."⁹⁸ Still, though, at the time there was some discrepancy between the educational function that was assumed by the museums and the more elitist and exclusive tradition that still lingered, visible through the restrictive practices such as a dress code.⁹⁹

Over the years, this idea has shifted onto more dialogue and interaction with the visitors. Besides that, the city museums have started to pay more attention to their social role regarding the city they are situated in and their role in considering the city's present and future. George E. Hein is emeritus professor and has been a museum teacher and involved in research regarding education and education theory. In 1998 he wrote a book on museum education: *Learning in the museum*.¹⁰⁰ He states that "Although the educational function of museums is venerable, the last three decades have witnessed a shift in both the definition of education and its relative importance within museums and within the museum profession." Hein observes a view on education that is more about active participation of the learner with their environment, so the museum visitor is expected to engage actively with the objects of the museum when joining one of the educational programs.¹⁰¹ He also sees high importance

⁹⁷ George E. Hein, *Learning in the museum* (New York 1998), 4-5.

⁹⁸ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museum and gallery education* (Leicester 1991), 25.

⁹⁹ Hein, *Learning in the museum*, 5-6.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 6.

for the role of the museum as an interpreter of culture, since museums had started to reinterpret their displays and collections to tell more inclusive stories about the history presented – going for both local and national history.¹⁰² Heins concludes his research in *Learning in the museum* with:

“Visitors make meaning in the museum, they learn by constructing their own understandings. The issue for museums, if they recognise this principle, is to determine what meanings visitors do make from their experience, and then to shape the experience to the extent possible by the manipulation of the environment. Every museum building will send a message; every exhibition will evoke feelings, memories, and images; every encounter with an object brings about a reflection; every social interaction reinforces connections, stimulates new ones, or triggers personal anxieties.”¹⁰³

We see here most clearly that the role of the visitor is very much recognised in the late 90s, and that the educational value of the museum is in part created through interaction with and adapting to the visitor. The museum is no longer a display, but a social place. We see the beginnings of this shimmer through in the 60s, although as mentioned before these changes are more strongly recognised and implemented starting in the 80s.

In this chapter, I will be looking at the educational programs of Museum De Lakenhal in the 60s and at present. I will be looking at what type of educational programs were provided and for which target audience. I will also look at the number of educational options provided in both time frames. Through this, I will analyse how this has changed and whether this is according to the larger change we see in the city museum: is the visitor considered more active, is education becoming more important?

Educational programming in the 1960s

I will start off with the educational program from the 60s and see whether these educational programs match the idea of the visitor as a more passive person in the museum, and to what extent we can see the starting developments of seeing visitors as active. After that, I will look

¹⁰² Ibid., 9.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 179.

at who the target audience of the education programs were and what these educational programs focused on thematically. The archives of Museum De Lakenhal sadly do not provide any documentation on the educational programs of the 60s. Therefore, I have instead chosen to look at the installation of the Commission of Aesthetic Development of School Youth.¹⁰⁴ At the time, Museum De Lakenhal was directed by Jan Nicolas van Wessem, who was also asked to join this commission. Van Wessem remained director of the Lakenhal until 1967, so through the minutes of the commission's meetings, I will be able to see his view on education by the museum. Director Maarten Lodewijk Wurfbain, who succeeded Van Wessem, has left documentation on educational programs of 1975.¹⁰⁵ These will also be discussed to hopefully find a synthesis of the two when considering how the educational programs might have looked in the 60s, for documentation falls short.

Van Wessem was Museum De Lakenhal's director in 1953 until 1967.¹⁰⁶ In 1954 Van Wessem was asked to join the Commission of Aesthetic Development of School Youth, a commission installed by the municipality of Leiden to promote arts and culture to school youth. The city theatre and the National Museum of Ethnology were also involved in this commission and its meetings. The reason for the installation of this commission was the lack of co-operation between schools and museums in Leiden, despite attempts of working together, and lack of interest in arts amongst youths in general.¹⁰⁷ During the first meeting on February 19th, 1954, Van Wessem proposes that teachers follow courses regarding arts and culture and then teach the children in their classes. The next meeting, Van Wessem seems to have changed his mind. On March 24th of the same year, he considers that the museum itself should give informational tours, catered toward the kids themselves rather than the teachers. Van Wessem finds that his staff at Museum De Lakenhal is too small for this endeavour, but is told that in the National Museum of Ethnology, students are hired for giving these tours. Van Wessem finds that De Lakenhal could do the same.

Something that stands out during this meeting when considering the general information regarding educational programs in museum in the 1960s, is how Van Wessem mentions in 1954 the idea of the children visiting the museum being active visitors. He says

¹⁰⁴ NL-LdnRAL-0530, Leiden inv. nr. 511. (1954). Original title: Commissie Aesthetische [sic] Vorming Schooljeugd.

¹⁰⁵ NL-LdnRAL-0530A, Leiden inv. nr. 130 (1975).

¹⁰⁶ De Hoog, 'Tijdlijn', *Museum De Lakenhal*, 41-42.

¹⁰⁷ NL-LdnRAL-0530, Leiden inv. nr. 511. (1954).

this active way of visiting can be achieved through having subjects that will be discussed in the museum already dealt with in class before the students' trip to the museum. According to Van Wessem, this allows for a "fruitful interaction between school and museum".¹⁰⁸ During a meeting on June 16th, also 1954, Van Wessem states that he thinks the children should be introduced to museums slowly, and not all museums at once. This in part as to not overwork teachers, but also to familiarise the students with the workings of specific museums well, which will then interest the children into museums in general. Van Wessem therefore finds that limiting these visits to Museum De Lakenhal and the National Museum of Ethnology is a good choice made by those who set up the commission. In case it fits the curriculum, the teacher may decide to visit more museums.¹⁰⁹

In December 1954, the commission sent out the report regarding the youths' aesthetic development to the municipality of Leiden. The second and third page of this report are dedicated to museums, whereas the rest of the pages regard theatre and music. The report states that the value of visiting a museum is not seen by parents and teachers, and even the children themselves, when considering children's development. The commission finds the reason for this in the visit to the museum being considered a passive enterprise. This is deemed incorrect by the commission and the visit to the museum should put the active element, being the acting of the children themselves, first. This can be done through the co-operation between schools and museums. The commission no longer accepts both the school adapting to the museum, and the children and teachers passively entering the museum without any expectations or knowledge. The teacher is not seen as "museum-minded" enough to guide the children through the museum. According to the report, to achieve improved aesthetic development for children, this means a collaboration between tour guide, teacher, and curriculum.¹¹⁰

To conclude the way Van Wessem thought of educational programs then, we can see that this commission and the way the students were thought of seems to be quite ahead of their time. The students are considered active visitors by the commission, whereas teachers and parents may not do so – based on the report's findings. The educational program for

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. Original text: "Door vooraf een onderwerp op school te behandelen en vervolgens gaan bekijken ontstaat een vruchtbare wisselwerking tussen school en museum." Own translation.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

museums that the commission is starting to give shape seems to consist of mostly tour guides. Of course, due to lack of saved documentation in the archives, there might have been more guides and activities catered toward adults, for example.

Next, an overview of the educational programs provided in 1975, when Van Wessem's successor, Wurfbain, directed Museum De Lakenhal.¹¹¹ The archive's documentation provides us with a few lists of activities and objects that are considered part of the education supplied by the museum at the time. In 1975, De Lakenhal provides information meant for the visitor through catalogues, through special sheets that are available at different departments inside the museum, through viewing guidings made for temporary exhibitions, and through slides and film informing the visitors about specific objects.

When looking at the programs, specifically, we firstly can see multiple available tour guides. These are all catered to different groups of people: students, nurses, seniors, associations of housewives and others. The museum provides different topics to be discussed during these tour guides and is, when the guide is meant for youngsters, in line with the school curriculum to illustrate more theoretical information that is given in schools. The topics that Museum De Lakenhal provides for adult tours are the following:

- De Lakenhal then and now. This tour provides information on the history of the building, the cloth, and the guilds.
- Life in and around Leiden during the 80-year war. This tour focusses specifically on life during the siege and relief of Leiden in 1574.
- General overview of Dutch painting in the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries.
- Craftmanship with materials such as glass, silver, and tin.
- The history of furniture and the visiting of period rooms.
- Costume history from 1750 until now.
- Children's toys then and now.
- Samplers from 1640 until now, and the meaning of the most common motives.¹¹²

We see some topics that are specific to Leiden and De Lakenhal, but also many that are more general, such as costume history and the overview of Dutch painting. There is no documentation available as to how these guides were filled in exactly and how these topics might have been linked to Leiden or De Lakenhal, so we cannot be entirely sure whether the

¹¹¹ NL-LdnRAL-0530A, Leiden inv. nr. 130 (1975).

¹¹² Ibid.

collection that De Lakenhal provided at the time was used solely for a more general story, or whether these guides still allowed for a more city-centred story.

Continuing on the topic of tour guides for students, these guides will be accompanied by specific classes both before and after the visit to Museum De Lakenhal. During the visit, the students will be given a sheet with questions for them to answer during the tour to force them to actively participate. The goal of the tour is to make the students look more consciously at art and objects, as to make them look more consciously at regular things in life.¹¹³ Museum De Lakenhal also offered courses specifically for primary-school students aged 8 to 12 who enjoyed being creative. The children will be introduced to certain objects of the museum and the techniques used to create said objects will be discussed. After that, the children will be doing a workshop to create an object in line with what was shown. The following topics and matching workshops were available:

- Tile collection: manufacturing tiles
- Glass collection: engraving glass
- Graphics: making a linoleum cut
- Cut-outs: making paper cut-outs
- Cake boards: gilding cakes.¹¹⁴

Again, we are unable to see how these courses and workshops were filled in and related to Leiden or De Lakenhal explicitly. What we can say, is that all these tours and courses were based on the collection of Museum De Lakenhal.

In both the report of 1954 and the courses and tours provided in 1975, we can see that the visitor is considered an active participant, which is different from what the literature told us about educational programs in museums in the 60s. We see in 1954 the first steps taken toward more co-operation between schools and Museum De Lakenhal by the installation of the Commission of Aesthetic Development of School Youth. We also see here that the idea of an active visitor was quite prevalent amongst the members of the commission and immediately accepted as an aspect to take into account when creating tours for students. We also see in the minutes that visiting the museum is rarely considered an active activity but more of a passive endeavour, which is something that the commission hopes to change. Looking at the available educational programs in 1975, twenty years later, we see that the

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

active student is explicitly named. The museum wants to actively involve its young visitors through asking them questions about what they might see during their tour. As mentioned before, there is very little I am able to say regarding the contents of the tours and courses that Museum De Lakenhal provided at the time. The objects are from the museum's collections, and based on some titles of the tours I am able to conclude that they are about Leiden and/or De Lakenhal.

Concluding, an idea of what the educational program of the 1960s might have looked like. Seeing the fact that the visitor was already considered an active participant, Museum De Lakenhal was ahead of its time and must have also assumed the visitor to not be passive in the 60s. The museum provided tours for students that were given shape in line with the ideas of the Commission of Aesthetic Development of School Youth, since the Lakenhal director Van Wessem was member of said commission. He voiced interest in providing tours for young students that regarded arts and culture, but also history. De Lakenhal provides a perfect opportunity for all of these aspects. We see explicitly how in the 1970s the museum gives tours with many different groups of people in mind and different topics to speak about. There seems to be an idea of inclusivity and accessibility here, where different groups of people must all be able to follow a tour and learn and participate in the museum. Throughout the 60s this idea, that was already developed during the commission meetings in the 50s, must have grown and taken shape until it could be what it was in the 1970s.

Educational programming in the 21st century

Looking at the educational programs of Museum De Lakenhal at present, they have a page on their website dedicated to educational programs for schools.¹¹⁵ These are tours and workshops that are catered to the different levels: primary school (*basisschool*) and secondary school (*middelbare school*). For the primary schools there are two different programs: '*That which we save*' and '*Leiden cloth in class*.'¹¹⁶ *That which we save* is part of a collaboration with the *Cultuureducatiegroep*, an organization that focusses on the providing and improving of cultural education. This program is meant for children in grade 5 to 7, so aged approximately

¹¹⁵ 'Scholen', Museum De Lakenhal, <https://www.lakenhal.nl/nl/verhaal/scholen> (consulted: June 2, 2023).

¹¹⁶ Original text: '*Dat bewaren we*' and '*Leids laken in de klas*'. Own translation.

8 to 11. *That which we save* is an interactive tour where the children are introduced to the museum as a place that saves objects from history. They will be showing the building, the Leiden cloth, and sample books, and will be taught about the people reviewing the cloth back when the museum was still the *Laecken-Halle*. Besides these highlights, there will be a tour through the rooms where paintings are on display and the objects that the museum has collected over time. The children will be introduced to Museum De Lakenhal, how and why specific objects were collected by the museum, and they will be taught some pieces of Leiden history.

How exactly does this program look? The visit to Museum De Lakenhal is one and a half hour in total and the group is split in two. One half receives the interactive tour through the museum, guided by one of the museum employees. The other half of the group will actively look at certain paintings, where it is most important for the students to learn giving their opinion and explaining why they think certain things. This group is guided by an employee, but also by teacher(s) and parent(s). The groups switch activities after 35 minutes and the visit ends with both groups researching the building's exterior to find traces of the history of the building as having been the *Laecken-Halle*.

The second program, *Leiden cloth in class*, is catered toward children aged 8-9 and is also provided through Cultuureducatiegroep. During this program, children are given an interactive class where they are allowed to feel, smell, and grade the Leiden cloth. Through this interactive lesson they will also learn about the history of the museum's building and Leiden. Besides the interaction with the cloth, the children are also encouraged to create their own cloth patterns. The goals mentioned here are teaching the children how the cloth was created during the Dutch Golden Age of art and what the modern counterpart of this could be, giving the children an impression of what employees of the *Laecken-Halle*'s jobs entailed, teaching the children how textiles can be decorated, teaching students about patterns and letting them experiment with it, and finally, introducing children to paintings from the Golden Age that are within the Lakenhal collection.

Museum De Lakenhal also appoints certain goals on their websites regarding what they want to accomplish with this program that are broader than those mentioned before and go with both of the primary-school programs. These goals are part of the main educational

objectives of general education in the Netherlands.¹¹⁷ The specific objectives are ‘Dutch’, ‘orientation on self and the world’, and ‘artistic orientation’. The core objective ‘Dutch’ regards the language development of students, both spoken and written. Important aspects are grammar and vocabulary, but also structuring, describing, and reviewing in Dutch.¹¹⁸ ‘Orientation on self and the world’ is about teaching the children about themselves and how people interact, how to solve problems and how to give meaning to life. Respect and tolerance are taught through learning about history, culture, and nature.¹¹⁹ Then, ‘artistic orientation’ introduces students to artistic and cultural aspects in the world and to heritage that has allowed people to give meaning to life throughout the ages. This objective also takes contemporary artistic and cultural diversity and development into account.¹²⁰

For secondary schools there is a single program called *BeMused by Doorbeelde*.¹²¹ BeMused is part of the Cultuureducatiegroep mentioned before, but focused on secondary schools specifically. In the BeMused program, students learn about Van Doesburg and his idea of ‘Doorbeelden’.¹²² The students will then make their own abstract painting. The program is led by an artist from Leiden and is catered toward students of VMBO level.¹²³ Museum De Lakenhal states that it once again suits the core objectives of SOL, this time it’s ‘people and society’ and ‘arts and culture’. ‘People and society’ focusses on asking questions and doing research, understanding history and events in their historical context, and using source material. ‘Arts and culture’ has the main objective of showing student the commonalities and equality of different art disciplines. This also entails a more practical side of introducing the students to making art using different mediums and reflecting on their own work and the work

¹¹⁷ These are also known as ‘Kerndoelen’, formulated by Stichting Leerplan Ontwikkeling, a center of expertise that develops curricula.

¹¹⁸ ‘Nederlands’, SLO, <https://www.slo.nl/thema/meer/tule/nederlands/> (accessed: June 2nd, 2023).

¹¹⁹ ‘Oriëntatie op jezelf en de wereld’, SLO, <https://www.slo.nl/thema/meer/tule/orientatie-jezelf-wereld/> (accessed: June 2, 2023).

¹²⁰ ‘Kunstzinnige oriëntatie’, SLO, <https://www.slo.nl/thema/meer/tule/kunstzinnige-orientatie> (accessed: June 2nd, 2023).

¹²¹ Original text: ‘*BeMused door Doorbeelden*’. Own translation

¹²² *Doorbeelden* is a term used by Theo van Doesburg to describe going from a recognizable image to an abstract image with only lines and shapes.

¹²³ VMBO, *Voorbereidend Middelbaar Beroepsonderwijs*, is pre-vocational secondary education. It offers theoretical and practical courses and takes four years. Students are 12-16 years old.

of others.¹²⁴ With these main goals, the program can substitute a Cultural and Artistic Education class (CKV) or an art class.¹²⁵

What we see very strongly in these educational programs aimed toward both the primary schools and the secondary schools, is that the educational system is very well-integrated within the educational programs of Museum De Lakenhal. The main objectives used in schools are being taken into account and are mentioned on the website for teachers to effectively implement into their planning. This goes to show that the educational system is considered important in society, but also in the creation of educational programs for Museum De Lakenhal. We also see that Museum De Lakenhal is taking itself and Leiden as their starting point for creating these programs. *That which we save* is, broadly, about what the museum collects and how it is displayed, but this is entirely shown through De Lakenhal. The Lakenhal paintings are shown, the Lakenhal objects are shown, and even the history of Museum De Lakenhal is of great importance for this program. The same goes for the *Leiden cloth in class* program, where especially the history of Museum De Lakenhal as having been the Laecken-Halle is focused on. The program for secondary school, *BeMused door Doorbeelden*, is based on an idea by Theo van Doesburg, an artist that was based in Leiden for a while. We see, then, through the educational programs that Museum De Lakenhal provides, that the identity of the museum as a city museum shines outward as well.

Having looked, out of necessity, at the 1950s and the 1970s to provide a picture of what educational programs in the 1960s have been like, we can conclude that Museum De Lakenhal was early at seeing its visitors as active components of the museum. This idea rose at the 50s, and was therefore most likely prominent in the 60s. We can conclude this based on the fact that it was still seen this way in the 1970s. We also see in the 50s the development of Museum De Lakenhal being involved with school through the Commission of Aesthetic Development of School Youth, also affirming this idea of the active visitor. This commission helped shape the educational program of Museum De Lakenhal. In the 1970s, the visitor is explicitly mentioned

¹²⁴ 'Kerndoelen onderbouw voortgezet onderwijs', *Rijksoverheid*, <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/besluiten/2010/09/17/kerndoelen-onderbouw-voortgezet-onderwijs> (accessed: June 3rd, 2023).

¹²⁵ CKV is the abbreviation of *Culturele en Kunstzinnige Vorming* – Cultural and Artistic Education. These classes are mandatory in the senior classes of secondary school in the Netherlands. Students are introduced to the professional world of art and culture and will be attending cultural activities and doing assignments where they engage with these activities.

as an active participator in the museum, looking at the educational programs the archive provided. There was interest in arts and culture, but also history, when setting up the programs – topics we still see as most important in our own time. The educational programs were also catered toward different groups of people, such as the elderly, meaning certain topics regarding accessibility had to be kept in mind. At present, we see the educational programs of Museum De Lakenhal strongly intertwined with the educational programs of the Netherlands and its goals generally. The students are taught mostly about the city of Leiden and the history of De Lakenhal. The students are shown objects and art, or are looking at the details of the building to learn about its history. Returning to the mission statement of Museum De Lakenhal, this is in line with the idea of art and history teaching visitors about the city of Leiden.

What has changed over the years? Perhaps not as much as we have seen with the other two aspects that were analysed in earlier chapters. Museum De Lakenhal has treated their visitors not as much as mere ‘watchers’ of the collection since the 50s but active learners and conversational partners for the museum and its guides. Museum De Lakenhal also already started connecting the school system and the educational programs, involving teachers and schools in the development and ideas of what an educational program in De Lakenhal should provide the students. While it is hard to analyse the contents of the educational programs back in the 50s and 70s without having these specific sources available, the lists of titles of tours through the museum provide a little sneak peek. A difference we can see, then, is that in the 2010s and 2020s, the tours and programs are more focussed on De Lakenhal and Leiden specifically and explicitly. Through these programs, Museum De Lakenhal shows very well that the idea of ‘city museum’ has changed from a place of only displaying the city’s riches and pride to a place that is rooted in the city and representing the story of the city. Again, the contents of these programs are not available in detail so there is no way of knowing whether they are more inclusive, for example.

Conclusion

This master thesis had as its main aim to show how the 'new museology' has affected the way Museum De Lakenhal as a city museum has provided a connection with the city Leiden and how it has reflected the city's identity. In the 80s, the new museology school was at its peak and changed the way we look at museums and what we expect museums to provide. Looking at the 60s, we are given a definition of the museum that focusses on collecting and displaying, and the educational role of the museum. Looking at the newest definition the ICOM has put out, the museum has gotten a strong social role where inclusivity and accessibility are important, and ethics are more involved in what is expected of the museum. This new definition leaves more space for interaction between visitors and the museum, and also between the present and future, and the museum.

When looking at the permanent exhibition of Museum De Lakenhal, I analysed the items on display and how this might have changed over time. Both in the 1960s and during the 2010s and early 2020s, Museum De Lakenhal has focussed on historical objects and art. The representation of Leiden through this city museum is done through these two categories. There are multiple overlaps in themes that De Lakenhal exhibits permanently, such as the siege and relief of Leiden, and the history of the building of the museum itself, its role in Leiden and the thriving cloth industry back in the day. De Lakenhal sorted its collection into subcategories in the 60s, and still does so today. At present there are more categories than in the 60s, but generally they are all historical. In the 10s and 20s, there is a specific category for modern art, and an added category for the topic of slavery. These are recent developments in line with 'the museum' being expected to be an inclusive space, open for minorities and giving them something to relate to as well. Besides this, in the present Museum De Lakenhal, the historical categories do not contain solely historical objects or pieces of art. The topics are interpreted and displayed by different times: modern photography can represent and tell a story of the siege of Leiden, for example. There is reinterpretation and conversation of the past and the present. Looking more specifically at the sources of information, of course there has been a lot of change. The guide booklets nowadays are not as extensive as they were in the 1960s, but we now have the internet available, giving us even more information than was

possible in the 1960s if they did not want visitors to walk around carrying entire books. With the resources available, it is safe to say that Museum De Lakenhal has always given plenty of information regarding context, display, and on the objects themselves.

The temporary exhibitions were another aspect to research here. Looking at these, I considered multiple overarching themes: art/objects by Leiden artists, art/objects with Leiden as main theme or inspiration, exhibitions done in cooperation with other Leiden institutes, Dutch artists/art/objects, and international artists/art/objects. Looking at these and looking at how Museum De Lakenhal connected the exhibitions to the city of Leiden, I hoped to find a change or shift over the 50 years I focused on. I found that we do see that shift into the new museology and the new definition of the museum by ICOM. In the 1960s, it was most important to have a collection first and foremost, to have an educational program and to maintain the exhibition rooms. The city museum was not as rooted into the city as we feel it to be now. Regarding the temporary exhibition, most of them were on Dutch artists and Dutch works. We can also see that the catalogues and guidebooks provide very little contextualisation considering the city or the museum in the 60s. This focus on 'Dutch' has turned to a focus on Leiden as a main topic. Besides that, Museum De Lakenhal is more focussed on collaborations with other Leiden institutes. Collaborating with Leiden institutes is something De Lakenhal has done plenty of times in the 60s as well, but almost solely with Leiden University. At present, these collaborations are done explicitly for more connection between museum and city.

Last but not least, I considered the educational programs Museum De Lakenhal provided and provides. De Lakenhal was early in working with the idea of the active visitor, rather than the passive visitor. The visitor was involved in the educational activities, starting off with the Commission of Aesthetic Development of School Youth where the director of De Lakenhal at the time, Van Wessem, was part of. Most likely this was still the case in the 1960s, considering that it was in the 70s, too. Museum De Lakenhal developed its educational programs with the school programs in mind, finding cooperation for topics like history and art. Later on, De Lakenhal developed programs for other groups of visitors as well, like the elderly or nurses. In the 2010s and 2020s, De Lakenhal works even closer with schools, using information of official educational institutes that develop school programs to shape and publish De Lakenhal's own museal educational programs. Through time, there has been very little change on a basal level. Due to the details of these programs are not available, there is

not much to say about the contents of them. All we know is the titles and planning, so it is hard to say that the city of Leiden is represented differently. These educational programs are generally based on the history of Leiden or De Lakenhal, although in the 1960s, this was less so the case: a number of the programs was on toys or the Golden Age – more broad topics. To what extent these were connected to Leiden, is hard to say. This developing of educational programs in general does show us the development over a longer period of time when we look at the definition of city museum. It is no longer only the displaying of city's prides and joys, but also involving the visitors in the interpretation of the items.

With all these conclusions to the three subtopics I have chosen to analyse, what would the answer be to the main question? The main question that was to be answered in this thesis is the following: How has Museum De Lakenhal represented the city Leiden and its identity as a city museum and how has this changed before and after the new museological turn of the 80s? In general, when looking at the subjects that Museum De Lakenhal exhibits in the permanent collection, not much has changed. The main focus of the museum is still on history and art to represent the city of Leiden. The shift or turn from the 80s has changed certain aspects in how the themes on display are filled in right now. There is more art from contemporaries mixed in with the older pieces that represent older times and themes, meaning the history of Leiden and its meaning is reinterpreted by artists and used to inspire now. This openness to conversation and reinterpretation is something that has come forth out of the new museology. So, while it is still primarily through the historical themes, there is space for contemporary stories and modern art, whereas this was not the case in the 1960s. Besides this, the social role of the city museum is seen: minorities and their histories are given more of a voice through one of the main stories within the permanent exhibition at present. When looking at the temporary exhibition, we see the focus shift from more general art by Dutch artists to more art by Leiden artists or with Leiden as its main theme. We also see improved connections with the city through cooperation with other institutions, big and small, whereas for the Museum De Lakenhal of the 1960s, the priorities lay most specifically with the university of Leiden and its print room. So, again, there was more interaction with the city, and more input from contemporary artists too, either through being asked to create art with a Leiden theme, or by asking artists from Leiden to cooperate with Museum De Lakenhal on commission. Lastly, through the educational program, we see a stronger social role for the museum. In the 1950s, Museum De Lakenhal was already working on this, wanting the youths

to be properly aesthetically educated and seeing them as active visitors who should be taught history and art through productive museum visits. The students were taught about the history of De Lakenhal and the collection of the museum, whereas other groups of people were taught more broad themes – amongst some Leiden topics, too. In the 2010s and early 2020s, the focus for the educational programs lies on Museum De Lakenhal and Leiden quite strongly. These programs are very strongly tied with the educational system of the Netherlands, and used to promote the educational programs.

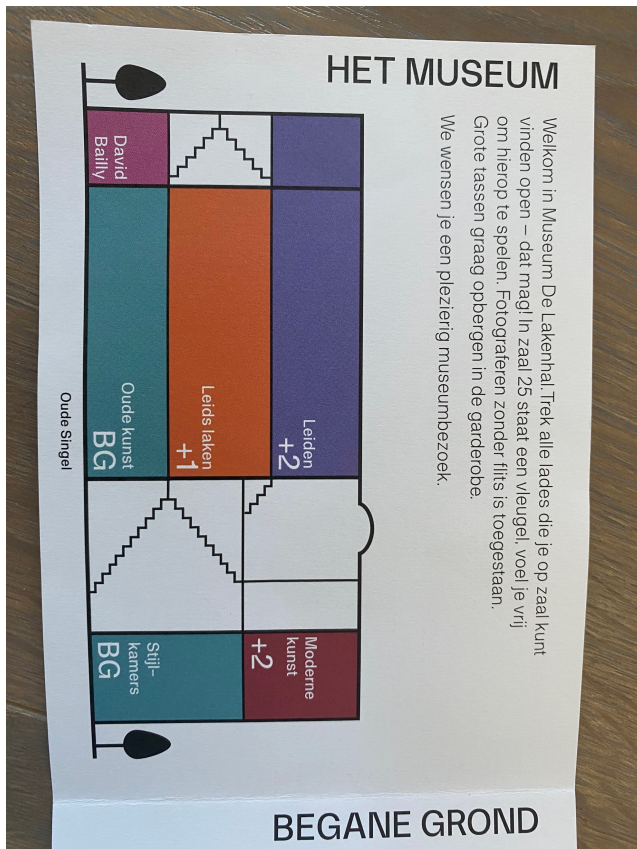
To finally conclude this master thesis then, we see overall that Museum De Lakenhal has not changed its themes when representing Leiden: it is art-focused, and it is history-focused. We can observe developments in the addition of modern art and more space for the voices of minorities, this second change proving that there is a more social role for the museum, especially regarding diversity and inclusivity. More contemporary art and objects in the historically themed rooms show openness for conversation and reinterpretation, something we also expect of the museum nowadays. This also shows that the visitor is considered active, an idea we also see when looking at the early stages of developing the educational programs in the 1950s. The educational programs are strongly social, very involved with teaching children new things and broadening their horizons historically and through art. Culture is now strongly ingrained in our educational program, and we see the specific goals that the Dutch educational system has set up mentioned in the educational program of Museum De Lakenhal.

Through Museum De Lakenhal we can observe the growing interaction of the museum with the outside world, in this case the city museum and the city specifically. Problems in society are creatively solved, through research, historical objects and through art. At the same time, Museum De Lakenhal shows the history of Leiden through its own interpretation, an interpretation that is subject to change, like we see in how the permanent exhibition is designed, and in the art that is on display. Who has made it and in what context? There is conversation, new ideas, shown through the art and the exhibitions, and the educational programs. Through these three topics, we have seen that display and education have lots of power in spreading knowledge, especially now that the museum is so involved.

Considering future research on this topic, the museological turn of the late 80s has impacted museums in different ways and of course many case studies could be provided. The view I have given here is very focused on the city museum and the theory that I have used is

generally based on western European literary sources. Other parts of the world could paint a very different picture on the development of museums in the 20th to the 21st century and it would be interesting to see the differences here, also when looking at city museums. Certain aspects of this master thesis have been touched upon quite little due to them not being the most important aspect within the scope of my research, for example the development of guidebooks and catalogues. Another interesting point of view could be the influence the internet has had when looking at, amongst other things, catalogues and guidebooks, and what information is provided where. More specifically, the exterior of Museum De Lakenhal and its extensive history and role could be analysed when considering the meaning of a city museum through De Lakenhal as a case study. I have chosen not to include this very elaborately, due to preferring to research the content of the museum. Still, the city museum's role does not end with its inside, of course. These are topics I have been unable to touch upon for they were outside the scope of this research, but would make an interesting and valuable addition.

Appendix I



EERSTE VERDIEPING

ALTIJD TE ZIEN

Leids laken _____ 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20
 Bierbrouwerskamer _____ 16
 Staalmeesterskamer _____ 20

ZAAL

TOPSTUKKEN

Stalenboeken uit 1730 van
 de Lakenhal
 Serie schilderijen over het
 maakproces van Leids laken,
 Isaac Claesz. van Swanenburg

Ⓒ

Ⓓ



TWEEDE VERDIEPING

TWEEDE VERDIEPING

ALTIJD TE ZIEN

Moderne kunst _____ 24, 25
 Toverkamer _____ 22
 Bakker kofkammer _____ 23
 Leiden _____ 26, 27
 Universiteitskamer _____ 27
 Schuilkerk _____ 28
 Doelenportaal _____ 29

ZAAL

TOPSTUKKEN

Contra-compositie VII.
 Theo van Doesburg
 Glas-in-lood raam,
 Harm Kamerlingh Onnes
 Liberty, Erwin Olaf

Ⓔ

Ⓕ

Ⓖ



APPENDIX II

Temporary exhibitions of the 1960s divided by topic:

Works by artists or artistic company from Leiden (region):

1. Dubbelbeeld: Jos Maaskant en Frans de Wit
2. Willem van den Berg: schilderijen
3. Krijn Giezen: assemblages
4. Piet Noest: tekeningen / Henk de Vroom: beelden
5. Bram Bogart
6. Kunstenaars in eigen tijd. Prijswinnaars Zuid-Holland CO-OP schilderswedstrijd
7. Pottery en Potterie, Meindert Zaalberg 50 jaar
8. Rondom Rembrandt. De verzameling Daan Cevat
9. Negen Leidse fotografen
10. D. van de Kop: sculpturen en druksels / Pieter Geraedts jr: volumes
11. R.J. Maingay: beelden / Benno Randolfi: etsen
12. Kees Buurman: schilderijen en monotypes
13. Lucia Steinbach: kindertekeningen en recente tekeningen
14. Wim Noordhoek
15. Gabriel Metsu
16. Fer Hakkaart exposeert schilderijen, tekeningen en grafiek
17. Herbert Fiedler. Werken uit een Haagse verzameling. (Schilderijen, tekeningen en gouaches)
18. Litho's van Rein Dool
19. Will. H. Tweehuysen
20. Ere-tentoonstelling W.H. van der Nat
21. Theo Lohmann
22. Herman Dijkstra
23. 40 foto's van Chris Paul Stapels
24. Ere-tentoonstelling H.H. Kamerlingh Onnes
25. Ars Aemula Naturae. Werken van leden
26. Ap Sok (Grafiek van AP Sok)

27. Jean Paul Vroom
28. 40 jarig jubileum Leidse Amateur Fotografen Vereniging
29. Ars Aemula Naturae
30. Atol
31. Floris Verster

Leiden-themed exhibitions:

1. Pilgrim Fathers herdenking
2. Penningparade, penningen uit eigen bezit
3. Tentoonstelling 248 objecten in de binnenstad van Leiden
4. Co Westerik en Wout van Heusden. Rembrandt-Prijzen van de Stad Leiden 1966
5. Kees Verwey. Rembrandtprijs van de stad Leiden 1961
6. De tram in Leiden, 1879-1961

Leiden collaborations:

1. Leidsche Vereeniging van Postzegelverzamelaars.
2. Kindertekeningen
3. Collectie J.F.G. Boom
4. Expositie kunstvoorwerpen geschonken door Vereniging van Belangstellenden in de Lakenhal
5. Kindertekeningen
6. Kunst van Vrienden: deel II: Uit het Kunstbezit van de Vereniging van Belangstellenden in de Lakenhal
7. Schatten uit de Leidse bibliotheek
8. Spelen en lezen. Antiek kinderspeelgoed: verzameling Caljé-van Gulik. Oude kinderboeken en -prenten: verzameling J. de Koning
9. Fototentoonstelling Leidse Vereniging van Industrie
10. Tweede eeuwfeest. Een keuze uit het bezit van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde
11. Franse grafiek uit de 19de eeuw. Ter gelegenheid van de Franse universitaire week Leiden

12. Het vroege landschap. Tekeningen uit het bezit van het Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden
13. Uit het Kunstbezit van de leden van de Vereniging van Belangstellenden in de Lakenhal
14. Leiden bestudeerd. Universitair Lustrum 1965. Fotografie en Wetenschap, Geschiedenis der Fotografie, Eigen werk van Cives, Fotowedstrijd: Leiden-Universiteit
15. Napoleon. Voor de drempel van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden. Leids comité 150 jaar onafhankelijkheid
16. Samen op de kiek (o.a. Emmy Andriessse). Foto's uit het Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit Leiden
17. Foto's van de 3 October Vereeniging
18. Leiden in Prent en Tekening. Ter gelegenheid van het 60-jarig bestaan van de Vereniging Oud-Leiden

Dutch artists or topics:

1. Remonstrantse Broederschap 1619-1969
2. De militair met palet en camera. 18de tentoonstelling van werkstukken ingezonden door militairen van de koninklijke marine land- en luchtmacht, georganiseerd door de sectie welzijnszorg van het HKKL. Tevens projectie kleurendia's.
3. De 50 best verzorgde boeken van 1968.
4. N.A.P. Kubusplan. (Maarten Binnendijk)
5. IJdelheid der ijdelheden. Hollandse Vanitasvoorstellingen uit de 17de eeuw
6. Artoteek 1870
7. Tegelschouw
8. De 50 best verzorgde boeken van 1967
9. 70 Roeland Koning 70. Schilderijen en tekeningen 1917-1969
10. Geknipt voor u, Nederlandse Fotografie eerste 100 jaar
11. Gijs Gijsbers: schilderijen, gouaches en tekeningen
12. Johannes Jelgerhuis Rzn: acteur-schilder 1770-1836
13. De 50 best verzorgde boeken van 1966
14. Jonge Nederlandse Kunst 67-68

15. De portrettist Paul Citroen als verzamelaar
16. Hedendaagse Nederlandse Grafiek
17. De best verzorgde vijftig boeken van het jaar 1965
18. Postzegeltentoonstelling
19. Een boek wordt gemaakt. Boekontwerpen van Mart Kempers
20. Oude meesters. Avercamp, Van Goyen, Frans Hals, Fabritius, Metsu, Hobbema, Van Mieris, Ostade, Rembrandt, Ruisdael, Jan Steen, Terborgh. (verzameling van mevr. Sidney J. van den Berg)
21. De Hollandsche Aquarellistenkring De Grafische: aquarel en aquaforte
22. Nederlandse Kring van Tekenaars
23. Tekeningen en pastels van J.H. Kuiper
24. De best verzorgde 50 boeken van het jaar 1962
25. Jonge Nederlandse Kunst JNK. Schilderkunst, grafiek, beeldhouwkunst
26. Abraham Yakin - Hannah Yakin van Hulst
27. Etsen en litho's van Harry van Kruiningen, A.I.C.A. prijs. Prijs van de critici 1962
28. Talensprijs
29. Documentatie tentoonstelling over het verzet
30. Aquarellen en tekeningen 19de en 20ste eeuw uit de verzameling Paul Brandt
31. Charles Roelofsz
32. Vijftig best verzorgde boeken van 1960
33. Schilderijen en aquarellen van Johan Buning
34. Bal en zijn groep
35. Kind en Kleur
36. Otto B. de Kat
37. Jonge Kunst uit Amsterdam

International works:

1. Objecten van glas en ceramiek uit Tsjecho-Slowakije
2. Edvard Munch: grafiek
3. Kurt Löb: boekverzorging, grafiek en tekeningen
4. Picasso: recente grafiek

5. Wedgwood prijs 1966
6. Oskar Kokoschka. Litho's 1961-1965
7. De realistische stroming in België. Uit het museum van de moderne kunst te Brussel.
8. 200 affiche's uit 12 landen. 1887-1917. Uit het Kaiser Wilhelm Museum.
9. Rondom Shakespeare. Drie tentoonstellingen bij zijn 400ste geboortedag. Lakenhal:
Shakespeare hoe en waar. Maagdenhuis: Shakespeare vertaald. Toneelmuseum:
Shakespeare op de planken
10. Hedendaagse Italiaanse Grafiek
11. Bijbeletsen van Marc Chagall, verzameling van Mr. Guépin
12. Tekeningen van Joseph Teixeira de Mattos
13. Het Tulpenmotief in de Turkse Kunst
14. Wedgwood-prijs 1963. Tentoonstelling van schilderijen uit inzendingen voor de
Wedgwood-prijs 1963, ingesteld in 1960 ter gelegenheid van het 200 jarig bestaan
van Josiah WEDGWOOD & Sons limited
15. Figuratieve Kunst. Expositie van schilderijen, tekeningen en plastieken.
16. Omaggio a Dante. Tekeningen van hedendaagse Italiaanse kunstenaars
17. Society of Wood Engravers

APPENDIX III

Temporary exhibitions of 2012-2022 divided by topic:

Works by artists or artistic company from Leiden (region):

1. Leidse meesters rond het laatste oordeel
2. Hendrik Valk. 1896-1986: tussen abstractie en figuratie
3. Gerrit Dou. The Leiden collection from New York
4. Leidse kunstenaars in de Meelfabriek

Leiden-themed exhibitions:

1. Museum De Lakenhal presenteert: museum in transitie
2. 100 jaar ná De Stijl
3. Wij van de fabriek
4. 7 eeuwen Leids laken
5. Uit liefde voor de stad
6. Verwoest huis Leiden
7. Een deftige parade. De selectie van Rudi Fuchs
8. Utopia 1900-1940. Visies op een nieuwe wereld
9. Machtige glazen. Gebrandschilderd glas uit eigen collectie
10. Toverlantaarns

Leiden collaborations:

1. Misleiden – Fakes uit kunst en wetenschap
2. If things grow wrong
3. Wereldschatten

Dutch artists or topics:

1. Fototentoonstelling Déjà Vu: muziek plaatst foto's in nieuw licht
2. Natuurlijk
3. Rembrandtlab

4. Collectiepresentatie 1880-1950
5. Parelen in kunst, natuur en dans

International works:

1. Global imaginations

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