

 Art, Culture, and  
National Identity in  
Fin-de-Siècle Europe

*Edited by*

MICHELLE FACOS

*Indiana University*

SHARON L. HIRSH

*Dickinson College*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE  
The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK  
40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain  
Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa  
<http://www.cambridge.org>

© Cambridge University Press 2003

This book is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without  
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2003

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

*Typefaces* Bembo 11.5/16 pt. and ITC Benguiat Book    *System* L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X 2<sub>ε</sub> [TB]

*A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data is available*

ISBN 0 521 81565 7 hardback

*List of Illustrations* page vii

*List of Contributors* xi

INTRODUCTION I

Michelle Facos and Sharon L. Hirsh

**1 STATE GALLERIES AND THE FORMATION OF  
NATIONAL ARTISTIC IDENTITY IN SPAIN, ENGLAND,  
AND FRANCE 1814–1851** 16

Janis A. Tomlinson

**2 THE NATION AND THE GARDEN: ENGLAND AND THE  
WORLD'S FAIRS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY** 39

Anne Helmreich

**3 "UNSERE POLEN ...": POLISH ARTISTS AND THE  
VIENNA SECESSION, 1897–1904** 65

Anna Brzyski

4	PRIDE AND PREJUDICE: SERGE DIAGHILEV, THE BALLET RUSSES, AND THE FRENCH PUBLIC	90
	Janet Kennedy	
5	ART AND NATIONAL IDENTITY IN WILHELMINE GERMANY	119
	Robin Lenman	
6	NATIONAL ROMANIAN ARCHITECTURE: BUILDING NATIONAL IDENTITY	137
	Carmen-Elena Popescu	
7	HUNGARIAN SELF-REPRESENTATION IN AN INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT: THE MAGYAR EXHIBITED AT INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITIONS AND WORLD'S FAIRS	160
	Terri Switzer	
8	NATIONALISM AND NATIONHOOD: LATE- NINETEENTH-CENTURY PAINTING IN SCOTLAND	186
	John Morrison	
9	MAKING FAMILY VALUES: NARRATIVES OF KINSHIP AND PEASANT LIFE IN NORWEGIAN NATIONALISM	207
	Patricia G. Berman	
10	EDUCATING A NATION OF PATRIOTS: MURAL PAINTINGS IN TURN OF THE CENTURY SWEDISH SCHOOLS	229
	Michelle Facos	
11	SWISS ART AND NATIONAL IDENTITY AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY	250
	Sharon L. Hirsh	
	<i>Index</i>	287

# Art, Culture, and National Identity in Fin-de-Siècle Europe

*Michelle Facos and Sharon L. Hirsh*

**A**s we enter the new millennium and have the opportunity to begin unraveling the historical threads of twentieth-century European nations, the significance of modern nationalism's evolution in the late nineteenth century seems increasingly clear. It was then that many European countries most forcefully announced their national identities. Operating in the charged political atmosphere between the dissolution of Empire and the realignment of traditional alliances leading to World War I, bureaucrats, intellectuals, and artists strove to define unique cultural identities embodying what they believed to be the most essential and distinguishing characteristics of their nations. Although political and ethnic entities were operating under similar pressures to arrive at a "goal" of national identity, they differed markedly not only in how they conceptualized what that identity was, but also in the frequently contentious manner in which they attempted to express and realize it. Despite this diversity, they all turned to the visual arts – from folk art to architecture and exposition displays – to embody and announce their newly formulated national identities at home and abroad.

Nationalistic expression therefore became a critical component of art in the late nineteenth century, a period more often studied as the crucible of modernism and the zenith of individual genius. But if modernism's rhetoric has encouraged us in the past to focus on the radical, individualistic innovations in turn-of-the-century art, we must now reframe that era and its visual arts in new ways to attain a more holistic understanding of them. Historian John Hutchinson ascribes to fin-de-siècle artists a pivotal role in formulating what he refers to as the "nationalist cosmology." He suggests that it was they who selected and interpreted the fundamental elements of the national heritage, cloaking them in a visual language designed for a targeted, but newly broadened, audience.<sup>1</sup>

Although patriotic art has been neglected because of its perceived irrelevance to the modernist paradigm, it is increasingly evident not only that first-rate artists produced such art, but also that it posed for its producers many of the same problems that faced contemporaries now ensconced in the modernist canon. Indeed, artists concerned with national identity were equally committed to the expression of a complex iconography through distinctive and often newly devised visual vocabularies. In many cases, the seemingly contradictory tendencies of patriotic-national expression and modernism met in a single artwork, as, for example, in Edvard Munch's Festival Hall murals at Oslo University and Claude Monet's Poplars or Rouen Cathedral series.<sup>2</sup> Recognizing the significance, and the ubiquity, of nationalistic art throughout Europe begins to balance our understanding about art production and consumption at the dawn of the twentieth century. This is the first collection of essays to focus on this neglected but decisive aspect of fin-de-siècle art, and it is hoped that it will add insight into the phenomenon of politicized public art in the late nineteenth century. By including essays addressing a wide variety of European contexts, including nations such as Norway, Sweden, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Switzerland that are rarely considered in art history surveys, this volume demonstrates both how widespread and how engaged art and architecture were in proclaiming national identity at this critical time. Each essay defines the national space differently, thus highlighting the dynamic and dialectical process of identity formation and reinforcing

the impossibility of securing a static notion for what is, in fact, a contingent process.

Since the end of World War II, scholarship on national identity has flourished. Historians such as Hans Kohn, Ernst Gellner, Carlton B. Hayes, and George Mosse defined the parameters of modern investigations of nationalism, which evolved in the direct shadow of fascism and the subsequent need to come to terms with nationalism's sinister permutations during the Nazi era.<sup>3</sup> A later generation that includes Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha, Fredrik Barth, and Miroslav Hroch has approached national identity from colonialist and ethnic perspectives, bringing fresh insights into the complex dynamic leading to the construction of national identities.<sup>4</sup> A key concept of all this research, one elucidated early on by Max Weber, is that nation and nation-state are not necessarily contiguous entities.<sup>5</sup> In addition, as Stuart Woolf points out, significant differences existed, despite the often attempted confluence of the two, between nationalist movement and nationalist identity.<sup>6</sup> Nations are, in the words of Benedict Anderson, "imagined communities," conceived according to a variety of standards and for a multiplicity of purposes.<sup>7</sup>

Despite the significance of this established tradition of twentieth-century scholarship on nationalism, however, the importance of the issue of national identity in late-nineteenth-century art has only recently attracted art historical attention in exhibitions, monographs, and surveys seeking to identify the major themes and concerns of the turn of the previous century.<sup>8</sup> It is in the context of this recent recognition that the present study emerges, with an attempt to address the heterogeneity of nationalism issues by means of the varied essays as well as to indicate, by means of the collection as a whole, the role of nationalism as an essential component of late-nineteenth-century art. The individual chapters demonstrate recognition of the various distinctions – of identification, style, and audience – within each nation. Read together, however, they provide ample evidence of the underlying themes and overlapping concerns of nationalism for artists throughout Europe, because in all circumstances, nation-builders relied on visual codes to establish, support, and disseminate their claims.

It was toward the end of the nineteenth century that “the chill winds of ontological insecurity,” as Philip Schlesinger has phrased it,<sup>9</sup> precipitated a need for group identity that generally assumed the form of ethnic identity. Successful unification movements in Italy and Germany established the precedent of language as the primary index of inclusivity and led to the imperative to define cultural and ethnic boundaries, as well as the constituent characteristics of national, regional, and individual identities. The specific strategies for accomplishing this were situationally determined but included the identification of the unique constellation of elements in the national character and their contextualization as part of a larger historical teleology, whose eschatological implications asserted that cultivation of this identity would lead to both individual and national fulfillment.<sup>10</sup>

Although the authors of national identities postulated that there were natural boundaries distinguishing one people, one nation, one folk, from another, these identities were generated amid internal controversies, not only regarding their specific characteristics, but also concerning the spheres in which they were manifested. Linguistics, religion, race, geography, and history constituted the main arenas for the mining of national features. But even these were fraught with difficulty because of their complex intersecting and overlapping; they were also burdened by religious friction, racism, and longstanding divisions between ethnic majorities and minorities.<sup>11</sup> Ernest Renan, in his famous lectures at the Sorbonne in 1882, posed the question “What is a nation?” and called for a reunification of the conflicting notions of nationalism so prevalent in his day. He hoped that the racial, geographic, and linguistic unity recently recognized might be circumscribed within the politically determined boundaries already drawn up as resolutions to conflict, ultimately to be idealistically overcome altogether. “Man is the slave neither of his race, his language, nor his religion; neither of the courses of rivers nor the mountain range. One great aggregate of men, of sound spirit and warm heart, creates a moral conscience that is called a nation.”<sup>12</sup> The goal was to create an easily recognizable national profile, a touchstone of membership in a national community, but the challenges to reaching a consensus about relevant criteria were sometimes formidable. For instance, in Scandinavia and Germany, where



literacy in 1900 was close to 100%, one could reach much of the populace by means of the written word; in France, where literacy was around 60%, or central and Eastern Europe, where it was below 50%, a visual approach was more viable for reaching broad segments of the public.

Imagery establishing the boundaries between the ethnic Self and the Other has a long history. Even before the Column of Trajan depicted the glorious exploits of that Roman emperor's conquering of the "barbaric" Dacians in the first century, the Greeks had represented themselves in the Parthenon metopes as men triumphing over the Persian "centaurs," part human, part beast. Still, if the quest for self-identity on a national scale is an essentially modern phenomenon, and the art expressing it went through a transformative evolution in the nineteenth century. Beginning with the eighteenth-century philosophical writings of, for example, Johann Gottfried von Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte, there was an emerging awareness that a nation comprised individuals, rich and poor, rural and urban, educated and illiterate, bound by a common history, geography, and purpose. As Janis Tomlinson's chapter in this volume explains, the most established nations – England, France, and Spain – already began the process of formulating this new sense of national identity into public art policy in the early-nineteenth century. As she chronicles this complex development, by means of national museums, collecting policies, and critical reception (within each nation but in constant dialogue with the others), she confirms the establishment of full-fledged "national art" by midcentury. As Tomlinson concludes, the shift from national to international staging of such art seems, in light of her history, to be inevitable: 1855 marked the first international World's Fair.

Anne Helmreich's chapter on England's self-image as Garden serves as an example of later developments in these already-situated national art policies. It traces the dynamic evolution of England's self-presentation beginning with its exhibition at the 1855 World's Fair and continuing through the turn-of-the-century. During the same time period, however, most nations-in-progress had to catch up with such principal models, as evidenced by the remaining essays collected here. Embroiled in the national identity debates discussed by Renan, but lacking the more

established nations' history of patriotic imagery and nationalistic collecting, nations such as Norway, Romania, Switzerland, and Sweden had to devise imagery in tandem with their evolving conception of nationhood. The chapters by Terri Switzer and Janet Kennedy further elucidate the complexity of this undertaking, especially given the considerable extra burdens of eastern versus western stereotyping in Europe at the time. For nations like Poland or Scotland, still bound by Empire to other nations, as explained in the chapters by Anna Brzyski and John Morrison, the issue was an art, an exhibition venue, and an audience that could recognize their unique status.

Concurrent with this search on the part of nations was a major shift in the type and style of, and the intended audience for, patriotic art itself. Prior to the nineteenth century, such art was historicist in nature; for instance, war monuments celebrated a single figure, and often a particular event – a king seen in battle or emissaries on a diplomatic mission. But following the French Revolution, imagery emerged, from Gericault's *Cuirassier* (1814) to Karl Friedrich Schinkel's *Kreutzberg Monument* (1822), in which the Everyman as national hero began to appear. At the same time, traditional modes of historical representation – baroque, neoclassical, and realist – that had also been connected to official art gradually lost the associative power they had held in the early nineteenth century. Notably, in those regions with strong early-nineteenth-century academies, such as France, England, Germany, and Scandinavia, the popularity of traditional “history painting” declined after the middle of the century. Certainly the inability of such works to rouse public sentiment was in part due to the fact that their subjects and the official academic styles in which they were executed had outlived their capacity to make key events and personalities relevant to modern times.

In modernist histories, this fact might well be deterministically linked to the notion that patriotic art declined in order to “allow” a free development of an international style, abstraction, and universal themes. In retrospect, however, it is clear that this, in fact, never happened; rather, the appeal of traditional history painting weakened just as new kinds of patriotic imagery were emerging. Indeed, the standard conceptualization

of national painting as synonymous with history painting needs to be reconsidered. This definition, established by the academic tradition that included the work of painters from Peter Paul Rubens through Jacques-Louis David and that was still officially championed at the inception of the Victorian era, was significantly weakened by the 1880s. Scholarship over the past decade has recognized that this kind of history painting – academic, realistic in style, and hierarchical in subject, whether French history cast into Roman stories or English history presented as Arthurian legend – suffered a “demise” in the 1860s and early 1870s, in the words of Stephen Eisenman.<sup>13</sup> And, as David Green and Peter Seddon point out in their introduction to *History Painting Reassessed*, “the course of history painting [in the nineteenth century] would seem to be one of irrevocable decline, chartered through a series of failures and the eventual implosion of an ideal,” with changes in political authority triggering a transformation in the forms and structures of historical narrative that responded to new social and political conditions.<sup>14</sup>

First, there was a reinvention of the term “history” and a reincarnation of the concept of “history painting” itself. This had already begun in mid-century, just as the notion of “objective” history that put new emphasis on the factual was increasingly accepted. Thus, numerous early genre works were executed in traditional styles but shifted their focus from historically significant events to more modest paintings depicting the everyday life of the common citizen as well as mundane moments in the life of heroic leaders.<sup>15</sup> The fin-de-siècle generation of nationalist painters who followed these genre historians made further, and at times radical, adjustments in both subject and style. Moving away from the historical retelling of any actual events toward indigenous myth and legend, they often adopted a fresh, untraditional approach. Across Europe, these painters attempted new “vernacular styles”<sup>16</sup> with flat, bold areas of color derived from folk art, but which also approached modernist styles such as synthetism. At times, as Sharon Hirsh’s and Robin Lenman’s chapters explain, the association of these new approaches with peasant coarseness and regional politics caused an initial interpretive difficulty, although they were eventually accepted as more authentic than the sophisticated academicism that persisted in

state-sponsored schools of art. A similar development occurred in architecture, where the incorporation of vernacular and folk styles supplanted the international historicist styles that comprised the *status quo*. Carmen Popescu's chapter provides one example of this new "monumental vernacular" style in Romania.

Second, one of the most significant factors for the development of a new nationalistic art was the new audience to which such instruction was directed. The earlier art, whether French history painting in the grand manner, late Nazarene murals for the Munich Academy, or Victorian didactic panels, were not only painted in an academically approved, tight and facile technique that had reduced imagery to convention; they were also restrictively aimed at the privileged audience of a literate upper and upper-middle class. By the 1870s, however, a new audience had grown more important, at home and abroad. This was the general populace, for whom the message of national solidarity was imperative in such self-consciously competitive times. This change in audience was of major significance in the development of late-nineteenth-century patriotic art. It explains why, with the "demise" of traditional history painting, there was not a corresponding decline in art expressing patriotic sentiment, but rather an explosion of it in new media, venues, and styles.

The interest in new means of patriotic expression infiltrated ambitious if untraditional artistic forms such as folk art, performance, and pseudo or actual vernacular environments, whole villages, and outdoor museums. With the conviction that art played a crucial role in the formation of national identity, new venues emerged; significant among these were educational institutions, as discussed in Michelle Facos's and Patricia Berman's chapters. Even popular commercial performance such as the *Ballet Russe* in Paris, addressed by Janet Kennedy, furnished settings for the staging of national identity.

Still, the national and international fairs in the late nineteenth century provided perhaps the most ambitious sphere for national visualizations. Although these expositions usually had separate, demarcated areas for official versus entertainment displays, one of the points made by both Hirsh and Switzer was how comingled these distinctions and their respective

intentions became by the end of the century. At the World's Fair of 1900, as several of the chapters here explain, the presentation of European national identity infused every corner of the exhibition.

Third, with these new narratives and their untraditional, popular media and venues came the imperative of an equally original style. Earlier in the century, the search for an appropriate cloth with which to wrap patriotic imagery had ended with historicism, as if each nation had gone “shopping” through the wide range of revivalist styles available. By midcentury, such shopping was essentially over; many nations had accepted by then a certain revived style and had hoped to make it, singularly for them, a “designer original.” One major problem was, however, that if each nation's revival style were, in fact, taken from shared previous eras, then they invariably overlapped and began to look like every other nation's recently adopted style.<sup>17</sup> As these conventional modes of representation were perceived as inadequate to the task, artists sought new, invented styles that could affect their constituencies on a visceral level, in order to generate a cohesive and singular sense of national identity. Thus, interest in archaeological exactitude waned as more suggestive and imaginary approaches gained ground, while the purpose of imaging national history also shifted from instructive to evocative. This was not associated, in the way one might think, with a shift from rational to irrational, from intellectual to emotional, but rather was directed to a more profound understanding of the significance of national history as a continuum endowing the present and future with meaning and direction. Although this general goal motivated artists, architects, composers, writers, and other intellectuals throughout Eastern and Western Europe, the methods they chose to achieve this varied – sometimes subtly, sometimes obviously – from place to place.

For the first time since the Middle Ages, the goal of artists was not to emulate a more progressive, prestigious, or promising style regardless of its point of origin, but to evolve an authentic visual language derived from presumed indigenous sources. The strategies for determining what constituted indigenous formal elements and subject matter varied and were vociferously debated. In some instances, an earlier historical style

associated with a glorious period in the national past was recognized as the appropriate national style but was radically adapted to generic application and more common usage. In others, it seemed essential to derive a completely new style that evolved directly from a biomystical feeling of rootedness in the native geography and culture. Folk traditions and vernacular material culture functioned in many instances as a “degree zero” of authenticity and were included or eschewed, depending on the dialectical circumstances in which a particular national identity was being articulated.

What resulted was an eclectic synthesis of contemporary, historical, and vernacular styles selected for their ability to convey ideas about national identity. Those who commissioned and designed works of art and architecture were deeply concerned with developing a visual language that would effectively communicate their ideas, and these ideas were not necessarily the same for native and foreign observers. Visual culture unquestionably constituted the most potent vehicle for the dissemination of cultural ideas in an era in which literacy was far from universal. Thus, the visual arts in their broadest sense played a prominent role in the promotion of national identity. Whether displays took place in traditional “fine arts” exhibition salons, halls of industry, anthropologically oriented “villages” representing “other” nations, or even representative restaurants, this was a visual display of culture, focusing on exhibitionism.

Following the 1867 World’s Fair in Paris, the critic Ernest Chesneau published his mammoth *Rival Nations in Art*, with the telling subtitle *About the Influence of the International Expositions on the Future of Art*. Although, predictably, his analysis of French art was detailed and laudatory, the subtext of his commentary on the art of France’s “rivals” was self-consciously informed by the new global exhibitions. In his conclusion, Chesneau expressed concern over the future of such different art, claiming that although no one would argue the advantages of “sharing” ideas and influences in industry (especially the “advanced” nations with their younger neighbors), the internationalization of visual art was another matter. For him, the setting for global comparison encouraged the potential of “underdeveloped” nations simply to borrow the process and style of

others' art, resulting in "mechanically reproduced" art that would lose its ability to convey the artists' sincere native expression. Warning against such "banal mediocrity" that would eliminate "distinctions of race" or "national genius," Chesneau argued that "originality" and "sincerity" – notions now commonly connected to issues of modernism – were rooted in national identity.<sup>18</sup>

In this, Chesneau was not alone; his contemporaries also believed that the wellspring of "true" expression could be found in nativism. Just as the French historian Hippolyte Taine espoused "race, milieu, and moment" as multiple identifiers of stylistic development, so also the German Alois Riegl, despite theoretical differences, sought to move beyond the individual artist and to discover traits worthy of *Willenkunst*.<sup>19</sup> Even Heinrich Wölfflin's groundbreaking *Principles of Art History*, known now for its sweeping structuralist reductions of whole European eras, ended with a consideration of national characteristics. In his conclusion, Wölfflin admitted that, although he felt he had proven that "the development of style in later occidental art was homogeneous, just as European culture as a whole can be taken as homogeneous. . . . [one must nonetheless] reckon with the permanent differences of national types."<sup>20</sup> For artists, theorists, and critics alike, then, nationalism in the visual arts was, by the turn-of-the-century, both assumed and promoted. In the relatively brief span of one hundred years, the act of nationalistic self-identification had gone from a synthetic process in which the various nonunified inhabitants of a particular region were encouraged to pull together and find common bonds to a level of self-promotion that required analytical procedures aimed at identifying the unique character of the nation as distinct from every other. Ultimately, in the arts, not only self-identification and self-promotion but even self-preservation became a goal.

In cases where nation (a cultural entity) and nation-state (a political entity) overlapped, as, for example, in England, Russia, and Sweden, one of the greatest difficulties was diplomatically negotiating the boundaries of regional and national identities. In the late nineteenth century, individuals were more likely to identify with the dialect, customs, and geography of their native locale than with any larger national concept, which they

generally experienced as a distant (and sometimes hostile) political and legislative force. The task facing the authors of national identity in these places was to promote an appreciation for the qualities that the nation-state's various regions had in common and to generate a genuine interest in and concern for international regions other than one's own.

For nations aspiring toward political independence, unity, or both, such as Hungary, Norway, Poland, Romania, and Scotland, the first challenge was to formulate the geographic boundaries and cultural characteristics of the hypothetical nation. Once there was some consensus about these issues, the task was twofold: first to inculcate members of the potential nation with a staunch sense of solidarity and then to advertise a cohesive national identity to the outside world. As the chapters in this collection indicate, the criteria intended for internal consumption did not always parallel those used for promotional purposes in an international arena.

The eclectic borrowing from the past and from folk culture to formulate a national style is the pervasive theme in the chapters of Hirsh, Popescu, and Switzer. Although Switzerland had been a nation-state for centuries and Hungary and Romania were parts of multiethnic empires, all three turned to vernacular architecture and folk art to assert the populist authenticity and permanence of their national identities. Because folk culture varied significantly from region to region, the inclusion or exclusion of particular design elements in the national style was freighted with political and ideological content. The subtleties of these connotations were generally invisible to foreign audiences, thus establishing an innate disjunction between the meaning of national style at home and abroad.

The challenge of presenting one's national identity in a foreign venue is also the subject of Kennedy's chapter on the Diaghlev Ballet in Paris and Brzyski's on the conditions facing Polish artists exhibiting in Vienna. These authors emphasize the dialectical nature of identity construction by nations, nationals, and foreigners with its attendant privileges, confusions, and disadvantages. Writing within the context of a native audience, Berman and Facos consider monumental paintings executed for educational institutions in the national capitals of Norway and Sweden, respectively, to show the way in which artists sought to inculcate a sense



of rootedness in landscape and tradition in their impressionable viewing publics. Schools in Scandinavia were a particularly effective vehicle for the promulgation of a generic national identity since literacy was near universal and school attendance was mandatory.

All of these chapters, whether they deal primarily with identification of national identity at home or promotion of national identity abroad, elucidate the efforts of turn-of-the-century artists and architects to develop a legible visual language for the communication of their ideas and to come to terms with a legacy of traditional academic styles on one hand and the relevance of folk culture on the other. What becomes clear are two important tenets, the significance of which have all but been forgotten in the search for the germinating moments of modernism. The visual arts at the turn of the twentieth century had a profound influence on the formation of national consciousness in every European nation and, by comparison, it is impossible to understand this art fully without the frame of national identity that was so crucial at that time.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We are indebted to Beatrice Rehl for her support and guidance of this project and to the Association of Art Historians, which included in its 1998 conference the double strand from which this volume evolved.

## NOTES

- 1 John Hutchinson, "Cultural Nationalism and Moral Regeneration," in *Nationalism*, Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith, eds. (Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 123.
- 2 See Paul Hayes Tucker's path-breaking catalogue, *Monet in the '90s. The Series Paintings* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).
- 3 Hans Kohn, *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1955); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); Carlton Hayes, *The Historical Evolution of Modern Nationalism* (New York: Smith, 1931); and George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964).

- 4 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Homi K. Bhabha, ed., *Nation and Narration* (London: Routledge, 1990); Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969); and Miroslav Hroch, *Social Preconditions of the National Revival in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).
- 5 See Weber's essay "The Nation," in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, H. H. Gerth and C. Wright-Mills, trans. and eds. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1948), 171–7, 179.
- 6 Stuart Woolf, *Nationalism in Europe 1815 to the Present*, Iain Hamilton Grant, trans. (London: Routledge, 1996), 8.
- 7 See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London–New York: Verso, 1983).
- 8 Two recent exhibitions have drawn attention to the emphasis on national identity in fin-de-siècle European art: *Art Nouveau 1890–1914*, Paul Greenhalgh, ed. (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2000), and *1900: Art at the Crossroads*. Robert Rosenblum, Maryanne Stevens, and Ann Dumas, eds. (London: Royal Academy, 2000). Aside from a National Gallery of Art symposium (Richard A. Etlin, ed., *Nationalism and the Visual Arts*, Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, Studies in the History of Art, 29, 1991) and a collection of essays on the decorative arts (Nicola Gordon Bowe, ed., *Art and the National Dream: The Search for Vernacular Expression in Turn of the Century Design*, Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), there have been no broad studies encouraging the comparison of national identities across European borders, with the exception of Richard R. Brettell's survey, *Modern Art 1851–1929* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), especially chapter 8, "Nationalism and Internationalism in Modern Art." In addition, there have been only a few monographic studies in the past decade about national identity in Europe at the turn of the century, notably Hans Belting, *The Germans and Their Art: A Troublesome Relationship* (New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1998); Albert Boime, *The Art of the Macchiaioli and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Keith Cameron, *National Identity* (Exeter: Intellect Publishers, 1999); Jan Cavanaugh, *Out Looking In: Early Modern Polish Art, 1890–1918* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); David Crowley, *National Style and Nation–State: Design in Poland from the Vernacular Revival to the International Style* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992); Fintan Cullen, *Visual Politics: The Representation of Ireland 1750–1930* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1997); Stephen Daniels, *Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Michelle Facos, *Nationalism and the Nordic Imagination: Swedish Painting in the 1890s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Athena Leoussi, *Nationalism and Classicism: The Classical Body as National Symbol in Nineteenth-Century England and France* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); and Steven Mansbach, *Modern Art in Eastern Europe: From the Baltic to the Balkans, ca. 1890–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
- 9 Philip Schlesinger, "Europeanness: A New Cultural Battlefield?" in J. Hutchinson and A. D. Smith, *Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 317.
- 10 This idea is central to the thesis of Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1960).

- 11 Often, as one dominant group was being sanitized and mythologized as “the folk” of a nation, the minority population – whose outsider qualities might have made them, in other circumstances, welcome members of the nation – were subject to pathologization. Nicholas Mirzoeff offers a case study in his examination of modernity and body types, establishing parallels between stereotypes of Jews and Blacks in nineteenth-century Western societies as “urban outsiders.” See Mirzoeff, *Bodyscape: Art, Modernity and the Ideal Figure* (London: Routledge, 1995), 185–8.
- 12 Ernest Renan, “Qu’est-ce qu’une nation?” (orig. pub. 1882), trans. by Iain Hamilton Grant in Woolf, 59.
- 13 Stephen Eisenman, “The Decline of History Painting: Germany, Italy and France,” in *Nineteenth-Century Art: A Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 225; see also Linda Nochlin, *Realism* (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1971), 23–5.
- 14 David Green and Peter Seddon, “Introduction: Art, Historiographical Practice and the Ends of History;” in Green and Seddon, eds., *History Painting Reassessed: The Representation of History in Contemporary Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 12.
- 15 Linda Nochlin was the first to recognize this shift, in *Realism*, 23–5.
- 16 Marie-Pierre Salé, “Entre mythes et histoire: le renouveau de la peinture nationaliste,” in 1900. (Paris: Grand Palais, 2000), 202.
- 17 As Gordon Mathews points out in *Global Culture/Individual Identity: Searching for Home in the Cultural Supermarket* (London: Routledge, 2000), 199, note 14, his term “cultural supermarket” has become common in recent anthropology and sociology literature and was probably first used by T. H. Von Laue, *The World Revolution of Westernization: The Twentieth Century in Global Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 339, 341. This late-twentieth-century shopping analogy is used, however, to describe the postmodern phenomenon of a “global culture” that has, according to some anthropologists and historians, superceded the “national culture” discussed in this book.
- 18 Ernest Chesneau, *Les Nations Rivales dans L’Art* (Paris: Didier, 1868), 457–62.
- 19 Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style (Stilfragen)*, Evelyn Kain, trans. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); Hippolyte Taine, *Lectures on Art* (orig. 1865), John Durand, trans. (New York: Henry Holt, 1875).
- 20 Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History (Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe)*, orig. 1915), M. D. Hottinger, trans. (New York: Dover, 1950), 235.