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# Art Museums and the Public Domain: A Movement Towards Open Access Collections

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# Art Museums and the Public Domain: A Movement Towards Open Access Collections

## **Abstract**

Over the past decade, open access digital collections have become more prevalent among Western art museums. As focus has shifted away from revenue gain and towards collection accessibility, there has been an increase in digital copies of works made available online for public viewing and scholarly research. The objective of this paper is to examine the different ways in which different art museums handle open access policies, exemplified by case studies of three institutions in the United States: the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the J. Paul Getty Museum. These case studies provide a narrower, more detailed look at the changes that have occurred in open access policy and collection availability. Based on historical patterns, current trends, and these case studies, this paper will make predictions for the future of open access resources in art museums.

This article has undergone a double-blind peer review process.

## **Keywords**

visual resources, digitization, digital curation, collection access, copyright research, intellectual property rights, open access, museums

## **Author Bio & Acknowledgements**

Rachel Hoster is Ask a Librarian Specialist at the University of Michigan.

## Introduction

In 1999, *Bridgeman Art Library v. Corel Corp.* established that digital representations of images in the public domain are not protected by copyright law: they are essentially “slavish” copies of the authentic works and thus lack originality.<sup>1</sup> This court ruling ultimately had “significant implications” for the art museum world and the practices that govern it.<sup>2</sup> One such consequence was the emergence of open access policies. In a museum setting, this “generally means that images of collection works exist in a digital format, are available online and free of charge, and are free of most copyright and licensing restrictions.”<sup>3</sup> This paper examines the open access policies of three major museums in the United States – the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and the J. Paul Getty Museum – to find commonalities and differences between them. These three museums have introduced (and, occasionally, modified) their open access policies at various points over the past decade. In tracking these developments, we can see how policy implementation has evolved over time as ideas and beliefs about open access have evolved, too. It is worth noting that these three institutions alone do not provide a complete or comprehensive overview of open access policies in the United States; however, they can provide an informative snapshot of how policies have been shaped and defined. After reviewing these case studies and considering the trends in art museum approaches to open access, this paper will make predictions for the future of these policies.

## Background and Prior Research

Historically, art museums have tended to adhere to a “gatekeeping mentality,”<sup>4</sup> in which they “controll[ed] the images of objects in their collections” by protecting them under copyright and charging fees for their use.<sup>5</sup> These licensing fees were determined by the copyright status of the image’s reproduction, regardless of whether or not the object itself was in the public domain. A photograph of an object was considered a new work entirely, “an art object in itself,” but this idea did not hold up in legal proceedings. With the *Bridgeman Art Library v. Corel Corp.* ruling, art historians and scholarly publishers began to “question the validity of museums’ assertions of intellectual property rights over photographs of works in the public domain.”<sup>6</sup>

Calls for freely accessible, open access (OA) images began in earnest between the years 2005 and 2008, fueled by organizations such as the Association of Art Museum Directors.<sup>7</sup> These conversations identified two primary reasons for abandoning the licensing model and turning to an open access model instead. First, licensing fees brought very little revenue to a museum while still demanding staff time and resources; second, providing access to a museum’s collection in a digital space could act as a marketing strategy to bring more exposure to the museum itself.

The move towards open access policies came along with the realization that licensing fees are not significant sources of revenue for a museum. In most cases, profit is minimal to non-existent, especially since the digital age has removed many financial burdens of taking and mailing photography. In the pre-digital era, duplications were provided to users via color copying or negative

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<sup>1</sup>Caitlin A. Buxton, “Bridgeman Art Library, Ltd. v. Corel Corporation Revisited: Authors Guild v. Hathitrust and the New Frontier of Fair Use,” *Oklahoma Journal of Law and Technology* vol. 11, no. 1 (January 2015), 2.

<sup>2</sup>Robin J. Allan, “After ‘Bridgeman’: Copyright, Museums, and Public Domain Works of Art,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* vol. 155, no. 4 (March 2007), 962.

<sup>3</sup>Kristin Kelly, *Images of Works of Art in Museum Collections: The Experience of Open Access. A Study of 11 Museums* (Washington, D.C.: Council on Library & Information Resources. 2013), 20.

<sup>4</sup>Christine Kuan, “Maximum Museum: Digital Images, Licensing, and the Future of Museums” (presentation, The American Association of Museums, Minneapolis, MN, May 2012), 2.

<sup>5</sup>Kelly, *Images*, 3.

<sup>6</sup>Nancy Allen, *Art Museum Images in Scholarly Publishing* (Houston: Rice University Press, 2009), 2-7.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid*, 8.

printing, both of which came with expenses. Staff efforts towards taking photographs and mailing the prints, too, were associated with fees. Prints were often meant to be returned to the museum but could be damaged along the way, leading to additional reimbursement fees.<sup>8</sup> In the current digital climate, however, these extra delivery steps have been rendered obsolete, and there is no longer a need to charge for services such as individual mailing. As such, the usage of licensing fees has declined. Copyright scholar Rebecca Tushnet wrote in 2008 that “image permissions aren’t great revenue generators and there is no real prospect that they will become so. Given that, it seems that restrictive licensing is a mistake.”<sup>9</sup>

Previous extensive research, too, has shown that open access is not synonymous with revenue loss, nor are licensing fees synonymous with profits.<sup>10</sup> In a 2004 study that interviewed 20 museums, Simon Tanner found that none reported significant income from image licensing. The participating museums, all located in the United States, included public, private, and private non-profit institutions; although everyone interviewed “want[ed] to recoup costs” lost to image-related services, “almost none claimed to actually achieve this.” Tanner concluded that “the level of revenue raised by museums through imaging and rights is small relative to the overall revenue earning capacity of the museum from retail, ticket sales, membership and fundraising.”<sup>11</sup>

Furthermore, making collections available online is a way to promote a museum’s holdings. On average, less than 5% of an institution’s total collection is on public display in the galleries, and the selection often does not rotate.<sup>12</sup> In this sense, digitization functions as a kind of advertisement, helping museums “assert their value” and draw more visitors into both physical and digital spaces.<sup>13</sup> The idea that this collection exposure would outweigh any potential revenue in terms of value was a key catalyst for the move toward open access policies.

### **Metropolitan Museum of Art**

The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s (MMA) open access policy “grew out of [their] 2006 strategic plan” and was officially announced in 2007, making it one of the first major museums in the United States to adopt OA.<sup>14</sup> The move was primarily driven by a desire to make free high-resolution images available for scholarly research and publication. Since contemporary museum management did not feel comfortable implementing and managing an open access platform, MMA partnered with Artstor,<sup>15</sup> a nonprofit organization providing images for educational use.<sup>16</sup> The MMA subsequently came to offer access to images via its own website, but images are still available in Artstor’s public collection, as well as on Wikimedia, the Digital Public Library of America, the Google Cultural Institute, and more.<sup>17</sup>

In February 2017, the Metropolitan Museum of Art made all images of public domain works in its collection – over 406,000 altogether – available for immediate “download[ing], shar[ing], and

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<sup>8</sup>Allen, *Art Museum Images*, 4-5.

<sup>9</sup>Rebecca Tushnet, “Museums and Image Permissions,” *Rebecca Tushnet’s 43(B)log*, Blogspot, April 30, 2008, <https://tushnet.blogspot.com/2008/04/museums-and-image-permissions.html>.

<sup>10</sup> Kuan, “Maximum Museum,” 2.

<sup>11</sup>Simon Tanner, *Reproduction Charging Models & Rights Policy for Digital Images in American Art Museums: A Mellon Foundation Study* (London: KDCS Digital Consultancy, 2004), 33-40.

<sup>12</sup>Kelsey Petersen, “Open Access and Museum Collections,” Museum Studies at Tufts University, Tufts University, January 29, 2019, <https://sites.tufts.edu/museumstudents/2019/01/29/open-access-and-museum-collections/>.

<sup>13</sup>Kuan, “Maximum Museum,” 2-4.

<sup>14</sup>Kelly, *Images*, 14.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>“Mission and History,” Artstor, accessed October 7, 2020, <https://www.Artstor.org/about/mission-history/>.

<sup>17</sup>“Image and Data Resources,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed October 4, 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-met/policies-and-documents/image-resources>.

remix[ing]” under a Creative Commons Zero license.<sup>18</sup> With the use of this license, MMA fully waived their rights to the individual works. Users are free to “copy, modify, [and] distribute the work” without asking for permission from the museum; this includes both commercial and non-commercial applications.<sup>19</sup> In their policy, MMA is careful to state that all images uploaded to the website as public domain works are those which “the Museum believes to be in the public domain, or those to which the Museum waives any copyright it might have.”<sup>20</sup>

As of October 2020, MMA’s online art collection provides access to over 375,000 high-resolution JPEG images of public domain works. Eligible items are identifiable by a small “OA” icon beneath the image, which links back to the Creative Commons website (Fig. 1).

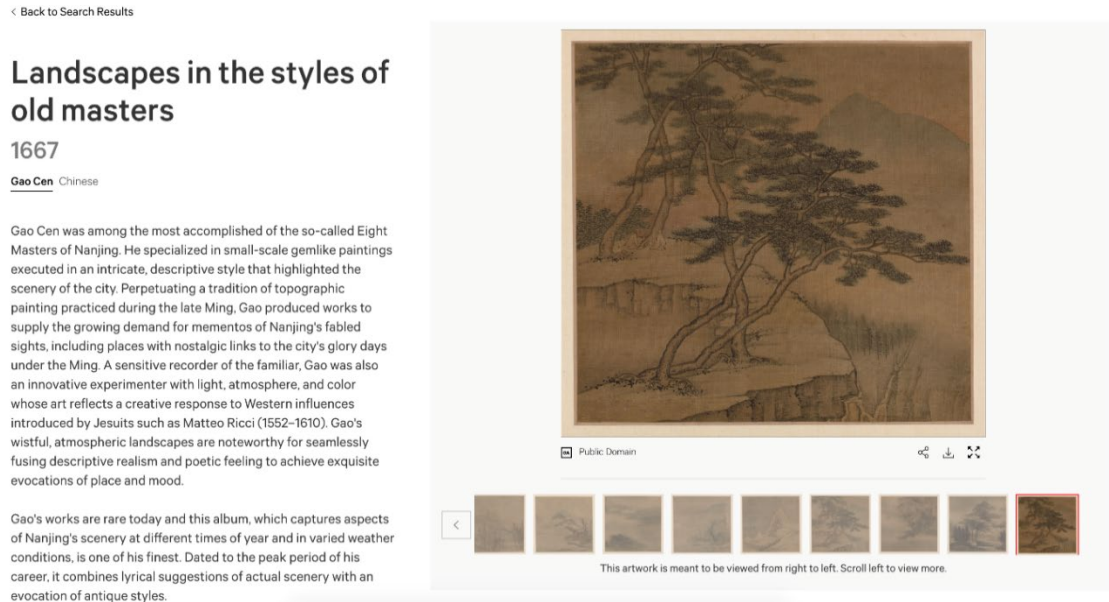


Figure 1: Screenshot of *Landscapes in the styles of old masters* by Gao Cen (1667), available for download through the Metropolitan Museum of Art’s OA policy, via MMA’s website, October 30, 2020.

In addition to the images themselves, MMA also offers data about its artwork for free download via the platform GitHub. This data encompasses both works in the public domain and works under copyright; it can be shared and modified for any purpose. The policy clarifies that citations are not required but asks users to link back to [www.metmuseum.org](http://www.metmuseum.org) in order to further education.<sup>21</sup>

### Cleveland Museum of Art

The Cleveland Museum of Art (CMA) introduced their open access plan in January 2019, providing access to over 30,000 high-resolution public domain images under a Creative Commons Zero license. At the same time, the museum also created an API and a GitHub repository for data about all 61,000 works of art in their collections. In September 2019, the open access policy was

<sup>18</sup>“Open Access at the Met,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed October 4, 2020, <https://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-met/policies-and-documents/open-access>.

<sup>19</sup>“CC0 1.0 Universal (CC0 1.0) Public Domain Dedication,” Creative Commons, accessed October 23, 2020, <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/>.

<sup>20</sup>“Image and Data Resources,” Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

extended to include digital 3D images and models of select works in the public domain.<sup>22</sup> Users can “crop, detail, manipulate, modify, parse, remix, and transform [all] Creative Commons Zero images and data in any way for any purpose,” covering both commercial and non-commercial uses.<sup>23</sup> CMA’s director described the motivation behind the move to open access as one of public service: “We are but caretakers of these objects, which belong to the artistic legacy of humankind.”<sup>24</sup>

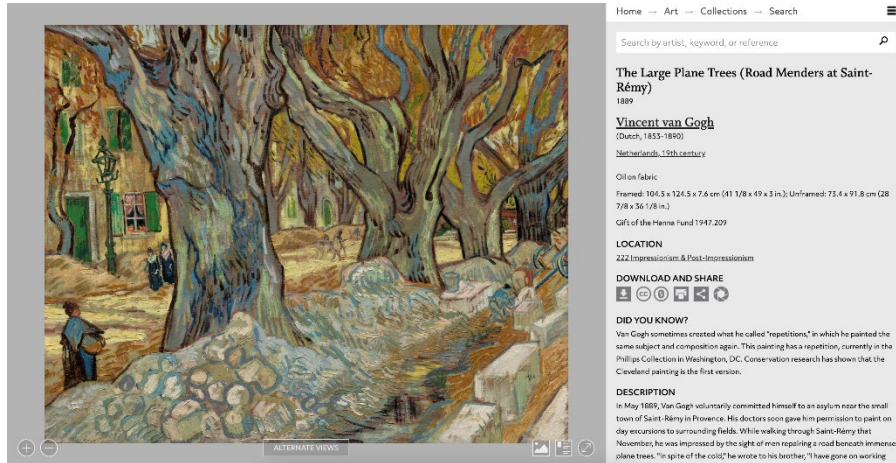


Figure 2: Screenshot of *The Large Plane Trees (Road Menders at Saint-Rémy)* by Vincent Van Gogh (1889), available for download through the Cleveland Museum of Art’s OA policy, via CMA’s website, October 30, 2020.

When downloading an image from CMA’s website, users are presented with several options: JPEG file with a caption, TIFF file, or only the metadata associated with the image. Nearby icons encourage visitors to share the artwork to social media platforms such as Facebook and Pinterest (Fig. 2). The open access images available on the museum website can also be found by searches in one of CMA’s partner

organizations: Artstor, Wikimedia, Artsy, and more.<sup>25</sup>

The museum clarifies that citations are not required for works under a Creative Commons Zero license, but it suggests linking back to CMA’s open access collection “for educational and scholarly” purposes. For publications reproducing OA images and data from CMA, “the museum would be grateful to receive a copy” for archival purposes.<sup>26</sup>

## J. Paul Getty Museum

The Getty first introduced its open access policy – called the Open Content Program – in August 2013, making images of 10,000 public domain works available by October.<sup>27</sup> As of October 2020, the number has soared to just over 74,000. Images were previously available upon request and for a fee<sup>28</sup> – Getty leadership expressed hopes that the new, free open access initiative would facilitate

<sup>22</sup>“Open Access,” Cleveland Museum of Art, accessed October 10, 2020, <https://www.clevelandart.org/open-access>.

<sup>23</sup>“Open Access FAQs,” Cleveland Museum of Art, accessed October 10, 2020, <https://www.clevelandart.org/open-access-faqs>.

<sup>24</sup>Jane Alexander, “Introducing Open Access,” *Cleveland Art* (March/April 2019), <https://www.clevelandart.org/magazine/cleveland-art-marchapril-2019/introducing-open-access>.

<sup>25</sup>“Open Access Launch Partnerships,” Cleveland Museum of Art, accessed October 10, 2020, <https://www.clevelandart.org/open-access-partners>.

<sup>26</sup>“Open Access FAQs,” Cleveland Museum of Art.

<sup>27</sup>Julie Jaskol, “Getty Releases Second Batch of Open Content Images, More Than Doubling Number Available to the Public,” *The Getty Press Room*, The Getty, October 15, 2013, <http://news.getty.edu/more-open-content-images.htm>.

<sup>28</sup>Julie Jaskol, “Getty Announces New Program Lifting Restrictions on Digital Images,” *The Getty Press Room*, The Getty, August 12, 2013, <http://news.getty.edu/getty-open-content-images.htm>.

Corinthian Round-Bodied Pyxis



Figure 3: Screenshot of *Corinthian Round-Bodied Pyxis* by the Chimaera Painter (570 B.C.E.), part of the Getty's Open Content Program, via the Getty website, October 30, 2020.

easier and greater “access to high-quality digital images for their studies and projects.”<sup>29</sup> Due to “diversity” in type and copyright eligibility, the Getty has opted to “simply release [the images] freely for any use” rather than choosing a specific licensing type.<sup>30</sup> All images download as JPEGs (Fig. 3). 5,000 OA works from the collection are also available on Artstor.<sup>31</sup>

Although a specific licensing type is not in use, the museum's website is straightforward about the application of copyright law. It explains that “open content

images are digital surrogates of works of art that are in the Getty's collections and in the public domain, for which we hold all rights, or for which we are not aware of any rights restrictions.” The policy also emphasizes that unidentified third parties may hold rights to some of the works, and privacy restrictions may be at play. At this stage, the Getty essentially passes on copyright research responsibilities to image users, stating, “some images may include people or objects for which a third party may claim rights (e.g., trademark, copyright, privacy, or publicity rights). The Getty does not guarantee that all of its Open Content images are free from rights claimed by third parties. As the user, it is your responsibility to do that research.”<sup>32</sup> Implied but not directly stated is the user's responsibility to obtain any necessary permissions from these third parties before image use. There are no restrictions on image use itself, but publications or other projects cannot “suggest or imply endorsement by the Getty.”<sup>33</sup>

When users download images from the Getty website, they are asked to answer questions about their status (private individual, nonprofit organization, or for-profit company) and their intended use of the image (such as personal or publication) in order for the Getty to track usage and improve the OA policy.<sup>34</sup> To help develop a “collection bibliography,” the museum asks for a copy of any publication reproducing an image from the open access collection. It also requests a credit line: “This image is available for download, without charge, under the Getty's Open Content Program.”<sup>35</sup>

<sup>29</sup>“Open Content Program,” The Getty, accessed October 6, 2010, <https://www.getty.edu/about/whatwedo/opencontent.html>.

<sup>30</sup>Annelisa Stephen, August 13, 2013, comment on James Cuno, “Open Content, An Idea Whose Time Has Come”, The Iris: Behind the Scenes at the Getty, The Getty, August 13, 2013, <https://blogs.getty.edu/iris/open-content-an-idea-whose-time-has-come/>.

<sup>31</sup>“J. Paul Getty Museum,” Artstor, accessed October 7, 2020, <https://www.Artstor.org/collection/j-paul-getty-museum/>.

<sup>32</sup>“Open Content Program,” The Getty.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>“Terms of Use/Copyright,” The Getty, accessed October 6, 2020, <http://www.getty.edu/legal/copyright.html#oc>.

<sup>35</sup>“Open Content Program FAQs,” The Getty, accessed October 6, 2020, <http://www.getty.edu/about/whatwedo/opencontentfaq.html>.

## Discussion

Each museum policy examined in this paper expresses a public service motivation behind their open access initiatives, and a desire to provide easier access to works of art. CMA director William Griswold's remark that the museum's collection "belong[s] to the artistic legacy of humankind"<sup>36</sup> is echoed by Kenneth Hamma of the Getty, who declared that museums, as nonprofits, have a responsibility to "serve the good of the public."<sup>37</sup> Many institutions have begun to waive copyright for works that they legally own rather than pursuing a traditional licensing model with fees, and the idea that museums have a duty to perform educational outreach is a prevalent mindset. As the digital age has progressed, it has become easier to find low-quality images of artwork; museum visitors can take photographs at the museum, or find photos in books or on the internet. As part of the public service mentality, museums are becoming more invested in providing users with high-quality images for research and publication.<sup>38</sup>

Museums also have an interest in improving their open access policies and services, and some enlist the help of users to do so. The Getty, for example, asks downloaders of OA images to provide information about themselves and their intended image use in order to develop the policy around those user needs; CMA and the Getty both welcome submissions of papers which use open access images from their respective collections. This, too, creates an archive of user patterns and can contribute to future policy improvements.

Common language can be found across the different open access policies regarding copyright. Two of three museums explicitly state that all works made available are those which the institutions "believe to be in the public domain," and users have a responsibility to identify and procure any necessary third-party rights. From the perspective of a museum, this is a clear attempt to expunge themselves from controversy or legal difficulties. In a similar vein is the Getty's requirement that image users cannot claim endorsement from the museum. It would be impossible to track the diverse and widespread applications of images, and this statement removes the Getty from associating with any disrespectful or problematic uses.

The language of the Getty's open access policy, however, is unique in its decision to transfer copyright research responsibilities to individual users. It is likely that this choice has caused some confusion among users: although the Open Content Program guidelines clearly state that some images may require users to secure third-party rights, works that fall under this category are not explicitly identified as such in the online catalogue. All images are populated with the same language, leaving users to question which images may require that extra research stage. In this situation, using the pre-prepared language at RightsStatements.org could be useful for the Getty. This consortium provides twelve standardized statements to describe the copyright status of cultural heritage materials; these statements cover specifics such as commercial use, educational use, and contractual restrictions.<sup>39</sup> The use of such statements on the Getty website would require effort on the staff side but would streamline image use for their users. While some users of the Getty's open access images may be well-versed in digitized art standards or copyright law, it is likely that many others are not, and these statements could be beneficial in guiding them through any required next steps.

A similar discussion can be had about the licenses utilized by art museums in their open access policies. Although the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Cleveland Museum of Art both employ a Creative Commons Zero license for their open access images, not all museums choose this

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<sup>36</sup>Alexander, "Introducing Open Access."

<sup>37</sup>Allen, *Art Museum Images*, 8.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid, 2.

<sup>39</sup>"Rights Statements," RightsStatements.org, accessed December 4, 2020, <https://rightsstatements.org/page/1.0/?language=en>.



license or even specify which license they use. Indeed, the Getty has implied that Creative Commons Zero is restrictive and does not support all situations or image uses.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, the use of a Creative Commons Zero license implies that the work is not under any copyright, and the persons associated with the work have waived all of their rights to it; as we have seen from the Getty's explanation of third-party rights on their website, this is not always the case. In a 2017 article, Nancy Sims argued that a Creative Commons Zero license should not be applied to public domain works at all: it "inappropriately suggests" that museums "have the right to withhold permission to use the work... and have the right to require attribution as a condition of use" when neither is the case.<sup>41</sup> Sims points out that "public domain works, by definition, have no rightsholders, so nobody can apply a Creative Commons license to a public domain work."<sup>42</sup> As mentioned earlier in this paper, too, the court case *Bridgeman Art Library v. Corel Corp.* established that accurate reproductions of public domain images do not create any new rights for that work. In line with these conclusions is the Getty's choice to create a personalized open access policy, which has allowed them to be selective and specific about their needs and conditions.

As shown, museums may also differ in the file types offered upon download and metadata availability. Every museum examined here offers JPEGs, while only one – Cleveland Museum of Art – provides higher-quality TIFF files as part of their free open access initiative. CMA has also taken the lead in making artwork data available via third-party repository sites like GitHub. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, too, uses GitHub to make data accessible to users. In the cases of both higher-quality OA images and metadata platforms, technical expertise and staff time are required for these features, and they may not be possibilities for all museums. Kelly, for example, has noted that many museums would like to implement open access policies or improve their existing ones, but lack the technology or legal resources to do so.<sup>43</sup>

In such cases, partnerships with third-party platforms like Artstor can be a valuable option for museums: they allow an institution to share their collection more widely while alleviating the demands of developing an individualized open access policy. Users browsing these repositories may come across a museum collection that they were not previously aware of, and citing or using these images can lead to increased exposure for the museum itself. For users, too, third-party platforms are convenient. They act as a one-stop shop, saving the trouble of needing to navigate to various institution websites to access public, downloadable content.

The three museums discussed in this paper all have partnerships with Artstor, but it is worth noting that these partnerships are not under identical terms. While the MMA's collection is available in Artstor's open access Public Collection,<sup>44</sup> CMA's and the Getty's collections are only available through the Artstor Digital Library.<sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> The latter is subscription-based, and requires affiliation with a library or other institution.<sup>47</sup> While this can be an excellent resource for students and faculty in higher education, users who lack an institutional affiliation are not able to access the Digital Library. This returns us to the argument for open access policies: museums have begun to make collection images available online precisely to avoid this gatekeeping mentality. While third-party platforms can

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<sup>40</sup>Stephen, on "Open Content."

<sup>41</sup>Nancy Sims, "Rights, ethics, accuracy, and open licenses in online collections: What's 'ours' isn't really ours," *College & Research Libraries News* vol. 78, no. 2 (2017), <https://crln.acrl.org/index.php/crlnews/article/view/9620/11027>.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Kelly, *Images*, 7.

<sup>44</sup>"Museum & Gallery Collections," Public Collections, Artstor, accessed October 23, 2020, <https://artstor.libguides.com/c.php?g=702460&p=5037429>.

<sup>45</sup>"Artstor," The Cleveland Museum of Art, accessed October 24, 2020, <https://www.clevelandart.org/artstor>.

<sup>46</sup>"J. Paul Getty Museum."

<sup>47</sup>"Get Artstor," Artstor, accessed October 23, 2020, <https://www.artstor.org/get-artstor/>.

be valuable assets, then, providing free access to collection images on the museum website – whether in tandem with third-party repository access or not – is preferable from an open access standpoint.

## Conclusion

As an aftereffect of *Bridgeman Art Library v. Corel Corp.*, “many museums in the United States no longer claim copyright for digital representations” of public domain works in their collections, and only ask for a credit line instead.<sup>48</sup> This is true of all three museums discussed in this paper, and it circles back to the educational outreach motive. A credit line is a way for museums to advertise their name and publicize their collections, which can increase visitorship in the physical space and viewership online.

In their study of digital images and licensing in museums, Kuan noted that all museums now exist in a digital world and working to maintain a strong presence there is essential: “if we vanish on the Web it will be even harder for us to survive as a physical entity.”<sup>49</sup> The implementation of open access policies can be seen as part of that equation. In addition to fulfilling a museum’s public service mission, OA serves as a kind of advertisement, encouraging visitors old and new to discover what the collections have to offer. As seen in this paper’s study, existing trends and patterns suggest future directions for open access policies.

In particular, there may be a field-wide move towards a standard licensing type for OA images. Creative Commons Zero is currently popular among many museums but not all, suggesting that collaboration and editing is needed before museums can agree on a standard licensing model that works for everyone. This will be a challenging endeavor, perhaps even an idealistic one: institutions house an extensive range of collections and cater to diverse audiences, and it is understandable that they may prefer a customized open access policy to reflect that. When considering future pathways, then, it may be more feasible to create a set of guidelines for open access licenses; this would allow museums some autonomy to customize their policies while still adhering to a field-wide set of standards. Such a solution would also allow for variation in time, money, and technical expertise. The availability of these resources often affects a museum’s ability to provide open access content, and this variance should be accounted for in any field-wide standard. The language at RightsStatements.org, mentioned previously, could be a valuable asset for a set of guidelines: in addition to streamlining policy creation for museums, widespread use of these statements would also benefit individual users who are downloading images from multiple institutions.

Despite the challenges demanded by OA implementation, the blossoming of these policies over the past ten years points to museums’ determination to remain relevant in our digital environment. The emergence of these policies, too, verifies that there is still a place for these institutions in the new digital world.

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<sup>48</sup>Kelly, *Images*, 7.

<sup>49</sup>Kuan, “Maximum Museum,” 2.

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