

Objects in the Hall of F(r)ame

How Commissioned Works Set the Stage in Museums

Marina Beck

In the nineteenth century, the educational mission of the army museum overlapped with that of the national museum: to convey patriotic history. Indeed, in displaying important wars and military victories, the army museum seemed particularly suited to this purpose; the history of the nation was to be conveyed through the history of war. From a collection standpoint, army museums therefore had three main areas of focus: weapons and equipment (uniforms, flags, etc.), war trophies, and souvenirs of rulers and commanders. The historical narrative presented at the museum unfolded through these three areas of emphasis.¹

In order to familiarize visitors with the role and function of the museum, an area was set up in advance of the exhibition spaces to introduce the main themes. These vestibules contained a programme of images and sculptures that were central to understanding the museums' contents. Such entrance areas are not unique to military museums. They also figured in various museums of art and cultural history in the nineteenth century. Examples include the *Alte Museum* (Old Museum) and *Neue Museum* (New Museum) in Berlin, the *Alte Pinakothek* (Old Pinacotheca) in Munich, the *Gemäldegalerie* (Paintings Gallery) in Dresden, the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* (Museum of Art History) in Vienna,² as well as the National Portrait Gallery in London and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. [► Roberts] While these vestibules all aimed to convey a particular educational message to visitors, that message varied from museum to museum. It might take the form of an overview of art or cultural history, of the contents and purpose of the museum itself, or of the origins of the collection, for example. Whatever the case, here knowledge was to be imparted to visitors before they entered the exhibition rooms. To this end, the vestibules were furnished with custom works of art.

In this respect, the entrance areas of museums of art and cultural history are similar to the so-called Halls of Fame also found in several military museums in the German states. In the following, I would like to show how these halls functioned as 'halls of frame' that contextualized the collection items within patriotic history. Three examples will be

1 Alten 1909, 491.

2 Plagemann 1967, 78–79, 87–88, 122–125, 140–142; Sheehan 2002, 113–128, 185–206.

examined: the *Heeresgeschichtliches Museum* (Museum of Military History) in Vienna, the *Zeughaus* (Armoury) in Berlin, and the *Bayerisches Armeemuseum* (Bavarian Military Museum) in Munich. Each had a hall with a dome, which functioned at once as an entrance area and a hall of fame, as well as a 'hall of frame' that primed visitors for their encounter with the collections.

Vienna

In Vienna, the Armoury was built between 1850 and 1856 by Theophil Hansen as part of a military complex in the third district.³ After only thirteen years of use as such, in 1869 the building was converted into a military museum, the so-called *Hofwaffenmuseum* (Museum of Court Weapons). The museum was then reorganized following the transfer of many objects to the Museum of Art History in Vienna in 1888. It reopened in 1891 as the *Heeresmuseum* (Army Museum).⁴

Visitors to the Army Museum first entered the vestibule on the ground floor. Here, fifty-six sculptures had been placed around fourteen pillars. Of these, four represented figures from the Babenberg dynasty⁵ and eight from the Habsburg dynasty.⁶ The majority of the sculptures were of military commanders who had fought in battles against the Habsburgs' main enemies, for example in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the so-called Great Turkish War of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Silesian Wars of the eighteenth century, and the wars against Napoleon in the nineteenth century (fig. 1).⁷ The cycle continued in the staircase, where there appeared four sculptures⁸ of military commanders and two busts of admirals⁹ from the battles won by Austria against the Italians and Hungarians in the mid-nineteenth century. Whereas in both the vestibule and staircase the focus was clearly on the military commanders and their honours, their most de-

3 The construction of the building began in 1850, initially in collaboration between Ludwig Förster and Theophil Hansen. After Förster left the project in 1852, Hansen continued on his own, see Strobl 1961, 19–21.

4 See Dirrheimer 1971, 16–18, 85, 112; Dirrheimer 1977, 3–4, 7–9; Kaendl 1992, 274–275; Wischemann 2017, I, 38–41.

5 Leopold I, Margrave of Austria (died 994); Heinrich II, Duke of Austria, called Jasomirgott (died 1177); Leopold V, Duke of Austria, known as the Virtuous (1157–1194); Friedrich II, Duke of Austria, known as the Quarrelsome (ca 1210–1246), see Strobl 1961, 125.

6 Rudolf I, first King of the Romans from the House of Habsburg (r. 1273–1291); Albrecht I, King of the Romans (1255–1308); Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor (1459–1519); Karl V, Holy Roman Emperor (1500–1558); Ferdinand III, Holy Roman Emperor (1608–1657); Leopold I, Duke of Austria (ca 1290–1326); Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614–1662); Archduke Karl, Duke of Teschen (1771–1847), see *ibid.* 125–126.

7 For a list of the sculptures installed in the vestibule, see Erben 1903, 9–15. The 1903 museum guide is more detailed than the 1899 one and is therefore quoted here. The 1899 guide was the first to describe the new concept of the museum following its reopening in 1891.

8 Count Josef Radetzky of Radetz (1766–1858); Baron Julius von Haynau (1786–1853); Prince Alfred I von Windisch-Grätz (1787–1862); Count Josip Jelačić von Bužim (1801–1859). *Ibid.*, 17, 19.

9 Wilhelm von Tegetthoff (1827–1871); Baron Maximilian Daublebsky von Sterneck zu Ehrenstein (1829–1897). *Ibid.*, 19.

cisive actions were depicted in the Hall of Fame, which the visitor reached after climbing the stairs.

Fig. 1: View of the staircase in the Generals' Hall of the Museum of Military History in Vienna, 1890.



The Hall of Fame consists of three square rooms: one main room, surmounted by a dome, and two side rooms. Each of the side rooms is connected to the central room by a narrow portico. The three rooms are decorated with frescoes, painted by Karl Blaas between 1859 and 1871.¹⁰ The iconographic programme begins chronologically in the dome, with the Babenbergs. There, the allegories of Bravery, Temperance, Power, and Art appear in four medallions. Corresponding stories from the lives of four Babenbergs serve to illustrate these.¹¹ Two of the figures, namely, Margrave Leopold I (r. 976–994) and Duke

10 On the programme, see Klingenstein 1996; Telesko 2006, 408–410.

11 Bravery: foundation of the *Ostmark* by the legendary expulsion of the Hungarians from Melk under the Leopold I (*Gründung der Ostmark durch die (sagenhafte) Vertreibung der Ungarn aus Melk unter Leopold I.*); Temperance: Margrave Leopold III rejects the royal crown offered to him in favour of Lothair III (Duke of Saxony, Holy Roman Emperor) (*Markgraf Leopold III. der Heilige weist die ihm angebotene Königskrone zu Gunsten Lothars des Sachsen zurück*); Power: enfeoffment of Margrave Heinrich Jasomirgott as the first duke of Austria by Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa (*Belehnung des Markgrafen Heinrich Jasomirgott als erster Herzog von Österreich durch Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa*); Art: promotion of art and science by Duke Leopold (*Beförderung der Kunst und Wissenschaft durch Herzog Leopold den Glorreichen*). Erben 1903, 25.

Heinrich II (r. 1141–1177), also figure as sculptures in the vestibule. Below the dome, the pendentives contain images of important Habsburgs from the Middle Ages: Rudolf I (r. ca 1240–1291, Emperor 1273–1291), Albrecht I (r. 1282–1308), Maximilian I (r. 1493–1519, Holy Roman Emperor 1508–1519), and Karl V (Holy Roman Emperor r. 1520–1556), sculptures of whom also appear in the vestibule (fig. 2).¹²

Fig. 2: *The Hall of Fame of the Museum of Military History in Vienna.*



In the tympana is depicted a chronological series of battles from the Thirty Years' War, the Great Turkish War, and the War of the Spanish Succession. Several military commanders appear both in the battle scenes within the Hall of Fame and in sculptures within the vestibule, among them Count Ernst Rüdiger of Starhemberg,¹³ Charles V, Duke of Lor-

12 Ibid.

13 Episode from the defence of Vienna against the Turks in 1683 (*Episode aus der Vertheidigung Wiens gegen die Türken 1683*) with a portrait of the wounded Field Marshal Rüdiger Count Starhemberg, who encouraged the defenders of the breach in the *Löwelbastei* against the oncoming Turks to fight persistently (pictured on the transverse arch), northwest wall. Ibid., 27.

raïne,¹⁴ and Prince Eugene of Savoy.¹⁵ The Habsburgs Ferdinand III (r. 1637–1657)¹⁶ and Karl VI (r. 1711–1740)¹⁷ are also depicted in the paintings.

The cycle then continues in the tympana of the left room with battles from the Silesian Wars and ends with the surrender of Belgrade in 1789. Other battles from these wars are depicted on the ceiling. In the centre is the introduction of the Order of Maria Theresa,¹⁸ the first military order introduced by the Habsburgs. Meanwhile, in the room on the right, the painting cycle proceeded with scenes of battles against the French at the beginning of the nineteenth century. There, the programme concludes with the battle against the Italians in 1849. The ceiling paintings centre on the return of Francis I (as Francis II Holy Roman Emperor r. 1792–1806, as Francis I Emperor of Austria r. 1804–1835) from Paris and his entry into Vienna in 1814.¹⁹

In these two rooms, too, the paintings depict the heroic deeds of people whom the visitor has already met in the form of sculptures in the vestibule. These are various commanders who fought in the wars: in the left room, Leopold Count Daun²⁰ and Ernst Gideon von Laudon;²¹ and on the right, Archduke Karl²² and Count Radetzky.²³ After first meeting these significant military commanders in the vestibule and learning more about their heroic acts in the Hall of Fame, the visitor then entered the exhibition. On view there were various objects directly related to the depicted military commanders and their deeds.

The exhibition rooms were divided into two halls, the so-called first and second armoury halls (*Waffensäle*), located on either side of the Hall of Fame. After the 1891 renovation of the museum, objects dating to the period from 1618 to 1789 were displayed in the

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- 14 The Council of War during the Battle of St Gotthard 1664 (*Der Kriegs Rath während der Schlacht bei St. Gotthard, 1664*), northwest wall; Episode after the storming of Ofen, 2 September 1686 (*Episode nach der Erstürmung von Ofen, 1686*) (pictured on the transverse arch), northeast wall. Ibid., 27, 29.
 - 15 Flight of the defeated Turkish army at Zenta, 1697 (*Flucht des geschlagenen türkischen Heeres bei Zenta, 1697*); Prince Eugene's march to Bosnia in October 1697 (*Prinz Eugens Zug nach Bosnien, 1697*) (pictured on the transverse arch), both northeast wall; Battle of Turin (*Schlacht von Turin*) in 1706, southeast wall. Ibid., 29.
 - 16 Victory at Nördlingen in 1634 with portraits of Ferdinand III and the Swedish Field Marshal Horn, who was taken prisoner (*Sieg der Kaiserlichen über die Schweden bei Nördlingen, 1634*), southwest wall. Ibid., 27.
 - 17 Entry of Karl III of Spain (later Holy Roman Emperor Karl VI) into Madrid in 1710 with a portrait of the king and Count Guido von Starhemberg (*Einzug König Karls III. von Spanien, später Kaiser Karl VI., in Madrid 1710*), southeast wall. Ibid., 31.
 - 18 Ibid., 31, 33, 35.
 - 19 Ibid., 37, 39.
 - 20 Battle of Kolin, 1757 (*Schlacht bei Kolin, 1757*); Raid of the Prussian army at Hochkirch, 1758 (*Überfall der preußischen Armee bei Hochkirch, 1758*). Ibid., 33.
 - 21 Raid and storming of Schweidnitz, 1761 (*Überfall und Erstürmung von Schweidnitz, 1761*); Episode after the surrender of Belgrade: Osman Pasha gives Field Marshal Loudon a white horse, 1789 (*Episode nach dem Überfall von Belgrad, 1789*). Ibid., 35.
 - 22 Episode after the Battle of Würzburg, 1796: Archduke Karl inspects the captured French war balloon and other trophies of victory, 1796 (*Episode nach der Schlacht bei Würzburg, 1796*); Battle of Caldiero, 1805 (*Schlacht bei Caldiero, 1805*); Battle of Aspern, 1809 (*Schlacht bei Aspern, 1809*). Ibid., 37.
 - 23 Episode after the Battle of Novara, 1849 (*Episode nach der Schlacht bei Navarra, 1849*): armistice negotiations between Count Radetzky and Victor Emmanuel II King of Sardinia, 1849. Ibid., 39.

first armoury hall, while the second such hall presented objects dating from 1789 to recent times. The exhibition rooms were long, unstructured halls that terminated in a dead end. The exhibition tour therefore began on one long side of the armoury hall, continued on the transverse side, and then moved to the opposite long side.

In each armoury hall, objects depicted in the paintings were among those displayed in the installation. These included the French war balloon captured in the Battle of Würzburg in 1796: the balloon itself appeared in the second armoury hall, while a scene of Archduke Charles inspecting the war balloon was depicted in one of the frescoes on the ceiling in the room to the right of the Hall of Fame (fig. 3).²⁴

Fig. 3: Karl von Blaas, Archduke Charles Inspects the Captured Trophies, Including a French War Balloon, photogravure after a painting by von Blaas in the Hall of Fame of the Museum of Military History in Vienna, 1870–1910.



There is also a depiction of the 1809 Battle of Aspern when, according to legend, Archduke Charles seized the regimental flag to lead his troops into battle and victory. The seizure of the flag became a symbol of the bravery and military prowess of the archduke. And likewise, the flag is also displayed in the second armoury hall.²⁵

²⁴ Ibid., 37, 283.

²⁵ Ibid., 37–38, 275–276.

At the dead end of the exhibition hall, objects from the most decisive victories of the Habsburgs in each era were exhibited as highlights. In the first armoury hall, this was the victory over the Turks. A Turkish tent surrounded by trophies was displayed on the transverse wall of the exhibition room. Next to the Turkish tent on the long wall was a display case containing various objects belonging to Prince Eugene, who had distinguished himself in this fight. These included a lock of the prince's hair, a cuirass with several bullet holes in the chest, a yellowish cloth bodice with armoured sleeves, a goatskin waistcoat, a musket-barrel command staff dating to 1662, and a command staff made of narwhal horn and pierced on the inside to be used as an optical instrument.²⁶

In the second armoury hall, the weapons and trophies captured in the battles against Italy in 1848 and 1849 were displayed on the transverse side of the exhibition room. In the centre of this installation, the highlight was a display case with Radetzky's memorabilia. Among them was the gala uniform, which was displayed in the centre of the trophy and weapon arrangement on the wall. In addition to the uniform, the display case contained an honorary Maltese sword, two seal stamps, three letters from Radetzky to his wife, his farewell letter to Franz Joseph (r. 1848–1916) dated 7 December 1856, and Radetzky's handkerchief.²⁷

This series of examples shows how crucial the entrance areas were for understanding the subsequent object display. In the vestibule, visitors met the main protagonists. Then, in the Hall of Fame, they learned, through the many paintings, about the major battles in which these commanders took part. Here, visitors could already see representations of some of the objects shown in the installation that had belonged to the commanders personally, had been used in their battles, or had been otherwise associated with them. In the exhibition rooms, these objects were presented to the visitor in individual display cases, thus acquiring the status of relics. These objects were worthy of display because they had belonged to a significant person, whom the visitor learned about in the entrance area. The vestibules thus set the stage for understanding the collection items on view.

Berlin

The armoury in Berlin was built between 1695 and 1706, and the interiors completed in 1729. Four architects were involved in the project: Johann Arnold Nering, Martin Grünberg, Andreas Schlüter, and Jean de Bodt. In 1831, the *kleine Waffen- und Modellsammlung* (small collection of weapons and models) opened. From 1877 to 1880, the museum was rebuilt by Friedrich Hitzig, and a domed hall was incorporated into the north wing.²⁸ When the museum reopened in 1883, it retained the same name: in the sources, it is referred to as the *königliches Zeughaus* (Royal Armoury), whereas in scholarship it is known as the *Berliner Zeughaus* (Berlin Armoury).

26 Ibid., 162–163.

27 Ibid., 316–318.

28 Arndt 1985, 13, 35–36; Müller 1994a, 9, 23–32, 58–60, 127–142; Müller 1994b, 25–26, 38, 43, 53, 82–87, 174–184; Wischemann 2014, I, 511–519, 542–548, 574–580; Andrews 2014, 33, 42–48, 50–52, 58–64, 84–85, 90–91, 93.

Visitors to the museum first entered the vestibule, which led to the courtyard, surmounted by a roof of modern glass and wrought iron. At the centre of the courtyard stood a colossal statue of *Borussia*, a personification of Prussia. Behind it was Hitzig's monumental staircase, leading directly to the *Ruhmeshalle* (Hall of Fame) on the upper floor.²⁹

Visitors entered the Hall of Fame, which consisted of the *Herrscherhalle* (Rulers' Hall), crowned by a pendentive dome and flanked by *Feldherrenhallen* (Generals' Halls). Paintings depicted the rise of Prussia and the Hohenzollern dynasty. As Mary-Elizabeth Andrews has noted: "The historical programme was complemented by a strong allegorical component, which [...] drew together symbolic, mythological, and historical elements, merging realism and myth into a singular vision of Germany as Prussian destiny".³⁰

Fig. 4: View of the south wall of the Hall of Fame in the Berlin Armoury, with the allegorical painting *Peace and, beneath it, Friedrich Wilhelms III's Appeal "To My People" of March 1813 (left) and Friedrich II Accepting the Homage of the Silesian Estates at Breslau in 1741 (right), postcard, ca. 1906.*



In the Rulers' Hall, the dome and the tympana were decorated with various allegorical scenes, namely, "four large lunette frescoes by Geselschap, which were crowned by his four metre high, seventy metre long triumphal procession and four tondi depicting

29 Andrews 2014, 93. A detailed description of the statue and the staircase can be found on page 94. See also Arndt 1985, 42; Müller 1994b, 181–184.

30 Andrews 2014, 99–100.

the cardinal virtues of the Hohenzollern rulers: Justice, Strength, Moderation and Wisdom".³¹ The triumphal frieze shows "a procession of victorious warriors returning home from battles on sea and land".³² The themes of the four large allegorical frescoes were *War* (east wall), *Peace* (south wall), *The Reception of the Fallen Heroes* (west wall), and *The Re-Establishment of the Reich* (north wall).³³ Unlike in Vienna, these did not represent a chronological sequence of the most important rulers. Nor in Berlin were the allegories directly related to the history paintings on the walls. Rather, they served as a general framework for classifying and understanding the wall paintings (fig. 4).

The cycle of history paintings began in the Rulers' Hall on the north side, to the left of the sculpture of the goddess of victory with the painting *The Self-Coronation of Friedrich III as the First King in Prussia*, by Anton von Werner. On the opposite wall were paintings of *Friedrich II Accepting the Homage of the Silesian Estates at Breslau in 1741*, by Wilhelm Camphausen, and of *Friedrich Wilhelms III's March 1813 Appeal "To my people"*, by Georg Bleibtreu. The cycle ended to the right of the goddess of victory on the north side with von Werner's *Proclamation of the German Empire at Versailles in 1871*.³⁴ Each painting corresponded to a sculpture portraying a member of the Hohenzollern dynasty.³⁵ The Generals' Halls showed the most significant battles related to the historical events referenced in the Hall of Fame.³⁶ This meant that the images in the Rulers' Hall could be viewed either on their own or together with those of the Generals' Halls. The latter contained thirty-

31 Ibid., 100.

32 Ibid., 100.

33 Ibid., 100–103. The German titles are: *Krieg; Frieden; Walhalla or Empfang der toten Helden; Wiederherstellung des Kaiserreiches or Aufrichtung des Kaisertums*. The information in the literature and in the museum guides from the nineteenth century varies slightly here. See, for example, "Das Zeughaus" 1900, 7–8; "Das Zeughaus" 1910, 20; "Das Zeughaus" 1914, 7–8; Arndt 1985, 57–76; Müller 1994b, 196–203.

34 Andrews 2014, 97. The German titles are: *Krönung Friedrichs I. in Königsberg; Die Schlesischen Stände huldigen Friedrich II. in Breslau; Aufruf Friedrich Wilhelms III. "An mein Volk"; Kaiserproklamation in Versailles / Aufrichtung des Kaiserthums der Hohenzollern*. "Das Zeughaus" 1900, 9–11; "Das Zeughaus" 1910, 21, 25, 29; "Das Zeughaus" 1914, 8, 12–13, 16; Arndt 1985, 54–56; Müller 1994b, 190–196. Here, too, the titles vary slightly.

35 There were eight sculptures: Friedrich Wilhelm (1620–1688); Friedrich I (1657–1713), Friedrich Wilhelm I (1688–1740); Friedrich II (1712–1786); Friedrich Wilhelm II (1744–1797); Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770–1840); Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1795–1861); Wilhelm I (1797–1888). In addition, there were four portrait busts in the Hall of Fame, two of generals and two of statesmen associated with the Wars of Liberation and the Franco-Prussian War: Heinrich Reichsfreiherr von Stein (1757–1831); Gerhard David von Scharnhorst (1755–1813); Albrecht Graf von Roon (1803–1879); Otto Fürst von Bismarck (1815–1898). See Arndt 1985, 48–53; Müller 1994b, 188–189, 204–205; Andrews 2014, 98–99, 476–478.

36 The cycle began in the General's Hall on the left side of the north wall: Battle of Fehrbellin, 18 June 1675 (*Schlacht bei Fehrbellin*); Passage of the Curonian Lagoon, 1679 (*Übergang über das Kurische Haff*); Battle of Turin, 1706 (*Schlacht bei Turin*). On the west side: Battle of Hohenfriedberg, 1745 (*Schlacht von Hohenfriedberg*); Battle of Leuthen, 1757 (*Schlacht bei Leuthen*). On the south side: Battle of Torgau, 1760 (*Schlacht von Torgau*). It continued in the General's Hall on the right side of the south wall: Battle of Nations at Leipzig, 16, 18, and 19 October 1813 (*Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig*). On the east wall: Battle of Belle-Alliance / Waterloo, 18 June 1815 (*Schlacht von Belle-Alliance*); Storming of the Düppeler Schanzen, 1864 (*Erstürmung der Düppeler Schanzen*). On the north wall: Battle of Königgratz, 1866 (*Schlacht bei Königgrätz*); Storming of St Privat / Battle of Gravelotte 1870 (*Sturm*

two bronze busts of the most important Prussian military commanders who had fought in the depicted battles (fig. 5).³⁷

Fig. 5: View of the left General's Hall with the busts of the generals at right, postcard, after 1935.



In contrast to Vienna, in Berlin the historical events and battles were not presented in the tympana but on the walls, at eye level. This brought the message of the room directly before visitors' eyes. Indeed, the Prussians staged a certain understanding of history in this space: Prussia's domination of the German states, along with the so-called 'Lesser German' solution, appeared as logical outcomes. Through political and military successes, Prussia had grown larger and larger, and this qualified the Hohenzollerns to become emperors of the German Empire. It was therefore Prussia's destiny to rule the German Empire. It was this narrative that was presented in the pictures.³⁸

To tell this story, the content of the paintings focused on the major events that had contributed to Prussia's greatness and glory. Unlike in Vienna, the focus was not on the generals. Rather, the Prussian commanders were depicted only as busts and rarely in the

auf St. Privat); After the Battle of Sedan, 1870 (*Nach der Schlacht bei Sedan*). See Arndt 1985, 76–84; Müller 1994b, 203–204; Andrews 2014, 473–475.

37 A list of the bronze busts of the generals can be found in Arndt 1985, 134–135; Müller 1994b, 205–206; Andrews 2014, 477–478. Another forty busts of statesmen and officers were added to the niches on the ground floor and the upper floor (twenty busts per floor). The list of busts in the exhibition halls was first published in "Das Zeughaus" 1900, 30–32.

38 Andrews 2014, 110–111.

paintings. And only a few objects of theirs were featured in the exhibition. In the Berlin Armoury, the focus was clearly on the Hohenzollerns.

For this reason, this dynasty was also honoured in their own memorial rooms within the installation, with memorabilia from the most important Hohenzollerns. The first such rooms were dedicated to Friedrich II (r. 1740–1786) (southwest corner) and Friedrich Wilhelm III (r. 1797–1840) (northwest corner). Following the death of Wilhelm I (King of Prussia r. 1861–1888, German Emperor 1871–1888) in 1888, another memorial room was set up for him and Friedrich III (r. 1888). This was located in the centre of the south wing. In 1897, it was enlarged to consist of three bays, taking up the entire depth of the wing.³⁹ In 1910, another room was added in the east wing to commemorate the electoral era.⁴⁰ With the exception of the room for Wilhelm I, the memorial rooms were arranged in chronological order in keeping with the arrangement of the weapons, namely, chronologically by means of dynastic periodization.⁴¹

In the memory room of Friedrich Wilhelm III were presented

his uniform and weapons, a number of decorative weapons carried by defeated French officers as well as allied commanders (the sabre of the Duke of Cambridge, for instance), Blücher's decorations and medals, Gneisenau's hat, a display of allied uniforms from the Wars of Liberation (Prussia, Austria, England, and Russia) and memorial objects commemorating the victories of 1813 and 1815.⁴²

Of particular importance here were the items captured by Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo. These included the hat, weapons, and various medals. These memorabilia were displayed in a dedicated vitrine and were so prominent that they appeared both on a postcard and as an image in the first illustrated museum guide, in 1914 (figs. 6, 7).⁴³

39 The memorabilia had initially been displayed adjacent to the General's Hall in the west wing. On the occasion of the celebration of the 100th birthday of Wilhelm I on 22 March 1897, the objects were placed in the centre of the south wing, where Wilhelm II inspected them on 23 March and opened the display to the public. Müller 1994a, 169; Andrews 2014, 150–152. The memorial room is described for the first time in the museum guide from 1900, see "Das Zeughaus" 1900, 72–84.

40 "Das Zeughaus" 1910, 38–45.

41 Andrews 2014, 129. The dynastic periodization of the objects became even clearer in 1914. A reorganization of the exhibition took place prior to that and is documented in the 1914 museum guide. Several bays came to be associated with important personalities. These included, for example, Emperor Maximilian I (bay 4); Friedrich Wilhelm (the Great Elector) (bay 14); Friedrich Wilhelm I (the Soldier King) (bay 15); Bismarck (bay 33); Prince Karl Friedrich (bay 35), and Blumenthal (bay 36). See "Das Zeughaus" 1914, 62–68, 119–129, 162–163, 170–175. The other memorial rooms remained intact, though some of them changed their position, e.g. that for Wilhelm I and Friedrich III, which was no longer located within three bays in the middle of the south wing, but rather occupied a single central bay on the inner courtyard side of the south wing (bay 34). The room for the electoral period and for Friedrich II remained in bays 5 and 18. The rooms for the Wars of Liberation were in bays 23–25. The memorabilia of Friedrich Wilhelm III were also displayed there. See "Das Zeughaus" 1914, 68–76, 133–138, 144–156, 163–170.

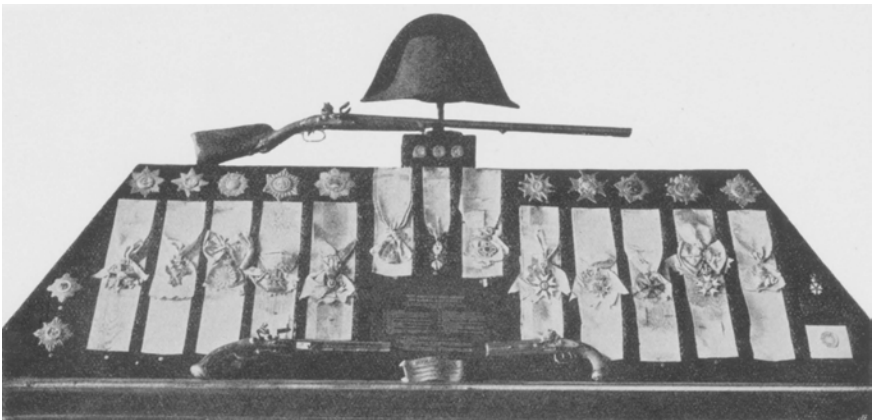
42 Andrews 2014, 130–131.

43 Beck 2023, 40.

Fig. 6: The memory room of Friedrich Wilhelm III, postcard, 1905.



Fig. 7: Napoleon's medals, hat, and weapons, captured after the Battle of Belle-Alliance (Waterloo) in 1815.



Meanwhile, in the memory room for Wilhelm I and Friedrich III were exhibited

an extensive collection of medals and decorations worn by the emperors, the flags and standards of their regiments, and a number of memorial pieces such as silver and gold commemorative columns (*Ehrensäule* and *Denksäule*), laurel wreaths, and daggers inscribed with the battles in which they had taken part.⁴⁴

Displayed – indeed, enshrined – in glass cases, the objects became ‘secular relics’. These everyday objects used by rulers were thus charged with emotional significance and were staged accordingly in the exhibition.

In Berlin, as in Vienna, the Rulers’ Hall and the Generals’ Halls set the stage for the visitor’s encounter with the contents of the military museum. Visitors would first learn about the glorious history of Prussia and the significant role the Hohenzollerns played in the German Empire.⁴⁵ Equipped with this knowledge, they would then enter the exhibition rooms and see the weapons, the numerous trophies won in various battles, and the memorabilia of the Hohenzollerns and their military commanders.⁴⁶

Munich

The Bavarian Military Museum was originally housed in an armoury that formed part of a military complex in the northwest of Munich. It was opened partially in 1880 and fully in 1881 (first museum building).⁴⁷ A new museum was built between 1900 and 1905 by Ludwig von Mellinger near the *Residenz* in Munich. From 1905, the collections were displayed at the new site (second museum building).⁴⁸

In the first building of the museum there was no hall of fame. The exhibition rooms, five in sum, were situated on the first floor.⁴⁹ A hall of fame was introduced to the museum in its new building. Whereas the exhibition rooms were on the ground floor, the Hall of Fame was on the upper floor. Visitors began their tour in the ground-floor vestibule, where eight sculptures of Bavarian rulers were displayed.⁵⁰ From there, the

44 Andrews 2014, 151.

45 Ibid., 121.

46 Beck 2023, 32–33, 36–40, 45.

47 Karnapp 1997, 385–386; Nerdinger and Blohm 2002, 120; Wischemann 2017, I, 625–632; Gauder 2019, 22; Beck 2021, 2, 4.

48 Habel 1982, 9–14; Habel 1988, 151–156. The texts by Habel 1988 and 1982 are almost identical word-for-word. The more recent edition is therefore quoted here. See also Wischemann 2017, I, 632–634; Beck 2021, 2, 10.

49 Beck 2021, 4. Building 1 is therefore not discussed in further detail in this text.

50 These were: Margrave Luitpold (d. 907); Heinrich the Lion (ca 1129/30–1195); Otto von Wittelsbach (ca 1120–1183); Ludwig IV (Ludwig the Bavarian, ca 1281–1347); Ruprecht (1352–1410); Friedrich I (Friedrich the Victorious, 1425/29–1476); Ludwig IX (Ludwig the Rich, 1417–1479); Albrecht IV (1447–1508). The sculptures had been exhibited in the staircase of building 1. The statue of Heinrich II (Heinrich the Saint, 973–1024) originally presented in that staircase is missing. The sculpture of King Maximilian I (1756–1825) was also removed from view there; instead, a bust of him now appeared in the Hall of Fame. Beck 2021, 11.

printed museum guide took visitors directly upstairs to the Hall of Fame, before leading them into the exhibition rooms.⁵¹ This trajectory again underlines the importance of the vestibule and the Hall of Fame in setting the stage for the exhibition.

The iconographic programme was never completed in the Hall of Fame. While we know that there were plans to paint the dome and the tympana, we do not know the intended themes. Only the sculptural decoration was ultimately realized.⁵² The Hall of Fame consisted of a square room with a mezzanine gallery. The dome that crowned the Hall of Fame rested on four massive pillars. These were set against the four pillars of the gallery, assigning them a strong emphasis. On these appeared four coats of arms representing the territories of *Bayern*, *Franken*, *Schwaben*, and *Pfalz* (Bavaria, Franconia, Swabia, and the Palatinate), which were united in 1806 to form the Kingdom of Bavaria.⁵³

Above the coats of arms, figures symbolizing the four main orders of the Wittelsbach dynasty appeared in the pendentives. These were St Hubertus (Order of Hubertus and the Order for Art and Science), St Michael (Order of Michael and Louis), St Georg (Order of George and of the Crown), and a cuirassier (Order of Max Joseph and of Military Merit).⁵⁴

In the tambour of the dome were four panels itemizing the most important battles of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. The northeastern panel listed decisive battles of the Thirty Years' War: Prague, Barenberg, Nördlingen, Allerheim. The designations of Vienna, Ofen, Gran, Mohacs, and Belgrade on the southeastern panel corresponded to Maximilian II Emanuel's victories over the Turks. The southwestern panel dealt with the Napoleonic Wars: the first three names – Eggmühl, Wagram, Polozk – referred to the alliance with Napoleon, and the Battle of Arcis-sur-Aube to Bavaria's participation in the Wars of Liberation. On the northwestern panel, Weissenburg, Wörth, Sedan, Orléans, and Paris commemorated events from the Franco-Prussian War of 1870/1871. The panels were framed by young warriors of an ancient type with various weapons and by female figures with attributes of glory such as wreaths and trumpets.⁵⁵ It is possible that the paintings planned for the Hall of Fame would have referred to the battles listed.

In the hall, below the gallery, a sculpture of Prince Regent Luitpold⁵⁶ was framed by four busts representing the Bavarian kings Maximilian I (r. 1806–1825), Ludwig I

51 Four museum guides are available for the second building of the Bavarian Army Museum. Written by Hans Fahrmbacher, they were printed in 1905, 1907, 1909, and 1913. All four editions sent the visitor first to the Hall of Fame. Fahrmbacher 1905, 21–24; Fahrmbacher 1907, 23–26; Fahrmbacher 1909, 25–27; Fahrmbacher 1913, *Wegfolge*, n.p.

52 Fahrmbacher 1909, 27; Habel 1988, 166; Fuchs 2005, 18–19.

53 Habel 1988, 166.

54 Fahrmbacher 1905, 23; Fahrmbacher 1907, 25; Fahrmbacher, 1909, 27; Fahrmbacher 1913, 4; Habel 1988, 165–166; Fuchs 2005 18–19.

55 Habel 1988, 166; Fuchs 2005, 18–19. Although the museum guides refer to the panels and their significance, the individual locations are not mentioned.

56 Prince Regent Luitpold first assumed rule for his nephew Ludwig II for a few days in 1886 and, after Ludwig's death, for his brother Otto I. He thus ruled Bavaria by proxy from 1886 to 1912. Albrecht 1987, 505–506.

(r. 1825–1848), Maximilian II (r. 1848–1864), and Ludwig II (r. 1864–1886); the sculpture was replaced by a painting of the prince regent between 1905 and 1909 (fig. 8).⁵⁷

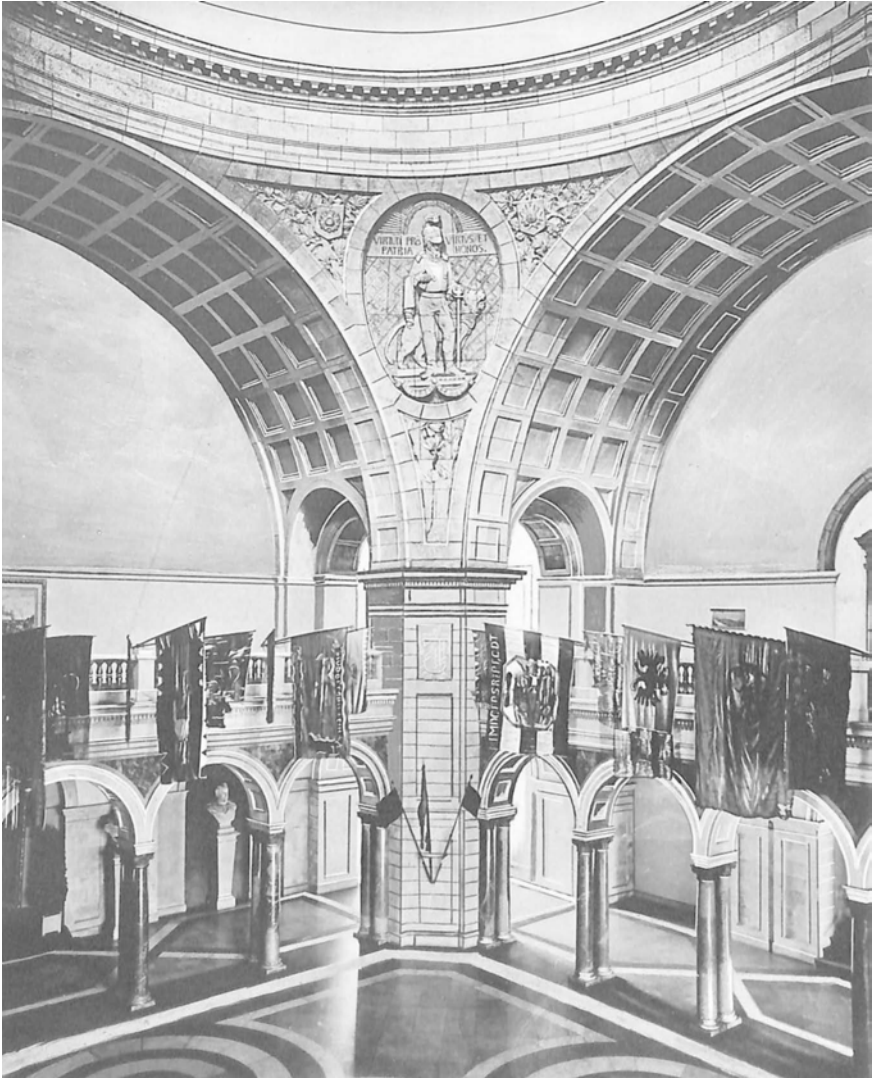
Fig. 8: View of the statue of the prince regent and the busts of two Bavarian kings in the Hall of Fame of the Bavarian Army Museum's second building.



Before the Kingdom of Bavaria came into being in 1806, Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, and the Palatinate had been independent and had consisted of various independent states with their own rulers, such as the free imperial city of Nuremberg or the Prince-Bishoprics of Würzburg and Passau. Upon becoming part of the Kingdom of Bavaria, they had to give up their independence, and all their inhabitants had to be made aware that they now belonged to this new state. This was expressed, for example, in the *Bayrisches Nationalmuseum* (Bavarian National Museum) in Munich [► Beuing]. There, in the first building on the first floor, the history of Bavaria was presented in a cycle of pictures. This national history also included various scenes from the history of the formerly independent states, such as Nuremberg or Würzburg, which now belonged to Bavaria. The aim was to show the new unity of the country.

57 Habel 1988, 167. The museum guides only mention the complete programme in 1905. In 1907, only the four busts are mentioned, and no longer the sculpture of the prince regent. This was replaced by a life-size painting, which is mentioned in 1913. Fahrmbacher 1905, 23; Fahrmbacher 1907, 25; Fahrmbacher 1909, 27; Fahrmbacher 1913, 4.

Fig. 9: View of the pillar with the coat of arms and figure of the cuirassier in the pendentive of the Hall of Fame of the Bavarian Army Museum's second building, 1912–1913.



At the Bavarian Army Museum, this new territorial unity was emphasized by the inclusion of only those Wittelsbachs who ruled or had ruled the new kingdom. This was a significant political statement intended to promote a sense of community and to strengthen the unification process in Bavaria. For this purpose, flags from the regiments of the former states were hung on the gallery surrounding the Hall of Fame (figs. 8, 9). The coats of arms on the pillars characterized the territories as the pillars of the new state:⁵⁸ just as the pillars support the dome, the territories support the Kingdom of

58 Fahrmbacher 1905, 23; Fahrmbacher 1907, 25; Fahrmbacher 1909, 26; Fahrmbacher 1913, 4; Fuchs 2005, 18–19.

Bavaria. The link between the dynasty and the Bavarian nation was emphasized here, as well as the linking of the territories to form a kingdom. The whole programme was designed to demonstrate the unity of the kingdom.⁵⁹

After experiencing the Hall of Fame, the visitor descended the stairs and entered the exhibition space on the ground floor. In the north wing were objects corresponding to the period 1500–1806, and in the south wing those from 1806–1906. The exhibition was thus presented in chronological order.⁶⁰ The division of the collection into two wings, separated by a hall, is reminiscent of the Museum of Military History in Vienna.

Unlike in Vienna, however, the exhibition was not presented in one large undivided wing in each case. Rather, in Munich the wings were divided into several small rooms, each dedicated to a specific period. In each room, the objects belonging to that period were displayed alongside one or more portraits of the Wittelsbach family, for historical and chronological orientation. Moreover, the constant reference to the Wittelsbachs sought to demonstrate that the necessity of the dynasty to the unity and good government of the nation (fig. 10).

Fig. 10: View of Room 6 of the Bavarian Army Museum, with the portrait of Karl Theodor visible in the niche on the right-hand wall and the portrait of Prince Ludwig (later King Ludwig I) on the left-hand wall.



⁵⁹ Beck 2021, 12.

⁶⁰ Fahrmbacher 1905, 24–25; Fahrmbacher 1907, 26–27; Fahrmbacher 1909, 27; Fahrmbacher 1913, 5–6, 107–108.

There was no explicit staging of the military commanders in Munich. There was no Military Commanders' Hall. The memorabilia of the Wittelsbach dynasty and the military commanders were presented in the exhibition yet without any special room or area. In this respect, Munich differs from Berlin and Vienna, where a more explicit interweaving was orchestrated between the stories told in the Hall of Fame and the objects on display in the exhibition spaces. Perhaps a similar connection would have manifested in Munich had the iconographic programme of the Hall of Fame been completed.

Nevertheless, even in its incomplete form, the Munich Hall of Fame functioned as a framework that conveyed a certain narrative to visitors before they entered the exhibition rooms, namely, the narrative that the unification of the various territories into the Kingdom of Bavaria by the Wittelsbach dynasty had been important and necessary. With this knowledge, visitors would proceed through the installation and understand, as a logical development, the history that had led to the creation of the Kingdom of Bavaria. This would create a parallel to Berlin. There, the staging of history in the Hall of Fame and the Military Commanders' Halls was used to establish the institution of the German Empire. As the first place visitors were expected to visit before proceeding to exhibition rooms that were not on the same floor, the Hall of Fame in Munich had an identical function to those in Berlin and Vienna.

Conclusions

Military museums played a crucial role in the nation-building process in the nineteenth century. In particular, the entrance halls of such museums set the stage for visitors' understanding of the installation. In every case, these vestibules constructed and visualized a specific idea of national history.

At the Museum of Military History in Vienna, the focus was on the military commanders. Not only were they portrayed in the Military Commanders' Hall and in the paintings of battles, but their memorabilia were physically on view in the exhibition spaces. Members of the Babenberg and Habsburg houses, as rulers of Austria, were only incorporated into the display if they had fought successfully in the battles. At the Armoury in Berlin, on the other hand, the focus was clearly on the Hohenzollerns. Their importance to Prussia and the German Empire was highlighted in the Hall of Fame, and the object display included rooms dedicated to the memory of the dynasty. Finally, at the Bavarian Military Museum in Munich, the unity of the new Kingdom of Bavaria was demonstrated. The focus here was less on presenting the proud dynasty by showing important battles successfully fought. Rather, the aim was to demonstrate a new bond among the territories that had been brought together to form a common state.

Across these three examples, the message of the Hall of Fame therefore differed starkly. But though the halls always reflected the specific situation of the state to which they belonged, they nevertheless shared many common features that are relevant to the question of how military museums supported the nation-building process.

Firstly, the Hall of Fame and the Military Commanders' Halls were always located in the entrance area of the museum. Even when the halls did not lead directly into the exhibition rooms – as was the case in Munich – visitors were expected to visit them first and

engage them closely. This is evidenced by the detailed descriptions of the picture cycles in the museum guides, which also determined the visitor's route through the museum.

Secondly, the iconographic programme presented a specific way of looking at the history of one's own nation. Indeed, that history was portrayed in a positive light, with the battles fought presented as necessary to the nation. An image of national history was thereby constructed, with the aim of creating positive feelings of identification between visitors and the nation to which they belonged. By encouraging viewers to be proud of their nation and its achievements, the entrance areas contributed directly to the nation-building process. Moreover, they set the stage for understanding the object display to follow.

Thirdly, the paintings and sculptures in the Halls of Fame and the Military Commanders' Halls were custom made for these locations. They were always commissioned. This point is particularly important. They were works newly created to support the image of history constructed in the museum, a project that would certainly not have been achieved with the same clarity by repurposing paintings and sculptures from another context. These original works of art set the stage for understanding the account of national history presented in the museum.

In this context, the entrance areas of nineteenth-century museums warrant further investigation. Many types of museums had vestibules like this, for which commissioned works were created to explain to visitors the function and narrative of the museum. During the nineteenth century, the programmes of these spaces were at times linked to the process of nation-building. This will need to be researched in the future, with a view to the different types of museums. In the military museums, for their part, this process is more than evident.

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