

# MUSEUM & POLITICS

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## Proceedings

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International conference

# “Museum and Politics”

Proceedings

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**International conference**  
**“Museum and Politics”**  
**Plenary Session**

## **Preface**

The idea of the international conference “Museum and politics” has appeared in 2011 when three National Committees of the International Council of Museums — ICOM Russia, ICOM Germany, and ICOM US — decided to hold a joint conference in St. Petersburg and Yekaterinburg. It is the first time that these three important national committees in the ICOM family share the preparation and presentation of an international event of such significance. The topic of the conference was «Museums and Politics». This topic has always been relevant for the entire domain of culture in all countries of the world, but nowadays it has become critically important. «Museum and Politics» highlights the centrality of museums to their communities.

Russia, the US and Germany: each have their own distinct museum traditions and ways of thinking and running museums that stem from their history, society, social and economic means and development. This, together with the many international contributions that were presented in the plenary sessions and the four sections, provided with a strong base and at the same time initiated conversation, discussion and debate over the week and probably much further. For these are the true cornerstones of such international conventions of museums professionals — to give us opportunity to meet, to talk with one another, to look at different models past and present, and share our expertise and inspiration to develop new ones. The structure of this book will follow the structure of the conference: museums and foreign policy, museums and society development, museums and «hard» history, and museums and internal politics.

“Museum and Politics” conference has gathered more than 750 participants from more than 30 countries and around 90 papers a part of which you will be able to see in this edition.

***The Lisbon Declaration and the future of museums***

Confronted with the consequences of the global crisis generated in 2008, following the partial collapse of the world financial banking system, ICOM Europe and ICOM Portugal co-promoted in Lisbon (April 2012), an international conference on “Public Policies towards Museums in Times of Crisis”, attended by more than one hundred of experts from different continents. At the end of the conference, the chairs of six National ICOM European committees (Belgium, Croatia, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain) and the President of ICOM Europe subscribed a document, known as *Lisbon Declaration*, which was conceived to deliver to national and regional governments, as well as the European authorities (EU Parliament and Commission; European Council), and to circulate among museums professionals, visitors and citizens in general. Subsequently, the same document has also been signed by Chairs of five other European ICOM National Committees (Germany, Malta, Norway, Romania and United Kingdom) and the President of ICOM. Later on, during the ICOM General Assembly held in Rio de Janeiro (August 2013), this document has been taken as the basis for an ICOM Declaration on “Viability and Sustainability of Museums through the Global Financial Crisis”, adopted unanimously. Finally, the *Proceedings* of the Lisbon Conference were launched in September 2014 and are available for downloading either through the websites of *icomcommunity* <sup>1</sup>, and ICOM Portugal <sup>2</sup>, as directly in issuu platform <sup>3</sup>.

In these documents the potential of museums as resources for economic and societal development, linked directly with recognised changes occurred among them, are contrasted with the effects of the *crisis* facing museums. These were identified either at the strict financial level (decrease of public and private financial support to museums), as well as at several other deeper and presumably lasting levels, like the loss of jobs, loss of qualified staff and the inherent “generation gap” already visible in many European museums, culminating in the overall risk of collections preservation (including situations so different as the inability to maintain higher standards of curatorship, the option for renting spaces for commercial activities, or even the selling of objects as a resource to support daily costs).

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<sup>1</sup> <http://icom.museum/resources/publications-database/publication/public-policies-towards-museums-in-time-of-crisis-icom-portugal-and-icom-europe-joint-conference/>

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.icom-portugal.org/documentos\\_outros,0,442.aspx](http://www.icom-portugal.org/documentos_outros,0,442.aspx)

<sup>3</sup> ([http://issuu.com/mapadasideiaspt/docs/icom\\_view\\_final/0#](http://issuu.com/mapadasideiaspt/docs/icom_view_final/0#))

Of course, the crisis inside the European continent is not the same for museums, as for geography, as to the attention given to different social and cultural areas within each specific country. When referring to the *crisis*, it is fair to note first of all that museums were always and are still seen by many national administrations as long-term, intergenerational institutions - assets for sustainable growth and the promotion of social cohesion, as well as resources for the development of economy and society; a key factor to the future. They are promoted as instruments of culture and knowledge, and also as providers of public services, social activities and educational activities. And museums themselves contributed enormously to the reassessment of their role and their social importance, for they strengthen 'identities' through community building. They have reached new publics, created new languages, developed new media resources, and more. In doing so, they have also become economic agents, generating social income (cultural tourism, employment...).

But, instead of all of this, the fact is that the percentage of the Gross National (or Domestic) Product (GDP) invested in Culture, Museums and Heritage is dramatically diverse at the national level, and in many countries it tends to be reduced, whilst investments in non-permanent, fashion-dependent institutions increases, very significantly in some cases.

In consequence of this panorama and having specifically in mind the negative evolution referred to above, three priorities and ten objectives for public policies towards museums are put forward by the *Lisbon Declaration*. The first priority states that cultural infrastructures are as much needed as other infrastructures provided by authorities. It proclaims three derived objectives: Firstly, to consider investments in heritage and museums as preserving our legacy for the future; to increase the percentage of Gross National Product assigned to culture; and to increase or maintain the resources for museums as permanent cultural infrastructures, supporting also their communities and local development. The second priority emphasizes the fact that museums need specialised staff on a continuous basis to play their role to the benefit of society and all citizens, and considers four derived objectives: to support turnover in museum staff; to promote the training of museum personnel and thereby ensure the achievement of high quality professional standards; to encourage employment of young professionals in museums (e.g. through fiscal benefits). Finally, the third priority urges all political boards and in particular governmental authorities to stimulate the participation of citizens in museums' activities and proposes three derived objectives: to promote cooperation between museums and cultural activities among institutions; to sustain networks on a regional, national and European level; to encourage donations and activities in favour of museums, including policies of tax relief.

In the aftermath of the *Lisbon Declaration*, it is now time to ask if the framework model which it advocates for museums has been strengthened by public policies, or if the *crisis* has forced (or is being instrumentally used) to change social commitment to museums, thereby weakening public entities and services as part of a neo-liberal reconfiguration of the social functions of nation state and this if precisely our purpose.

Thus, let's first look in more detail at the characteristics of the crisis initiated in 2008, which initially appeared to be strictly financial and geographically limited, but subsequently took on a global dimension. It is now clear that it has stricken at the heart of the social contract, in North America and especially in some parts of Europe, where it has challenged long-standing established systems (like the so-called Bismarckian "welfare state"). Regarding museums, and as noted earlier, its repercussions have been particularly deep, including staff cuts, severe budgetary reductions, overall loss of autonomy, and diminished facilities for visitors. At their most dramatic, they have increased the risk of museum closure and the selling of collections. We will return to this issue later, with a more detailed inventory of consequences in the so-called European "periphery countries".

But, again, as I said before, regardless of this downward spiral, the economic and social impact of museums and heritage in general has continued to grow, even in some of the most affected countries. It is also worth noting that even in Europe, public resources have augmented considerably in some cases: in Germany, the national budget for culture has increased steadily over the past five years. In Greece as in Portugal, in contrast with the profound effects of the *crisis*, still visible, the number of visitors to museums and monuments (especially foreign tourists) grew exponentially, as never before. And in many regions of the world, the situation is still more paradoxical, as highlighted by an *Economist* report (21 December, 2013) noting that over the next decade, "more than two dozen new cultural centres focused on museums are to be built in various countries, at an estimated cost of \$250 billion." In China alone, 500 new museums opened in 2012, reaching the target set by the current five-year plan three years early.

In fact, in Europe and in the European Union (EU) in particular, the situation of museums is significantly diverse, as can be easily demonstrated by the following elementary parameters, translated into figures and charts <sup>4</sup>:

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<sup>4</sup> In this paper we use exclusively statistical data furnished by the following entities or individual researchers, adapted to our comparative purposes: EUROSTAT (Directorate-General of the European Commission for Statistics), EGMUS (The European Group on Museum Statistics), WB (World Bank), TEA/AECOM (Global Attractions Attendance Report) and RUIZ (Rafael

**-Percentage Investment in Culture (%) in relation to GDP** (fig. 1). The data available shows an important variation, from 1,3 (Estonia) to 0,001 (Moldavia), with the EU average at 0,66. It is worth noting the inexistence of direct relationship between richness (measured in terms of GDP) and investment in culture. In fact, several countries with absolute or relative low GDP are placed above the EU average (i.e., Estonia, Czech Republic, Romania, Croatia); and the opposite occurs in relation Ireland and Germany, or even Italy and Switzerland. This situation, consistent with the following parameters, as it will be seen, shows that investment in culture and in museums in particular is much more dependent on societal perceptions, translated into ideologies and political will, than on strict economic prosperity.

**-Comparative ranking of investment in Culture and Education in relation to percentage of GDP** (fig. 2). The conclusion just referred before, i.e., the non-existence of direct links between richness and investment in Culture, is reinforced when comparing investments in culture and education. In fact, it would be tempting to consider that the situation regarding culture would be extensible, in equal terms, to the entire educational sector. But, again, that's not always the case. Moldavia is the extreme example of this: having the worst position in relation to culture, Moldavia obtains first position in relation to education. Estonia, on the contrary, from its first position in reference to culture, falls to the eleventh position relating to education. In general, one can observe that the two dimensions, culture and education, are substantially diverse, almost inverse, such that each one depends much more on political and idiosyncratic priorities than on financial wealth.

**-Number of museums per 100 000 inhabitants** (fig. 3). Concurrently with the situation concerning investment in culture, Estonia appears again in first place regarding this parameter. Here, however, it seems to exist in a closer relationship with social wealth in general. With some exceptions (Slovenia or Latvia in the good sense; Sweden or Belgium in the opposite), countries tend to align in the chart according to their degree of development.

**-Number of visitors per 100 000 inhabitants** (fig. 4). The situation registered here is similar to the precedent with only a few exceptions. Italy, for instance, deserves to be mentioned: with a significant number of museums, it occupies sixth place, but it falls down to the penultimate place when considering the number of visitors, meaning that Italian citizens are less inclined to frequent museums as in other countries.

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Azuar Ruiz, *Museos, arqueología, democracia y crisis*, 2013). In relation to Russia we added, whenever possible, the unpublished data kindly given Eluzaveta Saveleva, to whom we acknowledge.

**-Percentage of free entrance in museums** (fig. 5). This is one of the most suggestive parameters to be considered; perhaps the one most dependent on short-term public policies, and circumstantial ideologies, above financial wealth. In this instance, the observed variation is enormous, from almost 70% free entrances (Slovenia) to less than 20% (Bulgaria). Divisions are aligned neither to geography (southern countries like Spain or Italy are close to northern countries like Finland or Sweden occupying the upper sector of the chart) nor to administrative conceptions (UK, not figured in the statistical data base used, with a long standing tradition of state decentralization, would certainly appear in the higher sector of the chart due to the longstanding policy of free entrance to all national museums. France, on the contrary, maybe the most classic example of strong central state administration, and one of the countries most associated with social state services, and yet it is surprisingly badly positioned in the graph). All of this evidence confirms that the subject of free entrance in museums is one of the most problematic and dividing matters in current policies for the cultural sector, immensely dependent on short time fluctuations, and directly related to elections and governmental fluctuations (The Netherlands, for instance, currently located in the lower sector of the chart, was traditionally one of the countries with higher levels of gratuity in museums, as were all its immediate neighbors). The same pattern occurred in several eastern European countries in recent years, due to the adoption of new and more liberal social and politic conceptions. The fact is that, regardless short fashionable fluctuations and financial difficulties, free entrance policies tend to spread all across the world, including Europe and, which is maybe more significant, in the USA, where an increasing number of private or associative museums came to be free of charge in their permanent exhibitions. This is an option which the American Alliance of Museums explains by the advantages derived from the augmented social visibility, in consequence of significant visitor growth and customary presence in *media*, alloying sponsors to better promote their image and commodities, thus using museums as privileged spaces for launching products and advertising.

**-Percentage of workers in museums and libraries within the cultural sector** (fig. 6). In close relation to figures relating to the number of museums, the diversity between countries where workers in museums and libraries represent a significant part of the all cultural sector (more than 30%) and those where they do not represent more than 15%, is also worthy of note. Cultural tradition, aligned geographically, and problems of national identity, can perhaps be invoked to explain larger investments in museums and library personnel. Economic weakness would lead to the opposite. The position of

Germany, the worst in the chart, would require deeper analysis, since it might documents a special situation regarding the nature of staff in museums, as revealed by the following charts.

-**Average number of workers per museum** (fig. 7). The observations made previously are basically confirmed in this parameter, where the amplitude of state services and its consequences in public employment takes a major role. Countries that have had in the past, and still have today, longstanding traditions of strong public services, independently of particular political ideologies, are placed in the higher sector of the chart, as it is shown by examples like Belarus, Sweden or France. Germany, again, is placed in an apparently anomalous position, the worst among the observed universe of countries, something that only the following chart can tentatively elucidate.

-**Average percentage of graduate workers per museum** (fig. 8). Traditionally, a museum's staff was composed of a large number of non-graduate workers and few graduate ones. This model is being changed everywhere, either as result of the reduction of employees, especially in the public domain, and, more importantly, as a consequence of higher expertise requirements, and correlative academic training. This is of course a global trend, common to all corporative organizations placed in the so-called tertiary sector. Areas like guiding, educational activities, even reception and guarding, are increasingly accomplished by graduates. And upper graduate specialists in particular, becoming more polyvalent, have gained considerable larger roles in museums. This entire new framework is clearly illustrated in the case study of Germany. While occupying the lowest place in the precedent charts, Germany takes here the leading position with an average of more than 80% of graduate staff per museum. In the opposite position we find Luxemburg, Ireland or France. New and deeper data would be needed in order to better understand this variation. It would be not surprising, however, to conclude that it derives from the transformation taking place in each society in recent years, especially in relation to public administrations.

The above research findings are clear in documenting the huge diversity existing within European museums. But, it would be erroneous to over-estimate these diversities, particularly if in doing so we were led to overlook the European common ground, which is also very significant. The following two charts are given in order to validate this thesis.

The differentiation between theme parks and museums is perhaps one of the most controversial issues for museum theoreticians. It is closed linked to the definition of museum itself, and the role given to originals (objects and collections). For many recent commentators, and presumably still today, museums are the domain of the *unique*, with its own *aura*, and this is not to be changed, even within the



frame of new attractive technologies, allowing the construction of all kind of scenarios. Besides this, museums are to be conceived as cultural centers with non-profit intentions, aiming to achieve educational and developmental purposes. This is still basically the definition supported by ICOM Code of Ethics. In this regard, museums are not just marketing devices, aiming to primarily fulfill amusement or economic needs, generating revenues to be distributed among investors and shareholders – which are the basic objectives of thematic parks. Even when museums provide funny environments and promote the enjoyment of visitors, they aim to do more, bridging the divide between the “other” and “us” through real reminiscent objects. And when these are related to past periods, then one is to expect that the “museological dimension”, the need for firsthand knowledge, would be greater where past landmarks are located and remaining objects have been collected.

Europe, independently of its internal diversity, is certainly one of the most favored regions to promote the referred “museological dimension”. And this is clearly put in evidence by the consideration of the **twenty most visited thematic parks** (fig. 9) **and museums** (fig. 10) in the world. In the first case, only two European parks are included and they are both American franchising (Eurodisney and Waltdisney Studios, near Paris). In all, the twenty non-European most visited thematic parks received in 2012 almost 180 million goers (179318 to be exact); the European ones received less than 60 million (57954 precisely). In the second case, Europe contributes half of the twenty most visited museums in the world. In addition, the top twenty European museums reaches a total of more than seventy million visitors (71536 exactly); the non-European top twenty attain less than 100 million (98489 precisely). It is also worth to note that, whilst all theme parks, European or not, are paid, the majority (12) of the twenty most visited museums in the world have free entrance – but not the same in Europe, where only 9 are free of charge, which is significant and denies the most liberal tendencies growing in Europe, claiming that the “old continent” must adapt to new marketing concepts, such the ones expressed in insidious proclamations like “everything has a price” and “things without price are worthless” (as if libraries, free in general, were not valuable, or, at a more philosophical level, it would also be worthless the air we breathe...).

All the data referred to by now allows us to conclude that without any doubt, museums constitute an European land-mark. It is now time to add that this is so, not only in culture, but also in economy. As rightly proclaimed the Association of Museums in the United Kingdom, “economy loves museums”, as it demonstrated by a lot of overwhelming numbers: Global economic impact generated by all museums in UK is estimated in 2 billion pounds (globally, heritage tourism contributes over £20 billion to GDP,

more than the advertising or car industry); direct (£ 715 million) plus indirect (£ 565 million) revenue of National Museums attains £ 1,28 billion (to compare with Post Office revenue: c. £ 700 million, and to calibrate with the public spend in the same museums: £ 650 million); free entrance policies, consistently supported by governments of different political orientation over more than one decade, have given rise to gains of about £ 3,5 in economy for each pound lost in tickets.

The same figures can be found in other continents. The USA example is particularly suggestive, because most of their museums are private or associative and, consequently, much more dependent on direct revenues. According to the reports delivered by the American Alliance of Museums (AAM): museums employ more than 400,000 Americans; directly contribute with \$21 billion to the U.S. economy each year and generate billions more through indirect spending by their visitors> in addition, they generate more economy flow than all other cultural devices, since visitors to museums spend 63% more on average than other leisure travelers; together with arts and cultural production, contribute with 3.2 percent of the nation's entire economy, a \$504 billion industry; etc.

Nevertheless, the fact is that museums in USA are struggling to meet community needs. AAM informs that despite growth in the economy overall, more than two-thirds of the 17500 American museums reported economic stress at their institutions in 2012. That's also why the same Association in its dynamic lobbying action in favor of museums, promotes campaigns directed towards the public in general and most particularly to policy makers, namely elected deputies and senators, with slogans like "Museums Serve the Public", "Are Trustworthy", "Are Popular", "Educate Communities", "Partner with Schools", "Serve Every Community"...

As in USA, European museums are also struggling to meet community needs. The reasons are the same, added to challenges derived from the recent spread of a kind of "liberal tendency", promoting the confrontation with an "old-fashioned" European way of conceiving the role of public services in relation to culture and museums within it. In fact, worldwide general societal changes have deeper consequences in Europe because of the departure point and the longstanding tradition of the so-called "welfare state", bismarkian in origin, but subsequently adopted by almost all political dominating forces and regimes, from Socialism to Christian-Democracy. An entire new social frame is being installed everywhere and in Europe: the favoring of the instant instead of the long term; the "digital era" and the competition with new cultural and entertainment offers; new concepts of efficiency and efficacy; new views in relation to the geometry of the functions of public administrations in relation to Culture... And,

of course, the crisis emerged since 2008, ironically in America, but with its deepest consequences in Europe, or at least in some European regions and countries.

The impact of the *crisis* in museums at the so-called European “peripheral countries” can be summarized in the following terms: (A) At central administration level, (a1) extinction of the high administrative organisms specialized in different cultural heritage domains (museums, archaeology, architecture, etc.), all amalgamated in global General-Directions for Cultural Heritage; (a2) strengthening of administrative centralism, with museums losing their own staff (legal affiliation of staff being transferred to central structures), budget (global budgets are implemented), fiscal identity, autonomy to fully manage partnership projects and to directly collect sponsorship resources, and in some cases fully dedicated directorship; (a3) virtual impossibility to recruit new staff, at all levels (generation gap; incapacity to take advantage from the new highly educated young generations); (a4) diminishing of budgetary resources, almost limited to basic permanent needs (virtual incapacity for programming); (a5) diminishing of facilities to visit museums (i.e.: reduction of free entrances). (B) At local administration level: (b1) risk of effective closing of museums; (b2) dramatic reduction of personnel (in extreme cases, inexistence of upper graduate staff); (b3) lost of juridical and functional autonomy. (C) At private level: (c1) risk of closing museums and selling collections; (c2) dramatic increase of antiquities exportation (legally and illegally).

Regardless all of this, the fact is that this crisis, as all critical moments, can also be taken as an opportunity to experiment and eventually adopt new ways of conducting and future-building. And, in this sense, it is now time to consider new paths. One of these will still be the claiming for public-state involvement in museums. This was the focus of the *Lisbon Declaration* already mentioned. Another one, maybe more decisive than ever, is community involvement. Museums, which have always been projects of shared collective memory, civic in nature, must reemphasize and maybe redefine themselves as cultural community developmental centers. And volunteering plays a pivotal role in this sense. The Saurer Museum, Arbon, Switzerland <sup>5</sup> is to be referred as a paradigmatic example in this respect. The Saurer truck company was the major employer in Arbon and district until its closure in 1987. Over 6,000 people lost their jobs and a very large complex of industrial buildings occupying a large part of the city was left without a purpose. Opened in May 2010 after a fundraising campaign which realized 400,000 Euros, the new museum, 100% run by volunteers, is located in a former company workshop. In recent years with the adoption of the ICOM Code of Ethics, with professional advice and new conservation

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<sup>5</sup> [www.saurermuseum.ch](http://www.saurermuseum.ch)

practices, the museum has formulated a development plan which has at its heart the reliance on volunteerism. The museum has a clear policy of financial sustainability – it intends to remain voluntary - and it has plans to obtain for displays in another part of the complex which is scheduled for conservation and development. The social value of the Saurer Museum in helping to restore the morale of the city is priceless.

But volunteering is only part of the solution and cautions must be taken to not to confound it with cheaper labor or diminished professional standards. Scientific research, either fundamental as applied, as well as professionalism are absolutely decisive for building the future of museums. And in fact, this is been done. Several reports launched in recent years make large and detailed inventories of paths to be followed. Two of these deserve mention in this context (both available on the Internet): the report by the Netherlands' Asscher-Vonk II steering committee, translated to English and distributed in Europe by NEMO – Network of European Museums Organizations (2013) and the report n° 7 (New trends in museums of the 21st century) of LEM-The Learning Museum (a permanent network and webspace for museums and adult educators originated in the frame of Program Grundtvig). A lot of refreshing proposals are to be found there. These reports include a complete list of suggestions, going from basic issues, like sustainability (see for instance the suggestive and useful checklist of questions presented by Massimo Negri on this topic in the LEM report), to all others focused on strategic activities, aiming to develop networks and cooperation, creating new relations between museums and territories, promoting human resources and improving professional skills, travelling exhibitions (with international funding), reusing and exchanging equipment, reevaluating collections (considering inclusive the extremely sensitive question of deaccessioning, understood not in the simple sense of “raising money for survival”, but as an intelligent response to the uncontrolled proliferation of collections – see again Massimo Negri in the supra-referred paper). Positive actions can include displaying collections of museums under renovation in other museums, sharing researchers or other staff, launching projects with the tourism sector, developing shared services such as restoration, digitization, insurance and more, thereby developing the skill and expertise of museums towards assessing, project building, local cultural development, etc.

Particular reference has to be made to partnerships and networking, which is the focus of the Asscher-Vonk II report. The experiences here can align from simple “*ad-hoc* cooperation” to “merging” (with networks, programming cooperation and institutional cooperation in between). Advantages of cooperation are organized in this report along four axes: lower costs, higher revenues, greater

efficiencies; sharing knowledge and joining forces; wider and new audiences; greater visibility of collections. In each axis, concrete activities are listed in order to achieve the goals. In the first are referred: facility management services, economies of scale, storage facilities, purchasing collection pieces together, profitability of knowledge and expertise abilities, joint investment, searching beyond familiar subsidies. In the second: developing joint programs, enlarged partnerships outside the museum sector, including the fast-growing and well-funded creative industries. In the third: collective promotion, joint ticket sales, discounts, tourist packages, city marketing, special programs for senior citizens and packages including transports (coach, train, etc). Finally, relating the fourth axis: digital exposure, physical transfer of collections, and taking advantage of collections storage.

Merging would appear as the ultimate level of cooperation. Besides its potentially culturally enriching nature and its evident scale economies, merging is presumed to allow for more rational levels in the offering of public services, especially in small communities. But merging can also be enormously damaging for museums, individual or globally speaking. It is, thus, crucial to carefully consider the benefits and possible damages of merging on a case-by-case basis. Firstly, it is necessary to clarify what we are really talking about when considering merging. Between museums, maintaining their specific image or giving rise to new museums? Between museums and other non-profit cultural entities (libraries, archives), giving rise to new institutional frameworks? Or merging between museums and other private, for-profit entities (commercial galleries, cultural centers, etc.), giving rise to... museums, or not? In other words: what are the limits of merging? Can museum collections be placed at the service of projects (public or private) that are exclusively driven by commercial criteria?

My clear response to the last question is a negative one. In fact, I think that the future of museums must be seen combining audacity with authenticity. In this sense, as expressed elsewhere <sup>6</sup>, I believe that a few cautionary final telegraphic thoughts maybe be useful, in order to avoid “throwing the baby out with the bath water”.

**Public policies:** Have to be still considered as crucial; It would be a mistake to believe that the role of international public entities and nation-state administrations have been overtaken by a trend towards liberalism in an increasing number of countries and regions; If there is a sphere in which public interest must be emphasized, it is the one of memory and heritage. New strategies are needed for

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<sup>6</sup> Raposo, Luis (2014) – “Facing the crossroads: Museums, crisis and finances”. *ICOM News*, vol. 67, no.3, September 2014. [http://archives.icom.museum/icomnews2014-3\\_eng/index.html#/10-11/](http://archives.icom.museum/icomnews2014-3_eng/index.html#/10-11/)

financing. Some examples already in practice are: Taxes on some goods related to private copying, percentages in lotteries, direct relationships with tourism revenue, etc.

**Back to basics:** The basics in museums are collections and communities. Both constitute a strong link, and they are able to resist to all kind of crisis, either financial or political. While each community, conceived of local or nationally, continues to feel represented in and by a particular museum, this same museum continues to feed the ties, the roots indeed of the community, and so the future of both is guaranteed.

**New management practices:** Autonomy and responsibility are the key-concepts. They provide the adequate framework in which to promote new managerial procedures in order to procure the hunt for new funding resources through partnerships, new merchandising, new temporary and even new “blockbuster” exhibitions (which are nevertheless particularly problematic).

**Rebuilding optimism:** citizenship and “market” can be compatible, as evidenced in an increasing number of museums in the US and Europe, where free entrance has led to a significant rise in visitors and social visibility, bringing about increased cash flow derived from shops, social events and expertise services. The question is not so much to focus exclusively on past and probably lost ways of social living. Nor should one should ever forget that the fulfillment of human expectations, rather than goods, is the most perennial gauge in assessing all systems. Surely this fact should also be taken into account when considering the future of museums.

Figures

Fig. 1 – **Percentage of Investment in Culture (%) in relation to GDP**

Fig. 2 – **Comparative ranking of investment in Culture and Education in relation to GDP**

Fig. 3 – **Number of museums per 100 000 inhabitants**

Fig. 4 – **Number of visitors per 100 000 inhabitants**

Fig. 5 – **Percentage of free entrance in museums**

Fig. 6 – **Percentage of workers in museums and libraries within the cultural sector**

Fig. 7 – **Average number of workers per museum**

Fig. 8 – **Average percentage of graduate workers per museum**

Fig. 9 – **Twenty most visited thematic parks**

Fig. 10 – **Twenty most visited museums**

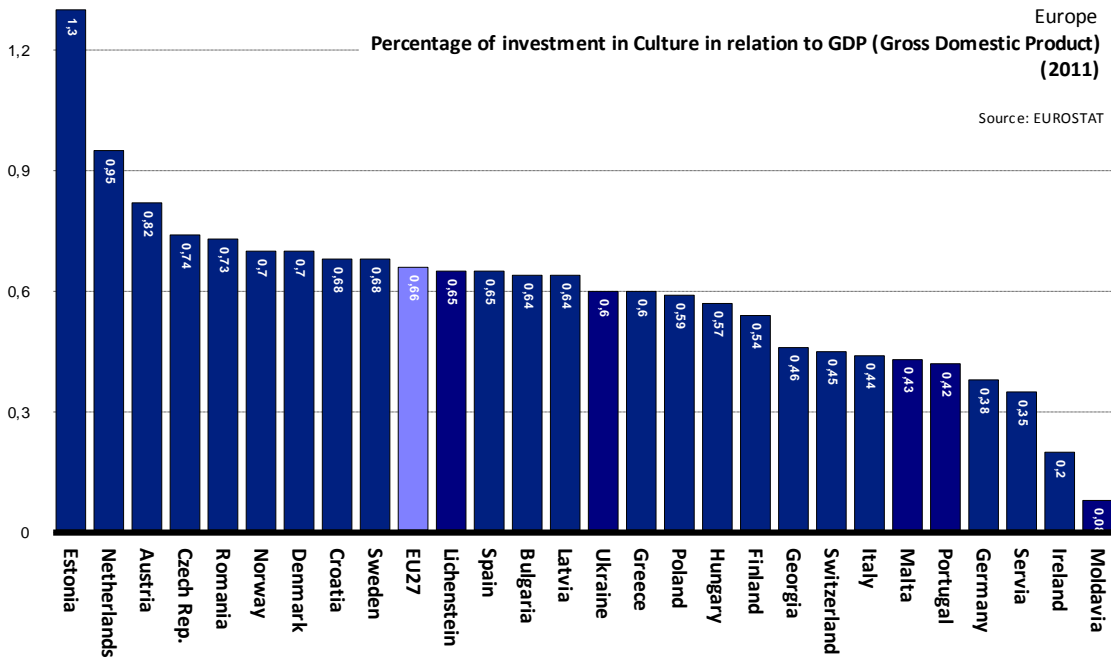


Fig. 1

Europe  
Comparative ranking of investment in Culture and Education in relation to percentage of GDP  
among 25 European countries (1 to 25 = from best to worst position)  
(2011)

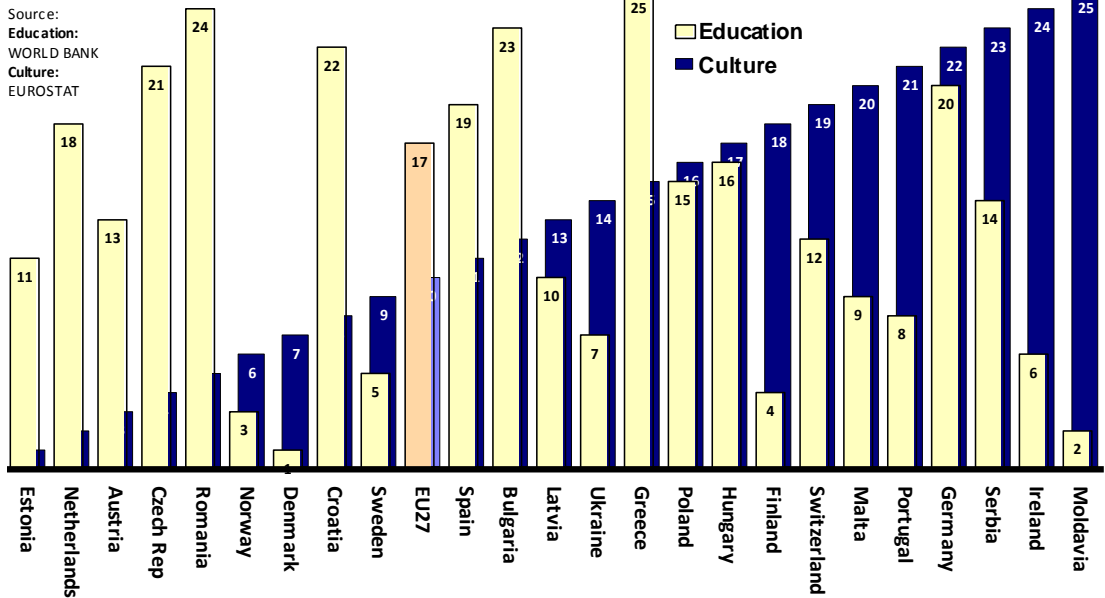


Fig. 2

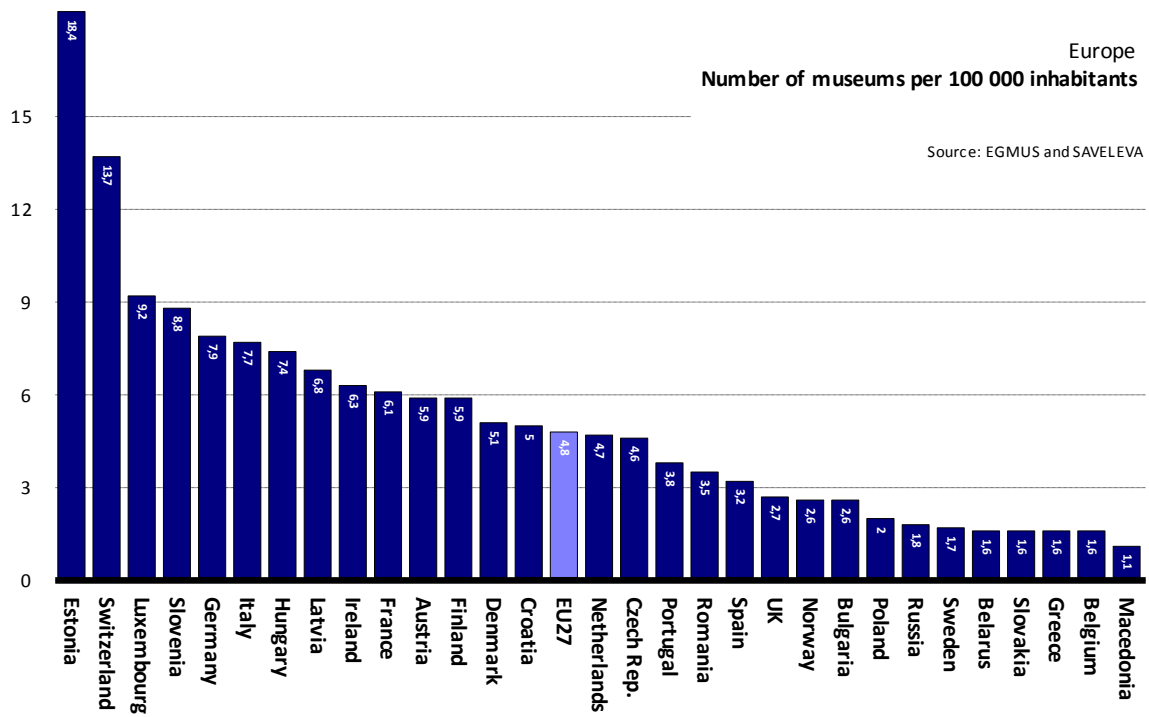


Fig. 3

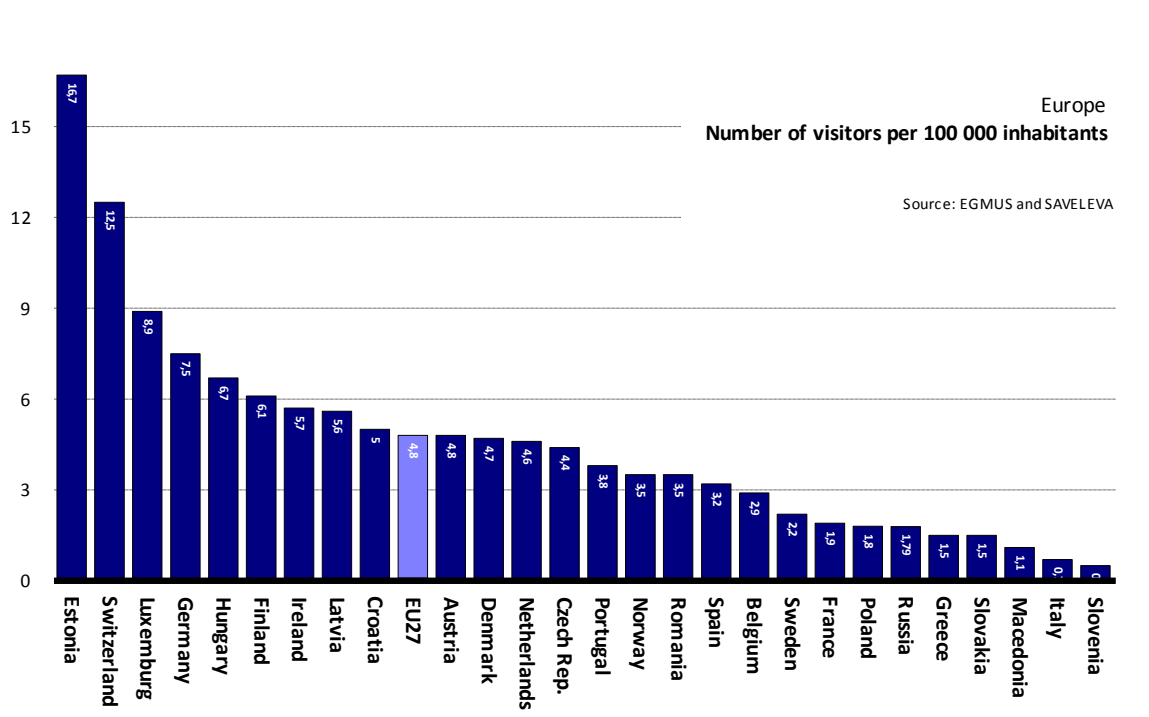




Fig. 4

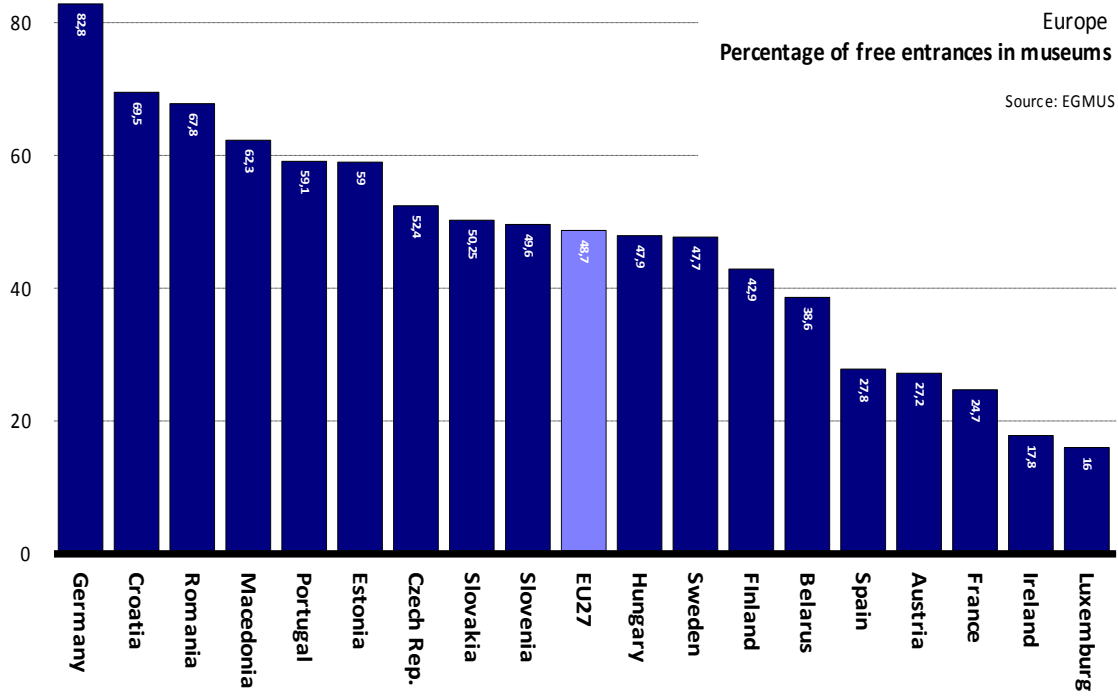


Fig. 5

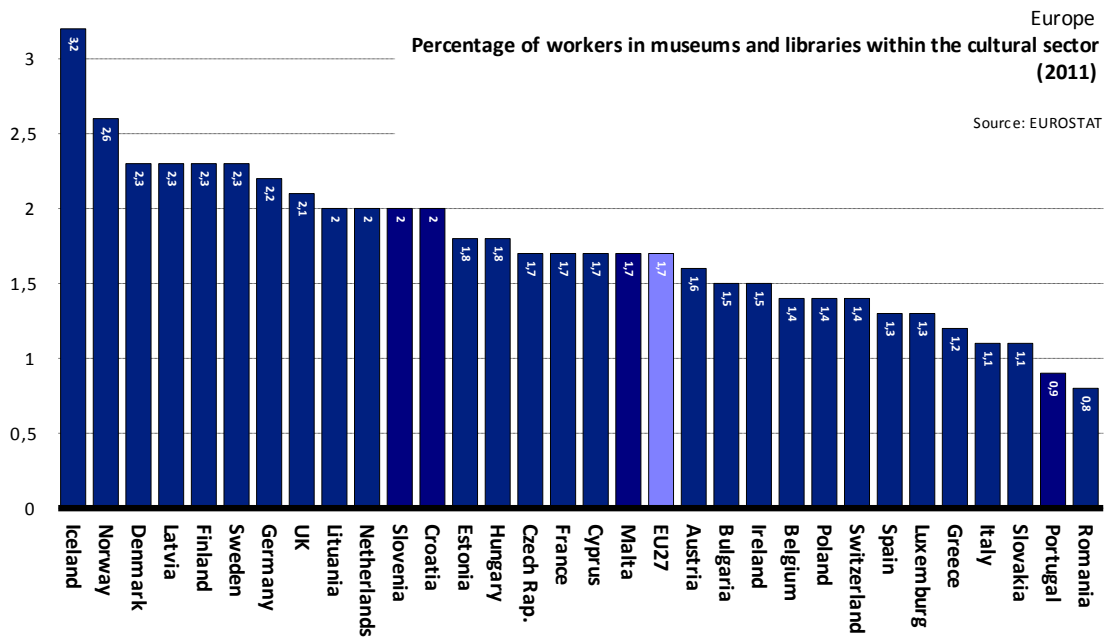


Fig. 6

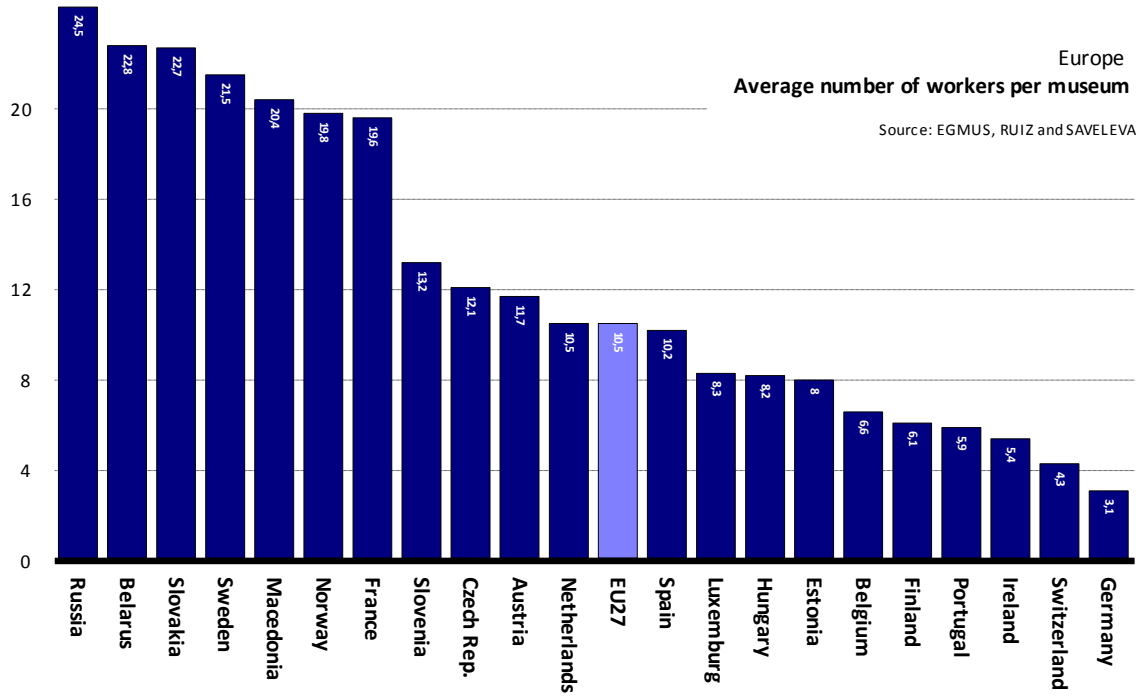


Fig. 7

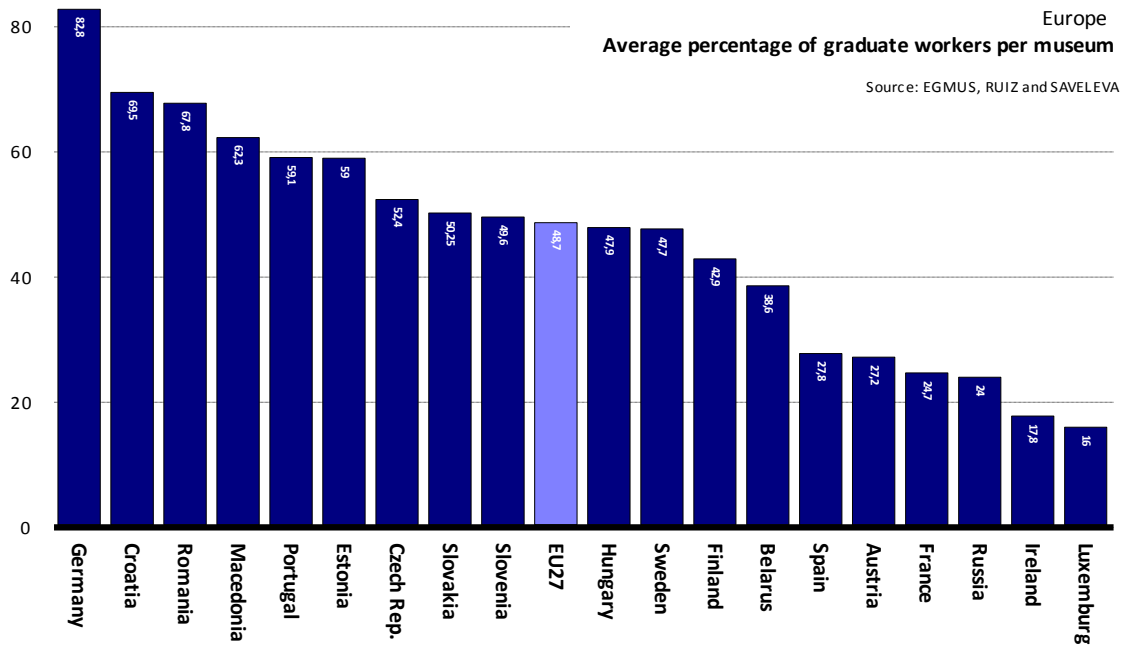


Fig. 8

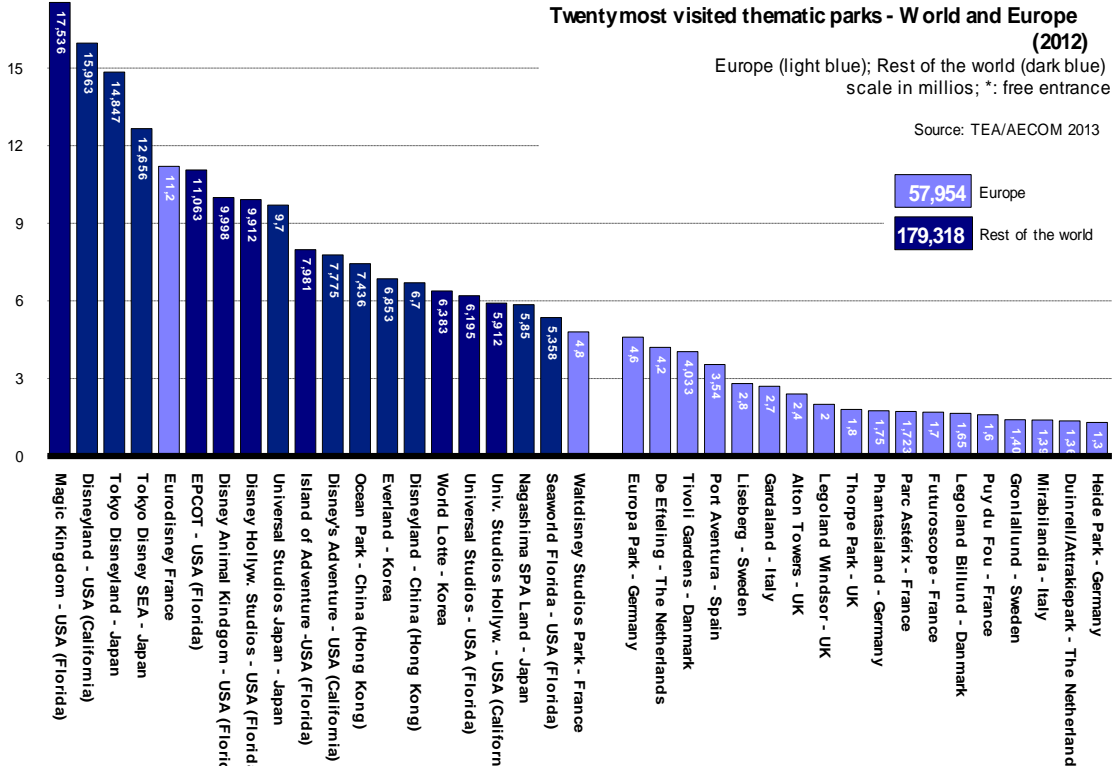


Fig. 9

### Twenty most visited museums - World and Europe (2012)

Europe (light blue); Rest of the world (dark blue)  
scale in millions; \*: free entrance

Source: TEA/AECOM 2013

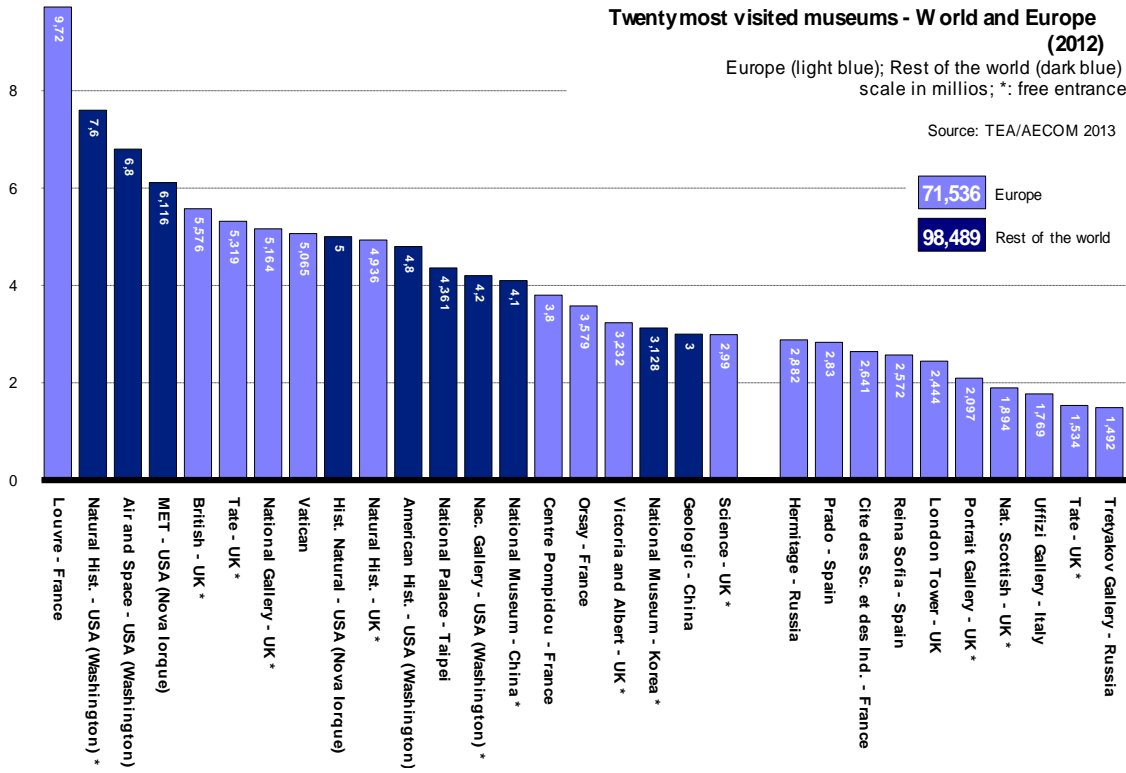


Fig. 10

## **Museums as *holy sites* of modern-day self-reassurance A plea for an extension of the ICOM Code of Ethics**

### **Introduction**

"Our everyday life is determined to a large extent by architecture that surrounds us every day. [...] The architecture provides the necessary framework within which we move. Without architecture, human society would be inconceivable. "<sup>7</sup>

Architecture touches a variety of social dimensions simultaneously:

Architecture organizes our togetherness

Architecture conditions our perception skills

Architecture transports philosophy

Architecture embodies knowledge

Architecture of the past centuries surrounds us as an essential and always visible part of the history

### **From Stonehenge to Vienna – Great building projects in history**

What have been the great building projects in history? There are the cult sites of the stone age and the bronze age like Stonehenge; The pyramids of Egypt; The cathedrals of the Middle Ages in Europe; The factories and railway stations of the 19th century.

Since the mid-19th century museums become something like *cathedrals for the glorification of knowledge*: The museums of that time look like temples or castles – dedicated to the supposedly objective science in the age of the Industrial Revolution.<sup>8</sup> Adam Philippe Custine, (1742 - 1793) – a french general – once stated: "The architecture is the physiognomy of nations."<sup>9</sup>

That makes it clear: Architecture is Politics.

All these architectural landmarks have a high symbolic importance. For that reason the architects have competed in this discipline for the last 250 years. There is probably no other building project as

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<sup>7</sup> Jürgen Tietz: Geschichte der modernen Architektur des 20. Jahrhundert, 1998.

<sup>8</sup> Meyer, Andrea und Bénédicte Savoy (Hg.), The Museum is open. Towards a Transnational History of Museums, 1750-1940, Berlin/Boston, 2013.

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.architektur-schweiz.ch/de/news-archiv/detail/43/>

fascinating as the development of museum architecture. But the old saying of Louis Sullivan, *Form follows Function* seems to have less and less validity. Museum architectures are nowadays often more sculptural installations in public spaces – they are marking their symbolic sovereignty. But isn't there a gap of primary museological functionality?

### **Significance and Danger**

Significance of architecture is always visible – which can lead to dangerous situations. To give just a few examples: The Twin Towers (New York, 2001), the Buddha Statues (Afghanistan, 2001), the Krak de Chevalier (Syria, 2013), the Mallawi Museum (Egypt 2014)... Each of us can give more examples for the destruction of architecture and for the destruction of cultural sites. Architecture seems to be synonymous for civilization. That is why ritual destruction of architecture is such a powerful and significant sign.

### **The ICOM Code of Ethics and Architecture**

What is about ICOM and architecture? We all know the cornerstones of the Code of Ethics: preserving, interpreting, promoting. The whole Code of Ethics has about 33811 words in total. And, no surprise, you will find the word *Museum* (176 hits). You can find other keywords of museology: *collection/collecting* (86 hits), *objects* (37 hits), *acquisition* (10 hits), *documentation* (10 hits), *research* (9 hits), *exhibition* (8 hits), *conservation* (8 hits) as well. This short analysis of the Code of Ethics makes it clear: Many new challenges of the 21st. century are not mentioned there. Even the topic of architecture is not mentioned there at all.<sup>10</sup>

But what about the other new challenges for museums in the 21<sup>st</sup> century?

In the 1970<sup>th</sup> Joseph Beuys formulated the *Expansion of the Concept of Art*.<sup>11</sup> Maybe it could be the right time, to expand the *ICOM Canon for Museums...*

Because architecture is:

a permanent obligation

a topic with long term effects

a large investment

and last but not least: architecture has a high symbolic significance.

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<sup>10</sup> For realizing this little analysis the program: <http://www.wordcounter.com> was used.

<sup>11</sup> Johannes Stüttgen: *Zeitstau. Im Kraftfeld des erweiterten Kunstbegriffs von Joseph Beuys*. FIU-Verlag, Wangen 1998.

## **Museums as places of self-reassurance**

A brief overview of the architecture of museum for the last 250 years makes it clear: From the long history of museology there are a great number of old buildings that need to be gradually adapted to the demands of the 21<sup>st</sup> century and, as we are living in the *Age of longing for Identity and Meaning*, there are many new construction projects for museums and creative clusters. It would be a great opportunity for ICOM to contribute as the global network of museum professionals with its actual competence in both fields: In the more visitor-oriented development of older buildings and in the sustainable development of new buildings.

### **Some examples**

#### **Museum Fridericianum (Kassel/Germany)**

Built in 1779 as one of the earliest museum buildings on the european continent. The building was destroyed in World War II and restored in a manner that would no longer meet today's demands. Since the founding of the DOCUMENTA in 1955 it is the main venue of the largest exhibition of contemporary art.



Source: <http://museum-kassel.de/admin/userimages/Image/lustik/Fridericianum%2001109.JPG>

#### **Altes Museum (Berlin/Germany)**

Built in 1830 by Karl-Friedrich Schinkel as the first public museum in Prussia. The characteristic architecture based on the shape of a Greek temple has formed a template for many other museums to follow at that time.



Source: <http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-uoujz9ca6A8/UGReWEMdtJI/AAAAAAAAAFDs/dD1IDC682hI/s1600/altres-museum-berlin.jpg>

### **Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (New York/USA)**

The building by Frank Lloyd Wright opened in 1959 is undoubtedly a milestone in the museum architecture of modernity. It seems to be the *walkable sculpture 1.0* with a high level of symbolic iconography. The up to then unspoken law that the walls of museums have to be straight, was suspended by this building with impressive ease.



Source: <http://nyogalleristny.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/87225838.jpg>



### **Centre Pompidou (Paris/France)**

Built in 1977 by Richard Rogers and Renzo Piano. If anyone is looking for a depiction of what Gottfried Korff once named „Factory of Identity“ one will find it here.<sup>12</sup> The former minister of culture, Jean-Jacques Aillagon, once had said „Without the Centre Pompidou there wouldn't be the Guggenheim Bilbao.“<sup>13</sup>



### **Louvre Pyramide (Paris/France)**

Built in 1989 by Ieoh Ming Pei. The Pyramide of the Louvre is an interesting example for an intervention of modernity in old architecture. It is an innovative measure for audience development and – after years – a masterpiece of re-branding the Louvre.

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<sup>12</sup> Gottfried Korff und Martin Roth (Hg.): Das historische Museum: Labor, Schaubühne, Identitätsfabrik. Campus Verlag, Frankfurt/Main 1990.

<sup>13</sup> [http://www.memoireonline.com/02/12/5400/m\\_patrimoine-et-musees-opportunités-politiques-culturelles-economiques-et-touristiques-au-servi4.html](http://www.memoireonline.com/02/12/5400/m_patrimoine-et-musees-opportunités-politiques-culturelles-economiques-et-touristiques-au-servi4.html) and [http://jean-jacques-aillagon.typepad.fr/le\\_blog\\_de\\_jeanjacques\\_ai/2010/05/index.html](http://jean-jacques-aillagon.typepad.fr/le_blog_de_jeanjacques_ai/2010/05/index.html)



Source:

[http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/00/Louvre\\_2007\\_02\\_24\\_c.jpg](http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/00/Louvre_2007_02_24_c.jpg)

### **Guggenheim (Bilbao/Spain)**

Built in 1997 by Frank O. Gehry. It is nothing less than the milestone of the milestones, a walkable sculpture 2.0. A landmark, which neglects the core tasks of museums. But at the same time a role model for creative clusters.



Source: [http://www.turismoenfotos.com/items/espana/bilbao/5874\\_museo-guggenheim/full/5/](http://www.turismoenfotos.com/items/espana/bilbao/5874_museo-guggenheim/full/5/)

### **Great Court at the British Museum (London/Great Britain)**

Built by Sir Norman Foster in 2001. The Domed Roof and the Great Court are a good example for redeveloping a historical building and to densify an urban space – the museum of the 21th century as a market place.



Source: [http://inspireconversation.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/British\\_Museum\\_Dome.jpg](http://inspireconversation.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/British_Museum_Dome.jpg)

### **Mercedes Benz Museum (Stuttgart/Germany)**

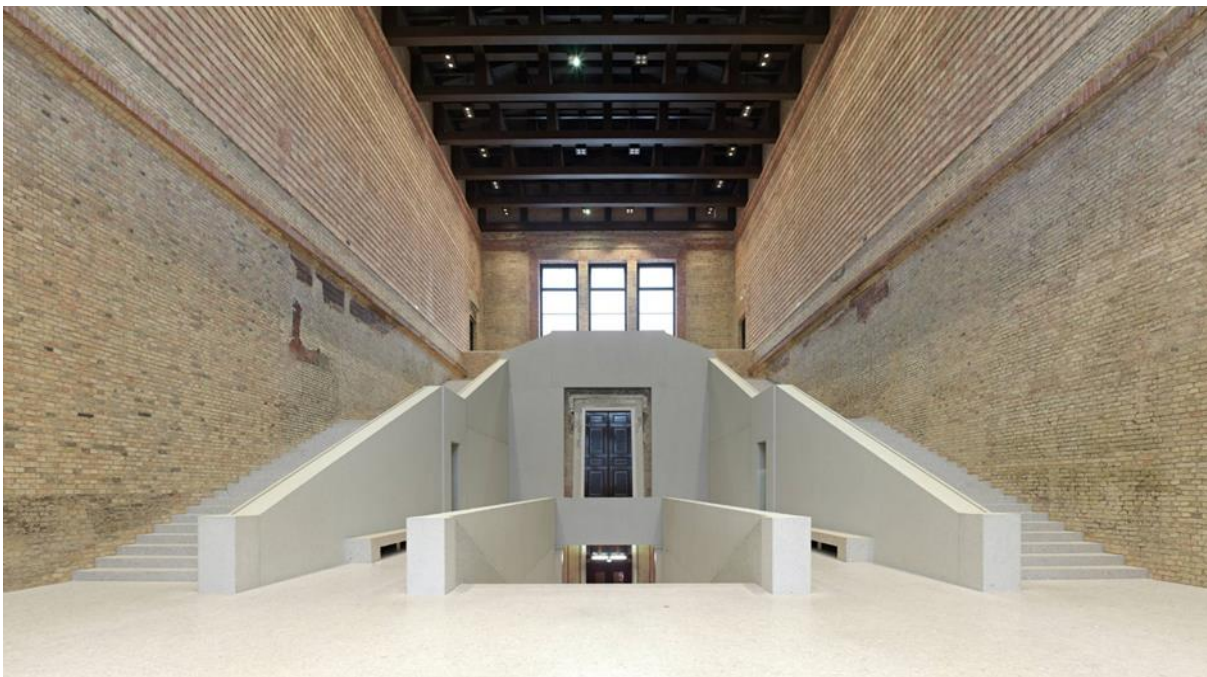
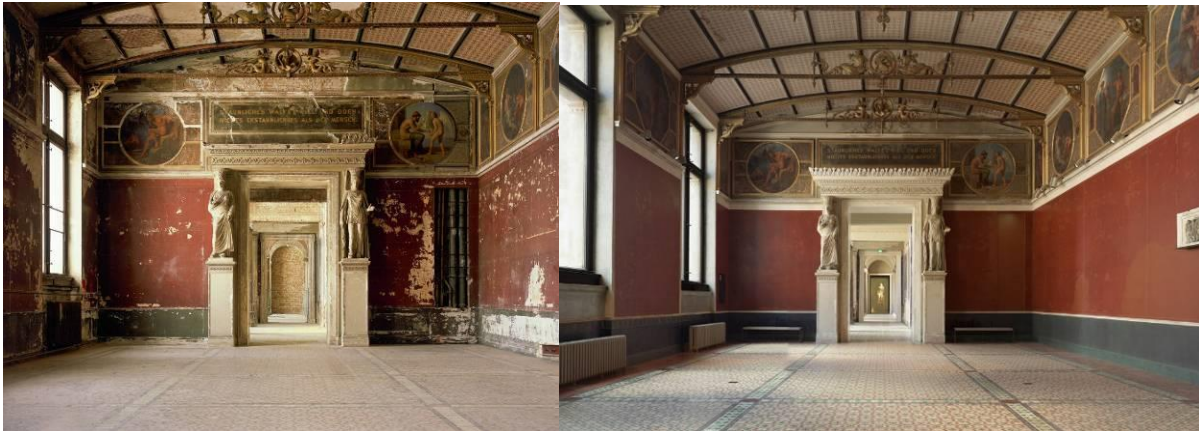
Built in 2006 by Ben van Berkel. This building is an example of a new type of institution: Half a brand center and half a museum – a *factory of corporate identity*.



Source: Courtesy of Mercedes Benz AG, Stuttgart

### Neues Museum (Berlin/Germany)

Reopened in 2009 by David Chipperfield. A „complementary restoration“<sup>14</sup>, a „fragile sensation“.<sup>15</sup> In many ways it is a unique project, because there is no other museum in the world, which has been a ruin for over 60 years. The whole building is a special combination of perfection and romantic ruins. The walls are *talking* because the different layers of the architecture are giving witness of the history of the construction, the damaging and the re- functionalization of the building. And last but not least: the new room for Nefretete is scenography at its best.



<sup>14</sup> <http://www.museumsinsel-berlin.de/en/buildings/neues-museum/> and <http://www.darkmatter101.org/site/2013/11/18/staging-with-artefacts-production-of-history-on-the-museum-island-in-berlin-part-2/>.

<sup>15</sup> <http://www.zeit.de/2009/10/Neues-Museum>



### **Louvre Abu Dhabi (Abu Dhabi/ United Arab Emirates)**

This transnational project will be finished in 2015 by the architect Jean Nouvel. In my opinion it is a role model for nation building – a beginning of collecting and a beginning of the construction at the same time. On the other hand it is a franchising project together with the Louvre.



**Source:** Courtesy of Ateliers Jean Nouvel, Paris

### **M+ museum (Hongkong/ Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China)**

This building project by Herzog & De Meuron. It is built on a artificial island named *Nature of Second Order*. It seems to become an apotheosis, more a *creative cluster* than a museum in a narrower sense. The *brand essence* of the museum is used to develop the area of the city.



Source:

[https://www.google.com/search?q=M%2B+Herzog%26DeMeuron&newwindow=1&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ei=99bbU-TBMiid0QXI94DABA&ved=0CAoQ\\_AUoAw&biw=1366&bih=624](https://www.google.com/search?q=M%2B+Herzog%26DeMeuron&newwindow=1&source=lnms&tbn=isch&sa=X&ei=99bbU-TBMiid0QXI94DABA&ved=0CAoQ_AUoAw&biw=1366&bih=624)

### **National September 11 Memorial and Museum (New York /US)**

This project by Handel Architects, Peter Walker and Partners, Davis Brody Bond Snøhetta is a multifunctional site: a place, a space, a void, a memorial and a museum at the same time. The museums is opened for the public since May 2014.



Source:

[http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/National\\_September\\_11\\_Memorial\\_and\\_Museum#mediaviewer/File:WTCmemorialJune2012.p](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_September_11_Memorial_and_Museum#mediaviewer/File:WTCmemorialJune2012.png)

[ng](#)

### **What are the lessons of this brief overview?**

There is a great number of old museum buildings that need to be gradually adapted to the demands of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

We are living now in *the age of longing for identity and meaning*. There are many new construction projects for museums and creative clusters all over the world.

Museums are not only part of the cultural sector. They are a vibrant part global tourism and nation branding – that means, they are a necessary part of the economical sector.

Therefore; it would be a great chance for ICOM to contribute as the global network of museum professionals with its actual competence in both fields: the more audience focused development of the older buildings and concepts and the more museological functionality of the upcoming projects.

*Nothing is more constant than change*. Charles Darwin once said. This also applies to museums and their ever-changing functionality within the respective society. Museums are often encouraged and supported by public funding. For this reason, museums have always been political places as well.

I think it is important that we – as museum professionals – recognize this political potential of museums not only as a problem but also as a positive challenge. It is important to distinguish the social relevance of museums as a place of education, identification, self-discovery and self-reassurance by adapting the good roots of museology of the past 250 years to the needs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This is an ongoing process of balancing different interests: In the most trivial sense it is balancing between the holistic function of museums and politics.<sup>16</sup>

It would be helpful if trend-setting remarks could be made in the ICOM-*Code of Ethics* of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

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<sup>16</sup> The book of Ray Oldenburg about the *Third Places* may give us a vibrant inspiration about the important function that museums could perform in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Oldenburg, Ray (1989): *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts, and How They Get You Through the Day*. New York.

## **Is there a future for museum ethics?**

In 1925 the American Association of Museums, the largest professional organization for museums in the US, adopted a “Code of Ethics for Museum Workers.” It defined museums as “institutions which hold their possessions in trust for mankind and for the future welfare of the race,”<sup>17</sup> and outlined principles of conduct relating to relationships of the museum with the public, between museums, of the director to the trustees, of the director to the staff, of the staff to the director, and between members of the staff.

Since then this professional code has been rewritten and revised twice, in the 1970s and the 1990s. According to AAM, the 1991 “Code of Ethics for Museums” is the organization’s “formal statement of the ethical principles museums and museum professionals are expected to observe....[It] outlines ethical principles that should be incorporated into each museum’s own institutional code of ethics.<sup>18</sup>” Unlike the International Council of Museum’s Code of Ethics, the AAM Code is relatively brief, outlining broad principles of conduct that are non-prescriptive and general. Since 1997 it has been a requirement of the American Alliance of Museum’s Accreditation Program that each U.S. museum create and follow its own code that is based upon the standards set out in AAM’s general Code.

Yet, if this is the case, something has gone terribly wrong, for in recent years, museums have frequently come under public scrutiny for what is perceived to be questionable or unethical behavior. Headlines in the media declare:

“A Possible Conflict By Museums In Art Sales”<sup>19</sup>

“Delaware Art Museum’s Deaccession Debacle,”<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> American Association of Museums, “Code of Ethics for Museum Workers,” New York City: The American Association of Museums, 1925, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> American Alliance of Museums, “What are Ethics?” <http://www.aam-us.org/resources/ethics-standards-and-best-practices/ethics>

<sup>19</sup> Judith H. Dobrzynski, “A Possible Conflict By Museums in Art Sales,” *The New York Times*, February 21, 2000, <http://www.nytimes.com/2000/02/21/arts/a-possible-conflict-by-museums-in-art-sales.html?module=Search&mabReward=relbias%3Ar%2C%7B%221%22%3A%22RI%3A8%22%7D>



“For the St. Louis Art Museum, a Legal Victory Raises Ethical Questions”<sup>21</sup>

Are our professional standards slipping? Are museums simply ignoring their own codes of ethics? Or is the public’s understanding of museum ethics out of synch with those of practitioners, thus inevitably leading to conflict and dramatic headlines?

In the spring of 2011, questions like these led Seton Hall University’s Institute of Museum Ethics to approach the Center for the Future of Museums at the American Alliance of Museums about exploring the trends shaping our understanding of ethics, museum behavior, and public expectations<sup>22</sup>. We agreed that ethics and standards change over time and wondered how the shifting global economy as well as existing and projected demographic changes, computer technology and the social media, and an increasing awareness of the need to live in a manner that lessens our impact upon the environment, have affected and will affect museum practices. We speculated that it would not be surprising to find that the ethical principles that guided professional practice just over ten years ago when AAM updated its Code of Ethics might be changing and might continue to change dramatically over the next fifteen to twenty-five years. And we wondered if those changes might be anticipated.

Knowing that museum professionals frequently make decisions with ethical implications, we also realized that we tend to think together about these issues only when a crisis occurs. We asked if there might be something that we could do to start a constructive and progressive dialogue about ethics in our field and decided to embark upon a forecasting exercise to see if we could identify some of the critical issues that may need to be addressed in order for our ethical principles to be more effective and helpful.

### **Forecasting**

Forecasting is a tool that creates a picture of what our future might look like. For this forecast on the future of museums, we used what is called the Delphi Method, a set of structured communications that draw upon the knowledge and opinions of a panel of experts. Our exercise had three phases – first

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<sup>20</sup> CultureGrrl (Lee Rosenbaum), “Delaware Museum’s Deaccession Debacle: The Impotence of AAMD,” *artsjournalblogs*, April 7, 2014.  
<http://www.artsjournal.com/culturegrrl/2014/04/delaware-art-museums-deaccession-debacle-the-impotence-of-aamd.html>

<sup>21</sup> Malcolm Gay, “For St. Louis Art Museum, a Legal Victory Raises Ethical Questions,” *The Atlantic*, May 30, 2012,  
<http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2012/05/for-the-st-louis-art-museum-a-legal-victory-raises-ethical-questions/257839/>

<sup>22</sup> This paper and the report of which it will be a part have benefitted enormously from the collegial dialogue, debate, drafts, comments and suggestions of Elizabeth Merritt, Founding Director of the Center for the Future of Museums at the American Alliance of Museums, as well as from Phil Katz, and Eric Ledbetter.

we gathered a list of ethical issues, then prioritized them, and finally elicited a discussion of these issues: how the issues might change as the years go by, and what their implications might be for museums in the future. We also asked our participants to comment upon the external conditions (in the environment, in society, in the economy, and/or in politics) that will affect each of the issues.

To recruit our panel of experts we approached close to two hundred people in the United States and asked them to participate in the forecasting exercise. The group included emerging professionals as well as senior experts, educators, registrars, public relations staff, fundraisers and directors as well as professionals from related fields like librarians and archivists, attorneys, futurists, journalists, and ethicists. Of the two hundred, seventy-nine agreed to be ‘Oracles’ and participate in the exercise on the Internet. In a variation on the traditional Delphi technique, we also invited public participation and, in the end, had over one hundred members of the general public weigh in on various aspects of the project. In this paper, I refer to the Oracles and public commenters collectively as our forecasters.

The forecast identified five major issues likely to be of increasing importance to museums in the United States over the next ten to twenty-five years. They include: accessibility and diversity; conflict of interest; control of content; collecting and deaccessioning; and transparency and accountability in governance, operations, and finance. This paper will briefly discuss the results of this study, focusing upon control of content (including censorship and curatorial/museum authority). But first, what has changed and why?

### **Drivers of change**

Since the AAM Code of Ethics was published in 2000, our country and, indeed, the world have experienced dramatic events that have had a perceptible impact upon our personal and professional lives -- the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001; wars; hurricanes, earthquakes, and tsunamis; the rise of social media and growing impact of computer technology; and the worst economic crisis since the 1930s. All the while, the demographics of the U.S. continue to change – the population is aging and, at the same time, becoming more racially and ethnically diverse.

Our forecasters noted that as a result of September 11th as well as the devastating hurricanes, earthquakes and tsunamis that we have experienced in recent years, we have become more concerned with both the security and the state of the environment in which we live and work. Some of us have an increased concern about sustainability and what that might mean for our institutions as well as about “green” operations and conserving energy. Others fear that changes in climate might endanger their collections and make their maintenance and preservation an even larger challenge.

The question of audience was predominant in the minds of our forecasters. It came up in discussions of accessibility and diversity, social media, transparency, and collecting. They asked, who are our audiences and can we meet the challenges of serving them? An aging population, an increasing number of military veterans, and the rising rate at which cognitive and behavioral disabilities are diagnosed in children test museums' ability to provide equal access to their exhibitions and programs. At the same time, the projection that the U.S. in 2050 will become a country in which no single racial or ethnic group constitutes a majority raised concerns that museums' collections may soon not reflect the experiences of the people they want to serve.

As we come to take social media for granted part as an integral part of our lives, the public is growing to expect that more and more information will be freely available on the Internet. This includes the resources of museums. Expectations regarding participation have heightened, whether on-line or in museums. The ubiquitous use of hand-held mobile devices and the popularity of social media have fueled audiences' desire for participatory engagement, and for the opportunity to "curate their own experiences." Forecasters predicted that trends in crowdsourcing might result in challenges to the scholarly or curatorial authority upon which museums rely in providing trustworthy information to the public. They asked how much participation is too much? And finally, will a focus on social media exclude those who can't afford the latest smart phone or personal device?

Our forecasters observed that transparency has increasingly become the norm. The Internet has created an environment in which information is more freely shared; pressures for public accountability arising from political and economic scandals have led to an expectation of greater openness on the part of for-profit and nonprofit institutions alike; and supporters are more commonly demanding that the impact on the public of the programs they fund be demonstrable. How do we assess the difference that our programs and exhibitions make for our audiences?

Many of the forecasters just worried about survival as they see the resources that support their institutions and its activities shrink. Over five years after it started, the recession of 2008 continues to have a negative impact upon our nation's cultural institutions, both large and small. Museums are realizing that funding and financing strategies that have carried them through financial downturns in the past are no longer effective. With decreased government and philanthropic support, where can museums turn to not only maintain their operations but also to develop and grow? Will their audiences support them? Will the shift in the distribution of wealth in the country be an advantage or disadvantage? Will

those who have the financial wherewithal to help – whether they are individuals, foundations, corporations or governmental agencies – expect to have more influence in our day-to-day affairs?

Many of these questions go to the heart of what museums are and why they exist. Can a museum truly accomplish its purpose if it is held hostage to the personal preferences of its donors? Are we storehouses of collections of our cultural heritage or do we exist to make a difference in the lives of our constituents? Or can we be both, maintaining our integrity as independent educational institutions? The two need not be mutually exclusive, yet they can define two very different approaches to being a museum.

The trends identified in our forecast define the environment in which museums exist today and our forecasters predicted that these forces will continue to be important if not increase in importance over the next fifteen to twenty-five years. With this in mind, let us turn then to how these factors will have an impact upon the information that museums present to the public – the exhibitions and programs that define museums as our trusted cultural institutions.

### **Control of Content – Influence from Financial Supporters**

Issues relating to the control of content in museum exhibitions, programs and publications emerged in two of the discussions among the forecasters – first in comments relating to conflict of interest or how financial supporters of a museum influence the subjects that museums choose to engage or the content of museum projects. Forecasters envisioned a world in which the shifting economic tides will place ever greater pressure on museums to accommodate the interests of funders, especially the small percentage of Americans whose ability to give has not been significantly damaged by the recession. American museums operate with funds from a balance of sources – private individuals; foundations; businesses and corporations; local, state and federal government agencies; investments; and revenue earned from admissions and sales. This balance usually allows museums to weather economic downturns – when one source of income shrinks, another can be tapped to make it up. But the recession put unprecedented stress on all sources of income and, with individuals and families spending less, also put a strain on money realized from admissions and sales. In addition, a smaller number of individuals now control more money so museums may find the number of individual patrons not only shrinking but also under pressure from more charities who seek their support.

Some commenters warned that this concentration of wealth in a smaller number of people presents a threat for museums. Museums, with their duty to enhance public knowledge through exhibitions and programs, are in danger of violating the ethics regarding conflict of interest with greater

frequency. In this scenario, some forecasters predict that museums will allow donors to influence the subject and content of exhibitions. One noted, “It is already happening. Grant makers (who should know better) and individual donors” who haven’t been properly oriented “are seeking control of final content in exhibitions and publications.” Another noted, “We increasingly depend on these outside donors [corporations and wealthy individuals] for money and are often put in a place where we as scholars must give up some of our editorial control in order to put up an exhibit at all.” And yet another added, “Increasing financial pressure on museums will start us down a slippery slope where, step by step, we allow more “iffy” solutions in order to keep/attract donors, acquire objects, etc.” Perhaps because of the pressure to which some forecasters are already subject, they believe that cultural standards will shift. What might today be regarded as an abuse of authority by supporters may in the future simply be seen as the norm of doing business. In other words, current ethical standards related to the influence of donors on the content of exhibitions and programs presented in a museum will not continue to be a practical code of conduct. From an ethical standpoint, such a consequence would be disastrous for it would endanger the integrity of our institutions and undermine the trust invested in us by the public.

Forecasters predicted that museums will have to respond to ethical challenges related to conflicts of interest more often in the next twenty-five years and that external conditions that affect this trend will continue to change. One noted, that “the distinctions between profit and nonprofit will diminish, the distinction between individual gain and public good has already taken a nose dive, and “potential conflicts of interest” await every decision from the smallest to the most grandiose.” Another said, “With funding challenges, museums will be more likely to ally with for-profit institutions and apt to “sell out.”

Forecasters believe that globalization will also have an impact, “As financial resource balances shift to abroad, there will be challenges to seek global support sources for some museums. This means that...there may be new types of pressures due to political and cultural differences and expectations.” Globalization was also predicted to have other influences, “the emergence...of multinational corporate actors (be they economic or political) alongside a small oligarchy of philanthropist-patrons will tilt the balance in a way that will put museums in the occasional hard place of having to choose between patronage and autonomy.” Further, “an increasing number of corporate museums, religious-institution-founded museums, and other museums with close ties to founding organizations that would find it difficult to distinguish between the public good (museum goals) and the interests of the parent organization.”

Several felt the increasing income disparity in the United States between the top 1% of the population and the rest will affect art museums, especially, putting a burden on them to “to work harder than ever to insure that public collections are governed and managed with the best interest of the public at heart, rather than offering excessive benefit to leading supporters.” Others were distressed at art museums’ unwillingness to acknowledge their position of privilege and the perceptions that position creates. They noted that is at the heart of the reason for an increased concern about conflict of interest, “Because museums are generally the playground of the elite, including individuals and corporations, these conflicts of interest are bound to increase—that is, individuals and corporations using museums to pursue private interests, public respectability and strategic marketing objectives. One need only see the developing [of such] conflict in art galleries surrounding public collections, private collectors on the board, influence peddling with donations and purchases, etc. This is a matter of record, and museums/galleries appear to be sleepwalking into the future, apparently thinking that their privileged position in society will make up for their lack of transparency.”

This was seen by yet others not to be just an issue for art museums and galleries, but for museums as a whole and one forecaster predicted that this may challenge the trust placed in our institutions, “a more utilitarian view of museums will allow political entities, social groups and non-museum parent organizations more latitude in the ways they choose to exploit museum resources. As we see already, the public respect and trust granted to museums will be leveraged to serve those very narrow interests.”

Forecasters expect that the current standards regarding the exhibition of collections belonging to members of a museum’s governing authority, art dealers, or potential donors as well as those relating to conflicts of interest in development and fundraising will not suffice in future years. They recommended that the standards be changed to read, “A museum’s governing authority must ensure that no individual, political entity or business benefits at the expense of the museum’s mission, reputation or the community it serves.” It is clear that in order to retain their positions of trust, museums will have to resist the improper use of influence to sway the development of exhibitions on a particular topic or to manipulate the content of an exhibition.

### **Control of content – Public Participation**

The second discussion of the control of content involved several threads – The first focused upon a perceived tension between curatorial independence and scholarship by staff and academic experts versus community curation; the second upon public participation in content creation (e.g.,

crowdsourcing, participatory design) and the third upon censorship (changing or shaping intellectual content in response to pressure from the public, policy makers or media).

The content of museum exhibitions has conventionally been grounded in scholarship, presented through the lens of the curator. In recent years, it has become common practice for museums to seek the advice and input of other experts -- both from the academy and from communities whose interests are reflected in an exhibition -- to shape an exhibition's themes and narrative. Yet the forecasters predicted that the demand for participation by the public in the development of exhibitions is increasing and this demand will challenge curatorial independence and authority.

Some commentators felt that an increase in the sharing of authority and community involvement in content creation is a good thing, deepening investment in the museum and broadening the diversity of voices and perspectives. One forecaster, in particular, saw it as a spur to strengthening the museum's educational role rather than lessening it, "With more public involvement...will come more scrutiny of exhibit content. It will be a challenge to maintain intellectual control of collections and exhibit content/interpretation, but I believe it's crucial to [do that to uphold] the...museums' mission to educate."

Others characterized public participation as an erosive force leading to a relentless "race to the bottom," a calamitous degeneration of standards. These forecasters went so far to dismiss participatory design as a fad, and community curation as a "silly notion" that would soon fade away. But most view public participation in content creation as inevitable, pointing out that the rising generation of people "born digital" will simply create their own content if not welcomed into the museum arena.

The role of crowdsourcing was another area of contention. One forecaster declared, "Sharing authority will be the central issue for museums in the 21st century." Whether related to diversifying audiences, communicating more effectively, or adopting social media, public participation in content creation was seen by the forecasters as a paramount concern. One elaborated, "This is the area I think will see the greatest change, and the greatest challenges to traditional museum expectations. Stakeholder groups increasingly feel the past or their cultural present is theirs, challenging the assumption of a shared and common human past. They desire control of both collections and how those collections are interpreted and contextualized, and for whose benefit they are shown. These are fundamental moral and ethical issues, and allow no easy solutions."

Forecasters often tied public participation in the creation of content for museums to the need for museums to more actively engage the public in their exhibitions and programs, "As museums look for

ways to keep the public engaged, they will have to be more experimental in control of content. I could envision increased needs for diversity of perspectives, interpretation based on other factors besides art history; challenging the art historical canon to be more inclusive. Whether there are external factors or not, our institutions have a responsibility to embrace cultural equity.”

For others it was a communication issue, “Scholarly experts are not always the best at making information accessible, and I think we’ll see more museums relying on educators, interpreters, and public relations to deliver content in engaging ways.”

It is often a matter of diversifying perspectives relating to cultural heritage, “Crowdsourced projects, citizen science initiatives, and citizen curation will all be important in adapting to the increasing need to bring varied perspectives into the interpretation of cultural heritage. These methods will become the norm, not the exception.”

And, while forecasters see “pressure to include visitor responses to art through social media -- to democratize the interpretation of art – [as] a just ambition,” they believe that “the public will recognize the value of expertise and will reject the erosion of expertise in the explication of art.” As another commented, “Thanks to social technology, museums will have to put more trust in online and public audiences and relinquish control of content-- especially in regards to ideas, theories, and stories that may only be marginally related to presented content. I think that museums will find a way to do this and serve more as moderators rather than content-controllers.”

Forecasters pointed out that museum standards related to control of content will change, as our attitudes towards what constitutes “scholarly standards” or “appropriate research” change. And as we question who has standing to determine what is “appropriate.” Several also noted that the standards were not written with community curators, crowdsourcing and public participation in content creation in mind, and that they should be revisited to provide guidance for these activities.

Some felt that the existing standards, which focus on accuracy, have to be balanced with standards about “diligently promoting multiple viewpoints.” Another saw an unquestionable need to change the standards to allow for more participation, “I think all of these standards will be turned upside-down.... Museums that do not challenge these standards may experience a decline in reputation and credibility due to lack of transparency and trust (increasingly important attributes for all companies), making it harder for museums to achieve their long-term goals of educating and inspiring audiences-- not to mention keeping the lights on.”



Should there be public participation in the creation of exhibitions? If so, how will such participation be accomplished without museums merely shunting aside their responsibility in favor of popular perceptions? Will the content of exhibitions come from crowdsourcing and participatory design rather than scholarship? These issues may challenge conventional practice but, like the inclusion of the voices of community consultants in exhibitions on community-based themes, will most likely be resolved through thoughtful negotiation between curators and museum audiences without threatening the integrity of a museum's exhibitions and programs.

### **Control of Content -- Censorship**

It was not surprising to find that forecasters predict that censorship (changing or shaping intellectual content in response to pressure from the public, funders, policy makers or media) is and will continue to be a concern for museums. For the control of content through censorship goes to the heart of a museum's intellectual integrity and will always be considered an ethical breach.

As one commenter noted "I think there are inevitably going to be boundaries on what constitutes acceptable content in museums, and arguments about censorship are really about what the boundaries are, not whether or not they exist." The public's trust in museums as sources of accurate and reliable information is grounded in the museum's intellectual integrity. Forecasters expressed concerns that external factors might undermine museums' independence.

"One...consequence of decreasing public funding and increased privatization of museums and museum-related practice will be that private research dollars will be channeled toward issues of profitability. This will, and has, impacted "appropriate scholarly standards" in quite dramatic ways."

Some tied the pressures not just to money but also to a decrease in institutional authority, "People won't accept the top-down authority of a museum anymore. They will need to instead focus on developing visitor's appreciation for scholarship and recognizing that visitors can contribute to that scholarship in many ways. Censorship will also be an issue as museums will be stuck between the flow of money and an increasingly critical audience."

One forecaster predicted that "Issues relating to intellectual property and honesty will increase and museums will [follow] one of two paths: either they will drop research as an expensive and potentially challenged issue (an extreme self-censorship), or they will help to develop better standards of use and control. The field will learn from the latter and improve both the research effort and artifact interpretation." And another pulled together two threads of the discussions asking, "Is crowd-sourcing another kind of censorship" – is it, in fact, a demand of control of content by the "crowd"?

Censorship and a museum's response to censorship appears only indirectly in both the American Alliance of Museum's Code of Ethics for Museums, which focuses upon the fact that programs and exhibitions must be based upon credible research and scholarship and "marked by intellectual integrity." After the 2010 Hide/Seek controversy in which the content of an exhibition at the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery was altered because of political pressure, the National Coalition Against Censorship issued "Museum Best Practices for Managing Controversy" that recommended, among other things, that museums adopt a "Freedom of Speech Commitment," a statement affirming the museum's dedication to artistic and intellectual freedom.<sup>23</sup> In addition, the statement recommends a transparent process of exhibition development that includes community engagement prior to the exhibition's installation and makes suggestions about handling controversy that happens once an exhibition is in place. While the suggestions were created with art museums in mind, they can easily be adapted to other disciplines.

American museums pride themselves in being a source for the authentic, pairing "the real thing" – authentic objects – with information sourced in scholarly research. Based at least in part on the idea of the intellectual freedom of our universities, museums resist attempts to control the content of the exhibitions and programs. Any such attempt is seen as a threat to a museum's integrity, yet exhibitions have been censored and in some cases closed. The experiences of one museum have led others to censor themselves in order to side-step perceived potential problems. The National Coalition Against Censorship's guidelines may provide the kind of guidance that museums need to maintain their scholarly independence and integrity.

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In this paper I reported on the forecasting exercise created by the Institute of Museum Ethics and the Center for the Future of Museums, and related the results of the exercise as they apply to various circumstances that may well generate ethical problems for museums in the future. In doing so, I highlighted areas where vigilance is necessary in maintaining the sometimes fine line between accepting donor generosity and succumbing to donor influence proffered as a *quid pro quo*.

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<sup>23</sup> "Museum Best Practices for Managing Controversy", National Coalition Against Censorship, issued May 7, 2012, <http://ncac.org>, accessed November 29, 2013.

The statement also outlines strategies that can be adopted to prepare in advance for programs or exhibitions with potentially difficult subjects as well as those that can be used with the public and the press after and exhibition or program opens.

I have also pointed out the need for establishing an ongoing dialogue with the community, with our audiences, about the importance of maintaining ethical standards and the benefits of mutual cooperation to this end. When museum workers discuss ethical issues on a regular basis, rather than just to resolve crises, they should be better prepared to face ethical emergencies with a deeper understanding of the options for resolution as well as their implications and potential consequences.

Museum professionals should be engaged in dialogue about actual or theoretical ethical problems, both internally and with members of the communities they serve. In this way they will both learn more about their professional responsibilities, the views of colleagues, and the community at large. Above all, they will be in a better position to foster the good will of the public while they deal with ethical issues more substantively, responsibly and with greater prowess.

## **Creating a Virtual International Conversation: Museums, Politics and Power**

For many of us, the best parts of conferences are the informal conversations that happen in the hallways, galleries and during question times. The social media project **Museum, Politics and Power: An International Conversation** broke new ground by accompanying an international ICOM conference with a social media approach across multiple channels. We wanted to spread those conversations with our colleagues widely for those who couldn't attend the conference, missed a great session, or were eager to connect with global colleagues.

### **As a tri-national team, our four primary goals were to:**

- explore how we, as museum colleagues, could enhance the sharing of knowledge;
- foster new connections and networks among our many colleagues worldwide;
- encourage international collaboration;
- and make ICOM, its meetings and its work more sustainable, visible and transparent.

We searched for suitable ways to create a space for international conversation that provided worldwide access; one that would be easy for any internet user to participate and exchange ideas before, during and also after an event, whether or not they were able to attend the conference. We wanted to enrich the conference experience by identifying those topics that were not covered in the Call for Papers or the papers presented. By its nature, conference planning is a slow moving process that is not necessarily reactive to current events. We wanted to be able to address not just the conference, but related topics that moved our colleagues worldwide. While the conference served as our starting point, our international conversation was not limited to the organizing countries, to the topics proposed, or for only the attendees.

We began ten months before the conference with the above goals in a proposal to the conference committee who took the small risk of supporting our efforts. Part of our team was active in a wide range of social media; two were active in fewer realms. As one American, two Germans and one Russian we worked together throughout the course of the project, adding national professional perspectives to the project.

It's becoming increasingly common for museum conferences to have conference blogs and to establish a hashtag for conference-goers' use. A quick Google search in English produces dozens of hits with titles like "The Role of Social Media at Your Next Conference". But no dedicated, multi-channel social media effort existed for most ICOM conferences, as far as we could determine, when we began the project in 2013. Such an effort presupposes a level of digital literacy and access for conference participants and for those who might be interested in engaging with the conference from afar. We were also aware that many efforts also make an assumption about the ubiquity of English that can limit participation. We hoped we could overcome these issues. But the only way to test the waters of useful online engagement was to jump in - so we did.

### **What Social Media Channels Did We Use?**

It began with a Wordpress blog and some rapid on-the-fly learning about making translation widgets work, as one priority was to have posts to be readable in at least all three official conference languages. We added other social media channels to extend the conversation to platforms where people are and/or feel more comfortable on than commenting or posting on the blog itself: We established a Facebook page; a hashtag for Twitter, built a Storify feed to collect the Twitter project references and experimented unsuccessfully with LinkedIn. At the conference, all those channels were in play for the live coverage, with the addition of Instagram.

At the same time, we had to enhance our knowledge of tools that enabled us to work together. Google Drive proved invaluable for collaborative writing and the development of our conference presentation; and regular Google hangouts or Skype calls, along with traditional emails, made it possible for us to work together, no matter where we were.

### **What Did the Social Media Project Cover? And What Did We Miss?**

The conference theme, Museum and Politics (translated into "Museum and Power" in Russian), was so broad that virtually any element of museum work, from internal politics to global tensions, could be included.

We started within our own networks (peers, platforms and groups we had access to) to recruit contributors from all over the world. Writers came slowly, as for many; it was one added task to busy schedules. But we continued to seek out bloggers and ideas about posts. We offered anonymous posting for delicate issues, but this was not used. Given the events of the past year, it was not surprising that a post about the efforts of Ukrainian museums during the Maidan protests attracted a large number of hits; but it was surprising that other highly read posts included one on terms used for museum visitors, one on

the idea of museums as forums and one about the pro and cons of entrance fees. Very early in the blog's life, we got a query from the United States about the safety of LGBTQ colleagues given changes in Russian law. This post sent us back to the conference committee for a clarifying statement, which then appeared on the blog. A weekly news roundup, with links to articles in all three languages, found us learning and sharing everything from art theft to museum salaries to ongoing issues of repatriation and provenance. It reinforced for us the truly global nature of our field.

At the conference, we did our best to tweet live and to provide summaries of each day's sessions and events, making it possible for those not attending to follow the conference conversations and add their thoughts and for everyone to recall conversations and sessions.

One of the most difficult aspects of the project was covering the informal conversations that happened at the conference itself. The sessions were highly structured with speakers reading their papers and sometimes even no time allowed for questions. From our perspective, this missed opportunity in person also meant a missed opportunity in social media to really engage in deep, difficult issues at a challenging time for all nations.

### **Quantifiable Results: By the Numbers**

Since the start of the project in November 2013, the blog welcomed 27 authors from eight different countries who contributed with their own blog posts, and many, many more that engaged in conversations through comments on the blog, and even more so on Facebook and especially Twitter. The blog or single posts got mentioned at museum conferences and in many offline conversations, and we counted on average 400 blog visitors per day, with blog posts reads more than 3,000 times.

But the conversations didn't end with the conference. The numbers have continued to grow after the conference. There were about 650 Facebook likes as of September 3, 2013; by December of that year, that number had grown to 800; an increase of more than 20%. Those likes came from more than a dozen countries, with the largest number from the United States. In addition, the hashtag #museumspolitics is still in use on Twitter.

### **What Did We Learn?**

For the four of us, lessons learned from this conference fall into two categories: first, about the mechanics of undertaking such an effort; and second, and more importantly, what we learned about accomplishing our project goals of sharing knowledge and fostering new connections.

First, the how-tos.

**Use Multiple Channels.** A single channel - just a blog for instance - isn't enough to generate conversation and attention. This project worked because we committed to experimenting with multiple channels. Some worked, some didn't, but they were all worth trying. The world of social media moves fast and we wanted to be as responsive as possible when new channels emerged.

**Be Willing to Learn New Ways of Working.** The success of the project was dependent, in large part, on team members' willingness to learn new tools, whether it is working in Google Drive, installing a finicky translation widget, or using Instagram.

**Collaboration Takes Time.** We knew this already. We still know it to be true.

We have a long list of ideas we didn't have time to put into action. For instance, we would have loved to dive much deeper into networks, to get students to write (and test their ideas), to generate more active conversations and to get in touch with (more) people outside our own spheres (like the world outside of museums who have ideas and opinions on our work). We were overly optimistic about the ease of finding contributors but we greatly underestimated the number of readers and followers. The lesson for us was about patience. No one waited for the debut of the blog with baited breath, but once it existed, it was highly welcomed, we learned from our colleagues around the world.

And the second set of lessons, sharing knowledge and fostering new connections:

**Conversation, not Information, Matters Most.** This effort was not just about providing information. The project did accomplish that. But more importantly, it reinforced the idea that we can and must work together across boundaries and divisions. None of us would say that was always an easy process, but we did make it happen. There is an ongoing need for all of us who work in and with museums to find ways for deeper conversations to happen among all of us and with our communities. Our professional networks can now be global and it's up to all of us to decide how and where to make those conversations happen. Whether it's about the events of the past year in Ukraine, the legacy of Nazi Germany, or the issues surrounding racial tensions in the state of Missouri - museums can take the lead. If we can continue to hold conversations together, we can enhance our skills in doing the same in our communities.

In future conferences, if a social media project is introduced before the call for proposals, we believe it can help sharpen the call and the program, providing conference organizers to listen to the museum community's needs and interests, resulting in a more inclusive, democratic approach to conference participation.

**Be Responsive to Changing Events.** From museum events like ongoing issues of repatriation to global issues like climate change, the year brought more surprises than we could have imagined. We don't think of ourselves as journalists, but we did find ourselves seeking out information from multiple sources, trying to be as timely as possible, and working to make the project a place for useful information. Museums - and our professional networks - often work slowly - but we need to work faster and more responsively.

### **What's Next?**

For the International Council of Museums as the largest, worldwide professional association in the museum field, this opens up huge potentials, when the need for conversations, our increasingly transnational work, growing workplace mobility and the more and more accessible social networks get connected in highly fertile ways.

For ICOM itself, a conference-based social media project adds a simple yet effective way to increase general awareness of the work of its many committees and its political positions. Through efforts such as this project, ICOM strengthens its position as effective global partners and experts in the discourse. Solutions to many of the problems that vex us may be found through the kind of global exchange of ideas that projects like these make possible.

The ways in which we interact as museum colleagues continues evolving. We hope this project thus serves as a stimulus for ICOM committees to go deeper into explorations of social media. On a personal level, all four of us made new contacts and there are already plans for projects across national borders - and so we heard from our readers and contributors. The adventure has just begun.

### **Resources**

Museums, Politics and Power

[museumpoliticsandpower.org](http://museumpoliticsandpower.org)



## Section 1

# **Museums and foreign policy**

## **European Support for Institutional Museum Development**

### **Twinning – a European instrument**

The European Union (EU) offers programs in the field of culture like Creative Europe, INTEREG or Horizon 2020. But the Twinning instrument was used for the first time in the field of culture in the cooperation of German and Georgian partners. Twinning is a joint implementation tool of cooperation between public administrations of a EU Member State and a Beneficiary Country. Twinning is used to support the neighbor countries to harmonize their regulations with the EU standards through training, reorganization as well as drafting and applying of laws and regulations. This program started in 1998 and has first been successfully implemented in the East European countries, which became members of EU later. In 2004 it was extended to the countries of the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument (ENPI) in Eastern Europe and North Africa (since 2014 European Neighbourhood Instrument). The program appeared to be an effective instrument on the way of integration with EU. Twinning as a basis for more intensive political-cultural relationships and stronger economic integration of the Beneficiary Countries, supports as well stability, democracy and welfare. In frame of these projects a Resident Twinning Advisor (RTA) is seconded from a Member State to work full time in the corresponding organization of the country to implement the project. The Project Leader is responsible for the overall thrust and coordination of the project. They are supplemented by missions of Short Time Experts (STE). Until today more than 3000 projects have been implemented by the European Union, more than 700 with the participation of German ministries or institutions. The focus of the Twinning tool goes to the following sectors: economy, environment, agriculture, justice and internal affairs, transport and work and social affairs. Culture and education plays a minor role in the Twinning program.

### **Support to the Institutional development of the Georgian National Museum**

From June 2010 until September 2012 the first Twinning project in the field of culture “Support to the Institutional development of the Georgian National Museum” was implemented by the Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz (SPK) and the Georgian National Museum (GNM) in Tbilisi, Georgia. Therefore much attention nationally as well as internationally was laid on the successful implementation of this project, as it could be an indicator for the future direction of the Twinning Strategy. SPK unifies the Staatsbibliothek, the Geheimes Staatsarchiv, the Ibero-Amerikanisches Institut, the Institut für

Musikforschung and the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin with their 15 museums under its umbrella. The Staatliche Museen zu Berlin faced similar challenges after the fall of the wall and the reunification of the museums in East and West Berlin as the GNM did during the last years: reorganization of the museum structure, building planning and renovation, collection removals and more. With that experience SPK was a ideal partner to support the GNM in its institutional development in a transitional country.

The museums in Georgia were getting into a critical situation after the decline of the Soviet Union. The buildings were far away from modern museum standards and the collections were not stored in adequate conditions. This was one of the reasons that the Georgian National Museum was founded in 2004. Today it unites five major museums in Tbilisi (the oldest is dating back to 1852), five museums in the regions and two research institutes under his umbrella. The renovation of the buildings started already in 2007 when the Signaghi Museum was opened in the region Kakheti as the first modernized museum in Georgia. The Dmanisi site visitor centre was opened in spring 2009. The Museum of Georgia and the National Gallery were re-opened in 2011. The Samtskhe-Javakheti Museum in Akhaltsikhe followed in 2012 and the Svaneti Museum in Mestia in 2013. The Tbilisi History Museum was also renovated and the Archaeological Museum will be re-opened in 2015/16. The GNM took a big effort in the renovation of the museum buildings and establishment of modern exhibitions. Nevertheless the GNM was looking for international support in its institution and capacity building with its almost 800 staff members. This was the reason that the GNM applied for the support in frame of a Twinning project.

After years of preparation the Twinning project was implemented in 2012 by the project leaders Prof. Hermann Parzinger (SPK) and Prof. David Lordkipanidze (GNM). The author was seconded as RTA for the whole period of the project to the GNM and was supported by more than 30 specialists from SPK and Bundesamt für Bauwesen und Raumordnung (BBR). The project management was fulfilled by the Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ). The project was completely financed by the European Union.

Main objectives of the project were: to promote culture as a major dimension of the development of Georgia – both in the country and abroad; to strengthen the Georgian National Museum as an institution for reservation of cultural heritage; to initiate a systematic implementation of EU best practices in the GNM activities, in particular in the field of conservation which was at the start in a critical function for this institution and to exploit and to make best use of project results for the use of the Georgian National Museum.

The Twinning project consisted of four components: support to the creation of a Restoration-Conservation Centre (RCC), the improvement of preventive conservation practice, a collection removal pilot case and the introduction of a set of standards in the areas of financial and project planning, Human resources management, PR strategies and more.

The project also helped the GNM in its strategic objectives which was to upgrade its standards at all organisational levels. The GNM could benefit from training of the entire staff working in the ten museums and the two research centres. The mix of young well trained English speaking and internationally well connected staff and dedicated employees with many years of experience in the museum in their own position is already in transition. On the basis of lessons learnt from the experience of EU member states, the GNM adopted its own approach with the support of its Twinning partner to the following four priority areas: Part of this transfer of know-how, best practices and standards should result in the awareness of stakeholder influence and partnership opportunities. For instance in the field of cultural tourism the GNM can play an initiating role in bringing together municipal governments, tour operators and private investors with the objective that in the long run there will be a tourism infrastructure.

### **Component 1: The Restoration and Conservation Centre**

Georgia is located in a region where conflicts and earthquakes can occur. The collections of the GNM as a collective memory are under a permanent risk. Besides that the storage conditions still have to be regarded as insufficient following modern museum standards like in the Museum of Fine Arts and the National Gallery. Therefore the GNM decided to plan a Restoration and Conservation Centre in a building next to the Museum of Fine Arts which was built in the 1980ies, but never going to its foreseen purpose as research centre. This building was the basis for the planning of the joint German-Georgian working group. The objective of component 1 was that German experts will bring support in furthering the preliminary design of the future Restoration-Conservation Centre and mainly review studies made by Georgian experts. Due to the similar demands a STE pool from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (SMB) and BBR was established to answer to the Georgian needs as accurate as possible. The German STE presented the organizational chart in Berlin museums planning and the planning process to the Museums courts and the Archaeological Center in Berlin. For the requirements' coordination in the planning phase useful forms and templates used in Berlin were introduced. Georgian experts gave a general overview to the building of the future RCC and the SWOT analysis, the configuration of the building of the RCC, security and fire-protecting systems and climate conditions needed for the

building. Discussion and recommendation to the SWOT analysis were given by German experts like room planning, preparation of exact list of objects for storages, definition of climate zones, establishment of workflow and draft budget planning. Involved were GNM specialists and external specialists from the State University and private companies.

In a next step according to the type, size and number of collections storage area and facilities like cabins and shelves were calculated. Fire protection requirements were also introduced by the German side. The facilities of Museum Island and the technical equipment of the museums were presented: costs, energy concepts, climate technology, fire security technology and electronic technology. The room quality and planning, the use of space, storage options and material groups in the foreseen RCC was defined. The Georgian planning team was trained in the way, how to start and conduct a planning workflow. German experts gave also impact to building management, fire security systems, ventilation, heating, cooling, fire exhausting systems and recommendations for the technical equipment and the planning process of RCC were given. Advise on storage equipment was given and tools for the calculation of room space shared. Examples for the planning process of the storages in the Archaeological Centre and storage options were shared by German experts. Germans and Georgians started together the plans for storage and laboratory equipment in the RCC. The Georgian specialists also had the opportunity for trainings and exchange of information in planning departments of the SMB and BBR during study visits to Berlin. They have seen by guided tours several storages, laboratories and technical museum systems for climatization, ventilation, heating, water supply, security and fire security to enlarge their knowledge about different systems and to make them sensitive for problems which can occur. After the end of the Twinning project the Georgian specialists continued the planning process of the RCC. It should be constructed during the next years by renovating the existing building. After the opening the RCC will be first modern Conservation Centre in the region and his services offered to other stakeholders too. The knowledge of the planning process and workflow was also adapted to the planning of the Archaeological Museum in Vani which will be opened in 2015/16.

### **Component 2: Preventive Conservation**

Within component 2 preventive conservation guidelines and procedures were developed and revised by STEs, so as to meet EU best practice standards. After establishing a working group consisting of conservation scientists, restorators and pest management specialists and according to their task at first the experts had to define what topics were related to the three material groups of organic, inorganic and

mixed materials. The German and Georgian experts decided to establish a structure for the guidelines for preventive conservation, following the risk factors in the Georgian museums: 1. Physical Forces; 2. Thieves and Vandals; 3. Dissociation; 4. Fire; 5. Water; 6. Pests; 7. Pollutants; 8. Light, UV and IR; 9. Incorrect Temperature; 10. Incorrect Relative Humidity. Additional to each guideline as a major document procedures were developed which make it all staff members easy to follow the rules.

Guidelines and procedures for preventive conservation were developed for the following topics responding to risks in museums:

- Emergency plan
- Prevention of water damage
- Handling, transport
- Fire procedures, safety
- Cleaning procedure
- Access policy
- Packing materials
- Pollution, dust monitoring
- LUX, light policy
- IPM policy
- Relative humidity / temperature monitoring procedure
- Label procedure

Additional the international recognized “Emergency wheel” was translated to Georgian and printed. After training sessions it was delivered to GNM departments and other stakeholders in the whole country. The guidelines, procedures and wheel were spread throughout the GNM and other museums through trainings and as hard copies. They contribute to the preventive conservation and protection of the cultural heritage collections in Georgia.

### **Component 3: Collection Removal Pilot Case**

In component 3, the objective was that a pilot case of collection removal was successfully completed. The Berlin museums are looking back on a long experience of collection removals due to the reunification of the East and West Berlin museums and shared their knowledge to the GNM staff. For the pilot case the collection of the Oriental Department of the Museum of Fine Arts was chosen. The museum has an important collection of medieval treasuries, paintings and objects from the Near, Middle

and Far East. The 19th century building has no good climate conditions for museum collections. The temperature and humidity can change extremely through the day and there is need for the renovation and modernization in the future. Because of that situation it was decided to bring the Oriental collection to a temporary storage in a close located building - the former French Cultural Institute - until the museum is renovated and the RCC will be opened. The German-Georgian working group developed in a first step guidelines for the collection removal of more than 8000 objects.

The German experts shared their experience of collection removals in the Berlin museums with the relevant Georgian staff, trained them in workshops, analyzed the collection and storage rooms, and supported the development of the guidelines for collection removal and the time schedule for the operations. The GNM identified the responsible staff, at all 22 persons, for the foreseen actions of the removal for all material groups. The preparation of the collection removal started with the process in documentation, the cleaning of the objects in summer 2011. After the intermediate storage rooms were available, the climate monitored, the organic materials decontaminated and the rooms equipped with shelves and other storage equipment the collection removal was started in September 2011. The first steps of the collection removal was evaluated and advice and recommendations were given by German experts to future actions and to the improvement of the guidelines. The collection removal was successfully completed after 10 months in summer 2012 including the treatment of organic materials with nitrogen gas in a special tent. The completed removal was evaluated and recommendations on the actions and the guidelines were given by the German specialists. In frame of this activity trainings were delivered to staff members in the museums of Vani and Mestia and recommendations were given to the foreseen removal of collections in both museums. In the meantime the GNM organized several collection removals by following the structure and guidelines.

#### **Component 4: Implementation of a set of standards**

The systematic introduction of a set of standards and good practices was initiated and successfully implemented in the selected areas: human resources, project planning and financial management, loans and legal aspects, service to the public with education and PR. Fund raising and partnership development were discussed, a membership programme was introduced. This set of standards is precondition for further institutional and administrative development of the GNM. Besides of the Georgian National Museum further beneficiaries of this project were museums outside of the GNM system through trainings. The Mission statement for the GNM was several times revised and the by-law updated and implemented. In the first priority area the Communication Unit and a Development

Unit, responsible for sponsorship, membership, volunteers and donor relations were created and procedure guidelines produced. The Branding strategy for the GNM was conceptualized and a new website created.

The strategy of education programs was further developed. The Audience Development Strategy focuses on improvement of museum facilities, targeted actions/specially tailored programs to reach out different audience segments, the maintenance of close relations with audiences, the maintenance of close relations with partner organizations like universities, NGOs, ministries, etc and the regularity of programs. In the second priority area the museum strategy for project planning and project management cycle and an event calendar were developed and implemented in 2012. The standard loan agreement was updated and taken in use.

Under the third priority, the Fundraising strategy and partnership development of SPK was shared to the Georgian side. The GNM internally regulated that these topics should get a structure and a strategy will be developed in the future. The Membership Program for Museum was already successful launched.

Under the fourth priority, the financial department developed an internal tool and programs to come to a midterm financial planning and improve the financial situation of the GNM. These was discussed with the Ministry of Culture in Georgia. The HR department implemented several regulations regarding recruitment and created new filing systems and job descriptions for all staff members. A guidebook for employees is available in printed and digital version for internal use. The introduced standards in the selected contribute to the further administrative modernization and restructuring of the GNM.

### **Network and sustainability**

The GNM takes tangible steps to continue with the work started in the project. A high level of political support would be helpful for the implementation process especially to improve the facility situation for the preservation of cultural heritage, further capacity building and the framework for the institutional development.

During the project implementation phase chances were taken to arise public awareness through press conferences in Berlin and Tbilisi, public lectures held by German and other International experts and exhibitions. The Twinning program was also linked to activities in capacity building executed by UNESCO and dvv International through joint workshops in Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan. Support was also given to develop the concept of a Museum Street in Tbilisi following the example of Museum



Island in Berlin. Therefore the the International conference “Why Museums Now? Keeping the Past – Facing the Future” was held in the GNM from 19-22 September 2012 which reflected on museum developments and museum clusters in America, Asia and Europe. Additionally the exhibition “Museumsinsel Berlin-Museum District Tbilisi” was opened to the public in 2012. Both events contributed to the further strengthening of the GNM as an institution and to the future establishment of a Museum District in Tbilisi and so become a key player for the city development in Tbilisi. As a follow-up the Goethe Institut Tbilisi established together with the GNM and SPK a two year programme in the museum sector. There are other follow up programs between both institutions after the end of Twinning project as expression that the links between GNM and SPK are based on a long term partnership. This was visible in an event, which was held on June 2, 2014 in the Bode Museum in Berlin. The Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz presented its cultural relations to Georgia in an exhibition. The event was opened almost two years after the end of the Twinning project by the German Minister of Foreign Affairs, Frank-Walter Steinmeier, and the Georgian Prime Minister, Irakli Gharibashvili. In a symbolic the Prime Minister handed out books to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which were stored in Tbilisi after 1945. Almost 100.000 books will be given back to Germany through a joint project.

The Twinning tool gave impact on the cultural policy reform by higher acceptance of the museums and priorities to museum development by the government and the general development of the country in the capital and the regions by strengthening the institution as a whole and the museums on the countryside and by creating partnership, network and sustainability. Twinning on the field of culture has the potential to strengthen the development of cultural institutions in transformational countries by capacity building, the strengthening of interaction with other sectors and the contribution to the economic, city and regional development.

The project aimed on knowledge transfer of European standards in the selected areas to Georgia in collaboration between two cultural facilities of national importance. It is important to mention that a real partnership was created and that the Georgian partners adapted and implemented many practices and standards. In Brussels this project was regarded as a successful example for Twinning projects and shows that this instrument offers new opportunities in the cooperation between cultural institutions in the membership countries and those of the European neighborhood which goes deep into the problems and needs of the institutions and helps to show the way in a modernized future. Hopefully the example of the German-Georgian partnership will give impact for further Twinning projects in the field of culture.

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## China's cultural diplomacy through loan exhibitions

### *The Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China* exhibition

China's soft power has attracted considerable attention in the past decade, due, in part, to the high visibility of art exhibitions sent by Chinese government to western museums. The Chinese government's uses of such exhibitions for political and diplomatic purposes, however, have rarely been explored.

Usually an art exhibition borrowed from Chinese public museums requires official approval from an agency of the Chinese government, usually the State Administration of Cultural Heritage (SACH). Cultural objects are generally categorized into three grades and a restriction is placed on the percentage of first grade objects in each loan exhibition. If the number is over 120 pieces or sets, or the percentage is above 20% of all the exhibits, then special permission from the State Council is also necessary, in addition to the permission of the SACH.<sup>24</sup> These mechanisms permit the Chinese government to maintain a certain degree of control over the message delivered by exhibitions abroad, regardless of whether they are curated by the host museum or the Chinese lender. The Chinese government's preference for certain messages can be identified in these exhibitions. However it would be untrue to suggest that the government acts directly as the author of all such exhibitions.

In this paper, I will use the exhibition *Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China*, held in 2012 at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge in the UK, to examine how China's cultural diplomacy is practiced through loan exhibitions, and the role of the Chinese government during the process. At the same time, a simple overview of the exhibition's curatorship and media responses will also be conducted to understand how loan exhibitions can contribute to China's overall cultural diplomacy, particularly through shaping a positive image for the country. Finally, this paper aims to

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<sup>24</sup> *Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics* (Order of the President No.76); and the *Provisions on Administration of Cultural Relics to be Taken out of the Country for Exhibitions*, <<Chapter VI>> Cultural Heritage Office 2005, No. 13, May 27, 2005, State Administration of Cultural Heritage.

demonstrate the fact that China's cultural diplomacy 'has changed from what used to be fairly blatant use of Chinese culture as state propaganda to a more sophisticated approach.'<sup>25</sup>

The exhibition was held at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge from 5 May to 11 November 2012. It was co-organized by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Chinese Xuzhou Museum and the Museum of the Western Han Dynasty Mausoleum of the Nanyue King (Nanyue King Museum) under the auspices of the Art Exhibitions China (AEC), an institution directly under the SACH. Described as 'the largest and most remarkable collection of ancient royal treasures ever to travel outside China',<sup>26</sup> this exhibition told 'the story of the quest for immortality and struggle for imperial legitimacy in ancient China's Han Dynasty'<sup>27</sup> by comparing objects from 'the spectacular tombs of two rival power factions - the Han imperial family in the northern "cradle" of Chinese history and the Kingdom of Nanyue in the south'<sup>28</sup> for the first time. Celebrated by the media as 'one of the most glamorous and important exhibitions anywhere in Britain'<sup>29</sup> in 2012, and 'the first major exhibition of Chinese art for a generation',<sup>30</sup> it attracted 118,962 visitors to the Fitzwilliam, making it the second most-visited exhibition in the museum's 164-year history.<sup>31</sup> It came close to beating the 2011 blockbuster, *Vermeer's Women: Secrets and Silence*, which attracted 130,000 visitors.<sup>32</sup> Many factors, not least the 'outstanding assembly of objects',<sup>33</sup> ensured the 'exceptional success'<sup>34</sup> of this exhibition. 182 sets of objects, made up of over 350 pieces, were lent to the Fitzwilliam by the two Chinese museums, amongst which 68 sets of objects (37%) were first grade. *The Times* observed that 'no exhibition has shown more Grade One artefacts than this.'<sup>35</sup> As mentioned above, this loan had to be approved by the State Council due to the percentage of first grade objects. There are, however, a number of other factors making this exhibition a particularly interesting case through which to examine China's cultural diplomacy. In this paper, I am

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<sup>25</sup> Jane Perlez, <<China extends reach into international art>>, *The New York Times*, April 23, 2012, [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/24/arts/design/china-focuses-on-museums-and-more-international-art-shows.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/24/arts/design/china-focuses-on-museums-and-more-international-art-shows.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0), as of September 25, 2014.

<sup>26</sup> <<One hundred days until London 2012>>, University of Cambridge, April 18, 2012, <http://www.cam.ac.uk/news/one-hundred-days-until-london-2012>, as of September 25, 2014.

<sup>27</sup> James C. S. Lin ed., *The Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2012, p.xi.

<sup>28</sup> Lin, p.xi.

<sup>29</sup> Susan Robbins, <<Fitzwilliam shows off China>>, *Localsecrets*, May 6, 2012, <http://www.localsecrets.com/ezine.cfm?ezineid=3003~fitzwilliam-shows-off-china+art>, as of February 22, 2014.

<sup>30</sup> Nicholas Cranfield, <<The tombs give up their jade>>, *Church Times*, September 28, 2012.

<sup>31</sup> The Fitzwilliam Museum was opened in 1848.

<sup>32</sup> <<Over 118,000 visit Fitzwilliam Museum's tomb treasures show>>, *The Art Collector Online*, November 12, 2012, <http://www.theartcollector.org/over-118000-visit-fitzwilliam-museums-tomb-treasures-show/>, as of January 27, 2014.

<sup>33</sup> Noel Riley, <<Changing hands>>, *Historic House*, summer, 2012, p.43.

<sup>34</sup> Chris Elliott, 'Han treasure at Fitz one of greatest hits', *Cambridge News*, June 28, 2012, p.3.

<sup>35</sup> Richard Holledge, 'Han tomb treasures on show in Cambridge', *The Times*, June 23, 2012, p.72.

going to explore how this exhibition manifested and contributed to China's cultural diplomacy mainly from two aspects: expressing China's political goodwill toward the UK and shaping favourable images for China.

### ***“Symbolic gestures of political goodwill”***

The year 2012 marked the 40th anniversary of the establishment of full diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and the United Kingdom. Timothy Potts, the Fitzwilliam's Director at that time, referred to this alignment of events merely as a 'nice accident,'<sup>36</sup> and the two Chinese museums sending the loan made nothing of it.<sup>37</sup> However, it is still reasonable to believe that the Chinese government had been aware of this important anniversary when it had made its decision regarding this loan, as can be seen by comparing it with China's earlier exhibitions which coincided with such anniversaries, such as *China: Grandeur of the Dynasties*,<sup>38</sup> marking the 40th anniversary of the normalization of diplomatic relations between the People's Republic of China and Japan in 2012, which included more than 60% first grade objects; and *The Foresight and Wisdom of Pioneer—the 50th Anniversary of Establishment of China and France Diplomatic Relations Exhibition* which was opened at the National Museum of China on 27 January 2014 by the Chinese Vice Premier, with a speech speaking of the high importance of this exhibition for enhancing bilateral understanding and ties.<sup>39</sup> Her speech fully demonstrated a consciousness among the Chinese leadership that exhibitions are an important element for marking political events, in this case, diplomatic anniversaries. These two examples together strongly suggest that the Chinese government probably noticed the diplomatic significance of the *Search For Immortality* exhibition, even if this was not an aim of the two participating museums, nor the main concern of the Chinese government. This alignment was rarely

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<sup>36</sup> <<Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum: The Search for Immortality>>, *YouTube*, June 3, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4kRB1hEXRRg>, as of January 27, 2014.

<sup>37</sup> Lin Yinde, Director of the Xuzhou Museum; and Wang Wenjian, Chinese curator for the exhibition from Nanyue King Museum, pers. comm., August 28 and September 12, 2013

<sup>38</sup> The exhibition was co-organized by the Tokyo National Museum, Art Exhibitions China, NHK, NHK Promotions Inc. and held at the Tokyo National Museum from October 10, 2012 to December 24, 2012, and then travelled to Kobe City Museum from February 2 to April 7, 2013, Nagoya City Museum from April 24 to June 23, 2013 and Kyushu National Museum from July 9 to September 16, 2013.

<sup>39</sup> <<The 50th Anniversary of Establishment of China and France Diplomatic Relations exhibition opens>>, National Museum of China, January 27, 2014, <http://en.chnmuseum.cn/tabid/521/InfoID/97344/frtid/500/Default.aspx>, as of February 22, 2014.

noticed by the British media; however, Chinese reporters<sup>40</sup> and the AEC<sup>41</sup> did recognize and mention it from time to time.

More importantly, the exhibition also coincided with London hosting the Olympic Games, four years after the Beijing Olympics in 2008. The exhibition was described by the media as ‘China’s main contribution to the 2012 Cultural Olympiad.’<sup>42</sup> For the Olympics’ sake, both of the two countries attached great importance to this collaboration. The British Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport wrote a letter to the Director of the SACH, and asked for support for this exhibition.<sup>43</sup> Alison Richard, the vice-chancellor of University of Cambridge at that time, which owns and operates the Fitzwilliam Museum, visited China in 2008. She was met by Chinese state councillor Liu Yandong, who is now China’s vice Premier. It is not clear if any agreement on the exhibition was arrived at their meeting. But according to the Director of Xuzhou Museum, Li Yinde, and the representative of the Nanyue King Museum for this project,<sup>44</sup> Liu Yandong did approach the Nanyue King Museum through the Ministry of Culture and the SACH at a later stage about one specific object, a horn-shaped jade cup, which has been officially prohibited from being taken abroad for any exhibition by the Chinese government since 2002.<sup>45</sup> Even though the object was not loaned in the end, due to its extreme fragility, this does show that the Chinese government took this collaboration seriously. An AEC staff member also admitted that the general background of the London Olympics helped the Fitzwilliam to get this exceptional loan, at a time when the Chinese government’s control over the security of art treasures, particularly over the first grade objects going abroad, was becoming firmer and firmer.<sup>46</sup>

In addition, Director Li Yinde mentioned that the SACH might notice the potential influence of this exhibition on international students in Cambridge, as they would become the leadership of the next

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<sup>40</sup> Feng Lin, <<The Search of Immortality Tomb Treasures of Han China displayed in UK>>, *China & the World Cultural Exchange*, June 2012; (in Chinese) <<Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China exhibition>>, *Shanghai Morning Post*, July 24, 2012, p.B15, [http://newspaper.jfdaily.com/xwcb/html/2012-07/24/content\\_848261.htm](http://newspaper.jfdaily.com/xwcb/html/2012-07/24/content_848261.htm), as of February 22, 2014.

<sup>41</sup> Lin, p.xi.

<sup>42</sup> <<Chinese tomb treasure exhibition opens at Fitzwilliam Museum>>, *BBC News Cambridgeshire*, May 9, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-17910197>, as of January 27, 2014.

<sup>43</sup> Li Yinde, pers. Comm., August 28, 2013.

<sup>44</sup> Li Yinde and Wang Wenjian, pers. comm., August 28 and September 12, 2013.

<sup>45</sup> According to Article 49 of the *Regulations for the Implementation of the Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Cultural Relics* (State Council Decree No.377) promulgated on 18 May 2003 - ‘the only existing or fragile relics among the grade-one relics are prohibited from being taken out of the country for exhibition. The catalogue of cultural relics prohibited from being taken out of the country for exhibition shall be made public on a regular basis by the competent cultural relics administrative department of the State Council.’ The SACH published a list of 64 first-grade cultural relics which are prohibited to be exhibited abroad in 2002, including the horn-shaped jade cup. It published another two lists in 2012 and 2013 respectively.

<sup>46</sup> AEC staff, pers. comm., October 14, 2013.

generation when they returned to their country after graduation.<sup>47</sup> These considerations for cultural diplomacy, along with other practical and professional factors, helped the Fitzwilliam to get this exceptional loan from the Chinese government. The Chinese government's approval for such an exceptional loan at such a special moment served as China's 'symbolic gestures of political goodwill'<sup>48</sup> toward the UK.

Furthermore, the potential to project a positive image for China through this exhibition was probably another important consideration of the Chinese government.

### *A "multidimensional" and "human" China originated from the Han Dynasty*

When explaining the significance of this exhibition, Fitzwilliam's Director Timothy Potts commented,

'It is impossible to overstate the importance of the Han Dynasty in the formation of a Chinese national culture and identity. At the time of the ancient Romans, the Han emperors were the first to unify a large part of the regions we now know as China under a sustained empire, which they ruled virtually unchallenged for 400 years. The Han Dynasty gave its name to the Chinese language, its script and the vast majority of the Chinese people. It was arguably the defining period of China's history and the point of genesis for the China of today.'<sup>49</sup>

It is quite clear from this statement that the Fitzwilliam tried to highlight this exhibition through linking it to modern China and showing the profound and eternal influence of the Han Dynasty on modern China. This message, repeatedly emphasized by the director and curator Dr James Lin in all the museum's press releases, interviews and academic papers<sup>50</sup> done for the exhibition, successfully influenced the media's view on Han culture.

The *Art Newspaper* called the Han Dynasty the 'Golden Age' of China.<sup>51</sup> Writing in the *Financial Times*, Susan Moore even argued that to understand Han China 'is to begin to understand modern China,' and she believed that this was another reason why 'China has allowed more "first

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<sup>47</sup> Li Yinde, pers comm., August 28, 2013.

<sup>48</sup> Yunci Cai, <<The art of museum diplomacy: the Singapore-France cultural collaboration in perspective>>, *International Journal of Politics Culture and Society*, Vol.26, Issue.2, June 2013, 127-144, p.140.

<sup>49</sup> <<The Search for Immortality: tomb treasures of Han China>>, University of Cambridge, May 5, 2012, <http://www.cam.ac.uk/research/news/the-search-for-immortality-tomb-treasures-of-han-china>, as of February 22, 2014.

<sup>50</sup> James Lin, <<In search of immortality>>, *Minerva*, May/June 2012, 50-53.

<sup>51</sup> Emily Sharpe, <<Resting in comfort: the burial rituals of the Han Dynasty>>, *The Art Newspaper*, No.235, May 2012, p.82.

grade” cultural objects than ever before to be sent overseas.<sup>52</sup> Her argument is validated by Tao-Tao Chang, the Fitzwilliam’s international officer in charge of the negotiation of this exhibition with China. As Chang said, the Chinese government hoped the exhibition would help the ‘Western audience to understand how China has evolved’ and to ‘link China’s past with its present.’<sup>53</sup>

Two special curatorial perspectives were taken to present this link between Han China and modern China. The first one was a mixed choice of exquisite artworks and utensils for daily use. It included the most exquisite artworks which the Chinese authorities had usually lend, such as statuettes including the ‘pottery soldiers, dancers, musicians and servants,’ which were thought by the media to provide ‘a human connection between this lost world and our own.’<sup>54</sup> In addition, Dr James Lin also chose some common objects which reflected daily life in the Han period, such as the ginger grater and the stone squat lavatory. As he explained, the stone squat lavatory, installed in a tomb more than 2,000 years ago, is still in use in some rural areas in modern China.<sup>55</sup> In this way, he managed to build a link between China in the past and present with this ‘most bizarre object in the show.’<sup>56</sup>

This ‘good combination of everyday objects...with the extravagant luxuries’<sup>57</sup> helped the exhibition to win media support. These objects were regarded as showing not only the splendour and magnificence of China’s ancient history and culture,<sup>58</sup> but also the good qualities of the Chinese people. Souren Melikian argued on *The New York Times* that the statuettes on show ‘exude that kind of soft energy that is a specific trait of the Chinese temperament, from sports like Tai Chi to the visual arts.’<sup>59</sup>

Another curatorial perspective that made this exhibition pioneering and distinguished was the ‘bringing together [of] two collections of tomb treasures that are normally displayed in museums

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<sup>52</sup> Susan Moore, <<Time raiders>>, *Financial Times Online*, May 2, 2012, <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/e93dfff6-8aec-11e1-b855-00144feab49a.html#axzz2reC7hiaD>, as of January 27, 2014.

<sup>53</sup> Tao-Tao Chang, pers. comm., April 23, 2013.

<sup>54</sup> <<Treasures from the tomb>>, *House & Garden*, July 2012, p.68.

<sup>55</sup> (In Chinese) Rong Wang, <<Interview with Fitzwilliam’s curator Lin Zhengsheng>>, *BBC*, May 2, 2012, [http://www.bbc.co.uk/ukchina/simp/entertainment/2012/05/120502\\_ent\\_iv\\_james\\_fitzwilliam.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/ukchina/simp/entertainment/2012/05/120502_ent_iv_james_fitzwilliam.shtml), as of January 8, 2014.

<sup>56</sup> <<The Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China>>, *Explorer Magazine*, May 7, 2012 <http://www.explorermagazine.co.uk/2012/05/the-search-for-immortality-tomb-treasures-of-han-china/>, as of February 22, 2014.

<sup>57</sup> Robert Scanes, <<Exhibition: The Search for Immortality: Tomb Treasures of Han China, Fitzwilliam Museum>>, *Varsity*, May 9, 2012, <http://www.Varsity.co.uk/reviews/4715>, as of February 22, 2014.

<sup>58</sup> <<Han treasures visit London>>, May 11, 2012, *China Daily*, [http://www.china.org.cn/travel/2012-05/11/content\\_25357064.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/travel/2012-05/11/content_25357064.htm), as of February 22, 2014; Yinsey Wang, <<“Search for Immortality” Tomb Treasures of Han China>>, June 11, 2012, *Nee Hao Magazine*, <http://www.neehao.co.uk/2012/06/search-for-immortality-tomb-treasures-of-han-china-review-by-yinsey-wang/>, as of February 22, 2014.

<sup>59</sup> Souren Melikian, <<Exhibition rewrites the history of Han civilization in China: museum opens window on one of the world’s most resilient cultures>>, *The New York Times*, June 8, 2012, [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/09/arts/09iht-melikian09.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/09/arts/09iht-melikian09.html?_r=0), as of February 22, 2014.



thousands of kilometres apart<sup>60</sup> (Xuzhou Museum in northern China and Nanyue King Museum in Guangzhou in southern China). The exhibition presented the story of this power relationship, that had ‘never been told before in this way.’<sup>61</sup> Rather than emphasising the militaristic conflict between the Han central government and its vassal state, Nanyue, the curator put more effort into highlighting ‘the diplomatic game of cat and mouse, one to assert its supremacy, the other to preserve its autonomy’<sup>62</sup> between the two, as well as the cultural influence of the former on the latter. Dr Lin explained his considerations thus,

Through a direct comparison of the tomb treasures from the Han imperial family with those of the second king of Nanyue, Zhao Mo, the exhibition shows how the latter’s funerary splendour continued to be styled on that of the Han heartland, often reaching the same level of exquisite artistry....This provides a new perspective on that Han period and how the imperial family continued to exert its influence, through arms and art, to maintain control of their vast empire.<sup>63</sup>

Through comparison, the similarities and differences between the cultures of the two kingdoms would be self-evident, and so too their inter-cultural influence. The *Evening News* commented that, ‘having got past the soldiers and the bronze weaponry, we may note that art was as important as arms in maintaining Han power with all the mystiques of invincibility. This culture was a knockout.’<sup>64</sup>

Melikian also argued that the artistry and refinement shown by objects from Nanyue could refute historian Michael Loewe’s description of Nanyue as a backward minority who ‘lived naked in the tropical climate of Nanyue’<sup>65</sup> and ‘had yet to learn the habit of pairing off in orderly forms of marriage.’<sup>66</sup> He said that ‘if the Chinese sources that often project unflattering views of non-Chinese peoples are accurate on this score, this [exhibition] makes the Guangzhou discoveries [Nanyue] the more sensational.’<sup>67</sup> Through comparison, the cultural distinctiveness and achievement of Nanyue as a non-Chinese community was also demonstrated, which projected China as a multi-ethnic and multicultural nation.

Another exhibition of Chinese art loaned to Japan, *China: Grandeur of the Dynasties*, is helpful here to understand how the multicultural and multiethnic image of China it presented was consistent

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<sup>60</sup> Victoria Finlay, <<Imperial dreams of afterlife>>, *Sunday Morning Post*, August 21, 2012, pp.10-11.

<sup>61</sup> Finlay, 2012.

<sup>62</sup> University of Cambridge, May 5, 2012.

<sup>63</sup> <<Treasure trove tells tale of imperial strife>>, *Cambridge News*, May 3, 2012, pp.20 and 37.

<sup>64</sup> *Evening News (Norwich)*, August 10, 2012, ROP section.

<sup>65</sup> Melikian, 2012.

<sup>66</sup> Lin, p.21.

<sup>67</sup> Melikian, 2012.

with China's cultural diplomacy. According to the curator, Nobuyuki Matsumoto, Director of Curatorial Planning at the Tokyo National Museum, this show tried to present China as a 'political and cultural plurality' by 'highlighting the variety in Chinese culture and history by focusing on interesting counterpoints within the conventional historical framework of consecutive dynasties.'<sup>68</sup> C.B. Liddell, writing in *The Japan Times*, thought it was quite odd that the Chinese government would support such curatorship, because 'it seems out of kilter with the centralizing ethos of the Communist regime, which has earned a reputation for "Sinicizing" non-Chinese areas, such as Tibet and Sinkiang, through modernization, erosion of traditions, and encouraging an influx of Han Chinese.'<sup>69</sup> But the curator's first-hand experience of negotiating with the Chinese side for the loan proved Liddell wrong. Matsumoto pointed out that,

From the earliest stages we sought the consultation and cooperation of the Chinese in the planning, full consideration was taken of China's position as a multi-ethnic nation. From the moment we introduced the concept of 'pluralism,' no one asked us to change the contents. On the contrary, the contents of the original plan were consistent with the policy of the current Chinese government.<sup>70</sup>

Recognizing this, Liddell commented,

The key to this paradox is that the Chinese government is aware that over-centralization at home is counterproductive, and instead it conceptualizes Chinese unity as a "symphony of peoples and histories" that recognizes the contribution of the peripheral peoples as well as the majority Han Chinese.<sup>71</sup>

He also used two other exhibitions loaned from China to Japan in that year to support his explanation. It can be seen from this example that, on one hand, there is some misunderstanding of China's ethnic policies, as China 'occasionally takes a heavy-handed approach in potential breakaway regions and projects an appearance of monolithic unity abroad.'<sup>72</sup> China would like to project a pluralist and multicultural image, but only if this does not violate the basic national interest - the unity of the People's Republic of China. On the other hand, exhibitions which show different aspects of Chinese

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<sup>68</sup> C. B. Liddell, <<Treasures from China's rich tapestry of cultures>>, *The Japanese Times*, October 12, 2012, <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/culture/2012/10/12/arts/treasures-from-chinas-rich-tapestry-of-cultures/#.UwOVhdJH534>, as of February 22, 2014.

<sup>69</sup> Liddell, 2012.

<sup>70</sup> Liddell, 2012.

<sup>71</sup> Liddell, 2012.

<sup>72</sup> Liddell, 2012.

culture are able to provide a context in which to understand the Chinese government's policy, and therefore contribute to cultural diplomacy.

Returning to the Fitzwilliam exhibition, the juxtaposition and comparison of objects from two kingdoms could serve China's cultural diplomacy in a similar way as the show in Japan, demonstrating that "China" should never be simplified just because it is 'used to encapsulate a vast heterogeneous portion of the World's population.'<sup>73</sup> China is a multicultural and complex nation, and has been so from its beginning.

Furthermore, this exhibition also offered the audience an opportunity to 'discover connections among ancient cultures from different parts of the world.'<sup>74</sup> Some objects displayed in the show bear 'foreign influences in their designs, patterns, motifs, craftsmanship and technique,'<sup>75</sup> such as the silver casket influenced by Parthian Persia<sup>76</sup> and gold belt plaque influenced by Iranian silver.<sup>77</sup> Melikian also imagined that the earthenware dancers, 'shaking the long sleeves of their gowns' were performing a 'Sogdian dance that likewise travelled along the Iran-China route via the then Sogdian oases of present day Xinjiang.'<sup>78</sup> He thought objects bearing such foreign influences could 'reveal an assimilation process that was progressing fast,' which illustrated 'the Chinese prodigious aptitude at recasting foreign ideas and artistic models through their own world vision' and transforming them into 'utterly new creations.'<sup>79</sup>

When interviewed by the media for this exhibition, the Director of the Nanyue King Museum, Wu Lingyun, was proud of the historical value of his museum's collection, saying that,

We have also found ivory from Africa and mastic gum from west Africa... We have always thought that such place as Nanyue, which is far from the central China, could be less developed. But traces of foreign trade could be found there 2,000 years ago. Just imagine how powerful the Han could be.<sup>80</sup>

His argument highly correlates with Dr James Lin's curatorial intention for this exhibition, which was not only to understand Han culture itself, but also its influence.<sup>81</sup> And this influence was peaceful -

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<sup>73</sup> Liddell, 2012.

<sup>74</sup> <<Han treasures visit London>>, *China Daily*, May 11, 2012.

<sup>75</sup> *China Daily*, May 11 2012.

<sup>76</sup> Moore, 2012.

<sup>77</sup> Melikian, 2012.

<sup>78</sup> Melikian, 2012.

<sup>79</sup> Melikian, 2012.

<sup>80</sup> <<Cambridge's Museum tells story of ancient China>>, *China Daily*, May 4, 2012,

[http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2012-05/04/content\\_15209622.htm](http://usa.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2012-05/04/content_15209622.htm), as of February 22, 2014

<sup>81</sup> *China Daily*, May 4, 2012.

diplomacy, trade and culture. This intention was achieved through the curator's unique and pioneering way of presenting the exhibition, which was regarded as the 'most intelligently conceived exhibition of ancient Chinese art within living memory, whether in narrow terms of art history or as a broader window into one of the most resilient cultures in the world.'<sup>82</sup>

Based on Bamber Gascoigne's interpretation of the 1973 Chinese exhibition travelling in the West, as a tool to communicate a 'useful Communist point – conspicuous consumption and the exploitation of skilful workers (even to death),' Nicholas Cranfield, writing in the *Church Times*, argued that it was Han China's 'increased interest in diplomatic and trade exchanges between East and West' that 'promoted the idea of this exhibition, which brings together treasures from just two sites.'<sup>83</sup> Even though the curator's reasons to juxtapose the two tombs were more varied than this, this exhibition did present a dynamic and open Han China which influenced others and was influenced by others through art, diplomacy and trade. And this Han China was so influential for modern China. This is probably the biggest contribution of this exhibition to the image and understanding of modern China.

As John Brown, an American cultural diplomat, argued, the value of high art diplomacy for the United States' cultural diplomacy,

While it may not have a "message," as information programs do, or "educational goals," as exchanges do, arts diplomacy helps present America as a complex and multidimensional country that cannot be reduced to slogans or simplifications. In a word, it shows that America is human.<sup>84</sup>

To some degree, this is exactly akin to China's cultural diplomacy through loan exhibitions, as exemplified by the *Search for Immortality* exhibition discussed here. A "complex", "multidimensional" and "human" China which "cannot be reduced to slogans or simplifications" is definitely the desired image for China's peaceful development – the overarching national and international strategy in the new century. These images were shaped by this exhibition through the curator's specific perspectives. According to Tao-Tao Chang, it was, partly, this innovative and creative curatorship that played a vital role in persuading the Chinese government to allow this exceptional loan.

### ***Chinese government as facilitator for museum exchange***

As demonstrated through this paper, exhibitions can serve China's cultural diplomacy by symbolizing China's political goodwill and shaping a favourable image for the country. However, it

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<sup>82</sup> Melikian, 2012.

<sup>83</sup> Cranfield, 2012.

<sup>84</sup> John Brown, 'Art diplomacy: the neglected aspect of cultural diplomacy', in William P. Kiehl ed., *America's Dialogue with the World*, Public Diplomacy Council, Washington DC, 2006, 71-90, p.85.

would be untrue to suggest that the government acts directly as author of exhibition scripts and controls exhibition messages. Actually, the original concept for this exhibition came from the Fitzwilliam's curator, Dr James Lin, but in a smaller version with the loans from the Xuzhou Museum only. Only after one of the Fitzwilliam's directors visited Nanyue King Museum on a British Council delegation was the second Chinese museum added, at the request of the Fitzwilliam.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, the AEC had to be consulted and be in charge of all negotiations, due to Chinese regulations that any exhibition borrowed from Chinese museums located in two or more provinces needs to be negotiated with the AEC, rather than the lending museums.<sup>86</sup> However, as the exhibition was already shaping up at that time, the AEC only played a facilitating role, especially in negotiating the contracts, logistics and helping to apply for official approval rather than being directly involved in the exhibition's curatorship or design. It should be noted that the AEC's involvement still caused some difficulties for communication between the four parties, but this is beyond the discussion of this paper. The two Chinese museums did not change the Fitzwilliam's curatorship and design either, except refusing requests for several pieces, due to the fact that the objects were not suitable for exhibition at that time. Neither did the State Council or the SACH change the curatorship or design when assessing the loans.<sup>87</sup>

In this century, along with economic development, China's pursuit of soft power has turned to the cultural field. For a peaceful and friendly international environment for China's development at home and abroad, the attention paid to cultural diplomacy has increased. However, there is always fear that the Chinese government will use culture as propaganda, which in some way weakens the reception of Chinese culture and the efficacy of China's cultural diplomacy.

However, as discussed in this paper, at least in the field of loan exhibitions, it is true to say that China's cultural diplomacy has gradually got rid of the mode of one-sided state propaganda and transformed into a much more comprehensive and sophisticated approach. The government keeps some control over exhibitions, but still allows the museums involved considerable freedom in shaping them. There is no doubt that there are still some problems within the current systems to manage exhibition exchanges. It is still fair to conclude that China's cultural diplomacy is operated through a complex bureaucracy and distancing, rather than through direct instrumentalization as Western commentators often assume, even though the political and diplomatic intentions remain.

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<sup>85</sup> James Lin, curator of the exhibition and senior assistant keeper of the Applied Art Department of the Fitzwilliam Museum, pers. comm., June 20, 2013.

<sup>86</sup> AEC staff and Chinese museums, pers. comms., summer, 2013.

<sup>87</sup> James Lin, pers. comm., June 20, 2013.

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## PROPOSAL REGARDING MODIFICATION OF THE USA'S FOREIGN SOVEREIGN IMMUNITIES ACT FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE LENT BY FOREIGN MUSEUMS<sup>88</sup>

### Introduction

Eviscerating the protections afforded by the 1965 Immunity from Seizure Act (IFSA), *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam* in 2005 proved an overt threat to cultural exchange as foreign policy, pitting the USA against foreign interests.<sup>89</sup> In *Malewicz*, the court permitted the claimants to distinguish immunity from seizure of the cultural work under IFSA from immunity from suit.<sup>90</sup> The court found that actions surrounding the lending of a work to the USA fit within an exception to foreign sovereignty under the Foreign Sovereign Immunity Act (FSIA) thereby abrogating the foreign state's immunity from suit.<sup>91</sup>

Recognizing that the protection afforded to foreign sovereign lenders of cultural heritage was being undermined, the Foreign Cultural Exchange Jurisdictional Immunity Clarification Act was fast-tracked through the House of Representatives to immunize foreign sovereign lenders from suit.<sup>92</sup> It stalled in the Senate amidst protests from the cultural community.<sup>93</sup> Since then, the bill has been reintroduced.<sup>94</sup> While there has been much interest in lawsuits involving cultural heritage from foreign lenders, a neutral analysis of the issues and options to resolve this issue while maintaining the values of the USA's cultural heritage regime have been largely ignored.

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<sup>88</sup> While many questions were asked about the *Agudas Chasidei Chabad v. Russian Federation* case at the conference, the *Chabad* case is not applicable to this topic as it involves claims involving Nazi looted works that fall within the Clarification Act exception. See Irina Tarsis & Elizabeth Varner, *Reviewing the Agudas Chasidei Chabad v. Russian Federation, et al. Dispute*, 18 AM. SOC. OF INTL L.: INSIGHTS 8 (2014), <http://www.asil.org/insights/volume/18/issue/8/reviewing-agudas-chasidei-chabad-v-russian-federation-et-al-dispute>; Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, *Beyond Cold War over a Restitution Claim*, 18 ART, ANTIQUITY & LAW 4 (2013).

<sup>89</sup> *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 362 F. Supp. 2d 298 (D. D.C. 2005).

<sup>90</sup> *Id.*

<sup>91</sup> *Id.*

<sup>92</sup> Library of Congress, Bill Summary & Status 112<sup>th</sup> Congress (2011-2012) H.R. 4086, <http://thomas.loc.gov/home/thomas.php> (click "Advanced Search", then click "112" under "Select Congress"; enter "H.R. 4086" into Word/Phrase search box)(last visited Sept. 11, 2014).

<sup>93</sup> *Id.*; Doreen Carvajal, *Dispute Over Bill to Protect Art Lent to Museums*, NY. TIMES, May 21, 2012, available at [http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/22/arts/design/dispute-over-bill-to-protect-art-lent-to-museums.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/22/arts/design/dispute-over-bill-to-protect-art-lent-to-museums.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0).

<sup>94</sup> Library of Congress, Bill Summary & Status 113<sup>th</sup> Congress (2013-2014) H.R. 4292, <http://thomas.loc.gov/home/thomas.php> (enter "H.R. 4292" into Bill Summary & Status Word/Phrase search box)(last visited Sept. 11, 2014).

This article analyzes critical terms and history for immunity of cultural heritage lent by foreign museums to the USA, then reviews current legislation and concludes with a brief summary and thoughts for going forward.

### **History of Immunity for International Cultural Heritage Loans to the USA**

Clarification of the key terms of immunity from seizure and immunity from jurisdiction as well as their concomitant legislation – the Immunity from Seizure Act (IFSA) and Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act (FSIA) – is crucial to understanding the issues in this debate. The IFSA provides immunity from seizure to cultural heritage that meets the IFSA requirements.<sup>95</sup> The FSIA provides immunity from jurisdiction to foreign sovereigns unless one of the listed FSIA exceptions applies.<sup>96</sup>

An analysis of the creation and implementation of the IFSA and the FSIA as well as a review of the *Malewicz* case illuminates the history of immunity for international cultural heritage loans to the USA.

### **Immunity from Seizure Act of 1965<sup>97</sup>**

The September 15, 1965 Report accompanying the Immunity from Seizure Act stated that the purpose of the act was “to provide a process to render immune from seizure under judicial process certain objects of cultural significance imported into the United States for temporary display or exhibition, and to provide machinery to achieve this objective.”<sup>98</sup>

In the House Congressional Record on October 5, 1965, Representative Rogers revealed

The bill is consistent with the policy of the Department of State to assist and encourage educational and cultural exchange. . . . If a foreign country or an agency should send exhibits to this country in the exchange and cultural program and someone should decide that it is necessary for them to institute a lawsuit against that particular country or those who may own the cultural

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<sup>95</sup> U.S. Department of State, Immunity from Judicial Seizure – Cultural Objects, <http://www.state.gov/s/l/c3432.htm> (last visited Sept. 11, 2014).

<sup>96</sup> See Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. §1604-05 (1976), available at <http://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/28/part-IV/chapter-97>; see also US Government Printing Office, 90 Stat. 2891 – Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act (1976), <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/STATUTE-90/pdf/STATUTE-90-Pg2891.pdf>.

<sup>97</sup> The full title of this act when it was enacted in 1965 was “To render immune from seizure under judicial process certain objects of cultural significance imported into the United States for temporary display or exhibition, and for other purposes”. 22 U.S.C. § 2459, available at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCODE-1994-title22/pdf/USCODE-1994-title22-chap33-sec2459.pdf>.

<sup>98</sup> S. Rep. No. 89-747 (1965).

objects, the bill would assure the country that if they did send the objects to us, *they would not be subjected to a suit and an attachment.*<sup>99</sup>

The IFSA prevents seizure of foreign cultural heritage imported into the USA if, before a foreign-owned work has entered the country, the borrower successfully meets the U.S. Department of State's requirements.<sup>100</sup>

### Foreign Sovereign Immunity Act

Foreign sovereign immunity has gone through multiple permutations since its creation.<sup>101</sup> Prior to 1952, the US granted absolute sovereign immunity to foreign nations.<sup>102</sup> In 1952, the US Department of State implemented the restrictive theory of sovereign immunity under which there was no immunity for sovereigns' actions that private entities or persons could also perform.<sup>103</sup>

In 1976, the FSIA was enacted to codify the restrictive theory, move the immunity decision from the US Department of State to the courts and create consistent rulings on whether a sovereign's actions were immune.<sup>104</sup> This Act vests the courts with jurisdiction to determine the sovereign's immunity.<sup>105</sup>

The FSIA grants sovereign immunity, but also has exceptions that remove immunity.<sup>106</sup> Of these exceptions, the Expropriation Exception has been at issue in recent cases involving cultural heritage loans.<sup>107</sup> The Expropriation Exception has four elements: (1) "rights in property"; (2) "taken in violation of international law" and (3) "that property or any property exchanged for such property is present in the United States" (4) "in connection with a commercial activity carried on in the United States by the

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<sup>99</sup> CONG. REC., H25,928-9 (daily ed. Oct. 5, 1965) (statement of Rep. Rogers) (*emphasis added*). This dialogue also indicated that at the formation of this bill there had not been any previous suits involving cultural heritage loans perhaps because there had not much international exchange of the works. *See id.* "Mr. GROSS. What has been the experience with respect to seizure of objects which have been brought to the United States in the past? Have any suits been brought to seize them? Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. So far as I know there have not been any suits instituted heretofore, nor has there been much of an exchange under the cultural program in this area. Mr. GROSS. Does the gentleman anticipate quite an increase in the exchange of cultural objects? Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. We just want to." *Id.*

<sup>100</sup> U.S. Department of State, Immunity from Judicial Seizure – Cultural Objects, <http://www.state.gov/s/l/c3432.htm> (last visited Sept. 11, 2014); U.S. Department of State, Check List for Applicants, <http://www.state.gov/s/l/3196.htm> (last visited Sept. 11, 2014).

<sup>101</sup> *See* Mark Feldman, *The United States Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976 in Perspective: A Founder's View*, 35 INT'L & COMP. L.Q. 302 (1986).

<sup>102</sup> *Id.* *See* Republic of Austria v. Altmann, 541 U.S. 677 (2004).

<sup>103</sup> *See* Feldman, *A Founder's View*, *supra* note 14; U.S. Department of State, Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, <http://travel.state.gov/content/travel/english/legal-considerations/judicial/service-of-process/foreign-sovereign-immunities-act.html> (last visited Sept. 11, 2014).

<sup>104</sup> *See* Feldman, *A Founder's View*, *supra* note 14; *see also* Mark Feldman, *Cultural Property Litigation and the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act of 1976: the Expropriation Exception to Immunity*, 3 ABA SEC. INT'L L. 2 (2011), available at [http://www.gsblaw.com/pdfs/ACH\\_Law\\_Newsletter\\_Summer\\_2011.pdf](http://www.gsblaw.com/pdfs/ACH_Law_Newsletter_Summer_2011.pdf).

<sup>105</sup> Foreign Sovereign Immunity Act, 28 U.S.C. §1604-7 (1976); *see* Feldman, *A Founder's View*, *supra* note 14.

<sup>106</sup> Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. §1604-05.

<sup>107</sup> *See* Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam, 362 F. Supp. 2d 298 (D. D.C. 2005).

foreign state” or, alternatively, (3) “that property or any property exchanged for such property is owned or operated by an agency or instrumentality of the foreign state” (4) “and that agency or instrumentality is engaged in a commercial activity in the United States”.<sup>108</sup>

### *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam, 2005*

The Expropriation Exception was at issue in *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, which is the case typically cited in discussions about cultural heritage suits involving both the IFSA and FSIA.<sup>109</sup> This case’s impact can be seen in Representative Goodlatte’s remarks in the House Report of May 6, 2014 when he stated, “[i]n these decisions, the Federal courts have held that the Immunity from Seizure Act does not preempt the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. The effect has been to open foreign governments up to the jurisdiction of U.S. courts simply because they loaned artwork or cultural objects to an American museum or educational institution.”<sup>110</sup>

In the *Malewicz* case, heirs of Kazimir Malewicz, a Russian artist, sued the City of Amsterdam for paintings, which the City of Amsterdam had lent to the Guggenheim and Menil Collection in 2003.<sup>111</sup> The Malewicz heirs claimed that the City of Amsterdam’s acquisition of the works was invalid.<sup>112</sup> The court denied the City of Amsterdam’s motion to dismiss for lack of jurisdiction pursuant to FSIA.<sup>113</sup> The court cited *Magness v. Russian Federation* for the determination that “[i]mmunity from seizure is not immunity from suit for a declaration of rights or for damages arising from an alleged conversion if the other terms for FSIA jurisdiction exist.”<sup>114</sup> Moreover, the court found there was

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<sup>108</sup> Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. § 1605(a)(3) (1976).

<sup>109</sup> *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 362 F. Supp. 2d 298 (D. D.C. 2005); see Stephen J. Knerly, Jr. & Kristen L. Gest, *International Loans State Immunity and Anti-Seizure Laws*, in ALI-ABA LEGAL ISSUES IN MUSEUM ADMINISTRATION COURSE BOOK (2009).

<sup>110</sup> CONG. REC., H3,430 (daily ed. May 6, 2014) (statement of Rep. Goodlatte).

<sup>111</sup> *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 362 F. Supp. 2d 298 (D. D.C. 2005).

<sup>112</sup> *Id.*

<sup>113</sup> *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 517 F. Supp. 2d 322 (D. D.C. 2007); *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 362 F. Supp. 2d 298 (D. D.C. 2005).

<sup>114</sup> *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 362 F. Supp. 2d 298 (D. D.C. 2005) (*citing* *Magness v. Russian Fed’n*, 84 F. Supp. 2d 1357 (S.D. Ala. 2000) (*contra* *Magness v. Russian Fed’n*, 84 F. Supp. 2d 1357 (S.D. Ala. 2000))). Interestingly, the Alabama *Magness* court that the *Malewicz* court cited did not evaluate FISA. *Magness v. Russian Fed’n*, 84 F. Supp. 2d 1357 (S.D. Ala. 2000). Rather, the Alabama *Magness* court found the inquiry stopped upon the determination that the property the claimants sought for execution of the Texas *Magness* judgment was immune from seizure under IFSA. *Id.* The Alabama court in *Magness* noted

The property of a foreign state is generally immune from attachment or execution pursuant to the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act. See 28 U.S.C. § 1609. Plaintiffs rely on certain statutory exceptions that apply when property of a foreign state is used for a commercial activity in the United States. The Court need not determine the applicability of those exceptions, however, because seizure is not permitted in this case due to another law [IFSA] which specifically forbids the use of judicial process to seize another country's works of art or objects of cultural significance.

insufficient information to determine if contacts were sufficiently substantial to meet the fourth prong of the Expropriation Exception.<sup>115</sup>

In 2007, the City of Amsterdam submitted additional information to address the fourth prong of the Expropriation Exception and renewed its request to dismiss for lack of jurisdiction.<sup>116</sup>

The court denied the City of Amsterdam's motion to dismiss for lack of jurisdiction under FSIA finding that the Expropriation Exception applied citing the contract for the art loans, fees for the loans and the sending of the City of Amsterdam's employees to the US to oversee the loan as substantial

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*Id.*

A summary of the *Magness* case follows. In 1997, heirs of the Magness family sued in the Southern District of Texas to recover St. Petersburg real estate seized during the Bolshevik revolution in 1918 and sought a temporary restraining order for a Houston exhibition of Romanov jewels on loan from the Russian Federation and associated parties. *Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 247 F.3d 609 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2001). The court denied the request for the temporary restraining order. *Id.*

In 1998, the court ordered the Magness heirs to serve the summons and complaint on the Russian Federation and associated parties who did not appear in court. *Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 54 F. Supp. 2d 700 (S.D. Tex. 1999); *see Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 247 F.3d 609 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2001). Thereafter, Magness heirs filed a motion for default judgment. *See Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 247 F.3d 609 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2001). The district court in Texas determined that service was adequate and that the Russian Federation was not immune pursuant to FSIA. *See Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 54 F. Supp. 2d 700 (S.D. Tex. 1999); Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act, 28 U.S.C. §1605(A)(2)-(3). The court entered a default judgment for more than \$234 million and interest. *See Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 84 F. Supp. 2d 1357 (S.D. Ala. 2000).

The *Magness* Texas court opinions never address the immunity of the objects under IFSA since Russia did not participate, and thus, did not raise that defense. *Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 247 F.3d 609 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2001); *Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 54 F. Supp. 2d 700 (S.D. Tex.1999).

While the Russian defendants sought to appeal the denial to vacate the judgment, heirs of Magness sought to execute the judgment by seizing the Russian Federation's loaned cultural heritage in the Nicholas and Alexandra Exhibit, which by this time was on display in Mobile, Alabama. *Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 247 F.3d 609 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2001); *Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 84 F. Supp. 2d 1357 (S.D. Ala. 2000). The US intervened in the Alabama proceedings noting its opposition as the works were protected from seizure under federal law. *Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 84 F. Supp. 2d 1357 (S.D. Ala. 2000). Chief Justice Butler of the US District Court in Southern Division of Alabama determined that the works could not be seized and that the court didn't need to address FSIA because the inquiry ended with the objects being immune under IFSA. *Id.*

The Alabama Court noted "this Court will not attempt to go behind [the State Department's] determination and, thus, put in jeopardy the Exhibition which was originally brought into this country in reliance on such a determination. In effect, the plaintiffs are asking this Court to *ex post facto* overrule the June 4th, 1998, Notice of Determination" in the Federal Register. *Id.*

In 2001, Russian defendants appealed the Texas 1999 default judgment. *Magness v. Russian Fed'n*, 247 F.3d 609 (5<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2001). The court found that the Magness heirs did not perfect service of process such that default judgment "should be vacated, that the case must be remanded, and that the Magness descendants should be allowed a reasonable time to perfect service upon the defendants." *Id.*

<sup>115</sup> *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 517 F. Supp. 2d 322 (D. D.C. 2007); *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 362 F. Supp. 2d 298 (D. D.C. 2005); *see Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act*, 28 U.S.C. § 1605(a)(3).

<sup>116</sup> *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 517 F. Supp. 2d 322 (D. D.C. 2007).

contacts.<sup>117</sup> Consequently, in this case, a foreign sovereign's lent work was protected under the IFSA, but the actions surrounding the lending of the work were used as a jurisdictional hook to bring the foreign sovereign before the US court to resolve issues involving that work.

### **Foreign Cultural Exchange Jurisdictional Immunity Clarification Act, 2012**

In response, the Foreign Cultural Exchange Jurisdictional Immunity Clarification Act (hereinafter Clarification Act, 2012), HR 4086, was introduced to the House on February 24, 2012 under the sponsorship of Representatives Steve Chabot, Steve Cohen, John Conyers and Lamar Smith.<sup>118</sup> Clarification Act, 2012 was reported by the Committee on February 28, 2012; passed the House on March 19, 2012 and was introduced in the Senate as S. 2212 on March 20, 2012 under the sponsorship of Senators Diane Feinstein, Orrin Hatch, Charles Schumer, John Corny, Thomas Coburn and Chris Coons where it subsequently died.<sup>119</sup>

The Clarification Act, 2012 was intended to modify the Expropriation Exception in the FSIA.<sup>120</sup> Under this modification, if a work acquired immunity under IFSA “any activity in the United States of such foreign state or any carrier associated with the temporary exhibit or display of such work shall not be considered to be commercial activity for purposes of . . . [28 U.S.C. § 1605] (a)(3)”, the Expropriation Exception, such that foreign sovereign lenders would receive jurisdictional immunity.<sup>121</sup> However, there was no immunity for Nazi-era claims where “the action is based upon a claim that the work was taken in Europe in violation of international law” by the Nazi Germany government or a government occupied, established or allied with that Nazi Germany government between January 30, 1933 to May 8, 1945 and “the court determines that the activity associated with the exhibition or display is commercial activity.”<sup>122</sup>

### **Foreign Cultural Exchange Jurisdictional Immunity Clarification Act, 2014**

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<sup>117</sup> *Id.* This case was then settled. *Id.* Several works were returned to the heirs and sold at Sotheby's. Howard Spiegler, *Litigation against a Foreign Sovereign in the US to Recover Artworks on Temporary Loan: The Malewicz Case* (2007), <http://www.herrick.com/siteFiles/Publications/87D1CF92A0C66711F15EEF9F23207990.pdf>.

<sup>118</sup> Library of Congress, Bill Summary & Status 112<sup>th</sup> Congress (2011-2012) H.R. 4086, <http://thomas.loc.gov/home/thomas.php> (click “Advanced Search”, then click “112” under “Select Congress”; enter “H.R. 4086” into Word/Phrase search box)(last visited Sept. 11, 2014).

<sup>119</sup> *Id.*; Library of Congress, Bill Summary & Status 112<sup>th</sup> Congress (2011-2012) S. 2212, <http://thomas.loc.gov/home/thomas.php> (click “Advanced Search”, then click “112” under “Select Congress”; enter “H.R. 4086” into Word/Phrase search box; click “Related Bills”, click “S.2212”)(last visited Sept. 11, 2014).

<sup>120</sup> S. 2212, 112<sup>th</sup> Cong. (2012), available at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/BILLS-112s2212is/pdf/BILLS-112s2212is.pdf>.

<sup>121</sup> *Id.*

<sup>122</sup> *Id.*

The Foreign Cultural Exchange Jurisdictional Immunity Clarification Act (hereinafter Clarification Act, 2014) is at issue again.<sup>123</sup>

House Representatives Steve Chabot, John Conyers and Bob Goodlatte sponsored the most recent iteration of the Clarification Act, H.R. 4292.<sup>124</sup> This bill was introduced to the House of Representatives on March 25, 2014; was reported to the House Committee on April 2, 2014; passed the House on May 6, 2014 and was introduced to the Senate and sent to the Committee on the Judiciary on May 7, 2014.<sup>125</sup>

A report accompanying Clarification Act, 2014 elaborated upon the perceived need for the legislation. This legislation, as detailed from a report accompanying H.R. 4292 that Representative Goodlatte submitted, is in response to recent cases that have interpreted a provision of FSIA in a manner that opens foreign governments up to the jurisdiction of U.S. courts if foreign government-owned artwork is present in the United States in connection with a commercial activity and there is a claim that the artwork was taken in violation of international law. Courts have determined that the non-profit exhibition or display of the artwork can be considered ‘present in the United States in connection with commercial activity’ even if the artwork has been granted immunity under IFSA.<sup>126</sup>

According to a 2014 House Report the purpose of this legislation it to “clarif[y] the relationship between the immunity provided by the IFSA and the exceptions to sovereign immunity provided for in FSIA” to “make it easier for U.S. museums and educational institutions to borrow works of art and other objects from abroad, increasing Americans’ opportunities for cultural and educational development.”<sup>127</sup>

### **Concluding Summation and Thoughts**

Conflicting views exist in regard to this proposed legislation.

Some believe that the current proposal fits current needs, remedies *Malewicz* and encourages cultural exchange of loans.<sup>128</sup> One cited benefit of this legislation is encouraging the lending of cultural

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<sup>123</sup> The Library of Congress, Thomas, Bill Summary & Status 113<sup>th</sup> Congress (2013-2014) H.R. 4292, <http://thomas.loc.gov/home/thomas.php> (enter “4292” into Word/Phrase search box).

<sup>124</sup> *Id.*

<sup>125</sup> *Id.* As of September 11, 2014, the date this paper was presented at the ICOM Museum & Politics Conference, this bill had not attracted any co-sponsors. *See id.*

<sup>126</sup> H. Rep. No. 113-435 (2014), available at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CRPT-113hrpt435/pdf/CRPT-113hrpt435.pdf>.

<sup>127</sup> *Id.*; see CONG. REC., H3,429-30 (daily ed. May 6, 2014).

<sup>128</sup> See Rick St. Hilaire, *Back Again: H.R. 4292, The Foreign Cultural Exchange Immunity Clarification Act*, <http://culturalheritagelawyer.blogspot.com/2014/03/back-again-hr-4292-foreign-cultural.html> (last visited Sept. 11, 2014); see Nicholas O’Donnell, *Foreign Cultural Exchange Jurisdictional Immunity Clarification Act Passes House of*

heritage by foreign sovereign lenders.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, this Clarification Act follows the intent of the drafters of the IFSA in that they wished that foreign lenders would not be subject to suit.<sup>130</sup>

Others think no special legislation is needed. Howard Spiegler noted that *Malewicz* has not chilled loans to US as there have been international cultural heritage loans after *Malewicz* and there have not been other cases distinguishing immunity from jurisdiction from seizure since *Malewicz*.<sup>131</sup>

Some, such as the Lawyers Committee for Cultural Heritage Preservation (LCCHP), Professor Patty Gerstenblith at DePaul University College of Law, Tom Kline of Andrews Kurth and Brian Daniels of the Penn Cultural Heritage Center are concerned about this proposed bill as it could be considered discriminatory in that it has a carve-out for Nazi era works such that those works would not be immune from jurisdiction, but heritage taken in violation of international law from non-European countries or from other conflicts would still be immune from jurisdiction.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, LCCHP cites

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*Representatives Overwhelmingly*, <http://www.artlawreport.com/2014/05/07/foreign-cultural-exchange-jurisdictional-immunity-clarification-act-passes-house-of-representatives-overwhelmingly/> (last visited Sept. 11, 2014).

<sup>129</sup> H. Rep. No. 113-435 (2014), available at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/CRPT-113hrpt435/pdf/CRPT-113hrpt435.pdf>.

<sup>130</sup> See CONG. REC., H25,928-9 (daily ed. Oct. 5, 1965). This legislation was created in an era when there were not many cultural heritage loans. See *id.*

<sup>131</sup> Howard Spiegler, *The Seminal Case of Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 5 ART & CULTURAL HERITAGE L. NEWSL. 1 (ABA Section of International Law), Spring, 2014. Note that Howard Spiegler was among the attorneys representing the Malewicz estate. See *Malewicz v. City of Amsterdam*, 517 F. Supp. 2d 322 (D. D.C. 2007). See CONG. REC., H3,430 (daily ed. May 6, 2014).

CONFERENCE ON JEWISH MATERIAL  
CLAIMS AGAINST GERMANY, INC.  
New York, NY, December 19, 2013.

Mr. TIMOTHY RUB,  
*President, Association of Art Museum Directors,*  
*The George D. Widener Director and CEO, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, PA.*

DEAR MR. RUB,

Anita Difanis has now sent us the language of the most recent draft of the immunity bill (the “Foreign Cultural Exchange Jurisdictional Immunity Clarification Act”) that the AAMD is asking be introduced to the Congress. We have reviewed the points that concerned us, namely those in regard to Nazi Era claims.

While we are not persuaded of the need for this special legislation, we have no objection to it. The American Jewish Committee concurs with this view.

Sincerely yours,

GREG SCHNEIDER,  
*Executive Vice-President.*

*Id.*

<sup>132</sup> Letter from Lawyers’ Committee for Cultural Heritage Preservation to Senators Leahy, Feinstein, and Hatch (May, 2014). E-mail communications with the author.



concerns in their letter to Senators Leahy, Feinstein and Hatch that this proposed legislation grants a carve-out in the immunity for the “Government of Germany” seizures during the Nazi era, but not private actors who stole or looted work.<sup>133</sup> Thus, a foreign sovereign lender could still be immune from jurisdiction if they acquired and lent works that a private actor took in violation of international law during the Nazi regime.<sup>134</sup> They also believe the legislation is too narrow in that it only protects state lenders from jurisdiction – not private lenders.<sup>135</sup> Finally, LCCHP claims courts might not have the jurisdiction to determine ownership claims under this bill and it could potentially permit US institutions to exhibit stolen works.<sup>136</sup>

These groups believe encouraging cultural exchange is important and changes need to be made to the existing status quo, but perhaps they need to be made differently than the current reiteration of the Clarification Act. They suggest that amending the IFSA to include immunity from jurisdiction might be more appropriate than reworking a portion of the FSIA.<sup>137</sup> By modifying the IFSA instead of the FSIA, jurisdictional immunity would apply more broadly to both private and sovereign lenders.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, as LCCHP noted in their letter to the senators, “this approach would require lending and borrowing museums to engage in meaningful and transparent analysis of the provenance history of art works for which they seek immunity and would require State to provide genuine oversight” rather than create a narrow discriminatory carve-out for Nazi era work.<sup>139</sup>

All of these different discussions indicate that there is still much debate to be had. Even if this reiteration of the bill fails, perhaps this information could help inform a new bill that might better address concerns.

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<sup>133</sup> *Id.*

<sup>134</sup> *Id.*

<sup>135</sup> *Id.*

<sup>136</sup> *Id.*

<sup>137</sup> *Id.*

<sup>138</sup> *Id.*

<sup>139</sup> *Id.*

## **The German-Russian Museum Dialogue – Activities and Projects**

The history and origins of museum collections are viewed with increasing interest in international museum work and by the public. Museums in the Federal Republic of Germany place an emphasis on events after Hitler's seizure of power. This results in research on looted art of Jewish and of East or West European provenance in German public collections. At the same time, museums in the former German Democratic Republic and West Berlin, in particular, bear the burden of works they lost in the years 1945 to 1947.

Since its founding in 1988, the Cultural Foundation of the German Federal States (Kulturstiftung der Länder) has seen itself as a supporter and advisor of the museums in Germany. The Foundation is thus also interested in taking up important cultural-political themes and having them handled as prototypes. In this context, it supported the KINDER ZUM OLYMP! (Children to Olympus) initiative to encourage cultural education for children and youth, and also sponsored the KUR Project for the conservation and restoration of movable cultural assets or the Bureau for Provenance Research (Arbeitsstelle für Provenienzforschung). The commitment to the German-Russian Museum Dialogue is also to be understood in this framework. The project is an attempt to build a bridge between museum colleagues of both countries that is independent of the official political state of affairs.

The German-Russian Museum Dialogue (DRMD) was founded in Berlin in 2005, to make possible or advance activities and contacts between German and Russian museums on the professional level. The project focus is on mutual research into German and Russian war-related losses of cultural objects. The dialogue was initiated by the Foundation of Prussian Cultural Heritage (Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz), the Cultural Foundation of the German Federal States, and over eighty German museums to strengthen German-Russian cooperation in scientific endeavors and to involve smaller museums in both countries in the process. Thus, the aim is not only to clarify the situation of art and cultural objects in Germany and Russia displaced because of war, but also, in particular, to encourage scientific exchange on a basis of trust between the colleagues. A special interest is to support research reconstructing the histories of the German and Russian museums' collections and individual artworks. The question of restitution demands is excluded in this solely academic context and should be

addressed at the governmental level. The spokesperson for the initiative on the German side is Hermann Parzinger, the president of the Foundation of Prussian Cultural Heritage, and on the Russian side Michail Piotrovsky, the director general of the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg. The administrative office is located with the Cultural Foundation of the German Federal States in Berlin.

“**Verlust + Rückgabe**” (Loss + Return), which took place in 2008, was the first project initiated by the German-Russian Museum Dialogue. The occasion was the 50th anniversary of the second large restitution of art by the Soviet Union to the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in the years 1955 to 1958, amounting to over 1.5 million works. The DRMD commemorated this event, which especially in western Germany is generally unknown, with the participation of 28 German museums. On March 31, 1955, the Council of Ministers of the USSR had announced the return of paintings for the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden as a gesture of friendship to its military partner, the GDR. The return that same year of important paintings by Dürer and Jan van Eyck, as well as Raphael’s *Sistine Madonna*, marked the start of the extensive restitution that saw valuable art treasures shipped from Moscow and Leningrad as of September 1958. The objects’ return served as an impetus for the rebuilding of the war-damaged museums and the entire East German museum landscape, culminating in the reopening in October 1959 of the Pergamon Museum, which had been given back its incomparable altar frieze, as well large sections of the Bode Museum.

An extensive research project ongoing since 2008 is investigating the war and postwar losses of German museums by **analyzing the transport and distribution lists of cultural items relocated to the Soviet Union as a result of war.**

The DRMD supports German museums in their attempts to clarify the nature and extent of their losses and create the conditions needed to be able to reconstruct their institutional and collection histories within the overall context of European and German-Russian history. For the DRMD it is not a matter of the physical restitution of cultural objects, but rather one of their public and scientific accessibility and notice.

A data base forms the foundation for the project. It is based on records documenting the activities of the Soviet trophy brigades, which were established in February 1943 by a decision of the State Defense Committee of the USSR. Initially they were to secure items of military and war-economic relevance at and behind the front. After the Yalta Conference the trophy brigades’ assignment was expanded, and as of February 1945 they were instructed to remove “all types” of trophy goods, which thus included cultural items as well. The members of the trophy brigades responsible for finding,

salvaging, registering, and removing the cultural items were generally specialists, active in civilian life as art historians, archaeologists, museum staff members, librarians, or university instructors.

The DRMD data base draws on the mentioned records to document the work of the trophy brigades in Germany as well as the activity of the museums in the Soviet Union that received the appropriated cultural objects beginning in April 1945. The data base provides insight into the brigades' particular working conditions in postwar Germany and the displaced art objects, and reveals the beginning race of the Allies for cultural items.

A comparison of these records with current inventory and loss documentation allows the identification of cultural items that to this day have been deemed lost. In this approach, the DRMD sees a basis for a dialogue about these cultural items; a foundation for German-Russian plans to inventory, restore, exhibit, or publicize; and a possibility to write the history of the Soviet trophy brigades from a mutual, German and Russian point of view. Only a comprehensive study of German and Russian historical records and linkage of current German and Russian research can bring about a new perspective on the history of the lost art.

The Russian-language records on the activity of the trophy brigades of the Art Committee attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR for the years 1945 to 1947 are preserved as a long-term loan in the Deutsches Kunstarchiv of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (GNM) in Nuremberg. The originals are held in the State Archive of Literature and Art (RGALI) in Moscow (Record group 962.6).

Following in the footsteps of research in the 1990s on "looted art" and with the benefit of extensive experience gained meanwhile on provenance research, this project's findings make it possible to describe in more detail the trophy brigades' activities and the history of German cultural assets after World War II. Since 2012 the data bank has been used to mount targeted searches of museum holdings for cultural goods displaced because of war. The individual museums' loss catalogues, losses registered with *lostart.de*, and the records in the central archive of the Foundation of Prussian Cultural Heritage, among others resources, are compared with the data bank entries. The procedure allows researchers to establish which objects actually did reach Russia.

In the meantime individual searches have been completed of almost twenty German museum collections. Thousands of cultural objects still unrestituted or presumably unrestituted could be identified until now. Connected with these searches is research on the sites where the artworks were moved during the war, on the process of relocating the collections there, and on the situation of the

collections during the war and postwar period. The searches will be continued for all of the other involved museums. The history of “looted art,” however, cannot be reduced to the activity of the trophy brigades. The searches show that it is hardly possible to generalize. In reality, each institution has its own loss history. The analyses to this point have already shown that artworks believed lost can be found with the data base. Henceforth, they can be researched mutually by the German and Russian colleagues and made available to the public in publications and exhibitions.

A further German-Russian research project within the framework of the DRMD is dedicated to studying the history of the **Russian museums during World War II**. From the over one hundred seventy museums suffering war-related losses, the collections in Novgorod and Pskov, as well as the imperial palaces of Tsarskoye Selo, Peterhof, Gatchina, and Pavlovsk with their collections, were chosen as exemplary research objects to be studied for the period from 1941 to the early 1950s. The six selected locations lay within the northern sector of the front during the war, making it possible to examine the institutional structures of art looting in case studies. Over 1150 years old, Novgorod was the capital of a trade-based medieval republic dominating all of northern Russia. Pskov, first mentioned in records in 903, also has a *kremlin* stemming from the twelfth century, as well as numerous churches and monasteries. The Tsarskoye Selo ensemble includes the Catharine and Alexander Palaces with a multitude of other stately structures, pavilions, and gardens. The imperial complex Peterhof, with its ten palatial mansions, various pavilions, and over one hundred and fifty fountains situated in a spacious park, as well as a canal to the Gulf of Finland, was erected in 1723. Major European architects subsequently expanded the imperial family’s summer residence. Gatchina Palace was built under Catherine the Great in the classicist style and surrounded by a park in the English tradition. In the nineteenth century the palace saw improvements as it became another prestigious residence of the tsar. The former imperial residence Pavlovsk was constructed as a classicist ensemble by the architect Charles Cameron in 1786.

Of primary interest to the project were and are the historical conditions experienced by the museums during the war. Which protective measures were taken and how were the museums treated during the occupation in their role as cultural institutions? For the period following liberation, questions are posed about their organization, the academic personnel, and the inventorying of losses. Some 56,000 of 180,000 artworks were evacuated from the palaces outside of Leningrad, with the rest falling prey to theft and plunder. At this point, the focus shifts to the perpetrators, the command staffs and organizations, including the Wehrmacht’s “art protection” and the “Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg”

(ERR) with its regional subdivisions and special units formed around areas of expertise. For the postwar period, the return by U.S. agencies of a total of 534,120 items to the USSR is well documented. Archive inventories in the USSR make it possible to reconstruct the routes of individual cultural items back to their museums of origin or their further shipment within the Soviet Union. A question in need of answering is how many cultural items looted by the Germans fell into Red Army hands and what subsequently happened with these objects. The research findings will be published in German and Russian in the spring of 2015.

These two large research aggregates present the DRMD with additional activities in the future.

## **Russian Museums during World War II: Case studies**



**Figure 1 Destroyed ballroom in the Catherine Palace in Pushkin, 1941. Photograph: Johannes Rompel, Bundesarchiv, Bild 101 I-352-1475-03**

Soviet museums suffered enormous losses of cultural assets during World War II. The actual extent of those losses remains unknown, as does the fate of the missing art and cultural goods.

To this day, the Russian side deplores the loss of more than a million cultural objects. These numbers trace back to research of the last twenty years, the findings of which are presented in a summary catalogue. The 50-volume work lists the losses of 18 museums and museum settings. This overview is a very important step, if only a first one, towards registering and investigating the Russian losses. Twenty years ago the Research Centre for East European Studies in Bremen was already engaged in a large project to address the issue of German looting of art and culture in the Soviet Union. The Bremen researchers' analysis of lists of wartime removals and of postwar returns revealed that these

records could only account for a small part of the lost collections. How the high loss statistics come about and what happened to many of the Russian cultural objects remained unresolved.

This ambiguity contributes to tensions existing between Russia and Germany regarding the war-related displacement of cultural assets. The German public perception is dominated by the impression that Russian museum depots contain vast numbers of artworks removed from Germany by Soviet trophy brigades after 1945. What preceded such events is less present in the public awareness. In the course of the German Wehrmacht's military campaign of annihilation in the Soviet Union, Russian cultural monuments were devastated and art plundered on a large scale. It is precisely these events that the Russian side references when arguing on the basis of "historical justification" against the German legal standpoint. One of the recurring complaints is that the German side is not energetic enough in its attempts to answer the question of whether, and, accordingly, where Russian art treasures remain in Germany. In addition, the suspicion endures in Russia that large inventories of cultural objects from the Soviet Union are still held by German museums.

On the other hand, in the Soviet Union cultural objects were not always returned to their place of origin following their restitution by the Allies. Often this happened inadvertently, because, for example, registration numbers were misinterpreted or occasionally because the museums originally holding the objects were too damaged; sometimes it was to compensate losses of other collections. In most cases, these cultural objects have still not been returned to their owners. These objects continue to be registered as losses by their museums of origin. This discrepancy, in turn, would have to be considered when researching and reconstructing the collection histories, but it is a rarely transparent matter. Meanwhile, this situation has resulted in frequent discord among the Russian museums themselves. Greater openness is needed regarding questions of looting and restitution, both transnationally and nationally.





**Figure 2 SS Boris and Gleb, Novgorod 1335, Novgorod, Museum of Ancient Art, now Moscow, State Historical Museum**

Our goal, therefore, is to gain more clarity about the losses. We accomplish this in our research project by carrying out case studies about selected locations, describing as precisely as possible the history of events for each of the museums from the late 1930s to the post war period. Our fundamental idea is that a greater understanding of historical events occurring at the locations can lead to new evidence and approaches in the search for specific objects, possibly even new clues. In the process, we study on the one hand the acts of war and the handling of art and cultural objects from both the Russian and German perspectives. On the other we look at the particular prevailing political and ideological conditions and interests, while considering their implementation and interpretation in the specific local situation.

In addition to the concrete grounds for our research, there are two gaps to be filled from a historiographic point of view: firstly, the discussion on looted art focuses primarily on so-called degenerate art and the confiscation of Jewish collections in Germany and the occupied countries in Western Europe. By contrast, Eastern Europe and South Eastern Europe remain largely neglected on the “looted art” map in the knowledge of the German public, in spite of research done on those regions.

Secondly, military history pays just as little attention to the subject of art as art history does to the events of war. Research on art in wartime is fundamentally lacking. This again applies less to Western Europe and more to Eastern Europe.

We chose the former imperial residences near St. Petersburg (in Pavlovsk, Pushkin, Peterhof, and Gatchina), as well as the museum ensembles in the Old Russian cities of Veliky Novgorod and Pskov. The locations share many commonalities, in regard to the German occupation regime as well as to Soviet museum policy. Politically, administratively, and in personnel matters they were tied to Leningrad rather than Moscow. This constellation played a role before the war and then again regarding restitutions after 1945.

The area where the museums are located was under the military occupation of the Northern Army Group from the time of its conquest by the Germans until its liberation by the Soviet Army. Other than in the Baltics, Belarus, and Ukraine, a civilian administration was not established. Hence, the Wehrmacht was solely responsible for administration in northwestern Russia and thus for the museums, collections, and architectural monuments as well. The museum sites covered in our research were located in a war zone with unique features. After the decision not to conquer Leningrad, the front came largely to a standstill. The expectation that German troops should supply themselves from the surroundings saw them exploit the area's already scarce resources mercilessly, with disastrous results for the civilian population.

We had access to the materials used by the Bremen Research Centre for East European Studies work group. These comprised an extensive collection of copied documents from all relevant archive inventories located in Germany, Russia, Ukraine, and the United States. On this basis, we searched for sources specific to our selected locations.

We examined the Northern Army Group's records as an important source aggregate for our research. Our work with these documents quickly convinced us that art played an entirely subordinate role during the war (in curious contrast to the attention paid to the subject of art in the post war decades and up to the present day). In our search of military records, we found only minor hints and file fragments. Records of particular interest to us—which certainly did exist—are today no longer locatable.

We searched exhaustively for photographic material and were successful primarily at the Foto Marburg image archive and in the PK-Photography portfolio at the Federal Archives. Photographs of artworks and cultural monuments represent only a tiny percentage of those holdings. The photographs

we did find, however, often reveal enough to compensate for missing documents—provided one knows how to interpret them properly.



**Figure 3 Pskov, View to the exhibition in the Pogankin-Chambers, 1942**

Gradually we were able to identify persons deployed in so-called art protection in the Northern Army Group zone. To better understand the assignment's structure, we followed the participants' biographical tracks, hoping also to discover new sources. We succeeded in locating the private estates of several of those individuals, which actually did provide us with new insights. The same applies to biographical material on the Russian museum staff, information that in many cases has meanwhile been published.

In the federal Military Archive in Freiburg im Breisgau, we initially tried to identify which troop formations were deployed in the area of our selected museums and at what time. For this, we first viewed a number of the available maps. On that basis we were able to narrow our research to the records of those armies, army corps, and divisions active in our study area. This led us to some important new findings, especially regarding how the Wehrmacht dealt with cultural items in the region.

In the scientific literature, the hypothesis continues to be put forward that military art protection was entirely absent during the war against the Soviet Union. Indeed, it does appear that no plans to that end existed, although a form of art preservation did in fact develop spontaneously. A "conservator" was appointed within the Northern Army Group staff no later than September 1941, tasked with securing the art treasures in the palaces around Leningrad. It was the art historian and director of the Museum für Stadtgeschichte in Frankfurt am Main, cavalry captain Ernst Graf zu Solms-Laubach, who achieved

dubious fame through his involvement in the removal of the Amber Room from the Catharine Palace in Tsarskoye Selo / Pushkin. In less than a year, he assembled a group of experts to attend to the art in the region. All of them had initially come to the area as members of the Wehrmacht. We could not identify a single case in which a staff member had come from a troop formation outside of the Northern Army Group Command, let alone a specialist who was requisitioned from the German Reich. This supports our assumption that the art protection in the area took place on the initiative of individual experts and interested officers. The deployment of military art protection hindered or delayed at least some removal of cultural items by other German agencies, in particular by the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR).

Military art protection was not planned. However, other plans did exist. There were, for instance, extensive German lists of Soviet research institutions, libraries, and archives in Moscow and Leningrad from which the inventories were to be “secured”. It never came to that. Furthermore, lists existed of the artworks in Russian museums, including the imperial palaces. The focus was on cultural assets with a connection to Germany. The famous Amber Room is included, as are the so-called Magdeburg Gates at the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Novgorod. On the other hand, the precious Old Russian and Byzantine art works, which were located primarily in the Pskov and Novgorod museums, are not listed. It can be assumed that the removal of numerous objects of German or West European origin from the palaces goes back to earlier planning, which ignored “Russian” art. The supposition that the German occupiers had systematically emptied the museums of all cultural treasures according to plan is not sustainable, at least not in north-western Russia.

Another aspect appears to have played an important, but until recently, little-considered role regarding the question of Russian losses, namely, plundering—or put politely “private removal”—and wilful destruction. This problem appears in the military records with a certain regularity, mostly in the form of references to the prohibition of plundering. A connection to the looting of cultural assets is not evident. Clear references to plundering as well as wilful destruction are found in reports by members of the *Reichsleiter* Rosenberg task force and in letters by “art preservationists” in the area. One wrote from Peterhof, for example, that he had been deployed four weeks too late, and now there was little to save. Furniture had been misused as fuel and carelessness with heating fires in the palaces had caused further damage. At another point, the same art historian relates that a provisional depot he had set up was broken into and plundered.

What can we infer from these findings for the present situation? We must assume that many cultural assets were destroyed. Certainly, many objects are still in Germany, hardly though—as often suspected—in contiguous holdings in German museums, but rather singly and in private collections. Very valuable pieces may indeed be included, as the past has shown with the Florentine mosaics from the Amber Room or the Pskov icons, which meanwhile have been returned. Museums and public collections may also hold some items as acquisitions or as gifts from those who stole the pieces, or from their relatives. The art market represents an important field for research. The soldiers and officers from that time are by now dead; their children and grandchildren often do not know the history of the objects. Out of ignorance or the desire for financial gain, they place the objects on the market. For many years, our Russian colleagues have observed wartime losses from their collections being offered for sale on the Western European art and antiquities market. These discoveries, however, help little, if they cannot prevent the sales. To hope for insight on the part of the art market seems less than likely, as experience has shown and as current reports about the sale of cultural items from Iraq and Syria demonstrate. Institutional assistance would be necessary, a type of contact point for the museums in the West. It is equally necessary to create an awareness of the looting issue on the part of the (German) public, to encourage voluntary returns, and to support them organisationally as well. This would also help to hinder sales. Furthermore, voluntary returns are important and often quite emotional gestures, which—albeit not in the political arena—can change mutual perception on a personal level and bring about “historical justice” on a small scale.

## **The German-Russian Museum Dialogue (DRMD): Research on Cultural Objects Removed from Germany to the Soviet Union between 1945 and 1947**

### **Introduction**

The public perception of museums stems from the artworks they own and display. People travel to Paris to see the *Mona Lisa* (*La Jaconde*); to Berlin to see the Pergamon Altar, the Ishtar Gate, or the Nefertiti bust; and to St. Petersburg to see Henri Matisse's *The Dance* (*La Danse*).

The question of what museums own and especially how they acquired their holdings has become increasingly important since the adoption of the Washington Agreement in December 1998.<sup>140</sup> This can be seen in the establishment of the field known as provenance research, the investigation of an artwork's history of ownership.

An interest in the ownership history of artworks is not thereby an invention of the late twentieth or early twenty-first centuries. The *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser Friedrich-Museum* (A Descriptive Guide to the Paintings of the Kaiser Friederich Museum), in its fifth edition from Georg Reimer Verlag as early as 1904, cited which paintings were from the Giustiniani collection<sup>141</sup> or the Solly collection,<sup>142</sup> which were "a gift from Mr. James Simon,"<sup>143</sup> and which came via other avenues into the museum's possession.<sup>144</sup> The *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis* contains, for

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<sup>140</sup> From November 30 to December 3, 1998, over four hundred representatives from 44 states and 13 NGOs met in Washington, D.C., to convene the Washington Conference on Holocaust-Era Assets in the hope of finally correcting the injustice that had occurred during the National Socialist era. The conference resulted in the adoption of the Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art. All documents published in connection with the conference, including the Washington Principles, are available at: <http://fcit.usf.edu/holocaust/resource/assets/index.HTM> [10.26.2014].

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Gemälde im Kaiser Friedrich-Museum* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1904) 9–10, gallery nos. 353, 354, 365, 369, and 381. Of all the works attributed then to Caravaggio (Michelangelo da Merisi), only gallery numbers 356, 365, and 369 are still considered to be works by Caravaggio. Two of them: *Half-length Portrait of a Young Woman* (356) and *Saint Matthew and the Angel* (365)—both of which were removed to the flak bunker in Friederichshain (Berlin)—are missed dearly by Berlin's Gemäldegalerie. Cf. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Dokumentation der Verluste*, Vol. I (Gemäldegalerie; Berlin, 1995) 21.

<sup>142</sup> Cf., for example, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 115, gallery nos. 512–523: Hubert and Jan van Eyck, *Six panels of the Ghent Altarpiece*.

<sup>143</sup> Cf., for example, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 3, gallery no. 1618: Francesco Albani: *Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalene*.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 1, gallery no. 961: Willem van Aelst, *Still Life with Snipes, Goldfinches, and Stone Chickens*, "acquired 1838 in Augsburg." This work is likely one of those that burned in the Friederichshain flak bunker. See in this regard *Dokumentation der Verluste*, 11.

example, this little German-Russian anecdote on Albrecht Dürer's *Bildnis des Jacob Muffel* (Portrait of Jacob Muffel):



“Until 1867 in the Schönborn collection in Pommersfelden. Originally on wood, transferred to canvas in Petersburg in 1870 . . . Acquired 1883 in Paris at the auction of the Narischkine collection.”<sup>145</sup>

In contrast to a perception of museums based on the works presently in their collections, the museums and public also consider works that once were in those collections, works, however, that—for whatever reason—have been lost. Research on this aspect has also increased in past years.

The focus of the research in both cases is on the years from 1933 to 1949. This historical period is framed by two events of far-reaching importance to European history in general, and to the histories of Germany and of Russia, in particular. The National Socialist seizure of power in Germany marked the beginning of that period, the founding of the two German states, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic (GDR), its end.

### **The Research Data Base of the German-Russian Museum Dialogue**

In its Deutsches Kunstarchiv, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (GNM) in Nuremberg holds a stock of files that is of particular interest to the history of German and Soviet collections in the mentioned timeframe. The inventory contains copies of documents tracking the activities of the trophy brigades of the Committee on Art Affairs attached to the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR.<sup>146</sup>

The Art Committee trophy brigades developed in reaction to the terrible material and immaterial losses suffered by the Soviet Union in the course of World War II, which went out from Germany. In civilian life—before and after World War II— trophy brigade members worked as historians, archaeologists, museum curators, ministry staff, theater professionals, historical preservationists, restorers, or artists.

From December 2008 to February 2012, a German- and Russian-speaking team of historians specialized in art, culture, and Eastern Europe evaluated the mentioned document copies and entered any information pertaining to specific artworks in a data base, translating the material on the artworks from Russian into German in the process.

The research data base, which was established over the course of the project, is available to the more than eighty German museums and collections involved in the DRMD, so those institutions can do use it for their own research if desired.

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<sup>145</sup> Cf. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 102.

<sup>146</sup> The Committee on Art Affairs attached to the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR (Russian: Комитет по делам искусств при СНК СССР) was established on January 17, 1936. As of March 1946, it was the Committee on Art Affairs attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR (Russian: Комитет по делам искусств при СМ СССР). On March 15, 1953, it, together with other organizational units, became part of the Ministry of Culture of the USSR.



In parallel, studies on certain collections have been undertaken since 2012 to provide the data and technical means needed by museums and researchers to perform independent research in the data base, also under the auspices of the DRMD. In the course of these studies, information retrieved from the collections' inventory records and loss documentation is correlated with information in the research data base and linked. The aim of the studies is to reconstruct the histories of the museums participating in the project and the movements of specific cultural objects in the years from 1943 to 1947 (1933 to 1949).

The timeframe mentioned here, from 1943 to 1947, is already an indication that the studies are not solely concerned with the history of the removal of artworks to the Soviet Union. Of interest on the one hand is the history of the evacuation and storage of the artworks. On the other, the research sought to document which artworks removed by Soviet trophy brigades at the end of World War II were then returned by the USSR to the GDR in the 1950s or later.

### **Findings**

We have learned much from the studies. I would like to elaborate on four fundamental findings using specific examples.

#### **Events beyond the German-Russian history**

Many artworks lost by German museums and collections during the last months of the war or first postwar years have a history beyond the German-Russian one.

The Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig, for instance, registered **197** paintings—works in oil, gouache, or aquarelle—as war-related losses with Lostart, the Internet data bank of the *Koordinierungsstelle* (coordination agency) Magdeburg. A systematic study of the specific circumstances of the losses indicates that **100** of these works—somewhat more than half of the total—were likely destroyed in air raids, either at the museum, or at various storage sites.<sup>147</sup> Removal of the artworks from Leipzig by the Soviets can be ruled out.

The Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden held an exhibition, *Zurück in Dresden* (Back in Dresden), in spring/summer of 1998 at the Georgenbau of the Royal Palace, with the participation of the Skulpturensammlung (Sculpture Collection), the Rüstkammer (Amory), the Kupferstich Kabinett (Collection of Prints, Drawings, and Photographs), the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister (Old Masters Picture Gallery), the Galerie Neue Meister (New Masters Gallery), the Kunstgewerbemuseum (Museum

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<sup>147</sup> I would like to sincerely thank my colleagues, Dr. Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov, Anastasia Yurchenko, Dr. Ralph Jaeckel, and Robert Michaelis, whose research findings went into the following account.

of Decorative Arts) and the Porzellansammlung (Porcelain Collection). Following are several interesting stories about some of the paintings on display at the exhibition.

A *Pastoral Scene* by Jacopo Bassano, on loan to the city council of Freiberg in 1937 and registered as lost in 1945, was returned on June 11, 1966 to Dresden from that very city of Freiberg.<sup>148</sup>

A *Moonlight Landscape* by Carl Gustav Carus, on loan to the city council of Zittau in 1937, and missing at the end of the war, was discovered years later in the Stadtmuseum Zittau. In May 1964 the painting was once again in Dresden.<sup>149</sup>

A *Self Portrait* by Ernst Ferdinand Eichler, at the Heimatmuseum Werdau as of 1926 and also missing from 1945 on, was discovered in 1962 in the Kreis- und Stadtmuseum Werdau.<sup>150</sup>

All three examples prove that even many years after the end of the war German museums are still having trouble gaining an overview of their collections, especially of their older loans.

### **The History of Art Evacuations**

Even if reported losses would appear more likely connected with the German-Soviet trophy removals, each evacuation storage site and each specific artwork requires careful research.

The findings in the Berlin flak bunkers at the zoo (Zoologischer Garten) and in Friederichshain serve as an example.

### **The Flak Bunker at the Zoo**

Since the exhibitions *Hidden Treasures Revealed: Impressionist Masterpieces and Other French Paintings Preserved by the State Hermitage Museum* and *Master Drawings Rediscovered* were held and documented in Russian-, English-, and German-language catalogues, museums and the broader public are aware of the Hermitage's holdings of important paintings and drawings by, in particular, the French Impressionists and Postimpressionists from German collections.<sup>151</sup> Among the exhibited works were

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<sup>148</sup> Cf. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, *Zurück in Dresden. Ehemals vermisste Kunstwerke aus Dresdener Museen* (Dresden: SKD, Edition Minerva, 1998) 132.

<sup>149</sup> *Zurück in Dresden*, 142

<sup>150</sup> *Zurück in Dresden*, 165

<sup>151</sup> Exhibition: *Неведомые Шедевры. Французская живопись XIX-XX веков из частных собраний Германии* (March to October 1995); German trans. cited: Albert Kostennewitsch, *Aus der Eremitage. Verschollene Meisterwerke deutscher Privatsammlungen* (Munich: Kindler, 1995), English version: Albert Kostenevich, *Hidden Treasures Revealed: Impressionist Masterpieces and Other French Paintings Preserved by the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg* (New York: Abrams, 1995); *Шедевры европейского рисунка из частных собраний Германии* (December 1996–March 1997); German edition cited: Tatjana Ilatovskaja, *Meisterzeichnungen in der Eremitage. Wiederentdeckte Werke aus deutschen Privatsammlungen* (Munich: Kindler, 1997), English edition: Tatiana Ilatovskaya, *Master Drawings Rediscovered: Treasures from Prewar German Collections* (New York: Abrams, 1995).

Paul Cézanne's *Mont Sainte-Victoire seen from Bellevue* from the Koehler collection as well as Honoré Daumier's *The Burden (Laundress)* and Auguste Renoir's *Woman on a Staircase* and *Man on a Staircase* from the Gerstenberg collection.<sup>152</sup>

All of the listed works had been evacuated together with works from the Nationalgalerie to the turret of the flak bunker at the zoo to protect them from war damage.<sup>153</sup> All are recorded in an index from the Arts Committee trophy brigade dated June 17, 1945, listing works that were transported to Moscow by airplane because of their great artistic value.<sup>154</sup>

The evacuation of the works to the flak bunker at the zoo could possibly be seen as having ultimately ensured their removal to the Soviet Union.

This impression, however, calls for clarification.

It must be remembered, on the one hand, that works evacuated in 1941 to the flak bunker at the zoo were still being transferred from there up until the last weeks of the war to, for example, the Grasleben salt mine west of Magdeburg. Confirmation, so to speak, of this is found in the records from the Alte Nationalgalerie of the Berlin State Museums on the painting *Feldblumenstrauß* (Bouquet of Meadow Flowers) by Hans Thoma, which contain information on the work's evacuation to the flak bunker at the zoo as well as well a note saying that it was at the Wiesenbaden Central Collecting Point.<sup>155</sup> (From Wiesbaden the painting—along with many other Berlin artworks—reached the newly founded Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz [Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation]).

Furthermore, it must be remembered that private diversions in the form of theft, plunder, or simple removal also happened at these German museum, library, and archive evacuation sites, which at the end of the war or afterwards were often entirely or intermittently unguarded.

### **The Berlin Flak Bunker in Friederichshain**

Similarly complex processes and events can be described for a second exposed evacuation site for Berlin artworks—the flak bunker in Friederichshain. Accounts of two fires in May 1945 at the

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<sup>152</sup> Cf. Kostennewitsch, 204–207, 26–30, and 92–95.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Hanna Strzoda, “Verkauft—verbrannt—verschleppt—verschollen. Margarethe Scharf und das Schicksal der Sammlung Gerstenberg nach 1935” in *Die historische Sammlung Otto Gerstenberg. Band I. Essays*, ed. Juliette Scharf and Hanna Strzoda (Ostfildern: Hantje Cantz, 2012) 78 ff.

<sup>154</sup> 1254, pp. 54-57: Перечень художественных музейных объектов, отправленных самолетом в Москву в адрес Комитета по делам искусств при СНК СССР Военным Советом 5-й Ударной Армии и бригадой Комитета по Делах Искусств, работающей в Берлине (Index of the museum artifacts sent by airplane to Moscow to the Committee on Art Affairs attached to the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR by the Military Council of the 5th Shock Army and the Committee on Art Affairs active in Berlin)

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Zentralarchiv der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin [Central Archive of the Berlin State Museums] (SMB-ZA), VA 14064, file card 01064. The information listed there are: AII 146, Kat. 1255, Feldblumenstrauß, 77 x 55, Zoo – W.

Friederichshain flak bunker fire-control tower were communicated by both the Soviet and German sides. These blazes certainly damaged numerous artworks irreparably.

Nevertheless, among the artworks returned to the GDR were also ones evacuated to Friederichshain.

This applies, for instance, to Andre della Robbia's *Brustbild eines Jünglings* (Portrait of a Youth), which until the 1970s bore witness to the Friederichshain fires with its visible scorch marks. Trophy brigade records on the condition of the work in July 1946 read thus: "Blackened. Broken in 8 pieces. The left side of the head with background is missing as is a piece of the background on the right side."<sup>156</sup>



### **The Parallel Activities of Various Protagonists**

The studies of the individual collections and their histories in the years 1943 to 1947 revealed an extremely complex system of command structures and actors that remains far from being reconstructed.

In addition to the activities of the Art Committee's trophy brigades, which are largely conveyed in the GNM Deutsches Kunstarchiv, it can be assumed that there were numerous protagonists on the Soviet side.

Some examples should illustrate this.

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<sup>156</sup> 1338, S. 27f: Акт № 422/СЭ, 18 июня 1946 года (Protocol No. 422, Special transport on July 18, 1946).

## The Trophy Brigades of the Committee on Architectural Affairs Attached to the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR

The Kunstsammlung der Akademie der Künste (Academy of Arts) published a documentation of its war losses in 2005, after thoroughly researching the matter.<sup>157</sup> It lists 120 sculptures, more than 300 paintings, and over 1,600 drawings. The latter include 41 designs for a Frederick the Great monument as well as for one to honor Martin Luther.

Among the artists completing these designs were Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764–1850) and Henrich Gentz (1766–1811). The loss documentation by the Akademie der Künste includes a memo that all 41 monument designs are to be found in the State Museum of Architecture in Moscow.<sup>158</sup>



<sup>157</sup> Ingrid Hägele, Gudrun Schmidt, and Gudrun Schneider, ed., “Kriegsverluste der Preußischen Akademie der Künste. Kunstsammlung und Archiv” in *Archiv-Blätter 12* (2005); online version at [http://www.adk.de/de/archiv/archivbestand/kunstsammlung/kuenstler/adk\\_kriegsverluste\\_7MB.pdf](http://www.adk.de/de/archiv/archivbestand/kunstsammlung/kuenstler/adk_kriegsverluste_7MB.pdf) [2014-07-30]

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Hägele, Schmidt, and Schneider; 122–133, catalogue nos. 2119; 2121–2123; 2124–2128; 2129–2130; 2131–2133; 2134; 2135–2138; 2139; 2150; 2151; 2152–2156; 2157–2160; 2161–2164; 2165–2169; 2170; 2171.

Little is known until now about how the designs came to that museum. From Art Committee records it is known, for instance, that the Prussian State Mint at Molkenmarkt, another evacuation site for Berlin museums, was inspected not only by representatives of the Art Committee, but also by representatives of the Architecture Committee. Alexander M. Woloschin (1905–1986), Serafim I. Druschinin (1906–1977), and Sergej N. Sidorow, all members of the brigade of the Committee on Art Affairs, reported in on September 25, 1945 to their superiors:

“It must be reported that according to the German security at the New Mint crates and individual objects may have been removed by representatives of the Committee on Architecture before the brigade from the Committee on Art Affairs began its work.”<sup>159</sup>

Unknown is who these men were specifically; when and on whose orders the Committee on Architecture first sent representatives to postwar Germany to bring artworks back to the Soviet Union; and which artworks they were interested in. All of these aspects have yet to be addressed and are among the desiderata of the ongoing research.

### **The Trophy Brigades of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR)**

In the course of extensive restitutions to the GDR by the USSR in 1958, numerous paintings from the Stiftung Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg (Prussian Palaces and Gardens Foundation Berlin-Brandenburg) returned to Potsdam. Records in the Berlin State Museums central archive document this. Remarkably, these records also list more than a hundred and fifty paintings from the State Historical Museum in Moscow that returned to Potsdam via Berlin. They are primarily paintings of significance to the art and cultural history of Brandenburg and Prussia. An example is the work— ascribed until the 1940s/1950s to Friedrich Schinkel—by August Wilhelm Ferdinand Schirmer, *Blick vom Schloß Charlottenhof zur Hofgärtnervilla*, (View from Charlottenhof Palace to the Court Gardner’s Villa [i.e., to the Roman Baths at Sanssouci Palace and Park in Potsdam]).

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<sup>159</sup> In the original: “Следует так-же указать, что до начала работы бригады Комитета по делам искусств по свидетельству хранителей Нойе-Мюнце /немцев/, из этого подвала вывозились ящики и возможно отдельные предметы представителями Комитета Архитектуры.” Cf. 1357A, p. 139: Акт от 25. сентября 1945 г. (Protocol from September 25, 1945).



The attempt to identify these works transferred by the Historical Museum in the records of the Art Committee trophy brigades failed with all 72 spot checks carried out in advance of this lecture.

Two explanations are feasible. One reason could be that the record copies available to the DRMD unfortunately only cover between sixty and seventy percent of the Art Committee trophy brigades' activity. The missing thirty to forty percent is located—like the entire original documentation—in the Russian State Archive of Literature and Art in Moscow. Regrettably, these records are not accessible for research.

Another hypothesis is that the works were removed by trophy brigades unknown to our research team—brigades, therefore, whose profiles, interests, and authority we know nothing or far too little about. At this point, available information would suggest that the works were removed by the trophy brigades of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions of the RSFSR.<sup>160</sup>

### Ukrainian Trophy Brigades

The return of paintings to the Dresden Gemäldegalerie undertaken by the Soviet Union included 700 artworks shipped from Moscow in October 1955 and another 478 that were sent on November 3,

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<sup>160</sup> Of note in this connection is a quote, which, although it does relate to the events in Friedrichshain and the works from the Nationalgalerie, is nonetheless of symbolic importance: “In the flak tower in Friederichsheim (“green bunker”), we [representatives of the trophy brigades of the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions of the RSFSR, note by author] discovered archive and museum holdings from Berlin city agencies on May 23, 1945. These included approximately 200 pictures from the Nationalgalerie that we moved to the Tresckowschloß depot . . . and delivered to representatives of the Art Committee. After **they had made their selections, we sorted out pictures and portraits important for their historical documentation.** Of particular interest was the “Parade in Petersburg”, battles during the seven-year Napoleonic campaign, and portraits of Charles XII from (eighteenth century) Sweden.” Cf. Klaus-Dieter Lehmann and Ingo Kolasa, ed., “Die Trophäenkommissionen der Roten Armee. Eine Dokumentensammlung zur Verschleppung von Büchern aus deutschen Bibliotheken.” Special issue, *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen und Bibliographie*, no. 64, (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1996) document no. 17, 93. Emphasis by author.

1955, directly from Kiev, the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The paintings from Kiev included *Die Alte mit dem Kohlebecken* (Old Woman with a Basket of Coal) by Peter Paul Rubens.



Prior to its return to Dresden from Kiev, the painting was restored at the National Research Restoration Center of Ukraine.<sup>161</sup> Noted in the restoration records on the work is:

“Oakwood panel consisting of six pieces with plugs and inserts, oil; 117 x 95 cm; Inventory no. 958; 1946, 1949, 1954 restored. Restorers: 1946, 1949 Demidtschuk-Demtschuk F.I. and Newkrytyj D.N. Restorer 1954 – Wojtko P.I. Restoration record: R-7 for 1946; R-6 for 1949; R-173 for 1954.”<sup>162</sup>

This painting’s return directly from Kiev is explained by the activities of (at least) a Ukrainian trophy brigade in Dresden as of fall 1945. It probably sent a freight car containing paintings from the Dresden Gemäldegalerie, among other things, back to the Ukraine. The bulk of these paintings had

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<sup>161</sup> In Russian: Государственный научно-исследовательский реставрационный центр; in the 1950s: Государственные научно-исследовательские реставрационные мастерские; ГНИРМ.

<sup>162</sup> In the original. “доска дубовая, составная из 6 кусков с пробками и вставками, масло; 117 x 95 см; КМЗВИ; инвентарный № 958 (Дрез. № 958, каталоги 1955, 1962, 1978 годов); Реставрация 1946, 1949, 1954 годов. Реставраторы: 1946, 1949 годов – Демидчук-Демчук Ф.И. и Невкрытый Д.Н. Реставратор 1954 года – Войтко П.И. Реставрационные паспорта: П-7 за 1946 год; П-6 за 1949 год; П-173 за 1954 год.” Quoted from Olga Petrik, *Kunst. Zweimal gerettet* (Петрик, Ольга: Искусство. Дважды спасенная, English title: Twice saved . . . European Painting of the XIV–XIX Centuries displaced to the Soviet Union from Germany as a Result of the Second World War) 4; Cf. <http://inter-focus.de/index.php/ru/kultura/iskusstvo/107-dvazhdy-spasennaya> [2014-08-06]



apparently been in the meantime at the Museum of Western and Oriental Art in Kiev (once again the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko National Museum of Arts, Национальний Музей Мистецтв імені Богдана та Варвари Ханенків). This particular information is listed in any case in the above-quoted restoration record.

The examples make clear that in addition to the Art Committee, at least the Committee on Cultural and Educational Institutions of the RSFSR and the Committee on Architectural Affairs Attached to the Council of Peoples Commissars of the USSR were actively engaged in systematically searching for, salvaging, and removing German museum holdings, as representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic also definitely were. This list is by no means complete. If a comparable assumption is permitted in regard to the situation in the realm of libraries, then one would have to take into account, for example, not only the representatives of the Academy of Sciences, but also those from the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

### Inter-German Approaches

In April 2014 a small celebration took place in Dessau. The Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie hosted the event to mark the presentation of a *Bildnis einer jungen Frau* (Portrait of a Young Woman) by a sixteenth-century master to the Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein in Gotha. The painting the Dessau museum representatives wished to return to their colleagues in Gotha was one of the works that returned from the USSR to the GDR in 1958. It had been misrouted because an entry made on the transfer protocol by colleagues in Leningrad that—although with a question mark—assigned the artwork to the Dessau Gallery and led to its shipment on March 23, 1959 to the Staatliche Galerie Dessau, as it was then known.<sup>163</sup>

In the meantime, however, the Gotha Kunstsammlungen continued to search for exactly that painting, which verifiably had been in its possession since the mid-nineteenth century. In 2011 the museum listed it in its catalogue of losses.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> The painting appears in the Hermitage lists on the return of artworks to the GDR in the repatriation record SMB-ZA II A/GD 0214, Список Ж-5, р. 6 as follows: Delivery no. 39: Эрмитажный номер **ЗК-60**, Северо-итал. худож. кон. XVI в. /Гарофало?/, Женский портрет, х.м., 63x53, Дессау /?/ № 506 (Eremitage-Nr. **ЗК-60**, North Italian artist, late XVI. cent. (Garafalo?), Portrait of a woman, Canvas/Oil, 63 x 53 cm, Dessau (?) no. 506). With this very same Hermitage no., **ЗК-60**, the portrait then appears in SMB-ZA II A/GD 0248, sheet 29, in connection with information that it—along with other paintings—was shipped to the Staatliche Galerie in Dessau on March 23, 1959. This chain of events could be reconstructed primarily because of research carried out by my colleague, Dr. Ralph Jaeckel.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Allmuth Schuttwolf, *Die Gemäldesammlung*, Vol. I. *Verlustdokumentation der Gothaer Kunstsammlungen* (Gotha: Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein Gotha, 2011) 64, catalogue no. 129.

Thanks to research by the DRMD it was possible to clarify that although the painting had been registered at the Hermitage in August 1946, the museum had indeed returned it to the GDR in 1958. Fifty-five years after having been evacuated to storage, removed to the USSR, returned to Berlin, and mistakenly sent to Dessau, it had finally come full circle. Via an intermediate stop in Dessau the painting is now once again in Gotha. No more searching is needed, even less so in Russian museums or those of the former Soviet Union.

#### Disiderata in the Research—Future Prospects

After all these examples, I would like to come to a close. But first I would like to express a hope and a wish. The single wish may be divided into several smaller ones: Let us research the history of German, Soviet, and Russian collections together. Succeeding at this task alone is extremely difficult, and delivers results that are sometimes less than satisfactory. There are so many disiderata in the research of an art and cultural history period stretching from the 1930s to the 1950s.

We would certainly like understand how the artworks were located, collected, and shipped off in Dresden, Leipzig, Berlin, Gotha, and elsewhere in the years 1945 to 1947. Successful German-Russian cooperation in research on the history of the Soviet military administration (SMAD) produced copious reference works and extensive information available online. These resources cover not only the structure of the SMAD, but also its directives.<sup>165</sup>

But what form did the interaction between the SMAD, Art Committee, and Cultural Committee; between the Soviet, Russian, and Ukrainian councils and organizations take? Which changes did these relationships experience? Which commands led to the removal of specific artworks?

Which motives and intentions influenced the trophy brigade members? Which differences existed, which changes occurred? I would weigh my impression of Igor Grabar (1871–1960) as a remarkable late-impressionist painter as well as the author of art-historical reference works against his role in the formation of the trophy brigades.

In Germany we know so little about the life and work of art historians and curators in the Soviet Union, about their scientific and other work. The signature, for example, of Andrej A. Guber (1900–1970), head curator at the Pushkin Museum and specialist for Renaissance painting, on the acceptance protocols from 1946 on the one hand and on the handover protocols to the GDR museums from 1958 on the other immediately sparks a wish to know more about him. This wish is strengthened not least by

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<sup>165</sup> Cf. in this regard, among others, <https://www.bundesarchiv.de/fachinformationen/02978/index.html.de> [2014-08-14].

knowledge that Gisela Haase, one of the last surviving active participants in the 1958 return process, still remembers quite well her encounter with Andrej Guber in Moscow.

Still to be written is the history of the exhibition of the Dresden paintings in 1955 in Moscow and of those in 1958 in Moscow and Leningrad. Certainly of mutual interest would be the question of whether the presence of the artworks from Dresden, Berlin, Leipzig, and Gotha in Moscow and Leningrad had any influence on the Soviet research and knowledge landscape.

We know very little about the art trade and black market in art in postwar Berlin, Dresden, or Leipzig. I imagine a similar situation prevailed regarding the art market and private art collecting in the Soviet Union from the 1940s to the 1980s.

All this research on the routes of artworks could bring seemingly lost creativity back into the scientific dialog and museum practice and help to refine and objectify our points of view.

## **Holocaust-Era Looted Art: A Current World-Wide Overview**

Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany and World Jewish Restitution Organization

*The main organizations of the world Jewish community active in the restitution of property looted from victims of the Holocaust, namely the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany (Claims Conference) and the World Jewish Restitution Organization (WJRO) have been focusing on the systemic issues involved in restitution of cultural property throughout the world with the intent of improving and creating processes to enable more owners and heirs to recover their property. They have been working with Jewish communities around the world to bring increased attention to the restitution of looted artwork and movable cultural and religious property and in this regard have conducted extensive research over the past years on the status of provenance research and of claims processes for the restitution of artworks and other cultural property in most, if not all, relevant countries. For an overview of the Claims Conference's and WJRO's activities in regard to looted cultural property, please see: <http://art.claimscon.org>*

*The following paper represents the results of the current best efforts research of the Conference on Jewish Material Claims Against Germany ("Claims Conference") and the World Jewish Restitution Organization ("WJRO") and is based upon information obtained by the Claim Conference/WJRO to date. It may contain factual or other errors. Governments, non-governmental organizations, and individual experts are invited to make corrections and comments.*

The identification and restitution of art and other cultural property plundered or otherwise taken during the Nazi era is a major part of the unfinished business of the twentieth century. It is an issue ranging over a great number of museums in a wide range of countries. In terms of morality, it is particularly important in regard to art objects, cultural and religious property taken from victims of the

Holocaust – in other words not simply plundered but plundered in the context of genocide. To quote the Prophet Elijah, “Have you murdered and would you also inherit?”<sup>166</sup>

The International Council of Museums (ICOM) adopted the **ICOM Code of Professional Ethics** in 1986. Since amended, revised, and re-titled as the **ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums**, the Code contains numerous sections that are relevant to questions of art and cultural and religious property plundered by the Nazis and their allies. In particular, Principle 2, asserts that “Museums that maintain collections hold them in trust for the benefit of society and its development...Inherent in this public trust is the notion of stewardship that includes rightful ownership, permanence, documentation, accessibility, and responsible disposal” and calls upon museums to establish the full provenance of items in their collections and to take particular care in regard to material of sacred significance.<sup>167</sup>

No mechanism exists to monitor adherence to the **ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums**.

Major intergovernmental conferences and resolutions during the past decade and a half established international principles regarding the restitution of art and other cultural property plundered during the Nazi era, most notably the **Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art** (1998), **Resolution 1205** of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (1999), the **Declaration of the Vilnius International Forum on Holocaust-Era Looted Cultural Assets** (2000), and the **Terezin Declaration** that resulted from the **Holocaust-Era Assets Conference in Prague** (2009).<sup>168</sup>

No mechanism exists to monitor progress by the 44 countries that endorsed the 1998 **Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art** or by the 47 countries that endorsed the 2009 **Terezin Declaration**.<sup>169</sup>

It is clear, however, that some sort of independent examination of progress is necessary, both within individual countries and among them. When in 2005 the Claims Conference requested the Association of American Museums (AAM; now the American Alliance of Museums) to survey the

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<sup>166</sup> I Kings 21:23

<sup>167</sup> See page 3 of the 2013 English version of the ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums at [http://icom.museum/fileadmin/user\\_upload/pdf/Codes/code\\_ethics2013\\_eng.pdf](http://icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/pdf/Codes/code_ethics2013_eng.pdf)

<sup>168</sup> Links to the texts of these and related documents may be found at <http://art.claimscon.org/resources/additional-resources-2/> In addition, the texts of the Washington Conference Principles and the Terezin Declaration are appended to the end of this paper.

<sup>169</sup> While a mechanism to report on progress by the countries that endorsed the **Terezin Declaration** – the European Shoah Legacy Institute (ESLI) - was established by the Government of the Czech Republic following the Holocaust Era Assets Conference in Prague in 2009, so far it has not done such reporting. For further information about ESLI, see <http://www.shoahlegacy.org>.

progress of U.S. museums in adhering to guidelines that the AAM itself had established for provenance research and restitution procedures, the AAM responded that it was not a policing organization and would not do such research. The Claims Conference response was that the Claims Conference also was not a policing organization but in the absence of any other choice, it would undertake to ask U.S. museums to provide information themselves regarding implementation of the guidelines.<sup>170</sup> Partly based on that experience, the Department of Canadian Heritage commissioned the Canadian Art Museum Directors' organization (CAMDO) to conduct a survey in 2007 of 84 member institutions in Canada<sup>171</sup>, and the Swiss Federal Office for Culture in cooperation with others conducted a survey in 2008 of Swiss museums.<sup>172</sup>

Subsequently, based on previous research on many countries, the Claims Conference/WJRO presented a worldwide report at the Holocaust-Era Assets Conference in Prague in 2009.<sup>173</sup> Since then more than five years have passed, and it is worth reviewing what has happened in the interim. This paper will attempt to present an updated worldwide report by summarizing developments in 50 countries taking into consideration the variations among countries' historical experiences and legal systems, as well as the complexities of provenance research and the establishment of claims processes. There will then be a brief analysis of the consequences of the current worldwide situation, followed by some recommendations for the future.

### **Definition of Looted Art**

“Looted art,” as defined for the purposes of this paper, consists of artworks, including paintings, prints and sculptures, as well as other cultural property plundered from Jews by the Nazis, their allies and collaborators. It includes Judaica, meaning not only ritual objects but also library and archival materials relating to Judaism and to Jewish organizations and Jewish life generally.

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<sup>170</sup> The result, *Nazi-Era Stolen Art and U.S. Museums: A Survey*, may be seen at <http://art.claimscon.org/policy/museum-survey/>

<sup>171</sup> See <http://www.pch.gc.ca/pc-ch/org/sectr/cp-ch/p-h/publctn/camdo/index-eng.cfm>

<sup>172</sup> See <http://www.bak.admin.ch/kulturerbe/04402/?lang=en>

<sup>173</sup> See <http://www.claimscon.org/forms/prague/looted-art.pdf>

## **Overview of Countries' Progress in Implementing the Washington Conference Principles and the Terezin Declaration in regard to Looted Art**

Based on the information gathered by the Claims Conference<sup>174</sup>, each country was placed into one of four broad categories: a) countries that have made *major progress* towards implementing the Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art and the Terezin Declaration; b) countries that have made *substantial progress* towards implementing the Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art and the Terezin Declaration; c) countries that have taken *some steps* towards implementing the Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art and the Terezin Declaration; and d) countries that *do not appear to have made significant progress* towards implementing the Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art and the Terezin declaration. The placement of a country in one or another category was based on available data regarding whether or not during the past decade and a half a country put in place mechanisms to carry out provenance research and to process claims for restitution.

Of the 50 countries for which summaries are appended to this report, only 4 may be said to have made major progress towards implementing the Washington Conference principles and the Terezin Declaration, while an additional 11 have made substantial progress in this regard. Of the remaining countries, 7 have taken some steps, while fully 23 appear not to have made significant progress towards implementing the Washington Conference principles and the Terezin Declaration. For 6 of the countries there is not enough information to be able to make a judgment. Put differently, only 34% of the 43 countries for which there is at least some information have made major or substantial progress towards implementing the Washington Conference Principles and the Terezin Declaration.

Obviously the situations faced by countries vary greatly. Perhaps the most obvious divide is between countries on whose territory the killings and robbery of the Holocaust took place and those countries that may have been involved in the history of the Holocaust and its aftermath but were not sites of the genocide as such. Whether perpetrator or victim nations, countries where the local Jewish population was robbed face greater complications and generally larger quantities of looted cultural property in their museums than do countries that were simply the recipients of looted art and Judaica.

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<sup>174</sup> The Claims Conference maintains draft position papers on each country. Summaries by individual country based on these draft position papers may be seen as part of the posting of the full version of this paper, including appendices, at <http://art.claimscon.org>.

Thus the challenges facing countries such as Germany and Ukraine are far greater than those facing countries such as Portugal and Canada.

Judgments regarding some of the countries may be open to question, but the fact remains that about two-thirds of the countries that participated in the Washington Conference in 1998, and the Holocaust Era Assets Conference in Prague in June 2009, may be said only to have taken at least some steps or do not appear to have made significant progress towards putting the Washington Conference Principles on Nazi-Confiscated Art and the Terezin Declaration into practice. These countries may have taken important steps – e.g., the extensive work by the Russian Federation documenting the cultural losses of Russia – but they have not yet put in place the mechanisms necessary for provenance research and restitution of Nazi-confiscated cultural property.

Note that in addition to most of them having endorsed the Washington Conference Principles and the Terezin Declaration, the countries in question – almost without exception – are signatories to the Code of Ethics of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), which calls for provenance research to be done on collections.

## **CLASSIFICATION OF COUNTRIES**

### **COUNTRIES THAT HAVE MADE MAJOR PROGRESS TOWARDS IMPLEMENTING THE WASHINGTON PRINCIPLES AND THE TEREZIN DECLARATION**

*Countries in which the Holocaust took place:*

Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, Netherlands

*Other countries involved in the history of the Holocaust and its aftermath:*

### **COUNTRIES THAT HAVE MADE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARDS IMPLEMENTING THE WASHINGTON PRINCIPLES AND THE TEREZIN DECLARATION**

*Countries in which the Holocaust took place:*

Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Norway, Slovakia

*Other countries involved in the history of the Holocaust and its aftermath:*

Canada, Israel, Liechtenstein, Switzerland, United Kingdom, United States

### **COUNTRIES THAT HAVE TAKEN SOME STEPS TOWARDS IMPLEMENTING THE WASHINGTON PRINCIPLES AND THE TEREZIN DECLARATION**



*Countries in which the Holocaust took place:*

Croatia, Denmark, Greece, Lithuania, Russian Federation

*Other countries involved in the history of the Holocaust and its aftermath:*

Australia, Finland, Ireland

**COUNTRIES THAT DO NOT APPEAR TO HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARDS IMPLEMENTING THE WASHINGTON PRINCIPLES AND THE TEREZIN DECLARATION**

*Countries in which the Holocaust took place:*

Belarus, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Macedonia, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Ukraine

*Other countries involved in the history of the Holocaust and its aftermath:*

Argentina, Brazil, Holy See, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, Uruguay

**COUNTRIES FOR WHICH THERE IS INSUFFICIENT INFORMATION TO MAKE A JUDGMENT**

Albania, Cyprus, Kosovo, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, as well as various other countries – e.g., Japan - involved in the world art trade

Figure (1)

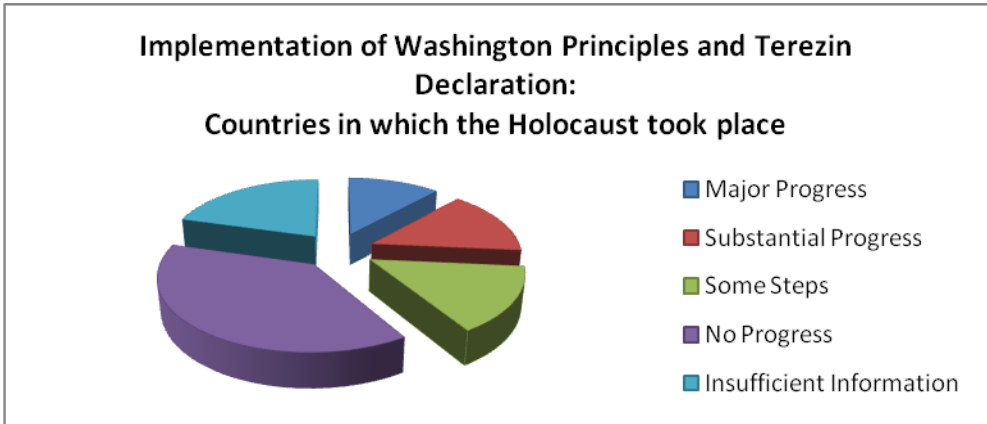
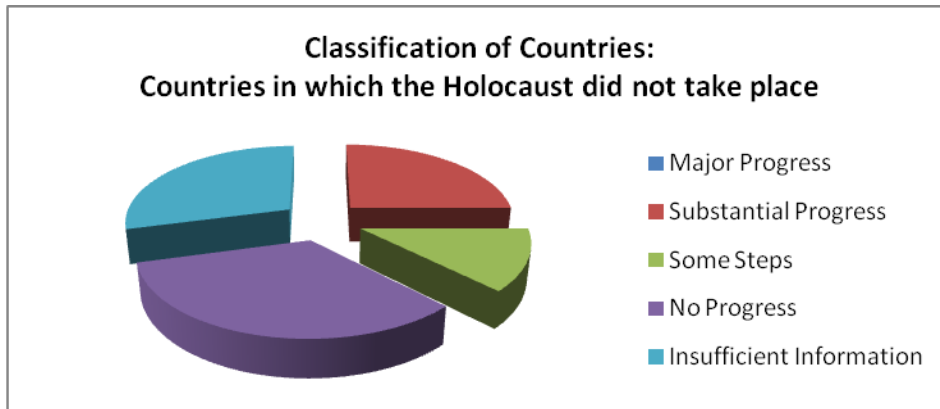


Figure (2)



### **Principal International Developments since the 2009 Holocaust-Era Assets Conference in Prague**

The following are the main international developments – or developments with major international impact – in regard to Nazi-era looted art that have taken place during the past five years:

#### *Monitoring and Advocating:*

In accordance with the Terezin Declaration, in 2010 the Government of the Czech Republic established the European Shoah Legacy Institute (ESLI). The Institute was expected to report on activities (or lack thereof), including in regard to looted art, in the 47 countries that endorsed the Terezin Declaration, but has yet to do so.<sup>175</sup>

#### *Access to Archives:*

A collaboration of national and other archival institutions with records that pertain to Nazi-era cultural property, the International Research Portal for Records Related to Nazi-Era Cultural Property was launched in 2011 at the National Archives and Records Administration of the United States with the aim of extending public access to the widely-dispersed records. While useful in some respects, its further development since the launch has been slow.<sup>176</sup> There has, however, been a significant increase in the establishment of research databases that assist in researching looted art. Among these has been the sponsorship by the Claims Conference of a series of interlocking projects concerning the records of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR), including the database *Cultural Plunder of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg: Art Objects at the Jeu de Paume* that brings together for the first time in searchable illustrated form the remaining registration cards and photographs produced by the ERR covering more than 20,000 art objects taken from Jews in German-occupied France and, to a lesser

<sup>175</sup> For more information, see <http://shoahlegacy.org/>

<sup>176</sup> For further information, see <http://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/international-resources/>

extent, in Belgium, with information on the original owners and whether or not the objects have been restituted.<sup>177</sup> A number of national organizations have in recent years set up research databases that assist in researching looted cultural property. Among them, for example, are the databases created by the German Historical Museum or the Getty Research Institute's *German Sales Catalogs*.<sup>178</sup> A few countries have begun to open their postwar claims for looted art – generally only onsite but in the case of the Netherlands with the planned intention of making such postwar claims available over the internet. Such efforts may be adversely affected by greater data privacy restrictions being adopted by the European Union and individual governments, however.

#### *Training in Provenance Research:*

The Provenance Research Training Program (PRTP), a program of ESLI and with financial and administrative support by the Claims Conference, began in 2012 and has since conducted four weeklong workshops in Germany, Croatia, Lithuania, and Greece on researching Nazi-looted art, Judaica, and other cultural property.<sup>179</sup> There has in addition been some training through the Smithsonian Provenance Research Initiative<sup>180</sup> and other national organizations, as well as the beginnings of inclusion of such training in the art history departments of one or two universities, notably the Free University of Berlin<sup>181</sup> and the University of Jyväskylä.<sup>182</sup>

#### *Impact of Discovery of the Gurlitt Collection:*

The revelation in November 2013 that in March 2012 German authorities had discovered artworks, many of which were suspected of having been looted by the Nazis, in the Munich apartment of Cornelius Gurlitt, the son of Nazi-associated art dealer Hildebrand Gurlitt, caused a sensation not only in Germany but throughout the world. The discovery of the “Schwabing Art Trove” has brought renewed interest in Nazi-era looted art and has sparked greater attention to it in such countries as France, Israel, Sweden, and the United States. In Germany in response to the Gurlitt scandal, in February 2014 Germany's culture minister Monika Grütters proposed the establishment of a *Deutsches Zentrum*

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<sup>177</sup> See <http://errproject.org/>

<sup>178</sup> For an overview of looted art related databases please see: <http://art.claimscon.org/resources/overview-of-worldwide-looted-art-and-provenance-research-databases/>

<sup>179</sup> See <http://provenanceresearch.org/>

<sup>180</sup> See Jane Milosch, “Creating a Community of International Exchange: World War II-Era Provenance Research Projects at the Smithsonian Institute,” pp.53-67 in Mečislav Borák, ed., *“The West” Versus “The East” or The United Europe? Proceedings of an international academic conference held in Poděbrady on 8-9 October, 2013*. Prague: Documentation Centre for Property Transfers of Cultural Assets of WWII Victims, p.b.o., 2014.

<sup>181</sup> Meike Hoffmann, “A New Challenge for an Old and Almost Forgotten Academic Discipline: Provenance Research Training at the Free University of Berlin,” pp. 155-165 in *ibid*.

<sup>182</sup> Tiina Koivulahti-Hanna Pirinen, “Provenance Research as a Challenge for Teaching and Researching Art History: A Finnish Example,” pp. 151-154 in *ibid*.

*Kulturgutverluste* – German Lost Art Foundation (preliminary name). The proposed center would aim to research public institutions as well as private ones that adhere to the Washington Principles and the Terezin Declaration. The Center would also serve as a central place for already existing institutions, and thus combine the *Koordinierungsstelle Magdeburg*, the *Arbeitsstelle für Provenienzforschung*, the “Schwabing Art Trove” Task Force and the research project at the Freie Universität Berlin *Entartete Kunst*. There is also discussion of changes in German legislation. But the Gurlitt Collection has also called attention to the international nature of work in this area, with appointments of provenance experts from outside Germany to the “Schwabing Art Trove” Task Force (including two by the Claims Conference and two by Israel) and calls for a German commission with international representation to determine the disposition of looted works in the public collections of Germany.

*Sharing of Experience in Provenance Research and Restitution:*

Immediately following the 2009 Prague Conference, there was a slowdown in meetings in the field, possibly due to the expectation that the European Shoah Legacy Institute would take the lead. This has now changed, however, with most notably the Symposium on International Collaboration on Claims for Nazi-Looted Art in November 2012 organized by the Dutch Restitutions Committee<sup>183</sup> and the international conference held in October 2013 by the Czech Documentation Centre for Property Transfers of Cultural Assets of WWII Victims.<sup>184</sup> An international conference on “Looted Art and Restitution in the Twentieth Century: Europe in transnational and global perspective” is shortly scheduled to be held at Cambridge University, and there are a number of scholarly discussions planned elsewhere.

## **ASSESSMENT AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE FUTURE**

While there have been some positive developments, the strong spirit that resulted from the 2009 Prague Holocaust Era Assets Conference and the Terezin Declaration has largely now been dissipated, though some renewed energy may be seen, partly as the result of the discovery of the Gurlitt collection. At the same time buyers in the art market have become increasingly insistent that art objects they purchase be thoroughly researched so that clean title may be obtained.

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<sup>183</sup> See [http://www.restitutiecommissie.nl/en/pressreleases/symposium\\_november\\_26\\_27.html](http://www.restitutiecommissie.nl/en/pressreleases/symposium_november_26_27.html)

<sup>184</sup> See Mečislav Borák, ed., *“The West” Versus “The East” or The United Europe? Proceedings of an international academic conference held in Poděbrady on 8-9 October, 2013*. Prague: Documentation Centre for Property Transfers of Cultural Assets of WWII Victims, p.b.o., 2014.

Museums in a number of countries have been researching their collections more than previously, but overall there have not been any dramatic changes in the progress of countries since 2009. And the majority of countries that endorsed the Washington Conference Principles and the Terezin Declaration have still done little or nothing in regard to provenance research and the establishment of claims processes. For the most part, the “unfinished business of the twentieth century” has remained unfinished.

There are, however, several steps that can be taken by the world museum community that would be helpful not only to the resolution of at least that part of the greatest art theft in history that was accompanied by genocide, but also to the greater professionalism and ethical standing of the museum community. Specifically, the following is proposed:

Adherence to the ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums should be monitored. While such monitoring may not be feasible for ICOM as a whole, it should be possible for the ICOM country organizations to do it. While issues of restitution may depend on national laws and other factors, the carrying out of provenance research on collections is simply a part of professional, good, moral stewardship by museums of their collections, and it is reasonable to expect that the museum field adhere to its own Code of Ethics. Accreditation should not be awarded unless such provenance research is conducted.

Those countries that have done the most in regard to provenance research on Nazi-era art are countries that have established a centralized mechanism for ensuring that provenance research is independent and of high quality. Thus, for example, the Austrian Provenance Commission has the legal right to go into the state museums of Austria and carry out provenance research itself. In the Netherlands, while the staff of each museum is responsible for provenance research, their work is reviewed by a committee headed by Dr. Rudi Ekkart. This is important, since provenance research is often carried out by persons working for claimants or by members of museum staffs sensitive to the desires of their institutions, and there needs to be a way to ensure that the work is as independent as possible. Organizing a centralized mechanism for ensuring that provenance research is independent and of high quality is most obviously either the task of the government or of the museum profession, or both. It is an appropriate task for the ICOM country organizations to assume.

Secrecy does no one any good. Restitution may not be legally possible, but keeping secret what is in a collection only creates the suspicion that the objects have been obtained by illegal or immoral means. Whether the secrecy is the result of information being classified as a political matter or the

result of a general fear of making the contents of a collection known, the result is the same: the outside world assumes there is something to hide, the art world suffers from a lack of knowledge of what exists and where it is, loan exhibitions are thwarted, and there can be no resolution simply of history, let alone anything else. Information on collections needs to be made public.

It is clear that the time has come to remove the question of provenance research as much as possible from political concerns and to make it simply part of good, ethical, common museum practice. Given that movable art objects are to be found all over the world and that the Nazi-era history involves many countries, this needs to be an international effort. An **International Association of Provenance Researchers** needs at long last to be established. There have been a number of initiatives in this direction – e.g., the meetings under the German “Arbeitskreis Provenienzforschung” that presumably will continue under the larger *Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste* – German Lost Art Foundation, the ESLI Provenance Research Training Program, and others. It is proposed that representatives of the principal organizations with an interest in seeing the field move forward meet in the near future to arrange for the establishment of such an international association of provenance researchers. The list of such organizations includes but is not limited to the International Council of Museums, representatives of the main ministries of culture, the *Deutsches Zentrum Kulturgutverluste* – German Lost Art Foundation, the principal relevant international Jewish organizations (Claims Conference/World Jewish Restitution Organization/World Jewish Congress), the European Shoah Legacy Institute, representatives of the relevant provenance commissions, etc. Eventually over time such an international association of provenance researchers would take on the tasks that professional organizations usually do, including fostering communication among provenance researchers, creating standards for the field, professional training, specialized groups (for example, on Judaica), and the like. To this end the Claims Conference/WJRO has entered into discussions concerning the holding of a preliminary organizational meeting in the near future.

The above proposals are doable by the museum communities in the various countries. We need to absorb our own ethical principles and understand that care for collections includes ensuring that they are clean collections that do not consist of stolen objects – or at least that we know which objects may have been stolen and which have not. This is not a matter of “public relations” but of historical truth and basic morality.

**The Foreign Policy of the Museum:  
Repatriation, Forced Migration, and Native North America\***

**Abstract**

This working paper presents a first consideration and broad overview of the idea that large, metropolitan museums of the United States have long had a foreign policy toward their native North American collections as well as the persons associated with them. The paper first explores, in basic terms, why a foreign policy construct might be conceptually useful for understanding museum behavior toward native North America. The paper then introduces the process and discourse surrounding museum repatriation as a lens of analysis for this policy, namely for its insight into the governance of politicized return movement of people and objects. The paper then takes two tracks toward providing an overview of return movement over time, and its relationship to museum foreign policy. First, it identifies and discusses three ways in which we might focus on and assess changes to museum foreign policy over time: by considering 1) laws and non-binding instruments concerning repatriation, 2) proactive behavior and reactive responses in relation to repatriation requests and concerns, and 3) the degree to which museums formulate their foreign policy based on both the material and non-material lessons of repatriation work. Second, the paper briefly widens the lens of analysis in order to draw upon lessons from the field of forced migration, which comments upon persons that are ‘out of place’ and the foreign and international policies that govern their return.

\*This is a working paper based on a presentation given during the Museums and Foreign Policy section at the *Museums and Politics* ICOM conference in St. Petersburg, Russia in September 2014. As such, the paper at times adopts a conversational style and does not supply references or citations for all the statements and opinions stated herein. The paper also covers far more in overview than would typically be addressed in a single article. It should not, in present form, be referenced or cited in any other work without permission of the author.

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“...the two principles on which our Conduct toward the Indians should be founded, are justice and fear. After the injuries we have done them they cannot love us, which leaves us no alternative but that of fear to keep them from attacking us, but justice is what we should never lose sight of”” wrote Thomas Jefferson in a letter to W.E.B. DuBois, but as Conn notes, “his vision of national expansion turned out not to have any room for Native Americans... .”<sup>185</sup>

“Towards some refugees, we may well have obligations of the same sort that we have toward fellow nationals. This is obviously the case with regard to any group of people whom we have helped turn into refugees. The injury we have done them makes for an affinity between us...”<sup>186</sup>

### ***The Museum’s ‘Foreign Policy’***

The analysis of foreign policy is largely considered the bailiwick of those considering the contemporary nation state, though the social, political, and economic relationships stirred by the ‘foreign policies’ of many other entities are far-ranging as well. The museum is one of these entities. The museum, in a general sense, perpetually weighs its institutional relationship with others against that of its self-interests and internal goals. Its policies and positions can and do affect other institutions and groups. It has physical borders, and ideological ones. Critiques of the way in which museums behave as a known unit are offered with regard to both policy and practice.

The contemporary museum, like the state, often has important relationships with indigenous communities. In the museum sector, these relationships were initially largely borne of museum collection history. With this in mind, this paper argues that the large, metropolitan museums of the United States have and may continue to utilize a *museum-based* foreign policy

in defining their relationship with native North America, especially in relation to core anthropological material collected in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Usage of the term foreign policy adds a consequential weight to both past and present political action related to these anthropological collections.

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<sup>185</sup> Conn 2004:3

<sup>186</sup> This quotation, in part, appears in James Souter’s article, *Towards a Theory of Asylum as Reparation for Past Injustice*, referenced in text below. Souter quotes Walzer, 1983, p.49 (from the book *Spheres of Justice: A Defence of Pluralism and Equality*).



Important to this conversation is the idea that the American museum might be said to not only have a foreign policy, but to be the product of one. Museums with archaeological and ethnographic collections from North America—developing institutions at the time that their first collections were being made—became the physical repositories for the results of U.S. policy toward native North America, enacted through the discipline of anthropology. What many collectors—soldiers, scientists, amateur enthusiasts and others—understood as the physical evidence of fascinating and dying cultures became the material basis of some museum collections. An explicit pairing of foreign policy and anthropology came in the mid-1990s in John Borneman’s article [\*American Anthropology as Foreign Policy\*](#). “Through its institutionalized focus on defining the foreign,” writes Borneman, “anthropology may best be thought of as a form of foreign policy”<sup>187</sup>. He lays out the way in which the “centrality of the Indian for the category “foreign” in the formation of the American national imaginary” eventually gave way to a view of native people as those “fully outside the scope of the foreign policy establishment”<sup>188</sup>. This reference may indicate the reason that it is useful to extend the idea of foreign policy beyond the state and onto an institution intimately tied to anthropological history. As Borneman later writes, today’s anthropologists (and others working within the museum) are well to “historiciz[e] their present location, which means acknowledging that [their] work is already in the domain of foreign policy and international order...including reconceptualizing national security and defense, citizenship and immigration, exile and home, human rights and world order”<sup>189</sup>. There is every reason for native North America to be included in discussions of order and control in the museum sector, just as indigenous-state relationships fall squarely into this matrix of subjects outside of it.

This holistic, present-tense perspective on American history may be applied to a wide variety of museum activities and products, including the way in which content is built into interpretive material in exhibits and educational programming. It also speaks, however, to even larger—and for many museums, more frightening—ideological questions about representation that break the boundaries imposed by the limited geographies and cultures that museums’ anthropological collections present to the world<sup>190</sup>. This is because such a view opens up the potential for a more truthful avenue of insight into the lives of native people in the United States today. Native Americans, despite possessing U.S. citizenship, are arguably never entirely removed from their perceived role as people of semi-sovereign nations (if they

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<sup>187</sup> Borneman 1995:665

<sup>188</sup> Borneman 1995:665-6

<sup>189</sup> Borneman 1995:670. Borneman references Hymes (1972) here, and is speaking specifically of anthropologists.

<sup>190</sup> See, for instance, [Harris and O’Hanlon](#), 2013:8-12, Boast 2011:64

are recognized as such) in the United States, nor from the legacy of physical displacement, cultural disruption, and anthropological study. The foreign policies of states have long held otherness firmly in their matrix of historical and contemporary response to geopolitical borders, unrecognized boundaries, and the culture groups that may adhere to neither. Museums have more often than not done the same.

### *Museums, Return Movement and Foreign Policy*

If one accepts the idea that museums have a foreign policy, how might one analyze this policy in a useful way, and measure changes to it over time? There are historical documents—letters between curators and collectors in Indian country, government publications depicting ‘Indian management’ during and after the collection of ethnographic objects on reservations, photographs of racialized skeletal displays in museums—the content of which may strike today’s museum professionals as unsettling. This is not sufficient in and of itself for analyzing a museum’s foreign policy, however. Also insufficient is taking a view that the contemporary museum and its composite staff must have unequivocally improved their ethical standards toward native North America. That salvage anthropology is considered to be a practice of the past, that public display of native North American human remains is no longer advocated for, and that it is rare for museum staff to be expressly exclusionary toward native visitors are not full indicators of the complexity of the museum’s foreign policy. On a practical level, the private and public documents that museums create to demonstrate their mission statements and collection policies apply not so much to concerns around building a collection (though these are present in standards for ethical accession, loans, and fieldwork), but to the care, retention and promotion of their permanent collections—making it difficult to compare burgeoning museums to the museums of today. For these reasons, and more besides, it is necessary to find a particular way in which to examine museum foreign policy.

Of the many overlapping aspects that constitute a foreign policy, the rules that concern the freedom and direction of movement for those that are subject to that particular foreign policy are a paramount feature. The circumstances under which movement can and cannot take place are often an indicator of the history of a place and the power differentials that may exist between groups therein. Museum collections have always involved the element of physical movement and removal—whether in their heavy sponsorship of expeditions at the turn of the twentieth century or in loan agreements drawn up at present. Museums are often characterized by both marrying and disconnecting material from place; removing an object or body from its original context and then striving to re-create that context, visually or textually, in another location. Even material that moves with the consent of its owner (a debatable

term) or the enthusiasm of its creator is subject to a complicated interplay of permissions, limitations, and expectations.

Any consideration of the return of what the museum considers its property will knock against such questions of foreign policy and movement at once. In this way, repatriation is a useful lens with which to comment on the aspect of foreign policy that deals with movement in particular. The following sections will identify and discuss three ways in which we might analyze the museum's foreign policy, and assess changes to it over time.

### **Laws, Declarations, and Recommendations on Repatriation**

“The first rule of treaties was that Indians had to give up most of their feathers in order to keep some of their feathers for themselves,” wrote Thomas King<sup>191</sup>. The key element in this particular quote—treaties—offers us a way to engage with the question of law in both a literal sense of legal compliance and a broader scope of power differentials. The treaties made between the U.S. government and numerous tribes now play an important evidential role in establishing cultural affiliation for material requested for repatriation under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act ([NAGPRA](#)). The existence of a treaty can demonstrate tribal or ancestral land usage through records of the land claims made against the United States during the post-WWII [Land Claims Commission](#), for instance. This pivotal shift in the way in which removal from a place might now be utilized in order to facilitate the return of ancestors or ceremonial objects can certainly be seen as a robust legal change affecting federally funded U.S. museums with native North American collections.

At this point, NAGPRA needs little textual introduction. Passed in 1990, the law enables federally recognized tribes and native Hawaiian organizations in the United States to request the return of cultural items that fit particular legal categories<sup>192</sup>. It has inarguably set into motion new and varied relationships between tribes and museums as they together assess claims in consultation. This, however, is a fairly surface treatment of the law, its implications, and its limitations. NAGPRA has been critiqued by numerous parties on various levels: for identifying museums as the final decision makers on cultural affiliation and item category, for placing an evidential burden on native people and a temporal one on museums, for the lack of legal power a recommendation made by the NAGPRA Review Committee has when there is a dispute, for embodying Western ideals of ownership and property. More than this, there is still disagreement about whether the law actually aims to balance scientific and native interests or to

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<sup>191</sup> King 2003:129. It should be noting that King is writing about both a Canadian and U.S.-based legislative history.

<sup>192</sup> Human remains, associated and unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony

see all human remains returned, for instance. This has always been contentious to some degree, but these divisions of thought were thrust into sharper relief with the passage of the [43 CFR 10.11](#) regulations in 2010. The new regulations address culturally unidentifiable human remains and allow tribes without cultural affiliation (but with reservation or ancestral land at the place of removal) to legally request these remains. Most large U.S. museums objected to these regulations on a number of grounds.

Without specific legislation like NAGPRA, which was developed alongside long-standing Indian activism in the unique context of the United States, one can question whether U.S. museums would now be granting many repatriation requests. What really came first: a perspective shift large enough to enable legislation, or legislation large enough to shift perspective? Russell Barsch reminds us that for *non-binding* declarations that apply to states (many of whom exert direct control over their museums), states may take one of two tracks: “press for the deletion of controversial elements” or “try to downgrade the legal status of the final instrument as a whole”<sup>193</sup>. Specifically, Barsch is referencing the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), which has recently been invoked by the Association on American Indian Affairs (AAIA) in order to press for *international* repatriation of native material. Despite a clearly stated indigenous right to repatriation<sup>194</sup>, however, the UNDRIP text also explicitly states

*“Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any...group...to engage in any activity or to perform any act...construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would...impair...the territorial integrity of political unity of sovereign and independent States”*<sup>195</sup>.

It takes little effort to imagine marginalized people exercising control of their rights being classified as disruptive to the state and/or to state ownership. For repatriation efforts, this leaves plenty of room for barriers to return, as exemplified in a country like Germany, where numerous museums house native North American collections (and, further, are subject to a strong federal, rather than national, state system). Within the recent German Museums Association publication *Recommendations for the Care of Human Remains in Museums and Collections*, Germany is identified as a signatory of UNDRIP. Nonetheless, this statement is immediately followed by the reasons that “legally binding rights of return cannot however be inferred from the Declaration”: there is no international or customary law providing for this, “an enforceable claim” would only be one where non-EU material had been imported to Germany after 2007, and claims for “cultural goods” can only be made “by the contracting

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<sup>193</sup> Barsch 1996:789

<sup>194</sup> See [Article 12.1,2](#)

<sup>195</sup> See Article 46.1

state from whose territory the cultural property was unlawfully exported, and not by...indigenous groups”<sup>196</sup>. The language and force of UNDRIP is not wholly unlike that found in the American Religious Freedom Act of 1978, then, which stated that “it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise their traditional religions...including but not limited to access to sites, [and the] use and possession of sacred objects...”<sup>197</sup>. Policy is not necessarily practice, however, and all sacred objects are not necessarily already in hand.

### **Proactivity and Reactivity**

Most museums, like most tribes, are constrained by resources. NAGPRA has not fostered only a reactive response in museums, but it has kept them consumed with issues they are compelled by law to address. However, any measurement of change in foreign policy—now stepping beyond law itself—should consider instances of museum behavior that do not deal entirely in (reactive) legal compliance. This section considers instances of museum behavior related to repatriation that might be considered proactive and asks whether they reflect overall changes in foreign policy.

(1) Catherine Nichols has recently written about her work tracing the movement of a Hopi sacred object from the Smithsonian Institution to the Musée d’Ethnographie du Trocadéro around the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> century. She takes note of the historic practice of “specimen exchange” between museums and the way in which “not only the accumulation of objects by museums, but also the dissemination of objects...[may]...[produce] anthropological knowledge”<sup>198</sup>. She concludes that museums “have an ethical obligation to share information about how institutional policies and practices have shaped the global disposition of material culture and human remains as a means of contributing to legal and digital repatriation, and knowledge recovery efforts”<sup>199</sup>. (2) The Field Museum of Natural History (as well as the [Society for American Archaeology](#)) issued letters in the spring of 2013 beyond their own institutional borders, addressing the Président du Conseil d’Administration of the Druout-Richelieu Gallery in Paris, where an auction of Hopi *katsinam* was soon to be undertaken. Both called upon UNDRIP to criticize the sale, and The Field Museum used the language of NAGPRA to describe the *katsinam* as sacred objects and objects of cultural patrimony, describing the latter as “illegal for any member of the Hopi individually to possess, sell, or otherwise divest.” (3) In more direct U.S.

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<sup>196</sup> Wesche 2013:39

<sup>197</sup> [42 U.S.C. § 1996](#)

<sup>198</sup> Nichols 2014:227

<sup>199</sup> Nichols 2014:230

repatriation work, The University of Denver Museum of Anthropology (DUMA) sought approval from the Secretary of the Interior for the disposition of the remains of one individual under 43 CFR 10.16 when there was insufficient provenience information to determine associated aboriginal land use (needed to employ 43 CFR 10.11). This effort was part of a larger NAGPRA-funded consultation in 2013 pertaining to five additional culturally unidentifiable sets of human remains from the southwestern United States that *were* returned under 43 CFR 10.11. During the process the museum contacted several dozen tribes that have traditionally occupied the southwest area, then worked in consultation with fourteen participant tribes to reach a solution on lead tribes for the return process (Amati, personal correspondence, also see [Notice of Inventory Completion](#)).

Even twenty-five years ago, a letter on museum letterhead recommending a particular ethical action to an international gallery concerning ceremonial items might have been unlikely, if possible. A museum-initiated effort to return poorly provenienced culturally unidentifiable human remains through a federally grant-funded initiative would have been highly improbable. And, in some ways, it is the promotion of knowledge recovery through transparency that is the most contentious of the three, even today, because it opens the museum up to critique and responsibility for past activities. While it is true that a hundred years ago none of these initiatives would likely have been the imperative of U.S. academics or museums, it is also true that these contemporary situations are perhaps more context dependent than time dependent. This does not mean that these situations or actions are one-offs, but it does mean that further explanation is necessary in order to use them to gain a broader picture of museum foreign policy.

The pursuit and dissemination of institutional transparency, as it relates to repatriation, is often difficult to fulfill. There can be many reasons for this, but wider museum policy toward information sharing can come to bear here, as can the barrier of objects having extremely limited provenience history, even when heavily researched in collaboration with other institutions (which itself can be difficult to arrange and dependent on time and qualified staff available). Alternatively, each individual object (or accession) that is requested for repatriation, or is researched in attempt to better understand the collection, has the potential to be as complicated a story as those which Nichols made her focus. Such investigative work, however, does indicate that museums are best not to understand their collections in isolation, when these collections are linked not only through general history but by specific provenience.

Whether or not this means that a museum will issue a letter concerning cultural items abroad, where material is not legally subject to return, is another question. Much of the repatriation work that individual museums do is not in the public sphere, often for the sake of both tribal and museum representatives. As such, it is difficult to know how much of this behavior is occurring when museums have had long-term relationships with tribes (such as The Field Museum has with the Hopi). Only then are they likely confident (and concerned) enough in their assessment to attempt to effectuate change and promote understanding of American Indian religion, history, and its associated material.

When considering human remains, there may be few U.S. museums that share DUMA's perspective on return, at least concurrent to the repatriation of individuals with clearer affiliation or to waiting to field direct requests (which DUMA also facilitates). Museums may be concerned about spiritual caretaking, about future research that could lead to more specific knowledge about the descendant community, or may not believe that such returns are under the purview of NAGPRA or can be said to be done in good faith. Nonetheless, DUMA's collaborative work is now cataloged in the public transcript of the NAGPRA Review Committee meetings; a record of the progress in removing native remains from museums.

In the end, these examples are indicative of the spectrum of possibility that repatriation work has for fine-tuning individual and U.S.-wide museum foreign policies toward their native North American collections. But what they further hint at, as noted, are the non-material questions repatriation also raises.

### **All That Remains: Beyond Return**

*One common misconception about the NMAI [National Museum of the American Indian]'s repatriation program is that the majority of the NMAI's collections, at some point in the future, will be repatriated. In fact, less than 3 percent...of the NMAI's collections fall within the four* ...As long as anthropologists, museum curators, and Native American groups...approach the problematic issue of the surviving prior, that is, repatriation equipped only even if the prior person is no more than an entry in a collection and historical record...this prior person is constantly called upon to do all sorts of things collected to things cultural, social and legal

*primary categories of eligible items for repatriation...<sup>200</sup> returned, and leave work—from playing mascot unexamined the premises upon for sports teams to which collection, repatriation, repatriating remains<sup>202</sup>. and the ongoing manipulation of Native lives—not objects—actually depend<sup>201</sup>.*

Both of the above discussions fail to fully broach another way in which we might take the pulse of museum foreign policy. As challenging as repatriation work is, it may be a greater challenge to apply the lessons of such work to material that has *not* been repatriated, and to the ongoing work being done with indigenous persons. This is not to say that repatriation should influence all work done with Native American collections and persons, or define a museum's foreign policy, but rather that the lessons and relationships that issue from it should not be segregated as a type of work that has only legally bounded, category-specific contributions to make. Mindful repatriation work (which does not always result in repatriation<sup>203</sup>) has many adaptable characteristics: a willingness to learn and to be surprised by imperatives that are not one's own or that do not bear immediate public fruit, an acknowledgement of sometimes profound interpretative and ideological differences, a weighing of legal and ethical imperatives, and the acceptance that one may have to work through the legacy that American history may bring to bear on collaboration, to name a few.

We cannot forget that the remaining majority collections of the large, metropolitan museums of the U.S. have core anthropological collections that were collected in a relatively short period of time in the past. To provide a point of reference, in The Field Museum, more than 95% of Hopi material was accessioned between 1894 (the year of the World's Columbian Exposition) and 1912. This means that much of the interpretation of ancient, historic, and modern Indian culture is likely to occur via these objects. This makes a clear case for acquiring both a solid knowledge of the past (how and why they were acquired) and the present (learning more about these objects in collaboration) in relation to these objects. The remaining collections include material with compromised accession histories (some of which may be repatriated), but also material collected with little or no contention. Commissions that

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<sup>200</sup> [NMAI website: Repatriation page](#)

<sup>201</sup> Rosenblum 1997:58

<sup>202</sup> Povinelli 2011:21

<sup>203</sup> Here, I do not only mean cases where a tribe wishes to repatriate but the museum does not find the claim to have standing, but also situations where material is approved for repatriation but not physically returned, such as a tribe choosing to have the museum retain material for safety or other reasons, because a competing claim prevents return of an object, or when consultation and knowledge sharing does not—or has not yet—resulted in a request for repatriation.



were the product of relationships and recent acquisitions are among them, some with and some without a descendant community (or creator) to speak on their behalf. These, too, are important to address in museums, which would benefit greatly from further consideration on how they make contemporary collections, and how they conceptualize this process<sup>204</sup>.

Repatriation has brought the museum into closer collaboration with native persons and native views, but what does this mean more widely for collaboration? The answer is found in a non-material interpretation of *all that remains*: the people. Native people, like museums, are not usually interested in focusing their personal time, resources, and energy solely on repatriation efforts. Repatriation is but one issue that tribes may choose to address in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Those who consult on repatriation issues, not infrequently, have full schedules of ceremonial duties at home or are balancing numerous cultural and natural preservation initiatives in and out of the office. Repatriation is serious work. However, those who do not work with native people unfortunately may actually be surprised that most people have retained not only a sense of commitment to cultural work, but a sense of humor and an understanding of the difficult world in which everyone is operating.

Given all this, it is all the more important that collaborative efforts be more than a showcase accepted ideas about how the museum public can interact with ‘the (pan) Indian.’ As Tejani has written in the context of aboriginal Australia, too often native people are “interpolated by the liberal state to *be herself* by being different in an institutionally legible manner...This is...the flattening out of Real difference...”<sup>205</sup>. This kind of collaborative thrust is the worst that can be drawn from repatriation work, where it is already easy to find the critique that “recognition of indigeneity as criterion for special rights to culture does not flow from an ethical commitment to cultural diversity but from a postcolonial desire for reconciliation and national cohesion”<sup>206</sup>. Boast has discussed cross-cultural work in response to (or in the context of) the debate surrounding the “museum as contact zone,” which warrants mention here. He writes of an exchange between Papuan artists and those at Stanford University’s New Guinea Sculpture Gardens, a passage contained in Clifford’s original discussion.<sup>207</sup> He believes the Papuans expected a more long-term exchange as a return on the gift of their time and participation in creating artwork that those in California instead saw as a chance for them to “demonstrate their artistic

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<sup>204</sup> For some considerations of contemporary collecting, see *Beyond the cabinet of curiosities: Towards a modern rationale of collecting* (Elizabeth Ellen Merritt), *Contemporary Collecting: Theory and Practice* (Owain Rhys), *Collecting Reconsidered* (Susan M. Pearce), and the Samdok/Nordiska Museet publication *Connecting Collecting* (Eva Fägerborg & Elin von Unge).

<sup>205</sup> Tejani 2004: 334-5, emphasis added

<sup>206</sup> Skrydstrup 2008:61 on Povinelli 2002

<sup>207</sup> See *Museums as Contact Zones* (Clifford 1997)

productions” and have them be “displayed for posterity in a permanent site.” Boast writes that, despite good intentions, there was no “sign that very much at all, but for the artists, went back to Papua New Guinea.” His ultimate concern is that “although all contact zone engagements are incommensurable in this way, what matters is that in an incommensurable context, dominance wins”<sup>208</sup>.

Some of repatriation’s most important lessons are found in connecting the prior person and the contemporary person inherent in material culture. Working with native people provides a clear debunking of the myth of completion that tells us that with the physical repatriation of objects or remains a museum’s relationship with and responsibility to any particular group of people is done. Opening and closing request cases in a relative vacuum will only make critiques that question whether “the process of cultural repatriation simply follows an established order of things”<sup>209</sup> more potent and on point. A foreign policy limited to the retention or release of material without an understanding of what is occurring on a broader and deeper level is more likely to continue to embrace ethnography as art, interpretation without fallibility, and repatriation as a chore. When we collaborate, we must recognize that a consideration of “all that remains” is clearly limited by thinking only on a material basis, though this may be the basis upon which the relationship begins or is communicated to the public. We must also be grateful that native people are willing to engage on what are often the museum’s terms at all.

### **A Wider Lens: American Indians and lessons from the field of migration**

Repatriation in the museum sector invites a wider discussion about the return of what may be considered ‘out of place’ and whether that conversation includes all the aspects and agents that it should. In such a complex context, the question of whether something or someone is out of place, and the justification for or against return, will vary greatly. Some have argued that it is the discipline of anthropology itself that facilitates ‘out of placeness,’ having upended the expectation that “those remaining” will care for their relatives’ human remains<sup>210</sup>. Some believe that all human remains must be re-interred and relieved of their long-endured physical and spiritual out of placeness, even if their origins are unknown. Others conceive of the exceptionalism of NAGPRA as that which is out of place, allowing religious views of Native Americans alone to disrupt or overrule research. These same concerns—the ongoing nature of the marginalization of certain groups’ rights, exceptionalism and special treatment (real or imagined), the role of historical events in contemporary social and political problems—are also debated in the field of forced migration studies and, by extension, in the foreign policies of states.

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<sup>208</sup> All quotes here taken from Boast 2011:63

<sup>209</sup> Lyngge 2008:80

<sup>210</sup> Norder 2010:395

Though the field of forced migration studies may appear to concern itself with only pressing contemporary situations—war resulting in millions of refugees, corrupt and violent governments creating asylum seekers or economic migrants, environmental collapse pushing internal displacement—many of these are in fact born of generations or even centuries-old regional conflict between groups inhabiting the same or adjacent physical spaces. Native Americans have inarguably lost numerous aspects of their heritage within what became the United States—material culture, as discussed here, in addition to land and rights—in conflicts that included outright war, and under the duress of such things as the re-location of their children or the impossibility of continuing their livelihoods. For all the dissimilarities between the types of displacement issues made known by museums and the contemporaneous migration situations around the world, both address persons who are simultaneously territorialized and ill-defined by such, who have been and are shaped by involuntary migration, and for whom laws that apply to their status in the world are often deeply problematic. To be clear, every object and human remain within the museum that is considered for repatriation or repatriated is not directly linked to a historical displacement event. This historical context, however, is inextricable from the dialogues that surround the language and the process of return and broader relationships that define foreign policy.

This final section of this paper will briefly broaden the lens held over the museum’s foreign policy toward native North America by applying several lessons within the field of forced migration studies. This is done for two important reasons. One, it is important to note that being ‘out of place’ is often considered an exceptional state when, in fact, it not so exceptional. Refugees and internally displaced persons number at their highest historic level at present, for instance, and the displacement of most indigenous communities in the past was a large-scale systematic force with long-term consequences. Second, this discussion will buoy the above exploration of foreign policy by placing the museum sector in a broader context of foreign policy that responds to both repatriation and freedom of movement.

The first lesson we might consider has to do with the history of [voluntary repatriation](#) and the way in which it became the most recommended [durable solution](#) for resolving refugee crises. Chimni thoughtfully traces and problematizes this history, and centers some of his critique on the dangers of objectivism in repatriation. A nation state, a museum, a person or group displaced, or a tribe may have very good reasons for attempting to effectuate repatriation, but objectifying the terms under which it does so may well be misguided, looking for facts for closure when “facts do not exist outside the world

of interpretation”<sup>211</sup> The main problem here, he continues, is that this interpretation does not include the parties that it should, especially when those who have been displaced make recommendations that run counter to an objectified view of repatriation measures as the best response. “What objectivism tends to do,” he writes, “is substitute the subjective perceptions of the State authorities for the experience of the refugee” and refugees are then only considered “rational actors” when they want one expected outcome (return)<sup>212</sup>. Though this might seem to be the flip side of that which the [Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums](#) has suggested, for instance, in the sense that it prioritizes return rather than retention, Chimni’s analysis suggests that in reality they are two sides of the same coin, where the institution or the state determines the best course for that which is out of place. We are reminded of Fiskesjö’s statement that,

*As ethnographic material (which is how we should approach it), the Declaration is fascinating....The idea is that, despite the international legal and property system based on the nation-state framework introduced and enforced by Western powers, we are now not supposed to support the efforts of custodian “source” states.*<sup>213</sup>

In the museum field, objectivism may be an unhelpful processual tool as well, when each repatriation request or request for information hosts a different set of desires, expected timetables, history and meaning to the requesting group. In a native North American context, too, not all tribes want to repatriate at all times and certainly not for the same reasons. Overall, we can imagine how fitting the following description of disenfranchisement might be to Native Americans when they attempt to speak to museums about the past while up against certain objective (or subjective) assumptions. They may well experience, as Chimni references, an “extreme form of injustice in which the injury suffered by the victim is accompanied by a deprivation of the means to prove it”<sup>214</sup>.

The second lesson we might look to is found in the theoretical work of Souter, who has been working on a theory of *asylum* as a form of reparation for past injustices. Because the museum sector has long been familiar with a human rights angle on repatriation—from the way the National NAGPRA Program presents repatriation law in training sessions to statements, like Rudenstine’s on the Parthenon Marbles, that repatriation “may be the right thing to do in that it responds to an historical episode that, in

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<sup>211</sup> Chimni 2004:62, also referencing H.L.A. Hart

<sup>212</sup> Chimni 2004:62

<sup>213</sup> Fiskesjö 2010:304

<sup>214</sup> Chimni 2004:61, quoting Costas Douzinas and Ronnie Warrington, “A Well-Founded Fear of Justice: Law and Ethics in Postmodernity”, in Jerry Leonard (ed.), *Legal Studies as Cultural Studies* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1995), pp. 197-229 at p. 209. (Original reference unavailable for this paper.)

the opinion of many, should not have occurred”<sup>215</sup>—this is more of a comparative lesson. At its root, Souter is following through on the problematic idea that the assistance that is provided to those that are out of place is done under a “classically humanitarian rationale...pursued in a politically neutral manner...independently ...[of]...who bears responsibility”<sup>216</sup>. To this, Souter introduces the importance of not only “the current fact of displacement but also its provenance”<sup>217</sup> in order to ascertain whether nations can offer asylum to those they are responsible, in some fashion, for removing from their domiciles. Museums, for their part, have been asked to issue apologies or accept responsibility for the past treatment of native people in the U.S.; some have at times done so publicly. Many, however, bristle at the idea that they are responsible, in part, for such a past. It is then interesting to note that Souter has used similar approximating language as that found within NAGPRA when he moves toward assessing how the international community might weigh causality within these “pre-existing relationships.”<sup>218</sup> Souter suggests that this may come down to meeting a “threshold of causal directness” that is “at least fairly strong.”<sup>219</sup> Not unlike NAGPRA’s “preponderance of the evidence,” supplied by the lines museums are required to consider (geographical, kinship, biological, archaeological, anthropological, linguistic, folkloric, oral traditional, historical, or other relevant information or expert opinion)<sup>220</sup>, the particulars of each case are both difficult to hold to one single standard and in need of a larger supportive structure of guidance.

Finally, we might consider a lesson that reminds us that repatriation’s borders are geographically, culturally and temporally broad. For this, we are wise to look to Hammond’s critique<sup>221</sup> of what she calls the “‘repatriation = homecoming’ model,” wherein she notes the limitations of a narrative of return that is overly simplified. If physical repatriation is considered the final act of resolution of a problem, it becomes much easier for post-repatriation lives (and needs) to be ignored or glossed over, and, by extension, for the root causes of displacement itself to be left unaddressed. Such a blinkered view of return can result in both policy and practice that aims to tick off legal boxes rather than address the issues that resulted in the need for repatriation in the first place. The museum often bears witness to the

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<sup>215</sup> Rudenstine 2001:70

<sup>216</sup> Souter 2013:171-2

<sup>217</sup> Souter 2013(2):3

<sup>218</sup> Souter 2013(2):2

<sup>219</sup> Souter 2013(2):14

<sup>220</sup> 25 U.S.C. 3005 (a)(4)(c)

<sup>221</sup> See Laura Hammond’s chapter, *Examining the Discourse of Repatriation: Towards a More Proactive Theory of Return Migration in The End of the Refugee Cycle? Refugee Repatriation and Reconstruction* (1999) as well as her book *This place will become home: refugee repatriation to Ethiopia* (2004).

economic difficulties of many native people, and a simplified repatriation narrative does not account for the way in which material and remains return home to environments which may still be exceedingly underprivileged.

Hammond reminds us that no one returns to a life as it was before migration, whether this means the migrant has adopted new cultural customs in the new places they lived, that the place to which they return (or are returned to) is now a physically altered landscape, or that there are, literally, new people living in the home once left behind. She acknowledges the connections that displaced persons have made in their new communities. The museum considers similar issues where both past and present belief systems must be incorporated into consultation. Native people must create new re-burial rituals, for instance, in response to return, often compromising their geontological traditions to ensure re-interred ancestors are safe (a number of tribes have brought forward requests to the federal government for the use of federal land for such purposes.) Without ‘complexifying’ return to the point that it includes the lives of those who have already been repatriated, or repatriated to, Hammond writes, we leave out those living the lives actually tied to repatriation initiatives. Chimni said much the same in his topic of focus, when he wrote that without

*a clear recognition of the role external economic factors play in creating the conditions which lead to refugee flows, and steps proposed to address them, the humanitarian aid community may, in the final analysis, be seen as an instrument of an exploitative international system which is periodically mobilized to address its worst consequences.”<sup>222</sup>*

It is not necessarily that progress has not been made, but that it is extremely difficult to have a conversation about all that still lacks, when repatriation work bears witness to elements of history and the present that are uncomfortable, resolved slowly, and difficult to communicate to those that work in both museums or the public at large.

### **Conclusion**

This paper has offered a largely theoretical treatment of the way in which U.S. museums can be said to have a foreign policy toward their native North American collections and the persons associated with them, and how we might measure changes to these policies over time. The paper first reviewed the way in which the concept of a foreign policy was a useful one for addressing the unique weight of history that museum anthropological collections evince as repositories of a particular time period. The

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<sup>222</sup> Chimni 2004:56.

paper argued that museums would do well to consider their collections and behaviors in a holistic way, even one that upsets the limited geographies and cultures their anthropological collections present to the world. The paper then advanced repatriation as the lens through which possible change could be considered, largely for the way it reveals the policy and practice of museums in regard to the freedom and restriction of return movement (a large component of state foreign policy).

The paper then presented three ways in which repatriation might help assess changes to the foreign policy of the museum over time. The legal discussion focused primarily on NAGPRA and the ways in which this law has opened avenues for collaborative work between tribes and museums, but has also been critiqued for various reasons. This section also focused somewhat on UNDRIP and the role of non-binding declarations and recommendations. The following section dealt with the idea of proactive and reactive responses by museums to repatriation concerns, focusing on three instances of what could be argued to be proactive museum responses. The paper detailed the way in which these scenarios might or might not unfold in different times and under different circumstances, concluding that these examples were indicative of the spectrum of possibility that repatriation work has for fine-tuning museum foreign policy. The final focus of this section discussed all that remains, looking beyond return for indicators of repatriation work's influence on contested collections and those that are not, on contemporary collecting, and on working with native persons more broadly, beyond that which merely makes 'Indianness' legible to the museum or the public.

The final section of the paper broadened the lens of analysis and invited potential lessons from the field of forced migration studies on the repatriation of that which is 'out of place.' The section explored similar themes in the situations of territorialized people, past and present, and explored the dangers of objectivism, briefly unpacked the provenience of responsibility, and highlighted the limitations of a simplified "repatriation = homecoming" narrative.

Does the museum have a foreign policy, and has it changed? It may well depend on whom you ask. These questions can only be answered by considering them continuously and listening for answers that appear in every form. If we reflect on museums as institutions with borders, the above consideration goes some distance to describe the ways in which, to some degree, museums are changing their borders, becoming somewhat penetrable. Return movement, contested or celebrated in individual situations in various museums, opens a literal as well as figurative door through which information passes. Repatriation work has assisted in creating a future in which there will much more to talk about with North America's native people than return. But despite the access that repatriation work has in part

facilitated, museums with anthropological collections may have a difficult time convincing the public, native people, or anyone looking in that they have a clear investment in the future of native people within their borders when so much of their collection speaks so loudly of the past. Nonetheless, there appears to be more general awareness and recognition of the consequences and ethics surrounding removing things from their context, adding them to the prestige of a faraway (or even local) museum—whether plants, human remains, cultural objects, or even material clearly for sale. The local and regional economy from whom these things came may be affected for a long time to come. Those that were left behind continue to have stake in these things. There is something to be lost, and something to be gained. Repatriation and the consideration of return movement has taught us that every present action is rarely black and white in retrospect, and should thus weighed with a long view. Whether that perspective is buoyed by a continued foreign policy is yet to be seen.



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## **Museums as ambassadors and political players? Impulses for the German-Russian relations**

*“Give me a museum and I will change society” (Tony Bennett)*

In a conversation in April 2014 between members of the subcommittee for external cultural and educational politics and the Russian ambassador on how to improve the German-Russian relations by and with culture, museums weren't even mentioned<sup>223</sup>. But why ever not? The good news is that it is obviously assumed in politics that relationships can even be improved by and with culture. However concerning the German-Russian relations the museum as an institution is obviously given hardly any credit.

The German-Russian relations are not at their best at present. There were tensions long before the crisis in Ukraine. Even the rather successful economic relations have been troubled; there were irritations due to stricter controls of the political foundations in March 2013. Idea and format of the so-called Petersburg Dialogue and therefore the development of a civil society in Russia have been discussed for a number of years. And even a scandal occurred alongside the exhibition of “The Bronze Age – Europe without borders” in Petersburg in June 2013, the cause was the ever delicate theme of the cultural goods that have been relocated due to the war.

Such phases of alienation have occurred repeatedly. The low point was marked by the German extermination policy in the East during the Second World War. This tragic period is documented by the German-Russian museum in Berlin-Karlshorst. It is, beside the Allied museum, a unique institution of international museum cooperation in Germany and shows the significance the federal government attaches to the German-Russian relationship. It is one of the few museums entirely supported by the federation.

Starting from this premise this paper will explore the question of what role museums play in international relations. Can museums actually influence or even improve them? And if so, how? This thesis is based on the belief that a strengthening of museums from the part of politics as well as a more active participation of museums in the political realm could contribute to creating sustaining effects

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<sup>223</sup> Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 9.4.2014, p. 11. For the translation of the article into English I thank Elisabeth Karsten, <http://www.elisabeth-karsten.de/>

which result from the specific function of this institution.

I want to examine this thesis in three steps using the German-Russian museum relations as an example and will also briefly touch on the question what we can learn from museum research and museums in the US. A first glance at the present collaborations shows that many, mostly large projects are being realized – however they also all mirror the issues which mark all areas of the German-Russian relations and jeopardize their lasting effect (I). This is most regrettable - as the second part of the text will illustrate – because the unique institutional context of museums is particularly suitable to contribute to the improvement and the stabilization of relations (II). The third part of my paper explores the possibilities and perspectives that can be deduced from these reflections for the German-Russian relations (III).

### **I The German-Russian museum relations**

There have been quite a number of German-Russian cultural projects in the last twenty years<sup>224</sup>. I want to single out the following. One of the first big collaborations was the shared exhibition of “Moscow-Berlin. Berlin-Moscow. 1900-1950” (1995/1996). The open and trusting atmosphere of the early nineties was beneficial to further cooperation, among them projects of the federal association of museum pedagogics, a close cooperation of the federal state of Lower Saxony with Russian museums and last, but not least open discussions and agreements in the work groups concerning the question of “looted art” or cultural assets that were displaced during the war. It was especially this topic that increasingly troubled the relationship - particularly between the museums. The founding of the German-Russian museum dialogue in 2005 has to be regarded in this context. It is designed to stabilize relationships on the work level by shared exhibition and research projects. The workgroup culture from the Petersburg dialogue founded in 2001 also had a trust building effect beyond political differences, as well as large projects of German and Russian museums, among them the exhibitions “Traces. Germans and Russians in History” 2003/2004, “Our Russians – our Germans” 2007, “Under the sign of the Golden Griffin. Royal burial chambers of the Scythians” 2007, “Power and Friendship” 2008, “Russians and Germans. 1000 years of history, art and culture” 2012/13, “In the Glory of the Tsar” 2013 as well as the already mentioned exhibition about the Bronze Age.

Beyond these international cooperation projects are a few less well known museums that are

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<sup>224</sup> Cf. [www.forum-russische-kultur.de](http://www.forum-russische-kultur.de) and [www.kulturportal-russland.de](http://www.kulturportal-russland.de). (This link was accessed, like all others, last on August 10th 2014) Furthermore the big art exhibitions with loans from Russian museums in recent years as well as cooperation in the area of contemporary art are to be mentioned.

dedicated to art, culture and history of Russia, like the Museum for Russian Germans in Detmold, the Icon museum in Recklinghausen, the museum for Soviet troops in Wünsdorf, and two museums in Baden-Baden: the literary museum Chekov Salon and the private Fabergé museum.

On the part of the Russians – besides their participation in the aforementioned projects – the following exhibitions “Germans in the history of Moscow” 1997, “Moscow Germans – four centuries with Russia” 1998 are to be added as well as the museum of the Germans in St. Petersburg. Furthermore there is an active collaboration on the work level beyond large exhibition projects. The workgroup of the museum encyclopedia of the Russian culturological institute (meanwhile dissolved) has met with German colleagues from ICOM and the Landesstelle for the non-governmental museums in Bavaria for common conferences for many years. In the context of the twin-partnership of the capitals museum directors from Moscow travelled for an exchange of expertise to Berlin this year. Currently there is also a collaboration between the State museum of literature of the Russian federation and the Literary archive in Marbach<sup>225</sup>.

A special museum, that is dedicated to the German-Russian relations as no other, has not been mentioned yet, the German-Russian museum. It is unique and plays a central part in the following reflections. With the new founding of the museum in 1994 both countries set a strong political signal for the stabilization and development for the bilateral relations<sup>226</sup>, as there is possibly none alike in the museum world. Therefore it is also suited more than any other to secure peaceful and good relations in the future.

The enumeration of the museums and projects shows, that there is a remarkable number of initiatives in the museum area and this despite the continuously difficult relationship and in spite of many reservations in public opinions of both countries<sup>227</sup>. And exactly this phenomenon is symptomatic for the German-Russian relationship: there is a dense involvement on the base of generally good relations, but if one takes a closer look, one realizes that quantity does not automatically go hand in hand with quality in the sense of mutual understanding, respect and freedom from bias. Furthermore museum relations mirror the problems beyond culture. We all know about the practical challenges of required visas, customs, negotiations about exhibition couriers that are often the most difficult part of the loan

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<sup>225</sup> See the comments of Olga Cherkaeva, Elena Medvedyeva, Maria Kuzybayeva on the blogpost <http://museumspoliticsandpower.org/2014/04/10/deutsch-russische-museumsbeziehungen>.

<sup>226</sup> Due to the documented history of world war II at the museum Ukraine and Belarus are also members of the board. Cf. [www.museum-karlshorst.de](http://www.museum-karlshorst.de)

<sup>227</sup> Latest: [http://www.ifd-allensbach.de/uploads/tx\\_reportsdocs/FAZ\\_April\\_2014\\_Russland.pdf](http://www.ifd-allensbach.de/uploads/tx_reportsdocs/FAZ_April_2014_Russland.pdf) and <http://www.levada.ru/05-06-2014/otnoshenie-rossiyan-k-drugim-stranam>.

contracts, loan fees and insurances and often enough differing notions of exhibition concepts and realization. I have already mentioned the ongoing tedious negotiations about the displaced cultural assets due to war in the last twenty years.

What can be concluded from all this? It becomes obvious that German-Russian (museum) relations are – at their present state - not able to break up old thought patterns in order to achieve a mutual understanding of the other in the long run. What are the reasons?

The relations produce a remarkable output – the mentioned projects prove this – but unfortunately there is a lack of outcome, a long term effect. They are ambivalent, because – and that is my first thesis – inter cultural misunderstandings and misperceptions prevent a change of attitude. In other words: the issue is not even more projects and collaboration contracts but an object of intercultural communications research. Russia is viewed by its German partners, I shall begin my reflections considering the German perspective, which I can assess better, in an inadequate way. We are partly caught in old block thinking and partly in Russia-nostalgia. Both are based on the general assumption that Russia is a European country in our and therefore Western sense, that will find its place sooner or later and thus “come to its senses”. Everything else is unthinkable or refers to “bizarre systems of value” as a German politician recently summarized the broad opinion in German and Western Europe in the context of the crisis in Ukraine<sup>228</sup>. The continuous talk is full of misunderstandings; this was recently put in a nutshell by Viktor Yerofeyev<sup>229</sup>. Germany and Europe couldn't and wouldn't accept that Russia is different, in brief: “The West understands more and more that Russia isn't Europe”.

If we were to pursue this – admittedly rather unfamiliar approach at first – we would have to launch a largely planned research project on the intercultural relations in the methodological environment of cultural comparative research and an analysis of aspects of learning and conduct in intercultural situations of encounter. For the fact that obviously two different cultures are meeting has so far not been an object of study<sup>230</sup>. As museum people we could alternatively also meet in currently

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<sup>228</sup> Philipp Mißfelder in an interview with Deutschlandfunk on Feb 14th.2014. [http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/deutsch-russisches-verhaeltnis-eine-drei-mit-potenzial-nach.694.de.html?dram:article\\_id=277443](http://www.deutschlandfunk.de/deutsch-russisches-verhaeltnis-eine-drei-mit-potenzial-nach.694.de.html?dram:article_id=277443)

<sup>229</sup> Jerofejew, Viktor: Die Mutter aller Kriege ist das Missverständnis, in: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 26.5.2014, p. 11.

<sup>230</sup> Most works focus on the cultures of Western Europe and the US in separation from the Asian or Arab culture. Russia is at the center of only few works. The difficulties in communication are considered to be lying in differing interests which are to be dealt with with the means of diplomacy. An examination of the question whether cultural differences might be the reason for the difficulties of understanding remains open. Most works so far focus on analysing the means of expression in the German and Russian language that express certain intentions of communication. Studies focusing on a rather behavioural approach (which include a description of socio-cultural aspects of communication as well as of practical behaviour) are few. See: Baumgart, Annette, Bianca Jänecke (1997): *Russlandknigge*, München. Recently: Igra, Heidrun (2010): *Interkulturelle Kompetenz: deutsch-russische Kulturstandards im interkulturellen Management*, in: *Zeitschrift der Staatlichen Bau- und*

unfrequented and new museum spaces. Actually there is no area suited better for cooperation as the museum itself. As a microcosm it mirrors a lot, as a permanent institution it can have a long term effect in contrast to single projects and is therefore most suitable as a reviver. What qualifies the museum as such?

## II Museums as ambassadors and political players

Various disciplines have each brought about specific theories concerning the special features of museums<sup>231</sup>. As keywords are to be named: museums as locations for preservation of cultural heritage, for remembrance and memory, for development and reflection of identities, for deceleration, for contemplation and encounter of the original object and its aura, as a medium of a different and new visual perception, but also as a player in the immediate social environment, of city development and tourism. Furthermore many publications have been dealing with the specific work areas of museum life, as collecting, preserving, researching, exhibiting and communicating. The intersection reflects the challenges that museums are faced with today: they are places of cultural education, for lifelong learning, as well as locations of encounter and communication for various social groups and generations<sup>232</sup>.

I would like to focus on two aspects in particular: the political function and the intercultural dialogue. As for the first one there is general agreement that museums have social tasks and have political influence. This is proved by taking a glance at the history of museums in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century in Europe, when museums were in service to a society with a feudal background and national politics<sup>233</sup> as well as the analysis of current involvement of museums with political structures<sup>234</sup>.

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Architektur-Universität Woronesch 1/13, [http://www.stic-deru.de/pdf/Kultur-und-Management\\_2010.pdf](http://www.stic-deru.de/pdf/Kultur-und-Management_2010.pdf); Koptjakova, E. (2008): Germanij v nacional'nych stereotipach russkich i amerikancev, in: *Političeskaja lingvistika* 1/24, pp 129-132; Ličev, A. (2001): *Russland verstehen. Schlüssel zum russischen Wesen*, Düsseldorf; Thomas, Alexander, Stefan Kammhuber, Sylvia Schroll-Machl (Ed.) (2003): *Handbuch Interkulturelle Kommunikation und Kooperation*, vol. 1 and 2, Göttingen, Russia: vol. 2, pp 103-119.

<sup>231</sup> Baur, Joachim (Ed.) (2010): *Museumsanalyse: Methoden und Konturen eines neuen Forschungsfeldes*, Bielefeld; Borsdorf, Ulrich (Ed.) (2008): *Das Zeigen der Dinge. Wahrnehmung und Erkenntnis im Museum*, Köln; Bose von, Friedrich, Kerstin Poehls, Franka Schneider, Annett Schulze (Ed.) (2011): *Museum x - Zur Neuvermessung eines mehrdimensionalen Raumes*, Berlin; Dröge, Kurt, Detlef Hoffmann (2010): *Museum revisited: Transdisziplinäre Perspektiven auf eine Institution im Wandel*, Bielefeld; Te Heesen, Anke (2013): *Theorien des Museums. Zur Einführung*, Hamburg; Kirchberg, Volker (2005): *Gesellschaftliche Funktionen von Museen. Makro-, meso- und mikrosoziologische Perspektiven*, Wiesbaden; Korff, Gottfried (2008): *Sechs Emdener Thesen zur Rolle des Museums in der Informationsgesellschaft*, in: *Museumskunde* 73/2, pp 19-27.

<sup>232</sup> Cf. Graf, Bernhard und Volker Rodekamp (Hg.) (2012): *Museen zwischen Qualität und Relevanz. Denkschrift zur Lage der Museen*, Berlin.

<sup>233</sup> Kamp, Michael (2002): *Das Museum als Ort der Politik. Münchner Museen im 19. Jahrhundert*, München.

As for the intercultural dialogue the realization of the efficiency of museums is younger. Especially the changes of society due to migration, globalization and mobility have been accompanied and reflected by many museums in projects and exhibitions in the last decades. Evaluations prove that they thus have an effect on cultural value systems and behaviour and therefore are institutionally suited to revive the intercultural dialogue beyond research on the one hand and social projects on the other. So far however most of these initiatives are directed towards different groups within national societies, less at populations of different countries on an international level<sup>235</sup>. The possibilities for international relations that result from these two features of museums, also on a political level, have not been recognized so far.

How could that be changed? What we require – and this is my second thesis – is more faith in museums as players in the political realm, faith that is based on the specific tasks and abilities of this institution. To this effect I would like to encourage museums to define themselves more politically and to participate more actively in discussions<sup>236</sup>. This should clearly happen less through events and single actions, but rather through a reflection and re-evaluation of their classic standing tasks. That is exactly where their potential to act more normatively lies. The American journalist Judith Dobrzynski recently referred to this. What she said about art museums can also be accounted for other museums:

“The activities that museums are staging now, in many instances, have nothing to do with their collections or art and that’s what I think is...dangerous...because art museums are never going to be able to compete with entertainment venues and to even raise the expectation that they could is again mis-training your audience. That’s not what they should be going to these museums for.”<sup>237</sup>

A stronger faith on the part of politics for an enforced involvement of museums in political questions should last but not least be expressed in a reliable financial support.

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<sup>234</sup> McDonald, Sharon (1998): *The Politics of Display. Museums, science, culture*, London. See also: Bennett, Tony (2005): *The birth of the museum: History, theory, politics*, London et al.. Aus deutscher Perspektive: Greve, Anna (Ed.) (2011): *Museum und Politik. Allianzen und Konflikte (Kunst und Politik. Jahrbuch der Guernica-Gesellschaft Bd 13)*, Osnabrück sowie Band 78 (1/2013) der Zeitschrift „Museumskunde“ zum Thema „Museen im politischen Raum – Ein Erfahrungsaustausch“.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. Bodo, Simona, Kirsten Gibbs, Margherita Sani (Ed.) (2009): *Museums as places for intercultural dialogue: selected practices from Europe*, [http://www.ne-mo.org/fileadmin/Dateien/public/service/Handbook\\_MAPforID\\_EN.pdf](http://www.ne-mo.org/fileadmin/Dateien/public/service/Handbook_MAPforID_EN.pdf) and <http://www.jemproject.eu/WORKING-GROUPS/Intercultural-dialogue>

<sup>236</sup> Cf. Krüger, Thomas (2011): *Museum und Öffentlichkeit – Perspektiven für eine kulturelle Bildungsarbeit im 21. Jahrhundert*, in: *Museumskunde* 76/2, pp 37-48.

<sup>237</sup> <http://museumspoliticsandpower.org/2014/06/12/money-market-or-mission-museums-in-a-changing-world/> See also Borsdorf, Ulrich (2008): *Sammlung und Vermittlung. Der Beitrag des Museums im gesellschaftlichen Diskurs*, in: *Museumskunde* 73/2, pp 37-41.



How topical these thoughts are can be seen yet again by looking at the conference blog. Considering the present situation in Ukraine and the role of museums Ihor Poshyvailo, the vice director of the Ivan Honchar Museum in Kiev, emphasized the special significance of the collection of future exhibits on the Majdan. Jonathan Paquette from Ottawa University in Canada pointed out the delicate issue of renaming the Canadian Museum of civilization. By putting collection and research behind presentation and narration, the museum is weakened.

„What it teaches, in particular, is that politicians and policymakers have come to entertain a profound misunderstanding of the institution, one that is in line with that of the general public: the museum is understood primarily as a place for exhibits. For politicians and policymakers, museums are places where the importance lies in the story that is being told; the rest of the museum’s mission remains abstract, disconnected, or simply ignored. In the case of the CMC (now CMH), it was reported that some of the reorganization processes amalgamated research- and collection-based work, repositioning these activities under the supervision of the vice-president and director of exhibits. As a result, research has lost its crucial place in the activities of the new museum. By misunderstanding the primary importance of research- and collection-based activities, the museum (and museums in general) has lost its meaning and can now be reoriented in any (narrative) direction the government sees fit.<sup>238</sup> “

But what makes a museum a political player? Here I would like to return to an analysis by Volker Kirchberg, according to which museums should act more actively concerning the political challenge, which Kirchberg considers the most crucial besides the visitor challenge - in order to generate influence<sup>239</sup>. His argument is based on the American museum researcher Stephen Weil, who demands a social legitimation for the existence of museums which is to be measured by its outcome – in other word in the sustainability effect (in contrast to the quantitatively measurable output)<sup>240</sup>. Thereby Kirchberg presumes that museums as an institution actually have to fulfil a purpose and develops a museum typology based on types of function by the American sociologist Robert Merton. Kirchberg differentiates firstly “conventional or respectively traditional museums”, that neither question means nor ways to reach their goals, secondly “ritual museums” that are “successful at applying their repertory of

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<sup>238</sup> <http://museumpoliticsandpower.org/2014/02/06/mission-control-who-decides-a-view-from-canada/#more-646>, concerning the interview with I. Poshyvailo: <http://museumpoliticsandpower.org/2013/12/15/our-history-museums-will-include-the-events-of-these-days/>

<sup>239</sup> Kirchberg, Volker (2011): Gesellschaftliche Funktion von Museen zwischen Assimilation und Akkommodation, in: *Museumskunde* 26/2, pp 16-24. Translation of the quotations into English by K. Janeke.

<sup>240</sup> Stephen Weil (2002): *Making Museums Matter*, Washington. Concerning the following Kirchberg 2011, op. cit., pp 17-20.

means (have a high number of visitors, for example [...]), but don't care about their social purpose", thirdly "innovative museums" that accept their goals but find new ways in achieving them (for example by creative marketing) but without questioning their social purpose and fourthly the "rebellious museums", that question their goals as well as their methods and redefine those themselves. By characterizing the two lastly mentioned types as responsible museums according to Stephen Weil, as they act as "self-determined and self-determining players with the freedom of and ability to conscious decision" Kirchberg introduces another category: the differentiation between "functioning" and "responsible museums". While the first kind adapt to their environment and thus act reactively, the innovative and rebellious museums act accommodatingly – and thus self-determined and critical. This attitude has been described by the American Historian Neil Harris as the highest level of development in museums<sup>241</sup>.

Kirchberg pleads for a further development of the museums to accommodating institutions with the aim "that innovations in the environment lead to innovations in the institution, just as innovations in the institution can lead to innovations in the environment."<sup>242</sup> As for putting these thoughts into practice, Kirchberg refers to the inclusive museum group in the US, the idea of an Engaging Museum by the British historian Graham Black as well as the work group for the sustainability of museums by the Canadian museum researcher Douglas Worts<sup>243</sup>.

The examples show that the increased engagement, as Kirchberg encourages it, is not necessarily an explicit political one. In all three movements the emphasis is on the social function of the museum. But that is immanently political, as it can have – and in fact has - an influence on society beyond the museum. I would therefore like to interpret the political engagement of a museum according to Roland Arpin, the former director of the Canadian Museum of Civilization and now Museum of Canadian History, who was convinced

„[...]That the museum can be applied as an political instrument. [...] that the museum as a public institution also has to have a political character. The biggest challenge for the museum lies in finding the suitable form for the best expression if its *political function* without slipping into *political action*.”<sup>244</sup>

In this sense political engagement is also always part of the genuine tasks of a museum. And

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<sup>241</sup> Harris, Neil (1990): Polling for Opinions, in: Museum News 9/10, pp 43-53.

<sup>242</sup> Kirchberg 2011, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>243</sup> <http://onmuseums.com/>, Black, Graham: The engaging museum, London 2005 and <http://worldviewsconsulting.org/index.html>.

<sup>244</sup> Arpin, Roland (1999): Das Museum zwischen politischer Funktion und politischer Aktion, in: Museumskunde 64/1, p. 71, italics by author. Translation of the quotations into English by K. Janeke.

another aspect is to be added. Where museums engage in political discourse and take responsibility, this also always means to enter into an intercultural dialogue and taking a position in our global and multicultural society.

How closely social, political and intercultural aspects of the museum practice are connected shows a look at the US. Even though the conditions of museums in the US and in Europe are not comparable in many ways, the North American museum scene does repeatedly give valuable impulses<sup>245</sup>. Much more so than in Europe, the museums are placed in a democratic context since their foundation and consider themselves an institution with an educational mission for the public. Usually they are private organizations that receive no or only very little support from the state, so that they depend on other sources of income. That makes most of the museums independent non-profit enterprises that are responsible for their own survival. Every museum positions itself individually and in close connection to the city or the local environment. These circumstances result in a completely different relationship between the institution on the one side and employees, voluntary helpers, visitors, sponsors as well as all other social, national and trans-generational groups active in the museum on the other. Only in such close as well as professional agreement can the continuing existence of a museum be guaranteed. Consequently there is a stronger anchoring of the museum in the local society and “from the base”. What is often being discussed in Europe under the key word of active participation of visitor groups has often been reality in American museums for a long time<sup>246</sup>. It is therefore not surprising that - originating in the occupy-movement - there are attempts to further develop this approach consequently also for museums, with the goal of profiling the museum as a political space<sup>247</sup>.

Examples for the claim of political engagement of museums and exhibition projects and their effect can be pointed out for these theoretical considerations. I consciously choose very different museum and exhibition types as well as projects from different countries. Without doubt one of the most powerfully efficient museums for the intercultural dialogue with political effect is the Holocaust Museum in Washington DC, US. In Europe the House of European History in Brussels has marked the debate about the influence of museums on politics. Such tangible influence has been temporarily exercised by museums particularly in Middle and Eastern Europe, as for example the House of Terror in

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<sup>245</sup> See also Marjorie Schwarzer (2006): *Riches, Rivals and Radicals: 100 Years of Museums in America*, Washington, D.C. and further publications of the American Alliance of Museums, especially of the Center for the Future of Museums in Washington <http://www.aam-us.org/resources/center-for-the-future-of-museums>

<sup>246</sup> Cf. <http://museumtwo.blogspot.de/> und <http://www.participatorymuseum.org/>.

<sup>247</sup> Cf. <http://occupymuseums.org/>. This approach was recently topic at two conferences in Wolfenbüttel: <http://www.b-f-k.de/pdf/tagungsflyer-occupymuseum.pdf> und [http://www.bundesakademie.de/programm/museum/do/veranstaltung\\_details/mm02-14/](http://www.bundesakademie.de/programm/museum/do/veranstaltung_details/mm02-14/)

Budapest, the Museum of the Warsaw Uprising in Poland or the museum of Victims of the Genocide in Vilnius, Lithuania. With the exhibition project “Art of Enlightenment” in Beijing in 2011 the participating museums made a controversial contribution to the political debate on the German-Chinese relations. Rachel Sayers reported the efforts of Northern Irish museums on the conference blog<sup>248</sup>, to work on the political conflict in and with the museum. The planned museum by the Foundation for flight, expulsion and reconciliation feeds political discussions continuously and all museums partake in the political discourse, that are in the focus with their projects on research of provenience and restitution. Last but not least the rather small Three country museum in the South of Germany is consciously trying to further the intercultural dialogue between Germany, Switzerland and France. A German-French museum is planned.

### **III Possibilities and perspectives for German-Russian museum relations**

What perspectives result from these reflections for the German-Russian relations? First of all it is desirable to involve Russia in the debates about museums in Europe and Europe in the museum. Paradoxically this is by far not the case despite the above mentioned habit to measure Russia by (West)-European standards. By casting our glance more often eastwardly in museum research too we already come closer to intercultural exchange.

Furthermore we can deliberately focus on projects that are dedicated to current political and social issues assessed differently in the museum work of both countries, as for instance migration, participation, inclusion, conflict of generation, development of urban space, cultural education, national identity and cultural heritage. This should not aim at a common view without alternatives but an acceptance of differing positions. This would be along the lines of one of the authors on the conference blog: „Working on [an international exhibit] was quite interesting considering what topics they did discuss, which I thought were inappropriate, based on their history.”<sup>249</sup>

Such an endeavour would be taking into account the insight that intercultural communication must be reflected to a much stronger degree in future. The question would have to be asked how common cultural projects must be designed, especially in different political systems, in order to do justice to cultural remembrance, values, norms, symbols and rituals of the other side and thus contributing to a communication open to results without bias. This in turn would be the premise for a reconciliation and unexcited acceptance that there are basic differences in the understanding of museums

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<sup>248</sup> <http://museumpoliticsandpower.org/2014/03/02/museums-politics-in-northern-ireland/>

<sup>249</sup> <http://museumpoliticsandpower.org/2013/11/21/snippets-from-around-the-world/>

and their function and therefore also in everyday museum life and beyond. While museums in Germany developed against the backdrop of historical development and the resulting changes of society from politically marked national museums to places of communication and forums of debate with the participation of all social classes, museums in Russia are places of normative presentation of history under governmental influence to this day. They serve less as a place for discussion and learning rather than as a place of emotional overwhelming.

All this could take place within the framework of the “German-Russian museum dialogue” that so far doesn’t have this broad claim and isn’t prepared for it either. Furthermore one could also plead for a special museum, to express the significance of the German-Russian relations. Perhaps that is exaggerated and furthermore completely unrealistic, and it is also superfluous. For such a museum already exists! The German-Russian museum owes its foundation to a political act of will of both countries, which presumably wouldn’t be possible (any more) today. And yet, it’s an unloved museum child: the budget is small (much smaller than that of the (West) “Allied Museum” by the way) and is furthermore entirely supported by the German side. It is hardly known, its effect on the German-Russian relations is limited and it is far from being a place of political encounters.

Which brings me to my third thesis. The German-Russian relations could be improved and stabilized if museums in general and the German-Russian museum in particular would be more strongly perceived and used.

That requires two things: First an upgrade in the political view in shape of a clearly higher budget as well as an honest avowal to this historical site. Secondly a more active participation of the museum in the political discourse would be desirable, as currently in the debate of the background of the conflict in Ukraine. For years the German-Russian museum has been struggling for remembrance and identity, an area in which museums and politics are most closely interconnected<sup>250</sup>. The new permanent exhibition and catalogue show the success of these efforts. Politics can learn from a museum here, for, as it was recently expressed by the director of the House of European History: “Museums can have a healing function”.<sup>251</sup>

Based on this premise and in order to create a signature effect for German-Russian relations I would like to suggest the foundation of a complementary museum in Russia. The according museum

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<sup>250</sup> Ostow, Robin (Ed.) (2008): (Re)Visualizing National History. Museums and National Identities in Europe in the New Millennium, Toronto.

<sup>251</sup> Taja Vovk van Gaal, during a panel discussion remembering World War I in Berlin at the Konrad-Adenauer Foundation, May 8<sup>th</sup> 2014.

tasks of building and caretaking of a common collection, exhibition and research projects, the development of information programs and presence in the media as well as programs for further education would be suitable to anchor the museum stronger than before in both countries and to generate understanding of each other's position. Furthermore many enterprises could be realized virtually, among them a common exhibition, the creation of a shared database, journeys to places of the German-Russian history as well as a trans-border research concerning the displacement of cultural assets due to war.

To conclude I would like to return once more to Stephen Weil. The social legitimation of museums, says Weil, results from the “justification of the socio-culturally differentiated groups who are interested in this museum, will visit it and consider it ‘their’ museum”<sup>252</sup>. In the present case these are Germans and Russians, who - let’s be honest – only take a very marginal interest in the German-Russian museum. Necessary therefore is a “contract social” as Weil suggests, in which the reevaluation and relevance of the museum is to be dealt with. Key points of this agreement from both sides should be: an update of their goals, starting from the development of the bilateral relations after the end of the Soviet Union, an upgrade as place for political encounters and, last but not least, an adequate budget for these tasks and the significance. In this way– referring to Kirchberg again – the points would be set for a development from a presently only functioning to a responsible, that is to say from an assimilating to an accommodating type, that is willing and able, to mark the German-Russian relations in a decisive way. “,[...] It is not yet proven that a museum is successful *as a museum* despite or because of the intense exchange with its surrounding society and while preserving its nature. The signs are good, but challenging. We are working on it.”<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> Zitiert nach Kirchberg 2011, op. cit., p. 17. Translation of the quotations into English by K. Janeke.

<sup>253</sup> Borsdorf 2008, op. cit., p. 41. Translation of the quotations into English by K. Janeke.

## Section 2

# **Museums and society development**

**The transnational making of memory.  
Aims and projects of the tri-national network of museums  
in the Upper Rhine Valley**

History is remembered in different ways in different countries. This is not only true for memorial culture in state and society and the subjective memory of people which is influenced by it, but also for the science and the conveyance of history. Also, the majority of national, regional and local museums of history use their exhibitions to shed light on history mainly from a national perspective. Other than many museums of art or ethnology, they also look after collections, whose objects mostly mirror the national memorial culture and its perspective.

Only recently, stronger efforts have been made in the science of history to overcome the limited views of national history. Transnational exploration and the portrayal of historical topics thereby open up new contexts and historical connections. Still, it is only a limited number of history museums, that seize on those new tendencies. Besides, especially museums that are situated closely to national borders are very likely to benefit from such tendencies as they have numerous possibilities to make people realize how limited a national view on history is and how to overcome such boundaries, by cooperating with museums from neighboring countries.<sup>254</sup> This principle is what we, a union of museums from Germany, France and Switzerland in the Upper Rhine region, have based our transnational work on for the last 20 years.

**The trinational region of the Upper Rhine**

The Upper Rhine region represents a common natural and cultural environment, which is unified by the wide dimensions of the Rhine river. Three different mountain ranges surround this area: in the east the Black Forest opposed to the rest of Germany, in the west the Vosges opposed to the rest of France and in the south the Jura opposed to the rest of Switzerland. Cities such as Basel in Switzerland, Strasbourg in France or Karlsruhe in Germany are situated in this area, in total about 6 million people live in the region of the Upper Rhine. They are all connected through a common cultural ground and various related Germanic dialects which, only 50 years ago, served as a common medium of

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<sup>254</sup> Moehring, Markus, „Vergleichende Geschichte“, in: Gervereau, Laurent (eds.), *What is the future of history museums*, Paris, International Association of Museum of History, 1999, p.154



communication between the majority of the people. Today, the majority of people speak either French or German, whereas in Switzerland, dialectal communication plays an important role.



At the same time, the people belong to three different nations, which each have highly different historical backgrounds and individual impacts on their people. Since the 17th century, the Alsace has mostly belonged to France with fundamental structures established by the French Revolution. Up until today, many decisions are made in Paris, the centre of the country. The political system in Switzerland has experienced a different development, with direct democracy, the fundamental thought of remaining neutral and their advanced federalism. The five Swiss counties in the Upper Rhine have a wide range of various, independent competences. Yet another development took place in the East of the Rhine river, where a German national state was established only in 1871. From here, the national socialist's dictatorship

threatened the French and Swiss regions of the Upper Rhine.

The Upper Rhine region offers special opportunities for a transnational view on history and therefore also a wide range of opportunities. Spatially closely connected with one another, the region after all represents three very different states, two of which – France and Germany – waged war on one another several times and Switzerland with its neutrality and its multilingualism, representing a completely different special case.

### **The Three-Countries-Museum in the Three-Countries-Corner**

The Three-Countries-Museum dedicates all its work and effort with all its collections, its exhibitions, its activities and its events to the trinational region of the whole Upper Rhine. It is actually situated centrally in the Three-Countries-Corner, but from the three countries' point of view, it is located far away from each of their individual national centres and capitals. Its distinctive image of being a Three-Countries-Museum has evolved since 1995 through the purposeful cultivation of a more than one

hundred years old museum of a German border town.<sup>255</sup> The town of Lörrach is responsible for the museum, but still it gets some financial supports for special projects from the INTERREG-Program, which the European Union wants to establish strong connections with, across the border.

The permanent exhibition of the Three-Countries-Museum is dedicated to a comparison of German, French and Swiss history, offering texts both in German and in French, built upon a surface of



more than 1000 square metres. The exhibition itself presents more than 1000 exhibits and offers numerous audio sources as well as interactive games. Regarding subject and thematic matter, the exhibition is divided into four different units. The first unit is dedicated to the natural and cultural common ground of the Upper Rhine and highlights the feeling of unity by using an open and unifying architecture. The second unit sheds light on the development of the three nations up until 1918, tall walls all across the room evoke a certain feeling of separation. The third unit is dedicated to the period of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, shedding

light on the influences the borders had on the everyday lives of the people living nearby – thus, this unit deals with border controls, escape attempts, smuggling, traditions of freedom, national socialism, the time during World War II, economy and the development of language. At the end of this historic tour, there is an inviting area, offering a space for visitors to think about the future. With its pedagogic activities, the Three-Countries-Museum is able to reach people from all three countries involved, by using German as well as French as a medium of communication and information. For students, the Three-Countries-Museum even offers special events that involve meetings with other students from neighbouring countries.

The very beginnings of the collection of the Three-Countries-Museum go back until the year of 1882. Especially since 1995, this collection has been extended on a transnational basis. Especially the collections related to the revolution of 1848, the First World War, National Socialism and the time after World War II, as well as objects dealing with border controls and smuggling take up a big part of the museum's collection. Parts of this collection are also accessible online.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Moehring, Markus. „Vom Altertumsverein zum Dreiländermuseum“, in: Stadt Lörrach et Verlag Waldemar Lutz (eds), *Lörrach 2012 (Jahrbuch)*, Lörrach, Verlag Waldemar Lutz, 2012, p. 62 – 71.

<sup>256</sup> [www.dreilaendermuseum.eu](http://www.dreilaendermuseum.eu)

## The transnational Network of Museums in the Upper Rhine region

An even more effective cooperation between the museums of the three countries, is enabled by the network of museums in the Upper Rhine region. It is organized and coordinated by the Three-Countries-Museum. Every four years, the museums that are part of the network present a common series of exhibitions. Thereby, some museums offer special exhibitions, which are each produced individually by a participating museum. The exhibitions are taking on a German, French or Swiss perspective and they are coordinating the themes and concepts between each of them.<sup>257</sup>



The planning of a series of exhibitions by representatives of the museums involved, during a meeting in the Dreiländermuseum

The first project of that kind was presented in 1995 by three museums that were spatially very close to each other. Under the title „Nach dem Krieg/ Après la guerre“ („After the War“) a German, a Swiss and a French museum presented three exhibitions on the end of the war in 1945 and the first post war years in the Upper Rhine region. The exhibitions were strongly conceptually related. Each of the museums focussed on the same period of time but from an individual national perspective.<sup>258</sup> Back then, a barbed wire fence prevented the people from Germany, Switzerland and France from contacting each other across the border, for more than ten years. 50 Years later, the three exhibitions in the three countries were connected to one another by common questions, a common theme, a common catalogue, a common poster and a common entrance ticket. For the first time, the people working on this project

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<sup>257</sup> I also want to thank my project assistant Carolina Hanke, who put a lot of time and effort into this project and who made this contribution even possible.

<sup>258</sup> Chiquet, Simone et Meyer, Pascale et Vonarb, Irene (eds), *Nach dem Krieg. Après la guerre*, Zürich, Chronos Verlag Zürich, 1995

and the public discovered how differently this period of time is remembered, perceived experienced and judged upon in each of the neighbouring countries, until today.

Three years later, a similar project was devoted to the Revolution of 1848. Although it was a European event, its consequences were very diverse in each nation. We chose a quote from a revolutionist, namely „Nationalität trennt – Freiheit verbindet/ Séparès par la nationalité - unis par la Liberté", which translates into „Nationality separates – Freedom connects“ to be the title of the three exhibitions.<sup>259</sup>

Traditional topics are also worth taking a look at, something we learned in 2005, from our project about Carnival. The central overview exhibition in the Three-Countries-Museum was amplified in 15 exhibitions in Germany, France and Switzerland. The surprising result both for the scientists in the museums, as well for the rest of the people and carnival associations: The concrete traditions and appearances of carnival are by far less old than they were expected to be, and also, this tradition is a strong expression of the diverse national developments of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>260</sup>



In 2012, the network of museums was supported by funds from the European Union for transnational cooperation, to become an official facility, with an office in the Three-Countries-Museum, with its own logo and website. In the Three-Countries-

Museum, situated in the Three-Countries-Corner and therefore close to the three countries, regular work meetings with representatives from all museums that are a part of the network take place.<sup>261</sup>

### **The trinational project on the First World War**

The most current project of the Network of Museums in 2014 was concerned with the First World War, 100 years after its beginning. The beginning of the war 100 years ago also caused a great rift in the region of the Upper Rhine Valley. The right of establishment, independent of their nationality as well as the lively contact between the people across the borders of their countries, ended, border

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<sup>259</sup> Bürgerl, Helmut et Merk, Jan et Moehring, Markus (eds), *Lörrach 1848/49*, Lörrach, Verlag Waldemar Lutz, 1998

<sup>260</sup> Wunderlin, Dominik, *Verrückte Regio/Regio en folie. Fasnacht - Fasnet – Carnaval im Dreiland*. Basel, Schwabe, 2005

<sup>261</sup> Moehring, Markus, Das Dreiländermuseum und die trinationalen Netzwerke am Oberrhein, in: Deutscher Museumsbund (eds.), *Museumskunde* Band 78, Ort , 2013, p. 47 - 56

controls were introduced and left their mark until the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Like in no other century before, the pure belonging to a certain nation decided the individual destiny and biography of the people.

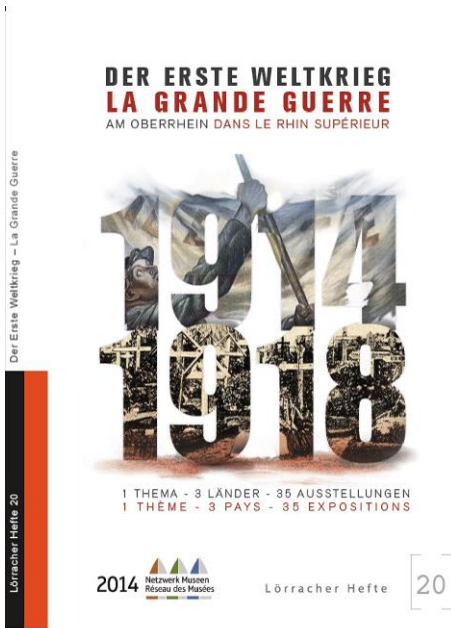
The first meetings, three years before the exhibitions opening, had already revealed, how each of the represented nations had a different approach towards memorial culture. In France, the memory of the Great War in 1914/18 is far more important than in the other two countries. France suffered heavily from the static warfare, the destructions and the fact that more people lost their lives back then, than during the Second World War. At the same time, France is considered to be one of the winning parties of the Great War and the Alsace, the region in the Upper Rhine located on the left side of the Rhine river, became French again as a result of World War I, just as it used to be before 1871.

In Germany, the national socialists soon propagated a revision of the German defeat after the war and only 20 years later, they covered Europe with another World War. In Germany, the remembrance of the time of the national socialists and World War II is still a more important topic, due to all the traumata, the national socialist regime and victims of Hitler's crimes.

Another perspective on World War I is offered by the situation in Switzerland. During the First World War, their country was split, and the German-speaking areas sympathized with Germany, whereas the French-speaking areas sympathized with France. Only through the successful defense of the country's neutrality during the First World War, a growing national consciousness was embedded into the country of Switzerland. Although there were also some strong social upheavals, many Swiss companies made a huge profit out of the war by taking advance of the rising exports. Switzerland had been one of the few countries in Europe that did not suffer from destruction of the war, it managed

successfully to protect its people, which finally lead to Switzerland following its own special path. Until today, the country does not participate in supporting European integration and it remains a political island surrounded by the European Union.

On this basis the museums, that are part of the network created 35 conceptually related exhibitions, which , between June and November 2014, threw light on the topic of the First World War by taking on three different national perspectives as well as individual regional and thematic aspects. The 35 exhibitions in Germany, France and



Switzerland were connected by the use of a common catalogue and a common presentation in the public.

The central overview exhibition was presented by the Three-Countries-Museum, which is responsible for a collection of around 1500 objects from three different states, relating to the First World War. The exhibition had the title „Die zerrissene Region/ La région déchirée“ („A region torn apart“) and made clear how big the differences during war in the Upper Rhine Valley were, in Germany, France and Switzerland. Apart from that, it also explained the consequences of the war for the people of those three countries.<sup>262</sup>



The overview exhibition in the Three-Countries-Museum, comparing the situation during the First World War in the upper Rhine region, in Germany, France and Switzerland.

The situation in Germany was something many exhibitions, e.g. in Karlsruhe, Speyer, Freiburg or in France, e.g. in Strasbourg, Mulhouse and in Switzerland, e.g. the history museums in Basel, Delémont or Porrentruy, dealt with.<sup>263</sup> Other exhibitions offered some further consolidations, such as in

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<sup>262</sup> Moehring, Markus (eds), *Der Erste Weltkrieg am Oberrhein: 1 Thema – 3 Länder – 35 Ausstellungen*, Lörrach, Verlag Waldemar Lutz, 2014

<sup>263</sup> The swiss exhibition „**14/18 Die Schweiz und der Grosse Krieg**“ published: Buomberger, Thomas et Kury, Patrick et Rossfeld, Roman(eds) *14/18 Die Schweiz und der Grosse Krieg*. Basel, hier und jetzt, 2014

The exhibiton in Karlsruhe (Germany) „**Der Krieg daheim. Karsruhe 1914-1918**“ published

Bräunche, Ernst Otto et Steck, Volker (eds), *Der Krieg daheim. Karlsruhe 1914 – 1918*, Karlsruhe, Info Verlag, 2014



Baden-Baden with an exhibition on arts, the Museum of Cultures of Basel with an exhibition on the celebration of Christmas during war, in Bretten, the role of the church during war, in the open air museum Ecomusée there was an exhibition dealing with the everyday life of the families during the war, in Müllheim there was an exhibition on the Garrison or in Olten and Mutzig on so called fortresses.<sup>264</sup>

As different as the exhibition's individual topics, was also their placement in the public discourse in each of the three countries. In Germany and France, where families had lost millions of beloved husbands, fathers or other relatives during the war, there was made clear during each exhibition opening and other events related to that topic, one fundamental message derived from both World Wars, which is deeply rooted in the public conscience up until today: the great gift of German-French friendship today and the important meaning of the European Union to prevent other horrible wars from happening within Europe. There are also different traditions in German and French memorial culture that also support this idea. Some French exhibition openings also involved the participation of regional military associations like in St. Amarin, which would be an impossible thing to do in Germany, due to its historical background, as it would be judged upon as being far too military orientated. Anyway, a greeting of peace from the French hosts to the German guests, representing the network of museums, in German, expressed, that such events were not an anti-German celebration of victory, but rather a special kind of French memorial culture, that the Germans are unfamiliar with. During an exhibition opening in Strasbourg, France, men were wearing German military uniforms from 1914, a performance that would have been considered as being highly inappropriate a few decades ago. For many years, it was unimaginable in the French parts of the Alsace, to mention the fact that the region belonged to Germany in 1914 and that most military servants fought for the German army back then.

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<sup>264</sup> Moehring, Markus (eds), *Der Erste Weltkrieg am Oberrhein: 1 Thema – 3 Länder – 35 Ausstellungen*. Lörrach, Verlag Waldemar Lutz, 2014



The Swiss vernissages usually proceeded far less emotional than in Germany or France, the reason for that being: Switzerland remained spared during the war, the people did not have to suffer from millions of dead or crippled victims. But still, the current discussion within the country of Switzerland plays a more important role: The question of how much the country should distance itself from the rest of Europe.

### **Network of history associations and the Museum-Pass-Musées**



Apart from the multinational network of museums, the Three-Countries-Museum is also in charge of a second network, the network of history associations. Around 10.000 people, who are interested in history, involve themselves in history associations in the Upper Rhine region on a voluntary basis; the Three-Countries-Museum keeps all of them connected via a regular published newsletter and also it creates different contacts across the border.<sup>265</sup> By offering excursions to museums of neighbouring countries, this network tries to create new possibilities for people to experience cultural topics in a far more transnational fashion. The network of history associations also contributed different publications and events to the project of the Network of Museums on the First World War.<sup>266</sup>

<sup>265</sup> [www.netzwerk-geschichtsvereine.eu](http://www.netzwerk-geschichtsvereine.eu)

<sup>266</sup> E.g. in Germany the scientific journal „Badische Heimat“, Band 3/2014 dealt with the project of the First World War – they published the scientific contribution: Moehring, Markus, “Der Erste Weltkrieg am Oberrhein – ein grenzüberschreitender Überblick”

The scientific journal in France published in context with the Network Museum and the central overview exhibits of Dreiländermuseum: Claerr Stamm, Gabrielle (eds), *Revue d’Alsace. L’Alsace et la Grande Guerre*. Strasbourg, Valbor 2013



The region of the Upper Rhine is also connected via one common museum-pass. The pass itself is unique in Europe and enables people to visit more than 300 museums in Germany, France and Switzerland, without having to pay an entrance fee.

For 10 years, the people living in border areas have been able to purchase a so called Museums-PASS-Musée for around 80 Euros. More than 35.000 people buy such passes each and every year. It is an important instrument that enables (us) to support the amounts of visitors in museums of our neighbouring countries and at the same time it is a helpful basis for the network of museums to initiate and present various series of exhibitions. Thus, the Museums-PASS-Musée is an important basis for the network of museums by making it easier for the museums to cooperate with one another. Every four years, the Museums-PASS-Musée invites all three hundred museums involved to participate in a series of cooperative exhibitions.

### **Conclusion:**

In short, networks constitute a great way of not only investigating historical ideas on a multinational basis, but also to be represented in exhibitions and presented to the public. Other than in Eastern Europe or in other parts of the world, museums in the Upper Rhine region have the opportunity to base their cooperations on multinational contacts right across the border, that have been intensively developed in this region after the Second World War. The abolishment of border controls and the introduction of the euro as one common currency in Germany and France at the end of the 20th century made it much easier for the people to travel across the border, which improves the museum's international visitor rates.

Even though the different countries' views on history highly differ from one another – by now the region of the Upper Rhine has developed a remarkable tolerance and understanding of how history is being perceived and judged upon in their neighbouring countries. Still, organisational challenges remain rather complicated. That is due to the fact that the museums that are part of the network, all have different dimensions, different financial possibilities and different national protocols they are bound by.

The political structure, culture and bureaucracy highly differ from one another, even on a regional level of the three states involved, which results in a number of obstacles to everyday business that are very hard to take. For that reason, the role of the Three-Countries-Museum as an organisational and initiating institution is very important for transnational cooperations and the establishment of border-crossing contacts within this network.

Despite those difficulties, the motivation remains to cooperate. Because people working in museums and people who visit museums appreciate the high value of such networks and experience how much the viewing perspective of their neighbours, even on the same events in history, can expand their own horizons.

### **Annotations:**

I also want to thank my project assistant Carolina Hanke, who put a lot of time and effort into this project and who made this contribution even possible.

Most of the footnotes refer to literature that was published in German or French.

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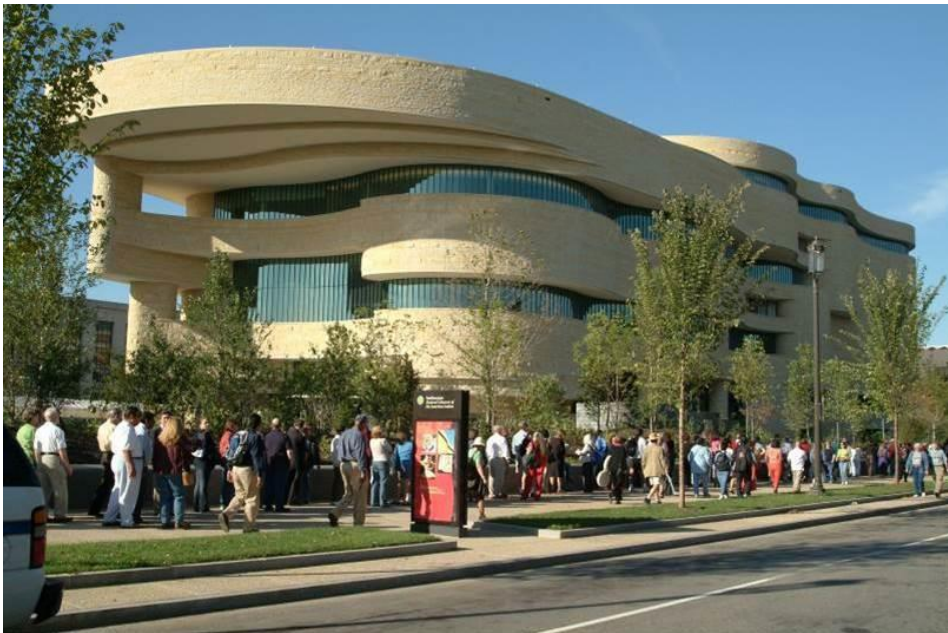
## **Taking a Stand in a National Museum to Provoke Change in Society**

### **Introduction**

The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) has begun to take a proactive role in stimulating inquiry to provoke a change in society. In this paper, I will illustrate three examples in the museum's efforts to eliminate racial stereotypes, advance awareness of climate change issues, and introduce to visitors the concept of the sovereignty of Native American nations.

Our mission, as we state it, is to advance “knowledge and understanding of the Native cultures of the Western Hemisphere—past, present, and future—through partnership with Native people and others. The museum works to support the continuance of culture, traditional values, and transitions in contemporary Native life.”

The museum was established by congressional legislation in 1989 and on September 21, 2004, opened to the public on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., adjacent to the U.S. Capitol. This momentous occasion was celebrated with no less than a gathering of an estimated 25,000 Native peoples—perhaps the largest gathering of indigenous peoples in the Americas in history. And today, the museum serves approximately 1.5 million visitors per year.



*NMAI Opening Day, September 21, 2004. Photo by Jeff Tinsley. ©2014 Smithsonian Institution*

The museum considers the entirety of its grounds and building on the National Mall to be the instrument of its interpretive programs. Native sensibilities are evident in the landscaping, the design of the building, decoration of the interior spaces, and most particularly, the way in which programs are presented to the public.<sup>267</sup> We are a museum of living culture as well as home to one of the finest and most comprehensive collections of Indian cultural materials in the world. We explicitly recognize the authority of Native peoples—all of our programs and exhibitions are produced by and/or in consultation and collaboration with Native scholars and communities.

### **Bold Action: a Call to Consciousness on Climate Change**

On July 7, 2007, the NMAI held an event in conjunction with former Vice President Al Gore and his Live Earth initiative, the first of an annual museum program focusing on climate change, global sustainability, and human responsibility. The 2007 Live Earth global concert was specifically programmed to draw world-wide attention to the issue of global warming due to human activity. At that time, the international public conversation about climate change was still just beginning. Just months prior to this event, another Smithsonian museum had cautiously backed away from explicitly presenting climate change as documented science.



*Al Gore, Live Earth Concert, NMAI, July 7, 2007. Photo by R.A. Whiteside. ©Smithsonian Institution.*

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<sup>267</sup> Excerpt from the National Museum of the American Indian's Exhibition Plan document for the NMAI Mall Museum, July 1997.

Plans for the Live Earth global concert were announced in February 2007 by Al Gore at a media event. The Washington Post newspaper reported that the U.S. Capital grounds were Gore's first choice for the main concert in the U.S., but the request for the Capitol and the National Mall were turned down by the National Park Service for what they said were procedural reasons (yet some press speculated were political reasons). So the National Museum of the American Indian quietly invited Gore to begin his concerts on the museum grounds.

The main concert was moved to New Jersey, and the day before the event began officially, Gore announced that a concert would take place on the plaza of the NMAI. Carried live on the MSN website, Gore said during his opening remarks, "Some who don't understand what is now at stake tried to stop this event on the Mall, but here we are. And it wasn't the cavalry who came to our rescue, it was the American Indians."

Attended by more than 8,000, that initial program also reached millions more around the globe via satellite broadcast. Tim Johnson (Mohawk), who at the time was the museum's acting director, notes that our museum had two essential reasons for offering our site for this program. "The first was to educate humanity about American Indian observations, and actions that addressed the issue. The second was to share with the public the scientific consensus that had formed internationally around the causes and effects of global warming."<sup>268</sup>

The program highlighted scientific observational knowledge conveyed to us by Native peoples who had long worked and lived upon their homelands across the Arctic and elsewhere. Factual information was presented by American Indian culture bearers, scholars, and scientists. This complex ecological knowledge is benefiting science today.

At the time, it was not easy for the museum to engage in and organize this program. Johnson, who championed the program, recalls that we were under pressure internally and externally, including a last-minute attempt to shut the program down.<sup>269</sup> Due to his and the museum leadership's courage and character, however, the NMAI chose to do the right thing and continue with the event. Perhaps sparked by this action some seven years ago, in October of this year the Smithsonian is issuing a statement on the human prospects for climate economics, health, and security.

As the museum has continued to hold programs on climate change, social media has documented some public conversations in response to the programming of the museum. So we hypothesize that the

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<sup>268</sup> Johnson, Tim. Flashpoints and Fault Lines: Museum Curation and Controversy, Smithsonian Public Forum, April 2011.

<sup>269</sup> Johnson, Tim. Flashpoints and Fault Lines: Museum Curation and Controversy, Smithsonian Public Forum, April 2011.

programs at the museum have heightened public awareness of the human-induced origins of climate change. It is hoped that this awareness instigates public political action to change individual and state behavior.

### **The Museum Takes on the Issue of Racist Sports Mascots**

In February 2013, the museum presented a symposium titled “Racist Stereotypes and Cultural Appropriation in American Sports,” bringing together leading activists, scholars, tribal representatives and sports media columnists to discuss the impact of team logos and names such as the Atlanta Braves, the Cleveland Indians, and the Washington Redskins. The symposium explored the psychology and mythology of stereotypical sports mascots.

Most Americans learn their ideas, attitudes, and prejudices about American Indians from school lessons and popular culture. The practice of using Native peoples as mascots emerged in the early twentieth century when the government’s policy was to deliberately destroy Native languages, religions, and identities. Mascots have been the primary offenders in perpetuating stereotypes. The harm caused by these stereotypical images is real. Psychological studies examining the impact of Native mascots on indigenous children report depression, low self-esteem, and fewer achievements.<sup>270</sup>

During one of the audience question and answer segments after a panel presentation at the day-long symposium, a young man rose to speak:

*How are you doing? My name is Andre Holland. I’m a student at ACC. I’ve come here with my professor. He put us on this field trip which I did not know where I was really going, but I’m like, I’m in college, why am I going on a field trip? But basically I want to say that I think it’s really ignorant that the fact that us as humans are keeping the name Washington Redskins. Like first of all, when I walked in here everybody was staring at me with my cap on. I was like okay why...like I thought this was something good. That’s why I wore my Washington Redskins cap but this Native American man right here came to me and said, “Can you take off your hat? I’m offended.” And I was like wow, and at first I was keeping it on, but it made me think like how would it feel if they were called the—excuse my language—the Washington Niggers. I would be offended. I’m sure other people will be offended, too. I really think that they should really change the name because a few hours ago I was listening to the first conference meeting down here on the screen upstairs and I was tweeting. I found out you can hash tag. I was basically in a different state of mind, saying I don’t get it, why can’t we have the Washington logo? It doesn’t mean anything. I had like at least ten Native Americans come out of nowhere and start talking to me. I was like, “what is this?” I was like, I’m ready to delete my account, but they were basically telling me that this is ridiculous and what it truly meant*

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<sup>270</sup> Fryberg, Stephanie. “American Indian Social Representations: Do They Honor or Constrain American Indian Identities?” Conference presentation, 50 Years after Brown vs. Board of Education: Social Psychological Perspectives on the Problems of Racism and Discrimination University of Kansas, May 13-14, 2004.

to the name Washington Redskins and how they got it, and I'm like wow, I'm just now knowing this. So why can't they just change the name to Washington Warriors. I found out I actually asked one of them that question. They said well actually Warriors was good because it meant that it was actually a job like there was certain things they had to do. Would it be bad if they just change the name to Washington Warriors? ... Well, first of all I just want to apologize to any Native Americans because I'm not a racist. I know I'm not a racist so the fact that like I had to wear that hat and I had to take it off it makes me think. I actually have friends that are Native Americans and now I

know why they were staring at me. They never told me but every time I came in in my Redskins stuff they were always staring at me, and every time I said bye to their parents they were like don't talk to me, but I really think they should change the name and I think it's really horrible that they are deciding to keep this name.

Panelist: I'd just like to say that I was a little worried today that we were preaching to the choir but we do have one convert so that's a good thing.

Another member of the audience: First of all, to kind of follow up on that as a retired teacher, we just all witnessed the power of education, one mind changed one time, he changes someone else. <sup>271</sup>



Cover of the Washington Post Express, February 8, 2013.

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<sup>271</sup> Racist Stereotypes and Cultural Appropriation in American Sports, a symposium at the National Museum of the American Indian, February 2013.

The day after the symposium, the Michigan Department of Civil Rights filed with the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights asking the agency to issue an order prohibiting the continued use of mascots. The symposium was covered by the Associated Press and dozens of major media outlets including the New York Times, USA Today, ESPN, HBO Sports, Indian Country Today, the Washington Post, and many others. The events of the day were webcast live to thousands of viewers and have continued to be watched and discussed on YouTube, where it is still archived. Following the symposium, national commentary erupted. The public debated the issue on radio talk shows, in newspaper letters-to-the-editor, and on social media.

Since the symposium, a dozen more names and mascots have been changed—most prominently the University of North Dakota's "Fighting Sioux" and the Cooperstown (NY) High School "Redskins," with many more poised for change due to a heightened understanding of harm perpetuated by derogatory racial insults. The symposium was key to the recent momentum toward changing the name of the Washington, D.C., football team. This summer, the United States Patent and Trademark Office cancelled the trademark registration for the Washington Redskins, because Federal trademark law does not permit registration of trademarks that may disparage individuals or groups.<sup>272</sup> The museum has continued to take a clear stand against the use of stereotypical mascots in the press and social media.

### **Teaching Visitors of All Ages about the Sovereignty of Native Nations**

In the museum's activity center for children, we lay the foundation for understanding political issues facing Native peoples. The center's passport activity introduces the concept of the sovereignty of Native nations. After completing an experience relating to a particular tribe or community, children stamp a pretend passport with the actual national seals of the Native nation represented. We know from our visitor studies that children are making the associations we are intending to teach. In addition, a matching game positions Native tribal council buildings and tribal flags in parallel with the United States Capitol and the American flag, thus messaging the status of Native nations in the U.S. as *sovereign* nations. Strategically, the U.S. Capitol is visible through the window of the activity center, a literal and visual connection to this interactive experience.

The exhibition of tribal flags in the museum's central atrium also messages the status of Native nations in the U.S. as *sovereign* nations. This designation is important in the protection of treaty rights. Native peoples must consistently educate the public and our law-makers, and remind our courts of the historic agreements between Native nations and the United States.

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<sup>272</sup> United States Patent and Trademark Office. Trademark Trial and Appeal Board's Decision in *Blackhorse v. Pro Football, Inc.* Cancellation No. 92046185, June 18, 2014



The museum has just opened a landmark exhibition, *Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian Nations*. These negotiated bilateral agreements lie at the heart of the relationship between Indian Nations and the U.S., and the exhibition is the story of that relationship, including the history and legacy of U.S.–American Indian diplomacy from the colonial period through the present. Approximately 368 treaties were negotiated and signed by U.S. commissioners and tribal leaders (and subsequently approved by the U.S. Senate) from 1777 to 1868. They recognize Indian tribes as nations – a fact that distinguishes tribal citizens from other Americans and supports contemporary Native assertions of tribal sovereignty and self-determination. Treaties are legally binding and still in effect. Although repeatedly recognized by the courts as sources of rights for Indian people and their Native Nations, treaties also carry the weight of a troubled history of broken promises and test the strength of our nation’s commitment to honesty, good faith and the rule of law. Native people never have given up on their treaties or the tribal sovereignty that treaties recognized. Beginning in the 1960s, Native activists invoked America’s growing commitment to social justice to restore broken treaties, to demand congressional legislation—or modern treaty amendments—that repaired the damages that had been inflicted on tribal communities by U.S. Indian policies.<sup>273</sup>



President Andrew Johnson (center, middle balcony) and delegates representing the Miami, Kickapoo, Ottawa, Ojibwe, Sac and Fox, and Sioux Nations outside the White House, February 23, 1867. Washington, DC. Photo by Alexander Gardner. National Museum of the American Indian P10142

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<sup>273</sup> Gover, Kevin. “Nation to Nation: Treaties Between the United States and American Indian Nations,” *American Indian Magazine*, Summer/Fall 2014 issue, Vol. 15, No. 2.



Canandaigua Treaty Day Parade, 2013. Each fall, people gather at Treaty Rock in Canandaigua, New York, to hear the treaty read aloud and see one of the original copies. Here, from left to right, are Sam George (Cayuga), Leo Henry (Tuscarora), and Jake Edwards (Onondaga). Photo by Skaruianewah Logan. Courtesy of the photographer.

Initial visitor studies of the topic, conducted at NMAI, showed that people do not think of treaties as contemporary documents so we hope the exhibition will correct this misconception. Many visitors surveyed think of treaties in a broad, global context and make connections between American Indian treaties and current international politics. Some visitors specifically mentioned that this topic was important as a beginning for rectifying wrongs done in the past. Perhaps the exhibition will inspire citizens to talk their lawmakers and vote to support the rights of Native peoples in local and national politics.

### **A Proactive Museum**

Historically, museums have been passive institutions, maintaining the status quo regarding social, cultural, historical, and scientific issues. In recent decades, some museums have ventured beyond this stance to take a more proactive role. At the National Museum of the American Indian, the programs and exhibitions I describe exemplify the effectiveness of the museum's civic engagement efforts. While these examples are focused in scope, in the context of a national museum, they are major steps towards demonstrating an active posture to all the museum's constituents and we hope, provoking a change in society.

## **The Role of Museums in Stimulating Dialogue On Pressing Social Issues and Promoting Civic Action**

### **International Coalition of Sites of Conscience**

The International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (the Coalition) is a network of historic sites founded in December 1999 by a group of nine historic site museums who wanted to move beyond giving passive lessons of what happened in the past to transform their sites into active centers of citizen education and engagement in contemporary social issues. As the only learning and exchange forum for museums dedicated to using their historic resources to inspire active citizen engagement, the Coalition has developed a wide array of programs designed to use the power of historic sites to build community understanding and dialogue across difference. The Coalition now includes over 300 members in 47 countries and has been internationally recognized for its work to support programs and exhibits that use history to inspire civic engagement on shared concerns.

To activate the power of museums to build new public dialogue and civic engagement on immigration, museums from across the US came together in August 2008 to form the Immigration Sites of Conscience. These museums expressed a strong commitment to hosting public programs to build dialogue across diverse constituencies on the most urgent local, national, and international questions about immigration. But dialogue programs on these often contentious issues, must be developed in a very intentional way to allow for multiple perspectives and opinions, drawing on the historical facts presented at the museum. Since the founding of the Immigration Sites of Conscience, select members have piloted new dialogues on immigration – informing the entire network about what kinds of museum-based programs are the most productive for building understanding across communities, including a need to include immigrant communities themselves in these dialogues. Through the Immigration Sites of Conscience, the Coalition has provided trainings to dozens of sites specifically interested in using their local histories of immigration or emigration to build understanding about immigration issues today, and has helped to develop successful program models that museums can use with their audiences.

### **SPEAKING OF IMMIGRATION**

#### **A Dialogue Program at the Ellis Island Immigration Museum**

Opened in 1892, Ellis Island was the premier federal immigration station in the United States. In operation until 1954, the station processed some 12 million immigrant steamship passengers as

they arrived in the port of New York. The site's Main Building was restored after being abandoned for 30 years and opened as the Ellis Island Immigration Museum in 1990. It is operated by the National Park Service as part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument. The museum offers three floors of exhibits that include photographs, artifacts, and oral histories; its public programs including guided tours, an award-winning documentary film, and interactive programs for school groups. Digital access to New York City ships passenger lists is provided through the American Family Immigration History Center.

The United States has recently experienced a rate of immigration that is similar to the numbers during Ellis Island's peak years. Yet, as the number of immigrants coming into the United States increases, so does the scope of the immigration debate. Many competing values and assumptions frame the current discussion on U.S. immigration policy. Recent proposals have ranged from enforcing existing laws to creating a new guest worker program to building a barrier along the U.S.–Mexico border. Concerns about national security and the economic security of the United States workers fuel the debate, just as they have throughout US history.

The “Speaking of Immigration” educational program was developed to explore how values and assumptions about immigrants have shaped U.S. immigration policy. It allows students to explore the immigration experience in the US during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and invites them to consider what similarities and differences exist today. Conducted in cooperation with New Jersey City University, the program takes college students on a series of interactive tours of the Ellis Island exhibits that focus on different aspects of immigration during the island's peak years. The Ellis Island Immigration Museum conducts this program with New Jersey City University, bringing college classes to Ellis Island each semester. The university has a high concentration of immigrant students from Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa and Asia but also includes native-born students. The students consider the historical experience of the Ellis Island Immigration Station, using the museum exhibits as a starting point for a thoughtful discussion of the immigration policy choices facing the United States today.

The program consists of two parts: a series of interactive tours of the museum exhibits in the museum followed by facilitated dialogue among the students. The museum tour goes through the exhibits that highlight the historic Ellis Island immigration process and focus on the different aspects of immigration during the island's peak years, including the inspection of new arrivals, the working life of immigrants, and their efforts to achieve assimilation and US citizenship. These exhibits examine the policies, values, and assumptions that shaped the experience of immigrants a century ago. Afterwards the students are led in facilitated discussion that invites them to explore their own values and assumptions about immigrants in their communities and immigration policy issues today.

The dialogue begins with a discussion of group agreements that serve as guidelines for civil discourse about a potentially controversial topic. The students agree to share their thoughts honestly, listen to one another, and respect the diversity of opinion within the group.

The students are asked to introduce themselves and respond to this question: If someone asks you where you're from, what do you say? This provides an opportunity for group members to get to know one another and hear the range of how people identify themselves. Then they are asked: What impact has immigration had on your life? This question results in a group discussion about the common themes and differing viewpoints in their answers.

Next, the students explore different assumptions about immigrants today. Four statements are posted in the room (the statements are tailored to suit the particular group). Some sample statements are:

- There should be no limits on who can immigrate to this country.
- Undocumented immigrants should not be given amnesty.
- It's too difficult for immigrants to come to this country legally.
- English should be made the official language of the United States.

The students are given time to read the statements silently. Then they secretly vote on whether they agree or disagree with each one. Once the votes are counted, the facilitator leads a group discussion, particularly focusing on statements where the voting indicates a diversity of opinion within the group. The students have the opportunity to share their thoughts on these assumptions about immigration and to identify what personal values might have shaped their responses to the statements. They may also consider what values they believe *should* drive U.S. immigration policy in the future.

At the close of the program, the facilitator asks the students how they feel about their experience at the Ellis Island Immigration Museum. How can they continue exploring these issues in dialogue with other people? The program ends by considering how participants can help their friends, colleagues, family, or community have a more informed discussion about U.S. immigration policy and the personal and collective values that shape it.

### **Some Sample Dialogue Questions:**

Sharing Personal Experiences:

If someone asks you where you're from, what do you say?

What impact has immigration had on your life?

Exploring Beyond Our Personal Beliefs:

What personal values inform your opinions about immigration? Where did you learn those values?  
What collective national values currently shape U.S. immigration policy? What values do you think *should* shape that policy?

Synthesis:

Are there ideas in today's discussion that have challenged you and you'd like to continue exploring in dialogue with others?

What can *you* do to help your friends, colleagues, family, or community have a more informed and thoughtful discussion about U.S. immigration policy?

By comparing US immigration during the period of the Ellis Island Immigration Station and today, and by providing an opportunity for facilitated discussion, the "Speaking of Immigration" program seeks to increase understanding of the history and human impact of immigration policy; stimulate dialogue among people of diverse backgrounds; challenge prejudices based on ethnicity, citizenship status, nationality, class, and race; and inspire civic action among recent immigrants and descendants of immigrants alike.

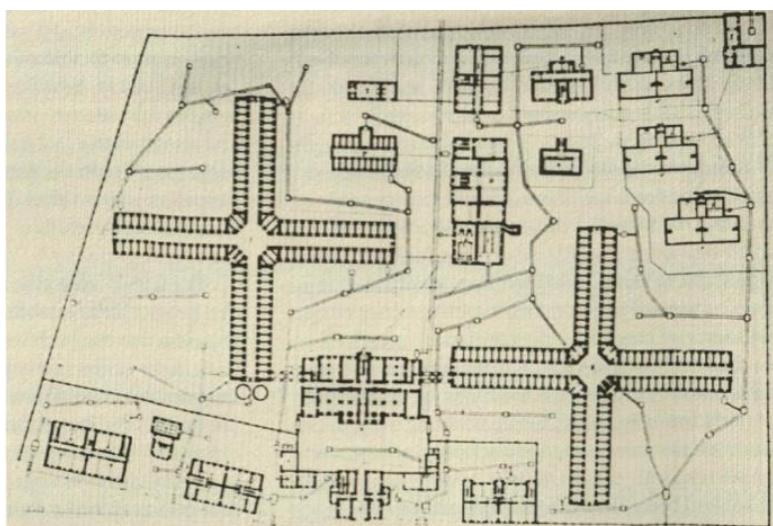
### **Eastern State Penitentiary, Philadelphia**

Eastern State Penitentiary is arguably the most influential prison ever built. An estimated three-hundred prisons on five continents are modeled on Eastern State's distinctive radial, or wagon-wheel, floor plan. Its original seven cellblocks were an engineering marvel, with central heat and flush toilets before the White House. It opened in 1829.

Eastern State embodied the Pennsylvania System of Separate Confinement, a penal philosophy rooted in the belief that humans are inherently good and can be rehabilitated through separation from a corrupt society. Proponents believed that, left alone for months, or even years at a

time, inmates would become penitent, truly remorseful for their actions, and thus the new word, *penitentiary*.

Governments from around the world sent representatives to Philadelphia to study the new system. We estimate that there are 300 prisons modeled on Eastern State Penitentiary's radial, or wagon-wheel floor plan. Examples include the National



Penitentiary in Mexico City, Pentoville and Wandsworth Prisons in London, even modern prisons such as Forrest Bank, built in the U.K. in 2000. The video game Simm City illustrates the institution of “prison” as a stone, radial floor plan building, nearly identical to Eastern State Penitentiary.

In Saint Petersburg, the Kresty Prison, or literally “Crosses Prison,” was laid out by architect Antony Tomishko as out two crosses, each with a surveillance hub in its center. The plan is essentially two radial plan prisons. It was completed in 1890. I visited the grounds on September 10 in advance of this presentation.

Over its history, Kresty held Tzarist ministers, non-Bulshovic politicians, and members of the intelligencia. During the great purges it was filled with citizens accused of state crimes. In later Soviet years, Kresty held mostly common criminals, but many Soviet dissidents spent months--or years—crowded into tiny cells awaiting trial.

In 1995, Mikhail Shemyakin’s extraordinary “Monument to Victims of Political Repression” was erected on the opposite bank of the Neva. It depicts a pair of sphinxes, each showing a pretty face to the roadway and city beyond, but a skeletal death mask to the prison across the water.

Even as prisons worldwide were built throughout the early 19<sup>th</sup> century with the strong influence of the Pennsylvania System, debate grew about the effectiveness and morality of prolonged isolation. That system was officially abandoned at Eastern State in 1913, and the penitentiary ran throughout most of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century as a congregate prison.

An estimated 80,000 men and women were eventually held in Eastern State’s sky-lit cells. The Penitentiary finally closed in 1971. It was 142 years old.

More than a million visitors have toured Eastern State since it opened to the public in 1994. The building is in a profound state of architectural decay, and this quality, the sensation of discovering a lost or abandoned space, infuses virtually all aspects of our public programming. The crumbling stone walls and columns of sun light are surprisingly, eerily beautiful. Visitors routinely warn us against “fixing” Eastern State too much.

Most visitors explore the site with an audio tour narrated by actor Steve Buscemi. A handful of restored architectural spaces, such as the penitentiary’s tiny synagogue, stand in contrast to the massive, crumbling cellblocks. Several small workshops have been repurposed as modest exhibit spaces.

From the earliest days of tours at Eastern State, we partnered with artists to create programming that addressed complex and controversial issues in criminal justice policy. Artist Nick Cassway’s installed *Portraits of Inmates in the Death Row Population Sentenced as Juveniles* in 2003. Nick says he began working on his installation to explore his own feelings toward *Roper v. Simmons*, set to be argued before the U.S. Supreme Court to decide the United States’ tolerance of

state laws allowing execution of inmates for crimes committed when they were under the age of eighteen. Eighty-two inmates, all convicted for crimes committed when they were legally children, waited on death rows around the country for the court's verdict.<sup>274</sup>

Nick stenciled a portrait of each inmate with a clear rust inhibitor on a thick sheet of 24" by 36" plate steel.<sup>275</sup> He lined the plates against the 30-foot east wall of the prison in a presentation that evoked, for some visitors, a police line up. Others saw a firing squad. The portraits faced the modern, squat Cellblock 15, Eastern State's own Death Row.



At first the portraits were hard to see. Viewers had to catch a reflection on the surface of the steel to see the portrait clearly. But as time passed the steel aged, rusting to a deep, rough orange. The portraits stood out more clearly. If a state executed one of its inmates, Nick would coat the entire plate with clear rust inhibitor, effectively stopping it from

aging.

In October of 2004, the Supreme Court ruled that in cases where a capital crime was committed by a minor, "the State can exact forfeiture of some of the most basic liberties, but the State cannot extinguish his life and his potential to attain a mature understanding of his own humanity." We took Nick's installation off view in early 2005. It was a protest against a policy that no longer existed. Our tour guides missed the piece immediately. Cellblock 15, the last cellblock to be added to the Eastern State complex, is a natural end point for a guided tour.

Nick's installation provided a dramatic and memorable starting point to introduce larger questions about capital punishment and changing policies in corrections. As visitors wound down their visit to this penitentiary built on the premise that all humans are capable of rehabilitation, the piece invited them not just to examine how those attitudes changed over time, and how they continue to change.

Artist Ilan Sandler created his work, *Arrest*, in 2001. Ilan's sister Simone had been strangled in Toronto six years earlier<sup>276</sup>. Her murderer has never been identified and presumably remains free.

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<sup>274</sup> The United States was, at the time, the only developed nation that allowed execution for crimes committed by minors.

<sup>276</sup> Many artist proposals for Eastern State draw metaphors so broad that they are nearly without meaning (e.g., "language is a prison, from which we cannot escape"). We reject these proposals. We eventually began warning artists in the program guidelines against these too-clever ideas which, to our thinking, are unlikely to deepen a visitor's reflection on



Ilan interviewed his parents, posing a series of painful, direct questions to them and recording their answers. He also recorded their heartbeats while they spoke. He collected sound from the riverbank where police recovered Simone's body, and from the nearly-silent grounds of Eastern State itself.

Ilan worked in Cellblock 10, an 1877 wing of Eastern State Penitentiary whose iron cell doors have been removed and sold for scrap metal after the penitentiary's abandonment. He created new cell doors out of wire,<sup>277</sup> winding and twisting his parents' words from that painful conversation into gates of text:

*We want people who did not meet Simone to know of her kindness and good nature. We want to know that the person who did this is dead. We want to know why she was singled out. Was she simply in the wrong place at the wrong time?*

Sound equipment in the cells played his parents' heartbeats mixed with the sounds from the two sites. The cells had doors again, his parents had a voice.

Ilan's installation didn't claim to offer answers, but it cast the fate of the inmates who inhabited the cells in a completely different light. Ilan left a visitor comment book, which filled with condolences, commiseration from visitors with similar family histories, angry expressions of the need for harsher court sentences, even the



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the legacy of this prison and the state of our prison system today. Ilan's proposal began with the words, "My sister Simone was murdered in 1995." It wasn't the sensational quality of the language; it was that Ilan proposed installing a piece that was about real people.

<sup>277</sup> Although it might have been more convenient to fabricate the doors elsewhere, Ilan worked in Cellblock 10, smiling and seemingly cheerful the whole time. He liked chatting with school groups as they toured the prison. He would demonstrate how he worked and answer questions about the project. I asked him once if the work helped him forget, if there came a point when he could focus on the technical aspects and stop thinking about the murder. "No, I'm pretty much thinking about Simone the whole time," he said with his bright smile.

occasional comment on a previous comment in the book. Ilan was stirring something in our visitors that our more traditional interpretation was not.

We partnered with Artist William Cromar to *GTMO* at Eastern State in 2004. This cell is a recreation of a cell from Camp X-Ray, the now-abandoned holding cells in the United States Federal Detention Center at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The Department of Defense replaced the Camp X-Ray cells with newer holding cells, called Camp Delta, in 2002. As of 2014, the United States holds more than 114 “enemy combatants” at the newer Guantanamo Bay facility. Most are accused of associating with the Taliban or Al-Qaida.

By placing the Guantanamo Bay cell inside an Eastern State Penitentiary cell, Mr. Cromar illustrates “nearly polar-opposite means used to find a nearly equivalent end.” Where the Eastern State cell is massive, opaque and stone, the small Guantanamo Bay cell is virtually transparent, reflecting a different attitude toward the prisoner and different expectations of the architecture.

For many years, we have considered taking GTMO off view because, we expected, the detention facility would no longer have significance. Plans to close the facility did not come to pass, however, and in 2013 we updated the installation with signage and audio about how the site has changed over the course of ten years.

In 2008 the site undertook its first interpretive planning process. The final document, created over the course of nearly two years, established six primary themes that make Eastern State historically and culturally significant. Theme Number 5 states that the site and its history provide extensive opportunities to reflect on the changing face of the U.S. prison system today.

When our staff overlaid the six themes onto a site map, however, we found that Theme 5 was only addressed by artist installations. More troubling still, this programming appeared at the edges, literally, of the property. We had created a hierarchy in which Eastern State’s history held a central role, yet questions around criminal justice policy—questions that had driven the design and operation of Eastern State Penitentiary itself—were isolated and disjointed from standard programming.

We agreed on a principle moving forward: using an image of a wedge, we would try to engage our broadest audience (the wide end of the wedge) in issues of contemporary criminal justice policy, even if that programming engaged less deeply than it might if targeted at a smaller audience.

Working with advisors, or tour staff, and our larger programming staff, we concluded that there are three major trends in the recent history of the U.S. criminal justice system that are truly historic in scale. (1) The U.S. prison population has grown by an extraordinary 600% in the decades since Eastern State Penitentiary closed; (2) the disproportionate ratios of Black and Latino prisoners is growing worse with time; and (3) the U.S. leads the world, by far, in rate of incarceration per 100,000 citizens.

But would our visitors want to engage with these subjects? Would our programming be perceived as carrying a political agenda? In 2011 we finally sat down with visitors and simply asked them. In a series of focus groups, we presented statistics and overall patterns of the recent changes to the U.S. criminal justice system to visitors just completing a standard history tour of Eastern State Penitentiary. We also tested ways of illustrating these trends on a new prototype wall built for visitor response.

We found that visitors were engaged, and troubled, by the recent growth of the U.S. prison population, and the comparison of the U.S. prison system to other nations'. They expressed near universal support for including this information on standard guided tours. Many visitors expressed caution, however, about discussion of racial imbalance in the prison population.

Our programming team took a full year to rewrite the conclusion of the site's main audio tour, supporting with signage and discussion of the recent growth of the U.S. prison system. We produced an extensive training document for tour staff, and prototyped methods of including this information in all guided tours including school tours. Staff from the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience trained our staff in dialogue facilitation techniques. We established an advisory committee on issues of race and incarceration, and began to prototype ways to engage those subjects with a broad audience as well.

By 2013, every tour of the site, in any format, included a discussion of the scale of the U.S. prison system, and international comparisons of rates of incarceration.

Both the audio tour and guided tour illustrated these two statistics with simple, traditional bar



graphs. The clarity of these graphics had proven effective to date. But if the statistics were powerful and troubling in this simple, traditional format, could they be made more striking and more memorable with a bolder design choice?

Graduate students in exhibit design from Philadelphia's University of the Arts began prototyping innovating and surprising exhibit techniques in the

fall of 2012. They experimented with a variety of visual representations for the scale of change in the U.S. prison population, including lines on the concrete paving, scales to which visitors could add

weight to approximate the growth over time, even models of Eastern State Penitentiary at various scales to represent growing prisoner populations over time. From the beginning, however, the simple expression of our original bar graph in three dimensions was most promising in testing with visitors.

We spent the fall of 2013 and the spring of 2014 designing and building the final exhibit. We called it *The Big Graph*. It consists of 3,500 lbs of plate steel sitting on 17 tons of concrete. It is designed to be updated through the year 2030.

The south face of *The Big Graph*, the side facing visitors as they approach, reads as a simple bar chart of the rate of incarceration, per decade, from the years 1900 to 2010. The year that Eastern State Penitentiary closed (1970) and the last full decade (2010) appear in bright red against the other decades' dull gray. Simple signage, and supporting audio commentary, explains to visitors that the rate of incarceration had been steady—about 150 people in prison per 100,000 citizens—since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The number of U.S. prisoners began to dramatically increase around the time that Eastern State Penitentiary closed in 1970. It has grown by more than 600% in four decades that follow. The bars representing most of decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are about three feet tall. The bar representing 2010 is more than 20 feet tall.

As visitors walk around the side of the tallest bar, representing the year 2010, they can compare the U.S. rate of incarceration to that of every other nation in the world. Because the U.S. has the highest rate, by far, the graph simply charts the rate (therefore the height) of every other nation below. The rate of incarceration is unrelated to overall population size, since it is calculated per 100,000 citizens.

During our extensive prototyping phase, we found that many visitors suggested that nations with low rates of incarceration, such as China, might keep their populations low by executing many of their prisoners. In response to this, *The Big Graph* design also divides the nations of the world into those with capital punishment (on the left side of the chart) and those without (on the right). China, with its low incarceration rate and liberal use of capital punishment appears directly opposite Canada, a nation with a nearly identical low rate of incarceration and no capital punishment.

The north face of *The Big Graph* again functions as a bar graph illustrating the decades between 1900 and 2010. On this face, however, we have broken out the U.S. prison population in 1970 and 2010 by race. The troubling patterns that immerge include more prisoners of every racial group, owing to the massive growth of the entire system; shrinking percentages of White prisoners; and growth in the Latino prisoner population that far outpaces growth in the overall population. Out of fear that this information could reinforce ugly and negative stereotypes, this side of the graph uses the only language that visitors, in the testing phase, occasionally identified as expressing a specific

political viewpoint. On the recent growth of the all racial groups in the U.S. prison population, the text reads “...but Black and Latino communities have been the most heavily impacted.” It concludes with the question, “What do you think our nation should do to address this crisis?”



*The Big Graph* is joined in 2014 by another piece of new programming: artist Cindy Stockton Moore’s *Other Absences*. The artist’s fifty portraits represent individuals murdered by men and women who would eventually be sent to Eastern State Penitentiary. The stories of victims are rarely told in the institutional history or in tour and exhibit content at Eastern State today.

Ms. Stockton Moore intends to create a more complete picture of the men and women imprisoned here, and the consequences of their actions. The artist could only find images of a small number of victims. The murder victims absent here reflect an invisibility of the poor and racial minorities in the documentation of violent crime.

The historic site staff was aware, during the development process of *The Big Graph*, that illustrating these specific statistics could lead naturally to the back-and-forth of forensic debate with our visitors. The organization’s larger, more complex goal of true dialogue requires not just the static presentation of statistics deemed important by the programming team, but of listening and valuing the perspectives of our visitors. Training from the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, and dialogue techniques developed by the historic site staff around *The Big Graph*, have supported our tour staff in facilitating a true exchange between our visitors.

A new \$360,000 exhibit, currently slated for installation in 2016, is being designed specifically to further support true dialogue at the site. Tentatively titled *Prisons in the Age of Mass Incarceration*, the exhibit will provide a place for reflection, expression of empathy, exchange of perspectives and experiences between our visitors and, we hope, an inspiration for what individuals can do to affect the current U.S criminal justice system as it continues to evolve over time.

Fears among Eastern State Penitentiary’s board and staff, fears that once slowed the development of socially and civically engaged programming, have proven to be misguided. These fears included the potential for the leadership of the organization to splinter, for funders to be alienated, and for the public to lose interest in the site. In fact the Board of Directors has united

around this new vision, the new exhibit has been funded by a single foundation, and the attendance at the site has increased by more than 25% in the three years since these initiatives began.

I listened with great interest and respect to our host Vladimir Tolstoy in his opening Keynote address. Mr. Tolstoy spoke with passion—he even knocked his water glass from the podium!—about how museums have no right “just to preserve.” We need to “dynamically” participate in the daily life of our nations. I found these words moving.

In that spirit, I return to the subject of Kresty prison, and a second former site of detention here in Russia.

A handful of Russian historic sites address the period of Stalinist detention and forced labor, but, to my knowledge, only Perm 36 addressed Soviet political detention into the 1970s and 1980s. The last political prisoner left Perm-36 in 1988. It is the only preserved forced labor or “Gulag” camp in the country. Perm 36 was preserved and operated by *Memorial*, a Russian human rights group dedicated to preserving the “unvarnished history” of the Soviet era.

I visited Perm-36 for a pro-democracy/ human rights summit in 2012. I was deeply impressed by the dialogue around issues of memory and history making. I was also quite surprised by pro-Soviet youth groups attending the conference in protest. They were well organized, with glossy photos of happy Soviet workers. They released a daily newspaper. Their impressive signage was professionally designed and produced. While polite and earnest, they would not discuss where they got their funding.

In June of this year, a documentary about Perm-36 was aired by the Russian NTV channel . In it, *Memorial* and Perm-36 were accused of vindicating Lithuanian and Ukrainian nationalists who fought against the Soviet Union, many of whom were imprisoned in labor camps in the Perm region.

Recent reports in Russia state that negotiations between *Memorial* and the state have broken down, Perm-36 has been closed, and its directors fired. The fate of the site—the only preserved Soviet Gulag—seems unclear.

In the spirit of the Kresty prison “Monument to Victims of Political Repression,” and in the spirit of the human rights and dialogue I witnessed in Perm-36, and in the spirit of the inspiring remarks by Mr. Tolstoy, it is clear that there is a Russian tradition in the past several decades for civic engagement and honest dialogue around difficult subjects.

Silence is a powerful statement. We at Eastern State Penitentiary spent 15 years drawing little attention to the shameful racial imbalance in the U.S. prison population, and to larger issues of poverty and access to opportunity that often drive cycles of crime. In doing so, we told our visitors, clearly and directly, that these issues lacked importance.

The relationship between museums and politics grows more complex and troubled times, be they a skyrocketing prison population in the USA or international disputes elsewhere. I am delighted to join the ambitious discussion begun in Saint Petersburg, dedicated to improving our societies through civic engagement, exploration of historic memory, preservation of our cultural resources, and the facilitation of true and open dialogue.

## **Science Museums Partner to Bring Community Input into Exhibition Development About Current Research**

### **Introduction**

Over the last few decades, museums in the United States of America (US), have been changing in a variety of ways. These ways include how museums identify themselves within society, their desire to broaden the audiences they serve, and museums' attitudes relating to the roles they should embrace. Among these roles, is that of change agent for developing state and society. If museums are to be part of the greater effort to affect change in state and society, where do they fit in within this process, and how can their influence be discerned and distinguished?

As a part of exploring and understanding museums as change agents, current dialogue in the museum field has strongly emphasized the need to identify effective ways to provide evidence of museums' impact on their communities and audiences. Our evaluation team has participated in this dialogue, and we are currently conducting research that relates to this question.

In this paper, we first offer some background on the history of museums' growing interest in social concerns and how they have approached this role. Next, we provide some background information on the "Energize New Mexico" project within which we are currently conducting some exhibition research and evaluation. We offer an overview and some details on this evaluation including its goals, design, and where we currently are in this process. Finally, we present what we anticipate will take place next in this project and its implications toward understanding museums' impact on their communities.

### **Museums and Social Concerns**

Stephen Weil (1999) in his discussion of museums' increasing emphasis on the active public service role of museums explains that positive social outcomes are generally considered a critical goal for third-sector organizations (those that occupy the not-for-profit domains as do many US museums). This viewpoint is often also true for all kinds of museums, including government run museums, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), or private museums. Weil points out that the International Council of Museums (ICOM) has been very influential toward this way of thinking (Weil, 1999).

Do museums have an impact on their community, and if so in what ways? Museums and the agencies that support them have been eager to learn the answer to these questions. As museums look for ways to show evidence of their impact on their communities and audiences, they are also keen to



identify effective practices in the museum-community relationship. Toward this end, they are exploring how to best study museums' community impact, how to accurately assess what is happening between museums and their communities, and to determine useful ways of sharing their findings with the museum field and other germane segments of society.

Museums have increasingly answered the call to develop a strong public service ideology, and have committed to things such as offering experiences that provide inspiration and motivate change in the way people see the world and their own lives (Sheppard, 2000; Skramstad, 1999). Elaine Heumann Gurian (2001) explains that overtime, it has been more common to see museums designing exhibitions, programs, and their interior and exterior spaces to more specifically serve and meet community interests and needs. She points out however, that museums have generally focused on assessing how the outputs of a particular exhibition and program impact their audiences, and not on their capacity to shape public values or lives.

Museums' role in education have progressed dramatically even since 1992, when the American Association of Museums (AAM), presented their seminal policy document "Excellence and Equity." This document firmly identified and reinforced education as a central component of museum practice (American Association of Museums (AAM), 1992)<sup>278</sup>. George E. Hein (2012) argues that although AAM's 1992 document proclaimed to present "a new definition of museums as institutions of public service and education," this was not a revolutionary change, because museums have always been at the service of the public; and the social service that museums provide is essentially education (American Association of Museums (AAM), 1992, p. 6). However, we are seeing in today's museums a rising acknowledgement of the social role of museums and this is evidenced by a burgeoning number of professional journals, articles, and books that focus on the relationship of museums to social concerns. Another indicator of this change in museums is the decreasing authoritarian voice of the curator in exhibitions. Museums are validating incorporating the voices and perspectives of visitors and those in the broader community into their exhibitions, thus encouraging multiple interpretations and an expansion of an exhibition's meaning (Hein, 2012).

To strengthen their ability to reach into the community to affect and make a difference in their publics' quality of life, more and more museums are forming partnerships and affiliations with other groups such as other museums, schools, and community-based organizations. Although historically these projects have been targeted at ameliorating a specific identified need or issue, there is increasing evidence of funding toward more general research around informal learning and its impacts. In the United States (US), many of these projects have been supported with funding and

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<sup>278</sup> The American Association of Museums was renamed American Alliance of Museums in 2012.

resources through federal agencies such as the Institute for Museums and Library Services (IMLS), and the National Science Foundation (NSF) (Hirzy, 1996; National Science Foundation (NSF), 2014; Sheppard, 2000).

Since 1993, US federally funded programs must respond to the mandates in the Government Performance and Results Act (GPRA) and its subsequent update in 2010. GPRA agencies must establish objective, measurable, and quantifiable performance goals, and report annually on their level of achievement of reaching these goals. This legislation affects museums even if they are not government institutions, especially if they depend on funding and support from federal agencies such as IMLS and NSF (Sheppard, 2000).

Increasingly, private foundations are calling for accountability in terms of returns on their funding investments. For example, the Board of the Kellogg Foundation, an important funding source for many non-profit organization's initiatives, has changed their more traditional question of "what have we done?" to "what has changed?" (Sheppard, 2000).

This shifting attitude and approach has brought to light the need for a well-designed evaluation methodology to document the impact of museums on their communities. However, achieving this objective is proving to be a challenge. To begin with, museums are still struggling to understand, identify, and articulate the value of visitors' learning experiences in informal environments and how that relates to other educational experiences (John H. Falk & Dierking, 1995). Museums realize that in this climate of increasing socio-political pressure, the question of what visitors learn and how they learn must be more accurately answered if these institutions are to justify their existence and survive (Hein, 1998). Hence, much remains to be explicated about what goes on during the museum experience and how, overtime, it affects the community as a whole.

As museum professionals consider a research agenda, the issue arises of what questions should be examined and how to appropriately examine them. The decisions around this can be influenced by the agencies providing support, thus raising the issue of possible misalignment of research agendas to museums' values, vision, and mission (Sheppard, 2000).

Any assessment of the long-term impact of these institutions on public understanding, attitudes, and behavior is multifaceted, because it needs to take into account the role of educational institutions within our complex society (J. Falk, 2000). Assessment of museums' impact is complicated by how museums' are situated within the greater educational infrastructure, their place within society (as perceived by its various members), limitations on resources, potential biases, and the skill sets needed for such efforts. Yet, as museum leaders have posited, despite the challenges, it is critical that museums make a bold effort to assess their effectiveness and impact. They have been cautioned to be proactive in determining how this will be done, lest others, with less understanding

of the more elusive and abstract impact of their programs over the long term, take the lead (John H. Falk & Dierking, 1995; Sheppard, 2000).

Museum professionals are heeding this call. Research is now being conducted around questions of museums' value and impact on their local communities and the role that they play in people's lives. Lynda Kelly (2006) discusses the challenges museums face in measuring impact and assessing audience needs as she examines two major research projects - one in Australia, and another that included museums in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the UK and the USA. Kelly posits that these studies reveal an understanding from both museums and their local communities of mutually beneficial outcomes from their relationships. Museums *can* influence people's thinking, and inspire them to take action. However, she draws attention to the challenge of convincing governments and funding agencies about museums' value for their communities. Kelly suggests an effective approach to use with these groups are arguments such as pointing out the economic benefits generated by improved mental health and wellbeing in society, and raising society's awareness of critical issues such as climate change (Kelly, 2006).

In the science museum world, a growing body of data, although limited, is demonstrating that science centers and similar institutions have been influential toward the educational impact on their communities (Bell, Lewenstein, Shouse, & Fedler, 2009). In 2001, an international group of science museums initiated a study to examine their impact in a number of areas: Personal, Societal, Political, and Economic. Of the 180 participating science centers, the majority 87% of the research studies concentrated on their impact on individuals. This broke down into five categories, with 54% reporting science learning, 18% changes in attitude to science, 14% enjoyment, 7% career choice, and 7% other. The report from this study called for more long-term studies and more research into the influence of a science center on the society in which it resides (Garnet, 2001).

A study by Falk & Needham (2011) assessed the impact of the California Science Center (CSC) in Los Angeles on community learning over a nine-year period. According to the researchers, results suggest that the CSC is having an important impact on the science literacy of greater Los Angeles. These visitors were broadly representative of the greater Los Angeles population. Findings show that more than half of these visitors self-report that the CSC had strongly influenced their science and technology understanding, attitudes, and behaviors (John H. Falk & Needham, 2011).

In 2014, John H. Falk Research presented the Final Report of findings from their International Science Center Impact Study. The study involved 17 science centers in 13 countries. This study compared the relative contributions of a series of independent variables to a range of desirable long-term dependent variables of science understanding, attitudes, and behaviors. Results

of the study strongly supported the contention that individuals who used science centers were significantly more likely to be science and technology literate and engaged citizens. As Falk writes:

*“Results enable the participating science centres, and by extension others within the science centre community to state with much greater confidence that the presence of one or more healthy and active science centres within a community, region, or country represents a vital mechanism for creating and maintaining a scientifically and technologically informed, engaged and literate public.” (John H. Falk, Needham, Dierking, & Prendergast, 2014, p. 2)*

### **Background on the New Mexico EPSCoR Project “Energize New Mexico”**

In 2013, The US National Science Foundation (NSF) awarded the University of New Mexico a grant within their funding stream entitled Experimental Program to Stimulate Competitive Research (EPSCoR). The purpose of the EPSCoR grant is to build capacity in scientific research in the state of New Mexico (NM). The New Mexico EPSCoR project has been named “Energize New Mexico.” The EPSCoR initiative focuses on research relating to sustainable energy development. To help support public outreach for this initiative, and help disseminate research findings, the University has partnered with three science museums/centers in the city of Albuquerque, New Mexico. These museums/science centers are:

- The National Museum of Nuclear Science & History;
- The New Mexico Museum of Natural History & Science; and
- Explora.

(New Mexico EPSCoR, 2014).



Under the EPSCoR partnership, these three museums/science centers will be developing and presenting exhibitions on the topic of energy, and its relationship to the university-based research going on within the “Energize New Mexico” project. These exhibitions will then travel to other museums/science centers that are a part of the newly formed New Mexico Informal Science Education Network (NMISE Net), which is a network of over 10 different science museums across New Mexico.

The state of New Mexico is located in the Southwest of the United States. This state has a very diverse population and mix of cultures including Hispanic, Native American Indian, and other

groups. This population presents a very wide range of differences among its citizens in both economic circumstances and educational attainment. A significant segment of this population is spread across many regions that are remote from the main cities.

### **Evaluating the Exhibition Development for the “Energize New Mexico” Project**

Our team has been contracted to conduct the evaluation of the museum exhibition part of the “Energize New Mexico” EPSCoR project. Along with supporting effective exhibition development, we believe that this evaluation has potential for providing additional insights relating to museum-community impact. Among our goals and interests relating to this evaluation, is to find out if and how this exhibition has an influence upon educational, cultural, and economic development in their communities. Therefore, wherever possible, we are approaching the examination of this exhibition development through the perspectives of the communities and audiences that these museums/science centers serve. As this article is being written, we are currently in the midst of the Front-end Evaluation portion of this project.

#### **The Front-end Evaluation: Overview**

In order to examine the impact of the “Energize New Mexico” exhibitions we must initially establish base-line findings about the community members’ current attitudes, interests, and beliefs relating to energy. Additionally, it is critical that the partner museums be informed at the outset about community members’ thinking around the topic of energy, if they are to select and build exhibits which will be engaging and accessible to visitors along with meeting “Energize New Mexico” project goals.

We’ve designed the Front-end Evaluation toward establishing a base-line picture of the current interests and attitudes of the following stakeholders:

- The public;
- The members of the partner museums/science centers;
- New Mexico teachers; and
- The EPSCoR (university-based) scientists.

To achieve this, we are conducting four studies: a Public Study, a Museum Member Study, a Teacher Study, and a Scientist Study. Although there is substantial overlap in areas of inquiry among the four studies, each is customized for the particular groups surveyed.

Areas of inquiry for the Public Study and Members Study are quite similar. They include:

- People’s awareness of “Energize New Mexico” and the research areas it includes;
- People’s attitudes about energy, from a variety of viewpoints including personal, regional, and national/global;
- People’s interest/curiosity about energy;

- People’s interest/curiosity for visits to energy-related exhibitions; and
- People’s awareness of New Mexico museums, and some facts about their visit history.

The Teacher Study is designed to elicit the formal school perspective. Data collection will take in some of the above areas of inquiry; but additionally it will examine teachers’ perceptions of what museums/science centers could do/provide to help support their classroom instruction around the topic of energy. Gathering teachers’ perspectives is in line with EPSCoR’s inclusion of teachers within the project; and much of this work is being carried out with the collaboration of the partner museums. This includes presenting teacher workshops, school group visits to the museums, and museum outreach programs. In addition, each museum partner has agreed to “adopt” a school. To inform the museums’ work with teachers and schools, we will specifically assure that findings from the front-end Teacher Study are presented to partner museum staff members who will be working with these teachers and schools.

The Scientist Study will examine a set of video recordings made in the Spring of 2014, when participating scientists were asked to give a short summary of their research and explain why they felt their research is important. Based on these viewings, we will develop a report that answers the following two questions:

- What, in simple terms, is the focus of each scientist’s research?
- Why do the scientists believe their research is important?

### **Front-end Evaluation: Methodology**

The Public Study. We believe that conducting a Public Study is critical to our findings, but budgetary considerations originally inhibited our ability to include the Public Study in the evaluation plan. To overcome this challenge, we addressed it during early meetings with the project team. We discussed our concern with the budget driven limitations of developing public findings informed from data collected only from museum members, as these members represent just a particular segment of the New Mexico public. We emphasized how it would strengthen the validity of our findings if we could collect data from a wider variety of respondents including non-member visitors and the general public. To resolve this issue, the New Mexico Informal Science Education Network (NMISE Net) asked us to train members of their network to do this data collection. They explained that if we trained them in the method, they would volunteer to collect data from visitors both on-site at their museums, and off-site where a more random population could be accessed. We agreed to do this training.

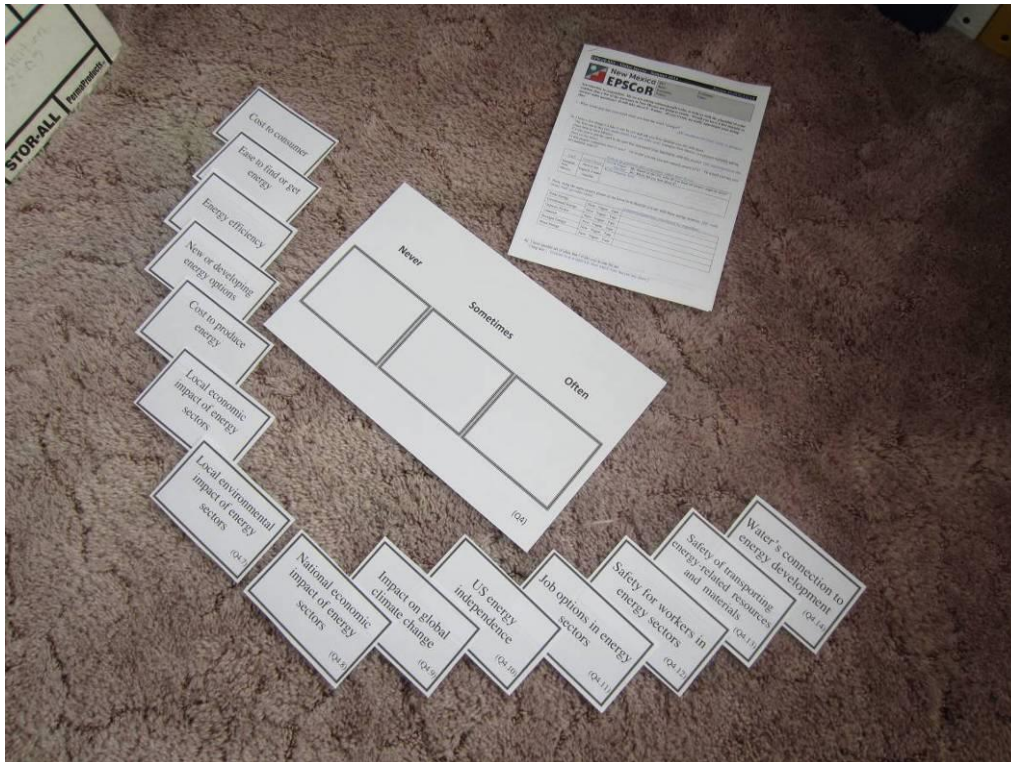
These decisions exemplified volunteerism on both sides: from our evaluation team, and from the members of the NMISE Net. Both groups saw the costs and benefits of this investment of time and effort. As evaluators, we significantly expanded our workload in terms of training and analysis.

However, we saw this as an opportunity to break ground in terms of developing a training model in evaluation for museum professionals, and also as way to invest our time in a meaningful study that could have significant implications for museums to further connect to their communities' interests and perspectives. The museum professionals also had to commit considerable time and effort toward this end. Nevertheless, they realized that by making this commitment they could develop skills that could be applied to other projects, gain insights into their audiences' attitudes and interests, and have an opportunity to create awareness of their museums to people not already familiar with them.

In July of 2014, we conducted capacity-building training workshops for museum staff members from NMISE Net and formed a Data Collection Cohort that included staff members from each of the partner museums. We provided instruction in a face-to-face interview methodology known as "Card Sort." We chose this method for several reasons. First, it can be standardized across different data collectors. Second, this method can be reasonably taught to a cohort of volunteer data collectors in a one-day workshop. Third, data from Card Sort interviews can be easily entered into an on-line electronic survey, which we can download for analysis.

At the workshop, we modeled, practiced, and discussed the Card Sort method. We field-tested the method with visitors in the galleries of the Explora science center, discussed our experiences with the instruments and methodologies, and considered revisions. In mid August, we revised the instruments, and sent them to the Data Collection Cohort for review. The partner museums agreed to conduct ~25 on-site face-to-face interviews with visitors at their museums, and ~25 off-site face-to-face interviews with a sample of the general public at public events such as the New Mexico State Fair.

In early September, we officially launched the Public Study. The data collectors from the partner museums are currently gathering their data and entering it into an on-line survey set up by our team. We anticipate data from a total of 150 interviews for the Public Study.



The Museum Member Study. This study is being conducted through an on-line survey. The partner museums have sent out invitations asking their members to respond to an on-line electronic questionnaire. Due to their affiliation, museum members are generally familiar with the institution, and offer a good source of potential respondents for gathering perspectives about the planned exhibition<sup>279</sup>. The members' questionnaire includes most of the same areas of inquiry used in the Public Study, but the questions are adapted for the electronic survey format.

The Teacher Study. We are conducting this study through email and an electronic on-line questionnaire. EPSCoR is sending invitations to reach approximately 800 New Mexico teachers, some directly to email addresses, and others are being posted on pertinent listserves and newsletters.

The Scientist Study. Video recordings of the scientists' presentations are being reviewed. A report is being developed that summarizes the scientists' responses identifying their research focus and their perception of its importance.

Data collected from all these studies will be analyzed and synthesized. Early in 2015 a full written report of the findings will be presented to the three museums/science centers and EPSCoR project leaders.

<sup>279</sup> Most US museums invite people to become "members" of their museum, and there is generally a fee to join. Members receive benefits such as invitations to special member events and free multiple entries. Museums' advantages include enabling direct communication about updates and inviting members' input into museum activities and projects.



Part of our role as evaluators is to help the museums/science centers interpret the Front-end Evaluation findings to inform their choices as to exhibition topics and design. At a meeting scheduled for early March 2015, we will present the findings from the Front-end Studies to all members of the project team but especially to those involved in museum exhibition development. During this meeting, we will discuss and facilitate interpretation of these front-end findings. Based on what the findings indicate about the community's perspectives, attitudes, and interests, we will help the museums think about ways to make their exhibition most relevant to visitors. It is our hope that findings gleaned from all the front-end studies will assure an informed exhibition development and an exhibition that is significantly related to community views on the topic of energy.

After a thorough review of the findings from all front-end studies, the museums/science centers will determine the focus of their exhibitions, and launch into their design process.

After the exhibition topics are selected by the museums, new questions and areas for investigation will likely arise. Those questions will be incorporated into the next stage of the evaluation: The Formative Evaluation of the exhibition. Finally, after the exhibitions are installed, we will conduct a Summative Evaluation.

### **Conclusion: Museums, Politics, and Power**

These New Mexico science museums/centers are major players on many levels in this capacity-building project. They are serving as a connector to several aspects of the EPSCoR project. Through their participation in the Front-end Evaluation, New Mexico's science museums/centers are now actively engaged in learning more about their community's perspectives and attitudes on the topic of energy. As key players in the realm of community influence, this direct and active involvement with the Front-end Evaluation places museums in a more informed position to affect New Mexico's development through a more savvy understanding of its citizens. The museums' partnership with the EPSCoR project offers them an additional platform from which they can be leaders toward improving New Mexico's science education, science literacy, science career pool, and subsequent economic growth.

It is our hope that the approach we are taking to this exhibition evaluation will provide a catalyst that can foster multiple benefits for all those involved including the museums, the EPSCoR project team, our evaluation team, and the community.

For the museums, the front-end evaluation process has already permitted museum staff and their volunteers to gain and apply new skills as they participate in the data collection process. Once analyzed, the findings from data collected from a broad audience will give the exhibition developers deeper insights into their audiences' attitudes and interests around the topic of energy. The next stage, the Formative Evaluation of exhibition development, will continue to inform the developers as

to the effectiveness and relevancy of their designs with their visitors. We also hope to see evidence that the data collection training incorporated into the front-end studies (and any further training incorporated into later stages of this project) will help to build capacity for incorporating and/or enhancing internal evaluation activities in these science museums.

For our evaluation team, we anticipate the “Energize New Mexico” exhibition project and its associated evaluation will provide insight into several areas. Our primary purpose is to see that the three stages of the exhibition evaluation process assist these three museums in creating effective exhibitions that align with project goals. Beyond this basic objective, we hope to achieve other areas of professional learning, and subsequently share these with the field. One achievement we hope to realize is to increase our knowledgebase for evaluating a multi-part exhibition development across multiple museums/science centers. We also hope to learn more about building evaluation capacity for museum personnel and correspondingly identify effective training practices for this process.

Since 1997, by requiring proposal submissions to address “broader impacts” of research on science, education, and society, the National Science Foundation (NSF) has been promoting programs to think beyond their specific program goals toward including societal implications for their work (National Science Foundation (NSF), 2014). Carol Lynn Alpert (2009) in her discussion of NSF’s requirement for broader impacts posits that we need a new model for addressing this. She recommends we move toward putting science researchers together with education and outreach experts, appropriate audiences and venues, skilled facilitators, and academic researchers on science, technology, and society (Alpert, 2009). Other thought leaders have been thinking along similar lines. Kania & Kramer (2011) write in the Stanford Social Innovation Review about the concept of “collective impact.” They discuss the growing attitude that large-scale social change cannot be achieved by individual organizations and isolated interventions, but instead require cross-sector coordination (Kania & Kramer, 2011).

If promoting effective change requires broader cross-sector coordination as current industry leaders contend, then the “Energize New Mexico” initiative offers the perfect testing ground in which to assess collective impact. As a collaborative effort among museums, universities, government and non-governmental organizations, businesses and other partners, “Energize New Mexico,” is an example of this kind of broad-based, systemic approach, and may well have the potential of collective impact.

We hope that the final assessment of the “Energize New Mexico” will offer answers as to whether museums’ participation in this project was influential toward the general project goals: to affect New Mexico’s growth and capacity in the areas of science education, scientific research, and economic development. Our group plans to investigate this question where possible in the

Summative Evaluation of the exhibitions, but for a more accurate determination it will also be necessary to see how our exhibition evaluation findings intersect with the findings of the full EPSCoR project evaluation.

Finally, we believe that the exhibition evaluation's role in bringing in the voices of others beyond the museum staff, and at all stages of exhibition development, will prove to be a meaningful aspect of the "Energize New Mexico" initiative. It will provide the project partners with an important means for understanding their impacts upon individual community members, and in turn, upon the greater communities these organizations serve.

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## Museums and the Demographic-Democratic Revolution<sup>280</sup>

As its progressive modernization occurs, the museum of the information society is more and more distancing itself from its predecessor – the museum of the totalitarian epoch -- and proclaiming as its chief values openness, tolerance, and innovativeness.

Such declarations are not at all bad. However, a serious analysis of museums' tasks and prospects is impossible without solving the issue of defining their objectives, the fundamental problem of the purpose and role of the museum in culture and society.

### Museums and democracy

The central aspect of the relevant cultural context is the global triumph of “democracy,” which consistently and persistently eliminates barriers, be they class, caste, race, national or cultural... Moreover, this democratic expansion strictly and categorically correlates with the demographic one. And the most important tendency of the modern age can be defined as a greater access to the material and cultural heritage for millions and billions of consumers.

The democratic offensive against the bastion of the caste-ridden world – Europe – in the 20<sup>th</sup> century has been carried out on two flanks. The march under the socio-political banner began on the poor Central Russian Plain. The Soviet ideological system quickly grasped the role of museums as an instrument of propaganda. The general orientation towards the reorganization of life stimulated a constructive interest in museum issues on the part of outstanding figures of culture of that time. For example, F.I. Shmit, being ahead of today's ideas by at least half a century, propagated “museums of modern times” as early as the 1920s (of course, he meant socialistic modern times, but that is not critical, because essential principles, whether Western-democratic, Soviet or post-Soviet, are surprisingly similar in this respect. Though that “museum proto-boom” remained beyond the vision of theorists, as its area of coverage was limited to the socialist camp.

The global new *ordnung* came from the other flank. Before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, North America, like South America, Australia, or Africa, remained the outskirts of Europe, which was the world center of civilization. However, after the landing of American armed forces in Europe during World War I, a much more significant “disembarkation” took place: “The art of cinema came from America to Europe... For the first time in history, Europe had to learn art from America.”

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<sup>280</sup>The research was done as part of project № 13-03-00449 of the Russian Humanities Scholarly Foundation.

Another large-scale appearance of America on the European Continent during World War II showed that the undisputed leader of the new world had come to stay. American culture was following American armed forces, goods, and money. The post-war museum history also took shape across the ocean. “Americans, having no traditions or prejudices,” easily ventured upon a dramatic leap towards the new art and the new museum. Knowing no piety for antiquity and the classical canons, having no inhibitions related to cultural losses, they saw the museum as a valuable resource for giving ordinary citizens something to do during their increasing leisure time.

The fantastic achievements of the Western standard of living and comfort shape the environment, which dominates, without any alternative, from New York to the most remote areas. It is precisely this dense mass environment that gives rise to the museum boom in the USA, which, along with economical and technological progress, spreads over countries and continents. Intruding on the territory of museums, this aggressive environment decisively modifies the conservative system, categorically rejecting old-fashioned claims for elitism and selectivity.

The ideals of the modern museum are openness, a democratic character, and accessibility. The magic word “interactivity” determines not only exhibition principles, but also emphasizes partnership relations with the visitor, which are a crucial characteristic of the new museum era. Now the lodestar for museums is a friendly encouraging atmosphere, conditions for relaxation, elements of play, societies of museums’ friends, teams of volunteers, and comfortable surroundings that rule out any inhibitions.

In this optimistic progression, the quantity of museums increases by five per cent every ten years. Museums in France long ago overtook theaters in terms of the number of visitors and are approaching such a superior competitor as the cinema. In England, there are more spectators in museums than fans at football matches.

So, everything is fine, isn’t it? The museum not only survived in mass culture – it flourishes! Or do football fans, being the major part of the museum audience, naturally change the museum itself: its policy, personnel, atmosphere, and, in the end, its institutional goals?

There are incontrovertible socio-cultural positives of the “museum for everybody.” Museums are, of course, created for everybody, and their original, basic function is a social one: the organization in a public space of conditions helping overcome one’s biological isolation and get in touch with the treasures of culture and its values.

But this function, which is multiply intensified in the field of global culture, radically transforms the institution itself, orienting it first of all towards increasing the influx of visitors. More than half a century’s success in the realization of this “project” gave rise to the dominant myth about

the growth of museums' influence and exposure of a mass audience to culture, which in its turn changes the very idea of the purpose of museums.

To maximally satisfy the demands of a broad audience is in itself a positive intention. But can the visitor, rejecting the odious ancient hierarchy, become an ordering customer at the museum (especially in the face of the global decrease in the educational standard)? This tendency is strengthening, though the laws of cybernetics say that communication between systems of different levels of complexity is only possible in the language of the more primitive system. So, the inevitable consequence here is the simplification of the museum.

The evident democratic trend undermines the ontological foundations of the museum, with its delicate balance of the opposition of the individual and the social, of cultural memory and its current reflection. The social at the museum is not only of public, but also of general importance. The persistent elimination of barriers here poses a threat to the criteria of choice, and to the selection of values. The immediate result of such a positioning towards the consumer is the probable dissolution of the museum into the multiplicity of new democratic cultural and entertainment entities.

### **The Museum As Entelechia**

Mass culture in the system of global industry is a complex system of interacting objects. But the museum (just like Byron or Tolstoy) is not an object, but a subject of culture. It is unique, it is individual. In the world of creativity that preserves eidetic features there are no objects at all. Only subjects and relations between them. The functioning of the museum is not governed by physical and social laws that require all stones to fall towards the center of Earth, and requires museums to increase their visitor capacity, and citizens to take part in elections and visit a museum or a theater every three months.

But what is the museum, if it is not a required object of study in an educational course, or yet another tourist attraction, or a place for a swanky party at an exhibition of paintings by Sylvester Stallone?

Objective sources of museum experience are always called in encyclopedias *monuments and artifacts* (of culture and art, natural history, material and spiritual culture, etc.), and the museum – an institution of memory. At the museum, the past is recreated in a special way: it is settled, cleansed of impurities and distilled, sorted in such a way that its materialized and comprehensible form would naturally create the world of the ideal. Having no feeling of distance or detachment, and without the sanction of the strictest judge – time -- in the worldly competitive everyday routine, the ideal does not take hold. The life of the museum is on the other side of everyday reality.

The museum is turned to the past, and it is possible to turn to it, just like it is to turn to God, only when one is alone. In the spring of Mnemosyne, reminiscences emerge in a personalized form.

Let us imagine the result of the “museum’s impact” as a weighty element of individual experience, as a deep mark burned in the neural networks of the cortex.

At the museum, the past lasts, expands up to the present, lives in it, and speaks to it. The sought-after effect, justifying the maintenance of such an expensive decoration of life as the museum, is the nervous discharge by means of which a certain masterpiece or sign of cultural experience intrudes into the habitualness of the present, breaking through the insulating layer of the everyday routine.

But the electrization of the atmosphere of the “ideal” comes to an end, and dies out while the halls are being filled by crowds, by living and digital guides and “interactive” kiosks. And under the vaults of multiplying museums grounded in pragmatics (of masquerade wax figures, of oil and automobile companies, of creator-“actors” successful in the art market...) – in the absence of polarization, the potential is not expected and does not emerge.

The ontological goal of the museum is the actualization of the past, revealed through the entirety of a huge palace and park ensemble, or fitted into a small memorial apartment. The museum, like a sybil, is able to tell about both the past and the future, its doors open on a space in which one can see, like Aeneas, both the world of shadows and the future fall of Troy. But such a journey can hardly be a group one, like a trip to the countryside; one can set out on such a tour only by oneself. The value of the museum -- its ability to influence one’s soul and thoughts – is evaluated not by the number of heads, but only by the quality of souls.

Among the present limitless variety of museums, it is hardly possible to speak about the universal organization of space, or about unanimity of goals and principles of exhibiting. Here I am referring to the museum, where the object exhibited serves not to help one get acquainted with wonderful natural phenomena, technological achievements or historical events, but permits one to get in touch with special spiritual worlds. To feel through the landscape of Tahiti Gauguin’s emotions, or behind the physical materiality of Chekhov’s coat the sad smile of the wise writer, and through a set of old spinning wheels the worldview of old craftswomen. Such an artistic and memorial museum is intended to permit the spectator, by means of memorial signs of an inimitably personal lived experience, to find the inner connection with a priceless past, which is gone but not dead.

No doubt, “museums should be interesting, ... museums should be advertised,” and “we should think about the visitor,” but there is a whole class of museums that are fundamentally not democratic. In the temple, the sacrament is not revealed to the non-believer, and likewise art at an art museum is not revealed to a plebeian who is looking only for entertainment in his leisure time. And it is necessary to affirm this aristocratic nature of museums, and to insist on it.



Such a recognized institution as the museum has enough grounds not only to support the current humanitarian democratic course, but also to correct and shape it. The museum, without regard to fashion, is obliged to demonstrate authoritative ambitions, as the value of the experience of the ages is higher than the political environment or technological wonders.

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The museum is a shrine of human giftedness. If the soul is the entelechia of the body, *the museum is the entelechia of creative achievements*. Entelechia (according to Aristotle) is in many respects identical to energy. As long as the source of energy – a demand for learning and for beauty, is preserved, the museum, even hidden behind the jungles of advertising and information, will not disappear. It will survive both the present mass invasion, and electronic and digital attacks.

It will remain forever. At least until the (perhaps not so distant) time, when man will tire of his corporal abode...

## **Policy and Practice in Museum Growth in Bangladesh: An Overview**

### **Prologue**

From the Mouseion to Museum is a long journey. Yet, it was not the journey's end. Museum underwent constant conception and functional changes, assuming nearer dimensions and covering wider domains. But in many developing countries like Bangladesh, this growing practice has been going slowly and less-correctly applying unrealistic standards or improper guideline. Again, these factors have tremendously been stressed the growth of museums by low-earning economy, unawareness of mass people, untrained museum personnel, inadequate technical know-how, insufficient modern scientific and technical tools, etc. As a museum server, while getting the information or observing the facilities of a modern museum of any developed countries, we become astounded comparing ours how much more money have been invested for showing the museums aesthetic! How well-trained and educated the staffs are! How modern as well as costly instruments are being used to keep up the collection safe!

Instead of those limits, we are trying our best to make the museums going forward with our limited strength.

To evaluate the concept and development of museums in Bangladesh, it should obviously be pertinent to discuss in very briefly the historical background of Bangladesh from the late mediaeval period. Because of the very beginning of ancient time (3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. during *Mauriyan* period) to Independence of Bangladesh in 1971, the history of Indo-Pakistan-Bangladesh lies on an inseparable political tracks.

More than seven hundred years of invading and ruling of Turco-Afgans or Arabs, “the arrival of Westerners, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English in eastern waters inaugurated a new dimension in Indian history”<sup>281</sup>. The English had the additional advantage over the others in relation to their diplomatic excellence. Thus they occupied almost the entire area of the Indian sub-continent in 1757 (initially they occupied Bangla, Bihar and Orissa provinces). They ruled over the sub-continent 190 years, 100 years under the British East India Company and other 90 years under the direct control of the British Emperors. In 1947, the British colonial era came to an end forming two individual countries, India and Pakistan (West Pakistan and East Pakistan) on the basis of religious nationalisms. But the two-state country Pakistan could survive only 24 years and divided

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<sup>281</sup> A.B.M. Hussain: Bengal during the Medieval Period; *Art of the Ganges delta: Masterpieces from Bangladeshi Museums*, edited by Vincent Lefevre and Marie-Francoise Boussac, Guimet musee national des Arts Asiatques, Paris, France, 2008, p. 39.

into two sovereign countries - Pakistan and Bangladesh. East Pakistan was to become Bangladesh in 1971 after a bloody war of independence.

The pre-historic background of Bangladesh is obscure. The Neolithic inhabitants of Bangladesh were an Austro-Asiatic people belonging to the South-East Asian culture complex. Bangladesh is very prosperous with its huge archaeological evidences dating back to 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. There are more than 250 sites identified including ancient as well as mediaeval archaeological remains. It won't be exaggeration to say that two of them namely *Paharpur* and *Bagerhat* have been on the world heritage list drawn up by UNESCO (Another natural heritage '*Sundarvana*' is also on the list). Bangladesh boasts of some thirty museums out of more than 100 museums housing exceedingly impressive collections unearthed from those sites. The collection includes from the dynasty of *Mauriyan* (3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. to 182 B.C.); *Sunga* (c. 185 B.C. to 73 A.D.); *Kushan* (c. 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.); *Gupta* (3<sup>rd</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century A.D.); *Pala* (750 to 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D.); *Sena* (12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D.); *Turco-Afgans or Arabs* (1204 to 1757 A.D.); British (1747 to 1947 A.D.); Pakistan (1947 to 1971) and independent Bangladesh.

### **The Birth and Growth of Museums in Bangladesh**

“In ancient Indian literature, including the epic *Ramayana* (c. 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.), there are frequent mentions of *Chitrashalas* (Art Galleries). References to *Chitrashalas* are also found in the works of classical writers such as *Vyasa*, *Kalidasa* and *Bhavabhuti* in India. In *Vinayakapitaka* (c. 400 B.C.) we found mention of Hall of Paintings”<sup>282</sup>. “Lama Taranatha in his book on *Buddhism in India* mentioned that there was a school of artisans established in *Varendra* region (now in Bangladesh) in *Pala* and *Sena* dynasties”<sup>283</sup>.

In fact, the modern museum movement was started in Indian Sub-continent from the embryo of The Asiatic Society of Bengal, established in 1784 in Kolkata with the standing tribute of Sir William Jones, “who may be considered as the founding father of Indian's museum movement”<sup>284</sup> during the British colonial era. Even if, “the first museum collections, at least its beginning, in India dates back to as early as 1796 - only forty years after the inception of the British Museum in London and three years after France had thrown open the palace of the Louvre as the museum of the Republic - an act that thrilled the world”<sup>285</sup>. However, following the footprint of the Asiatic Society, the Indian Museum Kolkata was established in 1814, and afterwards, various types of museums were

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<sup>282</sup> Shankha Basu & Mahua Chakrabarty: *Museum: Norms and Terms - A Selective Approach*, Dey's Publishing, Kolkata, 1999, pp.19-20.

<sup>283</sup> Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya (ed.): *Taranath's History of Buddhism in India*, Simla, 1970 & W.L. Heely: Extracts from of Taranath's History in India, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. iv, 1875, p.348.

<sup>284</sup> H. Sarkar: History of Indian's Museum Movement; *Museums and Protection of Monuments and Antiquities in India*, Sundeep Prakashany, Delhi, 1981, p.24.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid*, p.27.

formed in different places in Indian sub-continent under the imperial support, feudal patronage, and local intellectual participation.

For the sake of convenience and better understanding the birth and growth of modern museums in Bangladesh, we should go through the discussion briefly in three phases.

**The first phase:** This phase includes the beginning period of museum movement from 1784 to the ending year of the British colonial rule in 1947. During that time, laudatory initiatives and supports were taken by the British Imperials, the Feudal Patronage, some learned Councils and Societies, and the local Elite Citizens in East Bengal (now in Bangladesh).

During the first phase, East Pakistan (Bangladesh) witnessed of total 7 museums from its inception to 1947; of them, Varendra Research Museum, established in 1910 in Rajshahi and Dhaka Museum, declared open in 1913 in Dhaka were under public control. The two other museums, Baldha Museum, founded in 1930 in Dhaka and Rammala Museum set up in 1940 in Cumilla were under private control<sup>286</sup>. Apart from these, '*Rangpur Sahitya Parisad Sangrahashala*', '*Dhaka Sahitya Parisad Sangrahashala*' (1921) and '*Sylhet Sahitya Parisad Sangrahashala*' had also been included to the list. Last three museums were formed under the decision of '*Vangiya Sahitya Parisad*' of Kolkata.

The growth of museums in Bangladesh in the first phase is considered as antagonistic; good as well as bad. The premier museum of the country, Varendra Research Museum was seriously threatened after one year of its establishment in 1910 when the Indian Museum demanded all rare collection. The catastrophe was averted through the sympathetic attitude of J.A. Monahan, Commissioner of Rajshahi division and the then Governor of Bengal Lord Carmichael. One of the problems faced the Dhaka Museum was its permanent settlement. Later on Baldha museum had been merged in Dhaka Museum and other three museums became defunct.

**The second phase:** The second phase consists of the end of colonial era in 1947 to the sovereignty of Bangladesh in 1971. Though the humble beginning of museums Bangladesh witnessed in the colonial period, however, during this period of 24 years "museums developed very slowly"<sup>287</sup> in Bangladesh (the then East Pakistan).

In between 1947-71, new 48 museums came into existence in Bangladesh; but this number does not mean the 'considerable growth' of museum. The statistics shows that out of 48 museums, 35 were formed by different universities, colleges or other institutions as departmental museums where common or mass people did not or could not enter frequently. Practically, these were set up

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<sup>286</sup> Enamul Haque: *Survey of Museums & Archaeological Education & Training in East Pakistan*, Bureau of Reconstruction, Govt. of East Pakistan, Dhaka, 1970, pp.8-9.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid*, p.11.

for meeting up the university's or college's own programs of museum according to their necessities of teaching and research.

During this time, the Archaeological Survey of Pakistan played a eulogistic role by setting up 6 museums including 3 archaeological site museums. Other 6 museums in this phase were opened by local authorities upon their extending of enthusiastic patronization.

**The third phase:** This phase begins from 1971. Since the emergence of Bangladesh not less than 50 new museums with different categories have come into being. The remarkable accomplishment in this phase is to establish Bangladesh Folk Art Museum, National Art Gallery, Liberation War Museum, etc. Topmost achievement in this period is to form 'Bangladesh National Museum' merging with Dhaka museum in 1983. Though the process of forming a National Museum in Dhaka was started during Pakistan period, however it was not come into existence due to the then Government's unwillingness and fund crisis as well. After the independence, the first Prime Minister, a great politician Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman came forward to extend his cooperation to make it true; but officially it was declared re-opened after his unexpected death in 1975. To establish the Bangladesh Folk Art Museum, this great leader took also a vital role.

#### **The Role of Individuals**

Even though, some of the leading and enlightened citizens of Bangladesh first felt the necessities and justifications of establishing museums in several times and came forward to survive them, but all the time, the then government representatives or bureaucrats have extended their hands of patronization for existing and promoting the institutions.

The role of individuals may be classified as: "1. the role of Lord Curzon, the then Governor of Bengal Presidency; 2. the role of the Archaeological Survey of India (later on Pakistan and then Bangladesh Directorate of Archaeology); 3. the role of Feudal Aristocracy; 4. the role of some learned Councils & Societies; 5. the role of Kolkata University; 6. the role of Elite Citizens of Bangladesh. The first two sections refer to the growth of museums under imperial support and the last three sections throw a light on the growth under local intellectual participation"<sup>288</sup>.

After establishment of some universities in Bangladesh, a mentionable number of Departmental Museums have set up or patronized. Apart from these, some institutions, some bureaucrats have played vital rules on museum's birth and growth. But unfortunately politicians or industrialists are frustratingly negligible in the scene.

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<sup>288</sup> Firoz Mahmud & Habibur Rahman: *The Museums in Bangladesh*, Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 1987, p.94.

## Challenges of Museums

One of the key challenges facing museums in developing countries today is money. This burning need is very much remarkable in Bangladesh. Owing to poor economic growth, museums or like this institution may not run smoothly only depending on the government fund or patronization in developing countries. The museums of Bangladesh have not been income-generating institutions as yet, and are considered as loss project. The respective Government cannot afford the demands to patronize museums due to undeveloped growth of economy. It is obviously beyond doubt that empowered political leaders are keen to meet up fundamental needs like foods, wears, dwellings, health, communications, etc. for the people. I do believe simultaneously politicians like parliamentary members, mayors or ministers may think about development of museums located in their own constituency.

“The museum scene in Bangladesh has been largely conditioned by the economic situation. The museums receive a low priority in terms of budgetary considerations... The Government is aware of the value of the museum as a repository of cultural property, as an image of national identity, and as an instrument for disseminating public education; but the Government has not been properly guided so far. As a result, the museums have not been planned and shaped on correct lines and concepts”<sup>289</sup>.

“The recurring expenses in the museums of East Pakistan (Bangladesh) are frustratingly inadequate. .... Taking the 1968-69 figures, the Government spent a total sum of BDT 18000.00 per annum as grants-in-aid and contingencies to two museums. The ratio would work out at BDT 0.00005 per head. To our knowledge this is the lowest per capita expenditure on museums in the world”<sup>290</sup>. Even though I delivered a very back dated data, but it is almost similar at present too. “..... the only exception being the Bangladesh National Museum”<sup>291</sup>. Practically Bangladesh National Museum and the capital city Dhaka-based museums enjoy the most of the opportunities like foreign or Government’s aid, foreign training or education, visit programs etc. for promoting and modernizing the museum facilities. Other than that are running creeping.

A glance at the history of Bangladesh’s museum movement makes it clear that although some of the early museums were established by the efforts of enlightened citizens or societies, later on it was left to the Government to open or run new museums. There are very few museums in Bangladesh which owe their existence to public individuals or autonomous institutions; even these directly or indirectly are supported by the government. This is a very unhealthy trend. The public

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<sup>289</sup> *Ibid*, p.556.

<sup>290</sup> Enamul Haque: *op.cit.*, p.61.

<sup>291</sup> Firoz Mahmud & Habibur Rahman: *op.cit.*, p.556.

inactivity in sustaining museums results in improper growth of its regular activities. The respective Government cannot afford the demands to run the museums as its requirements like developed countries. “Government aid, though bring finances for running the museums, are always attached with many ‘ifs’ and ‘nots’ which make it difficult to run the museums properly and delay the decision making”<sup>292</sup>.

Though a lion’s share of people in Bangladesh live under the poverty level, but some people possess a plenty of money. They are industrialists, politicians, business-magnets et al. But it is tremendously true that nobody come forward partaking financial support to improve our museums which are seen in many countries.

Bangladesh boasts of huge archaeological remains and more than 100 museums and some thousands of workforces are involved in these museums; however, there is no any institution for promotion of museum professionals. The existing universities could not open any course or study curriculum like museology, museography, museum studies, museum management, museum conservation, archive management, etc. Rajshahi University took an initiative to open a Diploma Course on Museology, but failed. This was also running behind the scarce of financial reason.

### **Political, Social and Ethical Practice**

Bangladesh has been invaded by the foreign aggressors several times from ancient age to 1971. They have always looted, stolen or destroyed the precious antiquities from this country. “Whenever the conquerors belonged to different religion they tried to impose their own religion and culture on the people of the occupied land. Stone architectural pieces are examples of religious zealotry where the figural motifs were chiseled out and floral motifs were created by destroying the original beauty. Stripped stone sculpture has been used also for writing inscriptions. Historical mosques, temples and churches were victimized by many invader rulers in the past as part of the religious conflict”<sup>293</sup>. According to art-historian, Bangladesh is very prosperous with its sculptural as well as figurative artifacts specially made at the time of *Pala* and *Sena* period (8<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century A.D.). In 1204, when the Turkeys occupied this land, afterwards the invaders scraped out the figurative art-works chiseling them and reformed them for their own purposes in new shapes. Usually scrapping slightly the obverse side of the figure, the reverse side has been used to create their own ideas. As a result, some art works disappeared forever. The figurative art, particularly human figure is forbidden from the point of Muslim religious belief. Sometime, these instances are kept unrevealed from viewers.

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<sup>292</sup> Smita J. Baxi and Vinod P. Dwivedi: *Modern Museum: Organization and Practice in India*, Abhinay Publications, New Delhi, 1973, 141.

<sup>293</sup> S.A.M. Monowar Jahan: Factors Affecting Preventive Conservation; Colloque Sur La, Conservation Restoration Des Biens Cultures, 3 Rue Michelet, *LA CONSERVATION PREVENTIVE*; Paris, 8-10 Oct. 1992, p.37.

People from all walks of life come with multifarious inclinations; communal interests, political and religious egos etc. to visit a museum. When they enter the museum, they may not have much idea what they are going to see. During or after the visit, sometime, some of them get stumble seeing unexpected exhibits.

‘Problematic exhibits’ of which are apparently ‘nude’ or ‘perverted’ are also irritating experiences to have been observed not only in Bangladesh, but also in other countries.

Not many but few museum objects depicting perverted copulation have been displayed in some museums in Bangladesh which raises an embarrassing situation to both the visitors and the museum persons. Here I can mention an example of which is in display in Varendra Research Museum. That is a pictorial stone inscription engraved in 1010 A.D. during the reign of Mahipala the 1<sup>st</sup>. It shows an ass is copulating with a sow and a camel is in standing behind them. In the upper part of the slab consists inscription text. Seemingly it is a perversion inter-course. But in practical, the context of the inscription has been depicted in pictorial form. This type of deeds, manuscripts or inscriptions was composed in such ways during the ancient and mediaeval period. Having interpreted or not, a family group or a group of visitors avoid it to look at in attention. Like these “..... examples revealing nudity are likely to provoke a perversion in certain individuals or groups who are not well educated about the original intensions of the creators.....”<sup>294</sup>. In that case, museum guide should explain the actual theme of the art-works. But it does not happen all the time for the lack of sufficient knowledge of the guide.

However, sculptors have engraved male and female figures illustrating cloths; but these apparently look dressless. Moreover, ‘nudity’ or ‘perversion’ are actually to be appeared in museums. Many of the sculptures in the museums or art galleries have in exhibition that a seated male is in hugging form with a seated female on his thigh erecting his sex organ and his one hand is in touch to female’s one breast. In our socio-cultural and religious value, this type of art works sometime creates an embarrassing and irritating situation especially to the family group visitors and school going children. From the point of religious ego, some pious Muslims not only avoid those objects but also hate to look at. This happens to them only due to lack of aesthetic art-sense of the objects. For the sake of value of social orthodox, however; it is very interesting that some member of a group looks the figure with furtive glances.

For the sake of socio-political and religious ego, some important as well as art-valued objects sometime go beyond the range of view from common visitors. Some years back I observed in a renowned museum a series of figurine sculptures had been kept unrevealed from viewers covering

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<sup>294</sup> Dr. V.H. Bedekar: Problematic Exhibits; *Studies in Museology*, Vol. XXXIX & XL, ed. Dr. N.R. Shah, Dept. of Museology, University of Baroda, India, 2006, 2007, p.2



them with card board for meeting up the demand of some so-called learned people. These sculptures had been reprocessed using the reverse sides for making a *Mihrab*<sup>295</sup>, a Muslim antique. However, the both sides of the *Mihrab* are now opened. Keeping of disputed objects in hidden place is occurred in other countries. "... the museum (Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, India) has part of collection, which is not shown to the lay public. It consisted of very exciting series of objects of erotic interest apparently acquired by those who chose what they though fancied the past masters or patrons. That extra-ordinarily erotic collection was normally hidden from the public. .... There is a panorama of figurative art objects in which undraped representation of human bodies are the reasons for their acquisition and presentation in public galleries"<sup>296</sup>. He has also mentioned the similar experience he gathered in several museums or monuments in India.

Sometimes, communal fracas or political jealousy may cause damage, lose or hide the museum objects. "The antiquities of Dhaka Sahitya Parishad Museum were neglected during the communal disturbances of 1946-50 and could not be located afterwards"<sup>297</sup>. Two years back a pagoda and its valuable Bauddha images affected and destroyed by some disruptive people who were later suspected as political cadre<sup>298</sup>.

### **Administrative Scenario**

Museum workforce consists of multi-disciplinary expertise. The number of staffs and their skills especially depends on nature of museum, size and volume of collections, etc. Yet, it may broadly be defined as Curatorial Staff (Curator, Director, Director General etc.); Technical Staff (Conservator, Photographer, Electrician etc.); Educational Staff (Education Officer, Demonstrator, Library Staffs etc.); Office Staff (Registrar, Accountant, Composer etc.); Security Staff (Guards, watchman etc.). However, museum staffs supposed to have multi-disciplinary skills. As for instance, the staffs of an archaeological museum should have extensive knowledge on art-history, archaeology, entomology, display methodology, conservation technology, etc.

"Of all the factors that can make or mar the usefulness or the success of any museum is the curatorial staff. The curator is the main pivot in a museum; he is the fountain head of power for betterment of the museum and his sub-ordinate members of the staff are his agents whom he trains, directs and supervises, and so, they are also equally responsible for the well-being of the museum and its smooth running"<sup>299</sup>.

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<sup>295</sup> *Mihrab* is a semicircular niche in the wall of a mosque that indicates the '*Qibla*'; that is, the direction of the Ka'aba in Macca and hence the direction that Muslims should face when praying. In which place the *Mihrab* appears, the leader of the prayers stays there.

<sup>296</sup> Dr. V.H. Bedekar: *op.cit.*, p.20.

<sup>297</sup> Enamul Haque: *op.cit.*, p.10.

<sup>298</sup> eProthom Alo (a Daily Newspaper), 01-03 Oct. 2012 issues.

<sup>299</sup> Dr. D.K. Ray: *Museum and Defence Studies in India*, Naya Prakash, Bidhan Sarani, Kolkata, 1982, p.95.

Almost all the museums in Bangladesh are run either directly by the Government or indirectly through a Board or Trustee. But it is pitiful that the President or the Chairman and some member(s) of the Board or Trustee are selected as ex-officio which sometime does not match with the museum profession and these provisions happen frequently when the successive Governments remain changed. "...On the academic side there is a common feature in all the museums that they have the staff with a degree in History, Islamic History etc. There is, however, no such common denominator, for the administrative staff even when it is accepted that the administration of a museum poses problems which are totally different from those of the other similar institutions"<sup>300</sup>. In some museums the staffs which are engaged for the conservation works, are without any training whatsoever. It is supposed that any person obtaining Masters or Graduation degree in Chemistry or like this can do the works of conservation; it is not realized that the conservation is a specialized science, and allowing an untrained or inexperienced person to treat the art objects could be very dangerous. So that, to understand the working of a museum one must accept that the museum differs from other institutions.

After partition in 1947, the appointment of museum's 'Chiefs' is very disappointing. After death of first Curator (1914-1947), the Dhaka Museum was without a Curator for 4 years. "Then from 1951 to 1962 it was put under a part-time Honorary Curator, one after another, all of whom were teachers of the Dhaka University. In 1962 a full time Assistant Curator was appointed who was promoted to be the Curator in 1965"<sup>301</sup>. Till 1993 this post was filled in by professional museum workforce. In the mean time the title was subsequently re-designated as Director, and then Director General (in 1983 after declaration the museum as Bangladesh National Museum). It will not be exaggeration to say that no professionals have been appointed for more than two decades. No doubt bureaucrats or politicians influenced by the respective Government have been recruited for a periodic basis. Same or similar authoritative enthusiasm may be observed in other familiar museums like Bangladesh Folk Art Museum, Directorate of Archaeology, Varendra Research Museum and so on. It is an unhealthy trend for promoting the museum professionalism. "The persons nominated by the Government come having the executive power for directing the museums and archaeology, practically, it is to be observed that the deputed persons hold skills in administration as routine work but do not have adequate museum knowledge. This is usual. Museums and archaeology is meant as different institutions. To execute a museum, one should have enough expertise and scholarships in history, heritage and culture. As a result, there frequently happens intricacy and erosion in museum

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<sup>300</sup> Jassal, H.S.: Museum Administration in India; *Museums and Museology: New Horizons*, edited: V.P. Dwivedi, Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1980, p.69.

<sup>301</sup> Enamul Haque: *op.cit.*, p.20.

administrations. It also occurs when an executive person can earn the fundamental knowledge on the museum; just right then, he is ordered as substituting to other place by his authorized authority. This type of intension is not auspicious at all<sup>302</sup>. As a result, building up of skilled museum personnel becomes hampered. Like this substitution of key-person of a museum usually occurred when the successive Government remains changed. Sometime a person who is obviously cultural activist is chosen for the museum's Chief. It seems to me that it is wrong interpretation; because of the cultural activist and museologist is different profession.

### **Conclusion**

The sphere of activities and also categories of museums are changing day by day around the globe. Bangladesh is not immune from it. But it is pity that museum's quantity has been raised; however, its qualities and facilities have not been increased as yet, as developed countries have done. A museum may be formed keeping in mind with various aims and objectives; however, attainments to the visitors seem to be a vital one. These include 'intellectual satisfaction, extension of knowledge, stimulation of emotional feelings, growth of ethical values, gathering of experiences, recreational pleasures, social obligations and even stimulating of physical satisfaction.

The fact is that we could not afford them satisfactorily. If we think to go behind the developed country's museum, we must have to think our needs, problems and precautions.

Museum's antiquities should not be treated as a victim of religious or political jealousy or conflict. The concerned political leaders or government need to realize the importance of museum as it is an institution for reflecting national or regional identity, and should come forward to its protection and improvement. Otherwise, museum will remain undeveloped as it is now. With the extinction of a museum, the globe may lose a lot of valuable information. Because, I am to say that museum antiquities, especially archaeological relics do not represent not only of confined boundary, but also these may make a linkage among the global civilizations.

I think stabilization of anything is more difficult than that of achievement. Obviously we have an impressive collection of cultural heritage and we could establish sufficient museums to preserve them. However, we could not go through to present and preserve them accordingly and properly due to insufficient financial support, unawareness of mass people as well as so-called learned people, untrained and uneducated museum personnel, inadequate technical expertise, insufficient modern scientific and technical tools, etc. So, to overcome those limitations, we should take necessary steps; at the same time, international supporting agents like ICOM, ICCROM, etc. should come forward to make plans for proper museum management. Moneyed-country can also extend their co-operations.

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<sup>302</sup> Anowarul Haque: *Bangladesher Preksapate Jadugharer Suchana Kramavikasha o Prasangik Bhavna; Aitiya (The Heritage)*; ed. Sayad Amirul Islam, 3-4 issue, 1997-98, p.21.

## **The museum: a social transformer.**

### **Abstract**

Museums were born in the late 18th century, the Enlightenment, the great archaeological discoveries of the first gatherings of art whose purpose was to prevent their dispersion. While fulfilling its regulatory obligations are: the preservation and safeguarding of tangible and intangible heritage, museums have undergone radical changes in recent years. Thus, contemporary museums have become more creative and a public place. Some even want more and more specialized as children's museums or botanical museums performing various functions in the process of building the company.

Currently, in the world, museums are opened to a wider audience and offer in exchange a variety of services and also in different languages. Training center par excellence, museums are structures of knowledge dissemination. Scientific area whose understanding causes mobilization disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, archeology, history and economics. They thereby contribute to the social formation of individuals and communities, essential vehicle for the beginnings of a sustainable development. As an illustration, we quote the program "Museum for Development" implemented by the EPA<sup>303</sup>. Also, new ways of management and operation of museums contribute to anchoring the concept of heritage in community level particular youth. This is a social transformer whose policies could also be used to achieve their goals.

In addition, the museum activity reinforces a mindset of belonging to local community level and therefore raises their participation because the heritage that abounds museum evokes facts that challenge them. The transforming of the museum also notes through income-generating activities that develop the territories housing museums and therefore strengthen the local economy and allow families to easily meet their needs. The example of the city of Porto- Novo is a museum city is evidence of development of tourism.

Museums transform not only men but also everything that surrounds them. The image of the city, its management or its structure is sometimes based on its potential museum. As examples we discuss the ‘‘Adjarra Museum’’ (Benin), the music museum of Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso), the ‘‘Fouta Djallon museum of Labe’’ (Guinea) or the heritage box of ‘‘Bandjoun’’ (Cameroon).

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<sup>303</sup> EPA : Ecole du Patrimoine Africain/African Heritage School.

Our study would be to first understand the perception that people have of the concept of museum collecting the popular and scientific evidence. Then we will explore the root causes of the renaissance of the museums. Finally, we show how the museum is more social transformer.

### **Introduction**

Building a nation or a definite geographical space depends on several factors, including its potential in museums. Those of modern world have become more inventive and have upset world order. Thus, museums are perceived as instruments of development because they could guide today not only policies and strategies for land development but above all contribute to human personality's formation. They become transformers and requirements appear in the implementation of teachings programs of our country.

Our study will aim to educate ourselves about scientific or popular perceptions than men to have museums. Then, we will detect real causes which explain changes that have known museums today. Finally, it behooves us to show how museum is a social transformer.

### **I-Museums: Scientists perceptions community realities**

#### **1-Some scientists perceptions**

In the document entitled: Cultural Heritage in Higher Education in West Africa: state of the art in Benin and Burkina Faso, museum is a permanent institution, nonprofit, serving society and its development, and open to the public and the researches, communicates and exhibits of man and his environment, acquires those; conserves, communicates and exhibits, for purposes of study, education and enjoyment (Code of Ethics for museum professionals ...).

#### **2- What communities think about museums.**

Ordinary, people do not capture properly meaning and scope of the concept of the museum. For some, museum is a place where visitors come to see exhibits.

In short, museum is seen as a gathering space or summarizing the past, present and future of people, a community or country. It consists of objects or work reflecting historical realities; endogenous and cultural communities.

Museum is a polysemous concept that is why museums are also quite rich in nature and diversified; inventive or creative objects. They contribute differently to the construction of a better world. Museum would be seen as a combination of everything which allows us to understand universe and its components.

### **II- Root causes of the Renaissance museums**

Several reasons underlie this change which we note at museum today. However, we will place them through following causes:

For a long time, museums have remained passive. These are people (tourists, researchers, etc.) who went to museums. We tend to compare this time to a period of welfare where museums seem to lack nothing. Museum's stakeholders have not thought for a moment that things could change. Nowadays, museums actors implore men to visit them. The example of the project I run on "My School, my Museum" at Adjarra's Museum implemented through the National Programme Development Department (MSD) of the School of African Heritage (EPA) is a palpable proof.



Figure 1: The Museum Adjarra

Source: Roch kiki, in August 2013.



Figure 2: Poster advertising in the course of Adjarra Museum

The most important factor of museums revolution particularly in african context is the illiteracy of the population. Although, this is their own cultures which are expanded in these museums, communities do not show great interest because not understanding anything. The

museums are forced to adapt to these communities logic hence development of new strategies. The current dynamics requires some museums adaptation where obligation to create them; innovate or otherwise invent the world.

The non-uniformity of the museums would make them specialize in specific areas. This professionalization becomes a vital need for museums and therefore justifies change they know today.



Figure 3: A show at the mask Zangbeto<sup>304</sup> Adjarra museum<sup>305</sup>

Source: Roch kiki, in August 2013.

Today, few people manifest enthusiasm to visit exhibits in museums. Some believe that with the unprecedented development of digital applications it is not worth walking around museums. Thus, the Internet offers a range of quite varied and rich information on museums and culture or cultures of the world in which museums are partly custodians. Men without moving satisfy their needs. This creates enormous lack in museums including financial problem will only increase. This deficit requires therefore some museums to consider other alternatives to survive. So, one of the reasons for the revival of museums in the world and especially in Africa.

The TICs although highly desirable tool fail and create some difficulties. Certainly, they firstly contribute to ensure the visibility of museums but on the other hand, they block its progress.

Furthermore, it is noted that staff working in museums is not always qualified. Service quality default sometimes reduces the number of visits. But, everyone knows that the survival of museums depends on payments they get on visits. It is also important that Governments guarantee the promotion of museums and develop more and more political will. Governments give very little support for museums operations today especially in Africa. In Benin, for example, public and private museums receive almost insignificant subsidy from Government. It does not exist as a policy which would encourage or oblige private to limit grants to museums or at least contribute to implementation of certain initiatives leading museums. In such a critical situation where their

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<sup>304</sup> Zangbeto the mask is a typical south Benin. This is the night watchman. It is a secret society.

<sup>305</sup> Adjarra Museum: Museum once Adjarra masks.

charges are only increasing, museums managers create other input of funds in order to resolve institution's current expenses.

All these above mentioned risks create new dynamics in museums and make them social transformers.

### **III- Museum, a social transformer**

Museums are transforming not only men but also everything around them. The image of the city; its development or its structure are sometimes based on its potential. The transformative potential of museums we deal with in this paper will be noticed through new allocations museums managers give them in Benin or somewhere else. To be pragmatic, we will demonstrate by experiences which take place in our community's museums actually that museum is a potential social transformer.

#### **Botanical Garden and Nature (JPN) and its policy of environmental management**

The parks are in Benin and in the world, spaces which contribute to good environmental management and resources whose constituted them. They contribute to the environmental education of populations including young people, guarantee sustainable development of nations. Benin, particularly in the South Benin, "Botanical Gardens and Nature", one of four museums in Porto-Novo is recognized as a specialized area which provides for the implementation of the right conditions for environmental education. So, it is a center where students are taught in primary and secondary current good practice to protect the environment. The museum becomes a social transformer. Moreover, it is an instrument for poverty reduction.

There are developed in this center partnerships with colleges where teachers in Life and Earth Sciences are seated on animal and plant species in the garden to get their teachings. Educational programs which are based "Approach By Competence" aim to introduce the learner's learning situation even knowledge, knowledge. The learner is placed in a situation Supplies (a botanical museum), it constitutes an ideal framework for the operation of this teaching. So, it allows students to follow and understand course because based on palpable and living subjects such as animal and plant species in the garden. This way of teaching allows students to keep well know.







**Figure 4: A colony of monkeys (animals) in the Botanical Gardens and Nature (JPN) in Porto-Novo, Benin Source: Roch kiki, August 2014.**

Thus, new leaders, environmentalists are brewing in Benin. So, this museum is a transformer contributing to this ideal of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

It's also a best place for excursion for children and foreign tourists, this garden contains enough natural remains. It is developed in children and teenagers a spirit of tolerance not only to humans but also to plant species and especially animal which is composed nature.



**Figure 5: Plant species from the Botanical Gardens and Nature (JPN) in Porto-Novo, Benin, Source: Roch kiki, August 2014.**

#### **Museum of Adjarra**

Adjarra's Museum is a museum of masks from West and Central Africa. They deal with glories and virtues of secret societies in these regions of Africa. In his new vision, Adjarra's museum organizes decoration activities; paint or initiation to drawings for the benefit of school children in county. This is done in partnership with teachers in charge of these children. The museum allows children to develop in these skills or geniuses in them. It also helps their education because it was opportunities for exchange and sharing of knowledge.



**Figure 6: The students at Adjarra museum pending the preparation of an educational workshop Source: Roch kiki, May 2014.**

This experience has become so interesting and fun than riding, Adjarra structure in charge of the management of public and private primary schools makes it a priority. Each year, it organizes carefully the passage of schools in Adjarra museum for new school extra skills. This new knowledge which children acquire, contribute certainly to the formation of new types.



**Figure 7: The mask of Adjarra museum Source: Roch kiki, May 2014.**



**Figure 8: Images of masks Adjarra museum**

**Source: Roch kiki, May 2014.**



**Figure 9: Educational workshop at the museum Adjarra**

**Source: Roch kiki, May 2014.**

Always to contribute to the civic education of communities, Adjarra museum organizes every major holiday open houses to educate riparian communities on the importance of cultural heritage in the local development process. These actions need to impact the community because the instant communities become more aware and feel responsible in the process of heritage property of their land. Like other museums, Adjarra's museum is an instrument of social revolution.



**Figure 9: Educational workshop at the museum Adjarra**

**Source: Roch kiki, May 2014.**



**Figure 10: Advertisement of the week: Open House at the Museum of Adjarra**

**Source: Roch kiki, in August 2013.**

### **Museum of Parakou**

Experience teaching kits are a revolution in life of museums in Africa generally and in Benin particularly. This demonstrates that contemporary museums truly experiencing change and are mainly tools which transform human creature. Museum is an undeniable social transformer today.

In other areas, museums contribute to the revolution. They are involved either directly or so interposed on certain social phenomena. They influence events rhythm. Thus, museums in their relationship with the public shape man. They contribute to the formation of a new kind of man which can contribute to building a better world. So we have:

#### **Educationally**

Including students or children catch notions on heritage issues of the world and their immediate environment. Heritage culture is developed in them since early age. They are predisposed to become aware of the importance of the heritage property in the process of construction or

development of their land citizens. For example in Porto-Novo, there is a private agency which develops a cooperative approach between schools; museums and local structures of Porto-Novo.

Museums in the current context of decentralization and especially in terms of education enable a successful implementation “Approach For Competence” by hosting school and teachers. This is the case of Adjarra museum where children are introduced to reproduction; painting; decoration cultural objects whose meaning and function are told to them. Opening courses to the drawings which are given them developed essential skills in them for understanding phenomena or social facts. The museum is a social transformer.

### **Economically**

Cultural spaces promote development of small economic activities or small businesses. They offer mostly to small business opportunities to achieve sales of their products. There is therefore almost all museums in Benin, artisans who produce objects related to culture and history of the land whose museum is carried.

Abomey museum, World Heritage: there are artisans who reproduce work like coats of arms; symbols of kingship Danhomey. The museum allows artisans and residents to make income-generating activities. So, it increases their purchasing power and allows them to operate in effect later choices. Thus, museum became an operational tool for communities. Similarly, it is conducted in the vicinity of all museums in Benin secondary activities which are not listed anywhere. Museums through these activities operate significant changes in the lives of communities. They provide such empowering individuals.



**Figure 11: Chart crest, symbol of the Abomey Museum**

**Source: Roch kiki, August 2014.**

### **Culturally**

Museums are places of protection; conservation and enhancement of heritage. In some museums including community museums Mali, he runs training programs or sessions communication for behavior change (3C) to communities so that the younger generation can be built.

Modibo Bagayogo in "Contribution to the development of a reference manual for the collection, preservation and enhancement of regional and community museums Mali: the case of Sikasso Regional Museum" in May 2011 was the case of specialization museums Mali source of diversification and wealth. It also showed for example that the conservation and enhancement of cultural objects of agriculture is linked to the history of the communities or peoples but also the sociological benefits local emphasized.

### **Emotionally and psychologically**

Museums are a source of enlightenment for children. It awakens their skills and shape their intelligence. It is also a place of socialization which links visitors to a culture; modes of behavior. Any museum informs; educates; awareness and awareness on and relative to something. He remains in museums vectors transformation of society. For example the music museum of Ouagadougou, exercises or learning music with children from popular mass meetings is practiced. In addition, the museum because of its activity is a source of integration and union.

### **Museum and territory**

Museum allows you to have another look at the land which houses are. It defines the development of this land policy.

It must show that the presence of a museum in a territory provides some visibility to this geographical area. In Cameroon, the example of the heritage box Bandjoun is undeniable proof.

### **Conclusion**

Museum has become nowadays a very important space especially in the process of building and land development or even nations. It is a factor of social transformation. Politics have to contribute to the emergence and the empowerment of museums to assure local communities a better self-fulfillment. The example of the cultural banks of Mali constitutes an experience to be generalized in Africa.

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## Section 3.

### **Museums and “Hard” history**

## **Exposition renovation of Vladimir Lenin and Maxim Gorky Museums in Kazan: is it the comeback of former idols?**

Today Tatarstan is one of the biggest museum centers of Russia. Here one can find more than 1,000 museums of different varieties. New museums are now constructed; a reconstruction of the old museum is going on. Kazan Kremlin, Sviyazhsk island and Yelabuga have become the leading tourist centers where museum complexes occupied a central position. It was August 20 when the Bolghar historical and archaeological complex entered into the UNESCO World Heritage List. This acknowledgement by the international community is a very important step in the preservation of the great monuments of the Middle Ages.

I represent National Museum which is the largest museum of Tatarstan Republic. Its rich collection comprehensively covers all local studies. The museum was opened in 1895 and has become an important methodological center for all Tatarstan museums. However, some buildings of the central museum and its branches need to be reconstructed. In 2011, we had an opportunity to revive its two branches: Memorial House of Vladimir Lenin and Literature Museum of writer Maxim Gorky. Administration of the republic during the global economic crisis has allocated funds for the renovation and restoration of buildings, creating new exhibitions. It was a long-awaited event, but when you consider the names of those whom we once again return to the cultural space, you can understand that the authors got many methodic questions. We formed two creative teams for the preparation of the scientific documentation for new exhibitions. In my report, I will analyze the conclusion that we came to during our work on the projects.

Vladimir Lenin and Maxim Gorky – different historical figures. Vladimir Lenin is the leader of the world proletariat. Maxim Gorky is the proletarian writer. However, they have much in common. Both are Soviet times idols: they were loved; their lifetimes seemed to be thoroughly studied.

Kazan united both names, they both came here with a dream to study at the Kazan Imperial University. It happened so that they even lived here almost at the same time. And each of them went to his great way of life from Kazan:

- Vladimir Ulyanov lived in Kazan in 1887-1888, studied three months at the university, joined the revolutionary road and led the country and the world to the great social upheaval.



- Maxim Gorky (then Alexey Peshkov) had a dream to study at the university, but in Kazan in 1884 and 1888 he met a very different, life "universities", which opened the way for him in writing.

They were united by the era as well, the era which for different reasons gave each of them the definition "proletarian", and the canonization of their lives in the Soviet era, and the result of which was the creation of the museums.

In Kazan, Lenin and Gorky museums appeared in the 1930s, both were popular and frequently visited, the country's leadership during the years of Soviet rule actively supported them. During the perestroika (political movement for reformation within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union during the 1980s) the buildings of the Museums fell into disrepair, both exhibitions were behind the times, the attendance rate of the Museums became low. The great people's images were marred by numerous speculation and blatant distortions. The existence of museums was under threat; there was no support for museums' supplies.

But they took their place in the cultural sphere, they formed valuable historical heritage in their collections and exhibitions, documentary evidence of the epoch. And the idols still arouse interest. Therefore, each of the museums began to seek its way to revival.

Despite of some overlap in the fate of the characters, they are still completely different personalities and so are their museums.

Memorial House of Vladimir Lenin in Kazan, opened in 1937 in the house of Orlova, where M.A. Ulyanova rented several small rooms by his son's return from Kokushkino exile. Vladimir Ulyanov lived here from September 4, 1888 till May 3, 1889. During Soviet times the museum became culture object, commemorating one of the world's major political leaders of the 20th century during the period of his youth.

In the post-perestroika period activities and the role of Vladimir Lenin was heavily criticized. The museum building fell into disrepair. There was no hope for the revival of the museum.

In the post-Soviet period of Russian history the validity of commemoration of V. Lenin personality questioned by a number of scholars, political scientists, and public figures. This point of view is natural, since the establishment of the existence of personal and biographical museum in most cases involves the "social canonization" of man, the oeuvre of the person (as it was in Soviet times Lenin museums), the perpetuation and actualization of the positive experience of life and activity. Museum forced to consider the fact that there is a danger of becoming a kind of a political megaphone for new Communists-Leninists.

Modern range of public perception of Vladimir Lenin and all associated historical context includes both solemn worship and total rejection, ambiguous, often sharply negative points of view.

At the level of state policy of culture and education, the attitude towards Vladimir Lenin has not been established so far. In other words, the place of V. Lenin in the modern concept of national history is not determined, the science-based understanding of his significance was not developed.

A special challenge in terms of creating the exhibition in this museum is a virtual lack of memorial belongings of Vladimir Lenin.

A positive factor in the development of the museum is its attractiveness to foreign tourists as Vladimir Lenin is one of the "brands" of Kazan and Tatarstan, known in the European and global information and cultural space.

Literature Memorial Museum of Maxim Gorky was opened in March 12, 1940 in the former home of M. Belyayev, where in 1886-1887 A.M. Peshkov (Maxim Gorky) worked in a bakery of A.S. Derenkov (in 1928, M. Gorky mentioned the house). The uniqueness of the museum lies in the fact that it stores and represents the literary heritage of some Tatar writers, whose fate was linked with Gorky. The museum was rebuilt before the perestroika: the building was extended; a new modern exhibition was constructed. But in the post-perestroika period Maxim Gorky ceased to be the idol of millions, while remaining the favorite writer of a whole generation of admirers of his talent.

Gorky became the epicenter of the rapidly changing century and, like other artists survived faults and historical upheaval, the test of spirit and faith stamina, frustration and disillusionment. And today, with a huge distance that equals to more than a century, Gorky is represented from different angle, again bringing us back to the epoch-making issues – society and the individual, society and the writer, the revolution and culture, art and power, politics and morality, the West and the East, which occupied the minds of the writer's contemporaries, and were inherited by subsequent generations. Therefore, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century Gorky is in the focus of public attention.

Gorky was not a righteous man in the life and politics, but he always remained honest in his oeuvre. He immortalized Kazan and its citizens in his works.

For many years, excessive politicization was observed in the study of the life and oeuvre of M. Gorky, facts of his biography were logically and "objectively" intended to show the formation of the revolutionary leader.

Future exposition should develop a theme of Gorky life and oeuvre, avoiding **biased politicization**, moving away from the stereotypical cliché of "proletarian writer", affecting the deeper layers of Gorky's oeuvre, personality, understanding the life of the writer in the context of modernity. Gorky is becoming more and more interesting.

The exposition renovation is carried out in the following conditions: change of the attitude towards idols in society; lack or insufficiency of authentic memorial items; the insufficiency of previous study of Kazan period of life biography. The Museums should be non-biased, supply the

collection with authentic items, make up new topics of research and interpretation, catalyze new research works concerning Kazan city.

In order to go forward the museums need to formulate their new mission, which would entail a change in the concept of the collection supply and exposition renovation.

In order to answer the question, why we need Lenin and Gorky museums now, we turn to the opinion of visitors from different regions of Russia and countries around the world, recorded in the guestbook of V. Lenin Memorial House in Kazan. They suggest that the museum attracted attention even being almost abandoned in the 1990s - 2000s.

The visitors' main ideas are:

- Vladimir Lenin is still interesting as a historical (political) world-wide leader;
- The museum represents the pages of history of the country, which cannot be forgotten, they need to be studied and understood;
- Memorial House has value as a part of the old city life, as a reflection of the culture of the family, and the middle class.

Thus, the social significance of the Memorial House of V. Lenin in Kazan is based on its cultural, historical, educational and philosophical potential.

Through the lens of the life and activity of V. Lenin, the processes and events of history of the end XIX – beginning XX centuries can be considered, it can help to comprehend the positive achievements, the tragic events and consequences.

It is the times of crisis, when society refers to the image of the rulers of past eras, whose acts are estimated positively or negatively, from the point of view of contemporary events, the mentality of the nation, the historical experience.

Personality of Vladimir Lenin is unique (considering different attitudes) - talented politician, revolutionary leader, statesman, who created the Soviet state and determined the way of the country development for almost a century. V. Lenin played a decisive role in the formation of our republic: in 1920, he signed a decree "About the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic."

On the other hand he is a man with a dramatic fate, complicated inner world, with "blank pages" in biography.

Neither the Soviet ideological approach to understanding the role of V. Lenin in history, with its myths and stereotypes, nor journalistic model of perestroika can give full clear and reasoned statement.

So now V. Lenin museum must be non-biased in reflection of the personality and his background. The museum also has an educational recourse associated with important issues of civil socialization.

Positive factor in the development of the museum is its attractiveness to foreign tourists, as Vladimir Lenin is one of the "brands" of Kazan and Tatarstan, known in the European and global information and cultural space.

Restoration and reconstruction of Literature Memorial museum of Maxim Gorky is necessary to preserve not only the cultural monument – a memorial bakery, but also for the preservation of historical cultural center of the city.

The museum is unique not only because of representation of cultural heritage associated with two symbols of Russian culture – Feodor Chaliapin and Maxim Gorky, and literary heritage of Tatar writers, but also because of the history of the museum itself, as one of the cultural centers of Kazan. Literary coterie worked here, which indeed became a school for young poets of Kazan. A book club works here. The project "Music in the Museum" appeared here. The museum has become a meeting place for adherents of nonconformist youth subculture, officially unrecognized artists, etc.

The basic **idea** of the exposition can be defined as "Writer-epoch-hero" – the lifetime of the M. Gorky (his achievement of personhood - "rise", as a writer, to the pinnacle of fame from the bottom, his creative life), and the fate of his characters - artistic images.

How to live and how people should live their "way", what is his/her place in society, how to make a difficult choice between good and evil, what is the purpose of human life? These philosophical questions are interest any one of us, and the great men, like Maxim Gorky, too. Getting acquainted with the life of Gorky, we see the "hero" from commonalty who became famous and successful, and who was a spiritual leader, a national patron, an example of an honest and selfless servant of his native country and his favorite occupation – literary work.

Therefore the mission of each museum has been defined.

The mission of Maxim Gorky Museum is the popularization of cultural, historical and creative heritage of Maxim Gorky and Feodor Chaliapin for the purpose of personality formation and its **socialization**.

The mission of Vladimir Lenin Museum is the activity which contributes to **socialization** of a person, to formation of historical and civil awareness of Museum visitors, to political tolerance and understanding the value of civil society.

As you can see, museums look for their place in the socio-cultural environment based on the today's situation. In addition, each of the museums independently of each other came to the needs of direct their efforts to the education of youth.

It is the times of crisis, when society refers to the image of the rulers of past eras, whose acts are estimated positively or negatively, from the point of view of contemporary events, the mentality of the nation, the historical experience. Therefore, the authors of new museum exhibitions came to almost identical wording while defining the museums mission.

According to many researchers' point of view, the political culture of Russia remained the one of leader type, where public sympathy and focus on a particular person are important. Statesmen and politicians continue to be a popular subject of public attention. Their private life causes much interest as well. In this situation, the museums can manifest example of humanistic and balanced approach to reflection and interpretation of complex historical phenomena, complex personality, "not making for oneself an idol." We should learn a lesson from the realities of the XX century, which showed the dead ends of intentional neglect or biased coverage of certain pages of history.

## **The sorrow of Belgium**

### **Ethnographic Museum collections and their colonial past**

Perhaps this title requires some explanation. It is the title of a book written by Hugo Claus, a famous Flemish writer. Its subject is the history of a Flemish family and their collaboration with the Germans during the occupation of Belgium in the Second World War. The book appeared in 1983 and describes the family history of the author. The history of collaboration is still a taboo. The same shame is to be found in association with the history of colonialism in Belgium.(1) It requires courage and patience to cope with a history which is not digested.(2)

The management of Belgian ethnographic museums is commonly pretty susceptible to its colonial connotation, and there is a desire to get rid of it, as it confronts with an unpleasant period in the own history of the country. There are some ways to escape the connotation. Neglecting it would be the easiest one, but another way to take the sting out is putting ethnographic collections together with collections of other kinds in order to present objects in a more fashionable context. After all, today we have another view on culture and society. But do such solutions really help to get rid of that colonial mind set? Again, do they not just revise history, merely knocking a few rough edges off the past? And more importantly, if these options do not work, are there other possibilities?

Let me introduce you to three Belgian museum collections: those of Ghent, Antwerp and Tervuren, near Brussels. They have one person in common; Prof. Frans Olbrechts, an ethnographer whose Belgian career started in Ghent, where he taught Ethnology at the university from 1932 onwards. His brand-new idea was to include non-western art in the same circuit as western art. He introduced the combination of studying stylistic qualities and context long before other art historians became interested in this approach. He is therefore considered as a precursor or even a founding father of world art studies. Pressured by colonial politics, he eventually he had to take up a position as director of the Royal Museum of Central Africa. This process makes clear why his master Franz Boas refused to do any museum work in order to remain academically neutral. The colonial history still makes itself felt at these three museums.

When professor Olbrechts started the 'Primitive and Non-European Art Section' in 1946 at Ghent University (3), he also needed a specialized library and a kind of 'laboratory' of art objects of non-western cultures, so that students could handle these objects. He therefore assembled the first

objects in 1935. From that time on Olbrechts started to collect gifts and also bought or acquired objects through exchange for his 'Ethnology Museum' (Vandenhouste 1968:42,45).

The department of 'Primitive Art' was the first in Europe (and probably the second in the world) that focussed on non-western art. Olbrechts had set up this new section within the Art Historic Institute. He made an attempt to reconstruct an art history of non-western art by studying style elements, as he wanted to enrich the western idea of art by including the art-production of the rest of the world as well. By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, African and Oceanic objects had been adopted by western artists as a source of inspiration. In this way the African and Oceanic objects that influenced Picasso, the fauvists, the artists of the Brücke and Blaue Reiter, widened the concept of what art is (Goldwater 1986: xvi-ii). Olbrechts supported the optimistic idea that all art is on an equal footing and has to be treated in the same way. However, these African and Oceanic objects were not held in the same esteem as western art, as Olbrechts had thought in the '30s. (4) The dichotomy between 'the West' and 'the Rest' always affects the valuation of the objects.

First of all, let's come back to the academic education of so-called 'ethnic art'. When Ghent University scrapped the department of 'Ethnic Art' in 2008, it was argued that this was due to the colonial roots of the education. Was the true reason for the closing of the department the fact that the studied objects were collected in colonial times? Naturally the colonial connotation is perceived as old fashioned. In the newspapers this was used as a clinching argument for the broad public because Belgium's colonial past is still a kind of taboo. However, ethnographic museums everywhere still keep these kinds of collections and make exhibitions with them. If the closing of the department was just meant to economize, why should one feign shame? Why use it as an explanation for retrenchments? The students were trained to become art historians, not to become colonial civil servants or traders. If the motive to close down the department had to be politically correct, a colonial mind set obviously did not fit. Moreover, the change of the approach to world art studies was already prepared as the globalization of the world demanded such a change. Naturally it is more comfortable to refer indignantly to a colonial past, than to find ethical arguments in the present.

However, the ethnographic objects collected within a colonial era under an early 20<sup>th</sup> century academic fascination for foreign cultures, remained on display and were not put in storage as a make-shift solution. Thanks to former students who presented them during events like the Ghent Festival, the collections became known to the public. Moreover, the Interuniversity Platform of Academic Heritage made an inventory which proved Ghent University's wealth in heritage. (5) The platform stresses the urge of visibility of this kind of heritage for a broader public to point at their historic and cultural meaning (Geert Vanpaemel et.al. 2014:46). As a result the University wants to

bring them together in a new museum. The goal is to strengthen the scientific identity of the University.

Yet, the ethnographic objects collected by Prof. Olbrechts are – because of the makers of the objects – shared heritage. This fact is often regarded as too specific to be taken into account. However, the contextualization of ethnographic objects, as well as the contextualization of the history of the academic study of them, throws light on aspects of the western culture and mentality, the historical process of looking at objects, which often also tell us more about North-South relations and/or West-East relations (Geert Vanpaemel et.al. 2014:41). But of course it is artful to create a new context for non-western art objects by putting ethnographic collections together with collections of other kinds, to avoid old colonial memories are stirred up.

This applies to the MAS, the Museum along the Stream. The former Ethnographic Museum of Antwerp had to close in 2009 to become part of the MAS. Its history is intertwined with the Ethnographic Collections of Ghent University; both had Olbrechts as ‘intellectual father’. This scholar, brimming with ideas, was a revolutionary in many ways. In Antwerp Olbrechts organized an exhibition ‘Congolese Art’ in 1937/1938. He brought together series of typologically related Congolese sculptures and developed a division in stylistic areas. It was the first concrete application of his innovative ‘Belgian Method’ of studying both form and context of African art. The exhibition laid the foundation of his book ‘Plastiek van Kongo’ in which he attempted to reconstruct changes in art productions. In 1938/39 he was also the first to organize a public-private sponsored collection expedition, in a cooperation of Ghent University with the Vleeshuis Museum, the precursor of the Ethnographic Museum of Antwerp. It was also the first expedition in which collected objects were scholarly documented in situ. Pieter Jan Vandenhoute and Albert Maesen, two of his former students went to the Ivory Coast. They noted – when possible – the name of the artist and information about the use of the objects (Petridis 2001:33-5).

The new museum, MAS, combines stories about the city, the stream, the harbor and the world, as the city wants to stress its position as an international port. The MAS interweaves objects of the history of the city, of the former shipping museum, folklore museum and ethnographic museum. The merger of these museums fits in with their adoption of corporate culture. The chosen location for the museum was argued in support of modern conceptions of the town-planning, to create new dynamics in an underdeveloped part of the city. City promoting is the main goal. As museums produce public values, the MAS museum has to become an institution that forms the identity of the city, with a reasonable political impact. These ethnographic collections now represent ‘Antwerp and the world’, and therefore its story has to relate with the inhabitants or trading relations. The curator of the America collection of the MAS, Mireille Holsbeke (2012:159-61), states that it is



a noble starting point to bring in the multicultural character of the historic and actual Antwerp, but the collections do not reflect the actual inhabitants of other cultures. Therefore caution should be exercised in relation to the presentation of these objects. It is obvious that the MAS museum represents a missed chance to tell the real story of ages of historical colonial and intercultural relations. Again, the new approach stresses economic factors that seem to be crucial to bridge the dichotomy between ‘the West’ and ‘the Rest’ as they apparently lead away from ‘colonialism’.

Neglecting is also a way of disregarding the relation of ethnographic museums with colonialism. This strategy has been typical for the Royal Museum of Central Africa in Tervuren. When Congo became independent in 1960, the museum remained unchanged. But this approach didn’t solve the problem. The museum got the name of being the last colonial museum in the world. The museum is now closed for renovation. It showed mainly objects related to its historical, anthropological and zoological departments. It was regarded as ‘only the public face’ of the institution, which is scientific. And precisely because the museum did not reflect the main focuses of actual scientific research,(6) but mirrored and even ‘justified’ a colonial past, it was undervalued, although it preserves more than a million ethnographic objects from Central Africa and is in this field one of the biggest museums of the world.

King Leopold II, who had founded the museum, wanted to legitimize his colonization of Congo. The museum was renovated in 1958 by Frans Olbrechts, who became director of this museum in 1947. It is remarkable that an ‘art room’ was created in which Congolese objects only were judged on their aesthetic qualities. (7) In his academic discourse Olbrechts had always emphasized the importance of sound fieldwork and contextualization of the collected objects. As director of a great centre of African art and material culture, he could not get funding for African research and now acted by force of the colonial policy. He contributed to the Congolese section of EXPO 58 in Brussels, in which a positive picture of the colonial situation was painted, which significantly influenced the millions who visited the world exhibition. Collection missions to Congo were characterized by a consequent absence of in-depth information on the objects collected (Biebuyck 2001:104,107-8; Van Beurden 2013:482,487; Cornelis: 169).

Until recently every pupil in Belgium went to Tervuren to see the museum, and got a biased view on Belgium’s history. The Museum of Central Africa was for most people in Belgium the main source to develop a certain perception of Congo. It is important to know that the independence in 1960 came as a complete surprise for most of them. Between 1960 and 1998 there was hardly any attention for this part of history, scholars in this area had to make their career elsewhere (Cornelis: 169). Only at the very end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the collective repression of the colonial trauma became more or less debatable. In the meantime the political situation in Belgium had also changed. For the

first time, politicians showed a critical attitude towards the Belgian colonial history and dared to mention that Belgium was responsible for disastrous facts. In this way they opened the way towards a critical acceptance. Due to the death of president Mobutu in 1997, which reminded Belgium again of the independence and the accompanying crisis, and due to the confronting bestseller 'King Leopold's Ghost' of Adam Hochschild in 1998, which was an important eye-opener for the broad public and forced Belgians to look at their traumatic history.(8) Thanks to the internet the impact of the book became overwhelming. Finally the 'period of tough recollection' started.

However, the memory still remained painful. Even exhibitions in the 21<sup>st</sup> century did not give a suitable answer to the critical debate on the Congolese holocaust, but minimized the responsibility of the Belgian authorities. Again 'civilization' and 'progress' were dominant themes. In 2006 some parts of the temporary exhibit 'The memory of Congo' were made permanent. The criticism on this exhibition (9) was that the message was: *'that Belgium was not responsible for crimes against humanity committed during the Leopold regime, which concretely meant the same (as genocide) for the population, also according to the norms of the time.'* (Gewald 2006:484)

In 2000 the Royal Museum of Central Africa organized the exhibition 'Exit Congo Museum: A Century of Art with or without Paper'. This exhibit was a critical answer to the permanent display of the museum. Although Olbrechts already made an academic plea for a contextual presentation in the 1930's, Boris Wastiau's exhibit in the museum was regarded as innovative. The art objects of Congo went with their social and ritual context, for which Wastiau cooperated closely with the Congolese art historian Tome Muteba Lutumbue. Wastiau tried to set up a Congolese and Belgian dialogue, whereas Lutumbue invited eight African artists who were critical of the permanent display. In the accompanying publication of the exhibit Wastiau (10) wrote about the violence that was sometimes used to collect art objects. He wrote about their original meaning, how they travelled to Europe and got a new meaning when they arrived in Tervuren. Wastiau suggested establishing a forum to give different cultures a voice. The public reacted either enthusiastically or shocked.

Historical shame for a guilt-ridden past is problematic for more than one reason. Being ashamed is not the same as making amends, and shame doesn't allow us to close the book on the past. At the same time that shame emphasizes the historical victimizing of 'the others'. Present-day Belgium has grown to include a lot of these 'others' who tacitly see themselves as victims of the colonial period, an identification that only enlarges differences and hampers dialogue. To acknowledge the repercussions of the past is something quite different from perpetuating that past.(11)

If the uneasiness is caused by shame, we need to share our shame, and talk about it.(12) This is what Belgian museum workers now do, they want their museums to be a place in which a dialogue

is stimulated and discussions are welcome, for museums offer possibilities to stimulate awakening. For instance, at this moment the BELvue museum in Brussels shows an exhibition on Belgian colonial propaganda. The aim of the museum is to contribute to a better understanding of the colonization and of Congo, in order to revise the collective obliviousness. Bart Staes, a politician, observed that the latent racism towards Congolese is directly associated with the Belgian colonial past, and that it is important that these myths about the model colony get unraveled by historical research. (13)

At the moment a group of Belgian museum ethnographers wants to discuss how the emotionally charged colonial history influences the general perception of their collections. With assistance from FARO, the Flemish heritage centre, and the King Bauduin Foundation, they recently started the 'Ethnocoll' platform to discuss and comment upon this colonial past and its traces in contemporary society. The platform takes up the challenge to invest ethnographic objects collected in colonial times with new meaning. It wants to promote the contemporary relevance of these collections. A museum, they argue, ought to be a place in which dialogue is stimulated and contributing communities have a voice. As Belgium becomes part of a global society, the intercultural context of its ethnographic collections is ever more important. The experts have discussions about how they can bring in these ethnographic collections in the global and diverse society of Belgium, about how they can improve the cooperation with source communities, and how to find solutions for the study of these collection items. Participants exchange expertise by digital means, visits, consultations and meetings. Curators will need creativity, courage and patience in arguing for a greater sense of responsibility, as museums are their 'instruments'. Of course this is a prospect which asks more of museums, such as new efforts in developing intercultural mediation, than restricting their mandate to city or science promotion.

So long as a colonial past is hidden away as if it were a secret, it can never be a subject of open discussion. How, then, can one learn from it, and what's more, come to terms with it? Museums may help their public to come to terms with hidden anxieties and a past not digested. Directors and curators of ethnographic collections within coordinating museums have to convince their authorities. Again, all these museum workers need creativity, courage, hope and a lot of patience... to cope with the sorrow of the trauma.

### Notes

- 1) It is remarkable that by venturing criticism, some authors brought Belgian's history in colonial and postcolonial Congo under public discussion. For instance the same Hugo Claus wrote in his poem '1965' about the year of the assumption of power of army commander Mobutu, supported by Belgians for geopolitical interests: "*We zenden hem assistenten die zullen ontbloeien tot*

*procenten*” (We send him assistants which will flourish to percents). Mobutu kept Congo in the western camp but finished democracy (Schraevers 2014:43).

- 2) For instance, in 2000 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs exerted political pressure on the Belgian Film festivals not to play the film Lumumba directed by Raoul Peck about the first Prime Minister of Congo, because Belgium was associated with his murder in 1961. In 1999 a sociologist, Ludo De Witte, published a book ‘De moord op Lumumba’ (The murder of Lumumba) which gave the initial impetus to the parliamentary commission Lumumba (2001-2002). The commission had to come to the conclusion that Belgium was involved in the murder on the first Congolese prime minister and played a part in the secession of Katanga, the economic hart of Congo (Schaevers 2014:40-1,43; Reynebeau 2014:25).
- 3) In 1932, Olbrechts started a ‘non-compulsory’ course called ‘The Art of Primitive and Half-civilized People’. It became the beginning of a specialized department in anthropology of non-western arts and offered a multifaceted approach. Olbrechts’ method got adopted by other scholars like Paul Wingert, Douglas Newton, Marie Louise Bastin, Adriaan Gerbrands and Tibor Bodrogi (Burssens 2001:87-8).
- 4) For example, in his book ‘Kunst van vroeg en van verre’ (1929) Olbrechts writes “...if we do not know the circumstances and cultures in which, for instance, the works of art of Central Africa, the South Seas, the Northwest Coast of America were created, they remain for us as enigmatic as the sphinx, equally colorless, silent documents as for instance the canvasses of Rubens would be for someone who had neglected the study of the Renaissance”(Holsbeke 2001:80). Of course, since the Renaissance the notion of ‘art’ in the West is different than that of the rest of the world. In the course of time the connections between art, religion, ritual and daily life, loosened. When it became ‘art for art’s sake’, a distance was created between ‘art’ and ‘public’. Scholars like Sally Price consider this approach in which ethnographic artifacts are displayed as art objects as ‘cultural appropriation’. She states that these objects were never meant as art in their own context. Price puts ‘art by appropriation’ against ‘art by intention’. At the other hand the evolutionist Dennis Dutton speaks about the ‘art instinct’. He remarks that art is not a restricted technical concept, but a natural phenomenon like language. The point of view is crucial.
- 5) Geert Vanpaemel, Isabel Rotthier, Trudi Noordermeer, Frank Scheelings, Nathalie Poot, Simon Leenknecht 2014 *Balans en perspectief*. Academisch Erfgoed in Vlaanderen.
- 6) Director Guido Gryseels stresses the fact that the institute covers different scientific departments, which were not in the picture before. These should get (more) space in the new museum. At the other hand, he realizes that the colonial character of the museum cannot be erased, and therefore should get attention (personal communication, November 2013).
- 7) In the so called art room, labels commented on stylistic categorization of the art work and hardly any anthropological context and function of the object was mentioned. The same applies to the museum publications, in which the aesthetic quality of the objects played a central role, like for instance in Olbrechts book *Quelques Chefs-d’oeuvre de l’art Africain des collections du Musée Royal du Congo Belge, Tervuren* (1952).
- 8) Prior to that, in 1985, Daniël Vangroeneweghe’s book ‘Red rubber. Leopold II and his Congo’ (Rood rubber, Leopold II en zijn Kongo’) was published in the Dutch-speaking regions. It had a comparable content, based on research in the records. These proved that gigantic amounts of earnings of the rubber companies flowed from hard labour. New diseases like smallpox and sleeping sickness, together with havoc and famine resulting from this forced labour, caused a

genocide which probably diminished half of the population between 1880 and 1920 (Vansina 1985:7-10).

- 9) 'Professor Daniël Vangroeneweghe is niet mals voor Kongo-expo in Tervuren' (Professor Daniël Vangroeneweghe uses harsh words about the Congo- exhibition in Tervuren) *De Morgen* 16 February 2005', article cited by Jan-Bart Gewald (2006:484).
- 10) Wastiau, Boris 2000 *Exit Congo Museum*. Een essay over het 'sociale leven' van de meesterwerken uit het museum van Tervuren.
- 11) The question of dealing with a colonial history has two 'guises': the facts and the social construction about these facts. The social construction is dominating the silent majority. People sometimes confuse the facts with values they attach to them; maybe they want to hold on to what they already know. Those who want to talk about it are greatly concerned about that history, and want to argue the necessity of change (Debusschere 2014: 28-9).
- 12) The author Slavenka Drakulic (1997:9-10,94,130-2) puts the phrase 'we need to share our shame, and talk about it' aptly as: connecting the personal domain with the public domain. When people are connecting the personal domain with the public domain, they do this because they feel responsible; they are self-aware and believe that a personal initiative may be effective. The social construction makes us a 'silent majority', makes us withdraw into ourselves, to feel secure. It also means resignation, acceptance that 'the other' will decide for 'us', submissiveness. Of course it is easier to clear oneself of the past; one may confine in oneself and say that he or she regrets it. However, this guilt is an abstract term as one is not guilty for oneself. Drakulic argues that history is not only a series of actions of a government. We have to admit that it is also shaped by what people think and do; history is about the public interest, and that is in the end 'our interest' and 'our problem' and thus also 'our right' to stand up for it.
- 13) 'Omstreden Francken bezoekt Congo-expo'. JDB De Morgen 24 nov. 2014.

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## **Museums & Politics Entangled:**

### **In search for hidden war (hi) stories in Indonesian and Dutch museums**

#### **ABSTRACT**

*The cultural legacy of a mutual past between Indonesia and the Netherlands contains a complex history with a diversity of perspectives and memories of different communities involved.<sup>306</sup> The period of 1942-1949 consists of events that affected both Indonesia and the Netherlands. After the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), that marked the end of Dutch colonial rule in the archipelago, the Indonesian War of Post-Independence (also referred to as the Dutch-Indonesian War of Decolonisation, 1945-1949) followed, during which Indonesia fought her way to maintain her independence.<sup>307</sup> The result of this on-going period of struggles underlines the global, transnational character of these events.<sup>308</sup> Despite of a 'shared' historical episode, these years are particularly notable for the opposing meanings and the absence of several (hi) stories, minor narratives of the different communities involved, in both the nations' cultural narratives. After all wars, post-war Indonesia and the Netherlands, though in different ways, focussed on rebuilding separate nations and establishing new international relationships with each other. Understandably, some war stories would not serve the national narrative, thus became 'suppressed'. The critical task, then, becomes to point out why, for whom and to what purpose these stories and memories are or were absent in the national historical narratives developed by politics and museums. We therefore present four cases, exhibitions that tell the history of Indonesia and the Netherlands especially of the 1942-1949 war*

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<sup>307</sup> The authors use the terms *Indonesian War of Post-Independence*, *Indonesian War of Independence* or *Dutch-Indonesian War of Decolonisation*. This immediately indicates the opposite meanings given by Indonesia and Netherlands to this period of war between both countries. This is attached to the date of Indonesia's independence. In Indonesia August 17 1945, the date of the Japanese capitulation is commemorated as the official day of independence, while the Dutch government persisted the transfer of sovereignty on December 27, 1949 as the official date of Indonesian independence. Only just recently, in 2005, the Netherlands accepted 'politically and morally' the date of August 17, 1945 as the day of the independence of Indonesia.

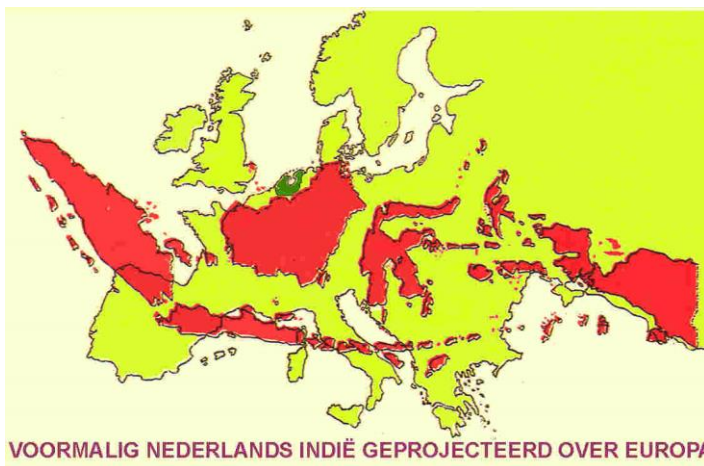
<sup>308</sup> Captain, E. and G. Jones, *Oorlogserfgoed overzee. De erfenis van de Tweede Wereldoorlog in Aruba, Curacao, Indonesië en Suriname*. Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2010.



*period, in which we explore some of the absent (hi) stories of a 'mutual' historical episode in both Indonesian and Dutch museums, and that review ways of how museums deal with or eventually reveal absent (hi) stories within the realm of historiography in the political power field.*<sup>309</sup>

## 1. Introduction

The discourse surrounding the role of museums and their relevance to society originates from the mid-1970s. Some of the key concepts are the questions of representation and participation. In his book *War in the Museum* (2014) Somers indicates that a museum is an appealing means of representing and giving insight into the past, in this case into the history of war, while simultaneously making it meaningful and fixing it in the collective memory. At the same time, and certainly not always easy, a museum can function as a platform for dialogue: Cameron (2010) argues 'museums must develop a function of critique and see themselves as a forum for debate'.<sup>310</sup> The museum as 'contact zone' (Pratt and Clifford), as arena where contrasting opinions meet, has been seen for years as pointing the way for the future of museums. The question is then, could this be applied to Indonesian and Dutch museums that detail so-called 'hard' history like (colonial) war? Both countries have a 'shared' history from 1596 to 1949. However, both countries tell their own



versions of this shared past. Also, the museums have their own character of presentations and differ in themes. So, could there be a comparative model? Which histories are told, which histories are absent in museums, and the reasons why, are the focus of this article. By giving four Indonesian and Dutch examples of how the national historical war narratives are

developed by politics and museums, we try to give insight in the opposing meanings given to the period of 1942-1949, how opposing point of views compete, and by that trying to reveal absent 'mutual' (hi) stories of different communities in both Indonesian and Dutch museums. It concludes that our museums together could challenge the national narratives of an event with a global character.

<sup>309</sup> Captain, E. and K. Ribbens, *Exhibiting the war. The future of World War II Museums in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: NIOD, 2011. Captain and Ribbens argue for a more spacious geographic and temporal framework.

<sup>310</sup> Cameron, F. 'Introduction'. In: Cameron, F. and L. Kelly (eds.). *Hot Topics, Public Culture, Museums*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing: UK. 2010: pp. 1-17.



## 2. The history time frame

This chapter starts with a short historical sketch of the colonial history of Indonesia and the Netherlands that is taught at schools. The shared history begins with the arrival of Cornelis de Houtman (a Dutch merchant) in Banten's port in 1596, the trade monopoly of the *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Company* (VOC, the Dutch East India Company) and the colonization of the archipelago from 1800 by the Kingdom of the Netherlands. The colony was named *Nederlands-Indië* (Dutch East Indies). Indonesian history focuses on the struggle against the Dutch (c.1600-1800) by Indonesian heroes from all over the archipelago, the upswing of national awareness by political parties and provide for education for Indonesians during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Meantime, Dutch history mainly focuses on the VOC trade and the Golden Age during the 17<sup>th</sup> century and the economic importance of the colony. The Indonesian national awareness is often explained as a result of the Dutch implementation of the so-called *Ethische Politiek* (Ethical Policy) in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>311</sup> The occupation of Indonesia by the Japanese empire meant a breaking point for the Dutch rule. After the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) and the Declaration of Indonesian Independence on August 17<sup>th</sup>, 1945, a violent, anarchic period followed, called by the Dutch the *Bersiap* period.<sup>312</sup> After futile attempts by the Dutch to restore their rule (the *Agresi Militer Belanda 1 & 2*, Dutch military aggression, or in Dutch so-called two *Politionele Acties*, military actions), the Dutch, in the face of international pressure, formally recognised Indonesian independence in 1949 (initially except for the western half of the island of New Guinea).

Following the official history taught in schools, the displays in Indonesian history museums are mostly about the struggling and resistance against the Dutch during the pre-independence war, post-independence war, the historical event of the independence, and moments related to the rising of national awareness. As the Netherlands has almost 350 years colonial history in the Indonesian archipelago many Dutch historical museums, like the recently re-arranged Rijksmuseum, have a collection to represent in particular the history of the VOC, the Golden Age (17<sup>th</sup> century) and the Dutch East Indies colony. The Dutch war and resistance museums focus mainly on World War II in the Netherlands.

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<sup>311</sup> The ethical policy scope included among others expansion of educational opportunities for the population as a whole and improvements in agriculture.

<sup>312</sup> *Bersiap* means 'Be prepared'.

### 3. Case 1: War (hi) stories in Indonesian museums

This chapter explores the war history narratives in post-colonial Indonesia through the permanent exhibitions of two museums: the PETA Museum in Bogor and the Satria Mandala Museum in Jakarta. All two museums were established in the 1980s to 1990s during the reign of Suharto, the second President of Indonesia (1967-1998).



The PETA Museum in Bogor, West Java, was opened in 1995 and located in the former Japanese Army School for Indonesians during the period of the Japanese occupation. The location is still an army's base camp, and the museum occupies a small part of the site. The museum has two permanent exhibition rooms. The first room tells the story of the PETA soldiers' activities on site, as well as their role in realizing Indonesian independence. The second room focuses on the role of the PETA soldier during and after the Independence of Indonesia. The stories are being told through dioramas. The museum also presents artefacts of former PETA soldiers such as uniforms, weapons and knick-knacks, PETA recruitment posters and news pieces about PETA from old magazines and newspapers. A tunnel separates the two rooms. In the tunnel there are reliefs about occasions related to PETA, as well as a relief of former PETA soldiers who later became Indonesian army leaders.

The museum display makes it clear that from political point of view the museum wants to give the impression that the PETA soldiers fulfilled important roles within the Indonesian independence, and did not collaborated with the Japanese. Alumni of PETA were 'different' than the non-European alumni of the *Koninklijke Nederlands-Indisch Leger* (KNIL, Royal Dutch East Indies Army) that had fought to restore Dutch rule. Based on an interview with Cucu Nuris, a staff member



of PETA Museum, it became known that the site was probably a concentration camp for the Dutch during the Japanese occupation.<sup>313</sup> Cucu stated that approximately two or three years ago, a European family visited his museum. The grandfather told his children, grandchildren and Cucu about his past. He said that when he was a child he lived within that area with his mother. They were guarded

<sup>313</sup> Interview with Cucu Nuris by Ajeng Ayu Arainikasih in July 2014.

by soldiers and sent back to the Netherlands from there. He couldn't remember the exact years because he was too little, but he still remembered the area. Unfortunately, the museum does not dare to tell this story in the museum display.

The second museum discussed here is the Satria Mandala Museum in Jakarta (Fig.4.). It is a museum that is run under the Indonesian army and opened in 1972. It tells the history of the struggle against the Dutch in 1945-1949 era, as well as the history of the Indonesian Army until the present day (such as the Garuda Troops for the World Peace). The storyline begins with a giant text of the proclamation of Indonesian Independence, and continues with the history of the Indonesian army after Independence Day. The next three rooms are dedicated to five-star generals of Indonesia: Soedirman, Nasution and Suharto. The display on the next room consists of dioramas of Indonesia's post-independence wars in different regions (Fig.5.). Each diorama is accompanied by a wall text. Each wall text tells the story of the event, particularly the date and location of the event, the name of the Indonesian heroes, the name of the Dutch (or other European) 'villains', and a summary of the events. Newspaper articles about the events' depiction accompany some dioramas. An article even portrays the behaviour of the Europeans in Central Java telling that they loved to have parties at the hotels and had many leftover foods whilst most of the Indonesian people were starving.



That room displays also the history of the Garuda Troops and other army stuff. The last room at the basement of the diorama room displays weapons. Actually, the dioramas continue at the next two-storey building at the backside of the first (main) building. However, the museum staff revealed



that, for years the second building has been abandoned because a great flood that once occurred in Jakarta ruined the first floor. Visitors are no longer allowed to enter the second building.

***The other museum perjuangan (citizen resistance museums)***

Besides those two museums, there are

still many war museums within different regions in Indonesia that tell the history of the post-independence period of 1946-1949. Most of the museums are called the Museum Perjuangan Rakyat (citizen resistance museums). For example, Museum Perjuangan Rakyat in Medan - North Sumatera, Jambi, Palembang - South Sumatera, Banjarmasin - South Kalimantan, Bali, Bogor and Bandung - West Java. There are also Museum Benteng Vredeburg – Jogjakarta (Fig.6.), and the 10 November Museum in Surabaya (East Java). All of these government museums are telling the similar story: the (official) history of the struggle against the Dutch. The difference is that each museum tells its own local stories.

A little bit different from other museums is the Batak Museum in Balige, North Sumatera (Fig.7.). There is a section that portrays the struggle of King Sisingamangaraja XII, a local Batak ruler. In there is a mannequin of Captain Christoffel. He was a Swiss-born KNIL soldier and the troop leader who murdered King Sisingamangaraja XII. This is quite remarkable because Dutch villains are usually portrayed as miniatures inside a diorama. Not as a single figure with his own text label. The reason is perhaps, because this museum is a private museum and only just recently established.



### *Where's the social history?*

One thing that is absent in most of the (typical) Indonesian war history museums' displays is social history. Most museums portray the official history of historical events, the top-down history, without for example, pointing out personal stories of ordinary Indonesian people during the war. If someone's personal story is being told, he was for sure the leader, the hero, or someone famous in the later period.

There are probably two reasons that might explain this. First, perhaps because the historians and museum personnel do not realize that social history could be presented in museums. Szekeres (2005) stated that in Australia, social history museums started to establish from the early 1980s to the mid-1990s.<sup>314</sup> During this time, also most Indonesian museums were established. Thus, perhaps the ones who created the museums did not have any idea how to implement social history concepts in museums. The second reason and the one most likely, is that museums were not allowed to tell

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<sup>314</sup> Szekeres, V., *Changing Headsets: the impact of Museums on Social Thinking*. Australia-Israel Hawke Centre Lecture, 2005.

bottom-up stories. Most museums were established in the 1970s to the 1990s, in another words: during the Suharto's era. They emphasize the military role in constructing the nation.<sup>315</sup> Thus, that is the official history and government politics.

### *The other stories*

During the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) Europeans (mostly Dutch) and a large part of the Indo-Europeans community (people from mixed descent) were put in concentration camps or taken into forced labour elsewhere. After Indonesian independence the Japanese camp soldiers continued to protect the prisoners as the hatred of the Indonesian people for everything related to the Dutch reached its peak. After the agreement of the sovereignty in 1949 and later during the 1950s, people of mixed descent had to choose between Indonesian or Dutch citizenship, and in the latter case leave the country. KNIL soldiers could also choose to go to New Guinea (now Papua), still a Dutch colony.<sup>316</sup> This part of history, and obviously the stories of the people involved, were never recorded in Indonesian official history books, and thus also absent in Indonesian museums.

Furthermore, even though some Indo-Europeans considered themselves Indonesian, also the Indo-European history has vanished from the national Indonesian narrative, and remains hidden and unheard in Indonesian museums displays. During an interview in 2010 with Raden Gondokoesoemo, he told his interesting story. Raden Gondokoesoemo was of half Dutch and half Javanese descent. During the war he joined the Indonesian army because he considered himself Indonesian. As his appearance was so European, Indonesian soldiers sometimes caught him! He even met his wife, an Indonesian woman but also looked European, when Indonesian soldiers caught both of them during the post-independence war in Java. This kind of social history, a personal story, has until so far not appeared in any Indonesian war history museums.<sup>317</sup>

Cameron's opinion that a museum is ideal to be a place for debate, a neutral forum to discuss contentious issues, seems still far away in Indonesian (war) history museums. Most of the museums present the official top-down history (struggling and resistance), while social history remains untold. During Suharto's era, Indonesian museums were used as government political 'weapons' to construct a national identity. Suharto was a military leader, and by emphasizing the resistance against the colonial power, he probably used military history for the 'nation branding'. And, it was (probably) meant to boost up the confidence of the nation: to tell the story that Indonesia fought bravely! During the colonial era, the Dutch gave impression in the history books for schoolchildren that they

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<sup>315</sup> Schulte Nordholt, H., Purwanto B., and R. Saptari. 'Memikir Ulang Historiografi Indonesia. In: *Perspektif Baru Penulisan Sejarah Indonesia*. Yayasan Pustaka Obor Indonesia & KITLV Jakarta, 2013: pp. 1-32.

<sup>316</sup> van Kessel, I., *Serdadu Afrika di Hindia Belanda 1831-1945*. Komunitas Bambu: Depok, 2011.

<sup>317</sup> Arainikasih, Ajeng. Ayu. *Museum Imigrasi Indonesia: Sarana Meningkatkan Rasa Toleransi dan Nasionalisme*. Unpublished research project report. Universitas Indonesia, 2010.

colonized Indonesia for more than 300 years. In fact, not every part of the archipelago was colonized that long. But as a result, up till now, most Indonesians believe that the Dutch colonized them for 350 years. This is similar to the case of Vietnam.<sup>318</sup> Sutherland (2005) stated that the history in Vietnam museums illustrates heroic resistance against the French colonialists and was an attempt to reconcile nation building for an internal audience with an awareness of Vietnam's national reputation abroad.

However, as the Indonesian political condition has changed since Suharto's reign ended in 1998, maybe the Indonesian museums should consider implementing social history within their displays! Especially now the museums have reached a turning point, partly because the generation that lived through the war passes away, and their stories, experiences and memories might otherwise vanish forever. Question is, although the Indonesian independence was established almost 70 years ago, will the Indonesian people be ready to hear other stories besides the official one? Are the museum personnel ready to change their 'ordinary approach' to a different one?

#### 4. Case 2: absent war (hi) stories in Dutch museums

*And everything is 'pedis', also history is.*<sup>319</sup>

This chapter explores the historical war narratives, about the Indies dimension of World War II (1942-1945) and the Dutch-Indonesian War of Decolonisation (1945—1949) in the Dutch East Indies/Indonesia developed by museums and governmental politics in postcolonial Netherlands. It shows that even though these particular years of Dutch colonial history seemed to be deficient in the historical war narratives developed by museums, these traces have never been absent in society. The establishment of the *Centre of Indies Remembrance* in 2010 at the Bronbeek estate in Arnhem and the attention to this period in other museums seems to exemplify a turning point. This chapter will focus on two museum exhibitions: 1) the permanent exhibition *The story of the Dutch East Indies (The Story)* established by the Centre of Indies Remembrance and Museum Bronbeek at the Bronbeek estate in Arnhem and 2) the recently opened temporary exhibition *Selamat Shabbat. The*

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<sup>318</sup> Sutherland, C., 'Repression and resistance? French colonialism as seen through Vietnamese museums'. In: *Museum and Society* Vol. 3 no. 3, 2005: pp. 153-166.

<sup>319</sup> In his song *My Indo heart* third generation *Indo-Dutch* comedian Ricky Risolles, the alias of Jaro Wolff, sings *And everything is 'pedis', also history is*. Risolles makes fun of clichés and sensibilities related to the identity of the Indo-Dutch community in the Netherlands. *Pedis* (pedas) means *spicy, hot and peppery* in old Malaysian language that was spoken in colonial Indonesia, but is still used today by Indo-Dutch people to refer to the spiciness of a dish or ingredient. Therefore on the one hand, this quote could underpin the effect of an uneasy history, something *pedis*. And on the other hand refer to the continuing cultural influence of this past in contemporary society. The *pedis* layer would then symbolize this colonial influence, which is still present today.

*hidden history of the Jews in the Dutch East Indies* at the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam.<sup>320</sup>

### *A national family secret*

In the Netherlands it has become commonplace to speak of a post-war suppression of colonial history, in particular of the Indies dimension of World War II (1942-1945) and the Dutch-Indonesian War of Decolonisation (1945-1949). This is often tied to the so-called ‘trauma of the abrupt decolonisation’.<sup>321</sup> For a long time post-war Dutch (war and resistance) museums focussed on World War II (WWII) and Shoah in the Netherlands.<sup>322</sup> In 1977 the War Museum in Overloon was the first to exhibit the story of the Japanese occupation in the Dutch East Indies, but the War of Decolonisation was neglected. It seemed too early for the aftermath.<sup>323</sup> The past thirty years the interest in the war periods in the Dutch East Indies has slowly grown, it’s part of school curricula and an increasing number of research projects, publications and exhibitions on the Indies war experience has started to challenge the accepted view of the Dutch colonial past, the Indies dimension of WWII and the War of Decolonisation.<sup>324</sup>

To understand the mechanisms of in- and exclusion of the Indies dimension of World War II and the War of Decolonisation in the Dutch museums, and the absent stories connected to it, it is important to realize that the events that took place in the colony partly overlap with the cultural memory of WWII in the Netherlands.<sup>325</sup> In May 1940, Germany invaded the Netherlands. The Axis powers of Germany, Italy and Japan opposed the Allies. Japan sought to realize a large Southeast Asian empire and occupied the Dutch East Indies (1942-1945). After the liberation of the Netherlands in 1945, about 120,000 military men went to fight in the archipelago. Among them were former resistance fighters, survivors of the concentration camps, and other Dutch civilians. Additionally, between 1945 and 1964, approximately 300,000 immigrants came from Indonesia to the Netherlands, each bringing their own experiences and memories. They were described as ‘repatriates’, even though the majority had never lived in the Netherlands before. The immigrants varied greatly among each other: so-called *totoks*, the ‘white’ Dutch; other Europeans; Indo-

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<sup>320</sup> The original title of the exhibitions are *Het verhaal van Indië* and *Selamat Sjabbat. De onbekende geschiedenis van joden in Nederlands-Indië*. *Selamat Shabbat* is a combination of Malay and Hebrew and means a ‘peaceful shabbat’, the word shabbat that means ‘stopping’ refers to the seventh day, the shabbat, the day work ceases for the purpose of rest.

<sup>321</sup> Oostindie, G., *Postcolonial Netherlands. Sixty-five years of forgetting, commemorating, silencing*. Amsterdam University Press, 2011: p. 230.

<sup>322</sup> Somers, E., *De oorlog in het museum. De herinnering en verbeelding*. W. Books, 2014.

<sup>323</sup> Somers 2014: 165.

<sup>324</sup> See for example the research program ‘War, Heritage and Memory’, that started in 2007 under supervision of prof. dr. Frank van Vree and prof. dr. Rob van der Laarse (University of Amsterdam/Free University of Amsterdam).

<sup>325</sup> Van Ooijen, I. and I. Raaijmakers, ‘Competitive or multidirectional memory? The interaction between postwar and postcolonial memory in the Netherlands’. In: *Journal of Genocide Research*, 14:3-4, 463-483, 2012.



Europeans, people from mixed descent (often Indonesian-Dutch); Indo-Africans; (Indo-) Chinese and Moluccans.<sup>326</sup> Most of them had been ‘Europeans’ within the colonial legal system or had strong ties with the Dutch colonial regime, sometimes because of their work.

After the Netherlands lost the Dutch East Indies, it was expected that most people from mixed descent would give up their claims to Dutch citizenship and opt for Indonesian citizenship. Their integration into Dutch society was initially viewed as impossible and they were discouraged from coming to the Netherlands. But, as Indonesian-Dutch relations deteriorated, and everything related to the Dutch was expelled from the archipelago for the national cause, the Netherlands seemed the only option for them to stay.<sup>327</sup> The memories and experiences of these immigrant groups and veterans, differed not only among each other, but also diverged from the Dutch perspective in the mother country. To many Indies people and veterans, WW II and the War of Decolonisation had merged into one continuing period of war and violence.<sup>328</sup> As a result of post-war reconstruction of the Netherlands, national unity and discussions about what was right and wrong, memories of the German occupation and the Shoah left little room for the Indies stories, memories, and commemoration of the wars in the Pacific. It became a well-kept ‘family secret’.<sup>329</sup> It is often said that the Netherlands seemed to suffer from ‘colonial amnesia’.<sup>330</sup>

Yet, it seems paradoxical that forgetting was so widespread at the same time as the immigrants settled in the Netherlands and veterans returned home to a country where the pre-war generations had been brought up with the understanding that the Dutch East Indies were extremely important.<sup>331</sup> So, it was not so much forgetting this ‘family secret’ or a closed colonial era, but the recollections of the war of the Indies immigrants were irreconcilable with a mixture of nostalgia and

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<sup>326</sup> ‘Europeans’ as opposed to so-called ‘natives’ and ‘foreign orientals’ according to the colonial legal system. It is important to note that the groups mentioned here do not give the total overview of different immigrant groups from Indonesia.

<sup>327</sup> Also many people of Indo-Dutch descent who wanted to come to the Netherlands were ‘forced’ to stay in Indonesia, as they could not prove their Dutch citizenship.

<sup>328</sup> As a historical sketch: During the Japanese occupation (1942-1945) almost every *totok*, and a part of the Indo-Europeans and Indonesians, were interned in the Japanese camps or taken into forced labour elsewhere. Conditions were brutal; from the 150,000 people interned, almost a tenth did not survive the war. Also, many Indo-Europeans, like most Indonesians, remained outside the camps, *Buitenkampers*, often in extremely grim circumstances. After the Japanese surrender in 1945 and the proclamation of independence, a power vacuum arose. *Bersiap*, which means ‘get ready/prepared’ in Indonesian, is the name given by the Dutch to this violent and chaotic period following the end of WWII in which Indonesian freedom fighters targeted at (pro-) Dutch civilians and Indo-Europeans outside the camps. Between 1945 and 1949 Dutch troops served in Indonesia. Around 5000 of them died, a fraction of the number of Indonesian casualties. Many of these stories are both in Indonesia and the Netherlands ‘suppressed’, not or barely part of the national commemoration and history books.

<sup>329</sup> Pattynama, P., ‘Cultural memory and Indo-Dutch identity formations’. In: Bosma, U. (ed.), *Post-Colonial Immigrants and Identity Formations in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam University Press, 2012: 183.

<sup>330</sup> Pattynama 2012: 176. She points out that the Netherlands is not the only nation suffering from ‘colonial amnesia’, but for many metropolitan societies the colonial past has become an uncomfortable, often silenced, past. The way in which different metropolis have negotiated this uneasy subject is divergent. She refers to Bosma (2009:11): ‘the absence of post-colonial debates is a consequence of the disappearance of the Dutch language in post-colonial Indonesia.’

<sup>331</sup> Oostindie 2011: 230.

amnesia about the Dutch East Indies that prevailed in the public domain until the 1970s.<sup>332</sup> At the same time the cultural memory of WWII and the War of Decolonisation did not only compete, but also strengthened each other.<sup>333</sup> From the very start members of the Indies immigrants and veterans communities have striven for acknowledgment, whether as heroes or victims, and in interaction with WWII commemoration initiatives. So, the colonial wars have never been fully absent in Dutch society – see for example the photographs that appear consistently in the Dutch public sphere. Colonialism is often thought as a phenomenon of the past, as it continues in new shapes and forms in our present-day post-colonial societies. But there is still an uneasiness addressing them: a ‘colonial aphasia’ rather than ‘amnesia’.<sup>334</sup>

### *Dutch post-war politics*

One could say that the development of the Centre of Indies Commemoration and the exhibition *Story of the Dutch East Indies*, are a result of the multidirectional aspect of these cultural memories, developed by the Dutch Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sports, after repeated calls from the Indo-Dutch community. In 2007, the centre was added to the quartet of memory sites of WWII in the Netherlands.<sup>335</sup> It is remarkable that it took until 2010, more than 65 years after WWII, to develop an overall, ‘permanent’ museum exhibition telling the ‘overall’ colonial history that includes also the Indies dimension of WWII, the War of Decolonisation and present Indo-Dutch society.

For a long time the Dutch commemoration and exhibitions of WWII was reduced to a limited number of stories suggesting national unity, and orienting on displaying aspects of the military and resistance, thus avoiding uncomfortable issues. During the 1960s, this view became criticised as the war had not been that heroic. A changing society, i.e. with diminishing loyalty to tradition, gave room for new approaches. The persecution of various groups, among them deported Jews, political

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<sup>332</sup> As a mode of national memory, *tempo doeloe* nostalgia (*tempo doeloe* meaning ‘the good old days’ in Malay) has offered every Dutch citizen a pleasant and innocent format to deal with the uneasy loss of the East-Indies.

<sup>333</sup> Van Ooijen and Raaijmakers (2012) used Michael Rothberg’s concept of ‘multidirectional memory’ to illustrate the interaction between post-war and postcolonial memory (cultural memories) when both memories encounter each other in public space. They argue that there is an important resonance in the Netherlands between both cultural memories: these memories have a competitive relation *as well as* a strengthening impact on each other.

<sup>334</sup> In this I follow Ann Laura Stoler’s idea of ‘colonial aphasia’, one that captures not only the nature of that blockage but also the feature of loss. In aphasia, as Stoler puts it, is an occlusion of knowledge the issue and not a matter of ignorance or absence. Aphasia is a dismembering, a difficulty speaking, a difficulty generating a vocabulary that associates appropriate words and concepts. Bijl (2014) showed that photographs of for example colonial atrocities have appeared consistently in the Dutch public sphere, in print, on television, and online. He argued, that the Dutch nation has not forgotten; rather, the Dutch have never acquired consensus about the meaning of these ubiquitous images and scenes they depict. See: Stoler, A.L., *Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France*. 2010. Bijl, P., *Emerging Memory: Photographs of Colonial Atrocity in Dutch Cultural Remembrance*. Amsterdam University Press, 2014. And see Pattynama (2012, 2014).

<sup>335</sup> The most important shift in direction of the cultural remembrance of the war, was the shift in emphasizing the commemoration and shaping of memories of the persecution and terror of WWII at original sites, like the former camps in the Netherlands (Westerbork, Vught, Amersfoort) and the deportation place The Hollandsche Schouwburg (originally a Dutch Theatre) in Amsterdam. See Somers 2014.

prisoners and internees from Japanese camps in Asia called for compassion and acknowledgment.<sup>336</sup> Political events, such as the visit of the Japanese Emperor Hirohito to the Netherlands in 1971 encouraged the interest in the war memories of especially the ones who were imprisoned in camps.<sup>337</sup> From the mid 1990s, government politics emphasised the human rights aspects and international context of WWII (freedom, democracy, equality) and employed the WWII commemoration as an instrument of integration policy to include other commemorative groups. Over the last decade the Dutch government began to invest in minorities' cultural heritage and increasingly focused on the area known as active citizenship. The Indies immigrants consequently began to receive more attention in museums than ever before. By implementing the youth information policy 'World War II-present' the Dutch government acknowledged the underexposed war history of the Dutch East Indies.<sup>338</sup> Although the museums were free to design their own exhibitions, the conditions for obtaining funding were leading in the exhibition concepts.<sup>339</sup> The visit of former Queen Beatrix to Indonesia in 1995 and the discovery of photographs in 2012 depicting Dutch war crimes during the *Politionele Acties* changed the historiography of the decolonization war. After repeated calls from the Indo-Dutch community the Dutch Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport established in 2001 *Het Gebaar* (the Gesture) aiming to financial compensation for war victims. An amount of money was also meant for the re-arrangement of the Dutch Resistance Museum in Amsterdam that details the history of the Dutch resistance during WWII in the Netherlands (1940-1945). In 2006, the museum display was re-arranged with the Indies dimension of WWII and included the *Buitenkampers* story.<sup>340</sup> The display with 'memory carriers' from that time, like diaries, letters and pictures, showed personal stories of Indonesian freedom fighters, Dutch camp survivors, and Japanese soldiers. This mirrored the rise of a new favourite form of knowledge transfer among Dutch museums: the emphasis on personal and multi perspectives stories. The multi narrative approach is still used today in Dutch museums. The past and individual experiences were finally put under critical examination. Also, this new interest generated renewed attention for cultural cooperation with the countries of origin.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>336</sup> Captain & Ribbens 2011: 12-13.

<sup>337</sup> Somers 2014: 165.

<sup>338</sup> 'Jeugdvoorlichting over de Tweede Wereldoorlog in relatie tot het heden', beleidsnota ministerie van WVC aangeboden aan de voorzitter van de Tweede Kamer op 27 april 1987. Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 1986-1987, 19 958, nrs 1-2 en Voortgangsrapportage Beleid WOII, Tweede Kamer, vergaderjaar 2011-2012, 20-454 nr.106.

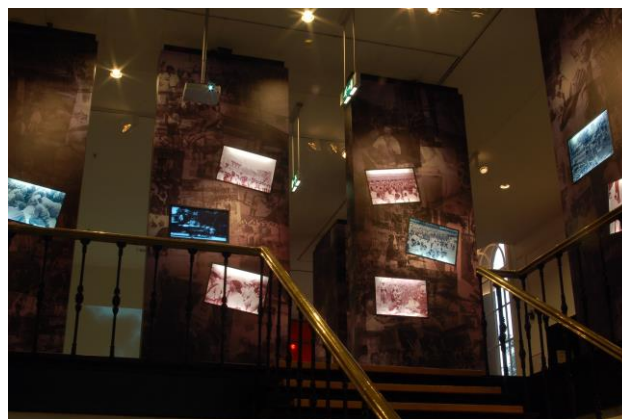
<sup>339</sup> Somers 2014: 165.

<sup>340</sup> See note 23.

<sup>341</sup> Oostindie 2011: 231. Also, in the past decades a number of 'meeting-projects' between former Japanese soldiers and Dutch camp prisoners, or Dutch soldiers and Indonesians was initiated. Most recently, in a speech during his visit to Japan on the 29th of October 2014, the Dutch king Willem-Alexander unexpectedly referred to the war experiences of 'civilians and militaries during WWI' and recommended the attempts of reconciliation by both Japanese and Dutch people.

### *Exhibition ‘The Story of the East Indies’*

Pattynama (2014) observed that most Dutch exhibitions about the Dutch East Indies are set-up chronologically and often start with presenting a suitcase that visualizes the circular of colonial migration between the motherland and colony. For a long time, exhibitions about the Japanese occupation centralized the camp experiences of the Dutch, and illustrated Japan as the aggressor.<sup>342</sup> The Indonesian casualties, resistance against Japan, or their struggle for independence were barely part of the exhibitions.<sup>343</sup> The historiography of the period of the War of Decolonization was limited to the history of the armed struggles and a summary of negotiations. Exhibitions emphasized on the *Bersiap* violence by Indonesian freedom fighters, the suffering of the camp prisoners and the military actions of the Dutch. Individual stories and memoirs were missing.



The permanent exhibition *The Story* seems to break with this tradition. It represents the emergence, consolidation and the disappearance of the Dutch presence in Indonesia, merging military colonial history and Indies remembrance of the colonial past. While the Dutch Resistance Museum chose a chronological themed narrative, the exhibition *The Story* takes the departure of the European and Indo-European community after the Indonesian independence as its starting point and is centred on WWII and the decolonisation (Fig.8.). The suitcases on the pictures in the multimedia presentation now represent a ‘one-way’ travel. By doing so, the exhibition mediates not only the entanglements of, but also the tensions between national and individual memories determined by the loss of a colony and birth country.<sup>344</sup>

<sup>342</sup> Somers, E. and S. Rijpma (ed.), *Nederlanders Japanners Indonesiërs. Een opmerkelijke tentoonstelling*. Zwolle, 2002. Presenting different perspectives was the much-applauded set-up of the temporary exhibition *Dutch, Japanese, Indonesians. The Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies*, opened in 1999 in the Rijksmuseum, and travelled to Japan, but the emphasize on the Dutch camp victims and Japan as the aggressor gave critique, as for example the pre-war period of Dutch colonization, thus the Dutch as the ‘aggressor’, was not presented.

<sup>343</sup> Until recently the Indonesian resistance during WWI in Netherlands was also not part of the Dutch museum narrative. At the Tong Tong Fair (the Pasar Malam Besar) in The Hague in 2014 an exhibition was developed about this story.

<sup>344</sup> <http://photoelec.dmu.ac.uk/content/indies-remembrance-story-netherlands-indies> (visited 10 September 2014)

*The Story* includes the pre-war period of Dutch colonization, and the rooms about the Indies WWII and Decolonization War seemed to take carefully in account not only the different stories of Dutch and Indo-Dutch people, but also of the Japanese and Indonesians (Fig.9.).



period by presenting all the different perspectives: Dutch, Indonesian, Japanese, perpetrators, collaborators, victims et cetera (Fig.10-11.).

Also stories that depict uneasy aspects as the military use of violence by both the Dutch and Indonesians are presented, like the Dutch war crimes in the Javanese village Rawagade in 1947 (Fig.12.). This

In the exhibition room *The Revolution 1945-1949*, about the Decolonisation War, the narrative centralizes the diversity of individual experiences on this historical



illustrates the changing perception of the past: controversial issues from the past are re-examined from a new perspective.<sup>345</sup>

### *Historical continuity?*

The many stories and memories of groups of people involved in the 1942-1949 period are perhaps minor in number, but historically not less important or ‘representative’. Question is, whether the absence of



some of those stories is specifically a postcolonial phenomenon caused by the collapse of the Dutch empire in Indonesia as most scholars argue, or not? Could this ‘aphasia’ be traced back to the pre-war museum narratives and power field of politics?<sup>346</sup> For example: before WWII the minority of Indo-Europeans in the archipelago were rarely subject of political discussion or anthropological

<sup>345</sup> Zegveld, L., *Oorlog en onrecht zijn niet alleen te bestrijden met recht*. Talk at Conference *Omstreden geschiedenis. Een symposium over de (re)presentatie van de Nederlands-Indonesische geschiedenis in musea* organised by the Centre of Indies Remembrance Bronbeek and Framer Framed, 9 februari 2012.

<sup>346</sup> See Bijl (2014) on the idea of nostalgia.

interest, so also not part of the museum narratives. Dutch museums and museums in the colony focussed on collecting artefacts related to the indigenous people or archaeological artefacts.<sup>347</sup> One could say that the restraint against the arrival of the immigrants like the Indo-Dutch from Indonesia is based on this.<sup>348</sup> In *the Story*, there are references to the Indo-Dutch community in pre-war Indonesia, like a diagram about the population in 1679 mentioning the Indo-European mixed population and a blown-up photograph of a military camp room for the families of Dutch militaries who were married with Indonesian women (Fig.13.). Yet, this does not reflect the complete history of this community. These tensions emerged when the Indies Centre of Remembrance was housed in a military space, the Bronbeek Estate of the Dutch Ministry of Defense. Social history and remembrance seemed to have sometimes been pushed to the background in order to make way for military history.

### *Hidden histories revealed*<sup>349</sup>



Recently, more (hi) stories are revealed or ‘re-entering’ public domain: like the history of the *Belanda Hitam*, descendants of former African slaves who were recruited for the Dutch Royal Colonial Army *Koninklijk Nederlandsch Indisch Leger* (KNIL) between the 1830-1870s.<sup>350</sup> By doing so, it addresses uncomfortable topics of Dutch history: the entanglement between slavery and colonialism. This raises the question why these topics are now presented in Dutch museums? Is it a response to global society? Is it because the generation that lived through the war passes away? Is it the emergence of a new generation that have not experienced the war, but do note references to that war? Either way, it changes the relationship museums have with their

<sup>347</sup> See for example the origins of archaeological and anthropological museums, like the National Museum of Antiquities (Leiden), Museum Volkenkunde (Leiden) and Tropenmuseum (Amsterdam) and the Museum van het Bataviaasch Genootschap, now Museum Nasional Indonesia (Jakarta).

<sup>348</sup> See also Pattyana (2014) about the visual tradition of Indies culture in which she also speaks about the image of the Dutch-Indo community, and in particular of Indonesian and Indo-Dutch woman seen and written about by Dutch woman in the Dutch East Indies.

<sup>349</sup> For example: *Getekend. Nederlanders in Japanse kampen* (1995) in the Museum in Den Haag; *De Rubberen Tijd – Jam Karet* (1998) in the Oorlogs- en Verzetsmuseum Overloon and Verzetsmuseum Friesland; *Nederlanders Japanners Indonesiers. De Japanse bezetting van Nederlands-Indië* (1999) in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; ‘Buitenkampers, de kleur van overleven’ in Museum in Den Haag (2013)

<sup>350</sup> See I. van Kessel, *Zwarte Hollanders, Afrikaanse soldaten in Nederlands-Indië*, 2005. At the same time an exhibition was opened in the Tropenmuseum. The exhibition travelled to several places in the Netherlands, among them the Museum Bronbeek (2005), the Indisch Huis in The Hague (2006), the Afrikacentrum in Limburg (2006) and Moluks Historisch Museum in Utrecht (2007). Also, in 2003 the Elmina Java Museum in Elmina in Ghana (Africa) was opened and is dedicated to the history of the African KNIL soldiers and their descendants, the *Belanda-Hitam*.

audience.

Contemporary exhibitions like the one about the *Belanda Hitam* can contribute to new (inter) national frameworks. Another example is the recently opened temporary exhibition *Selamat Shabbat* about the unknown Jewish history in the Dutch East Indies in the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam (Fig.14.). The fact that the Shoah overshadowed the Indies camp memories both in the Netherlands and in Israel is one of the causes why the history of the Indies Jews became underexposed in the Jewish history in the Netherlands. Often avoiding the comparison between the atrocities of WWII, the Indies dimension of WWII, and the Decolonisation War, most Indies immigrants, thus also the Indies Jews did not come forward with their stories and memories. Initially, the museum interviewed several Indies Jews, living in Israel, to collect their memories about the (post) war period. After a Jewish survivor of the Japanese camps approached the museum with personal memorabilia about this period, the idea for an exhibition was initiated. Together with the

interviews it was the starting point to conduct research on the Jewish history in the archipelago, and could be seen as a bottom-up initiative. The exhibition tells the history of the Jews in the archipelago from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, WWII and the post-WWII situation.<sup>351</sup> Starting and finishing the exhibition with a suitcase, it centralizes the individual experiences of the ones



who were children during WWII together with memory carriers like photographs, film footages and camp memorabilia, for example an embroidered book about camp life made by a mother for her child during the Japanese occupation, and interviews. Their memories run through the storyline of the exhibition as a unifying rope (Fig.15.).

### *A dynamic narrative archive*

These exhibitions show that the colonial past is not a closed chapter. Pattynama (2012, 2014) argued that by using a multi perspective narrative approach and use of mixed media *The Story* communicates that the past refers to a dynamic narrative archive instead of a closed era. While *The*

<sup>351</sup> Berg, H., Candotti, A., and V. Touw, 'Selamat Sjabbat. De onbekende geschiedenis van joden in Nederlands-Indië'. In: *Selamat Sjabbat. De onbekende geschiedenis van joden in Nederlands-Indië*'. Special Misjppoge exhibition publication. 27: 4, 2014.

*Story* concludes with the contemporary Indies community from old to younger generations in the Netherlands, *Selamat Shabbat* concludes with the story of Jewish life in current Indonesia, often descendants of the Jews that lived in colonial Indonesia. Both museums also ask their visitors to share their stories, memories and objects in an online archive.<sup>352</sup> Although both exhibitions use many historical photographic images, which would address especially the older generation that have lived in the colony, the contemporary way in which they are used will attract younger generations raised in our increasingly visual culture. By visiting the exhibitions, they will make up their own new narratives.<sup>353</sup> At the same time, for both the older and younger generation, Bo Tarenskeen, theater maker and belonging to the younger Indo-Dutch generation, said: ‘Seeing your history in the museum, makes you feel you’re part of history’.<sup>354</sup>

## 5. Conclusion

By giving Indonesian and Dutch examples of how the national historical war narratives are developed by politics and museums, we tried to give insight in the opposing meanings given to the war period 1942-1949, how opposing point of views compete, and by that trying to reveal absent ‘mutual’ (hi) stories of different communities in both Indonesian and Dutch museums.

The national war narrative developed by museums and politics in both countries do not tell the complete story, or have just only in recent decades begun to include different perspectives within the permanent museums exhibitions. (Younger generations of) Museum workers in both countries are searching for ways of audience participation. Perhaps, our museums and the different communities should work together and exchange the different perspectives on this historical period? The inclusion of the different stories, memories and perspectives would not only complement the shared history of the countries, but also challenge the national narrative; it shows how different communities do not only differ, but are also related. Even though not every (hi) story is told, the exhibitions include references far beyond national history, and perhaps beyond individual biographies: to geopolitical developments of a past that changed the lives of people, and had consequences for their political and cultural citizenship. Our museums together, in interaction with the communities, might be able to search for an international multi perspective framework, to promote historical understanding of different point of views on a global event that than and now crosses borders.

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<sup>352</sup> See [www.jodeninonderlandsindie.nl](http://www.jodeninonderlandsindie.nl)

<sup>353</sup> Pamela Pattynama in her talk *Tegenstrijdige perspectieven en onbedoelde boodschappen*, conference *Omstreden Geschiedenis*, 2012. See also <http://photoclec.dmu.ac.uk/content/indies-remembrance-story-netherlands-indies> (visited 10 September 2014)

<sup>354</sup> Quote from Bo Tarenskeen’ speech at the opening of the exhibition *Selamat Shabbat*, 12 october 2014.



The topic of this article asks for further research. We hope it will initiate further reflection and discussion on how in both countries a framework could be developed to present the different stories in a meaningful museum context.

## **The Establishment of the National Museum of Finland and the Silencing of "Exotic" Cultures**

The National Museum of Finland opened its doors to the public in the purpose-made national romantic style building in the centre of Helsinki in January 1916. At the time Finland was not an independent country, but an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian empire. Full independence was only gained in December 1917. Thus, all essential decisions about the founding of the museum were made under Russian rule. These were strongly characterized by an increasingly nationalistic atmosphere in this western part of the Russian Empire and an urge to present Finland as a nation with its own identity, history and right for self-determination. The planners and architects of the new museum adhered to the *art nouveau* ideal of creating a building that would be in harmony with the collections inside. Thus, the building was made from Finnish granite. Moreover, its architectural features were meant to reflect various periods of Finnish history and the details of the exterior decorations were carefully composed to depict Finnish nature and the character of the people.

Yet, the new building and the initial museum displays did not represent existing collections in their entirety. At the time of the museum's inauguration, the institution held a collection of approximately 120,000 objects, about half of which were of Finnish origin. The rest of the collection consisted of objects brought from other parts of the world, especially from Alaska, China, the Pacific region and various parts of Siberia. These items had been collected during the previous one hundred years, when the collection – only later regarded as the national collection – belonged to the university museum. This part of the collection reflected an older idea of a museum, which the new nation builders wanted to omit from the new establishment. At the time of the long-awaited opening of the National Museum, its departments showed no sign of the existence of large non-western collections: they had been packed away for storage.

Although the National Museum was actively involved in creating new Finnish narratives and identities, its roots were in very different museum ideologies and practices of collecting. The construction of a national narrative meant silencing other voices, especially those relating to "exotic", non-western cultures. Thus, the establishment of the Finnish National Museum represented a significant break from an older tradition of collecting, in that the sole focus of the institution was on the history of the Finnish nation. In this paper, which is based on my ongoing research on the history of "exotic" exhibitions in Finland, I will outline the changing orientation and attitudes

towards the non-western collection. This will be done in three steps. I will begin with the older tradition of collecting, which concentrated primarily on non-western material. After that, I will move on to describe the moment when this tradition was challenged and fell from favour and, finally, the processes of excluding and silencing the non-western materials.

### **1. The Legacy of Previous Decades: Dominance of the Non-Western**

Unlike in many other European countries, where national collections were of royal origin, the fledgling Finnish collection arose under the auspices of academia. The Academy of Turku, which had been established in 1640, when Finland was still part of the Swedish empire, received various ethnographic and art objects as donations and a small Ethnographic Museum was established in the late eighteenth century to house this growing collection. The town of Turku was ravaged by fire in 1827 and most of the academic collections, including the ethnographic artefacts, were lost. Furthermore, the university was moved to Helsinki, the new capital of autonomous Finland, where the loss of previous collections was soon compensated by new donations.

Characteristic to the ethnographic collections in both Turku and Helsinki was that due to a lack of resources they grew primarily on the basis of donations, without any real guidance or systematic plan. From the very beginning, the collection had an especially strong non-western emphasis. It consisted mainly of artefacts donated by sailors, traders, officers serving in the Russian army and other Finns who had the possibility to travel. An especially important donor was Arvid Adolf Etholén (1798–1876), a Finnish born naval officer in the service of the Russian American Company, who made several journeys to Alaska and eventually became the Chief Manager of the Company. He was, therefore, the highest authority in Russian-owned Alaska.

In addition to other duties, Etholén was responsible for organizing scientific journeys to the Alaskan interior. His objective was to chart the region and strengthen Russian colonial hold over the native people. Groups of scholars were attached to Etholén's expeditions to gather artefacts to provide evidence of the expansion of the Russian empire and of the artistic skills and other capacities – or the assumed lack of them – of its new subject people. Most of the material was transported to St. Petersburg and donated to the Academy of Sciences. Yet, Etholén wanted the university in Helsinki, where he grew up, to possess similar scientific collections. Hence, he donated his personal collections to the Imperial Alexander University in the Finnish capital. In effect he wanted to ensure that Finland also participated in undertakings associated with civilization and knowledge, thereby representing an active part of the empire rather than a colony itself. The ethnographic donations given by Etholén consisted of approximately 800 objects. The collection included a great variety of clothing, made from bird and sea mammal skins and guts. Among the donated artefacts were also

various tools and weapons, as well as decorative hunting hats and pieces of ritual sculpture made of walrus ivory. Most of the objects were new and similar ones were in current use among Alaskans.

For a long time this collection formed the core of the Ethnographic Museum at the university. It was also supplemented by donations of objects brought from China and elsewhere around the Pacific region. The donors were typically Finnish seafarers who had served Russian trade or whaling companies and had brought home little souvenirs, such as pipes, fans, textiles or porcelain cups. Members of upper class families also donated Chinese objects – usually a porcelain vase or a set of china – many of which had been obtained in the eighteenth century, when Finland was ruled by Sweden. In the Finnish context, Asian artefacts were very rare and consequently they were treasured as being especially valuable and exotic. It seems that the Ethnographic Museum at the university was regarded as a suitable public institution in which to preserve such unusual, scattered artefacts. It provided a setting in which a unique artefact could be the subject of scholarly research and comparison.

During the early nineteenth century, the museum did not have a nationalistic agenda. Although objects of Finnish or European origin, such as works of art, archaeological findings and pieces of contemporary handicraft, were occasionally donated to the museum, the non-western material dominated its collections. Thus, rather than focusing on objects that could have been available nearby, the museum became a place which brought together examples of the diversity of human material cultures. In this respect, the collection resembled Renaissance curiosity cabinets. As described, the resulting combination of foreign artefacts and their primacy in regard to other parts of the collection had more to do with individual donors and their conceptions of value than any systematic planning.

## **2. A New Balance: the Foreign alongside the Finnish**

In the early 1870s, the Ethnographic Museum moved to the Arppeanum, a new university building. New spacious premises made it possible to reorganize the museum display to better reflect current ideas and the content of collections. During the previous decades, nationalist feeling and activities had notably strengthened in Finland and the idea of establishing a national museum for the Finnish people had become an increasingly burning question. The Ethnographic Museum held the largest collection of ethnographic objects in Finland and although the museum was still part of the university, its collections formed an obvious starting point for the museum project. At the same time, with the strengthening of the idea of a national museum, concrete efforts were also made to increase the proportion of Finnish artefacts at the museum. Systematic collecting campaigns were arranged to amass objects of Finnish origin.

These developments had a strong effect on the new display of the Ethnographic Museum. The Arppeanum became a place where the idea of the future National Museum was developed and tested. Thus, the reorganized display that was opened to the public in 1872 was radically different than preceding exhibitions. The biggest and finest of the museum's rooms were now dedicated to the Finnish collections, which were arranged according to a modern chronological system that had been adopted, in the main, from Danish museums. The Finnish section was furnished with expensive purpose-built showcases, mannequins and sofas.

The artefacts originating from outside Finland formed another section in the exhibition, but it was clear that the emphasis had now shifted to the Finnish displays. Unlike the Finnish objects, foreign artefacts were not systematically arranged. Separate items were put together simply on the basis of being foreign, outside from Finland. The majority of objects in this section were of non-western origin, but among them were also objects that were brought from European countries. The rooms dedicated to foreign ethnography were furnished with old showcases and cupboards and visitors were often directed to the Finnish section without stopping at the foreign section at all.

Thus, the section of foreign ethnography still existed in the museum – alongside the Finnish collection – but the importance previously attached to it seemed to be quickly disappearing. Occasional donations of artefacts, such as Chinese objects, were still received but no systematic efforts were made to increase or develop the existing collection. Generally, the section of foreign ethnography seemed to mainly gain attention among occasional foreign scholars who visited Helsinki. Among these visitors were Augustus Wollaston Franks, a Keeper at the British Museum, and Alphonse Pinart, a French ethnographer. In fact, this academic audience was probably one of the main reasons why the collection was still on display. Otherwise, the function of this part of the museum seemed somewhat unclear. While the rationale of the Finnish section was often described in contemporary writings – it was meant to provide scholarly evidence of the long history of the Finnish people – the reason for putting foreign objects on display was not as explicitly stated. It seems that it was regarded as some sort of background material for the Finnish display: it was intended that visitors acquired an overall idea of the diversity of material cultures in various parts of the world and thus became better equipped to contextualize what they saw in the Finnish section. This setting also suggested the progress of Finnish material culture and set an evolutionist overtone in the exhibition.

Yet, the most important reason for not merely concentrating on the Finnish material, but also organizing a foreign section, in the new display seemed to be connected to tradition. As the non-western material had traditionally formed the majority and most valued part of the museum's collection, the former non-western emphasis could not be removed once and for all. Yet, in the new nationalistic atmosphere, the display of non-western material appeared increasingly unscientific,

random and outdated – especially when contrasted to the systematically-collected and displayed Finnish collection. This contradiction soon led to new arrangements at the museum. Only two years after the opening of the new display in the Arppeanum building, the foreign section was moved to smaller premises and reorganized in less showcases. Later still it was moved to an office room that was reserved for museum personnel and thus excluded from the public exhibition. Finally, in the mid-1880s, in order to better organize and display the national collection, all objects of non-western ethnography were packed away and moved to a depot outside the museum.

### **3. Exclusion of the Non-Western Collections**

The exclusion of non-western material was closely connected to intensified discussion regarding the prospective National Museum. By the late nineteenth century it has become clear that a National Museum would be established primarily on the basis of the collections held by the Ethnographic Museum. A purpose-made building would be constructed for the new museum in the centre of Helsinki. It was also obvious that although the National Museum would inherit both the Finnish and foreign collections from its predecessor, the new museum would be, first and foremost, national in its character and concentrate on the Finnish past.

The role of other nations and other material cultures in the future National Museum was occasionally discussed. Two brothers, who were working at the Ethnographic Museum, became especially influential in planning the new museum and in determining the fate of non-western material. Eliel Aspelin, an art historian, wrote in 1887 in a pamphlet that "Finns should not spend their energy in collecting ethnography of the whole world but should instead focus on what they really know better than anyone else, that is, Finnish history". He referred to the situation in Denmark, where Christian Jürgensen Thomsen and other museum professionals had made the decision to collect ethnography from all over the world. According to Eliel Aspelin, the Danish case should not be copied in Finland. He thought that Finland was too poor and peripheral a country to compete in collecting and presenting general ethnography and should therefore leave these activities to other, richer European nations. He suggested that everything foreign and unconnected to the Finnish nation should be excluded from the National Museum.

Johan Reinhold Aspelin was of the same opinion and, as the leading proponent of Finno-Ugrian scholarship, he brought further considerations to the table. Finno-Ugrian scholars aimed at tracing the broader ancestry of the Finnish population by looking for evidence of its cultural and linguistic connections to populations living far away in Siberia, mainly around the area of the Ural Mountains. J. R. Aspelin promoted the idea that the National Museum of Finland should become a leading institution of Finno-Ugrian culture and history. This plan did not receive much support, but Aspelin's work at the museum strongly influenced the way in which objects of Finno-Ugrian origin

were separated from other Asian material and moved and catalogued as belonging to the Finnish past. This was a radical change and shifted the previous borderline between familiar and foreign. At the same time, other Asian artefacts – as well as other materials which were considered unrelated to the Finnish population – were categorized under the label of "foreign tribes". According to J. R. Aspelin, all this material was "alien" to the Finns and should be excluded from the National Museum.

When the concrete planning for the new National Museum building began in the late 1880s, it became apparent that the new establishment would not include a department of foreign ethnography. At some point plans were made to dedicate one small room to Etholén's Alaskan collection, but this did not materialize. When the new museum building was finished, the non-western collection – which had been in storage since the 1880s – was moved to the building. It was placed in a large storage room in the attic of the ethnographic wing, right above the department of Finnish ethnography. A small portion of the non-western collection was unpacked and arranged in the attic as a teaching collection that could be visited by students of ethnography. Otherwise, this exhibition remained closed to the public. This situation lasted for nearly one hundred years. In the late 1990s, a separate museum was opened for non-western artefacts within the national collection. This new institution, entitled the Museum of Cultures, received premises in the centre of Helsinki and the first permanent exhibition was opened in 2004.

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In his classic book *The Predicament of Culture* (1988), James Clifford describes the tendency of Western museums to classify non-western artefacts as either ethnographic specimens or as pieces of primitive art and treating them accordingly. Museums have had the power to make strong and lasting judgements of value in regard to other cultures. In addition to categorizing and labelling foreign material cultures, Western museums have also had the power to exclude them altogether from permanent and temporary displays and leave them in abeyance. As far as the construction of national narratives and histories is concerned, this development may seem obvious and unavoidable. Nation-building processes often entailed hard choices: existing collections had to be "cleaned" of artefacts that were considered unimportant or irrelevant. Instead of showing the diversity of the world, it became increasingly important to prove that a nation stood on its own feet, without support from others. Yet, even in this nationalistic context, foreign collections in museums were (and are) subject to shifting meaning. The categorization of the Siberian artefacts as part of Finnish heritage, for example, reveals the fluidity of borderlines.

Attitudes to non-western collections in Finnish museums remain problematic. To conclude, I cannot resist mentioning that two major Finnish museums dedicated to foreign ethnography closed

their doors to the public in 2013. In May 2013, only fifteen years after opening, the above-mentioned Museum of Cultures – which holds the oldest and largest collection of non-western artefacts in Finland – had to leave its exhibition premises in the centre of Helsinki. Although the Museum of Cultures still exists in name and is part of the National Museum of Finland, its permanent exhibition came to an end and its collections have been moved to the central depot of the National Board of Antiquities in Orimattila, one hundred kilometres north of Helsinki.

Only a couple weeks after the closure of the Museum of Cultures, another traditional collection of non-western ethnography in Finland closed its doors to the public. This was the collection of artefacts assembled by the workers of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (formerly the Finnish Missionary Society) and held in its museum called Kumbukumbu. This collection will be incorporated into the national collections and will be administrated by the National Board of Antiquities. Yet, as with the collections of the Museum of Cultures, this important collection will be sent to a depot in the countryside.

These recent developments have created a situation whereby foreign and especially non-western cultures are – again – becoming increasingly marginalized and invisible in Finnish museums. At the same time, Finnish society has become profoundly and permanently multicultural. In recent decades, Western museums have faced challenging questions, such as *who owns the foreign artefacts in the collections, how should they be displayed in a museum or who has the right to interpret them?* A further question to be considered should be *do museums have a responsibility to put on display artefacts of foreign cultures they have amassed over the course of many years?*

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### **Exhibiting Russian America: Alaska Museums Respond to the Russian Past**

My earliest memory is of pink soap, radiating heat, and the smell of wood smoke. I was probably three years old, and I was in a banya. Yes, banya, and please don't confuse this with a sauna. I'm from Kodiak, Alaska, a place where self-respecting locals with a yard and with the financial means light up the wood stove for a good sweat in their backyard banya. I am not Russian, and I am not Alutiiq, but I am from a Russian-Alutiiq place and banya is a part of my family's heritage as a result.

Banya is not the only legacy of Russian colonial rule in Alaska. Russians arrived in Alaska in the mid-1700s and were the colonial masters until 1867, when the US purchased it and instituted a new colonial paradigm.<sup>356</sup> Although it has nearly been 150 years, the Russian history of Alaska is still visible in our physical and cultural landscape. Banyas grace backyards in the Alutiiq cultural region. The blue domes of Russian Orthodox churches dot the skylines of villages and towns. We eat Russian foods like pirok and piroshki. People and places carry Russian names. Although most Russians returned to Russia after the US purchase, many of those of mixed Russian and Native descent determined to stay in Alaska. As a result, some Alaskans are of Russian heritage.

Yet, please do not be misled with pleasant images of churches and tasty cuisine. The Russian period was one of profound disruption, brutality, and change in Kodiak and elsewhere in Alaska. This was a period of mass death, enslavement, and disease. This was a period in which Kodiak's Native people, the Alutiiq, not only lost their sovereignty, they lost much of their culture.<sup>357</sup> Alaska's Russian past might be over a century away, but it can feel close at hand sometimes.

In 2011, I was hired as the new Curator of Collections and Exhibitions at the Baranov Museum in Kodiak. I was given the task of leading the re-interpretation of the museum. The museum is housed in the Russian American *Magazin*, the oldest building in Alaska and the oldest Russian-built structure in the New World. It was built in 1808 as a warehouse for the Russian-American Company. Russians founded the city of Kodiak in 1792. Due to the importance of the Russian legacy

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<sup>356</sup> Some recommended treatments of the Russian American period written in English include Lydia Black, *Russians in Alaska 1732-1867* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2004); Sonja Luerhmann, *Alutiiq Villages under Russian and U.S. Rule* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2008); Barbara Sweetland Smith and Redmond J. Barnett, *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier* (Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1990)

<sup>357</sup> For information on the culture of the Alutiiq, see Aron Crowell, Amy Steffian and Gordon Pullar, eds. *Looking Both Ways* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2001) and S.A. Korsun, *Alutiiq/ Sugpiat: A Catalog of the Collections of the Kuntskamera* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2012).

to the community's history and the significance of the *magazin*, a sizeable portion of the new exhibit needed to examine the Russian period and the lasting legacies in the community.

When beginning the reinterpretation of the period, I approached the project by looking both outward and inward, as many public historians do. Looking outward, I evaluated shifts in historiography and read the most recent historical treatments of the period.<sup>358</sup> I closely considered how other institutions treat the period, as well, and uncovered both practical and interpretive challenges to exhibiting the period. In looking inward, I examined how the local community viewed the period and prodded to see if there have been shifts in the way that Kodiak residents "remember" it and view the legacy of the period today. It became clear that the way that the Russian American period has been viewed locally has shifted since the founding of the Baranov Museum in 1967. What I wasn't expecting was that this outward and inward facing examination would turn into a look in the mirror, into an examination of how some Alaska museums, including my own, are a part of the colonial legacy of Russian America.

### **Looking Outward**

The Baranov Museum is not the only museum in Alaska to be changing permanent exhibitions on Alaska's history. Several other museums around the state are in the process of planning for major exhibition overhauls. As a result, curators at Alaska museums are now at an opportune moment to consider how we have interpreted the Russian period in the past and to determine how we will interpret this conflict-ridden period in the immediate future.<sup>359</sup>

How have other Alaska institutions exhibited the period? To answer this question, I sent out a survey, interviewed curators, looked at exhibit scripts, text panels, and exhibit catalogs from past and current exhibitions that look at Russian America, and spent lots of time reviewing both history and historiography to determine how Alaska museums have responded to our Russian past. I distributed my survey to museums across Alaska, using my professional network and an Alaska museum listserv to elicit participation. I reached for opinions from museum professionals and historians from around the state, but I focused my attention in two directions: the major museums in Alaska (which include the Alaska State Museum in Juneau, the Anchorage Museum, and the Museum of the North in Fairbanks) and museums and historical societies in the towns whose histories are most closely tied to Russian America. These included the former major Russian settlements in Alaska: Unalaska, Kodiak, and Sitka. In the survey, respondents shared with me information about their collections,

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<sup>358</sup> This paper will not include a discussion of the historiography of Russian America. For a good summary of the historiography of the Kodiak region during the Russian American period, please see Sonja Luehrmann, *Alutiiq Villages under Russian and U.S. Rule* (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 2008), 1-19.

<sup>359</sup> As of October, 2014, the Anchorage Museum, the Alaska State Museum, the Sitka Historical Museum and Russian Bishop's House are in the planning stages for installing new exhibitions on Alaska history.

their past, current, and planned exhibitions, interpretive challenges and their assessments of how the Russian American period is exhibited in Alaska museums today. I also visited the major museums in Alaska and photographed the current permanent exhibitions on Russian America. I examined photographs of past Russian American exhibitions and exhibit catalogs and other supplementary materials, like handouts and curriculum guides, associated with the exhibitions.

What follows is the typical story of Russian America that an Alaska museum visitor would see, told as an amalgamation of exhibitions on the period from museums across Alaska. There are deviations from this distilled content, but the thrust of interpretation follows a similar trajectory.

*The Russians were the first European nation to come across Alaska, in the mid-1700s. Rough and tumble Siberian fur traders, known as promylshlenni, hopped up the Aleutian Chain, eradicating sea otters and the Aleut people that they came across. The Russians enslaved the Aleut and Alutiiq people in order to force them to hunt. All of this was in order to satisfy the global fur trade.*

*In 1784, merchant Gregorii Shelikhov established the first Russian settlement in Alaska, on Kodiak Island. He hired Alexander Baranov to govern and expand the colony. In 1799, Tsar Paul granted a monopoly to Shelikhov and Baranov's company, the Russian-American Company. With limited men and very few resources, Baranov expanded the Russian colonies and the sea otter hunt from the Aleutian Islands, to mainland Alaska and into the Interior, establishing a new capital at Sitka and colonies as far away as Fort Ross in California.*

*The Russians were ruthless in their grab for furs, but some Russians were better than others. The first Christian missionaries to come to the Pacific Northwest arrived from Russia in 1794. The Russian Orthodox monks and priests established churches, orphanages, schools and seminaries. They protected the natives from the abuses of the Russian-American Company and advocated for Native rights. Some of the missionaries became canonized, including Saint Herman and Saint Innocent.*

*Some Russian and Siberian fur traders took Native wives. Their children became known as Creoles, and Russian and Native culture came together in intriguing ways in Alaska. In 1867, the US purchased Alaska from Russia for \$7.2 million. Russian Orthodoxy remains the most important lasting legacy of the Russian period.<sup>360</sup>*

As you can see, like many exhibitions that highlight colonization, the story that most Alaska museums portray has been solidly Euro-centric. There are notable exceptions. Not surprisingly, tribal museums do not present the period through the lens of Western history. As an example, the small exhibit at the Ahtna Cultural Center posits the Russian period squarely within Ahtna Native oral

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<sup>360</sup> This basic trajectory was taken from Russian America history exhibitions at the Alaska State Museum, the Anchorage Museum, the Baranov Museum, the Museum of the North and the Russian Bishop's House.

tradition. It is important to note that the standard permanent exhibitions on Russian America have been on display for decades, indicating that the interpretation does not align with current Russian American historiography and interpretive trends.

Curators and historians in Alaska are well aware of this. None of the survey respondents were pleased with the way that the period is interpreted in Alaska's museums. One respondent noted, "There is so much that museums could do to interpret [Russian America] better, more intelligently, in a more appealing way, in a more provocative way, in a way that points out how the current US government treats Alaska like a colony, and to what extent we are colonial ... " Another stated, "I think the vast scholarship that has accumulated in the last decade or two needs to be better reflected in our public museums."<sup>361</sup>

Temporary exhibitions on Russian America have been more responsive to the changing ways in which historians and Alaskans view the Russian past. Unfortunately, the groundbreaking interpretation within these exhibitions has not percolated into changes within permanent exhibit scripts. Many of the curators with whom I spoke pointed to the 1990 exhibit organized by historian Barbara Sweetland-Smith as a marking point in the historiography of Russian America and the interpretation of the topic to the public, *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier*. Smith worked with colleagues in the Soviet Union and institutions in Alaska to assemble a remarkable collection of objects, charts, and documents. The progressive view of the period is demonstrated in the exhibit brochure, which states: " the promyshlenniki learned, in time, to survive and profit from assimilation with the Aleut Natives."<sup>362</sup> Now this is different. Rather than framing the period as one in which Russians implanted their cultural values and technologies in Alaska, in the process supplanting Native ways, Smith claimed that it was the Russians who assimilated to the Natives.

However, this important shift in museum interpretation did not take hold. Some of the objects that Alaska museums loaned for the exhibit never made it back on exhibit once they were returned to their home institutions.<sup>363</sup> Permanent exhibitions on Russian America at the major institutions continued to follow a less than intriguing, time-tested trajectory: a Western-centric view of European discovery, set in the context of the fur trade, with a focus on the historic figures that advanced and punctuated the period.

One reason for this staid perspective is a challenge that many curators articulated in the survey: a problem of sources. There is a linguistic and geographic challenge when referring to source

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<sup>361</sup>"Exhibiting Russian America Survey Results." A copy of the survey responses was deposited with the Kodiak Historical Society/ Baranov Museum.

<sup>362</sup> *Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier* exhibit brochure "Russkaya Amerika."

<sup>363</sup> This was the case for the Alaska State Museum and the Baranov Museum. Personal conversation, Steve Henrikson, August 9, 2014.

material, in addition to problems inherent within the sources themselves. Many Alaska historians struggle to speak of the period at all since most sources are in Russian and many are actually in Russia. As a result, early Alaska history is inaccessible to many historians and curators due to the language in which the documents exist and the distance required to view the material at all. Additionally, accounts of the period can be characterized as being mainly institutional. That is to say, the archival record overwhelmingly originated from Russian administrators (Russian-American Company records) and missionaries (Russian Orthodox Church records). While these records describe the machinations and motives of commercial and religious interests in Alaska, they do less to divulge the experiences of Russian American individuals. Accounts are not typically of a personal nature; rather they chart business and institutional transactions.

There are few Native-created sources that describe the experiences of Native Americans in Russian America.<sup>364</sup> In the Aleut/ Alutiiq regions, there are oral accounts and songs that have been passed down, yet only a handful of written historic accounts that capture the Native experience.<sup>365</sup> This is the perennial problem around the world; the victors are the history-writers. This results in histories and exhibitions about the period that privilege the Russian perspective.

Of course, there are actions that can be taken to mitigate the problems inherent within the source material on Russian America. Archaeology fills many gaps in this incomplete picture.<sup>366</sup> Travelling to museum collections outside of Alaska connects local people to objects and the skills inherent in their creation that are no longer locally available. The Alutiiq Museum does exemplary work in connecting Native artists to international collections. Through resuscitating traditional arts, contemporary individuals are connected to material harvesting methods, forgotten motifs, and rediscovered techniques which can, in a sense, revive Native voices that archives do not include. Translation projects are often underway, but there is rarely enough funding and in the state of Alaska there is little expertise to effectively translate Russian sources. Only by making the primary sources available in English will we be able to truly re-imagine the narrative.

In addition to limited access to primary sources from the period, some survey respondents noted that there is a lack of material culture from the period. It is my opinion, however, that the issue isn't so much that there is a paucity of objects, but that curators have typically elected to exclude

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<sup>364</sup> An exception to this are records created by Creole and Native clergy of the Russian Orthodox Church or Creole administrators of the Russian-American Company. Yet again, these sources fall into the institutional realm that typify much of the primary sources on the period.

<sup>365</sup> One account that has been translated into English and that is referred to often is that of Arsentii Amanak. Heinrich Johan Holmberg, *Holmberg's Ethnographic Sketches*, trans. Fritz Jaensch (Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press, 1985), 57-61.

<sup>366</sup> For example, the Alutiiq Museum excavated a cod fishing and fox hunting camp on Kodiak Island from the 1820s that included Alutiiq and Russian artifacts. For more information, visit the Alutiiq Museum's site excavation blog: <http://www.alutiiqmuseum.org/research/results/641-miktsqaaq-angayuk.html>.

ethnographic objects from history exhibitions. Most exhibitions on Russian America are dominated by copper kettles, samovars, icons, and household objects of Russian manufacture. This runs counter to one of the main themes that pervades historical treatments of Russian America: the hybridity of culture in Russian America. The message and the objects don't align, as museums have opted to exhibit *Russian* material culture instead of *Russian American* material culture.

Exhibiting only Russian and Western goods from the period misrepresents the material culture of the period. Alaska households in the Russian colonies were a cultural amalgamation, a place where Spode tea cups were used alongside stone lamps, log buildings had windows made of sea mammal gut skin, and Native foods and tools were supplemented with European materials.<sup>367</sup> Sensitively combining ethnographic and historic objects utilized during the Russian period not only provides a more authentic representation of life in Russian America, it could stimulate greater visitor interest in the period. As one survey respondent noted, "In contrast to their experience with visually appealing ethnographic exhibitions, many visitors' eyes simply glaze over when they are faced with a history gallery!"<sup>368</sup> Combining ethnographic and historic objects can both grab visitor attention and provide a more authentic representation of life in Russian America.

### **Looking Inward and Looking in the Mirror**

The Russian period is certainly contentious, and determining the appropriate interpretive stance is a challenge. This is particularly true in communities where that history is close at hand. In Kodiak, for example, many continue to mourn the loss of culture due to Russian colonial rule, while others celebrate the melding of cultural traditions that resulted. Discussing the difficulties inherent in interpreting the period requires looking inside the community, towards the changing ways that Alaskans view this complicated era. History might be static, but the way that we remember it is not.

When speaking of Russian American history in the former Russian American colonies, it means that we are also speaking of personal identity. In Kodiak, the ways that people identify themselves shifts over time. Within the Baranov Museum's exhibition on local history, we discuss the changing ways that Kodiak people refer to themselves in the following manner:

"At the museum, you will find Kodiak Natives called Alutiiq. Before Russians arrived, Kodiak Natives called themselves Sugpiaq. The Russians called the people of Kodiak Koniag or Aleut (after the unrelated peoples of the Aleutian Islands). In response, Kodiak Natives started calling themselves Alutiiq, or "like Aleut." The children of Native and Russian parents became known as Creoles. Due to racism, for many years some

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<sup>367</sup> As found in the archaeological record, see Richard A. Knecht and Richard H. Jordan, "Nunakakhnak: An Historic Period Koniag Village in Karluk, Kodiak Island, Alaska." *Arctic Anthropology* 22 (1985): 17-35.

<sup>368</sup> "Exhibiting Russian America Survey Results"

local Natives called themselves Russian. Kodiak Natives refer to themselves with these different names depending on the era, region, and personal preference."<sup>369</sup>

It is clear that since the Baranov Museum opened in 1967, there has been a serious shift in the way that historians and local people view Russian colonization. In 1967, there was the tendency to celebrate the Russian American period. In the last decades, the tendency has been more to vilify the Russians. This shift can also be viewed historically and is closely related to our changing relationship to colonization.

At the time of the US purchase, Creoles of Native and Russian descent had positions of relative prestige in the colonies. Yet when the US took over, Creoles were considered half-breeds by the American immigrants. Creoles and Natives had no rights to US citizenship. As a result, many Creoles obscured their Native heritage and called themselves Russian. This persisted for a century, most notably in Kodiak and Sitka.<sup>370</sup>

This meant that some locals were proud of their Russian heritage and proud that their home was the first Russian settlement in the New World. After the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, those of Native descent had to come forward to gain rights to land and access to shares in the newly founded Native corporations.<sup>371</sup> This legislation facilitated a revival of Alaska Native culture. Native perspectives gained legitimacy in the face of Euro-American history. As a result, those who formerly aligned with their Russian roots could embrace their Native identity with less fear of stigma.

In terms of historical memory, this meant that the tides turned against the Russians, who began to be seen more as agents of cultural genocide than as part of a heroic legacy. Yet it was before this shift in local sentiment that the Baranov Museum was named after the first administrator of Russian America, Alexander Baranov.<sup>372</sup>

Oral tradition holds that it was our first curator, Eunice Neseth, a Creole woman of Alutiiq, Russian, and Swedish descent who elected to name the museum after this controversial figure in

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<sup>369</sup> Baranov Museum Exhibit Script

<sup>370</sup> See Gordon Pullar, "Ethnic Identity, Cultural Pride, and Generations of Baggage: A Personal Experience." *Arctic Anthropology* 29 (1992): 183. Sergei Kan, "Sergei Ionovich Kostromitinov (1854-1915), or 'Colonel George Kostrometinoff': From a Creole Teenager to the Number-One Russian-American Citizen of Sitka." *Ethnohistory* Summer 2013: 386-387.

<sup>371</sup> Gordon Pullar, "The Legacy of the Russian-American Company and the Implementation of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act in the Kodiak Island Area of Alaska". *Ethnohistory* Summer 2013: 403-417.

<sup>372</sup> It is interesting to note that the funding for the opening of the Baranov Museum within the Russian American *Magazin* came from Alaska State grants that were created to commemorate the centennial of the Alaska Purchase, in 1967. It had been 100 years since Russia owned Alaska and a fitting time to both document and market Alaska's Russian past.



Alaska's history.<sup>373</sup> Eunice Neseth came from Afognak Village, a settlement within the Kodiak archipelago that was divided into two neighborhoods locally referred to as Russia Town and Aleut Town.<sup>374</sup> Neseth came from Russia Town. It made sense to Neseth and the board of the Kodiak Historical Society to name the museum after Baranov, a figure that was so important to local history and to the history of the North Pacific. This old Russian building would be a monument to this foundational period in local history and a monument to the men that colonized the land. Now, fast forward 50 years and we have visitors ask, "Didn't Baranov enslave Alutiiq people? Wasn't he a bad man? Why is there a museum named after him?"

It became clear that when considering the way that local perception has shifted in relation to the period, the Baranov Museum had to look in the mirror to examine how it was connected to Russia's colonial practices and America's racist past. Yet the Baranov Museum isn't the only institution in Alaska with an institutional history connected to these uncomfortable historical trends. The Alaska State Museum in Juneau was founded in 1900. The first director and curator was Rev. A.P. Kashevaroff, a Russian Orthodox priest and expert on the history of Alaska.<sup>375</sup> Kashevaroff was very interested in extolling the positive influence of the Russian Orthodox mission in Alaska. In an exhibit booklet he wrote in 1923, Kashevaroff wrote of the history of the church as "an enlightener of the savage races of Alaska" and of the Russian-American Company's cooperation in bringing Christianity to Alaska.<sup>376</sup>

When the Alaska State Museum was founded, it was important for Kashevaroff to preserve his Russian identity in American Alaska. He was invested in creating a positive view of the Russian period and the Russian Orthodox Church, especially in the face of Protestant incursion into Alaska. Kashevaroff wanted to preserve Alaska's history, and also preserve his standing as an Alaska-born leader in the anti-Native, anti-Orthodox climate of Alaska in the first decades of American rule. That meant that he did not openly discuss his Native heritage. Kashevaroff came from the most prominent Creole family in Alaska, yet he obscured his Native roots. His daughters all referred to themselves as

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<sup>373</sup> Personal conversation with Katie Oliver, former museum director (2012) and Dr. Bob Johnson, part of the founding board of the Baranov Museum (then known as Baranof Museum) and Marian Johnson, former director of the Baranov Museum, October 14, 2014.

<sup>374</sup> Robert Kopperl, et al. *Afognak Village Cultural Landscape Report* (Washington, DC: Bureau of Indian Affairs Occasional Paper Series, 2014).

<sup>375</sup> For information on Andrew Kashevaroff, see Sergei Kan, *Memory Eternal: Tlingit Culture and Russian Orthodox Christianity through Two Centuries*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), 353-355. Dawn Lea Black, "The Kashevaroffs with an Emphasis on Nikolai Petrovich Kashevaroff." (Kodiak Historical Society Archive). Richard A. Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary* (Fairbanks: The Limestone Press, 1990), 215-216. For information on the Kashevaroff family more broadly, see Pierce, *Russian America: A Biographical Dictionary* and Roxanne Easley, "A.F. Kashevaroff [sic] and the Construction of a Russian-American Identity," in *Over the Near Horizon: Proceedings of the 2010 International Conference on Russian America*, ed. John Dusty Kidd (Sitka, Alaska: Sitka Historical Society Inc.: 2013), 7-13.

<sup>376</sup> Rev. A.P. Kashevaroff, *Descriptive Booklet on the Alaska Historical Museum Issued by the Alaska Historical Association* (Juneau: Daily Alaska Empire Print, 1923), 47.

Russian. In fact, his grandson did not know that he had any Native ancestry at all until he was an adult.<sup>377</sup> When considering the history of Alaska museums alongside the history of Russian America two new artifacts from the period appear: the Baranov Museum and the Alaska State Museum. Two of Alaska's oldest museums are also artifacts of the colonial legacy of Russian America and of the racist legacy of the USA.

One survey respondent said that "telling the story of Russians coming to Alaska legitimizes the history." They went on, "Reality is lacking. Romanticism permeates it to the core. A couple hundred Russians in Alaska and it's a big deal? People focus on it because it legitimizes Alaska's sale and colonization by non-natives." In my mind, recognition is not legitimization. I believe that speaking of the Russian period does not mean one is legitimizing the cruelty or excusing the cultural loss that transpired. However, it does legitimize Alaska's history and legitimize the personal histories of those people whose ancestors were both agents of destruction and agents of cultural resilience.

This history is painful. In the end, by looking outward, looking inward, and looking in the mirror, Alaska museums must come to terms with the fact that they are a part of both Russia's and America's colonial legacies. The real challenge for curators is to reflect upon that legacy honestly without being colonial agents ourselves.

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<sup>377</sup> Personal conversation with John Lovejoy, August 12, 2013.

## **History Museums and the Politics of Commemoration**

### **The Great War Centenary in Flanders**

A hundred years have passed in August 2014 since the beginning of the First World War. The so-called Great War is everywhere these days, and the general public does not seem to get enough of it. Novels and non-fiction books about the horror of the trenches become instant bestsellers, drama series draw millions of viewers, and theatre performances or musicals are quickly sold out. Many museums all over the world set up successful temporary exhibitions. New museums are created that are entirely dedicated to the Great War, and existing museums are modernised and enlarged.

As with all commemorations, the Great War Centenary serves the political and/or economic agendas of several national and subnational governments<sup>378</sup>. A clear example of this is Flanders in Belgium. The Flemish Government, that represents the Dutch-speaking northern region of Belgium, already expressed its intention to position Flanders as a top destination for World War One tourism in 2006<sup>379</sup>. In November 2011, it officially launched its action plan to commemorate the Great War Centenary in Flanders. The Flemish action plan centres on tourism development, international political promotion and remembrance education<sup>380</sup>. The Flemish Government thus distinctly uses the past in order to project the Flemish region on a broader international canvas and to reinforce its identity.

The Flemish action plan is however also a great opportunity for museums. Fifteen million euro was attributed by Geert Bourgeois, the Flemish Minister of Tourism, to forty-four recreational tourism projects. Five of these were chosen to be strategic investment projects, meant to be gateways into the battlefield region. Four existing museums had their permanent exhibitions refurbished, while two wholly new visitor centres were created: firstly the In Flanders Fields Museum in Ypres, secondly the Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917 in Zonnebeke, thirdly Talbot House and the

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<sup>378</sup> JANSEN – VERBEKE Myriam and GEORGE Wanda, “Reflections on the Great War Centenary – From warscapes to memoriscapes”, in BUTLER Richard and SUNTIKUL Wantanee (eds.), *Tourism and War*. Oxon: Routledge, 2013, p. 273.

SUMARTOJO Shanti and WELLING Ben, *Nation, Memory and Great War commemoration: mobilizing the past in Europe, Australia and New Zealand*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2014.

<sup>379</sup> Vlaamse regering, *Vlaanderen in Actie, een sociaal-economische impuls voor Vlaanderen*. Brussels: Vlaamse regering, 2006, p. 93.

<sup>380</sup> The Government of Flanders - Project Office The Great War Centenary (2014-18), *The Great War Centenary in Flanders*. Brussels: Project Office The Great War Centenary (2014-18), 2011. The brochure can be downloaded on the following website: <http://www.vlaanderen.be/int/en/brochure>

new visitor centre Lijssenthoek Military Cemetery in Poperinge, fourthly the Museum on the Yser and fifthly the new visitor centre De Ganzepoot in Nieuwpoort.<sup>381</sup> History museums incontestably play a key role in the Flemish Great War Centenary.

The reason why the Flemish case is particular, and why I chose to study it, is because little or no scientific expertise was called upon, not when the action plan was developed and neither when funding was attributed to the recreational tourism projects<sup>382</sup>. The Flemish Government did form a working group in 2012 that is composed of historians, but this working group does not have an advisory function. Its members are only supposed to edit a book about the history of the Great War<sup>383</sup>. The Flemish Government also organised a seminar in 2011, and historians were encouraged to express their concerns in one of the sessions<sup>384</sup>, but nothing was ever done with their recommendations.

When Flemish Minister of Tourism Geert Bourgeois was questioned in Parliament by members of the opposition on this matter, he answered in his defence that “professors are involved in each of the strategic projects”<sup>385</sup>. A closer look at the role of academic historians in these projects reveals however that this is hardly the case. ‘Professors’ were in fact only involved in two of the five strategic impulse projects: Museum on the Yser and In Flanders Fields Museums<sup>386</sup>. Some of these museums and visitor centres do employ historians, and these ‘public’ historians did sometimes participate in one way or another in the conception of the new exhibitions. These ‘public’ historians are unquestionably important transmitters of the past within the context of the history museum, and it is true that they are in an excellent position to negotiate the best way to transmit the past to the general public. They do however often lack the time to do thorough historical research, and that is where the scientific expertise of the academic historian steps in.

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<sup>381</sup> The Government of Flanders - Project Office The Great War Centenary (2014-18), 2011, p. 20-30

<sup>382</sup> NOPPE Annelien, *‘De kleine oorlog om de Grootte Oorlog’. Het politiek beleid in België omtrent de honderdjarige herdenking van Wereldoorlog I (2014-2018)*. Master’s thesis, Ghent University, 2013, pp. 84-90. This Master’s thesis can be consulted online on the following website: [www.scripriebank.be](http://www.scripriebank.be).

<sup>383</sup> BOEHME Olivier, coordinator of the working group (personal communication, 22 September 2014).

<sup>384</sup> This seminar took place on the 16<sup>th</sup> of June, and was organised by the **Flemish interface centre for cultural heritage (Faro) and the Project Office The Great War Centenary (2014-2018)**. **The historians that took part in Session III (Lessons from the past?) were Bruno De Wever, Gio De Weerd, Maarten Van Alstein, Marjan Verplancke and Nico Wouters. A summary of their discussion and recommendations can be downloaded on the website of the Flanders Department of Foreign Affairs: <http://www.vlaanderen.be/int/studiedag-100-jaar-groote-oorlog-erfgoed-herdenking-en-herinnering> (consulted on 31 October).**

<sup>385</sup> In Dutch: “Bij elk strategisch project zijn professoren betrokken”. Vlaams Parlement, “Actuele vraag van Bart Caron tot Kris Peeters over de kritiek van sommige historici op de Vlaamse initiatieven in het kader van de herdenking van de Eerste Wereldoorlog”, in *Parlementaire handelingen*, 16 November 2011.

<sup>386</sup> These are the conclusions that I reached after interviewing the following museum curators and historians: Piet Chielens (In Flanders Fields Museum, 29 Mai 2013), Sophie de Schaepdrijver (PennState University, 15 February 2013), Bruno De Wever (UGent, 1 March 2013), Jan Louagie (Talbot House, 25 July 2014), Karen Shelby (Baruch College, 23 August 2014), Evy Vandevoorde (Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917, 26 February 2013), Peter Verplancke (Museum on the Yser, 18 July 2014).

In this paper, I will plead that history museums do still need the scientific expertise of academic historians when new exhibitions are created. Museum scholars might consider it old-fashioned to reflect upon this topic, for in the new participatory museum model<sup>387</sup> there is hardly any role left for the scientific expert. Participation is of course an umbrella term that encompasses many different participative strategies. Currently, most participatory museums focus on projects that are contributory, rather than collaborative or co-creative<sup>388</sup>. For example, the Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917 and the In Flanders Fields Museum encourage their visitors to contribute biographies of people who lived during the war to their collections, and some of those are included in museum displays<sup>389</sup>. Both museums however remain in firm control of museum content, and of the process of selecting, interpreting and giving meaning to the biographies when including them in a display.

Collaborative and co-creative strategies are nevertheless on the rise in museums. In a forecasting exercise, the Center for the Future of Museums, together with the Institute of Museum Ethics, predicts that in the following decades control of museum content will be one of the main issues for museum professionals to deal with. Especially the traditional divide between curatorial work by museum professionals and academic experts, and public participation in content creation will become problematic<sup>390</sup>. Some even claim that the present museological moment is already one that is based on the democratization of authority<sup>391</sup> and on co-creative strategies.

The role of the academic historian in history museums might not be an important topic in discussions among museum professionals, but control over exhibition content and the democratization of authority are without a doubt key issues facing the museum profession today. That I make this appeal for the integration of the scientific expertise of academic historians in history museums does not mean that I am a conservative who is against the new participatory museum model. I do agree that social inclusion, participation and co-creation are relevant concepts in today's museum and in current museum studies. I also strongly support visitor participation in museum content. However, I do think that history museums can also benefit from the expertise of academic historians, above all when representing 'hard' history or when dealing with the politics of

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<sup>387</sup> SIMON Nina, *The Participatory Museum*. Santa Cruz: Museum 2.0, 2010.

<sup>388</sup> VAN MENSCH Peter and MEIJER-VAN MENSCH Léontine, *New Trends in Museology*. Celje: Museum of Recent History, 2011, pp. 56-57

<sup>389</sup> For the In Flanders Fields Museum: <http://www.inflandersfields.be/en/testimonials/1/testomonies.html>

For the Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917 ('the Passchendaele archives') :

<http://www.passchendaele.be/ned/archieven.html>

<sup>390</sup> VAN MENSCH and MEIJER-VAN MENSCH 2011, pp. 100-101.

<sup>391</sup> LEHRER Erica and MILTON Cynthia E. "Introduction: Witnesses to Witnessing", in LEHRER Erica, MILTON Cynthia E. and PATTERSON Monica Eileen (eds), *Curating Difficult Knowledge. Violent Pasts in Public Spaces*. Houndmills/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, p. 5.

commemoration.

This paper thus explores the question of why academic historians should be included in discussions about exhibition content. In the two following sections, I will demonstrate that historians should be able to participate in these discussions, because the five strategic investment projects all represent ‘hard’ history and because all of them are confronted with the politics of commemoration. In the third section, I will discuss the historian’s role in exhibition co-creation more in detail.

### **First World War Museums represent 'hard' history**

The five strategic investment projects chosen by the Flemish Government all represent sensitive and controversial issues in their permanent exhibitions, such as war, violence, memory and identity. Notwithstanding the fact that the First World War happened a century ago and that there are no longer any witnesses among us, it is still a sensitive and controversial topic in Belgian history. This is because the Great War experience resulted in conflicting memories between the different linguistic communities of Belgium: Dutch-speaking Flanders and French-speaking Wallonia. These conflicting memories contribute in some extent to the gradual deconstruction of Belgian national identity<sup>392</sup>.

Some authors have described such topics as ‘difficult knowledge’, others as ‘challenging history’, while the Germans speak of ‘heißer Geschichte’, and the organisers of this conference preferred the notion of ‘hard history’. These topics can, as Jenny Kidd noted, “be perceived as challenging by virtue of their subject matter alone, the agendas they reveal, the political debates they feed into and stem from, the emotions that they engage and the lack of any sense of ‘resolution’ to be found in their exploration or perhaps exploitation”<sup>393</sup>.

The main question that curators are confronted with is how ‘hard history’ can be represented in museum exhibitions. Surprisingly, the five strategic investment projects chosen by the Flemish Government do this in very different ways, even though all of them represent the same historical event: the First World War. The In Flanders Fields Museum in Ypres confronts the museum visitor with those who experienced the war, by focusing on individual testimonies. The many multimedia installations bring the dead back to life and into the present. The Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917 in Zonnebeke likewise submerges the visitor in the past, but chooses to do this through another type of exhibition display: dioramas and reconstructions. This museum also represents war in another way, namely by displaying an encyclopaedic array of weaponry, the technical tools of war.

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<sup>392</sup> ROSOUX Valérie and VAN YPERSELE Laurence, “The Belgian national past : Between commemoration and silence”, in *Memory Studies*, 5 (1), pp. 45-57.

<sup>393</sup> KIDD Jenny, “Introduction. Challenging History in the Museum”, in KID Jenny, CAIRNS Sam et al. (eds.), *Challenging History in the Museum. International Perspectives*. Farnham & Brunington: Ashgate, 2014, p. 1.

The third strategic investment project comprises two sites in Poperinge: Talbot House and the visitor centre at Lijssenthoek Military Cemetery. Talbot House is a historic house museum that used to be an ‘every man’s club’ where British military men sought rest and recreation between battles. The ‘hard history’ of war is here mainly represented by its absence. At the visitor centre of Lijssenthoek Military Cemetery however, the violence of the war experience is more present than at any of the other sites. Through texts, photographs and testimonies whispered in the visitor’s ear, the story of the largest evacuation hospital in the Ypres Salient is recounted. The visitor centre is connected to the cemetery by a line-up of 1.392 posts, which represents the dead chart of the hospital.

The fourth impulse project consists of the Museum on the Yser, which is housed in the IJzertoren Memorial, a symbol of Flemish nationalism<sup>394</sup>. In this museum, ‘hard history’ does not only cover the Great War experience, but also its memory and how this memory plays a crucial role in the history of Flemish emancipation. This museum focuses more on ideas, and less on objects. During his visit, the visitor is confronted with eight so-called “windows of national identity” in the form of a flag that can be opened as a triptych. Each “window” tells a story about nationalism from two opposite point of views, and the objective is to make the visitor reflect on the concept of national identity and to let him draw his own conclusions.

Even though the fifth and last strategic project, the visitor centre De Ganzepoot in Nieuwpoort, had not yet opened to the public at the moment that this presentation was given and that its exhibition could thus not yet be analysed, it is clear from the other four projects that Flemish First World War Museums represent ‘hard history’. They do this by virtue of their subject matter alone (war experience and war violence), but even more so by the political agendas they reveal and the emotions they engage up until this day (conflicting memories, deconstruction of the Belgian national identity). It is also clear that the main question of how this ‘hard history’ should be represented in a museum exhibition cannot be answered straightforwardly. As the strategic projects demonstrate, there are many different answers to this question. These answers, however, need to be negotiated by different stakeholders. The historian is one of these stakeholders, and therefore his voice should also be heard.

### **First World War Museums deal with the politics of commemoration**

The Dutch museologist Léontine Meijer-Van Mensch remarked that “what sensitive and controversial issues mean in the framework of an exhibition depends strongly on context, perspective

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<sup>394</sup> SHELBY Karen D., *Flemish nationalism and the Great War : the politics of memory, visual culture and commemoration*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.

and time”<sup>395</sup>. If the Great War has been a sensitive and controversial topic in Belgium at any given time in the past century, it was even more so at specific moments of commemoration. Up until 1921 each fourth of August, date of the invasion of Belgium in 1914, and from 1922 onwards each Armistice Day <sup>396</sup>, but also in the symbolic year of 1964 and now in 2014 and in 2018, commemorative moments recall the war experience and shape war memory. Furthermore, Pierre Nora observed that ‘centenary’ is a key notion that underlies and organises the calendar of commemoration<sup>397</sup>. That this particular centenary takes place in the age of a ‘memory boom’<sup>398</sup>, indicates even more that the hundredth anniversary of the Great War decidedly is a momentous event in the history of its memory.

Commemorations are, as Peter Burke noted, performances of memory. They canonise historical events and integrate these events in a grand narrative<sup>399</sup>, reinforcing the identity of a certain group. Consequently, the forms and rituals of war commemoration contribute to the construction of an ‘imagined community’, a notion coined by Benedict Anderson that refers to a socially constructed community imagined by those who belong to it, and can bring about an affiliation to it <sup>400</sup>. It is not surprising then, that there is often a direct link between commemorations, identity and modern politics, and that this sometimes gives way to a politicisation of the past in order to reinforce identity. Historians claim that this is the case with the Flemish action plan<sup>401</sup>.

The politics of commemoration also concern museums, as the example of the inauguration of the Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917 will demonstrate. When the new extension to the existing permanent exhibition of the museum was inaugurated on the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 2013, representatives of the Flemish and of the local administrations were present, as well as the ambassadress of New Zealand and a representative of the Australian Government. The Flemish Government had contributed the most substantial part of the financial support to the museum, and therefore it was the Flemish Minister of Tourism, Geert Bourgeois, who got the privilege of cutting

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<sup>395</sup> MEIJER-VAN MENSCH Léontine, « Dealing with sensitive and controversial themes in exhibitions » in *museums.ch*, 07, 2012, p. 22.

<sup>396</sup> VAN YPERSELE Laurence, DEBRUYNE Emmanuel and KESTELOOT Chantal, *Bruxelles, la mémoire et la guerre (1914-2014)*. Waterloo : Renaissance du Livre, 2014, pp. 101-103.

<sup>397</sup> NORA Pierre, “L’ère de la commémoration”, in NORA Pierre (dir.), *Les lieux de mémoire*. Paris : Gallimard, 1997, p. 4691.

<sup>398</sup> WINTER Jay, *Remembering War. The Great War between Memory and History in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*. Yale: Yale University Press, 2006.

<sup>399</sup> BURKE Peter, “Co-memorations. Performing the past”, in TILMANS Karin, VAN VREE Frank and WINTER Jay (eds.). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010, p. 106

<sup>400</sup> ANDERSON Benedict, *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London/New-York, Verso, 1991.

<sup>401</sup> VAN DRIESSCHE Wouter, “De kleine oorlog om de Groote oorlog”, in *De Standaard*, 14 November 2011.



the ribbon<sup>402</sup>. Other administrations, including the European Union, Australia and New-Zealand, had however also invested substantial sums into the making of this new exhibition<sup>403</sup>. Surprisingly, they did this in a period characterised by financial crisis, when many other museums were confronted with budgetary cuts<sup>404</sup>.

That the Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917 could count on funding of different sub-national, national and supra-national governments to construct a new extension to its permanent exhibition, can be explained by the importance of the western front as a *lieu de mémoire*<sup>405</sup>, a ‘place of memory’. Many countries and regions, such as Belgium and Flanders, but also Australia and New-Zealand have significant moments in their mythologies tied to the First World War. Flanders, Australia and New-Zealand all locate the origins of their emancipation and nation-building in their Great War experience<sup>406</sup>. The Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917 received funding of these governments, because the museum’s representation of the past fits into their grand narrative. At the same time, the museum’s peace message also fits into the European narrative of ‘never again war’<sup>407</sup>.

The example of the Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917 demonstrates that the politics of commemoration also concern history museums. There is a thin line between commemorations, identity and politics, and this line risks being crossed, which might result in a politicised representation of the past. It should be stressed that the five strategic investment projects to commemorate the Great War Centenary do not represent a politicised past in their museum displays, though these museums and visitor centres are noticeably instrumentalised by the Flemish Government to promote a political agenda. Each of these exhibitions was selected because its content fits into the Flemish narrative. So, how should museums deal with the politics of commemoration? There are many different answers to this question, but all of these need to be negotiated by different stakeholders, including the academic historian.

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<sup>402</sup> BOURGEOIS Geert, “Opening Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917 in Zonnebeke”. Brussels: Flanders Department of International Affairs, 15 July 2013 (press file). <http://www.vlaanderen.be/int/nieuws/opening-memorial-museum-passchendaele-1917-zonnebeke> (consulted 31 October 2014).

<sup>403</sup> SNOEYS Astrid, “Memorial Museum Passchendaele krijgt steun uit Nieuw-Zeeland”, in *Het Laatste Nieuws*, 17 July 2011.

S.n., “Australië geeft 200.000 euro voor uitbreiding Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917”, in *Het Laatste Nieuws*, 14 July 2011.

<sup>404</sup> ICOM Portugal and ICOM Europe, *Public policies towards museums in time of crisis*. Proceedings of an ICOM Portugal and ICOM Europe joint conference, Lisbon, 5-6 April 2013. [http://issuu.com/mapadasideiaspt/docs/icom\\_view\\_final/0#](http://issuu.com/mapadasideiaspt/docs/icom_view_final/0#) (consulted on 31 October 2014)

<sup>405</sup> NORA Pierre, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”, in *Representations*, n. 26, 1989, pp. 7-24.

<sup>406</sup> SUMARTOJO Shanti and WELLING Ben, *Nation, Memory and Great War commemoration: mobilizing the past in Europe, Australia and New Zealand*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2014.

BEYEN Marnix, “A parricidal memory: Flanders’ memorial universe as product and producer of Belgian history”, in *Memory Studies*, 5 (1), pp. 32-44.

<sup>407</sup> DUPIOT Charlie, “Prix Nobel de la Paix : il faut encore que l’Union Européenne le mérite”, in *Libération*, 12 October 2012.

### **The historian's role in exhibition content creation**

It is clear that the museums and visitor centres selected by the Flemish Government to commemorate the Great War Centenary all represent 'hard history', and that they deal with the politics of commemoration. These kind of museums should be a public forum where 'hard history' and the politics of commemorating are negotiated by different stakeholders. Academic historians, 'public' historians, amateur historians, teachers, exhibition designers, museum curators, politicians, visitors, ... all of them 'own' the past. Academic historians do not need to be *the* authoritative voice in museums, but they should at least be enabled to participate in the negotiating process. Historians can of course not avoid the politicisation of the past, nor the instrumentalisation of museums for the benefit of political or economic agendas. They can, however, make sure that the transmitted past is in line with historical scholarship. They can also be critical of any instrumentalisations.

If historians had been invited by the Flemish Government to participate in the conception of the action plan to commemorate the Great War Centenary, they doubtlessly would have been in favour of a narrative that centres less on the front experience. The five strategic investment projects collectively tell the story of the West Flanders front region and of the front experience, with special attention to the Common Wealth presence, the Belgian-German confrontation, the Flemish emancipation and military life behind the front. This is a cohesive story, yet it has been largely criticised both by Flemish and French-speaking historians.

Bruno De Wever, for example, remarked that "the Yser front has of course been of great importance during the conflict, but the situation in occupied Belgian has equally been important, if not more<sup>408</sup>". Indeed, the West-Flanders front region is only a very small part of Belgium and even of Flanders, and the largest part of its territory has been occupied for four long years. The majority of the Flemish people have subsequently experienced the war as civilians in occupied Flanders<sup>409</sup>, while others experienced the war abroad, as refugees in the Netherlands, in Great-Britain or in France, or as forced labourers in Germany. In Belgium, 'only' 40'000 military men died during the war, which is proportionally considerably less than in the other belligerent countries. In addition however, some 20'000 civilians were killed by the Germans, and many towns were destroyed. The war experience in Belgium has in fact been very different than that of the other belligerent countries. For this reason,

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<sup>408</sup> Bruno De Wever cited in HAVAUX Pierre, "14-18 les non-dits flamands du Centenaire", in *Le Vif*, 1 November 2013.

<sup>409</sup> DE SCHAEPPDRIJVER Sophie, "België 14-18: een verhaal in het midden", in *Journal of Belgian History*, 2012, XLII, 2/3, pp. 191.

Laurence van Ypersele describes Belgium as a “veritable laboratory, conscious or unconscious, of the experiences of extreme violence<sup>410</sup>”.

War experience is clearly a concept that is broader than only the front experience in West-Flanders, and touched not only military men, but also civilians. If the historians cited above would have had any say about the selection process of the five impulse projects, they would evidently have chosen other history museums and visitor centres in order to tell another story, that encompasses a larger diversity of Great War experiences. If they would have participated in discussions over exhibition content, these new and modernised exhibitions might also look differently than they do today.

To start the negotiating process over museum content is of course easier said than done. On the one hand, museum professionals would have to let go of part of their control over content creation, which is not at all evident. On the other hand, historians really need to continue discussing their role in society. Laurence van Ypersele, who is an academic historian and also the president of the steering committee of the Great War centenary commemorations organised by the French-speaking community in Belgium, testified that the academics who took part in this committee were criticised by their peers “for engaging in politics”<sup>411</sup>. Even though public history is not any longer strictly separated from the academic sphere, and some academic historians take actively part in the negotiating process, others like to keep their distance. So within the negotiating process between museum professionals, politicians and academic historians, there is another negotiating process among the academic historians themselves, one that challenges how far they can engage in this process. Nonetheless, discussing, collaborating and negotiating seem to be the key words for the ‘new’ museum, and we should urgently start thinking of new and inventive ideas to facilitate the inclusion of the scientific expert in the participatory museum model.

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<sup>410</sup> Laurence van Ypersele quoted in LAPORTE Christian, “Le Sud célébrera à sa manière le centenaire 14-18”, in *La Libre*, 29 September 2012.

<sup>411</sup> VAN YPERSELE Laurence, “WW1 commemorations in Belgium give a glimpse of a divided nation”, in *The conversation*, 1 august 2014. <https://theconversation.com/wwi-commemorations-in-belgium-give-a-glimpse-of-a-divided-nation-29813> (consulted on 29 October 2014)

Sophie de Schaepdrijver (PennState University), Bruno De Wever (UGent), Jan Louagie (Talbot House), Karen Shelby (Baruch College), Evy Vandevoorde (Memorial Museum Passchendaele 1917), Peter Verplancke (Museum on the Yser).

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## **A "Glocal" Memory**

### **The Collective Memory of the Holocaust from a Global and Local Perspective The "Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority - Yad Vashem" And the "United States Holocaust Memorial Museum"**

Historical museums fulfill a key role in commemorating past events, thus creating social cohesion and fostering the common values required to construct an identity. In recent years, research exploring the significance of museums has revealed the methods through which the artifacts on display in historical exhibitions are selected to create a narrative aimed at honoring a heritage and educating the public. It has become evident that museums are storehouses of knowledge, meant to further cultural, social and political agendas. The narrative told by a particular museum reflects the value system and political interests of the individual or group who were instrumental in establishing the institution. Thus, the narrative of one museum may differ from that of another, even though both museums are addressing the same historic event. Therefore, while there are many sites around the world dedicated to the memory of the Holocaust, each one supports "a different Holocaust."

My research is closely aligned with the aforementioned studies, showing the ways in which museums "mediate" the past, transform meaning and are influenced by current identities. This research compares Yad Vashem, the official Israeli Holocaust memorial, with the United States Holocaust Museum (henceforth: USHMM). Unlike similar memorials in Europe, they are not geographically connected to the place where the events which are commemorated took place; rather they both exist, not as preservation sites, but as tributes to the values upon which the decision was made to establish them. Nonetheless, in spite of the fact that the two museums deal with the same subject and have even been influenced by one another, they represent different narratives, and the lessons they hope will be gleaned from the atrocity also differ from one another.

It is worthwhile noting that most of the museums in Israel were established as a result of grass root initiatives by individuals who considered it important to perpetuate a story related to them on a personal, family, or national level. However, in spite of the fact that private entrepreneurs worked tirelessly to bring their vision to fruition, both Yad Vashem and the USHMM museums were essentially built as a result of government decisions. Being endorsed by national interests had a substantial influence on the memorialization of the Holocaust and the artifacts exhibited.

## **To Remember and Also to Forget**

In the case of Yad Vashem, the initial visionary and promoter of the center was Mordechai Shenhavi who, when knowledge of the extermination first came to light, suggested founding a national memorial for European Jewry. His goal was twofold: to commemorate the communities of European Jewry that were being annihilated, and to strengthen the ideological connection to the Jewish settlement and pioneers of Eretz Israel.<sup>412</sup> In other words, even then, while the trains were transporting and the gas chambers were running, the settlers in Eretz Israel worked to extract a lesson from the tragedy as a moral justification for Zionism.

Following the establishment of the state, the notion of a Holocaust memorial sparked a number of debates, particularly in regard to the way in which the Jewish reaction to the Holocaust would be presented, and what aspects would be presented as heroic. In the 1940s and 50s, the idea of passivity (which was not regarded as "passive resistance") would be differentiated from the armed warfare in which the Nazis engaged. This disassociation fit in with the Zionist ideology of "negating the Diaspora" and the perception that Jewish life outside of Eretz Israel was characterized by subjugation, acceptance of one's punishment, fear, and passivity. In contrast, life in Eretz Israel represented the birth of the "new Jew:" independent, rebellious, and aspiring to a sovereign nation of his own.

As such, the partisans and Warsaw Ghetto revolutionaries aroused the emotions of the Jewish settlers in Eretz Israel, who linked these acts of courage with the Masada rebels during the time of the Second Temple, as well as with other historical heroes who were willing to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their people and their land.<sup>413</sup> The victims who did not take up arms were thought to have submitted "like sheep to the slaughter," in keeping with the image of the meek Jew of the Diaspora. With this in mind, a frame of reference was established, whereby lessons from the Holocaust emphasized the central theme that Zionism was the most desirable alternative.

Therefore, in the early years following the founding of the State of Israel, a need arose to both remember and forget the Holocaust: on the one hand, the atrocity represented the ultimate consequence of Jews living in the Diaspora, and as such should be forgotten; after all, the Zionist ideology at the time was to dispel the idea of a Diaspora. On the other hand, the Holocaust constituted proof that without their own country, Jews would always be vulnerable; thus the event

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<sup>412</sup> Brug, 2002.

<sup>413</sup> For the way that the negation of the diaspora was integrated into public discourse during the 1950s in relation to heroism in the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, see in Hebrew, for example: Stauber, 2000; Zerubavel, 1994; Gorni, 1998; Weitz, 1990.



should never be forgotten. According to James Young: "Yad Vashem functions as a national shrine to both Israel's pride in heroism and shame in victimization."<sup>414</sup>

### **Holocaust Memory and Heroism**

The disassociation of the Holocaust from heroism remained the norm in the Israeli consciousness for many years. However, during this time, a transformation began to take place in regard to understanding the concept of heroism as it was portrayed in Israel's remembrance of the Holocaust; the change found expression in the permanent exhibition at Yad Vashem, which opened to the public in 2005.

It is customary to view the Eichmann trial of 1961 as a turning point leading to a change in the Israeli perspective of the Holocaust. During the trial, over 100 survivors took the stand as witnesses, testifying to their experiences of pain and loss, thus gaining sympathy in the eyes of the public. The trial was considered an unprecedented media event in Israel at the time, and a catalyst for change in the Israeli public's perception of the Holocaust. Later, the subject which had been repressed and silenced became a legitimate topic, open for public discourse.

The trial allowed the survivors who were not partisans or ghetto fighters to take center stage; during the trial, the survivors - those Jews from "there" – became the accusers rather than the accused and, in addition to the veneration for ghetto fighters, a new admiration developed for the quiet heroism of the so-called meek. The trial contributed to the notion that the Sabra was not the only image worthy of admiration. The conceptual wall separating the "Holocaust of sheep submitting to slaughter" and the "heroism of the ghetto fighters" came down as a result of the trial, although it did not disappear entirely. Much of the trial's influence remained latent and found expression only years later. The transformation, beginning in the 1960's and 70's, began slowly, undiscernible at first.<sup>415</sup> Therefore, in the previous incarnation of Yad Vashem, which opened a decade after the execution of Eichmann, there was little evidence of changes in the stories of Holocaust survivors. However, in the new museum, the transformation is definitely discernable.

### **From "Sheep to Slaughter" to "Lived and Died Honorably"**

Upon entering the permanent exhibition at Yad Vashem, the visitor is confronted with a hall of images unlike any seen in the previous museum: Jews in the narrow roads of the *shtetl* or streets of Paris and Warsaw – praying, playing music, singing, dancing, and working – the varied aspects of the life of European Jewry in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This impressive video-art, "I Still See Their Eyes -

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<sup>414</sup> Young, 1993.  
<sup>5</sup> Yablonka, 2001.

The Vanished Jewish World" (or *Nof-Chaim / The World as It Was* in Hebrew), created by Michal Rovner, is projected on a wall of the large triangular-shaped entrance to the museum.

In a meeting which took place in August 2002, the philosophy of the exhibit was formulated, including an emphasis on empathy towards the victims and identification with a variety of images of Jewish life. Nonetheless, in spite of an emphasis on Jewish vitality and diversity, it was important for the museum planners to preserve a unified framework. In the protocol of the content-meeting dedicated to designing the concept of the video-art installation, it is stated that "Judaism=Nationality" – without any explanation accompanying the remark. At its conclusion, however, another comment appears: "An unsolved dilemma: What is the Jewish motif that will accompany us throughout the exhibition? What is the most powerful symbol that characterizes the concept of Judaism? [...] the issue has not been solved and requires further consideration and thought, by creating a dialogue on the subject with the curator/artist."<sup>416</sup>

The question regarding the one characteristic that could encapsulate all of Jewry under a single motif, that could provide a theme for the memorial exhibition, was left open. After all, what motif or narrative could unify all Jewish communities with their various religious traditions and cultures? Could it be that the solidarity of the Jewish people is based, first and foremost, on the awareness of a mutual trauma, the memory of which Yad Vashem is dedicated to preserve?

It is interesting to examine the outline of the exhibition plan approved by the directorate of the American Holocaust museum, and its similarity to the aims of "The World as It Was" video-art shown in Yad Vashem. The decision was that visitors would meet a mosaic of Jewish-European communities on the eve of the Nazi occupation, an array of evidence and recollections that would relate the diversity and vitality of those people and communities that had vanished. In this way, visitors would encounter those who were attacked not as victims but as part of humanity, and could then understand what would soon be lost.<sup>417</sup>

The difference between the two museums is that, while Rovner's installation demonstrates the abundance and variety of Jewish existence before the war,<sup>418</sup> a Zionist message lingers as a Leitmotiv. Indeed, Rovner's video-art experience takes the visitor far from the images typifying the historic perception of the "negation of the Diaspora" (in which Jews are meek victims), to a view of the vitality and diversity of Jewish life in the Diaspora. Yet in its soundtrack, the cantorial songs and

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<sup>416</sup> Summary of deliberation from 1/8/2002, Institutional Archives, Yad Vashem, Section AM-2, File 2171. (Hebrew)

<sup>417</sup> Exhibition Story Outline Presented to the Content Committee, 11.5.1988, USHMM Institutional Archives, Accession Number 1997.016.1 Box 1.

<sup>418</sup> Michal Rovner, proposal for film fresco at Yad Vashem Museum, Institutional Archives, Yad Vashem, 2171. (Hebrew)

the melodies of the *klezmers* are incorporated in the voices of children singing an early version of "Hatikva" (the national anthem of Israel):

As long as within the heart,  
A Jewish soul still yearns,  
Then hope will not be lost, our ancient hope  
To return to the land of our people,  
To the City of David,  
The eye still gazes toward the land of Zion.

In addition, the recurring theme in "The World as It Was"—waving hands of the people – is a kind of twofold "hello:" it can be seen as a welcome to those visiting the museum, a sign of hospitality of a sort – "come, enter our world" - but it is also the parting salute of one who is about to be annihilated. There are other themes as well in "The World as It Was" which encourage viewers to pursue the subject of homeland: empty houses once occupied; trees; and a map showing those places where Jews once lived. What is a home? Which country provides a home for the Jews? Where are their roots, the roots of both the family tree and of the nation? <sup>419</sup>

Another way in which the museum "reminds" the visitors of the Zionist message is reflected in the integration of the architecture, design and curatorship to create an experience of reorientation: As visitors begin their tour of the exhibition, they must turn away from the Jews in the video-art and turn towards the huge triangular glass window at the extreme far end of the building. The light of the Jerusalem landscape shining through it "echoes" the vanished European world.

One of the last displays in the exhibition is a film from the trial of Eichmann. Dorit Harel, the museum's designer, described the dilemmas encountered while the museum was being planned. She testified that the steering committee pondered the question of how to present the Eichmann trial.<sup>420</sup> From her words, it is apparent that the committee had doubts about how to depict the trial, but the question of "whether" to depict it was never raised. We can surmise that the inclusion of the trial in the narrative of Yad Vashem was taken for granted. Its significance in the narrative is obvious: Here we have the genuine finale to the story - not the end of the war and the freeing of the camps, and not even the founding of the State of Israel, but the state trying Eichmann in the name of the victims of the Holocaust and the Jewish people. This is "the bottom line" at Yad Vashem – the Jewish state brings the heinous Nazi criminal to justice within its sovereign territory, on behalf of the entire Jewish nation.

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<sup>419</sup> Perry, 2013.

<sup>420</sup> Harel, 2013

Indeed the Eichmann trial opened a crack in the conceptual wall separating Holocaust and heroism, but it was clearly the embodiment of the expression “Holocaust and Rebirth.”

At USHMM, the exhibition begins with the testimony of an American soldier who took part in liberating the concentration camps, and ends with excerpts from a video showing Holocaust survivors who came to America after the war and made it their home. This suggests a closed narrative created to emphasize that America is a refuge from persecution and implies a celebration of democratic values.<sup>421</sup> Nevertheless, following the screen projecting testimonies of survivors, there is yet another part of the exhibition which complicates the narrative and its agenda: the display of Israel's Declaration of Independence. Also displayed are the flags of nations which took part in the liberation of the camps, of partisan units, and of the organization of Warsaw Ghetto fighters. The displays are only loosely connected, but they embellish the narrative, which includes both the victims' points of view and those of the witnesses/liberators.

At the end of the exhibition there is a hexagonal memorial hall; hidden beneath an eternal flame in the hall is earth brought from the extermination camps, concentration camps, sites of mass executions, ghettos in European regions overcome by the Nazis, and cemeteries of American soldiers who fought and died so that Nazi Germany would be defeated (as written in a caption to the exhibit). The mixture of symbols suggests a conflict between the desire to be a Jewish memorial site and the need to be an American site.<sup>422</sup> The tension between specific and universal messages, between the global and the local, has led to the creation of a "Glocal" Memorial.

### **"Never Again" or "Never Again for Us?"**

Although the Holocaust is an historical fact, the lesson derived from it is subject to one's point of view, which is largely dependent upon location. Comparing Yad Vashem to USHMM characterizes the debate between universality as opposed to particularity in the presentation of the Holocaust by each museum. It is understandable that a memorial to the Holocaust founded in a place which is home to the largest dispersion of Jews in the world (other than Israel) does not provide a narrative that suggests the problematic nature of Jewish life in the Diaspora, nor that the revival of Zion provided the ultimate solution to the Holocaust.

From the moment in 1978 when American President Jimmy Carter declared his intent to form a presidential committee to address the subject of commemorating the Holocaust, a whirlwind of debate and questions arose. When, in 1983, it was announced that the site chosen for the memorial

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<sup>421</sup> Hansen-Glucklich, 2014.

<sup>422</sup> On the numerous dilemmas concerning how to design the Hall of Remembrance at the end of the USHMM exhibit, see: Linenthal, Edward T., 1997.

was the National Mall in Washington D.C. – "the monumental core" of American memorialization - the decisions became even more difficult, and the conflict continued for fifteen years, until the opening of the museum in 1993.

Following the announcement of the physical location of the museum, the question remained as to how to define its placement from a rhetorical point of view. How should the museum building be integrated - from an architectural and content perspective – within its surrounding environment?<sup>423</sup> There were those who argued that the museum did not belong on the site, just as the Holocaust did not "belong" to America.

Over and over again, the planners of the USHMM debated how to tell the story to the general public in America, whose knowledge of the history of the Holocaust was limited, and who may not have grasped the connection between an event that took place decades ago on a different continent and the present generation. The predominant question that arose was: "What is the message that we want visitors to take with them upon leaving the museum?" Michael Birnbaum, director of the project, maintained that the museum should be American in the broader sense of the word; this is to say, that the Holocaust experience should be shown in a way that would be linked to the stories of the American people, to different types of interpretation and ways of understanding. According to his approach, the mission required establishing a connection between two worlds, presenting new information in a familiar context, and utilizing rational/emotional/symbolic language to explain the Holocaust in terms Americans could understand.<sup>424</sup>

The need to integrate the museum into its physical surroundings meant that the planning committee had to allow for the "Americanization" of the Holocaust.

This term is often used to describe the "commercialization of the Holocaust," or more precisely – turning the remembrance of the Holocaust and its presentation into something banal. However, the Americanization of the Holocaust can also be considered as an attempt to turn the memory into a moral and humanistic notion, accessible to everyone. Among the museum planners were those who advocated a more specific Jewish focus (led by Eli Weisel) and those who proposed a more universal approach (led by Michael Birnbaum). The political dilemma, whether to integrate or not, resurfaced at many stages during the planning of the museum, and found expression in the curatorial, design and architectural aspects of the memorial.

The founding of a national American museum in memory of the Holocaust provoked not only questions related to communicating the narrative to the non-Jewish public, but fundamental and painful issues connected to the politics of identity relative to ethnic minorities in America. From the

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<sup>423</sup> Stephanie Shosh Rotem, 2013.

<sup>424</sup> USHMM Institutional Archives, Accession no. 1997.014, box 27.

moment it was decided to construct the museum, pressure was exerted by many minority groups: Poles, Ukrainians, Hungarians, Gypsies and Armenians – all of whom wanted to be included in the memorial to the Holocaust which would be designed as a national American museum. The discord around "ownership" of the memory was almost religious in its tone, with accusations and blatant insults cast all around. The feeling was that any errors in the presentation, either of an historic or aesthetic nature, would not be considered a mere "mistake," but rather a defamation of the sacred.

The burning question was **what would be memorialized**, or more precisely **who**. Strong pressure was put to bear by the "Roma" – one of the ethnic groups classified by the Nazis as "gypsies" and considered, like the Jews, an inferior race targeted for annihilation. In 1984 they were promised that their story would be included in the exhibition.

Some were of the opinion that the massacre of Armenians, which did not take place at all during World War II (but rather in 1915), should be included in the exhibition. They fought to stretch the definition of the Holocaust and asserted that the American memorial board ought to lend a sympathetic ear – and space in the memorial – to the suffering of the Armenian people, which they considered a prelude to the Holocaust. At the same time, political pressure was being exerted by the Turkish ambassador to the United States, the Israel Foreign Office, and the Jewish community in Turkey not to include this act of genocide in the museum. According to Linenthal, what tipped the scales was the importance of Turkey as an ally to both Israel and the United States. This is one example among many of the linkage between commemorations to politics.<sup>425</sup>

In the end, there is only a brief mention of the Armenian genocide: a reference that appeared in the "Obersalzberg Speech," which was given by Adolf Hitler to Wehrmacht commanders on August 22, 1939, a week before the German invasion of Poland.

I have issued the command – and I'll have anybody who utters but one word of criticism executed by a firing squad – that our war aim does not consist in reaching certain lines, but in the physical destruction of the enemy. Accordingly, I have placed my death-head formations in readiness – for the present only in the east - with orders to them to send to their death mercilessly and without compassion, men, women and children of the Polish derivation and language. Only thus shall we gain the living space (Lebensraum) which we need. Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians?

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<sup>425</sup> Linenthal, 1997.

## Every Person Has a Name

For many years, Israel commemorated the Holocaust in an impersonal and generalized manner.<sup>426</sup> In the new exhibit at Yad Vashem, an effort was made to allow the victims to speak out in their own voices and to portray them as human beings, as opposed to being seen as merely victims. The museum utilized various devices, such as personal photographs, video recordings of the survivors, and a computerized data bank in the Hall of Names, which made it possible to search for personal information about individuals who were exterminated. This orientation towards the “individualization of the story” was made possible by technological advancements which had taken place since the establishment of the previous museum, but there was also a conceptual change that had developed: a decision to witness the world that was, and to hear the voices of the survivors themselves describing their experiences in an official and public setting.

This time around, the Yad Vashem planning committee defined its main goal as presenting the Jew as an individual at the core of the exhibition, and organizing the narrative from the point of view of the Jews, rather than that of their persecutors. The video testimonies of the survivors serve both sides of that purpose. The planning committee protocols reveal two main dilemmas regarding the presentation of survivors’ stories. First, should there be a succession of testimonies (a relatively limited number of witnesses, “hosts” of a kind, who would accompany visitors along the path of the exhibition and the historical chain of events)? Secondly, in what language would the witnesses speak? These appear to be technical decisions, but at their core lies the question of formulating the museum's message - the very essence of the memorial.

Contrary to the recommendations of the museum’s media advisor, Boris Maftsir,<sup>427</sup> the committee did not limit the number of people acting as “hosts” to the visitors, who were meant to assist them in forming a personal and emotional contact with the survivors, but rather it chose to select **hundreds** of personal testimonies which appear in the video. The choice of **quantity** was probably meant to serve both a statement against Holocaust deniers (it is impossible to deny an event that has so many first-hand witnesses) and to deliver a message of particularity: the Holocaust of the Jewish people was unprecedented in its magnitude – therefore it was **unique**.

The planners also rejected Maftsir's advice regarding the language used in the testimonies; most of the stories are told in Hebrew and not in the language of the witnesses at the time the events took place. The message that drove this choice was stated explicitly by Avner Shalev, Chairman of

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<sup>426</sup> On the subject of memorials to the Holocaust in Israel, see, for example: Rein, 1992; Brutin, 2005; Tydor Baumel, 1998. (Hebrew)

<sup>427</sup> Summary of deliberation from 17/03/2002, on the subject of testimonies and videos on the subject, Institutional Archives, Yad Vashem, Section AM-2, File 2171 (also appears in File 2162).

the Yad Vashem Directorate since 1993 and Chief Curator of the new museum: "In reference to the original languages – the issue raises the problem of a double translation. Another problem is **the fact that Yad Vashem is interested in imparting a hidden 'Zionist message.'** Therefore, whoever wishes to speak Hebrew (a decision of principle) – will speak Hebrew (most of the survivors came to Israel for a reason, and speaking in Hebrew will only emphasize that)."<sup>428</sup> Of course, among the possible reasons that refugees came to Israel are a lack of choice and immigration by chance, but it is clear that the main message the planners wished to impart was a Zionist world view.

### Summary

Over the years since its inception, Yad Vashem has developed and grown; almost every year, new exhibits, monuments, sculptures and the like are added to the site. Yad Vashem has become part of the narrative of the Israeli state, a shrine of sorts to the national experience. However, with the increasing attention which the western world has given to the Holocaust, particularly in the United States, Yad Vashem began losing its exclusive position as the repository of Holocaust history. Thus, with the opening of USHMM (in 1993), it was decided that a new museum of the history of the Holocaust would be developed and a revised Yad Vashem was opened to the public in 2005.

The current Yad Vashem permanent exhibition, like other aspects of Israeli culture, has been strongly influenced by globalization and American culture. Unlike the previous museum, it focuses on the voice of the individual and the destroyed world of the Diaspora Jews, including those victims who did not take up arms. However, although non-Jewish victims are also portrayed in it, for the most part, Yad Vashem presents the Holocaust as an event particular to the Jews, and the “answer” to it is the revival of the Jewish state.

It is clear that the USHMM, due to its location, could not choose a narrative within which the ultimate solution to Jewish persecution was Zionism; therefore its solution is humanistic-universal: In order to prevent another Holocaust, there must be tolerance for minorities, and one should not look away from instances of injustice perpetrated on any ethnic group.

The two museums, Israeli and American, have created sacred sites presenting the dichotomy of "here" as opposed to "there." At Yad Vashem, the "here" means redemption while "there" refers to the Diaspora; "here" is the revival and "there" is the victimization of Jewry. In the American museum, "there" refers to the liberation of the camps, and testimonials about heinous crimes that took place "there," while "here" refers to the National Mall, a symbol of democracy and the promise of freedom, equality and justice for all citizens. In this way, both museums have nationalized the Holocaust; the Holocaust is presented as the antithesis of the two modern nations in which the

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<sup>428</sup> Ibid.



museums are located.<sup>429</sup> In this sense, the similarities between the museums are greater than the differences.

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## **Looted Jewish Cultural Property-Issues of Research, Ownership and Return**

In recent months a number of news stories related to Nazi-era looted art have focused public attention on provenance issues. They include the discovery of hundreds of artworks hidden in Munich and Salzburg by Cornelius Gurlitt, son of the Nazi art trader Hildebrandt Gurlitt, and the release of *The Monuments Men*, a Hollywood film starring George Clooney. Next year a feature film entitled “The Woman in Gold“ will be released. The movie centers on Maria Altmann and her quest for the return of a Klimt painting of her aunt, Adele Bloch-Bauer. The international cast includes Dame Helen Mirren, Ryan Reynolds and Katie Holmes. Public focus on issues of Nazi-era looted art will surely be renewed by the film if the initial obsession with the actors, their clothing and their stories is any indication of interest.

With this attention there has been an increasing awareness that in addition to the looting of art and property from individuals and museums, large parts of historic European Judaica holdings disappeared between 1938 and 1945 as well as in the postwar period, or were assigned to the “wrong” collections. Additionally, there are a number of Jewish cultural objects in the holdings of museums throughout the world that legally do not belong there.

This paper illustrates the complexity of research ownership and return issues with regard to looted Judaica and Jewish communal cultural property. The two cases described here deal with objects taken from Jewish communities and museums, and issues of their restitution, tracing their complicated histories once separated from their original owners, and determining to whom they should be returned. The principles established and questions asked are universal to looted Jewish cultural property that may be found in any museum or might have belonged to a museum.

This paper will also outline the activities of the European Shoah Legacy Institute Judaica and Jewish Cultural Property Working Group that has been established to “seek international solutions to the problem of the restitution of ... Judaica...”<sup>430</sup>

Research into Judaica, that is, into objects that are linked to a Jewish religious or Jewish cultural context, is highly complex because of specific historical, legal, and religious-traditional factors. Judaica is comprised not so much of art works in the classic sense, but rather of artisan

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<sup>430</sup> [http://shoahlegacy.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/TEREZIN\\_DECLARATION\\_FINAL-4.pdf](http://shoahlegacy.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/TEREZIN_DECLARATION_FINAL-4.pdf)

craftwork in the broadest sense.<sup>431</sup> Methodologies that have been developed in recent years for provenance research into works of fine art are not applicable to provenance research into Judaica. Provenance research involves first and foremost the identification of the object in question. But identification of Judaica objects may be much more difficult than objects of art because

1. the lack of detailed professional pre-war descriptions of Judaica collections
2. the lack of pre-war photographs
3. the fact that ceremonial objects were often composed of prefabricated, non-distinguishable pieces

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<sup>431</sup> Definition of Judaica according to the Descriptive Catalogue on Looted Judaica, researched by the Conference on Jewish Material Claims against New Germany, York 2009, pp.7.8.:

By “Judaica” is meant historical and literary materials relating to Judaism. Included are not only objects that carry a quality of holiness (*tashmishey kedusha*) or that are essential to the performance of a particular ritual or commandment (*tashmishey mitzvah*), but also those that have no intrinsic quality that can be defined as sacred or holy. Included are not only archives, libraries, and objects relating to Judaism as a religion but also those relating to Jewish organizations and Jewish life generally.

As for the first category, objects that are labeled as *tashmishey kedusha*, “accessories of holiness” or “objects which carry holiness,” the classic example is a Torah scroll. However, there are other objects that fulfill the criterion of carrying a quality of holiness. These objects include

- a) the mantle that is used to cover a Torah scroll in Askenazic communities, as well as the binder that keeps the scroll closed and silver and gold ornaments that are added after the mantle is in place, or the special hinged wooden Torah case used by Sephardic and Oriental Jews;
- b) the Torah ark curtains;
- c) the chair, or holder, on which the Torah is placed when it is removed from the ark;
- d) tefillin, including the leather cases, the biblical texts written on parchment that are inside, the leather straps used to fasten them to the head and arm during prayer, and any bag specifically made to hold them and used for that purpose on a regular basis;
- e) the mezuzza, which is fastened to the doorpost of a house, including both the case and the handwritten text inside; and
- f) cases for books, specifically a container for either a scroll or bound volume that contains one or more of the books of the Bible.

In summary, objects labeled as carrying a quality of holiness all “contain words, specifically the name of God, but by extension any words divinely written or inspired, from which the quality of holiness is derived.”

The category of holy objects includes not only other handwritten Biblical texts (such as the Scroll of Esther) but also printed Bibles, prayer books, volumes of the Talmud, law codes, and commentaries, and not only in Hebrew but in other languages as well.

As for the second category of ritual objects, labeled *tashmishey mitzvah*, “accessories of religious observance,” or, more clearly, “objects which make it possible to perform a commandment,” this category includes ritual objects that are essential to Jewish life. This category encompasses wine cups used on Sabbaths and holidays, Sabbath candlesticks, the spice box and candle holders used for the

Havdalah service at the end of the Sabbath, challah and matzah covers, wedding canopies, the Hanukkah menorah (*hanukiyah*), seder plates used on Passover, the *shofar*, the *tallit* (a prayer shawl with special knotted fringes, called *tzitzit*), the *sukkah* (temporary dwelling built on the holiday of Sukkot), etc.

4. the serial or even mass production of ceremonial objects from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. onwards
5. they were less accurately documented by Nazi looters and Allied rescuers than objects of fine art
6. in most cases knowledge of Hebrew or Yiddish is essential.

Furthermore, if identification of a Judaica object is successful, the provenance research is far from finished. Next step is the clarification of pre-war ownership which is much more complicated and contentious than the pre-war ownership of art works in public collections. This is due to many factors. A brief list gives some clue to the range of possible situations:

- i. The legal succession of no longer existing Jewish prewar-communities must be resolved
- ii. The legal succession of no longer existing private prewar-owners must be resolved
- iii. Cases in which Judaica is found in museums and the pre-war owner is known
- iv. Cases in which Judaica is found in museums and the pre-war owner is not known
- v. Cases in which Judaica objects were nationalized in eastern Europe, looted by the Nazis, and re-nationalized twice after that
- vi. Fragmentation of European Jewish cultural assets, which at the time were considered abandoned, did not stop with the War's end, but were distributed and thereby spread around the world by
  - a) the victorious powers, each in their own way (the Soviet Union and its policy of compensatory restitution; the Western Allies, led by the United States, and their policies of not restituting Judaica to areas under communist rule.)
  - b) Jewish organizations (Jewish Cultural Reconstruction (JCR), and the Jewish Restitution Successor Organization (JRSO): Today the national institutions that received those cultural assets must reconsider if they are the lawful owners.

Only after clarification of the legal pre-war ownership can the issue of a possible restitution be taken into consideration. But here national laws may come into play which cannot simply be brushed aside.

In 2009, the Holocaust-Era Assets Conference held in Prague, resulted in the Terezin Declaration, endorsed by 47 countries. The European Shoah Legacy Institute, with five working groups, was founded to carry out the recommendations set out by the Declaration. The working group "Judaica and Jewish Cultural Property", chaired by Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, is today comprised of museum and archival professionals from Austria, Greece, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic, Germany, Israel, Belgium, and the United States. The group deals with the critical and unique issues related to looted Judaica, and aims to create guidelines and best practices.

1. For implementation purposes, a manual on “Provenance Research Judaica“ was identified as of primary importance to be compiled. In this area, joint standards should be created with colleagues of international museums that will benefit all institutions involved and can be utilized by museums worldwide.

2. A sustainable international research dialogue and knowledge pool on this subject can not only constitute a framework for future effective research, but can also help put into place new, up-to-date, and socially-relevant methods for dealing with provenance research and its possible consequences.

3. The group has initiated an ambitious project to create an online, virtual exhibition on the topic of what is to be done with objects of Jewish material culture looted, expropriated, or displaced from individual families and communities, where ownership is in question. We believe that we can help create standards and guidelines in this area.

Let us give you a few examples of objects that illustrate the categories of issues. The stories include discovery of the loss, identification of the object, process of return, roadblocks and political issues. The first case is still in progress. In the second case there was a more successful outcome. That case involved both the authors of this paper.

### **Torah Mantle from Holland**

The first case was researched by our colleague Julie-Marthe Cohen from the Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam:

Before the Second World War a Dutch Ashkenazi, 18<sup>th</sup> century Torah mantle was in the collection of the Jewish Historical Museum Amsterdam, on loan from the Jewish community in Leiden since 1936. There is an existing photo of the mantle as it was exhibited at the Jewish Historical Museum.

A complex history of its travels will be briefly described here. The complete story may be found in the conference proceedings. According to several war documents, the mantle was confiscated by the Nazis in May 1943 as part of the museum collection and sent to the Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage in Frankfurt. At the end of 1943 the collection was moved to Hungen, 60 km north of Frankfurt, where the American Army discovered the loot in April 1945. Objects were transported to the Offenbach Archival Depot (OAD). We can assume that the Torah mantle was among these— there is no documentation of which objects arrived in the OAD. In 1946 Dutch Judaica objects were returned to the Netherlands, but the mantle was not among these objects. Jewish Cultural Reconstruction distributed the remaining unidentified, unclaimed objects, mostly to Israel

and the United States. The Torah mantle was among the objects that were received by the Bezalel Museum in Jerusalem, which was later renamed The Israel Museum.

During research of the prewar-collection of the Jewish Historical Museum Amsterdam, the mantle was discovered on the World War II Provenance Research Online database of the Israel Museum. The database showed only one side of the mantle which has biblical symbols embroideries and Hebrew text. The prewar photograph showed a different image, because it was the other side of the mantle that was shown. The Israel Museum was requested to send an image of the other side of the mantle. The identification of the object was confirmed.

Both parties (The Israel Museum and Leiden Jewish community) were then informed. Leiden registered an official claim in 2008; communication between the two parties has not resulted in a solution to date. The mantle is displayed in the permanent exhibition of the Israel Museum. Although the provenance of this object is known, the text on the label does not refer to it.<sup>432</sup>

To give an idea of how extensive research for this singular case was, a list of some sources follows: in Dutch and foreign archives: NIOD (Netherlands Institute for War Documentation) Amsterdam; archives of the Jewish Historical Museum; Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam; Municipal Archives; Jewish community Leiden; National Ashkenazi Community; National Archives College Park, Maryland U.S.A.; Archive of the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem; Bundesarchiv Berlin. (This includes research in German archives, archives of the American Army, archives of Jewish Cultural Reconstruction). The work has also included: Photo research in several photo archives (Haarlem, Amsterdam, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Washington D.C., Yad Vashem and other repositories); search in museum and exhibition catalogues; search in the Dutch press (acquisitions were announced in some newspapers); search on the Israel Museum Jerusalem database; search in the Survey of the Dispersed Archives of the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR).

(I don't believe we need this entire section that I have omitted)

Each case is different, but the steps taken in this case demonstrate the complexity of active research to establish the pre-war ownership of the object

The Israel Museum has returned art (paintings) to private owners in other cases. In this situation, however, the Museum has stated that Israeli law does not allow the return of Judaica to Jewish communities (non-individuals). This view is due to the fact that sacred objects were distributed to Jewish institutions after the War by the JCR in perpetuity, which did not apply to fine

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<sup>432</sup> As for this case compare: Julie-Marthe Cohen, Theft and Restitution of Judaica in the Netherlands During and After the Second World War, in: Julie-Marthe Cohen/Felicita Heimann-Jelinek, *Neglected Witnesses. The fate of Judaica collections during World War II*, Crickadarn 2011, 199-252.  
All collected information to date has been put into the database of the Jewish Historical Museum, see [www.jhm.nl/looted](http://www.jhm.nl/looted)

art The Israel Museum requested the Leiden community further to provide documentation that the postwar community is the same legal institution as the prewar-community. Not all established Jewish communities in Europe today are considered legal successors of the pre-war communities. One would have to determine whether Israeli law is binding for a Dutch body. We note that comment from the Judaica and Jewish Cultural Property Working Group could be helpful in this case.

### **Manuscript from Vienna**

A second example will provide insight into a successful restitution of a manuscript to the library of the Jewish Community Vienna (IKG). We refer to the history of a manuscript fragment, a history also extremely difficult to reconstruct, because several manuscripts and printed works from its holdings are in the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw.

In 1945, the Conference on Jewish Relations undertook a “Reconstruction of European Jewish Cultural Institutions,” among them under “Schedule B” the areas “Libraries-Museums-Archives.” An excerpt of the account of Moses Rath, the pre-war head of the library of the Jewish community Vienna, of the library’s fate is attached to the report: “Until November 10, the library remained intact... From March 11 until July 1938, the library was closed, but my colleagues and I were permitted to work internally. On July 15, 1938, Eichmann announced that the library and the archive will pass over into the possession of the German state... On November 10, 1938, while the big temple was on fire, Nazi bandits wanted to burn down the library. The janitor, a Christian, immediately came upstairs and announced that the institute was in state ownership, under the administration of Obersturmbannfuehrer Eichmann. The janitor called the Gestapo, and the police removed the intruders and put the library, whose treasures remained completely intact, under seal. Only in 1941 were all books, manuscripts, incunables, catalogs, etc. packed in crates and taken in toto to the *Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage*, the Institute for the Study of the Jewish Question in Frankfurt am Main, or to Munich. Hence, the library exists in its entirety.”<sup>433</sup>

The fact that Moses Rath was mistaken in indicating the book crates’ destination to be Frankfurt am Main and Munich and, thus, also in assuming that the library must have been complete in 1945, emerges from a report by Ernst Grumach, who had been in a forced labor unit that was in charge of registration of material at the central library of the Reichssicherheitshauptamt RSHA in Berlin. He wrote about the central library in the former building of the Grand Lodge of the Freemasons . Berlin W 30, Eisenacher Str. 12: “Here was, for instance, the former library of the Jewish Community Berlin, [...] the community libraries Breslau, Gleiwitz, Hamburg, Munich,

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<sup>433</sup> Archive of the Skirball Museum Los Angeles, records holdings JCR, folder: Conference of Jewish Social Studies, C. (Grace Cohen Grossmann was kind enough to prepare the scans).



Warsaw, Vienna as well as numerous other libraries from small communities and lodges.[...] Already under Nazi rule, however, this one-of-its-kind library was largely dispersed again and destroyed. Above all, also the various RSHA departments were relocated to other sites, mainly in Lower Silesia and North Bohemia. The Judaica department, as far as it was already sorted and set up, was relocated together with the theosophy and other departments to the Niemes (Mimoň) castle in Bohemia, where it was supposedly set up again in a similar way as in Berlin. [...] the whereabouts of the Jewish manuscripts (about 25 large crates) has yet to be identified. It is possible that they too, are in Niemes, but also the Schlesiersee (Sława) castle near Glogau (Głogów) or any other RSHA replacement site is a possibility. ... The largest part of the holdings left behind in Berlin was destroyed in the conflagration of the RSHA on November 22 and 23, 1943; mainly the holdings of the Warsaw and Viennese community and, unfortunately, also the library of the *Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judentums* fell prey to the fire. Only small parts of this library, which by chance were in rooms that remained intact—mainly their journal holdings—could be salvaged at the time.”<sup>434</sup>

The contemporary witness reports by Rath and Grumach provide a good overview of the events. To be sure, they are contradictory as far as the Viennese library holdings’ preservation or the lack of it is concerned.<sup>435</sup> Yet, it is a fact that the manuscripts of the IKG Vienna could not have been destroyed; time and again they appear on the market, and Benjamin Richler has compiled a list of manuscripts from the IKG Vienna that are today in various libraries and private collections.<sup>436</sup> Among them is, as mentioned, the Jewish Historical Institute Warsaw. One particularly valuable manuscript was able to be recovered:

The manuscript was originally part of a manuscript codex: Josef Gikatilia, *Sha‘are Orah*. Originally written in the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century by the Spanish kabbalist and philosopher, it is a copy from the 15/16<sup>th</sup> century. It was part of the collection of famous Viennese 2<sup>nd</sup> chief rabbi and scholar Adolf Jellinek (1820-1893) in his *Bet Hamidrash*. After Jellinek’s death the manuscript was incorporated in the Viennese Israelitisch-Theologische Lehranstalt (Jewish Theological Seminary). The inventory number of the Jewish community was Hs. III, 14.<sup>437</sup> Gikatilia’s work discusses the ten *sephirot*, the divine emanations on which the world is built. The manuscript was not only used by

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<sup>434</sup> Grumach’s confidential report to the Reich’s Association of the Jews in Germany on the confiscation and treatment of the former Jewish library holdings by the Gestapo offices in the years 1933-1945,” Central Archives of the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, file P205 17 b 1941-47.

<sup>435</sup> See also: Ingo Zechner, *Die Bibliothek der Israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Wien. Entstehung – Entziehung – Restitution und sogenannte „herrenlose“ Bücher*, [http://www.ingozechner.net/download/pdf/Zechner\\_Aufsatz\\_IKG-Bibliothek.pdf](http://www.ingozechner.net/download/pdf/Zechner_Aufsatz_IKG-Bibliothek.pdf) (retrieved: 28.09.2014).

<sup>436</sup> Benjamin Richler, *Guide to Hebrew Manuscript Collections*, Jerusalem 1994.

<sup>437</sup> Arthur Zacharias Schwarz, *Die hebräischen Handschriften in Österreich*, Leipzig 1931, p. 188-190.

Jelinek but also by famous bibliographer Moritz Steinschneider (1816-1907). The handwriting of both scholars must be found in this *Sha'are Orah*. The Sefer Yetzirah which was removed from the manuscript served as a source for Gikatilia's discussions of the *sephirot*.

The manuscript together with several others was taken to Warsaw in the manner described above. Since the manuscripts in Russia and Poland were kept under seal for more than fifty years, their whereabouts were unknown to the public. During this time thefts or illegal transfers of Hebrew manuscripts have apparently occurred. Manuscript codices such as *Sha'are Orah* were apparently divided up in this context.

In March 2002 the manuscript of the *Sefer Yetzirah* showed up on the market in an auction catalog. An observant librarian in Cincinnati noted that the catalog listing identified the manuscript as having belonged to the IKG. He expressed his concern to a dealer whom he knew to be knowledgeable in issues of looted Judaica. The dealer notified Karen Franklin, who contacted yet another colleague in Germany, who forwarded the inquiry to Felicitas Heimann-Jelinek, at that time chief curator at the Jewish Museum Vienna. As the Jewish Museum Vienna serves as custodian for the Jewish community holdings it aimed to reconstruct the community's prewar holdings and carried out the initial research. With this information, and at the very last day before the auction, it was possible for the Jewish community Vienna, whose staff members completed the research, to have the manuscript to be taken out of the auction, seized, and later convincingly claimed by and returned to the IKG Vienna, which handed over the manuscript to the Jewish museum after its return.

Though the return of this manuscript is significant as a precedent, it must again be acknowledged that this *Sefer Yetzirah* is but a fraction of the manuscript codex. The rest is still missing.

The examples here demonstrate but a small part of the complexity of research, ownership and return issues in the field of looted Jewish cultural property. They show a) that issues of legal ownership need permanent consideration and open discussion, especially when dealing with international bodies; b) that proper research can best be undertaken within an international and collegial network; and c) that active scientific research on Judaica collections should be carried out by all respective holders of Judaica collections. That issues of Jewish communal property may be complex should not deter an institution from taking on the task of provenance research and seeking help of experts who can navigate the issues of ownership.

ESLI's working group for Recovery and Study of Judaica and Jewish Cultural Property aims to stimulate collaborative efforts to carry out such research on an international level, and to involve experts who can add to the discussions and the search for fair and just solutions where legal ownership is in question.

## **Erinnerung ausstellen**

### **Ehemalige Konzentrationslager als moderne zeithistorische Museen?**

„Museumspreis für KZ-Gedenkstätte“ titelten zahlreiche Blätter im Sommer 2011.<sup>438</sup> Tatsächlich war der im Zweijahresturnus von der Bayerischen Versicherungskammer vergebene Bayerische Museumspreis an die Flossenbürger Einrichtung vergeben worden. Die KZ-Gedenkstätte Flossenbürg war nicht die erste Institution am Ort eines ehemaligen Konzentrationslagers, die derartige Ehren erfuhr. Bereits 2008 war die KZ-Gedenkstätte Mittelbau-Dora als erste ihrer Art mit dem Thüringisch-Hessischen Museumspreis ausgezeichnet worden.<sup>439</sup>

Noch wenige Jahre zuvor hatte die bayerische Jury gezögert, ob eine KZ-Gedenkstätte dem Charakter eines Museums entspräche. Die eingereichte Bewerbung wurde mit der freundlichen Absage zurückgewiesen, die Jury sei zu der Meinung gelangt, eine KZ-Gedenkstätte sei wohl in erster Linie kein Museum und entspreche damit nicht dem Charakter des Preises. Daher habe man sich entschieden, die Bewerbung nicht zuzulassen, was man bitte nicht als Wertung der übrigens ganz hervorragenden neuen Dauerausstellung verstehen möge.

Zwischen Ablehnung und Ehrung liegen nur wenige Jahre. In dieser Zeit hat sich nicht nur die Qualität von Ausstellungen in KZ-Gedenkstätten gewandelt, sondern offensichtlich auch die Außenwahrnehmung dieser Institutionen durch die (Fach-)Öffentlichkeit. Es geht mir in meinem Beitrag zunächst um die Frage, ob KZ-Gedenkstätten – auch – Museen sind oder waren. Desweiteren möchte ich zeigen, wie sich Konzepte von Museen oder – vielleicht etwas allgemeiner formuliert – von Ausstellungen in KZ-Gedenkstätten entwickelt und verändert haben. Zuletzt werde ich die in diesen zwei Kapiteln skizzierten Entwicklungen mit einigen aktuellen Fragen verknüpfen.

### **1. KZ-Gedenkstätten als Museen**

#### **1.1. Ehemalige Lager als Tatorte**

Am 16. April 1945, fünf Tage nach der Befreiung des Konzentrationslagers Buchenwald, wurden auf Anordnung des Kommandeurs der 3. U.S. Armee, General Patton, knapp 1.000 Bürger Weimars in einem Marsch auf den Ettersberg geführt und gezwungen, sich die Leichenstapel im

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<sup>438</sup> Z.B. Die Welt vom 21. Juli 2011 oder Augsburg Allgemeine vom 22. Juli 2011.

<sup>439</sup> Vgl. Sparkassen Kulturstiftung Hessen-Thüringen (Hrsg.), ausgezeichnet! Museum der KZ-Gedenkstätte Thüringen, Frankfurt a.M. 2008.

Lager anzusehen. Ein Teil dieser Leichenstapel war aus den Leibern nach der Befreiung verstorbener Häftlinge neu errichtet worden, denn die amerikanischen Verantwortlichen hatten die nach der Befreiung vorgefundenen Leichname aus seuchenhygienischen Gründen umgehend verbrennen lassen. Den (Zwangs-)Besuchern sollte aber ein möglichst authentischer Eindruck von den Verhältnissen im Lager gegeben werden.

Ich möchte mich mit Ruth Klüger an unser Thema annähern – Ruth Klüger, die in ihrem Buch „weiter leben“ die Notwendigkeit und Eignung von ehemaligen Konzentrationslagern als Lernorten und Museen heftig bestritten hat:

„Es liegt dieser Museumskultur ein tiefer Aberglaube zugrunde, nämlich, dass die Gespenster gerade dort zu fassen sind, wo sie als Lebende aufhörten zu sein. (...) Dachau hab ich einmal besucht. (...) Da war alles sauber und ordentlich und man brauchte schon mehr Phantasie, als die meisten Menschen haben, um sich vorzustellen, was dort vor vierzig Jahren gespielt wurde. Steine, Holzbaracken, Appellplatz. Das Holz riecht frisch und harzig, über den geräumigen Appellplatz weht ein belebender Wind und diese Baracken wirken fast einladend. Was kann einem da einfallen, man assoziiert eventuell eher Ferienlager als gefoltertes Leben.“<sup>440</sup>

Ruth Klügers Charakterisierung von KZ-Gedenkstätten als Anti-Museen verdeutlicht den fundamentalen Bruch mit dem „Präsentations-, Ausräumungs- und Authentisierungsgedanken“, welcher die Entwicklungsgeschichte europäischer Museen seit ihren Ursprüngen begleitet. Alle Versuche, Gerinnungs- und Ausdrucksformen der Lagerwirklichkeit zu finden, scheiterten an der Erkenntnis, dass es außer der Lagerwirklichkeit selbst keine hinreichenden Mittel gab, diese darzustellen. Die Extrempraktik der Rekonstruktion von Leichenstapeln zeigt, wie Volkhard Knigge immer wieder betont, dass unmittelbar nach der Aufdeckung der Verbrechen keinerlei angemessene Repräsentationen oder eingeübte commemorative Praktiken zur Verfügung standen.<sup>441</sup>

Die Zurschaustellung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen gründet in den Konzentrations- und Vernichtungslagern vor allem in ihrer Untersuchung und öffentlichen Präsentation als Tatorte – im kriminalistischen wie im pädagogischen Sinn.

## **1.2. Ehemalige Lager als Denkmäler**

Für die Überlebenden hingegen waren die ehemaligen Lager neben Tat- und Leidensorten vor allem Schädelstätten und geheiligter Boden. Es waren zumeist ehemalige Häftlinge, die die Errichtung von symbolischen Erinnerungs- und Ehrenzeichen aber auch monumentaler Denkmäler planten. Fast überall entstanden diese ersten Denkmäler im Umfeld der Krematorien. Diese

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<sup>440</sup> Ruth Klüger, weiter leben. Eine Jugend. Göttingen 1992, S.76f.

<sup>441</sup> Volkhard Knigge, Gedenkstätten und Museen, S. 379; ders., Museum oder Schädelstätte? Gedenkstätten als multiple Institutionen, in: Stiftung Haus der Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Hrsg.), Gedenkstätten und Besucherforschung. Bonn 2004, S. 19.

fungierten als Relikte und Reliquie zugleich. Als Relikte und dramatischste Symbole des massenhaften Sterbens in den Lagern. Als Reliquien an denen die Toten – angesichts namenloser Aschenhalden und Klärgruben – am präsentesten und nächsten waren.

Nicht selten, wie in Dachau oder Flossenbürg, wurden diese frühen Gedenkstätten im Umfeld der Krematorien durch museale Elemente ergänzt. Symbole des Lagererrors wie Galgen, Prügelbock oder Zaunpfosten wurden als Rekonstruktionen oder Translokationen neu errichtet, quasi als symbolische Verdichtungen der jüngst vergangenen KZ-Realität.

### **1.3. Ehemalige Lager als Museen**

Bereits im November 1944 wurde das erste von den alliierten Truppen – in diesem Fall von der Roten Armee – befreite Konzentrationslager, das KZ Majdanek bei Lublin, unter gesetzlichen Schutz gestellt. Ganz ähnlich Auschwitz Ende Anfang Februar 1945. Zwei Jahre später verabschiedete der polnische Sejm ein Gesetz, das die Lagergelände in Auschwitz, Majdanek und Stutthof zu staatlichen Museen erklärte. Die Lagergelände sollte als Corpus delicti, als Beweise für die dort begangenen Verbrechen, für immer erhalten werden. Gleichzeitig wurden dort große Nationaldenkmäler und auch „Ausstellungen“ geplant. Ich verwende den Begriff Ausstellung hier bewusst in Anführungszeichen. Der letzte Satz ist entscheidend um die Bedeutung dieser ersten „Ausstellungen“ in ehemaligen Konzentrationslagern zu begreifen: Sie entstanden stets in einem Sinnkontext von erstens einzelnen – meist sehr ausgewählten – Lagerrelikten wie Krematorien oder Mordstätten, und sie entstanden zweitens im Sinnkontext stets ergänzend zu monumentalen Denkmalsanlagen.

Das heißt, sie waren eingebunden in einen sehr eindeutigen politischen und nationalen Sinnstiftungskontext. Diesen sollten die Präsentationen meist authentisierend und pädagogisierend unterfüttern. Doch dazu später.

### **1.4. Maximierung der Sinnstiftung durch Minimierung der Relikte**

Die Beschreibung ehemaliger Lager als Nationaldenkmäler trifft vor allem auf Orte im sozialistischen Machtbereich zu bzw. auf ehemalige Lager in denen in der frühen Nachkriegszeit Häftlingskomitees aktiv waren, wie beispielsweise in Mauthausen.

Der Umgang in der früheren Bundesrepublik war ein völlig anderer. Dort wurde die Notwendigkeit musealer Präsentationen geradezu verneint. Die ehemaligen Lager waren immobile Verfügungsmasse, auf der Flüchtlingslager, Wohnsiedlungen und Gewerbeflächen entstanden. Sofern es dazu kam, das Gelände unter Schutz gestellt oder Denkmäler errichtet wurden – meist auf Druck ehemaliger Häftlinge –, folgte dies einem sehr eindeutigen Sinnstiftungskonzept. In Bergen-

Belsen entstand eine aufwändig geplante „Elysische Landschaft“, in Flossenbürg ein Waldfriedhof, der die „Erinnerung an das Vergangene mildern sollte“.<sup>442</sup>

Entscheidend jedoch ist, dass in Deutschland – Ost wie West – ganze Lagerareale systematisch weitergenutzt, zerstört, abgetragen, unkenntlich gemacht wurden. Diese Minimierung der Relikte war verkoppelt mit einer Maximierung der Sinnstiftung. Mit anderen Worten: Bauliche Überreste des Lagers wurden nur dann bewusst erhalten, wenn sie die hegemoniale Deutung der Gedenkstättenkonzeption unterfütterten oder zumindest nicht störten: in der DDR jener des antifaschistischen Gründungsmythos, in der Bundesrepublik jener der Friedhofsruhe unter der Formel „Allen Opfern des Krieges“

## **2. Museen bzw. Ausstellungen in KZ-Gedenkstätten**

### **2.1. Staatliche Ausstellungen**

Die ersten – national-kommunistischen – Ausstellungen in Auschwitz und Majdanek, aber auch das 1949 entstandene Ghetto-Fighters House in Nord-Israel sowie das 1954 eingerichtete „Museum des Widerstandes“ auf dem Gelände des ehem. KZ Buchenwald stehen exemplarisch für den frühen Typus der Nachkriegsausstellung. Und dies sowohl in ihrem inhaltlichen Narrativ als auch in ihrer musealen Konzeption.

Ich spare mir an dieser Stelle die Ideologiekritik an den Ausstellungen und widme mich gleich den Präsentationsformen. Gezeigt wurden vor allem Artefakte, die auf den Terror der SS verwiesen. Instrumente der Tortur, oftmals nicht im Original, denn die SS hatte viele dieser Beweismittel bewusst vernichtet, sondern aus der noch frischen Erinnerung rekonstruiert – so wie die frühen Leichenstapel in Buchenwald. Kontrastiert wurde die Schau von Verbrechenwerkzeugen oftmals mit erhaltenen Sachzeugnissen ehemaliger Häftlingen, von Relikten und Reliquien: Häftlingskleidung, Schuhen, Devotionalien. Es waren Schauen der Authentisierung des Grauens. In Polen, der DDR, aber auch Israel eingebettet in ein Narrativ der Überwindung und der moralisch-politischen Verpflichtung. Trotz regelmäßiger Überarbeitungen und Ergänzungen dieser Ausstellungen, vor allem durch Fotos, Dokumente und Texte, veränderte sich deren inhaltliche und museale Grundstruktur bis in die 90er Jahre kaum.<sup>443</sup>

Allerdings, und dies ein wesentlicher Punkt, die Gedenkstätten in Polen, der Tschechoslowakei sowie die Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätten in der DDR (Buchenwald, Ravensbrück und Sachsenhausen) wurden von Mitte der 50er Jahre an nicht nur als sozialistische

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<sup>442</sup> Vermerk der Bayerischen Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen vom 28. August 1956, SV Nymphenburg, Ordner 6/2, Neugestaltung 1956–1959.

<sup>443</sup> Vgl. Zofia Wóycicka, Die Kanalisierung des Gedenkens: Die Gedenkstätte Auschwitz-Birkenau in den Jahren 1945–1955, in: Krzysztof Ruchniewicz/Stefan Troebst (Hg.), Diktaturbewältigung und nationale Selbstvergewisserung. Geschichtskulturen in Polen und Spanien im Vergleich. Wrocław 2004, S.184.

Nationaldenkmäler, sondern auch als Museen definiert. Als Museen mit zentralen staatspolitischen Aufgaben. Dies hatte erhebliche Folgen für ihre institutionelle Ausstattung, die sich nun an den formalen Standards von Museen orientierten. Es entstanden Sammlungen, Archive, Depots. Gerade hierin zeigten sich nach der Wende die strukturellen Defizite der westdeutschen Gedenkstätten.

## **2.2. Erkämpfte Ausstellungen**

In Dachau hatten ehemalige Häftlinge zwischen 1946 und 1950 im ehemaligen Krematorium, das zu dieser Zeit der zentrale Symbol- und Erinnerungsort in Dachau war, ergänzend eine museale Schau eingerichtet. Diese Ausstellung entsprach auf der Präsentationsebene gänzlich den oben skizzierten. Allerdings war sie – völlig gegenläufig zur DDR und zu Polen – entgegen der öffentlichen und offiziellen Meinung errichtet worden. Daher ließ sie der Dachauer Landrat 1953 gegen die massiven Proteste Überlebender schließen. Diese Aktion führte in der Konsequenz zur Gründung des Internationalen Dachau-Komitees und zur ersten bedeutenden Dauerausstellung in einer KZ-Gedenkstätte in der Bundesrepublik überhaupt. Die 1965 eröffnete neue Dachauer-Ausstellung war eine politische Ausstellung. Sie entstand als Reaktion auf Leugnungs- und Relativierungsversuche. Es ging den Machern vor allem um die Präsentation von Beweisen und das Auslösen eines emotionalen Schocks auf Seiten der Betrachter. Die Mittel hierfür waren eindeutig. Großfotos inszenierten den Terror der SS gegenüber den Häftlingen. Dokumente authentisierten das Gezeigte mehr als es zu kommentieren. Die Ausstellung folgte, ebenso wie die Lager- und Leichenbesichtigung in Buchenwald, dem Modus der Konfrontation und Authentisierung, in diesem Fall mittels Fotos. Doch die Großfotos waren nicht die einzige Form der Authentisierung: Parallel zur Ausstellung ließ das Internationale Dachau-Komitee zwei Baracken in Appellplatznähe rekonstruieren.

Hiermit sind wir wieder bei Ruth Klüger:

„Das Holz riecht frisch und harzig, über den geräumigen Appellplatz weht ein belebender Wind und diese Baracken wirken fast einladend. Was kann einem da einfallen, man assoziiert eventuell eher Ferienlager als gefoltertes Leben.“

## **2.3. Gedenkstättenausstellungen als Dokumentationen**

Die Dachauer Ausstellung aus dem Jahr 1965, die über fast zwei Jahrzehnte die einzige Ausstellung in einer KZ-Gedenkstätte in der Bundesrepublik war und die dort übrigens bis 2001 zu sehen war, steht prototypisch für das Verständnis von NS-Ausstellungen in der Bundesrepublik. Dieses Verständnis erfuhr in den 80er Jahren seinen Höhepunkt und lässt sich in einzelnen Einrichtungen bis heute besichtigen.

Im gesellschaftlichen Klima der 80er Jahre entstanden an unzähligen Orten so-genannte Geschichtswerkstätten und Gedenkstätteninitiativen. Diese bürger-schaftlichen Gruppen widmeten sich mit der ihnen eigenen politischen Empörung und Emphase der vernachlässigten NS-Geschichte ihrer näheren Umgebung. „Grabe wo Du stehst“ wurde zum historisch-pädagogischen Imperativ dieser Engagierten. Relikte von KZ-Außenlagern, Kriegsgefangenenlagern und NS-Täterorten wurden be-forscht, entdeckt und freigelegt. Stets wurde auch die Forderung nach bislang feh-lenden historischen Informationen zu diesen Orten erhoben. Hierbei eigneten sich einzelne Initiativen auch bewusst den Museumsbegriff an, wie der noch heute bestehende Geschichtsverein „Aktives Museum Berlin“. Element der Aneignung war aber gleichzeitig auch eine Abgrenzung gegenüber „klassischen“ Geschichtsmuseen. Man definierte Aufklärung nicht als Kulturgut, sondern in einem politisch-mora-lischen Sinn.

Doch obwohl in den 80er Jahren eine nicht nur topographische, sondern auch inhaltliche Perspektiverweiterung in der Auseinandersetzung mit den natio-nalsozialistischen Verbrechensorten zu verzeichnen ist, schlug sich diese nur bedingt in den musealen Präsentationsformen nieder: Entscheidend war nicht die Frage des *Wie* von Ausstellungen, sondern des *Ob*. Erneut ging es um die Präsentation von Beweisen für die Tatsächlichkeit der nationalsozialistischen Verbrechen – und ihrer Omnipräsenz. Ausstellungen in Gedenkstätten waren zu dieser Zeit *Dokumen-tationen*, also Text-Bildschauen, eine Sondeform historischer Ausstellungen. Erst mit der allmählichen politischen Akzeptanz von Gedenkstätten als „arbeitenden Ein-richtungen“ begannen auch Diskussionen um die Ausstellungspraxis. Diese bezogen sich aber vor allem auf bislang ausgeblendete Themenkomplexe wie „lokales Um-feld“ „naiver Gebrauch von Täterfotos“ oder „Differenzierung der Häftlings-gesellschaft“. Museologische Debatten blieben weitgehend aus.

#### **2.4. Gedenkstätten als moderne zeithistorische Museen?**

Mit der deutschen Wiedervereinigung wurden auch die NS-bezogenen geschichts-politischen Narrative beider deutscher Staaten porös und renovierungsbedürftig. Während die Notwendigkeit der Entideologisierung und Neukonzeption der ehe-maligen Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätten der DDR unübersehbar war, zeigten sich nun auch die jahrzehntelangen Defizite der bundesrepublikanischen Gedenk-stätten. Unter dem Motto „KZ-Gedenkstätten als moderne zeithistorische Museen“ begann ausgehend von den Gedenkstätten Buchenwald und Sachsenhausen eine zunächst diskursive Professionalisierung der historisch-fachwissenschaftlichen, der pädagogisch-didaktisch aber auch der museologischen Arbeit in den KZ-Gedenk-stätten.

Die 1995 eröffnete neue Buchenwald-Ausstellung bezog sich in ihrem inhaltlichen und ästhetischen Ausdruck direkt auf die vormalige DDR-Ausstellung, indem sie Exponate, Artefakte, Fotos und Texte im Gestus eines Archivs, einer Art negativer Schausammlung, präsentierte. Damit



wurde, so würde ich behaupten, erstmals auch an eine Museumstradition des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts angeknüpft. In Sachsenhausen entschied sich der wissenschaftliche Beirat hingegen dezidiert für ein de-zentrales Ausstellungskonzept mit insgesamt zwölf Einzel-Ausstellungen, die jeweils auf ihre Art und Weise inhaltliche und ästhetische Maßstäbe setzten.

Als Konsequenz der Neukonzeption der ehemaligen Nationalen Mahn- und Gedenkstätten und auf Basis des deutschen Einigungsvertrags wurde der Handlungsbedarf in der alten Bundesrepublik virulent. Mittlerweile wurden auch in den Gedenkstätten in Dachau, Neuengamme, Bergen-Belsen und Flossenbürg neue Ausstellungen eröffnet, in Bergen-Belsen und Flossenbürg erstmals überhaupt Ausstellungen, die sich sehr offensiv und selbstbewusst als moderne zeithistorische Museen begreifen.

### **3. Aktuelle Fragen**

Mit dieser Entwicklungsgeschichte ehemaliger Konzentrationslager von Tatorten zu modernen zeithistorischen Museen ist jedoch nur der institutions-evolutionäre Rahmen beschrieben. Noch immer gibt es eine erhebliche Diskrepanz zwischen der Außenwahrnehmung von Gedenkstätten und dem in den meisten Einrichtungen inzwischen erreichten musealen Niveau. Ich möchte nur drei dieser Diskrepanzen benennen, welche auch direkt das Tagungsthema, die Konstruktion, Vermittlung und Wahrnehmung von Geschichtsbildern, tangieren.

– Noch immer – bzw. in letzter Zeit wieder vermehrt – sind Gedenkstätten mit naiven Authentisierungswünschen konfrontiert. Mindestens einmal wöchentlich erreicht uns der Wunsch bzw. die Forderung nach Rekonstruktion einer Baracke, nach der Toninstallation von Kaposchreien auf dem Appellplatz und dem neuen Ausrollen von Stacheldraht.

– Immer wieder werden wir – aus äußerst gegensätzlichen politischen Richtungen – mit der Forderung nach eindeutigen geschichtspolitischen Narrativen konfrontiert. Die moralische Gedenk- und Geschichtsvermittlungsanstalt ehemaliges KZ braucht in diesen Augen keine Differenzierung, sondern Vereindeutigung.

– Noch immer – und immer wieder – wird KZ-Gedenkstätten der Museumscharakter abgesprochen.

Zum Wunsch nach mehr vermeintlicher Authentizität: Man muss nicht immer Ruth Klüger zitieren, um sich der Probleme des Authentizitätswahns an Orten früherer Konzentrationslager bewusst zu sein. Die Kollegen und Kolleginnen aus den anderen Museen werden sich noch an die „Topolatrie“ bzw. „Aura“-Debatte der 80er Jahre erinnern. Sachzeugnisse, egal ob als Gebäude, Relikte und Artefakte, sprechen nicht per se für sich, sondern müssen quellenkritisch analysiert und entsprechend museo-logisch kontextualisiert werden. Gleiches gilt für den reflexhaften Wunsch nach

Zeit-zeugeninterviews. Auch sie sind keine „authentische“ Quelle für die Lagerwirklichkeit. Wohl aber dafür, wie sie der Interviewte gegenwärtig erinnert bzw. erzählt. Mit dem Abstand von mehreren Jahrzehnten. Als solche müssen und können sie pädagogisch gewinnbringend präsentiert werden.

Dies bringt mich zu Punkt zwei, den politischen bzw. gesellschaftlichen Erwartungen an Ausstellungen in KZ-Gedenkstätten. Die Geschichte der KZ-Ausstellungen in der Bundesrepublik war, wie oben dargelegt, lange eine Geschichte ihres Erkämpfens. Das heißt: Der Genese von Ausstellungen in Gedenkstätten war das gesellschaftlich-politische selbstreflexive und selbstkritische Element stets inhärent. Auch wenn KZ-Gedenkstätten heute institutionell zum kulturellen Grundbestand der Bundesrepublik gehören, ist es unabdingbar, diese aufklärerische und selbstreflexive Haltung zu bewahren und immer wieder zu erneuern, gerade auch was die Nachgeschichte betrifft. Dies bedeutet nicht nur die konsequente Abwehr politischer Vereinnahmungen aus jeglicher politischer Richtung, sondern auch die Infragestellung der alleinigen Opfer-Identifikation, auch wenn dies nach wie vor eine der Leitperspektiven ist.

Zum letzten Punkt, der Satisfaktionsfähigkeit von Gedenkstätten als Museen: KZ-Gedenkstätten sind multiple Orte. Sie sind Schädelstätten, Friedhöfe, Generationen-orte, Freilichtmuseen, Lernorte, Quellen für die Zeit des Konzentrationslagers und für die Zeit des Umgangs mit ihnen während der letzten 65 Jahre. Hierin unterscheidet sich die Institution KZ-Gedenkstätte von einem Teil der Einrichtungen, die auf dieser Tagung repräsentiert werden. KZ-Gedenkstätten haben aber auch eine wesentliche und sogar zunehmende Funktion, die sie mit diesen Einrichtungen teilen. Sie sind – auch – Museen. Sicherlich eine Sonderform, aber, und hierin würde ich Ruth Klüger zum Schluss dann doch widersprechen wollen, keine Anti-Museen.

## Picking up the Pieces: Traces of the Communist Past in Bucharest and Berlin

### 1. Introduction

In the past years, particularly when referring to the communist past, much research gravitated to topics such as transitional justice, reassessing the history of communist regimes and discourses on memory, nostalgia and national identity shaping processes, such as memorialization and commemoration of the recent past.

Within these processes, considered essential for understanding and coming to terms with the communist past, an important role has been attributed to establishing new museums and memorials, which as public institutions, would actively engage in the process of recollection and commemoration of the horrors of almost forty years of communist regime. As the Romanian curator Simina Badica argues, museums of communism ‘sprang up like mushrooms all over Eastern Europe, in the form of ‘statue parks’ like the Memento Park in Budapest and the Muzeon Park in Moscow, and commercial museums for western tourists, like the Museum of Communism in Prague, the memorial museums and museums of terror, such as Terror Haza in Budapest and the Sighet Memorial in Northern Romania.’ (Badica, 2007)

However, within this trend of new museum development in post-communist countries an important aspect has been forgotten, namely that, museums that already exhibited Communism existed prior 1989. After the political change in 1989 museums in Eastern Europe, like the Communist Party Museum, Lenin Museum, Revolutionary Museums, and their collections have been closed down, replaced, quickly looked over, and rarely researched.

The purpose of this paper is to fill a gap in the multidisciplinary field of heritage studies, and go beyond the discourse analysis on the intangible significance of what the communist past means today for the former communist European societies, specifically in Romania and Germany. That is, to go beyond how it is perceived and if, then interpreted, remembered or simply forgotten and ignored. Instead, I focus on how ideas and discourses are transformed into actions and how the Romanian and German societies are actively dealing with the tangible legacies of the communist regimes. Hence, I am interested in identifying when, what, and under which circumstances the material legacy (meaning in this particular case, historical objects) of the still highly debated and contested political regimes is in the process of being identified, recognized and treated as heritage of the past and what implications these actions may have in the politics of preservation.

More precisely, I am interested in taking an in depth look at the mechanisms involved in the process of creation of 'heritage' and assessment of the significance, value and meaning when specifically dealing with the material assets from the communist past. One central problem to be discussed is the method by which historical assets are negotiated and constructed as culturally valuable and how are they being incorporated, perceived, and preserved as components of the national cultural heritage.

Following, a brief theoretical review of the currently dominant discourse on mechanisms of assessing significance in the field of cultural heritage will be introduced. Then I will focus my attention on case studies, which aim to highlight the current specificities and difficulties when engaging with the material legacy of the communist past in Romania and Germany.

## **2. Assessing Cultural Significance based on Value Assessment Criteria**

Different cultures produce different understandings, and categories of appreciation of various assets of cultural interest as heritage. In the current understanding of heritage, one needs to remember that the discourse on '*heritage*' is a fundamentally modern Western practice. The traditional dominant discourse of heritage emerged in English-speaking countries starting in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, and it has been defined by Laurajane Smith as the '*Authorised Heritage Discourse*'. This discourse emphasized the idea that heritage is understood, thought of, and valued as 'everything that is good, grand, monumental and primarily of national significance'. In the Western tradition, values were attributed as a result of scientific experts' analysis of heritage as a work of art, or a record of the past, which is strictly linked to its materiality and the knowledge that is preserved. The idea that heritage values are inherent to objects or places dominated the heritage discourse. (Smith, in: Pendlebury and Gibson, 2009)

Recently, a more democratic approach has emerged in the process of identification and formation of heritage by highlighting the intangible component of assets and by taking into account the contributions of multiple stakeholders. Not only experts are involved in this process but also individuals and communities or institutions, identifying and developing frameworks and practices, in order to assess and recognize the meaning, value, cultural significance of objects, collections, buildings, natural assets or places as being worthy of preservation and protection. Moreover the main idea that emerged in the Western heritage discourse is that heritage status and identified values, which qualify objects for this position, are not intrinsic to objects but that they emerge 'out of the interaction of an artefact and its contexts'. (Mason, in: de la Torre, 2002, p.8)

As suggested by Howard, heritage is not 'a static phenomenon' nor a 'product' and assets do not hold automatically the intrinsic status of heritage, until they are identified and recognised as such. (Howard, 2003, p.7) According to the author, constructing heritage is merely the result of an

evolving process of value adding, selective and subjective of anything that someone wishes to preserve or to collect in present time. Objects, collections, buildings, natural assets and places enter the heritage world as a result of conscious decision-making processes regarding their cultural significance, while people identify which meaning and value they embody: 'The heritage process depends on the values that people invest in the heritage phenomena on the different kind of ways in which things are viewed.'(Howard, 2003, p.12)

More recently it has been debated on the reductionist and exclusivist character of various typologies identified for assessing the cultural significance based on the value assessment, or the unstable nature of the systems of classification, since they can't provide an absolute and comprehensive definition of the values of a site or assets of cultural interest. (McClelland et.al. 2013, p.593) Often heritage is understood as a 'set of positive characteristics or qualities perceived in cultural objects or sites by certain individuals or groups'. (Mason and de la Torre, in: de la Torre, 2002, p.4) This approach tends to highlight mainly positive characteristics associated with expressions of heritage value to the detriment of others, which might be equally significant but yet they embody negative meanings or characteristics.

McClelland suggests that in order to provide a more inclusive approach in the value assessment process a later category could be included, which shall encompass the negative meanings attributed to heritage assets, identified by Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper as the 'discord value'. (McClelland et.al. 2013, p.593) As Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper is stating: 'How can anyone claim that cultural heritage only embodies positive historical, artistic and ethical values (truth, beauty and goodness), when heritage often comes down from periods of deep social and political conflict?' (Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, in: McClelland et.al. 2013, p.595)

Nonetheless assessing the cultural value of the immovable heritage has been extensively analysed in the literature and various systematic approaches and typologies have been identified and elaborated, predominantly in the field of conservation-planning, in order to better ensure decision making processes when managing the asset. (e.g Alois Riegel 1903, Burra Charter by ICOMOS Australia 1979-1999, English Heritage 1997, Mason 2002) Even though experts such as Worthing and Bond suggest that a value-based assessment can be applied to any kind of cultural heritage or built assets when assessing the cultural significance (Worthing and Bond, 2008, p.1), very little information is provided in the literature on the existence or application of systematic mechanisms of value assessment of the museums collections or of the criteria of selection upon which assets are qualified or disqualified for being part of the heritage registers.

There are a few examples, such as the Wavery criteria, established in 1952 in UK by the Reviewing Committee on the Export of Works of Art and Objects of Cultural Interest, or policies for

de-accessioning collections in UK as a way of managing the issue of sustainability and accumulation within collections.<sup>444</sup>

A major contribution in the debate of assessing the value of cultural heritage, especially in the field of conservation, was initiated by ICOMOS Australia when introducing the significance method (Burra Charter 1979/1999), in order to emphasize *why* and *how* assets are culturally valuable. As this practice of assessment became common in the field of material built heritage, it later also provided the inspiration for assessing the cultural significance of movable heritage, such as museums collections ('Significance, a Guide to Assessing the Significance of Cultural Heritage Collections', published by the Commonwealth Australia, on behalf of the Heritage Collections Council, 2001). An updated version 'Significance 2.' was published in 2009.<sup>445</sup> The purpose of the Guide was to introduce an overarching framework for assessing the layers of meaning and values of collections or objects which are on hold in archives, museums, libraries and art museums, in order to provide a sound basis on which decision-making processes will be made on management, conservation, preservation, designation as national heritage, access etc.<sup>446</sup>

Keeping in mind the nature of the birth of the museum, rooted in the revolutionary times of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and in terms with Nick Merriman that 'not all museum collections should be accorded the same treatment and valuation (...) different kinds of museums – and different kinds of collections – might have different life-cycles and trajectories' (Nick Merriman, 2004, p.42), I will further highlight the problematic when inheriting 'uncomfortable collections' and the act of classification (or not) of assets as heritage by introducing the following case studies.

## **2. Assessing the Value of Inherited Collections from the Communist Party Museum, Bucharest**

If the current analysis of heritage is dominated by the Anglo-Saxon model as a source of innovation with often deep economic implications, in a non-Western context the heritisation phenomenon is only a recent phenomenon, and it is commonly perceived as 'either imitative, alternative deviation or an extension of the Western praxis'. (Winter, 2013, p.566)

In Eastern European countries, such as Romania, patrimony issues during communist regime were subjected to the national state's administration. Despite the recent political shift of 1989, state intervention in the field of heritage remains dominant. Yet, new ways of engaging with the material legacy of the past have emerged, once institutional reform took place and the 'heritage' discourse introduced.

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<sup>444</sup> <http://www.artscouncil.org.uk/what-we-do/supporting-museums/cultural-property/export-controls/reviewing-committee/>

<sup>445</sup> <http://arts.gov.au/sites/default/files/resources-publications/significance-2.0/pdfs/significance-2.0.pdf>

<sup>446</sup> [http://www.collectionsaustralia.net/sector\\_info\\_item/5](http://www.collectionsaustralia.net/sector_info_item/5)

After the political shift of 1989, institutions such as museums, found themselves in the difficult position of re-evaluating anew their mission and collections. A peculiar situation was encountered by national museums, which displayed collections incorporating a strong historical narrative. The case of the national museum that housed collections depicting the history and evolution of the Communist Party in Bucharest ('Museum of the Communist Party', founded in July 1958 and later renamed as the 'History Museum of the Communist Party, of the Revolutionary and Democratic Movement of Romania') is symptomatic of these developments.

**a) *Historical Background***

During Communism, the Museum of the Communist Party was considered an important agent of ideological propaganda and functioned under the surveillance of the Propaganda and Press Section of the Executive Committee of Romanian Communist Party. Therefore the museum's contribution went far more over its exhibition space, and engaged as veritable tool of ideological communist propaganda by also providing 'consultancy' to various institutions involved in the propaganda machinery of the party, such as television, film studios, universities and schools, and other cultural institutions. (Cioroiu, 1973, p.23) The museum functioned as a 'central' museum, and in that sense it was also responsible for the organization of all museums sections in the country that incorporated exhibitions on the national history.

Initially the museum was established according to the principles of the soviet museology, with the consideration that the role of the museum was not limited only to that of a storehouse which simply preserved its collections. Instead it was actively engaged in the scientific research and process of raising awareness of Romania's historical past, and the 'patriotic socialist' education of society. (Lupescu, 1974, p.5)

The main thematic concept that was developed at the Party Museum was based on the argument that previously museums focused mainly on the medieval and antique representation of the Romanian history. As a consequence the museum's mission from then on was to contribute in addition to the 'objective' and 'scientific' documentation and representation of the national contemporary history.

Since the Party Museum was a newly emerging museum, from its beginning it strived to increase its collections and it became actively involved in the process of gathering 'proof' of the nation's historical moments and in particular of those concerning contemporary history. The acquisition of objects (photography, documents, flags, etc.) was conducted after a thorough research activity conducted in the Archives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, National Archives, Supreme Military Archives, Foreign Office Archives, local archives, Institute for Historical and Socio-Political Studies, the National Academy Library and Central Library. (Cioroiu,

1973, p.24)

As a modern museum that exhibited contemporary achievements under communist guidance, the museum had to make use of the newest technical achievements to organise its display. Therefore it was not considered essential whether one made use of reproductions, models, originals or copies, since the attention was not addressed to the 'artefact' but to the 'visitor'. The mission of the museum was to turn its 'visitors into eyewitnesses, to make them feel that, after leaving the exhibition, they could testify to the things they saw with their own eyes.' (Badica, 2007, p.8)

Major exhibitions organized by the Communist Party Museum in its early stage were dedicated to 'promoting' the 'revolutionary tradition' of the Romanian nation, and focused on 'the national independency movements of the Romanian people, development of the revolutionary movement of the socialist workers and its international connections, national movements in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, national and Communist Party's history'. (Cioroiu, 1973, p.24) Later on the complexity and variety of the displayed topics ranged from social, political, cultural, economic, technological and scientific achievements under the Party's guidance to the glorification of the Communist Party leader, Nicolae Ceausescu. Forging on the Communist Party's contribution to the nation formation and development, the museum was THE place where the achievements under Party's guidance and its leader could be acknowledged.

### ***b) Current State of the Art***

After the fall of Communism in 1989, the Communist Party Museum was dissolved and a new museum, founded by the artist Horia Bernea as an ethnographic museum - The Romanian Peasant Museum – moved in February 1990 in the building that previously housed the Communist Party Museum. How and which decisions were taken in regard to the collections of the Communist museum in the turmoil at the end of 1989 is still unclear. Parts of the collection were chaotically dispersed among various institutions like the National History Museum, National Art Museum, the National Archives, while the rest stayed in the basements of the Romanian Peasant Museum, or were ultimately destroyed (there is no accurate information about exactly what and how much was destroyed from the previous collections).

Recently, the curator of the Romanian Peasant Museum, Siminca Badica, who is in charge of the documentation of the collection of the Communist Party Museum currently held by the Romanian Peasant Museum (from which some of the objects are on display as part of the only current permanent exhibition on Communism in Romania), stated that according to her knowledge, this particular collection is considered as part of the museum's archive and is not included in the national heritage registers. (Information was provided during an interview with Simina Badica,



December 2013).

It is a fact that no mechanisms were set in place for the assessment of the cultural significance of the inherited collections surviving the political shift of 1989 and the first stage of refurbishment of the new ethnographic museum, in order to ensure their preservation and management. Most of the items (maps, paintings, sculptures, newspaper articles, etc.) are still on hold in the archives of various institutions and are organized, catalogued, and documented only according to their typology, without any further detailed information. Moreover, very often they are still considered as being devoid of any artistic or aesthetic qualities, as well as authenticity. On the contrary, they are often regarded as kitsch, ‘trash’ or reproductions with no aesthetic value. The status of the items, which occasionally enter the exhibition space and come on display, are often reduced to ‘memorabilia’, while their value is only linked to the historical significance of documenting the communist history.

The poor management of the remaining collections from the Communist Museum is not only due to the low significance that experts often assign to these assets, but also partly due to the positivist and traditionally academic framing of the Romanian legislation in regard to managing movable heritage.

The mechanism for assessing the cultural value of movable assets and their classification/designation as national heritage was adopted for the first time in 2000 (Law no.182/2000, reviewed and completed in 2002, 2004, and 2008). The National Commission for Museums and Collections, under the Ministry of Culture, is responsible for granting expertise for the assessment of the value and cultural significance of movable assets (according to the Law 886/2008 Art.3).<sup>447</sup>

According to Law 886/2008 Art.4, there is a juridical distinction in the classification of assets in the category *fund* (collection) and *treasure* (of exceptional cultural value). For the assessment of cultural significance and importance of heritage, a mechanism has been developed based on the attribution of points following two types of criteria, namely specific and general.

According to Article 6 of Law 886/2008, *general criteria* are related to age (at least 50 years old), rarity and state of conservation, whereas *specific criteria* (Article 7 of Law 886/2008) incorporate historical value, meaning, memorial, authenticity, authorship and formal quality. If the sum of the specific and general criteria for an asset is 250-350 points then the asset will be classified in the category *fund* of the museum’s collection, while a sum over 350 points qualifies the asset as *treasure*.

Examining the system of classification, it becomes clear that a hierarchical and positivist

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<sup>447</sup> [http://www.dreptonline.ro/legislatie/hotarare\\_norme\\_clasare\\_bunuri\\_culturale\\_mobile\\_886\\_2008.php](http://www.dreptonline.ro/legislatie/hotarare_norme_clasare_bunuri_culturale_mobile_886_2008.php)

understanding and appreciation of heritage is established, where some assets are classified as being of an exceptional value (*treasure*) in comparison to others of less significance (*fund*). The system of assessing the cultural value automatically privileges the designation of specific categories of heritage as being of exceptional value, such as the archaeological assets. Whereas more recent items such as the inherited communist collections might embody historical and memorial value, yet in respect to their age and current understanding and appreciation of their cultural significance, these assets are excluded from being recognized as part of the national heritage.

### **3. Inherited Collections of the Museum for German History by the German Historical Museum, Berlin**

Starting the end of the 70s and during the 80s in the Federal Republic of Germany the idea of establishing a history museum that will focus on the national history, including a perspective of the German history after 1945, fired up the German society. Experts, historians, art-historians, politicians, and institutions debated on the relevance and feasibility of such a project within a federal state. Meanwhile on the Eastern side of Berlin, a museum committed to the idea of national German history was fully functional since January 1952.

Yet the ‘wind of change’ of 1989, impacted the debates in regard to the project at a different scale, and made the existence of the Eastern museum completely obsolete.

#### **a) *Historical Background of the Museum for German History***

In January 1949 the Executive Committee of the Party issued the order according to which museology became an important tool for education of the national conscience according to the Party’s guidelines. (Pfundt, 1993) Fred Oelßner, responsible for the Propaganda section of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), visited early 1950 various museums during his trip in the Soviet Union, among others the Revolutionary Museum and Lenin Museum. In its early stage a museum dedicated to the revolutionary movements or a ‘Museum of Liberation’ supposed to be created also in Berlin. His contribution and later of Eduard Ullmann, were essential in the process of establishing the national history museum.

The Museum for German History in Berlin opened officially in July 1952, under the guidance of the historian Alfred Meusel. At that time the section for pre- and early history and Middle Ages were inaugurated. Following next year a new section dedicated to the historical period 1850-1945 opened. However it became compelling to present contemporary history starting 1945, with the aim to legitimise the foundation of GDR, the workers revolutionary moments and role of the Party. While the historical period after 1945 has been elaborated in various temporary exhibitions, only during the 60s the permanent section dedicated to contemporary GDR was realised (MfDG 497/1964-65) and reviewed between 1981-1984.

The Museum for German History became the 'central' museum that the political regime used in exporting its vision on the national German history, namely by enforcing the idea of the contribution of the SED and workers movements to the formation of the German state.

As a new emergent institution without a collection of its own yet, but located in a prestigious historical building, namely the Zeughaus whose military collection was transferred to the museum, the freshly history museum and the Party embarked on the mission of expanding its collections. Since the museum's mission aimed at highlighting essential moments in the German history, and not to exhibit 'rare' objects, that would eventually turn the museum into a treasury house, its priority was not the object exhibited. Therefore its purpose was to acquire assets which were in compliance with the textbooks describing German history, with a focus on the revolutionary movements and workers history. The museum's purpose was to function as an active research and educational centre. Collected, acquired or commissioned objects varied from original to reproductions, models, facsimile, documents, newspaper, photography, etc. Moreover, acquiring objects or in some cases entire collections from various institutions or museums from GDR was a common practice. Also acquiring objects related to the current development in West Germany and West Berlin was strongly supported in its early stages, since the Party tried to enforce the image of GDR as the only legitimate German state. (MfDG, 475/1968)

In August 1990 the Council of Ministers (Ministerrat) of GDR decided to dissolve the Museum for German History and legally transfer its collections and the building Zeughaus to the German Historical Museum (DHM 1.45/1990), which already during the 80s started developing a clear concept and acquiring objects for its collections. Shortly before its closure in June 1990, the Museum for German History launched a last call to the eastern Germans to donate objects associated to daily life in GDR from 1945-1990. Shortly afterwards on the 15<sup>th</sup> of September the transfer of the Museum for German History took place, already before the German Unification was officially pronounced. The new museum's collection suddenly increased to almost 800.000 objects. Its main sources were the previously acquired objects, Zeughaus collection, and collections of objects of the Museum for German History. However DHM continued as well to collect objects associated or relevant for the already closed historical period of GDR. The diversity of the collections ranged from military collection, to objects collected to depict the contemporary history of GDR.

### ***b) Current State of the Art***

The concept for the national museum was already developed in 1987, in strong opposition to its counterpart in the Eastern part of Berlin. The museum's mission was coined on three pillars: namely its permanent exhibition aimed at presenting the German history within European context, while various aspects would be emphasised in the temporary exhibitions. Further attention had to be given to raising awareness about the historical past using innovative and modern tools.

However it is difficult to reconstruct what has been lost from the legacy of the Museum for German History during the transition between the two institutions, since no official record of the transfer has been issued. According to the interviews conducted with witnesses of the political and institutional change from 1990, most objects from the Museum for German History, which were transferred to the German Historical Museum, have been retained. Once the political regime changed, GDR was already considered a 'historical' period, for which it made possible preserving and protecting its material legacy. (Ludwig, 2007) Exceptions were registered as well, namely in cases when objects were considered cases for restitution to individuals or institutions (archives, museums), damaged, copies, or they had no 'musealen Wert' (no value for the museum). How the value for the new museum has been identified, it is not clearly stated. There has not been any systematic approach issued in order to assess the significance and relevance of the acquired objects, even though such a system of assessing the relevance and significance existed previously for the collections of the Museum for German History. Officially all inherited objects were considered equal of historical relevance. However, it seems that in some cases the pragmatic principle of costs/use has been applied when certain objects have been delisted from the museum records.

In the first stages of the museum various temporary exhibitions captured on aspects from GDR times, while the first permanent exhibition opened in June 2006. The purpose of the exhibition was to chronologically highlight the German history and the role of Germans within European context, avoiding delivering a metanarrative on the evolution of the German nation, instead to critically inform about continuities and discontinuities of the social and political developments in Germany. The exhibition incorporated in its narrative also a section to GDR's history, for which 50% of the objects were made use of, were incorporated previously in the collections housed by the Museum for German History. The role of the objects in the exhibitions display is not understood as a mean to illustratively understanding of the historical events or their aesthetical appreciation, instead they are ascribed an evidential and testimonial value for the historical processes. However, often no reference is made in regard to the provenance or ownership of the exhibited objects. Moreover, limited amount of documentation has captured on the house history and incorporated the Museum for German History, while bringing to light the identity of its previously housed collections. In

conclusion one can argue that the destiny of the collections from the Museum for German History are still in need for clarification.

## 5. Conclusions

In my analysis, I highlighted that heritage is not a static and unitary process of appreciation of values and significance, but a complex mechanism emerging over time according to context and the people involved. Discussing the mechanisms involved in the process of heritage creation, in particular focusing on the framework set in place at the state level aimed to identify the meaning and significance of objects of cultural interest, I bring to attention the limitations of this practice. Namely, there is a widely accepted idea, in particular in Romania, that heritage is ‘good’ and assessing the values of cultural assets means mainly looking at the positive qualities and characteristics embodied by the items of cultural interest. Whereas in the case of the inherited collections from the communist Museum for German History no such mechanism has been issued, while the ‘value for museum’ remains a vague statement in order to decide about the future of the inherited collections.

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### **Making History in Museum**

History and museums are tightly connected. A museum is a representation, which means it represents the things in reality to a real audience in a museal context. From a social approach, the musealization of reality means the process of musealizing the things and persons of reality in reality. "Museums confront their visitors with the world of objects, of necessity remove these objects from their original historical context and press them into service in an exemplary role, and explicate the past along societally conditioned lines of questioning".<sup>448</sup>

In the simplest philosophical sense of the word an object is not in itself a form of reality, but a product, a result, or an equivalence.

The object is not in any case raw reality or simply a given item which it would be sufficient to collect, for example, to be part of a museum's collection, as one would collect seashells on the shore. It is an ontological status which, in given circumstances, a particular thing will assume, on the understanding that the thing would not be considered an object in other circumstances.<sup>449</sup>

Contemporary museum of history is a crossing point of social memory which bears information linking the basic dimensions of time – past, present and future.<sup>450</sup> According to Martin R. Schaerer the past is everything that has ever happened anywhere. It is lost forever; it can neither be known in its entirety nor ever be reconstructed. As an abstract construct, as an idea, then, "history" may not be musealizable (this is only possible with its materialized remains, such as objects, pictures, books, films, etc.), but it most definitely can be visualized in an exhibition – above all with things as signs referring to past sets of circumstances. Thus, man always has only an incomplete and provisional notion of past sets of circumstances, a notion which moreover is changing all the time. It rests on things which have been passed on: stories, documents, objects. According to this, there is not one definitive, assured, objective historical truth, only provisional statements. Views of history are therefore always fictitious, which however does not rule out a very high degree of probability. Museums are part of the collective memory and are hence also partly responsible for transmitted views of history<sup>451</sup>.

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<sup>448</sup> Hinz, Hans-Martin, *Museology and New National Museums of History and Culture*, ICOFOM Study Series – ISS 35, Munich/Germany and Alta Gracia/Córdoba/Argentina, 2006, p. 21

<sup>449</sup> Desvallées, André and Mairesse, François, *Key Concepts of Museology*, Armand Colin, 2010, p 61

<sup>450</sup> Stepanyan A. Albert, *Civilization – Museum, Semantic Inversion, Museum, Research – Methodical annual*, Yerevan 2012, p. 86

<sup>451</sup> . Schaerer, R Martin, *MUSEOLOGY AND HISTORY*, ICOFOM Study Series – ISS 35, Munich/Germany and Alta Gracia/Córdoba/Argentina, 2006, pp. 35-39

The memory, according to Halbwachs, confirms the similarity between the past and the present, the history, as opposed to it, confirms the difference between the past and the present. There are many collective memories, whereas the “history is unitary, and it can be said that there is only one history”. Therefore, no wonder, the French historian and sociologist Pierre Nora emphasizes the fact of “radical contrast” or “rupture” of memory and history by differentiating them in accordance with Halbwachs’ suggestions. In this context the memory for Nora is personally endured experience. Live memory is in a process of variation: it is open to the dialectics of remembrance and forgetting and it exists in the present. The history, by contrast, is always a problematic and an incomplete reconstruction of the fact, which is already in the past:

In Ricoeur's theory the complementary conception of the memory and the history is vividly displayed. That is, in the simple relationship between the memory and the history, though the already noticeable differences of immanence transmit the reality in different ways, the contrast and the collision are overcome with the help of a dialogue. With this the memory and the history, being completely included in the whole, act as transmitters of reality into one another.

Thus we can point out that mere contrasting of the memory and the history cannot introduce the immense range of the history in a comprehensive manner. To perceive the relationship between the memory and the history means somehow to reveal both their difference and contrast, and especially the possibility of dialogue.

Summing up the above mentioned it can be noted that the memory evicted from the history is not able to create new communication-information streams. That is, the memory is a mechanism working in the history, creating itself and producing new information in a continuously changeable reality<sup>452</sup>.

The policy to protect social memory bases itself substantially on museums that are called to sustain that memory. This connection, as a rule, is mutual, i.e. changes in the society find their reflection in museum exhibitions and interpretations. The opposite also happens; the museum contributes to the relevance of some ideas. Compared to a number of museums of historical profile, memorial museums are mostly focused not only on objects related to history or art collections, but on interpretation of history.

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<sup>452</sup> Hovhannisyan, Smbat, *The Problem of Creating Hierarchy of Genocides in Pierre Nora's Theory*, Yerevan 2014, pp. 28-36



In 1995, the Museum and Institute (architects S. Kalashyan, L. Mkrtchyan, A. Tarkhanyan, sculptor F. Arakelyan) was built near Tsitsernakaberd to commemorate the 80th anniversary of the Armenian Genocide<sup>453</sup>.

For about half a century the Armenian Genocide was considered “a forgotten genocide”. For quite a long time it was not presented in special museum exhibitions. Considered “forgotten” till 1965, it was commemorated only by Armenians. An assembly gathering of several thousand people, on commemoration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Genocide attracted the attention of the whole world to the fact of Armenian Genocide.

For about 20 years, the museum has opened its doors for numerous visitors, including school children, students and a lot of tourists. The permanent and temporary exhibitions of Armenian Genocide Museum have been visited by 3.027.549 people, 2.442.603 of which only in April, and especially on April 24 (Day of commemoration of victims of Armenian Genocide). As the memory of Armenian Genocide is better expressed on April 24, being in a more passive stance afterwards, the museum has to ensure the interminability of that memory.

The Genocide Museum’s mission statement is rooted in the fact that understanding the Armenian Genocide is an important step in preventing similar future tragedies, in keeping with the notion that those who forget the past are condemned to repeat it<sup>454</sup>. Architectural design comprises a conceptual part of the museum exhibition. Initially the conceptual core of the AGM was to present the exhibition as a “court”, where the visitors were considered as judges. The courtyard of the museum looks like a court room, with a “Wall of Condemnation” containing words of accuse pronounced by 12 contemporaries (In a Jury Court, there are 12 juries); and every visitor is a judge, without discrimination on nationality, age or sex; he shall be making the final decision. The same may be said for selecting the material; i.e. most of the exhibits are photos, documents, newspapers, books, etc. The exhibition was almost lacking any memorial objects related to the Genocide, exhibits in foreign languages prevail in number. The main reason for that was non-recognition and non-

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<sup>453</sup> Tsitsernakaberd Memorial Complex in Yerevan is dedicated to the memory of the 1.5 million Armenians who perished in the first genocide of the 20th century, at the hands of the Turkish government. The complex occupies 4500 square meters of territory and consists of three main buildings: the Memorial Wall, the Sanctuary of Eternity (Memorial Hall & Eternal Flame) and the Memorial Column “The Reborn Armenia.” Before reaching the central part of the monument, visitors first observe a 100-meter long basalt Memorial Wall with the names of cities engraved in stone. The names also include the Armenian populations that were massacred by Turks during the Genocide campaign. As part of the monument, an arrow-shaped stele of granite, 44 meters high, reaches to the sky, symbolizing the survival and spiritual rebirth of the Armenian people. Partly split vertically by a deep crevice, this tower symbolizes the tragic and violent dispersion of the Armenian people, and at the same time, expresses the unity of the Armenian people. At the center of the Monument stands the circular Memorial Sanctuary. Its unroofed walls consist of twelve, tall, inward-leaning basalt slabs forming a circle. The shape of these walls simulates traditional Armenian khachkars, which are stone slabs with large carved crosses at the center.

<sup>454</sup> <http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/index.php>

condemnation of Armenian Genocide by many countries. After the long years of inability to promulgate the fact of Genocide in the Soviet Rule, the need to inform the world about it aroused. Apart from the need to prove the fact of Genocide, the memory of Armenian Genocide gives a substantial place to the loss of motherland; and this element was also included in the permanent exhibition. Armenian suffered genocide, being the nation that settled in those lands originally, hence a significant part of the memory of Genocide is related to land entitlement. The circumstance obliges the museum to refer to rather trustworthy sources of information (official documents related to the fact of genocide, archived photos) in the exhibitions of Armenian Genocide, when the museum exhibitions devoted to the Holocaust were mainly focused on influencing the visitors, apart from the context and making the one time visit to the museum unforgettable, which means the art element of the exhibition was of largest significance. The work of museums and centers devoted to commemoration of Armenian Genocide is mostly focused on international recognition of Armenian Genocide and struggle against Turkish denial policy, whereas the Holocaust museums work hard on making the latter ownership of the society and struggling against abnegation and anti-Semitism. One of the peculiarities of Armenian Genocide is indeed the deprivation of motherland, which has been reflected in the AGM permanent exhibition.

The classification of museum visitors' impressions according to the impression book of AGM<sup>455</sup>:

Characterization of records	Number of records	Percentage distribution
Protest against injustice	902	17%
Condemnations	1210	22,9%
Calls to eternal memory of Genocide	1500	28,3%
Compassions	625	11,8%
Gratitude	812	15,3%
Miscellaneous	244	4,6%

In many other museums of Armenia there are a great number of objects, which are witnesses of Genocide. Some of them are not evidences of Genocide, but objects which are connected with the memory about the genocide. The vivid example is the largest Armenian parchment manuscript

<sup>455</sup> Kobelyan, Khachatur, Comparative Analysis of Organization of Genocide Museums and Exhibitions, Yerevan 2014

"Homilies of Mush" represented in Museum complex of Matenadaran Scientific Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts. For more than seven centuries it was preserved in Mush (Western Armenia). In 1915 hights of the genocide two Armenian women in order to save it divided it into two parts. The first part was handed to the monastery of Echmiadzin. The second part was buried in the yard of the monastery of Erzurum city. The second part was later found. Now both parts are preserved in the Matenadaran. In museum exhibition it is not only one of the most attractive exhibits, but also the symbol of Armenian saved manuscripts. That is why the majority of visitors ask who were the women saved the manuscripts, rather than who is the author of it.

### **One Object, Different Interpretations**

A museum is interpretation and re-interpretation. There is not one correct, so-to-say official version of history, but many different interpretations. So, in different museums the same object can be interpreted in various forms.

On March 29 2007, the Church of Holly Cross Aghtamar Island was reopened as a museum after a restoration that took two years. The Church of the Holy Cross (Armenian: Սուրբ Խաչ, Surb Khach) on Aghtamar Island, in Turkey, was a medieval cathedral of the Armenian Apostolic Church, built as a palatine church for the kings of Vaspurakan and later serving as the seat of the Armenian Catholicosate of Aghtamar. As we can see from the travel guide of Aghtamar museum, the organizers want to turn it into a new symbol. "The thousand year old Church of the Holy Cross and the monastery with its carvings that adorn its external walls make Aghtamar Island a world-wide famous place and also an important example of world heritage. But how many of those who visit the island leave the place understanding the importance of the island and this church as an inter-cultural religious architectural monument?"<sup>456</sup> "The fact that it is open to a religious service once a year will not change its quality as a memorial-museum. No museum is allowed to be open for religious service for a whole year, and nobody could expect us to do that. The Ministry of Culture made a great gesture. Something happened in the past. It is no use to keep on scratching the crust of the wound. Now it is time to build a new future between the two countries. Our greatest ambition is to turn Van into a center of religious tourism".<sup>457</sup>

There are many manuscripts represented in Matenadaran from Western Armenia and among them from Aghtamar island (137 have been produced in Aghtamar 102 preserved, 34 lost). Here Aghtamar is one of the largest centers of Armenian manuscript production and famous school of medieval miniature. Every time speaking about them there is a question of the visitors "Where is

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<sup>456</sup> Rehberi ,Gezi, Ahtamar, Island of Peace and Love, Travel Guide, Istanbul 2008, p. 5

<sup>457</sup> <http://www.turquieuropeenne.eu/akdamar-surp-hac-church-in-turkey-to-host-service-but-remain-museum.html>

Aghtamar now and are there manuscripts"? The answer to this question makes visitors to think that it is also the symbol of the lost motherland of Armenians.

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## Section 4.

# **Museums and internal politics**

## **Political Power and Museums' Missions**

The socialization of mankind, development of nationhood, accumulation of human knowledge, and the development of culture are interdependent processes. The development of social relations in different historic periods results in the establishment of a certain social and political system, within which the development of science and culture takes place, which in its turn has a certain influence on political authority and society as a whole.

Progress in science and technology encompasses all aspects of the existence of mankind. From the steam engine to the internal combustion engine and even to the use of atomic energy. And the advancement in science and technology continues to gather pace, generating new meanings that are, one way or another, based on previous knowledge.

To preserve material evidence of the development of society and science, mankind began collecting; a demand arose for presenting the accumulated cultural heritage to the society, and for establishing museums.

As time went by, a transformation occurred, and a new role in society for museums developed, as under the conditions of global informatization their significance as managers of a huge information resource – cultural heritage – grew considerably. In fact, museums turned into centers of education, communication, cultural information, and creative innovations, i.e., into a flexible institutional system capable of adjusting to constantly changing problems and demands of both the authorities and society.

Modern sociocultural processes related to the globalization and informatization of society and to the development of a “leisure civilization” are bound to influence the work of museums. Today such work concerns not only preserving and interpreting cultural heritage, but also the attempt to solve contentious social issues, educational processes, and development of recreation culture. New tasks require improving mechanisms of interaction between museums, political power and society. Sometimes the museum space becomes a platform where interests of various political forces provoking the authorities, the state and the society clash. In such a situation, a great responsibility is placed on museums. Sometimes a conflict situation occurs when requirements of the state are contrary to requirements of the society, giving rise to a conflict. For example, the state and museum community have different opinions on restitution of cultural property in some cases. A conflict situation can also occur in the relationship among the state, church and museums.

Today museums become a kind of link, an instrument of interaction between representatives of various cultures and social strata, peoples and nations. Moreover, museums and culture as a whole are an example of how the idea of preserving cultural values can unite even political opponents.

In the modern world any museum exists in 3-dimensional space: the space of artifacts (documenting historic processes, i.e. collecting, preserving and studying museum items and collections and musealized objects); the space of images (interacting with visitors; research, exhibition, and educational activities, etc.); and the space of missions (performing tasks set for the museum by governmental and social institutions of power and society and by the museum itself).

Missions of museums include the generation of cultural processes of the present and future on the basis of the preservation and actualization of museum collections. Museums, unlike other state institutions, unite both tangible and intangible (spiritual) values of the country. So their role as communicators in the interaction of the state and the wider world and as a link between the political power and society is great.

The relationship between the authorities and museums in Russia historically differs from other countries, where the condition of museums and culture as a whole does not directly depend on their relations with the authorities and state. In the USA there is no governmental support for museums, and everything is based upon the system of foundations and private initiative in various forms. In France museums are supported by the government, and in England private capital, private donations, and sponsorship play the main role. In Germany practically everything is delegated to the local level. Nevertheless, ways of improving interrelationships with the state are now rather relevant for museums in all countries, since, as can be seen in light of world experience, state support remains the most reliable source of survival of cultural institutions.

According to the Russian Federation legislation, the government defines a certain framework for museums' work, and they are institutions preserving the state's cultural property and completing tasks related to its collecting, storing, research and publication, and at the same time carrying out educational activities (Federal Law of 1996 - № 54, article 3, 27).

Adoption of the Federal Law dated May 8, 2010, № 83, "On Amendment of Various Statutes of the Russian Federation in Relation to Improving the Legal Status of State (Municipal) Institutions" continued the process of driving museums into the strict confines of the market economy. At the same time, most museums are state institutions and are financed by the state, whose assignments they fulfill.

In addition to the government as, museums also react to demands of the society, fulfilling its requirements. One of the present demands initiated by society consists in the restoration of cultural

values and the preservation of our memory about our ancestors. That demand is the reason for the keen interest in collecting and explains the wave of creation of private museums.

Today museums themselves can formulate their missions. A call for that is contained in the Resolution of the International Conference “Museums and Society” that was held in Krasnoyarsk on September 11 – 13, 2002; and the memorandum of the International Museum Forum (Kazan, September 14-18, 2010) says the following: “It is important to preserve the unique system of patriotic education, of the development of intellectual, spiritual and moral foundations of the modern Russian army, which has developed in Russia and in which military history museums subordinate to the Ministry of Defense also play a notable and often defining role... Under current conditions, it is necessary to design and carry out at the governmental level a set of measures aimed at the adequate documentation by museums of the national history of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, including the history of Russian technology and entrepreneurship.” Under the conditions of global informatization, museums are in fact becoming centers of education, communication, cultural information, and creative innovation. And if in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries the task of museums was to transmit knowledge, the museum education that is prominent now is that which solves the issues of developing the museum audience’s susceptibility to and interest in historical heritage and the comprehension of its significance, its creative attitudes and factors motivating people.

The emergence of the new mission of museums under current conditions can be seen through the example of the Military Medicine Museum.

The Military Medicine Museum reflects Russia’s rich history, the history of world medicine, and history as a whole. During the reforms of Peter the Great in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the foundation of the first museum of Russia - the Kunstkamera Museum (1714) - preceded the establishment of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences and Arts (1724). The chief curator of the museum was the court physician R.K. Erskin, and the academy was headed by another court physician, L.L. Blumentrost.

An analogous situation took place during the difficult years of World War II. At first the Military Medicine Museum was established, and later, in 1944, - the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR. Correspondent member of the Academy A.N. Maksimenkov was in charge of the museum, and the academician N.N. Burdenko became President of the Academy.

A pragmatic statesman, the Emperor Peter I considered medicine first of all an opportunity for preserving the health of military men. For Peter, an “ideal person” was important above all as a soldier. And military needs served more than anything else as the impulse for the development of science, including medicine.



Two centuries later, during World War II, medicine was to fulfill the most important national task of replenishment of human resources and returning millions of experienced combatants back into action. Under these circumstances, when the Battle of Stalingrad was under way, it was decided to establish the Military Medical Service Museum of the Red Army, with an archive of military medical documents.

The aim of creating the Military Medicine Museum first of all was the systematization and preservation of the experience of the treatment of the wounded and sick at the fronts of the war, and also collecting and preservation of the lost collections of medical museums that had existed before in the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union (the Medical Instruments Workshop; the Surgical Museum of the Imperial Medical and Surgical Academy; the Pirogov Museum of the Russian Surgical Society; the Military Sanitation Museum; and the Red Army Medical Service Museum). That is how the Military Medicine Museum, one of the world's leading medical museums, was built up. The task of the government was fulfilled: 72.3% of the wounded and 90% of the sick combatants were returned to the front (over 20 million people). The experience of the medical support of military operations during World War II was systematized in the 35-volume publication "The Experience of Soviet Medicine during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945." A considerable contribution to the country's intellectual property was the publication based on the museum's materials, of the Encyclopedic Dictionary of Military Medicine (6 volumes), the biographical directory "Military Doctors – Participants in the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945," 27 volumes of the museum's proceedings, the multivolume editions "The History of Military Medicine in Russia," "The History of Medicine in St. Petersburg," etc.

It should be noted that the histories of the foundation of two major medicine museums – the Military Medicine Museum in St. Petersburg and the National Museum of Health and Medicine in Washington, USA, are similar, which shows the commonality of the two countries' demands and the uniformity of ways to satisfy them. These museums have been cooperating for many years: the exchange of information, addition of scholarly literature to their libraries, and participation in international programs and humanitarian projects contribute to the integration of the museum medical community of the two countries into a single cultural and scholarly community.

Unlike the majority of military museums, whose activities are mostly related to the preservation, study and demonstration of means of destruction of people, the work of the Military Medicine Museum is based on a humanitarian mission aimed at the protection and preservation of people's health, the encouragement of their compassion and mercy, and support for their social rights. The ideas of humanism, mercy and compassion inherent in the medical profession became the

foundation of this mission, which, just like the preservation of the national medical heritage, the government assigns to the Military Medicine.

For many years, the museum has been studying, in cooperation with the International Committee of the Red Cross, various aspects of international humanitarian law. Of great importance is the publication of the Military Medicine Museum “Russian Military Leaders of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – Nunciates of the Fundamentals of the International Humanitarian Law under the Conditions of War,” which showed the world community Russia’s contribution to the development of this kind of rights and was highly appraised by the International Institute of Humanitarian Law in San Remo (Italy, 2000). For the spreading of knowledge in the area of humanism and mercy the museum was awarded a certificate of appreciation of the Board of the Central Committee of the Red Cross Society of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic.

Due to the fact that military conflicts and local wars in different parts of the world have become more frequent, the physical, psychological and humanitarian consequences of the use of various kinds of weapons, including those used against civilians, have arisen as an issue. In 2014, the museum opened the exhibition “Unknown Soldiers of the Forgotten War,” devoted to the beginning of World War I. On display are unique objects – witnesses to the life and heroic labour of nurses, medical assistants, and military doctors that reflected the humaneness with which Russian medical workers treated the wounded, sick and those poisoned by gas. Thus, “Diary of the Russo-German War” written by the medical assistant of the Don Cossack Regiment N.A. Borshchov reveals many details of the life of the Russian army during that war. One can also see materials from the personal collection of Professor N.A. Velyaminov who served during the war as a consulting surgeon of the High Command and was in charge of organizing the sanitation service of the Russian army. The exhibition shows objects from the collection of medical instruments of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and equipment protecting against the poisonous gas used during World War I. The unprecedented scope and cruelty of World War I led to a huge number of war victims, but due to the incredible efforts and commitment of medical workers it was possible to save many lives.

Continuing its research in the field of international humanitarian law, the museum began to explore little-studied issues of history that have universal significance and are devoted to medical support of prisoners of war and repatriates during World War II. Analysis of the medical support of prisoners of war from the very beginning to the end of the war made it possible to draw a number of interesting and important conclusions. During that work, previously unknown names of Russian and foreign prisoners of war who died in the camps in Germany during World War II were identified and sent to the Saxony Memorials Foundation (419 names). Besides, a search for participants in the Arctic Convoys of World War II, based on the museum’s archival materials, was carried out and

over 1,000 names of seamen of the Arctic Convoys, citizens of the USA and Great Britain, were determined.

In dealing with issues of international humanitarian law, during the last few years the museum has passed on to the governments of Germany, Poland, France, the USA and other countries information about more than 100,000 participants in World War II who were considered killed or missing in their respective countries. Thus, information about over 1,000 Frenchmen who underwent medical treatment in Soviet military hospitals during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945 was found, and about 209 US citizens, including the documents concerning Joseph Beyrle, the father of the U.S. Ambassador to the Russian Federation John Beyrle. Thereby the museum preserves the memory of heroes who fought for their motherland, and this is one of the main components of the museum's humanitarian mission that is realized through strengthening international cooperation between different countries. The research resulted in the exhibition "Together We Are Strong," commemorating the 65<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of World War II and telling about the dedicated labour of military medical workers of the USSR, the USA and other countries of the Anti-Hitler Coalition (a joint project of the Military Medicine Museum, the U.S. Consulate General in St. Petersburg, and the Center of Petersburg Arts "AVIT"). The exhibition focused on one of the chief lessons learned from World War II – the inevitability for countries and nations to cooperate not for fighting one another, but for the good of their common goal, i.e. the victory over evil and violence. The exhibition was shown in St. Petersburg, Rostov, and Belgorod and was a success.

Revival of the Nazi ideology in different countries brought the issue of barbarities of fascism in relation to mankind back to the foreground. This issue is of special importance for the Military Medicine Museum, as the ideology of antihumanism based on race or national differences contradicts the ideas of mercy, compassion and humanism, which are the foundation of the medical profession. That is why it is no wonder that in recent years the museum conducted research on the Holocaust and genocide of people in death camps during World War II. The museum project "Between Life and Death," which was devoted to the 65<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the beginning of the Nurenberg trials and clearly showed the antihumanism and destructiveness of the Nazi ideology in any forms for the individual and for human civilization, was based on the museum's materials telling about the activities of the Soviet military doctor and soldier-liberator Margarita Zhilinskaya and the texts of Zalman Gradovsky, "In the Heart of Hell. Notes Found in the Ashes Near the Furnaces of Auschwitz." The artistic, symbolic and emotional core of the exhibition was a dynamic composition based on Psalm 87 and designed by means of contemporary actual art. This project was awarded a special certificate of the international museum festival "Intermuseum 2011," "For the Heart-rending Idea of the "Between Life and Death" Exhibition."

This topic was further developed in the international exhibitions: “Hitler and the Germans. The Nation and Crime” (2010, German Historical Museum, Berlin); and “Letters from the Front” (2012-2013, the Bundeswehr Military History Museum, Dresden).

As part of its humanitarian mission, for several years the museum has been dealing with gender issues, among them the issue of “women at war.” Employees of the museum looked into the history of women’s participation in administering aid to wounded and sick combatants. Special attention was given to aspects of women’s life in the regular army during the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945. There were about 1 million women at that time in the Red Army. Inspired by the principles of humanism and mercy, women had to fight with arms in hand in order to protect the wounded and sick. This material became the basis for exhibitions devoted to women’s heroic deeds during the Great Patriotic War (“For the Rest of Our Lives...”, “Mercy without Bounds”). A special project related to this topic was the exhibition “Masha + Nina + Katyusha: Servicewomen” that took place at the German-Russian Museum Berlin-Karlshorst in 2002. The exhibition was a significant event in the cultural life of the German capital and was highly publicized in Germany and beyond.

To commemorate the 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the lifting of the Siege of Leningrad, the museum opened the exhibition “The Mournful Pages of the Blockade”, the highlight of which is the authentic testimony to the life of the besieged city - the diary of the medical nurse Faina Prusova. Ales Adamovich and Daniil Granin wrote in their documentary chronicle “The Blockade Book”: “The diary of the mother, Faina Alexandrovna, is of special interest...”

Working on the topic “women in the war,” employees of the museum determined a number of basic factors that influence the psychological adaptation of women to the military service and their life in the contemporary active army. Based on the example of individual women who fought on equal terms with men, they reached important practical conclusions, valuable under current conditions, relating to the realization of the “Health” national project.

Due to the museum’s special character, as a museum of natural science, and owing to special features of the medical profession, the highest priority of its humanitarian mission is people’s life and health and promotion of a healthy lifestyle.

In 2008, a new room was added to the museum’s exhibition, the “Anatomical Theater,” where objects from the collection of the famous Russian surgeon I.V. Buyalsky are displayed, and also preserved anatomical specimens and models, interactive tablet computers illustrating the organization and functioning of various organs and systems of the human body, and many other things. In this room, the perfection and complexity of the organization of the human body and its vulnerability clearly show the value of life and health preservation. In 2004, the Military Medicine

Museum was a winner in the contest of the Ministry of Health and Social Development of the Russian Federation called “An AIDS-Free Generation.”

Constant reevaluation of the museum collection in the context of new social and economic conditions and the use of the latest scientific achievements let the museum actively interact with modern society and bring it a tangible benefit, by realizing its current missions without losing its own distinctive character. The importance of the humanitarian mission of the Military Medicine Museum is recognized by the world community, as witness the special section “Military History Museums: Humanitarian Mission and Museum Education” at the ICOMAM conference “Military History Museums: Contemporary History and Social Relevance” (October 8-10, 2014).

In fulfilling its humanitarian mission, the museum regularly takes part in national and international museum contests, festivals, and projects. In 2008, the museum was awarded a certificate of the “Museum Olympus” contest in the category “Innovations in Museums.”

The significance of the museum’s humanitarian mission is proved by its appreciation by the country’s leaders. President of the Russian Federation Vladimir Putin expressed his gratitude to the staff of the Military Medicine Museum of the Ministry of Defence of Russia “For a Substantial Contribution to the Development of the Museum Profession and Preservation of the Historical Traditions of Russian Medicine,” thereby confirming the national significance of the tasks fulfilled by the museum.

## STATE AS A HOSTAGE OF ITS OWN CULTURAL POLICY

### Abstract

Strong crises that has been affecting Serbia in the process of its social changes initiated in the early 90's is reflected in the culture in the most explicit way, particularly in the operation of state museums. A decades long practice that the operation of museums be directed by political decisions resulted in a passive attitude of museum management itself and, consequently, two major state museums - the National Museum in Belgrade and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade have been practically out of operation for more than one decade. Under the pretext of a necessity to reconstruct the museums, although funds for reconstruction are lacking, the management of the above museums expects the state, as their founder, to resolve this issue that has long been raising a wide range of public controversies. Lack of initiative by museum managements to have this situation changed through various activities aimed at the improvement of museum operation, since the government is expected to take care, make decisions and act in that respect, as well as inability to implement appropriate reforms in cultural policy, make the state behave like a hostage.

What is in the root of "misunderstanding" between the state and museums? What are the consequences of decades long passivity and designation of politically competent instead of professionally competent museum managers and why should the management of a state owned museum have a high level of self-initiative and freedom in managing this kind of institutions? These are the key issues discussed in this paper. At the same time, this paper raises a delicate issue about the need to reduce the number of state owned museums while also pointing out some interesting positive examples in the operation of private museums in Serbia, emphasizing the importance of education of new generations of museum professionals who are aware of the significance of interconnecting different spheres of interest in order to ensure a successful and efficient operation of a modern museum.

When in Europe, in the years after the Second World War, happened a second museum boom,<sup>458</sup> the process of politicization of cultural institutions in People's Republic of Yugoslavia was at its peak as an integral part of the formation of the new state. Yugoslav communists showed very early that a museum was seen as an authentic space for shaping a new socio-political reality and its authentic culture.<sup>459</sup> Phenomenon of shaping multicultural and multi confessional museum that impressed the socialist idea of connecting seemingly irreconcilable differences in a harmonious picture of the common heritage of Yugoslav nations and nationalities, was an authentic example of the particular relationship of museums and politics.<sup>460</sup> Conceived as a found paradise of an ideal society which included an idealized picture of its culture and heritage, this kind of a museum was a magical, illusional creation with far-reaching consequences for the society to which it was intended.<sup>461</sup> It was a reflexion of the socialist cultural policy that based its principles on a constant ideological and political manipulation and media prestidigitation in the center of which was a perfect leader as the holder of a lofty idea.

When "sails" of this cultural policy are pushed by a strong wind of adequate finances and volunteerism that morally elevates its holders, mostly young people, then the whole society becomes a participant of an immensely appealing image in which everyone has the right to culture and education, and museums, once the privilege of rulers and privileged groups and individuals, are becoming a common good that is available to everyone.<sup>462</sup>

But, already in the seventies of the past century the political elite from that period, non-resistant to the charms of bourgeois consumerism, begun to adopt the cultural patterns of the class against which they fought, and thus certain exclusivity when it comes to culture and heritage. This trend has contributed the pressurization of museums, forming its particular place in the cultural hierarchy in the spirit of the idea of culture temple, which could only be assessed by representatives of the social elite. What is more important, in the museum could be engaged only particular types of professionals who met the complex "standard" that included adequate education in conjunction with the political suitability.<sup>463</sup> Over time, the political affiliation becomes much more important than professional competence especially when it comes to the museum administration.

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<sup>458</sup> Krivošejev, V., *Muzeji, menadžment, turizam: Ka savremenom muzeju, od teorije do prakse*, Narodni muzej Valjevo, NIP Obrazovni informatory, Valjevo 2012, 15; Martinović, D., Jokić, B., *Muzeji Srbije-aktuelno stanje*, Zavod za proučavanje kulturnog razvitka, Beograd 2009, 6

<sup>459</sup> Krivošejev, V., *Muzejska politika u Srbiji: nastajanje kriza i novi početak*, Kultura br. 130, Zavod za proučavanje kulturnog razvitka, Beograd 2011, 292

<sup>460</sup> Dragičević Šešić, M., Stojković, B., *Kultura- menadžment, animacija, marketing*, Clio, Beograd 2007, 36-37

<sup>461</sup> Bulatović, D., *Muzealizacija stvarnije budućnosti: baština i resursi*, Muzeji, 2, Beograd 2009, 7

<sup>462</sup> Andrejević Kun N, *Zadaci muzeja u novim društvenim uslovima u našoj zemlji*, Muzeji 1, Beograd 1948, 2; *Reorganizacija naših muzeja*, Muzeji br. 3-4, Beograd 1949.

<sup>463</sup> Djurić, V., *Uloga muzeja i muzejskih radnika u našoj zemlji*, Muzeji br. 2, Beograd 1949.

A special phenomenon in the process of political use of museum in the former Yugoslavia took place in the early 90's of the 20th century.<sup>464</sup> Although nominally was retained a kind of status quo in terms of political orientation, and as part of a succession legacy and legitimacy of the former Yugoslavia, whose powers and meanings wanted to inherit the socialists led by Slobodan Milosevic, on cultural level occurred an unusual, almost Copernican turn. In an effort to define the cultural identity that followed almost as biology needs within a complex political process of the disappearance of a single state and all its symbols, overnight there was a turning towards rawest forms of nationalism.<sup>465</sup> In such situation a museum has become a place that preserves cultural "evidence" of national specificity,<sup>466</sup> the glory and grandeur that for half a century have been "sacrificed" to the general idea that has caused incalculable "damage" to national culture. Never before in history have occurred such big ideological misuse of heritage, and therefore the museums, and other institutions. Thus, some historical figures, architectural sections, and even entire events were used to define political objectives. It went so far as to certain locations such as Gazimestan in Kosovo,<sup>467</sup> were turned into political scenery. It was the era in which the determinant "national" became a museum paradigm, and museums, with special reference to the National Museum in Belgrade, a metaphor of a shrine-keeper of the national treasure that testified the total cultural and political identity of the Serbian people.

The decades-long use of the museum for political purposes has added to the civil war, years under international sanctions and NATO intervention in 1999. All these factors have contributed to a twisted perception of reality and our own culture.

Events that occurred in the first decade of the 21st century, when after 5<sup>th</sup> October of the year 2000, the Democratic Opposition of Serbia (DOS) coalition overthrew the Milošević regime, did not, contrary to all expectations, have impact on the improvement of things in culture. For condition of museums, the reign of democrats will prove almost fatal. To be completely accurate - the reign of democrats after the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić on March 12th, 2003. By that moment everything looked perfect. The Prime Minister had personally organized a charity dinner in

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<sup>464</sup> Djukić Dojčinović, V., *Tranzicione kulturne politike – konfuzije i dileme*, Zadužbina Andrejević, Beograda 2003, 33,52; Đukić, V., *Država i kultura – studije savremene kulturne politike*, Institut za pozorište, film, radio i televiziju Fakulteta dramskih umetnosti, Beograd 2010, 228; Krivošejev, V., *Muzejska politika u Srbiji*, 292-293

<sup>465</sup> Krivošejev, V., *Muzejska politika u Srbiji*, 308

<sup>466</sup> Gavrilović, Lj., *O politikama, identitetima i druge muzejske priče*, Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, Etnografski institut, Knj. 65, Beograd 2009, 16-17

<sup>467</sup> Gazimestan is famous in Serbian history as the place where occurred mythic Kosovo battle in 1389 and as such of the greatest significance for Serbian romantic ideas about national and cultural identity.



order to gather the necessary funds for the reconstruction of the National Museum in Belgrade,<sup>468</sup> as one of a number of actions related to the revitalization of culture, art and science. Unfortunately, the assassination of prime minister showed how fragile was democratic power and how dependent it was on energy and authority of a single man.

All running actions were stopped. Thus, the National Museum in Belgrade is since 2003 decorated with a barge that was supposed to announce the commencement of works on the reconstruction, and the Museum of Contemporary Art is completely forgotten.<sup>469</sup> Those were the years when like on a carousel were rotated ministers of culture, and the politicization of management in all social structures reached its climax.

Reconstruction of the two most important Serbian museums in this period became a constant theme in the media, who had a long argue about possible abuse, fraud and other criminal activity related to the renewal of these reputable institutions. Press with their writing made even more distance between the state, as a founder, and the management of the museum, and constant rotations of Ministers of culture imposed by partisan appointments without criteria, even more deepened that distance.<sup>470</sup> At the same time, the inability of museum managers to communicate both with the founder and their own collective, led to a genuine crisis of museums, whose credibility was eroding in several plans. Thus, artificially was created an "enemy" in a museum whose action has caused incalculable damage to all stakeholders - the state, the museum, and the audience

In the long period between 2003 and 2013, the democratic government has left an impression that it does not know what to do with museums and other cultural institutions. Moreover, a series of haphazardly implemented programs in culture, the way of distribution of the earmarked funds from the state budget and mechanisms for monitoring of implementation of the project and the work of the institution undoubtedly indicate the absence of clearly defined cultural policy, and even the very idea of what is wanted from culture, or what culture can. The culmination of the absurd happens in 2013 when the then current Minister of Culture Branislav Petković initiated a lawsuit against two of its predecessors for a reasonable suspicion of abuse of office?!<sup>471</sup> All of these situations leave the

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<sup>468</sup> Djordjević, M., *Narodni muzej čeka rekonstrukciju*, Politika daily newspaperes, Beograd, published on December 4th, 2008 <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Kultura/Narodni-muzej-čeka-rekonstrukciju.lt.html> (last approach on November 2nd, 2014)

<sup>469</sup> De Launey, G., *Art gathers dust as Serbian museum kept shut*, BBC News, August 27th, 2013 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-23841398> (last approach on October 27th, 2014)

<sup>470</sup> Jovanović, N., *Narodni muzej: Mrtvački sanduk srpske kulture*, Pečat, Beograd, September 3rd, 2010 <http://www.pecat.co.rs/2010/09/narodni-muzej-mrtvacki-sanduk-srpske-kulture/> (last time approached on October 27th, 2014); Lijeskić, B., *Rekonstrukcija košta dve pakla cigareta*, Politika, Beograd, April 8th, 2010 <http://www.politika.rs/rubrike/Kultura/Rekonstrukcija-koshta-dve-pakle-cigareta.lt.html> (last approach on November 2nd, 2014)

<sup>471</sup> Nikolić, A., *Zloupotrebe oko muzeja: Ministar Petković tuži Voju Brajovića*, Blic online, Beograd, July 19th, 2013 <http://www.blic.rs/Kultura/Vesti/394290/Zloupotrebe-oko-muzeja-Ministar-Petkovic-tuzi-Voju-Brajovica> (last approach

genuine impression that the country is a hostage to its own cultural policies, because, as a reminder, according to the current definitions, a cultural policy is also considered a situation in which there is no clearly defined cultural policy.<sup>472</sup>

In parallel, and in line with the economic and political dynamics that dictates the rest of the world, especially the efforts of individuals and groups that are organized within the cultural milieu, primarily to earn a living, are shaped the cultural reality and cultural exchange along the lines of liberal cultural policy. Although the state would in such circumstances have to act from a position of facilitator, the inability of the current government to deal reality in a pragmatic and efficient way, has created quite a mess in the overall cultural space and market that is in the wider area of the Balkans in the early stages. Thus, a wide variety of European funds, as well as other ways of financing projects in culture, combined with changes in the law have led to the opening of new possibilities when it comes to institutions, their establishment, organization and operation.

The new Law on culture allowed establishment of private museums which was a completely new experience in Serbia.<sup>473</sup> In order to positively affect the forming of market in the culture, but also to draw attention to self-employment opportunities in the field of heritage, culture and cultural tourism, Iwano Project Foundation from Novi Sad and Balkan Cult Foundation from Sremski Karlovci launched in collaboration with the Swiss state Agency a project "Development of private collections / museums, grounds for small / family business" in the mid first decade of the 21st century.<sup>474</sup> There were over 90 collections of various items registered, from carriages and bakery ovens and tools, to stone and cakes, and a professional team behind this interesting project conducted expert advice and a range of trainings to help collectors exploit the market potential of their collections.

Some of these museums, like the Museum of beekeeping and wine, "Živanović" and the Museum of kuglof cakes and pastries "Gea", are doing a great business, but primarily thanks to the fact that the items they produce are sold in a museum shaped area, rather than attractiveness or the contents of the collections offered to public. Connecting utilitarian products, interesting content in a pleasant interior, and the use of the name museum as a kind of "assurance of quality" undoubtedly gives good financial results and strengthens the rating in the so-called cultural tourism, but leaves an open question ~ do we really have a museum before us?

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November 2nd, 2014); Matović, D., *Krivične prijave zbog rekonstrukcije MSU*, večernje novosti, Beograd, July 18th, 2013 <http://www.novosti.rs/vesti/kultura.71.html:444741-Krivicna-prijava-zbog-rekonstrukcije-MSU> (last approach November 2nd, 2014)

<sup>472</sup> Krivošejev V., *Muzeji, menadžment, turizam*, 25

<sup>473</sup> Serbia New Law on Culture can be seen on the following link (in Serbian only)

[http://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon\\_o\\_kulturi.html](http://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_kulturi.html) (last approach October 25th, 2014)

<sup>474</sup> More info on the site of the project <http://www.muzeji-kolekcije.info/> (last approach October 25th, 2014)

Even the creators of this project in statements to the media make difference between "the real" and the other "museum" (!?) by making a distinction based on the value of the collection, and the way of presentation.<sup>475</sup> The fact that more and more individuals and groups recognize the potential of private enterprise in the field of tangible and intangible heritage does not contribute, unfortunately, solving the situation in which are institutions that are without doubt museums. The liberalization of artistic and cultural markets, even in a situation where the head of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Serbia is a person who is an entrepreneur in culture and the owner of a private Museum of cars,<sup>476</sup> can't by inertia solve the problem that the state must deal.

The process of transformation of museums is possible only by arranging cultural policy. Otherwise, there will be no doubts about whether some of the museum institutions should be shut down, and the entire museum structure reorganized, because the museums will simply be shut down by the fact that they will have no funds.

If changes will not be initiated from within the museum, and the employees continue to passively and half-heartedly expect the state to solve all their problems, the largest number of museums in Serbia will actually stop working and disappear from the cultural scene. The fact of the complete marginalization of problems of the National Museum and the Museum of Contemporary Art in Belgrade clearly speaks in favor of idea that we can live without museums. What's more, we don't have permanent exhibitions and educational services that they offer for more than a decade. They are compensated for by the other contents, because culture is based on inventiveness, creativity and engagement as much as other activities within a civilized society. You have to continue without things you don't have.

### **And could things be changed?**

I strongly believe that if the state as a bearer of cultural policy with appropriate procedures would facilitate a complex process of socio-political transition in Serbia that is farther complicated, and even compromised primarily with constant struggle for political power, and then with a whole range of consequences of long-term negative social and professional selection. Of course with the initiative that must come from museums and other cultural institutions. Why a minister or any government official would know better than the management of a museum what does a museum need?

For a start it would be good to finally define and adopt the Law on museums, and then make a thorough de-politicization of museums and other cultural institutions, and the decentralization of

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<sup>475</sup> Ilijin, P., *Privatni muzeji u Srbiji: Zec je tu, šesir nemamo*, *Biznis i finansije*, br. 104, Beograd, February 2014. <http://bif.rs/2014/02/privatni-muzeji-u-srbiji-zec-je-tu-sesir-nemamo/>

<sup>476</sup> Mr. Bratislav Petković that was Minister of Culture of Republic of Serbia in 2012-2013 is owner of Museum of cars in Belgrade <http://www.automuseumbgd.com/en/muzej/>

culture in a way that is set out by the existing Law on culture. It is understood that the state would greatly facilitate the operations of the museum with tax incentives in the commercial sector for those systems that invest in culture. Local community should be helped to properly focus on its own cultural needs, and to build them within the system that it would manage. It's also a great way to stop migration to overcrowded Belgrade and help the survival of small towns in the territory of Serbia

Entrusting of management operations to competent professionals, educating a new generation of creative people in museums and other cultural institutions, people whose awareness of global trends in the profession and the need to upgrade does not end at the time when they graduate from college, is the only possible choice in the way of survival of museum in dramatically altered reality of the third millennium in Serbia. Equally as the systematization of these institutions, as well as their partial or full privatization in consultation with local and international experts.

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## **Central Museum of communications named after A. S. Popov - Federal state budget institution.**

The Museum is a nonprofit cultural organization, engaged in the storage, replenishment, study and public presentation of museum collections and museum objects in the field of communications.

The founder and owner of the Museum is the Russian Federation. In accordance with the decree of the Government of the Russian Federation dated 30.12.2004 # 1732-R museum was placed within the jurisdiction of the Federal communications agency.

In its form, the Museum is departmental, founded in 1872, as the Telegraph museum and its aim was to showcase the latest inventions in the field of communication technology. Then in 1884 it was transformed into the Post and Telegraph Museum, in 1917- to the Museum of folk communication, in 1945, it became the Central Museum of communications named after A. S. Popov. Until today museum retained departmental affiliation. Today museum is:

- Is a unique concentration of rare specimens of communication technology and the latest advances in information and communication technologies;
- Preserves the State collection of postage stamps;
- Stores a unique archive of documentary funds;
- Presents scientific and technical library with rare books.

The Museum has about 8 million of units, including pieces on the history of mail and postage, telegraph, telephone, radio, broadcasting, television, satellite communications, techniques and technologies of modern communication; thematic paintings and works of decorative and applied arts; awards of the Museum.

### **Sources of funding for museum:**

- Federal budget – 50 % of the museum budget
- Non-budget sources:
  1. Funds earned by the Museum;
  2. Donations;
  3. Grants.

## **Museum mission**

Central Museum of communications named after A. S. Popov is one of the oldest scientific and technical museums in the world, aims to collect, study and display achievements of human thought in the field of communications in the entire history of its existence: past, present and future of the industry. In accordance with its mission, the Museum not only preserves the material evidence of achievements of the industry, but it uses in language understandable by everybody.

With its programs museum seeks to promote the education for younger generation, counseling and continuity of generations. In 1974 – 2003 museum was closed for the reconstruction. In 1998 - budget financing of the Museum was closed, in fact, the Museum ceased to exist as a state museum.

In 2001 museum received back the federal status and financing, but the building still was ruined for 60 %. At the same year Ministry of the information and communication created a charity foundation “Russian foundation of history of communication” that had to accumulate finances to revive the main sectoral museum of the country - Central Museum of communications named after A. S. Popov.

For the management of construction works, the company "Svyazstroy" was founded. A large volume of works on reconstruction, restoration and creation of permanent exposition of the Museum were realized in 2001 - 2003. And in May 2003 – open its doors for guests, who attend the celebration of 300 anniversary of St. Petersburg.

In December 2003, the museum opened its doors for visitors. With the support of Foundation museum in cooperation with the designers created the image of "old" new Museum. From 2001 till 2011 such exhibition halls were created: Modern communication services; the Postal service; historical hall “Postal town”; the history of the telephone and Telegraph; Radio; Telephone exchanges; Physical phenomena; Fund open storage “Treasury of post stamps”. With the help of Megaphone company exhibition devoted to the mobile technologies was created.

In 2009-2011, because of the global economic crisis extra-budgetary part of the annual budget of the Museum began to decline. And in early 2012 the Foundation almost stopped funding of the Museum. In 2012 broke another financial crisis in the Museum, which is reflected on the Museum staff and a stable situation in the Museum. In this regard, again we had to create and adjust to a new funding system.

The founder of the Museum – Federal communications Agency increased budgetary subsidies. The Museum is partially preserved existing and acquired an additional support. Became the time of "Hard money". Museum needed:

- Sign various types of contracts;



- Competitive tendering and auctions for services;
- Daily legal support;
- Change a part of the staff of the museum because of the need to provide additional services in a situation of a small number of employees, with the Museum competencies;
- The need for technical support, engineering operations, marketing and sales;

In these new conditions the museum continues to build its historical exposition. In 2012 with the support of the broadcasting company "Russian broadcasting network and alerts" an interactive section "Broadcasting" was created and opened for visitors.

In 2014 with the support of companies "Space communication" and "National television net" a hall "Television" was opened. As well this year new museum shop "Post salon" was opened and a multi-volume encyclopedia of the state signs of postal payment was issued.

In 2015 it is planned to open the last hall of the exposition devoted to the history of the techniques and exhibition hall for temporary exhibitions.

After completion of these works has faced with necessity to concentrate all efforts on transformation and development of the storage, improvement and development of a "Modern communications" of the Museum's permanent exhibition, update, technical equipment of the Museum.

All Museum activities aimed to promote Museum knowledge, to popularization of the development in all areas of communication in Russia; and dedicated to personalities in the field of communication: Russian scientists, engineers, inventors, have made the greatest contribution to the development of science, engineering and technology.

Today museum is a platform for the collaboration of different public sectors:

- Scientific community
- Manufacturing sector
- Educational sector
- Leaders of the sphere
- Other representatives

### **Scientific community**

Central Museum of communications is a mediator between science and people, which aims to encourage curiosity. Museum considers one of its important tasks to create among its program participants their own views on history, culture, science and technology, so that's why museum regularly hosts exhibitions, conferences, seminars, lectures, interactive demonstrations, live special events, presentations of books. Central Museum of communications, as the forum has a good

reputation in the community, because using meaningful exposure and professional organization of space, it has created a comfortable atmosphere.

### **Manufacturing sector**

Departmental museums' special feature is the concept of professional community, which is vocational guidance, historical connections and continuity of personnel. The position of the Museum within the industry and his work, aimed at the interests of the industry and promotion of its development, is expanding because of "educational mediation" between producers services industry and their target audience - potential consumers of products, technologies and services to the visitors of the Museum and its programs. However, departmental Museum receives additional opportunities to expand their collections.

### **Educational sector**

This community, which apply scientific knowledge. The principal activity of the Central Museum of communications is an extensive development of scientific-cognitive functions, based on the use of modern Museum technologies and providing educational and illustrative, educational and cognitive approaches to the construction of the exhibition and work with visitors.

Educational and illustrative approach is based on compliance with established exposure to the educational process and facilitates better absorption of program material.

Educational approach is based on a broad thematic content information and related materials on the history of technology and allows you to show the historical, political and cultural environment in which he performed research and development, was created inventions. In addition, extensively covered the participation of well-known scientists, engineers, inventors in the development of the theory and practice of science.

Scientific-cognitive approach is based on the use of information technologies and interactive methods of communication with visitors. The use of modern imaging techniques of the exhibition space in the Museum; the creation of a Museum sites and participating in social networks world wide web is bringing real and wide remote access of visitors to the national cultural heritage in the history of communication technology, but also provides a deeper understanding of the evolutionary processes of development of scientific-technical progress

### **Leaders**

Organizing various informational, marketing and PR events, exhibitions and presentations for the industry, Central Museum of communications receives additional organizational and financial resources, providing opportunities for the implementation of its core activities. At the same time, departmental Museum is always better prepared for the needs of the industry and its corporate culture.

## **Society members**

In recent years a new category of visitors came to the museum. Museum started to be a place for different meetings of various industry communities, and communities from social networks such as: Strelki, Facebook, Vkontakte, IUOMA, Nordic Walking, collectors, postcrosser...

## **Conclusion**

Departmental museums are interested to keep constant attention and hold the interest of the whole industry, and enterprises and organizations of the telecommunications. In order to maintain stable relations with institutions in the industry, departmental museums need to consider the following factors:

**The versatility factor.** For survival it is necessary to perform functions previously not peculiar to museums. This applies particularly to the departmental museums, although they are in a more advantageous position, as they understood the context.

**The factor of change.** The life cycle of the organization, such as “Russian foundation of history of communication”, has its limits (7-10 years). Therefore, departmental museums need to be ready for constant changes in management strategies and financing. The only thing that is present in the Museum of departmental Museum constantly is change, which cannot be avoided, and you want every time to adapt.

**The factor of flexibility.** The introduction of new approaches to planning and management are based on managing the marketing information system. Some innovations in marketing technology associated with the concept of marketing management knowledge, which represent the accumulated intellectual capital of the museum which promote effective managerial decision-making.

**The factor of persuasion.** It is necessary to develop flexible and effective rhetoric, to change it according to the occasion, seek to talk with the industry in one language, to represent corporate interests in the adoption of the Museum's decision.

**The factor of utilization of innovations.** Science and technology Museum itself must be modernized and equipped in accordance with modern requirements and technology management (information technology in engineering, technology, accounting, account-keeping, teaching, exhibition and excursion work), to participate in the state catalogue of the Museum Fund of the Russian Federation, to use electronic document management, etc

The most effective for the development of the Museum today is the cooperation of government and business. Firstly, because the State is the founder and owner of the property and collections. Secondly, communication industry financed restoration of the building – Palace in the center of Saint Petersburg - the architectural monument of the 18th century. Thirdly, historical and

cultural centre, designed to solve corporate problems of the industry. Fourth, the Museum has found a way of communication with different groups of society in order to be interesting and useful.

So up to date this museum is one of the most successful examples of the joint work of the State and business.

## **Activity of non-governmental museums is one of the necessary conditions for preservation and development of Culture**

(using the example of non-governmental museum named after Nicholas Roerich)

The heritage of outstanding creators of Culture forms its basis and energy impulses. Evolutionary development of mankind is impossible without this heritage and we are under obligation to preserve it for the sake of future generations. Only museums where a man comes into contact and enriches himself with the energy of Beauty may provide all necessary conditions for the heritage preservation. Museums, making use of the heritage, are engaged in relevant activities on preservation, collection and popularization of Cultural pieces. One couldn't imagine the development of Culture without this work. D.S. Likhachev pointed out that museums are actually educative centers: "Museums have the most challenging task of moral education of people, development of their aesthetic sense and promotion of their cultural level".<sup>477</sup>

Alongside governmental museums non-governmental museums also have the practice of worldwide activities. Modern states are unable to completely provide for preservation and development of culture because of specific character and focus of their activity based on political and economic facilities of society. It is obvious from the data given in "Guidance on museum statistics" (published in Berlin, 2004) that government role in the sphere of culture in Europe is much less as compared to the non-governmental form of museum activity. In Germany it is equal to no more than 10%, in Italy - 12,5%, in England - 10%, in Spain - 11,8%, in Netherlands - 19,8%, in Norway - 26%, in Denmark - 7%, in Finland - 8%. In United States only 5% of museums are governmental. In Russia such official statistics is not available but according to the Russian branch of ICOM the percent of governmental museums is not more than 98%, i.e. the part of non-governmental museums is not more than 2% (!!!).

Such an extremely little participation of society in museum activities of Russia owes to the fact that authorities see no need to support and develop the public mode of culture. There are several reasons for the authorities' attitude towards public activity in the sphere of culture. I will mention the main things to my mind. During the rule of one party and ideology in the USSR the government

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<sup>477</sup> D.S. Likhachev. Russian culture. Ed. Art, 2000, p.167

officials got used to direct and control everything including culture. The party decided which songs can be sung, which pictures can be painted, which books can be written, which music can be composed and listened, what a science must exist and how the religious activity of believers should be implemented. In a little more than 20 years many changes have taken place in Russia. The planned economy was changed with market economy; one-party system was changed with multiparty. Restrictions on creative activity of a man were lifted long ago. Russian Orthodox Church together with other religious confessions became powerful social institutions of our society. Everything in culture still remains as it was. The Ministry of Culture of Russia still continues to be a monopolist in the sphere of culture and absolutely stands for its government forms. Though in the legal system we have hints to the possible existence of non-governmental museums but the state failed to produce necessary conditions for their development.

I think the second basic reason for this neglect of non-governmental cultural form is misunderstanding on the part of authorities of great importance of non-governmental organizations in preservation and development of Culture.

Cultural heritage is not formed within the authority. Its creators are men of genius and envoys of Light on the Earth. Enthusiasts and collectors of art items provide facilities for preservation and popularization of the heritage. There must be the third party represented by Maecenases as it's impossible to preserve the cultural heritage without them. Museums originated in this way. And government as a rule did not intervene into this process. One can see many of such examples in Russia before revolution. Due to the work of these devotees the cultural heritage becomes a public domain. "... people and genius, ..., people and high-order intellectuals make history and develop culture", outstanding Russian philosopher Nikolai Berdyaev wrote<sup>478</sup>. Nicholas Roerich, the distinguished Russian painter, scientist, thinker and peacemaker gave the following definition of culture: "The torch of spirit often extinguishes among narrow-minded material interests and so the greatest concept of people – Culture – is being drowned. But the culture has two roots – the first one is druidical, the second is Oriental. Cult-Ur means the Veneration of Light".<sup>479</sup>

Culture is not an entertainment. It involves the serious work of mind and heart of a man. We read in Roerichs oeuvres that "Culture is the true enlightened cognition".

Culture is a scientific and inspired approach for resolution of problems of mankind.

Culture is a beauty in its all creative grandeur.

Culture is perfect knowledge beyond the prejudices and superstitions.

Culture is a confirmation of good in its all efficacy.

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<sup>478</sup> N.A.Berdyaev. Spiritual crisis of the intellectuals M. OI "Rehabilitation", 1998, p. 96

<sup>479</sup> Nicholas Roerich. Realm of Light, p. 166

Culture is a song of peaceful labor in its infinite perfection.

Culture is a review of values searching the genuine treasures of people.

Culture is firmly established in hearts of people and creates aspiration towards creativity.

Culture perceives discoveries and improvements of life as it lives in all intellectual and conscious.

Culture protects the historical property of people”<sup>480</sup>.

Nicholas Roerich, author and initiator of the first international treaty on preservation of cultural heritage of the mankind known as the Roerich Pact, was attaching big importance to the public role in preservation and development of culture. He wrote: “The matter of culture can never be just the matter of countries’ governments. Culture is the expression of the whole nation, rather all nations. Then national public cooperation in the matter of culture is necessary for real prosperity<sup>481</sup>. It should be emphasized that the Roerich Pact which ideas gave a foundation for the whole activity of UNESCO and the Hague Convention of 1954 for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict was signed in 1935 thank only to large-scale international movement initiated by Nicholas Roerich. It is the evidence of creative power of public when it joins the forces for the sake of Culture, isn’t it?!

In contemporary world, far from losing its relevance the significance of public in preservation and development of Culture in Russia has even greatly increased. Dmitry S. Likhachev, while appraising the critical condition of culture in our country in 1990s of the last century, told that for economic recovery of the state first of all the country needs to raise its cultural level. He wrote: “We need the public mobilization of all cultural forces of our country, unification of intellectuals, creation of circles, centres, non-governmental organizations of collectors, ethnographers, lovers of any given cultural artistries, arts, philosophical debates or just friends of any historical park, museum, defenders of ancient architectural structures and ensembles throughout the country. The list is to be continued.”<sup>482</sup> D.S. Likhachev pointed out that “such cultural situation in the country can only be created by the non-governmental organizations”<sup>483</sup>. And non-governmental museums have a top-ranked role.

Culture is the property of the people. Energy of Beauty being the main contents of Culture and passing through hearts and consciousness of people ennobles, illuminates not only a man but his environment and brings peace. Nicholas Roerich’s appeal – “Peace through Culture”, the content and purpose of the Roerich Pact, is not the abstraction but necessity for implementation.

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<sup>480</sup> Nicholas Roerich. Adamant, Vieda 1991,212

<sup>481</sup> Nicholas Roerich. Diary Leaves. ICR. 1999, Vol I, p.207

<sup>482</sup> D. Likhachev. “If we could not become the regional committee of culture”. Newspaper “Izvestiya” №154 dated 02.06.1990.

<sup>483</sup> Dmitry Likhachev. I remember. Progress. M.. 1991, p. 184.

There is a huge force in the social movement. It should be used for creation. It happens only when its activity is used in the field of culture. When the mental energy of masses is separated from the creative power of Culture it is spontaneously used for destruction. Recent events in Ukraine, Middle East and other parts of the world ongoing armed conflicts are the firm evidence of this. If there is no culture, there is no peace. The history of our civilization proves that political and economical mechanisms are not able to provide us with absolute guarantee of peace preservation on the Earth.

Only large-scale social movement can preserve culture and peace. Therein important role is given to museums, including non-governmental ones. Museums attract the broadest civil circles in their cultural activity. That is why Dmitry Likhachev spoke of the necessity of wide public mobilization for the rescue of Russian culture.

Now I'll cite some examples from the history of non-governmental museum named after Nicholas Roerich which fairly demonstrate and certify the necessity of activity of non-governmental museums in Russia.

Return of the Roerichs heritage to Russia was difficult and sometimes extremely dramatic. I won't trouble you with a long story – I'll present you only its principal milestones in testimony of the above-mentioned.

Stalin did not let Nicholas Roerich with his family and heritage come back to the USSR in the middle 1930s. After his death Helena I. Roerich, his wife, was also refused in entry. Only their eldest son George Roerich, well-known orientalist, was permitted to return to the USSR under the authority of Nikita S. Khrushchev in 1957. George Roerich took the first part of the heritage: over 500 Nicholas Roerich's paintings, scientific archive and library, unique collections of ancient Buddhist paintings, bronze and other rarities collected by the Roerichs throughout their life. Following the will of his father, George Roerich handed over main part of Nicholas Roerich's paintings to the Ministry of Culture requesting to create museum by his name. Ministry of Culture accepted the donation but never accomplished its promise. Received paintings were divided between museums of the country. After George Roerich's death in May 1960 the remaining part of heritage brought by him in Russia was entirely devastated with the connivance of Ministry of Culture and authorities. Today George Roerich's flat where authorities promised to create the memorial flat-museum, is empty. Main part of the heritage disappeared in an undisclosed direction.

Svetoslav Roerich, Indian citizen, younger son of Nicholas and Helen Roerichs in line with his father, great Russian painter, decided to donate his part of parents' heritage to the non-governmental organization for establishment of non-governmental museum when he saw that authorities take no action for the rescue of heritage stored in his brother's flat in Moscow. With this



objective he met the USSR President Michail Gorbachev several times, as a result of which a decision to create a Non-governmental Centre-Museum named after Nicholas Roerich in Moscow was taken. Svetoslav Roerich explained the main idea behind the creation and development of the Centre-Museum in his article “No Time to Delay!” published in July 1989 in the newspaper “Soviet Culture.” He wrote that “The main idea of the Centre-Museum is that it will function most successfully as a non-governmental organization.” Michael Gorbachev fulfilled the promise given to Svetoslav Roerich. The Non-Governmental Centre-Museum named after Nicholas Roerich was created by the order of the Council of Ministers in November 1989.

It is noteworthy that the authorities, especially the Ministry of Culture for a long time resisted the creation of the non-governmental museum, to which Svetoslav Roerich transferred the second part of his parents’ heritage from India, for a long time. This is a dramatic story of struggle between the authorities and the public, which fought for its right to work for the benefit of Russian culture and fulfill the will of Svetoslav Roerich, the founder of the Non-governmental Museum named after Nicholas Roerich. Definitely, without the help of Maecenas it would have been impossible to preserve the transferred heritage, create a museum and undertake cultural activities. All cultural institutions, particularly non-governmental ones, which receive no financial support from the government, need Maecenas’ support. It was our luck that such a patron of our museum appeared in 1990s and had been financing all activities of the museum for 20 years till he lost his business. His name is Boris Bulochnik.

In November 2014 the Non-governmental museum named after Nicholas Roerich will mark its 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary. During this period of time the staff of the museum with the financial support of the above mentioned Maecenas managed:

- ✓ To restore the unique cultural and historical monument of 17-18th centuries, the Lopukhins’ Estate where the museum is housed. In the slides you can see what the estate and its interiors looked like before the reconstruction and what it became after the reconstruction carried out by the non-governmental museum. In 2007 the museum staff received the National “Cultural Heritage” Award for the executed reconstruction works, and in 2010 its Director General Ms. Lyudmila Shaposhnikova received the European Union award “For the Dedicated Service in Preserving European Cultural Heritage” from the Pan-European Federation for Cultural Heritage “Europa Nostra.”
- ✓ The Non-governmental Museum named after Nicholas Roerich endowed with modern museum equipment.
- ✓ The collection of the Roerichs’ paintings belonging to the non-governmental museum has been augmented with several hundred paintings presented to it by the Maecenas. They have

been returned to Russia and exhibited in the permanent exposition of the Museum. At present the Museum possesses the biggest in the world collection of the Roerichs' paintings numbering some 900 paintings and drawings.

- ✓ The Museum has done huge work in preservation of the Roerichs' heritage, including restoration of some paintings by Roerichs. I would like to give you a single example. In this slide you can see the portrait of Helena Roerich by Svetoslav Roerich before the restoration and after its realization. The restoration was held by the fine art restorer of top-qualification Margarita A. Alekseeva. It can be mentioned here that it is the first portrait of Helena Roerich by her son. From the reminiscences of Lyudmila Shaposhnikova we learn that while working in Svetoslav Roerich's estate in Bangalore (India) on his invitation to prepare the Roerichs' heritage for transfer to Moscow she found this portrait in the artist's studio among other junk in almost destroyed condition. It took her some effort to persuade Svetoslav Roerich to allow its transfer to Moscow along with other heritage items. This saved the painting from destruction.
- ✓ The museum designed 5 itinerant exhibitions each comprising 40 to 60 paintings by the Roerichs. During these years the museum organized some 500 exhibitions in 250 Russian cities, as well as in near and far abroad.
- ✓ The Museum regularly offers its exhibition space on the free-of-charge basis to hold the exhibitions of contemporary cosmist artists, children's drawings and festivals of folk art of other countries.
- ✓ The Museum has published about 250 books (five hundred thousand copies in total) by the Roerichs and on their life and creative work. It also published a quarterly "Culture and Time" and produced documentaries on the life and creative work of the Roerichs.
- ✓ The international activities of the Centre-Museum have been highly appreciated by the international community. Our organization has a special consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). It is an associated member of the UN Department of Public Information, a collective member of the International Council of Museums (ICOM), International National Trusts Organization and the Pan-European Federation for Cultural Heritage "Europa Nostra." It helps us to actively popularize Russian cultural heritage abroad.
- ✓ Since 2012 in cooperation with the International Roerichs' Heritage Preservation Committee, under the patronage of UNESCO and with the support of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation the Centre-Museum has been holding an international exhibition project "The Roerich Pact. History and Modernity" aimed at propagating Nicholas Roerich's peace-making idea "Peace through Culture." The exhibitions within the framework of this

project have already been displayed in the UNESCO headquarters in Paris, in the Geneva branch of the UN, in the cities of Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Germany and the Netherlands (in the Peace Palace in the Hague and in Maastricht). In 2014 the project started in Russia and to this date it has travelled to 32 cities. This year it started touring Asia. The exhibitions have been displayed in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and are currently held in India. Next year, which will mark the 80<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Roerich Pact, we are planning to continue this project in the cities of Europe, Asia and America.

- ✓ In cooperation with the International Roerich Memorial Trust (India) and the International Roerichs' Heritage Preservation Committee the Centre-Museum is working on the creation of a museum-scientific complex in the Roerich Estate in Naggar (India) and the revival of the Urusvati Research Institute.
- ✓ The Centre-Museum conducts intensive research work. It runs the Scientific Centre of the Problems of Cosmic Thinking and has a Research Council. It organizes international public-scientific conferences, seminars and lectures. It has a research library and a Manuscript Section reading hall where scholars from different countries can work with the unique manuscripts and works of all members of the Roerich family.

I have mentioned only the major achievements of our non-governmental Museum. I would like to once again draw your attention to the fact that all this work has been conducted without any financial support of the state and exclusively with the help of the Maecenas donations.

So how do the authorities react to our activities? Interestingly, the reaction of the President of the Russian Federation and the officials of the Ministry of Culture has been diverse. Many times the President noted the achievements of our non-governmental museum in the field of preservation of the cultural heritage of the Roerichs and twice decorated the Director General of the Museum Ms. Lyudmila Shaposhnikova with the state orders: the Order of Friendship and the Order of Merit IV Degree. And yet, instead of extending help to our museum the officials of the Ministry of Culture have been doing everything to stop its functioning. Many times they tried to confiscate the Roerichs' heritage and remove the Museum from the estate buildings it occupies, even though they have been transferred to the museum on the basis of government decision. Even today the atmosphere surrounding our museum remains tense.

It has been nine months since our Museum has lost the Maecenas support. Till now not a single person from the business and government circles, with the exception of the government of Moscow, in any way expressed their desire to extend us help despite our repeated requests. We have recently come to know that taking cognizance of the contribution of our non-governmental organization in the

restoration of the architectural monument, the Mayor of Moscow Mr Sergei Sobyenin signed the order of Moscow government on the transfer of the two buildings of the Lopukhins' Estate to our organization for gratis use. It is a substantial help to our Museum. We are deeply grateful to the Mayor and the Moscow government. However, it does not solve our main problem. Unfortunately, we have been obliged to suspend many of our cultural projects due to the shortage of funds.

As you well know one cannot earn much money on cultural activities to cover the costs of conducting these activities. Whatever work we are still capable of doing we manage to do due to donations of citizens and contributions from our museum staff. However, these funds are completely insufficient to continue the projects I have mentioned. The reconstruction of the unique monument of Moscow's white-stone architecture, the samples of which are very few in city's historical center, has been stalled. There are no funds to continue the exhibitions within the framework of the international exhibition project "The Roerich Pact. History and Modernity" in the countries of Europe, America and Asia. Although Roerich's idea "Peace through Culture" enshrined in the Roerich Pact is of such importance to Russia in its international activities today. There are no funds for other cultural projects as well. One gets a feeling that the authorities are not interested in the activities of the Non-governmental Museum named after Nicholas Roerich and deliberately make it starve.

Museums cannot function without financial support. It is particularly the case with non-governmental museums. The condition of other non-governmental museums is not much better. I would like to quote the example of one more non-governmental Moscow museum which is as unique and one of its kind. It is the Museum of entrepreneurs, Maecenases and philanthropists, which suffers from the same indifference of the authorities and lack of funds. The main financial support of museums' activities can come only from philanthropists. One can see good example of that in the history of Russia. But till now the law regulating philanthropy has not been passed in Russia. And the bill of this federal law mentions that the major goal of the philanthropist activity in Russia is "extending support to governmental and municipal cultural institutions." Hence the authorities have not changed their attitude to the non-governmental form of culture. They deprive it (including the non-governmental museums) of philanthropists' support. But this clear step towards elimination of the non-governmental culture in Russia, without which it is impossible to build civil society since there cannot be a healthy and peaceful society without culture. If the authorities find way to create suitable conditions for attracting staggering amount of investments in sport, and does nothing of this kind regarding the non-governmental segment of culture, how can we talk about the spiritual development of the society?

Academician Dmitry Likhachev said: "Organization of Cultural is the business of not only the state institutions but also of the non-governmental ones. It is first of all the business of cultural

foundations where all those endowed with creative initiative should feel themselves masters, not supplicants”<sup>484</sup>. Therefore, in his address to the President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin on 10.11.1993 he wrote: “I am deeply convinced that culture should be first of all under the public management and only secondarily under the state management”<sup>485</sup>. As long as the authorities do not realize this and start supporting the activities of non-governmental museums, we shall not be able to preserve our great culture.

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<sup>484</sup> Dmitry Likhachev. *Reminiscences*. Progress, M. 1991, p. 184

<sup>485</sup> Likhachev’s Letter to the President of the Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin.

## **Public Participation in the Design of the National Museum of African American History and Culture**

Of the nineteen museums and nine research centers under the umbrella of the Smithsonian Institution, the National Museum of African American History and Culture will be the tenth Smithsonian museum building located on the National Mall. Director Lonnie Bunch feels that the new museum must be a place of collaboration. And in that respect, the public participation process to refine the architect's concept design was truly collaboration among many groups and individuals.

Although there was interest in recognizing the history of African Americans after the end of the Civil War, the first seeds of an actual museum were planted in 1929 with the establishment of the National Memorial Commission. The commission was authorized by President Calvin Coolidge, thirtieth President of the United States to construct a memorial building "as a tribute to the Negro's contribution to the achievements of American." Unfortunately the timing could not have been worse with the 1929 Stock Market Crash which led to the depression. The commission became inactive.<sup>486</sup>

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968 renewed interest in an African American museum and various private groups explored funding opportunities. Despite President Ronald Reagan's 1983 creation of a federal holiday to honor Dr. King, it was not until December 28, 2001 that President George W. Bush signed Public Law 107-106. This law formed a Presidential Commission to develop a plan to establish a museum of African American History and Culture.

The commission included government officials and professionals from the Association of African American Museums and academic institutions with an emphasis on African American life and culture. The commission's report recommended that the new museum be part of the Smithsonian Institution and suggested sites in Washington, D.C. According to the Act, the museum "would be dedicated to the collection, preservation, research and exhibition of African American historical and cultural materials, reflecting the breadth and depth of the experience of African American descent living in the United States."<sup>487</sup>

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<sup>486</sup> Pietrusza, David. *Calvin Coolidge: A Documentary Biography*. Seattle: Createspace, 2013: 195.

<sup>487</sup> *The Time Has Come: Report to the President and Congress: National Museum of African American History and Culture Plan for Action Presidential Commission*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2003. Smithsonian Archives Acc. 07-172.

On 16 December 2003 President George W. Bush signed the National Museum of African American History and Culture Act which established the museum as part of the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>488</sup>

The Act directed the Smithsonian's governing body, the Board of Regents, to select one site among four in Washington, D.C. for the construction of the museum. The seventeen-member board is chaired by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and comprised of the Vice President of the United States, members of Congress and private citizens.

The four sites were either on the National Mall or nearby. The Smithsonian's vacated Arts and Industries Building on the Mall, the Banneker Overlook near the Mall, five acres of the Washington Monument site bounded by 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Streets, Constitution Avenue and Madison Drive on the Mall and the Liberty Loan site near the Mall were under consideration. The Act mandated that the Board of Regents seek input from the important agencies who oversee the design and new construction projects in Washington, D.C. These included the National Capital Planning Commission, the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Review Office and various government representatives. In addition, groups with an interest in the National Mall were also asked to comment on the site selection.

In letters to the Secretary of the Smithsonian, none of the agencies recommended the selection of the Washington Monument site. The preferred sites were the Benjamin Banneker Overlook, adjacent to the Potomac River near the Mall, and the Arts and Industries Building. In January 2006 the Smithsonian's Board of Regents decided that the new museum belonged on the National Mall and selected the Washington Monument site. In favor of the selection, director Lonnie Bunch remarked "This is how to understand America. So having the Museum of African American History and Culture on the Mall, surrounded by the other museums, will make African-American culture central to all Americans." The portion of the Washington Monument site was transferred by the National Park Service to the Smithsonian in June 2007.<sup>489</sup>

In 2009 a design competition was held for the new building. Models were on view to the public who were invited to submit their comments on five finalists' designs. They were Moody Nolan and Antoine Predock, Diller, Scofidio Renfrow, Foster and Partners, Debroux, Purnell, Pei Cobb and Freed and Partners, and Freelon, Adjaye, Bond and Smith Group. The design by London-based architect David Adjaye in partnership with Freelon Bond and Smith Group was selected by a panel of mostly Smithsonian staff including the museum's director.

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<sup>488</sup> Although there are other museums with the word 'national' in their name, the Smithsonian is the national museum of the United States due to Congressional oversight and government funding.

<sup>489</sup> Lynette Clemetson, Smithsonian Picks Notable Spot for Its Museum of Black History," *Washington Post*, 31 January 2006, final edition.

All Smithsonian design and construction projects follow the institution's historic preservation policy. The policy states that all work will incorporate the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Treatment of Historic Properties and will go through a rigid in-house review. Depending upon the size and scope, a project must go through four review agencies: the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Review Office, the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation<sup>490</sup>, and the National Capital Planning Commission. In the case of the National Museum of African American History and Culture, these agencies were all involved in the review of the design and its impact and effect on surrounding historic properties, views and vistas.

The Smithsonian as well as all government agencies with properties, including the United States Military, follows the Section 106 review process of the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act for every applicable project. There was no question that the new structure would have an 'adverse effect' to historic properties, in particular to views of the Mall and the Washington Monument and surrounding buildings, but how to mitigate this was the challenge that fell to all involved for over five years. A crucial part of the review process is public involvement.<sup>491</sup>

The Smithsonian invited members of the public with a vested interest in the project and the mall: the National Coalition to Save our Mall, the District of Columbia Preservation League, the Committee of 100 (the oldest preservation group in the city), the United States Capitol Historical Society, and the Association for the Study of African American Life and History among others. The consulting parties as they are known may testify at any public hearing at any review agency about the design. Over 2,000 emails were sent to African American groups, State Historic Preservation Offices and landscape architects to solicit their opinions. Individuals and groups may also invite themselves to be consulting parties. A series of meetings with the consulting parties can continue for months, even years. Thirty-two meetings were held over 5 years, beginning in 2005.

Staff of the new museum also traveled around the United States, the Caribbean, and Africa to meet with members of the public. Discussions were held about what the public wanted to see in the new museum as far as African American history and to comment on the design.

An early step in the Section 106 process is to determine the area of potential effect (APE) that determines what impact the new museum might have on historic properties. This area was determined by the consulting parties and the review agencies. Views could potentially be impacted from the United States Capitol, from across the Potomac River, from various memorials such as the Jefferson and Lincoln and the Washington Monument.

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<sup>490</sup> The council administers the nation's National Historic Preservation Act Section 106 review process for federally funded projects.

<sup>491</sup> [www.achp.gov/work106.html](http://www.achp.gov/work106.html)



It was important that the area of potential effect include analysis of views. An important view was from the Truman Balcony on the south façade of the White House and how the traditional view might be impacted by the new construction. It was determined that there would be no impact.

However, a crucial view that would be blocked by the new building was that of the Federal Triangle, a complex of government buildings erected in the 1930s. Adjustments were made to place the building so part of the Federal Triangle would be visible. This was done by lowering the building's height and pushing it just a few feet south.

To all, the most important element of the building was its shape, designed after an African crown, a "corona." The uplifted shape also signifies joy, similar to raised arms and was designed after the lattice work created by slaves in Charleston, South Carolina. The corona should, according to the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, "create a shimmering, lustrous effect under many lighting conditions" through the use of a "classic and elegant material that conveys dignity, permanence and beauty."<sup>492</sup>

Originally the architect envisioned a corona of bronze. Prior to construction it was determined that bronze would be too heavy and too costly, so a variety of alternative materials were examined as well as paint to match the appearance of bronze as closely as possible. A full-scale mockup of a corona piece was shown to all the review agencies at a factory in Pennsylvania in 2013. It was crucial that the Smithsonian "get it right" because the corona was seen to be the single most important element of the entire project. The selection of the material should, according to the National Capital Planning Commission, "be resolved in a way that honors the momentous purpose and monumental presence of this museum for generations to come."<sup>493</sup>

Options studied included a PVDF (polyvinyl difluoride) "Custom Artisan." This coating was the most successful in simulating the appearance of real bronze. The location and depth of color gave the corona panel the desired luster and richness in appearance. The agencies and the Smithsonian reached consensus to use the PVDF Custom Artisan.

The final design of the building was achieved by our public consultations and work with the architects, the regulatory agencies and Smithsonian colleagues. A seventy-three page Programmatic Agreement, a legally-binding document, was signed between the Smithsonian and the review agencies. Prior to signing it was shown to all consulting parties for their approval. It stipulates measures the Smithsonian will undertake to mitigate the adverse effect of the building. These including providing trees to complete the plantings on the Washington Monument grounds, archaeological recovery, photographic documentation of the current site and the view of the Federal

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<sup>492</sup> [http://www.cfa.gov/meetings/2012/sep/20120920\\_01.html](http://www.cfa.gov/meetings/2012/sep/20120920_01.html)

<sup>493</sup> Marcel Acosta, letter to Ann Trowbridge, 27 June 2013, TS.

Triangle that will be forever obscured, and continued consultation on the landscape and building material as they evolve. In addition, a small exhibit on the public participation process was required in the new museum.

The landscape design surrounding the building was also a critical element in the design review. The consulting parties influenced the design to complement the grounds of the Washington Monument, with its curved paths. The landscape will also include a variety of public outdoor spaces for educational programs and visitor enjoyment. Any change to this plan, which did occur, had to be shown to the consulting parties and the review agencies.

The interior of the building will incorporate views with the piercing of the corona in certain areas. The visitors inside will be able to see the Washington Monument, the buildings of the Federal Triangle and the Mall.

The groundbreaking was held on 22 February 2012, with President and Mrs. Obama in attendance. The museum is scheduled to open in 2016. The consultation process with the public and the review agencies was not always easy. It took patience, careful listening, mutual respect and sharing of information. Everyone felt that in the end, the public participation process made a better building and everyone worked hard to make the best design possible.

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## **More cultural life for metropolises and recreation areas? Museums as subjects of the policy of regional development**

Germany has seen two different kinds of museum policy: The Federal Republic did and does not know legal regulations for museums; legislation belongs to the duties of the ten (sixteen) federal member states, but none of them decided to enact a museum law. Therefore, the Federal Republic only shows a kind of implicate museum policy by the allocation of state subsidies or – not obligatory – regional plans for museum development. Quite on the contrary, the German Democratic Republic knew a strict and centralistic supervision for every museum either by direct subordination under a ministry or, for the municipal museums, by the combination of regional supervision and a central museum consulting authority. Since 1980 – for the last ten years of the GDR – running a museum depends on an approval of the government.

Therefore, Germany is an interesting example comparing the relevance of implicate and explicit museum policies. This contribution refers to a geographic-statistical study concerning North West Germany in 1990<sup>494</sup> and compares those results with the development of museums in South East Germany, within the frontiers of the actual federal state Saxony; surely an artificial test region before the German unification because the GDR had a different regional structure.

As its first result that study in North West Germany shows that museums are irregularly spread over the country: you find high quantities of museums within the Rhine-Ruhr agglomeration, the most populated region of Germany with over five million inhabitants, and at a special kind of “cultural metropolis” (typically the ex-capital towns of former federal member states or of former provinces of the Free State of Prussia). On the other hand, the countrysides got fewer museums; especially the surroundings of the “cultural metropolises” and the Northern flat regions show only a minority of municipalities as localisations of museums.

This strictly topographic view might be criticized because museums are made for people not for topographies. The British museologist Kenneth Hudson proposes a quotient of inhabitants of a region or town to the number of museum, the “museum to population index”; as an analogy to the term population density, it might be called “museum density”. The quoted study shows for 1990 index results between 6,741 and 144,896 inhabitants to one museum, and these results are distributed

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<sup>494</sup> Walz, Markus, *Museen 1990/91*, Münster, Aschendorff, 1996. Published as: *Geographisch-landeskundlicher Atlas von Westfalen*; issue 8, double leaf 2.

differently: The highest index amounts are located within the Rhine-Ruhr agglomeration; the lowest ones are concentrated in the middle mountain ranges. Beneath the coasts and the Alps, those mountainsides are the preferred touristy regions in Germany, and by this aspect, the disproportionate distribution of museums can be interpreted as an expression of an implicate policy of tourism development. Because up to fifty per cent of the guests at spa places are not staying in clinics, it strengthens this argument that over proportionately many spa places possess a museum.

### **The “museum landscape” in the GDR**

The first comparison to South East Germany uses published data about museums in the GDR of 1962<sup>495</sup> (Museen 1963). The cartography shows two comparable phenomena: the two biggest towns of the Southeast, Dresden and Leipzig, both with more than 500,000 inhabitants, have the highest quantities of museums; the North of the researched region, a flat landscape with few touristic appeal, has got very few museums. Interestingly the variety of museum types is concentrated at the central places – first the two biggest towns, on a smaller level the local district capital towns. Other municipalities mostly contain place-focused, polydisciplinary museums. You have to remark that the federal state of Saxony doesn't exist during this period; the GDR districts are the equivalent structure. The Saxonian region is divided into three state districts. Karl-Marx-Stadt (the actual name of the town is again Chemnitz) – half of the dimensions of Dresden and Leipzig – got the same administrative level as those two metropolises but doesn't show the same diversity of museums.

The second overview of the museums in the GDR dates of 1980,<sup>496</sup> it shows a dominant stability: in comparison to 1962, 24 museums are closed, 29 museums didn't yet exist in 1962. The total amount in 1980 is 204 museums. The little exchange of museums indicates structured activity. Obviously, Karl-Marx-Stadt, the mentioned capital town of a state district, was somewhat upgraded with nine instead five museums in 1962. 21 local polydisciplinary museums – most of them in close distances to the next museum of this type – are closed, only twenty of this type are new.

Nine museums dealing with industry, mining, technology or vehicles opened between 1962 and 1980, exactly doubling the number of this museum type. This phenomenon may be interpreted as a preference of socialist museum policy, as an accentuation of the historical importance of mining and industry in Southern Saxony, or as an instrument to enrich the touristic value of the middle mountain range (which is as well the historically relevant countryside of mining). This multi-dimensional phenomenon is more important for the museum system as the engagement of the GDR

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<sup>495</sup> Heinz Arno Knorr (ed), *Handbuch der Museen und wissenschaftlichen Sammlungen in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, Halle (Saale), Fachstelle für Heimatmuseen, 1963.

<sup>496</sup> *Handbuch der Museen*. Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Deutsche Demokratische Republik, Österreich, Schweiz, Liechtenstein. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., München, K. G. Saur, 1981.

for new museums dealing with the “history of the proletarian movement” – in total amount only five inside the (at this time fictive) frontiers of Saxony. The application of museum types to smaller towns and villages didn’t change: also 1980, the polydisciplinary museums dominate the countryside; only eight municipalities without central functions (state district, local district) possess more than one museum, six of these exceptions can be explained by the “fixed locality” of memorial museums and museum castles.

### **German unification, change of policy**

The German unification in 1990 changes the administrative conditions: The GDR territory adopts the legal regulations of the Federal Republic, the new Free State of Saxony takes the place of three and a half state districts (Dresden, Leipzig, Karl-Marx-Stadt – now again Chemnitz – and the South of the state district Cottbus). The Federal State of Saxony creates a unique position in the allocation of state subsidies for cultural institutions (except state institutions). The other federal states either have declared financing programmes or act after a principle that is defined by the law “Landeshaushaltsordnung” of the concerned federal state (identical with the paragraph of all other federal states: only those institutions or projects can get state subsidies which are of “special interest” for the giving state and which have proofed that they would not or not in the necessary quality be realized without the co-financing by the state. The Free State of Saxony created special organizations called “Kulturraum”, each local district was forced to membership of one of these organizations. These “Kulturräume” get a defined amount of state subsidies for cultural institutions and activities within the concerned local districts. The decisions about “who” and “how much” is made on this local district level without and dirigism of the Free State – its policy is nothing but the implicate statement that the Free State wishes cultural activities all over its territory. Consequently, the Saxonian plan of regional development – every federal state is obliged to declare such an instrument regularly – explains “high worthy cultural institutions” (as necessary elements for the six most important towns inside the Free State) only with theatres; the whole plan doesn’t mention the word museum.

A very small remembrance to the times of the GDR might be seen in the declaration, that cultural institutions should be located in regard of the system of the central places – “so far no other criteria with disciplinary foundation define different preferences in localisation”.<sup>497</sup> This proposal sounds euphemistic after a glance at the explained structure with autonomous decisions within a “Kulturraum”.

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<sup>497</sup> Sachsen, Freistaat, Staatsregierung, Landesentwicklungsplan 2013, Dresden 2013, p. 169, 171. Online-document: [www.landesentwicklung.sachsen.de/download/Landesentwicklung/LEP\\_2013.pdf](http://www.landesentwicklung.sachsen.de/download/Landesentwicklung/LEP_2013.pdf)

The only strategic ideas of the Free State concern the Free State's own museums<sup>498</sup> and “all plans and projects with touristic relevance” (museums are included, certainly): They should be complementary either to the strategy of the concerned touristic destination or to the general perspective to develop cultural (city) tourism or rural holiday sites.<sup>499</sup> The five “main themes” of the Free State's tourism strategy look quite similar: culture, cities, activity, health/wellness, families; the central aim is “consolidating the position as Germany's destination no. 1 of cultural tourism”.<sup>500</sup>

It seems to be a very attractive context for (some) museums, but the reality seems to be somewhat different: The actual tourist information brochure for cultural tourism, “Kulturlandschaft Sachsen”, has overall 64 pages, including 13 full pages each dealing in text and illustration with one museum, beneath that nine other museums became a part of another page. Obviously, some museums are estimated as highly relevant for cultural tourism, but cartography makes clear, that the cultural city tourism is focussed: most of the mentioned pages concern the three (!) metropolises Dresden (four full pages, one part of a page), Leipzig (two / four) and Chemnitz, former Karl-Marx-Stadt (three full pages). Municipalities beneath the five biggest towns are a minority and still part of city tourism (two full pages for the town Meißen with a well-known castle and the exhibitions of the famous manufactory of porcelain).

### **The “museum landscape” of Saxony today**

The map of the Saxonian museums, based on the internet platform of the Saxonian authority for museum consultation ([www.sachsens-museen-entdecken.de](http://www.sachsens-museen-entdecken.de)) and the (unpublished) database of the national museum statistics for 2012, gives a quite different impression: the map is full with 474 museums – compared to 1980 a rise of 132 per cent. Nearly nothing is gone – one very special museum type vanished (history of the proletarian movement) and a relevant part of the memorial museums vanished, too. But the dominant effect is growth: more museums in the metropolises, in smaller cities, everywhere in the countryside – even the flat landscape in the North of Saxony shows an increasing number of museums. Nearly each museum type seems to be flourishing; only the number of museums for prehistory rests constant. The most favourite museum types are the polydisciplinary local museums (+89) and the museums for industry / mining / technology / vehicles (+80) – half a contrast to, half a continuity of GDR plans. The percentages show extreme activities as well in niches: medicine / pharmacy / anthropology increases from one to six (600 %), everyday culture / cultural anthropology increases from five to 22 (440 %).

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<sup>498</sup> Sachsen, Freistaat, Staatsministerium für Wissenschaft und Kunst, Museumskonzeption 2020 – Kulturland Sachsen, Dresden, Staatsministerium für Wissenschaft und Kunst, 2009.

<sup>499</sup> Sachsen, Landesentwicklungsplan, cf. reference 4, p. 76.

<sup>500</sup> Sachsen, Freistaat, Staatsministerium für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Verkehr, Tourismusstrategie Sachsen 2020, Dresden, Staatsministerium für Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Verkehr, 2011, p. 25, 30.

A cartographic reduction indicates only the difference between municipalities which had already 1980 at least one museum and those which had no museums in 1980 but at least one in 2012. This map neglects the growth inside the bigger towns and accentuates that new localizations are spread over the whole Free State but two over proportionalities either fill up the emptiness in the Northeast or are situated in the South-Southwest of Saxony – the industrialized and very touristic middle mountain range of the “Erzgebirge”.

### **Comparison with more statistical data**

A look at the population density gives more analytical insight. An overview of the six biggest towns and the local districts (segmented in smaller units) presents population densities between 65 and 1,715 inhabitants per square kilometre. The local districts in the North, Northeast and extreme Southwest of Saxony show the lowest densities, high densities – the regional development plan defines that by a minimum of 200 inhabitants per square kilometre – are found in the six biggest towns and the close surroundings of the four biggest towns; Plauen and Görlitz are situated in surroundings with very low densities. Beneath these areas, densities over the average level of Saxony are found in the wider surroundings of the two biggest towns, Dresden and Leipzig, but as well in two middle mountain ranges, the centre of the “Erzgebirge” and, at the Southeast border, the “Zittauer Berge”.

The map of the museum densities shows the same effect as North West Germany in 1990 – but on a higher level because the population per number of museums spreads only between 2,953 and 18,565: the six biggest towns and the close surroundings of Leipzig and Zwickau show the highest results; the lowest ones can be found in parts of the “Erzgebirge”, in the “Zittauer Berge” and in a hillside between Leipzig and Chemnitz, but as well in the surroundings of Görlitz and at the Northern frontier near the river Elbe. All results under the average level depict the whole “Erzgebirge”, extended in the West into the “Vogtland” and in the East over the “Sächsische Schweiz” to the “Zittauer Berge”; additionally the mentioned areas between Chemnitz and Leipzig and in the North belong to this category.

For an easy comparison, the tourist statistics are changed here to the quotient “arriving persons with overnight stay in 2012 per square kilometre”. This “tourist density” shows results between 14 and 5,844. The highest results are found in the biggest towns (all except Plauen) and the close surroundings of Dresden. Over average results indicate most parts of the middle mountain range and the surroundings of Chemnitz/Zwickau, Dresden and Leipzig.

A comparison of these three cartographic presentations leads to one sentence without any exception: population and “tourist densities” on top level are combined with minimal museum

densities (highest numbers of inhabitants per museum) – the biggest towns offer differentiated museums but don't reach the high relative level of the countryside. For any other combination, single cases can be found – from “everything on the middle level” to “hopeful high museum quantities in under average populated areas without tourists” – a good proof for the handling of museum development plans on a local level.

The visit statistics are best known index for museum activities – even everybody knows that visit statistics stress the aspect of exhibitions and the attractiveness of exhibitions for the masses. The signal of the statistics is absolutely clear: between 1980 and 2012, the quantity of museums is more than doubled; the amount of all museum visits per year within the Saxonian frontiers didn't increase (10,414,431 visits in 1989, 9,133,944 visits in 2012).

A cartographic analysis clearly indicates that the “old” main destinations, Dresden and Leipzig, still dominate the map as two spots with most of the intensively visited museums (maximum: 578,499 visits in 2012); some well-known day trip destinations like Radebeul or Meißen are as well remarkable. The situation in the middle mountain ranges invites to the thesis that only some small towns or villages are relevant localisations for museum visits, preferred in the placement of more than one museum with success in attracting visits: Museums are secondary alternatives in the middle mountain range, for instance in the case of rainy weather, and it seems that some well-known excursion destinations within the tourist region get most of this kind of secondary tourism. But the level of the visit statistics is different: except of top destinations like famous castles or the porcelain manufactory at Meißen, all museums with more than 100,000 visits per year are situated in the “museum metropolises” Dresden and Leipzig. The great majority of Saxonian museums reach visit quantities of less than 20,000 and as well less than 10,000 visits annually. The flat countryside in the Northern third part of Saxony contains not a single museum with more than 20,000 visits – except the metropolis Leipzig and three capital towns of former local districts.

### **Conclusion**

Within twenty years, Saxony switched from the restrictive museum policy of the GDR and a museum network with a high stability to the non-regulated Western structure tending to quantitative growth (although the population of Saxony is declining since the 1930ies). On an abstract level, the Saxonian policy regards museums either as elements of (regional) centrality or as touristy destinations; definite decisions about the state subsidies are left to the local authorities – consequently by the point of view that the Free State of Saxony only runs about five per cent of the



museums, while the municipalities run 66 per cent of the museums in Saxony (all museums of public corporate bodies reach 71 per cent<sup>501</sup>).

This change from explicite to implicate museum policy shows less strengths than weaknesses. The GDR kept the quantity of museums on an equal level, including the low quantity of museums in regions with low population densities; the most obvious changes on the museum map are ambiguous – technics and mining are fitting to socialist ideals but as well to regional identification and to highlighting regional phenomena with touristy appeal. After the German unification, egoism of local authorities (and the new possibilities for private associations to realize a museum if they like to) is an obstacle to structural development, feed more the multiplication of already existing types of museums with the problematic result a more than doubled quantity fights for a part of the unchanged quantity of museum visits – beneath several old and very few new museums with success in attracting many visits, Saxony shows a multiplication of less successful museums as well in lonely landscapes as in touristy regions.

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<sup>501</sup> Statistische Gesamterhebung an den Museen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland für das Jahr 2012, Berlin, Institut für Museumsforschung, 2013, p. 33.

### **Military and historical museums subordinated to the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation: Features work**

In Russian Federation along with museums subordinate to the Ministry of culture, there are museums (including big and well-known ones) that were established and operated under another ministries and agencies. To this type of museums we could assign military museums, including:

The Central Museum of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, the Military-historical museum of artillery, engineer and signal corps, the Central naval Museum.

The activities of museums, for which their Agencies are sort of non-core entities has its own characteristics.

First of all it is a problem of the legal regulation. The work of such museums is regulated by the orders and instructions of the Ministry of culture (primarily related to scientific-stock and departmental guidelines and regulations, which sometimes do not agree. The verification of Museum collections and spend the Ministry of culture and the Ministry of defense, showing a completely different requirements.

Secondly – the order of financing. Especially big problems the military museums felt after 2012, when it was given the status of state-owned institutions. This meant that we were restricted to the rigid framework of the budget estimates that have sapped the strength of our creative activity. Currently, this situation has changed, although problems still remain.

Traditionally low salaries of the staff of museums created a fairly big problems with recruitment. Now this situation is changing for the better, but it takes time to make the Museum more attractive for prepared by qualified professionals, and youth.

Thirdly, the military museums, because of their specificity must be scientific centers, staffed with qualified scientific personnel to competently, carefully, historically correct to convey to visitors the issues of military history that has, at times, extremely ambiguous assessment.

Fourth, the problem of acquisition and preservation of objects. First of all, it concerns the so-called army museums: museums of military units, military educational institutions, and there are several hundred museums of such kind in the Russian Armed Forces. As a rule, objects (sometimes unique) which are kept in these museums are not included in the State Museum Fund and during the reorganization of the Armed Forces (with the reduction of those or other military formations), they are often completely lost for future generations.

Today Central museum of armed forces of the Russian Federation has got several branches: Memorial cabinet-museum of the Marshal of the Soviet Union Georgy Zhukov, Central museum of Air force, Museum of Air defense forces, Museum of missile troops, Museum of Airborne troops, Museum of history of the armed uniform.

Central Museum of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation even excluding branches is one of the largest military-historical museums in the world, its collections contain over 880 thousand exhibits, including more than 28 thousand combat and patronage Flags of military parts and units. The pride of the collection of the Museum is a symbol of the Victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic war - the Flag of Victory.

In 24 exhibition halls of the Museum, 10 of which talk about the events of the great Patriotic war, as well as on the outdoor observation deck of military equipment and weapons, materials about the history of the Armed Forces of the Fatherland from its beginnings on a regular basis up to the present time are presented.

The fact that only during last year it was visited by more than 153.000 people and 3238 excursions were held is a real evidence of cultural and historical significance of collections of the museum.

Scientific and educational work of the Museum focuses on the promotion of Museum collections, history, and traditions of the Armed Forces, promoting the call of duty, heroic deeds for the glory of the Fatherland.

In the museum's guest book a significant number of records are with positive assessments of its activities. One of these records says: "I am grateful to the Ministry of defense and the Museum staff for the opportunity to visit this wonderful Museum, which tells the history of creation and development of Armed forces of the Russian Federation. I wish to pay more attention to younger generation, so that it knew and remembered us and our traditions preserved. On behalf of all the commanders of the brigades. Colonel D. Primak"

A psychology Professor of the medical school No. 13 of Moscow – L. P. Shubnikova: "Ongoing collaboration of the medical school with the Central Museum of the Armed Forces on Patriotic education of students is beginning to bear fruits..."

Adolescents begin to relate to his native land, to his family differently. A sense of pride and dignity, striving to follow the example of their fathers and grandfathers, wish their actions to improve their environment appears.

But patriotism includes not only emotions, but also human activity. The power of Patriotic feelings is not limited to the depth and height of love to your Fatherland, and motivates us to action,

and actions for the benefit of their homeland. You must implement patriotism through specific actions in the interests of the Fatherland.

Patriotism is able to block the development of negative trends in the consciousness and behavior of youth, especially the one-such as crime, extremism, drug addiction. Young people with more time-twisted indicators of citizenship and patriotism and have a more positive life in general."

The Dean of the historical faculty of Moscow state pedagogical University A. Y. Kuzmin (students of this University for several years pass practice on the basis of our Museum) noted: "In contact with Museum exhibits students' book knowledge become alive, imaginative perception of history, makes you proud of our country. The great merit of our Museum in Patriotic education of youth".

Many of the activities of the military-Patriotic Museum is working with various community organizations. In particular, traditionally close links are maintained with the Regional public Fund for the support of the Heroes of the Soviet Union and Heroes of the Russian Federation in the name of General E. N. Kocheshkov, Fund of memory of the commanders of Victory, the Committee of the memory of Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov, many veterans ' organizations. Every year the Museum takes part in more than 65 events held in conjunction with these organizations.

Issues of patriotic education is one of the main indicators of the quality of the work of this museum. This and various military-Patriotic action, and meetings of veterans with young people, conferences and round tables devoted primarily to the operations of the great Patriotic war, military leaders and heroes of this war, readers ' conferences, various quizzes, military history competitions, watch memory for students from Moscow schools and much more.

Thus, together with the Foundation for the memory of the commanders of Victory held commemorative events involving young people, dedicated to the life and work of the Marshals of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov, I. H. Baghramyan, R. J. Malinowski, F. I. Tolbukhin, S. C. Biryuzov and other prominent military leaders. Together with Foundation members museum staff has prepared a series of books about the generals and commanders of the great Patriotic War oriented on the younger generation. Currently museum is preparing a two-volume edition of "The Names of the Victory", which is intended to be published for the 70th anniversary of the Victory.

Museum closely collaborates with the Committee of the memory of Marshal of the Soviet Union G. K. Zhukov. Together they have a significant number of different events, oriented primarily for a young audience. As well on the eve of Victory Day rally of vintage cars and the ceremony of initiation for the cadets, and reader conferences on books about the great Patriotic war, prepared by the staff of the Museum were prepared in conjunction with the Committee.

By the way, working with today's youth, we see how things have changed today, the younger generation's perception of the material. The young man accustomed to computer games, so in the museum they want to see more interactive computer installations, which we could not afford yet.

On the international children's day on 1 June museum in conjunction with the Regional public charitable Fund of assistance to children of soldiers "Care" hold an event "son of the regiment" for children whose parents were killed in the "hot spots", for students of military schools, boarding schools, orphanages.

Quite a few events, the Museum carries out in close cooperation with various veterans' organizations. Not only Moscow, but also with regional ones. Soon the initiative of veteran organizations in Veliky Novgorod, supported by the local administration, the museum staff has repeatedly traveled to this city of military glory, to participate in various activities. The Museum staff visited the battlefields, including in the area of youth work search groups, military memorials was the Battle Flags from the Museum, participated in conferences dedicated to the heroism of Soviet soldiers during the great Patriotic war.

For several years the Museum staff together with public search associations take an active part in the Patriotic actions (search expeditions) held in Kabardino-Balkaria in the Elbrus region.

I already talked about this form of work of the Museum as a representation of the Battle Flags. This ceremony, which involves the ritual removal of banners and history of the exploits of the soldiers who fought under them during the war, this gives emotional charge enormous strength and is widely used in the activities of the military-Patriotic direction.

It should be noted that the Battle Flags from the collections of the Museum are often used at various events, including events that are held under the open sky. Events like parades of troops of the Moscow garrison or "tank biathlon", recently held in Russia. As Museum professionals, we understand that such actions do not contribute to the preservation of Museum objects. But as employees of the military Department obey incoming orders and instructions.

If you frequently use genuine war relics in such events, they decay and may not be preserved for future generations. Obviously, long overdue question about making copies of original banners for use at events like this, and it requires a solution.

In General we can say that the work of the departmental museums, of course, has its own characteristics and peculiarities, but, at the same time, for it is characteristic of the General tendencies of development of museums in Russia and in the world.

## **Politics, identity and the role of museums in the Middle East**

First I would like to thank UCL Qatar for their support where this research was partly done when the author was a visiting research student in Qatar.

This paper will focus on the disconnect between museums and the local societies in some Middle Eastern countries which has occurred due to historical reasons and governmental policies. The paper will discuss case studies of museums in Syria, Egypt and Qatar to illustrate the gap between museums and the local societies which exist for different reasons, and the different official policies in a place to address the problem. After analyzing the reasons for this gap in Syria and Egypt the paper will offer an assessment of the importance to activate the role of museums in a fast changing society like Syria to celebrate the current diverse identity through displaying actively the diversity of the ancient past, and contemporary society, rather than attempting to present a unifying narrative.

In 2010 a man who set fire to himself, starting the Arab Spring which moved from one country to another carrying political and social change with it. In 2011 eighteen days of mass protests forced Hosni Mubarak the Egyptian president to resign in February 2011, after three decades in power. The same protest wave in the same year arrived in Syria, putting the country in a complete mess.

Breaking the barrier of fear after forty years of a totalitarian regime in Syria gave the Syrian people the courage to start questioning the current narrative of the Arab identity that the government fostered for the last four decades. Syrians started to question their identity and their national affiliation, whether they are Arabs, Muslims or Syrians first. In the current conflict situation a variable society like Syria is vulnerable to an identity collapse because of the lack of a reliable and strong identity. Many groups have declared that they are not Arabs, such as the Kurds living in North Eastern Syria are trying to legitimize their existence through using the ancient past. These groups are usually ethnic or religious minorities who might feel threatened from the majority or having future political ambitions in separation. The problem is that they are looking for an ethnic political entity in a place that has been previously occupied by a number of groups of different ethnicities, which may cause more conflicts.

Syrian multicultural identity is rooted in history. For a long time the ethnic groups such as Armaenian, Assyrians for example, and religious sects such as Druz and Alawiet were afraid to celebrate their diversity. Due to the nationalist movements which began in the early nineteen forties until independence in 1946, and the current politics taking advantage from this situation, the particularity of Syrian society was arguably suppressed under false slogans to achieve a unified Arab national identity; these slogans taught the people that in order to be united they need to be similar and that diversity was not accepted because it strengthens our enemies.

In order to do this, Arab nationalist authors pushed the Arab migration back as early as possible to the times of Naram-Sin, Hammurabi, and the Hyksos, all of whom were considered, definitely or probably, to be Arabs. The Semitic wave theory was adapted to push the Arab occupation of this territory back to the most ancient times (Dawn 1988, 70-71). This concept came hand-in-hand with the Arab nationalist identity that was fostered later. Museum collections came from Syrian sites excavated mainly by international missions who began the work at the time French mandate in 1920. These foreign archaeologists are usually reluctant to address questions related to current politics or the politics of identity in their investigations of ancient Near Eastern civilization. This trend is largely connected to the anti-theoretical tendency that characterizes the majority of Near Eastern archaeological research and the continuous dominance of colonial field practices. Until the current day Syrian schools are still teaching the ancient history of Bronze Age sites is an Arab history, ignoring the philological and archaeological researches regarding this subject. Near Eastern archaeologists may see themselves as being neutral, but their silence about these issues can be viewed as a political stance (Al-Quntar 2013).

Since independence in 1946 museums in Syria were managed, funded and run by the government, they were following the government's policy which was basically restricted on conserving and studying the objects. These museums, which display archaeological materials are rarely visited by local populations but this situation has never been questioned. There have been any social surveys in all these years to see why Syrians don't go to these museums. In recent years many European-Syrian projects took place to improve museums in Aleppo and Damascus. Unfortunately, these projects did nothing to increase the number of locals visiting.

Museums in Egypt are experiencing similar problems to those in Syria. Even though they are rich and interesting enough to attract the whole world, they are not a focal point in Egyptian peoples' life.

The reasons behind this might be related to the praxis of colonial archaeology based on considering the western civilization the legitimate heir to the ancient civilizations (Bahrani 1998, Liverani 2005, Roth 1998), with a clear interest in creating a cultural division between the peoples of

ancient Egypt and the significantly inferior modern Egyptians (Walker 2102). This resulted in denying Egyptians the right to be proud, inspired or united by looking at this past as their own past.

The second reason is the government practice to keep locals away from museums. For the last 30-years of Mubarak's rule, the state made little effort to make Egypt's many museums attractive destinations for the average citizens, and in addition Egyptians were often subjected to questioning when visiting these museums. After three decades of such policies many Egyptians have grown distant from their country's museums, and their ancient pre-Islamic history (ElShahed 2012). The reason for this policy might be to support the current Arab identity which was created in Egypt in around the thirties as in opposition to the Pharaonism identity which created a powerful identity narrative at the beginning of the twentieth century to gather all Egyptians regardless of their religion (Colla 2008, 273, 274) (Reid 2003, 172). Since 1952 Abdel Nasser saw Egypt to be the heart of an Arab circle. The many Egyptian presidents after him tried to follow his steps but the Islamic identity of the country prevailed in Egypt through the Islamic brotherhood party which was banned politically but was culturally active. Taking advantage of the corruption and poverty that prevailed in Mubarak's time this party succeeded in assembling a popular base. This political party saw Egypt as a Muslim country in the first place and Egyptians as Muslims first and Arabs after, excluding other Egyptians who lived in Egypt through history. After Mubarak's step down the Christian Copts were afraid of discrimination and started to immigrate out of their country.

Between post- colonial museums, colonial archaeological praxis and non-serious governmental interest to attract local people to museums and to educate them about the ancient past of their countries, the ancient past and museums in Syria and Egypt are left victims to destruction or looting in times of confusion.

Qatar is one of the seven states in the Gulf Cooperation Council. During the second half of the twentieth century, as a result of increased revenue from gas and oil production, Qatar entered a new era of development, a time of rapid transformation for both Qatar and the Qatari citizens. The remaining decade and the 2000s saw an increased focus on cultural developments to respond to the rapid changes articulated in the Qatar National Vision 2030. In 2005 Qatar museums authority was established to hold under its umbrella many high profile museums and institutions. In 2008 the Museum of Islamic Art designed by I.M.Pei was opened to the public with a rich collection considered to be one of the best in the world. A number of other museums will be open in the next few years among them the National Museum of Qatar designed by Jean Nouvel due to open in 2016. Beside museums many exhibitions and cultural project take place in Qatar to keep the cultural and artistic scene alive.



Qatar's deep investment in art, museums and culture started less than a decade ago. The preliminary results of this investment can be seen in encouraging the local talents and introduce Qatar to other cultures, though it is quit early to discuss a deeper social changes through museums.

Doha was described in 1940 as being no more than a fishing village struggling on the cost and more than half of it in ruins (Raban, 1987; Fromherz, 2012) is now transforming its money into culture. Unlike Syria and Egypt who had ignored a complex long ancient past worth to be appreciated and taught to their citizens through museums and other institutions, Qatar is trying to foster a museum culture among its citizens. Museums are trying to give a strong cultural imprint to the country and a cultural depth that suits the current modernity. These projects are opening new cultural windows to the interested locals to learn and be inspired by other cultures, and to celebrate their own heritage in new forms.

Syrian archaeological patrimony and Syrian museums are vulnerable to destruction and looting now. The Syrian people are experiencing an identity crisis, and what was a revolution became a civil war. Egypt's museums are also under the threat of looting, and Egyptian people are divided within religions.

It is clear that museums are an effective place to construct national identity since they can play a powerful role in shaping collective memory. Theoretically museums in Syria and Egypt contain ancient collections from the pre-history until the Islamic period which give them much potential to participate in building a national awareness, national identity and social integration by demonstrating that the diversity of each society is not a new arrival but a natural result of the ancient past of the country. It is important now more than ever before for museums in Syria to celebrate the diversity of the past as a mirror of the current diversity by activating their role socially. Though the question remains, can museums in such countries with limited liberty achieve this? We don't know. We should try.

It is obvious that the western model of how museums function cannot be applied completely to museums in Syria, Egypt or Qatar. However the first step for museums in these countries in order to have any role is to engage with local communities. Museums should communicate better with the local community and make them their first priority in order to foster the real importance of the museum as a source of knowledge and history. The next step is fostering civil values by working with the limited liberty they have in these countries. By doing this they will have the popular base ready to foster other values in case of any chance of having more liberty.

The social role of museums in the western perception was restricted by the UNESCO and others to the necessity of liberty and democracy. These conditions may never be achieved in the near future in certain countries. Museums and museologists working in countries like Syria and Egypt

should find adaptable forms to activate their social role in order to build a new culturally diverse identity which can show people the rich and diverse cultures that made the history of the country and illustrating that in order to be united as Syrians there is no need to be the same. On the other hand the western theory should remain as a good model to the functionality of museums and go beyond it in a way that suits the historical, social and political context of these countries.

## **Flag on the roof: Museum, national narratives and identity in Tajikistan**

### **Introduction**

The first museums in Tajikistan were established in the 1930s and were associated with the Soviet state and ideology. The oldest museums in the country - the national Museum of the Republic of The Tajikistan named after K. Behzod (founded in 1934), the Historical Museum of local lore of the city Khorog named after K. Khushkadamov (founded in 1944), and Regional historical Museum of local lore named after A. Rudaki in Penjikent (founded in 1958).

A huge role in the development of museums of the Republic played a scientific researches which were held by the Academy of Sciences. The national Museum of antiquities and the Museum of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan in Dushanbe (founded in 1934) – are well-known museum institutions.

The Museum network of Tajikistan actively developed in the 1970s and 1980s. Collecting practices, procedures, accounting and approaches to exposure practice were formed with the influence of the Soviet museological schools. The museums exist in cities, towns and villages. Biggest part of them were founded during the Soviet times by local historians and regional leaders, today they are a form of expression and consolidation of collective, local memory and ethnic identity. In the years of the Civil war and economic crisis to persist these museums has helped regional forces, which played a significant role in politics.

There are about 50 museums in Tajikistan. During the years of independence, new Museum complexes were opened in Kulyab, Dangar, Hulbuk. Today museums Gissar and Kanibadam are under reconstruction. All these projects are associated with large national projects in the field of development of the state ideology of Tajikistan.

On 20ty of March2013 during the celebration of Navruz in Dushanbe, President of the Republic of Tajikistan Emomali Rahmon has officially opened the National Museum of the Tajikistan. This event allows understanding how the idea of national culture is created and instilled in the public consciousness, politics, culture, education, how national identity is formed and what is the role of museums in the state-building process, in the establishment of an independent and stable state.

What is new in the National Museum of Tajikistan? What can you learn about modern Tajikistan through its new national Museum?

### **Museum founder and museum creators**

National museum of Tajikistan did not have a founder. It was formed in 1934 by the decree of the Soviet state government on a basis of the Exhibition of the achievements of the national economy, held in Dushanbe.

In modern official publications it is emphasized that the President not only initiated the creation of a new National Museum, but also made a significant contribution to its creation. On the official website of the President you can see that "the head of state Emomali Rahmon ... visited a number of the halls of the National Museum of Tajikistan, praised the quality of construction, the level of the technical equipment and expressed gratitude to responsible persons. However, the curators of the Museum were given instructions and useful recommendations for additional and targeted decoration, collection of historical and cultural and natural monuments, placing of exhibits"<sup>502</sup>.

In order to achieve national stability and to strengthen his own authority, the President himself acts as the chief founder of the national projects, as the initiator and the founder of the main Museum of the country - National. His huge portrait greets visitors in the spacious lobby of the Museum. In addition, office of the President in the new Palace of Nations are in front of the Museum. Of course, E. Rahmon is considered a symbol of post-war stability in Tajikistan and his power over the years is becoming more personalized. Almost in all sections of the Museum, visitor encounters the image of the President: a visit to the archaeological excavations and large construction projects, performances on the international stage and talks with the people of different regions of the country, numerous monographs of E. Rakhmon on the history of ancient and modern Tajikistan. Except Rakhmon's name you will not find other names of collectors or donors.

There is an exhibition of the presents to the President on the top floor in a separate room close to the National Emblem. This display is distinguished by expensive showcases and professional lighting. The status of the exposition emphasizes the ban on photography and special security service. "Presidential gifts" (so, not gifts to the President) is on the one hand, the goodwill of a particular person, on the other - the result of state policy, evidence of recognition and respect for Tajikistan by international community.

The novelty of the National Museum is that it obtained the image of the founder, which is the country's President. Because of the role of the founder of the National Museum, the image of the

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<sup>502</sup> <http://www.president.tj/ru/node/4143>

President as educator of the nation is enhanced, his personal contribution to the development and history of the country becomes visualized, he is endowed with the authority, which extends to the past.

### **Foundation of the museum as a political act**

Familiarity with the project of the National Museum of Tajikistan allows you to look behind the scenes of the political scene, where and ideological projects are developed. Political and scientific elite in Tajikistan actively cooperate in developing a national ideology and implementing related projects. Moreover, elite do not support any discussions and debates in society on the history of the state and the role of the titular nation.

Before the opening of the new Museum, it was transferred to the Executive office of the President. This is the only Museum in the country, directly subordinated to the President. The specially formed working group under the leadership of the President of the Republic included Ministers, parliamentarians, academics, and one expert in the field of museums - the Museum Director. Representatives of public organizations and especially the opposition forces were not invited, public discussion of the project was not carried out, the external experts were involved only for construction of the building. There was no objective to introduce a new Museum as a result of the efforts of the public, as a result of the work of civil society, although it was stressed that the authorities build it for the good of the country and the people.

The creation of the National Museum is a political act. Not accidentally, diplomats of foreign countries, representatives of national and intellectual elites were the main guests on the opening of the Museum, and the gifts of the presidents of different countries to the opening of the Museum took main place at the new exhibition.

### **The power of architecture: new building**

The main thing that is new in the National Museum of Tajikistan is building. Design and construction were supervised by the Executive office of the President, LTD Xinjiang project research Institute of light industry of China was contractor of the construction works.

Like in many socialist cities, a long wide Avenue and square are in the Central part of the city-plan of Dushanbe. All Government buildings and cultural institutions, monuments, erected in the years of Soviet power are situated here. Today they are at the periphery of a new architectural and Park complex of the capital, and the new building of the National Museum has become one of the iconic buildings of this complex. Former national Museum named after K. Behzod was located in the area with markets and shopping streets. The national Museum of antiquities is located in an area with dense Soviet buildings. In contrast, the new Museum building is monumental, stands on a

spacious, open, and is surrounded by a Park, constructed on place of the old quarters of the city. It is an architectural accent in the new prestigious environment of Dushanbe. New building is physically and stylistically separated from the Soviet buildings.

The new Museum building is a single complex with the Palace of Nations and the residence of the President. Here, among the fountains and roses, the monuments to the heroes, you could find the highest in Asia flagstaff with the flag of the Republic of Tajikistan. The objects are located on two perpendicular axes of the complex: a monument of National unity and revival with a huge statue of Ismail Samani and stele of Independence, the Palace of Nations and national Museum. In the architectural integrity of the axes - the idea of continuity: from the Samanid's state to the independent Tajikistan, from Imanol Somoni to President E. Rahmon. Ensemble is supplemented with the new National library building, and in the project there will be constructed a new building of the National theatre.

The intent is clear: to build a clear historical perspective, surprise by the scale and grandeur, to approve the original image of the oldest in Central Asia statehood to present a modern image of independent Tajikistan and its new capital. And the building of the presidential Palace - the Palace of Nations, appears in the center of the composition, in the city center, in the center of the state, in the middle of the story, as well as the personality of the President. New hotels, which are constructed nearby, are a symbol of openness to the world and availability. The space is trying to unite official practicality, everyday movement and festive activity.

Park emphasizes architectural ensemble, creates the impression of a vast public space, in which a significant place is occupied by the building of the new Museum. By order, President abandoned the construction of the fence around the Park to create a sense of introduction to a power, unity with it. As noted by architectural historians, the obvious purpose of such urban spaces is to instill respect for authority<sup>503</sup>.

The authorities of the Republic, of course, sought to create an architectural structure, which would be included in a number of extraordinary Museum buildings, affecting the economy and image of cities and countries. The Museum building has become a city and national symbol, it is touted as a symbol of the new capital. Museum building is the largest public building in the capital, and today it is a sufficient reason for many to come to the Museum. The construction of a fine building for the Museum pursued economic goals: the government is keen to develop international tourism and build objects that could become attractive to tourists. However, the work of the Museum in the tourism sector does not allow to conclude that this area is a priority.

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<sup>503</sup> Оуэн Хазерли. «На площади. В поисках общественных пространств пост-советского города» <http://postnauka.ru/longreads/20252>

When museum visitors come to the Museum they pass the alley of heroes. In 2010, a special government Commission has identified the national heroes of the country<sup>504</sup>. One expert stated "the definition of national heroes is one of the attributes of statehood. They are the basis of the ideology". Although observers believed that the definition of the heroes of modern Tajikistan may cause a lively debate in society who survived the civil war, this did not happen. The people were poorly informed about the initiative of the authorities. The Commission has identified scientists and poets, kings and military leaders of the independence fighters and leaders of the uprisings of different eras as heroes. Their busts and portraits "graced" the National library and the National Museum of Tajikistan. Their monuments were established in front of the Museum. Images of great personalities emphasize the importance of modern Tajikistan, as a state with a rich, ancient history and culture.

Neoclassical architecture and interior decor of the building enhance attention to the national history and culture. Since the nineteenth century, neoclassical architecture was considered as the most appropriate for the idea of national museums. Choosing this style, the new Museum claims a place among the largest national museums in the world. The decor of the interior of the Museum's atrium focuses on the beauty of famous frescoes of Penjikent - one of the most famous historical monuments of the country.

The new building of the National Museum of Tajikistan has obvious state symbols: its glass dome is crowned with a huge State Emblem of the Republic. Through the glass of the high Museum atrium emblem looks inside on visitors. Imbued with the bright light of day. He seems to be colored by the sun, under the rays of which you stand. The highest point of the Museum and the architectural dominant of Dushanbe is the emblem of the Republic. Every visitor should understand that the Museum is a symbol of the culture and history of Tajikistan, the highest point of which is the modern independent state.

The multiplicity of ideological meanings no longer viewed in the external appearance of the building of the Museum and its exhibitions.

### **Museum collections: the power over time and prestige**

Location of Museum collections in the new building serves as a symbol of what the state considers all these objects as a symbol of national prestige.

The Museum has the richest collection in Republic: more than 50,000 exhibits on the history, culture and nature of Tajikistan, Russia and Europe. A large part of collections is the collection of the National Museum named after K. Behzod. Several unique exhibits were taken from the National Museum of antiquities in Dushanbe and National history and local lore museum named after A.

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<sup>504</sup> [http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/international/2010/12/101227\\_tajikistan\\_heroes.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/international/2010/12/101227_tajikistan_heroes.shtml)

Rudaki (Penjikent). Collections were also widened with materials from ministries and agencies. Collection consists of many models, copies and reconstructions, which with their size and brightness sometimes overshadow the original monuments. The Museum professionals of the country did not raise the idea of the authorities to take in the new Museum's unique exhibits from other museums. This position would be evaluated by the authorities and colleagues as unpatriotic.

The desire to collect in the new Museum all best objects were shown in requirements to return the cultural heritage of Tajikistan. In 2007, there was a discussion about the initiative of the President "to take measures to return to Tajikistan from the British Museum exhibits" from Amu Darya treasure, including gold and silver of the V-IV centuries BC<sup>505</sup>. Initiative seemed Patriotic as the return of priceless antiquities back home. Despite the lack of a formal written appeal, the Board of Trustees of the British Museum responded quickly and opposed restitution, explaining that this would detract the mission of the Museum and that there are no reliable data on the exact place of the finding of the monuments, and that many Iranian-speaking countries could pretend on the collection<sup>506</sup>.

But the solution was found. In 2013, Tajikistan addressed to the British Museum with a request to make multiple copies of ancient artifacts and gave gold for their manufacture<sup>507</sup>. These copies were presented by the British Ambassador to the new National Museum in Dushanbe. Today five copies of subjects of the Amu Darya treasure are at the numismatic exhibition of the National museum. After that, the tone of discussion of the fact that Amu Darya treasure is in the collections of the British Museum has changed: the emphasis moved to the fact that the British saved the artifacts. This event is also influenced the attitude to the situation that outstanding cultural monuments of Tajikistan are preserved in museums around the world. If in the 2000s Tajik experts and officials constantly pointed to the necessity and even the duty of Russian museums to return to Tajikistan their cultural heritage objects, today they discuss the possibilities of joint exhibition and study. Therefore, it can be argued that the project of the new Museum has made a significant contribution to the comprehension and understanding of the legal basis for the interaction with various museums and cultural institutions throughout the world. Today Tajikistan's ability to provide access of their citizens to the national heritage, stored in various museums around the world is the manifestation of the power of the new independent state, its ability to monitor and preserve the past.

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<sup>505</sup> <http://news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/sokrovishcha-oksa-smozhet-li-tadzhikistan-vernut-svoe-zoloto>

<sup>506</sup> <http://www.elginism.com/similar-cases/tajikistan-wants-britain-to-return-oxus-treasure/20070406/703/>

<sup>507</sup> [http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/society/2013/02/130214\\_tajikistan\\_treasure.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/russian/society/2013/02/130214_tajikistan_treasure.shtml)



## **The Museum: the visualization of the state ideology**

The project phases are important for understanding the priorities of government: first of all – building, which is the most time-consuming and expensive part of the project, which took about three years. Then they created permanent exhibitions in existing building, which took three months. After the opening of the permanent exhibition, which was understood as the opening of the Museum – they started to equip storage areas and to locate collections there. Restoration workshops today is not yet equipped and specialists for them are not yet trained.

Exhibition is situated on four floors in 22 rooms. The total area of the permanent exhibition is over 20 thousand square meters. All exhibition rooms are of the same type, and almost do not have decoration. This is a subject oriented linear exposure created for excursions.

According to its structure this exposition is an exposition of a classical museum of local lore. The Director of the National Museum Abduvali Sharipov believes that this structure has proven itself over many years and is the most effective. Soviet scientific traditions have greatly influenced the formation of the ideology of independent Tajikistan, therefore, the model of the Soviet regional museum with its clear thematic and chronological sequence of exposures is perceived as most relevant to the objectives of the new Museum.

The hierarchy of exhibition is from the bottom up to the top is obvious: from the Department of nature in the basement tour ascends to the first floor to the exhibition "From the stone age to the eighth century, and then passes to the exhibition "From the Samanid period to contemporary history" on the second floor, then to the exposition of fine and applied art. Tour around the Museum ends with the exhibition of gifts to the President, which is adjacent to a huge emblem on the dome of the atrium.

The Department of nature is situated in the basement. Linear exposition shows samples of minerals, flora and fauna of the Republic, talks about the state of conservation and use of natural resources of the country. The fact that this exhibition is not significant for the museum could be understood because of the fact that still there are no labels for the objects. Some interactivity gives the model of the cave of bear with stuffed animals. Most of the exhibits were donated by various ministries, agencies and institutions that were responsible for the development and creation of the exhibition. New addition in comparison with exposure to nature in the old national Museum was the addition of paleontological collection and creation of a copy of a skeleton of a mammoth. Judging from expository texts, the exhibition aims to demonstrate the natural uniqueness and richness of Tajikistan, as a resource for sustainable development.

After visiting the hall of nature visitors are encouraged to climb higher on the floors, which presents a rich collection of the Museum of the history of Tajikistan. Archaeological and historical part of the exhibition occupies the largest area in the new Museum, presenting exhibits eras "of primitive society, dynasties of Pescadito, Achaemenid, Kosintsev, Hephthalites, the tahirids, Saffarids, Samanids, and later centuries, the Soviet period and the era of state independence of Tajikistan".

The historical section is based on three themes that form the basis of the official state ideology of Tajikistan, the authorship of which is attributed to the President E. Rahmon: Zoroastrianism, the cult of Ismail Somoni and historical heritage of the Samanids, the Aryan civilization. The President organized in the country a number of major celebrations to promote these ideological projects: a celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the Samanid Empire (2001), 3000 anniversary of Zoroastrian civilization (2003), the celebration of the 2700th anniversary of Kulob, native region of E. Rahmon (2006), the year of celebration of Aryan civilization (2006) and the independence day celebration (1998).

All holidays and ideological projects noted cultural contribution of Tajiks in Persian and Turkish culture, or, as mentioned, in mentioned civilizations. Tajik scientists and the President himself wanted to build a system of historical evidence of these anniversaries.

In its national projects, the government has sought to reduce the role of Islam and the Islamic opposition in politics, to strengthen the position of the secular state and presidential power. E. Rahmon accused radical religious forces instigating war in 1992. In his opinion, the separation of religion from politics is a guaranteed path to stability. In his book "Tajikistan on the threshold of the 21st century", he argues that "for the purposes of preservation of peace in Tajikistan, there is no need for religious ideology, which contains the risk of abrupt, catastrophic changes in people's lives"<sup>508</sup>. The Constitution and laws of Tajikistan define the country as a secular state, thereby freeing up domestic and foreign policy from the influence of religion.

This attitude to religion, in particular Islam, clearly realized in the exposition of the National Museum: the topics of religion, are in the context of archaeological sites and talk mainly about Zoroastrianism and Buddhism. Religion does not fit the model of the national ideology of modern Tajikistan, it is referred to the past.

In the hall of archaeology a special section dedicated to Zoroastrianism was created, and drawings and reconstruction dominate there. E. Rahmon has repeatedly pointed out the importance of Zoroastrianism in the history of the country. This was necessary to limit the political role of Islam

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<sup>508</sup> Emomali Rakhmonov, *Tadjikistan na paroge XXI veka* [Tajikistan at the Threshold of the XXI Century], Dushanbe: Sharq ozod, 2001, pp 50-51, p. 6.

in politics. In 2003 at the initiative of the President and with the support of UNESCO Tajikistan celebrated 3000 years of Zoroastrian civilization. The Tajik government and UNESCO have jointly published a collection of articles "From the Song of Zarathustra to the melodies of Borbad" with an introductory article by E. Rahmon "Tajikistan is the birthplace of Zoroaster, As the First prophet of Justice"<sup>509</sup>. But the activities of the government in promoting the heritage of Zoroastrianism and the proof of its direct connection with the modern identity of Tajiks was not successful. One explanation is the lack of a rich visual image and scientific base. The Museum exposition is intended to fill in the gaps in the Zoroastrian project. Although it ignores scientific debate, but the fact of its existence, says the official version of the interpretation of the Genesis of Zoroastrianism and its relationship with the Tajik identity.

Special hall in the Department of archaeology presents a reconstruction of a Buddhist monastery of VII-early VIII century, which was situated on the hill of Ajina Tepa, together with a copy of the lying Buddha, modeled from clay 1600 years ago. It is the largest in the world clay statue of the Buddha and one of the most ancient monuments of Buddhism. After its finding near the city of Kurgan-Tyube in 1964-1968, the statue was carefully restored by Tajik and Russian restorers and housed at the National Museum of antiquities of Tajikistan. This project, as well as work on the study and restoration of monuments of Penjikent had a large part in the development of humanitarian cooperation of the Russian Federation and Tajikistan. Recognition of the results of such cooperation was a powerful argument in discussing the transmission of the original statue of the lying Buddha and other collections of the National Museum of antiquities of the Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan in the new national Museum. Historians and restorers defended the idea of the integrity of the collections of the National Museum of antiquities, and that is why copy is made of the lying Buddha was prepared for the new museum.

Islam is presented by a collection of fourteen handwritten Korans of the XVI - XIX centuries. During the excursion emphasis is made on the antiquity of the written tradition in Tajikistan and on the authorities ' efforts to protect such monuments, efforts to purchase new objects for the new Museum. The Mehrab Iskandarani from Sassanid era of the XI-XII centuries is exhibited as a special value, discovered in Samarkand region in 1925, the Mehrab was assembled from 300 items, and it is more than 100 species of ornament and kufi inscription - the phrase from Muhammad. However, Islamic symbols and text are ignored in the interpretation of this monument, the focus is made on it, as on the monument to the Sassanid era, the area detection which is outside the Republic. The logo of

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<sup>509</sup> «Из Песни Заратустра к мелодиям Борбад». Душанбе, 2003.

the Museum is ornamental receptacle from this monument, which symbolizes the connection of Tajiks from the ancient state formations of Central Asia.

Islam is derived beyond the history of modernity. In a small section dedicated to peace talks to end the civil war of 1992-1997., Islamic leaders can be seen only in photos next to the President, but their names are not specified. This theme of Islam on display exhausted, although the Museum's collection allow expanding it. The explanation of this situation can be found in the works of E. Rahmon, where he sought to downplay the role of the Islamic opposition enhance the value of the secular power<sup>510</sup>.

Ismail Somoni and historical heritage of the Samanids are among main themes of the historical section of the exhibition. The government for many years creates a vivid image of the era of the Samanids (819 - 1005) in the public mind. It was a period when Tajiks politically dominated in the Central Asian region and when the ancient traditions of the statehood of the Tajiks were formed. In 2001 in the center of Dushanbe a monument of "National unity and revival" with a huge statue of Ismail Samani was constructed in celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the Samanid Empire. In his speeches and books, the President has repeatedly stated that "the time of the Samanids is the Golden age of Tajiks", and that study and glorification of this era helps to unite Tajiks. Parallels between the state of Samanids and modern processes of state-building in Tajikistan are stressed in works of E. Rahmon. He believes that stability helped the Samanid dynasty to overcome the external pressure, and that the Samanids idea of the Tajik state prevailed in the national consciousness of the Tajiks for centuries. Although the project was subjected to intense academic criticism outside of Tajikistan, it became the basis of the national ideology of the unification of the nation and is widely presented at the exhibition of the National Museum.

The theme of the Aryan civilization also vividly revealed on the historical part of the exhibition. The history of the Aryans and Tajiks as their direct historical and cultural heirs is Central to the ideology of independent Tajikistan. E. Rahmon says: "the Word "Tajik" is a synonym for the word "Aryan" means "generous and noble". In the modern Tajik language, this word means "crowned" and "peace loving people"<sup>511</sup>. Many researchers define this component of the state ideology of Tajikistan as the "Aryan myth". However, the academic elite supported the idea, and President has ensured its spread in society through its own publications and presentations, publications, and national celebrations. This policy is similar to policy of the President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev to create visual images of the epic hero Manas and the celebration of the 1000-year anniversary of this epic in Kyrgyzstan.

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<sup>510</sup> Erica Marat. National Ideology and State-building in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. NW, Washington, D.C. 2006, p.8-10

<sup>511</sup> Rakhmonov E., Tajik People in the Reflection of the History, Irfon, 1999. p. 100.

Aryan idea as part of the ideology helped to consolidate the public sector before the presidential elections of 2006, but in this interpretation it was not adopted by other States of Central Asia. Therefore, E. Rahmon, developing Aryan topic, started to indicate the uniqueness of Tajikistan, to emphasize the antiquity of the state tradition of Tajiks and to indicate their cultural superiority among the other nations of Central Asia, to build ties between Tajikistan and the European civilization. Aryan theory and activities to celebrate the year of the Aryan culture helped the separation of the Islamic opposition from the government, the marginalization of the role of Islam in national ideology. Arian ideology appeared as an alternative to Islam.

The idea of Aryan identity of Tajiks places them among modern Nations and ethnic groups, whose connection with the Aryan civilization are more obvious. This idea helps to build links with the peoples of Iran, India, Afghanistan and Pakistan, with Tajiks living in the countries of Central Asia and Afghanistan. Recognition of Aryan identity of Tajiks allows to include them in a large number of civilizations, including the European, to improve the image of Tajikistan in the world. At the same time, stressing Aryan heritage, Tajikistan maintains its own unique identity at the regional level in Central Asia. Interpretation of the Aryan civilization in Tajikistan has its own ethno-nationalist character: Aryan civilization opposes to the powerful commitment of Uzbekistan to take the place of the regional leader of the Turkic peoples.

Numerous colorful maps of Tajikistan are opening different sections of the exposition of the National Museum and illustrate the idea of "Great or Large Tajikistan" or "Historical Tajikistan". A similar map was created on pedestal of the statue of Imomali Somoni. This idea is based on works of academicians N. Negmatova and B. Gafurov, and could be found in all post-Soviet reconstruction of national history of Tajikistan. According to this theory, the current territory of the Republic does not match the history of the nation, because the key historical city of the Samanids, Bukhara and Samarkand are located in Uzbekistan. The separation of these cities from the Tajik Soviet socialist Republic in the late 1920s, is perceived negatively, as well as its modern implications. Territorial disputes continue in Central Asia. Tajikistan has a border conflict with Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan. Therefore, it is so important to presenting them on display in the Museum, because this helps to legalize and historically to justify their claims to the public.

The state's position is not unique: as all States of Central Asia, Tajikistan is trying to demonstrate that the country has been situated at the crossroads of great civilizations, providing a basis for many of them, explaining the unique national identity of its own wealth of history and culture. The state at the National Museum emphasizes its antiquity and argues that Tajiks are one of the most ancient peoples in the world, pointing to the superiority of Tajiks in front of other peoples of the region.

All these ideas are visibly manifested in the historical sections of the exposition of the National Museum. Its exhibition halls present portraits of rulers and scientists, monuments, works of decorative and applied art, documents and manuscripts from the early middle ages to the present day, conducting a direct historical connection between the Samanid Empire and modern independent Tajikistan. Exhibition texts written in clear affirmative tone. It is this interpretation of national history is recognized as Patriotic as any objection it is considered unpatriotic and even anti-state position.

### **What you can not find in the New museum?**

Visitors of the National Museum, of course, will be surprised, because they will not find the ethnographic exhibitions, although the Museum has a unique collection of Ethnography of Tajiks from all regions of the country. Museum named after K. Behzod had exhibitions of the Ethnography of Tajiks in general without any showing regional features. Different peoples of Tajikistan (including Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Gypsies, Germans and Slavic peoples) were not represented not only at exhibitions, but even in collections. The aim never was to gather a collection of the culture of other peoples of the Republic. Focusing the attention of the national ideology on the culture of the titular nation and complete disregard of national minorities, - that was the General trend of the Museum of Ethnography in many post-Soviet States. However, if in Soviet times, ethnographic collections and national culture was seen as a relic of the past, exposure to these materials was located just behind the archaeological section of the history of the middle ages, but today the reason is different.

Overview of Museum exhibits do not allows you to see one of the fundamental ideas of modern culture - the idea of a common, shared cultural heritage. All material is interpreted as the achievements and heritage of the Tajik people and their ancestors in the past and present. Local and ethnic diversity of Tajiks, their interaction with other peoples of Tajikistan and Central Asia - is a complex issue, containing many historical and contemporary contradictions. In the new Museum it is ignored completely. But there is a Museum of Ethnography in Dushanbe, which is operated as a Department of the Institute of history, archaeology and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan. However, this Museum as well represents only Tajik culture.

Many topics of the national development and interaction of peoples of the Republic are ignored the new National Museum, because there is no understanding of the necessity of their lighting in a Museum. Among these are the issue of the deported peoples. Indeed, in the 1930-40's, about 38,000 adults were deported to Tajikistan from various regions of the USSR, among them were Russians, Chechens, Germans, Crimean Tatars and representatives of other Nations. The actual migration of the modern population of the Republic also is not represented at the exhibition. This

illustrates ethno-centrist approaches in the state ideology, when all the history and culture of the country is limited to the history and culture of the titular nation in the country. Despite the fact that the Tajik Constitution gives equal rights and freedoms to all nations of the country, in practice there is a strict priority of the titular nation. As in Soviet times, Tajik nation is associated the idea of the state territory, the territory of the "Great Tajikistan", the idea of sovereignty. This has become a factor in the legitimacy of the titular nation in the country.

*The art of achievements.* Next to the exhibition of presents to the President, it is possible to find halls of the fine arts. Museum tells that the idea to present the exhibition the art of European countries and Russia has not been approved, although the Museum has an interesting and little known collection of Western and Russian fine arts, transferred to Tajikistan in the 1930s from various Central museums of the Russian Federation. On the recommendation of the President only works Tajik artists of the twentieth century and contemporary authors are exhibited there. Argument in favor of this decision was the desire to present the achievements of Tajikistan. This exhibition examined the latest and leaves no doubt that the focus is in the Museum exclusively on the culture of Tajiks of Tajikistan, on the achievements and victories.

This is the common problem for National museums - how to balance national heritage and foreign. National Museum of Tajikistan it has been resolved it in favor of the national. It is time for national art and culture, which matches and national ideology in the construction of an independent state. The new Museum is more nationalistic and ideological one than its predecessor - the Museum named after K. Behzod. Any Western or Russian culture even do not become the object of exposure. All collections, which present different cultures were formed in Soviet times, today they are similar to the trophies of the past era. The main task of the new Museum was the idea of the titular nation of the country.

Contemporary art of Tajikistan is not the subject of special attention of the museum. It is the focus of separate funds and private collectors, including members of the ruling elites and representatives of capital. Certainly, the study of contemporary art in the CIS countries is an interesting area for fruitful special analysis.

### **Conclusion**

The opening of the new National Museum is a successful stage in the development of national ideology of Tajikistan and the formation of its independence and sovereignty. An ambitious goal is to present the national ideology of the country, it has s been realized. The idea of the new National Museum has become a logical continuation of the work of the ruling elite to strengthen the independence of the state, the formation of the unity and loyalty of the population, strengthening the

legitimacy and stability of the ruling elite. From this point of view they have built ideal Museum: it has its own building, a rich collection, extensive exposure and is intended for inspection by the public.

Museum of Tajikistan shall not be understood only as an institution of culture and history, but as a scientific discipline. Understanding of national history, its representation in the Museum is a public and political priority. The Museum, as a political project, based on carefully selected and compiled historical materials, which, according to its creators, ensure the stability and put it beyond criticism. Developing a national ideology, Tajikistan has created new meanings, found historical analogies and metaphors to prove their positions and increase the legitimacy of the ruling government. National history, presented in the Museum, is regarded as the only correct interpretation of the past and is defined as the official national ideology.

On example of the National Museum it could be seen that Tajikistan, like all post-Soviet States of Central Asia, present history only as history of their own country and does not extend beyond state borders. Exposure accentuate cultural superiority and significance of the titular nation, completely ignoring the other nationalities. This interpretation is considered by many Tajik scientists and experts as a patriotic mission. Tajikistan, like any other Central Asian country, does not repeat in its interpretation of history approaches of neighboring countries.

The Museum is a journey into the past of the country. An important feature of the ideology of all States of Central Asia in the post-Soviet period is their attention to the past. This contrasts sharply with the former Soviet ideological projects that were based on predicting the future, asserted steady progress to unite the country and strengthen the loyalty of the population to the authorities. In contrast, the ideology of the post-Soviet Tajikistan found energy and inspiration in the past. History and experience of the USSR largely excluded from the attention of the political elite. In the Museum the Soviet period in the history of Tajikistan is presented compactly: major construction projects, achievements in culture and education and the gallery of heroes of the Great Patriotic war.

The example of the National Museum of Tajikistan shows that with the support of the ruling elite the ideas of nationalism and ethno-centrism can be widely and effectively disseminated in the society. The state using the National Museum is able to configure historical background, identifying facts, events, and personalities that create a positive image of the state and national unity, without fear of risks of fraud and historical mythology.

The question remains: can such Museum, which ignores civil society, but materializes national ideology, become the application of Tajikistan for the international recognition of the presented historical interpretations and state ideologies?

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The article represents the point of view of the observer. I do not speak the national languages of Central Asia, and this work wouldn't be possible without participation and help of my colleagues in Dushanbe, Kulyab, Penjikent, Khujand, Khorog, Farore, Istravshan, Isfara, Hissar, Konibodom, Tashkent, Samarkand, Bukhara, Osh, Bishkek and Almaty, who helped with translations, discussions, debates and arguments in favor of different opinions. For this my love and gratitude.

**„Heimatstuben“ – eine Besonderheit in der deutschen Museumslandschaft  
"Heimatstuben" - Cultural Homeland Collections of Expellees as a special kind  
of German Museums**

Topic of this lecture is a special feature in the international museum scene. There are namely in Germany - and in lesser numbers in Austria - several hundred institutions that are dedicated to the cultural heritage of the former German-speaking inhabitants of Eastern Europe.

After the end of World War 2 those territories of the German Empire east of the rivers Oder and Neisse were separated from Germany and placed under Polish and Soviet administration. There lived various national minorities, such as Polish or Lithuanian people. But the great majority of the inhabitants were Germans. Towards the end of the Second World War, many of these people fled the approaching Red Army from East and West Prussia, Pomerania and Silesia to the west. Most of those German residents who still remained there were, after the war, resettled in the occupied zones, which had created the victors. From this expulsion over 9 million people were affected.

But not only in the eastern parts of Germany many German used to live. In many other areas of eastern and southeastern Europe, there were German settlements. This arose not only in the course of Nazi expansionism. But they had mostly a centuries-long history.

1937 lived in what was then

Poland	2,400.000 German people
Czechoslovakia	3,500.000
Hungary	550.000
Romania	500.000
Yugoslavia	440.000
Baltic States and Memel-Area	100.000
all together around	7,500.000 people <sup>512</sup> .

Also in the USSR there were major settlements of the Germans, especially on the Volga (1900 approximately 400,000) and the Black Sea (in 1900 approximately 300,000). 1939 lived a total of 860,000 Germans here. The story of their migrations before, during and after the Second World

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<sup>512</sup> Prinz, Friedrich: Die Integration der Flüchtlinge und Vertriebenen in Bayern. Versuch einer Bilanz nach 55 Jahren. Augsburg 2000, S. 25 (Hefte zur Bayerischen Geschichte und Kultur 24).

War is complicated. Already before the war, many were considered and oppressed as potential collaborators with the Nazis. After the invasion of the German army in the Soviet Union in 1941 was the German minority, which had remained in the sphere of influence of the Russian government, mostly deported under inhuman conditions in the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. They came mainly to Kazakhstan, Siberia and the Urals. Up to hundred thousand people are estimated to have died mainly because of poor working, living or medical conditions. Until 1950, but also reached about 50,000 of them the Federal Republic of Germany and about 5000 the former German Democratic Republic<sup>513</sup>.

During the flight and expulsion of about 7.9 million people so came after the second world war from all of these areas to the Federal Republic of Germany, over 4 million to the German Democratic Republic, 370,000 to Austria and 115,000 in other countries.

The circumstances of these relocations were often inhumane. The economic problems that arose for both the displaced and the host countries were enormous. But this is not the topic of this lecture. And also not the political causes of displacement, which often by former national tensions were preceded. By the Nazi "General Plan East"<sup>514</sup>, of 1940/1942 for resettlement or extermination of the Slavic population in annexed territory hatred and anger had been kindled on all Germans in this area, so that the expulsion was often seen as a just punishment.

Instead, it is about the phenomenon that is reminiscent of the cultural heritage of the Germans from all these areas until today in Germany in numerous museum facilities of different kinds.

At the state level there is for most of the regions mentioned a so-called Regional Museum ["Landesmuseum"]. These are mostly operated by the federal government, a state and part of a municipality. The legal basis for this is the 1953 adopted Federal Displaced Persons Act (BVFG). Its § 96 commits federal and state governments for the care of the inheritance of displaced persons and refugees and to promote scientific research<sup>515</sup>.

For the region of West Prussia the West Prussian Regional Museum in Münster-Wolbeck was created in 1975 (it has since moved to Warendorf, where it is re-opened in late 2014), for East Prussia in 1987 the East Prussian State Museum in Lüneburg. The Silesian regional and cultural

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<sup>513</sup> Geschichte der Russlanddeutschen [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte\\_der\\_Russlanddeutschen#Deportationen](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geschichte_der_Russlanddeutschen#Deportationen) (letzter Aufruf 7.8.2014).

<sup>514</sup> [http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Generalplan\\_Ost](http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Generalplan_Ost)

<sup>515</sup> „Bund und Länder haben entsprechend ihrer durch das Grundgesetz gegebenen Zuständigkeit das Kulturgut der Vertriebungsgebiete in dem Bewusstsein der Vertriebenen und Flüchtlinge, des gesamten deutschen Volkes und des Auslandes zu erhalten, Archive, Museen und Bibliotheken zu sichern, zu ergänzen und auszuwerten sowie Einrichtungen des Kunstschaffens und der Ausbildung sicherzustellen und zu fördern. Sie haben Wissenschaft und Forschung bei der Erfüllung der Aufgaben, die sich aus der Vertreibung und der Eingliederung der Vertriebenen und Flüchtlinge ergeben, sowie die Weiterentwicklung der Kulturleistungen der Vertriebenen und Flüchtlinge zu fördern. Die Bundesregierung berichtet jährlich dem Bundestag über das von ihr Veranlasste.“ Zitiert nach: [http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/bvfg/\\_96.html](http://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/bvfg/_96.html) (letzter Aufruf 13.10.2014).

history is represented since 1983 in the Upper Silesian Museum in Ratingen-Hoesel and since 2006 in the Silesian Museum in Görlitz. For the region of Pomerania, the Pomeranian State Museum was founded in 1996 in Greifswald. The regions of South Eastern Europe to document the Transylvanian Museum since 1991 in Gundel home and the Danube Swabian Museum since 2000 in Ulm. The Czech lands (now the Czech Republic) are not yet represented by an overarching regional Museum. A Sudeten German Museum for it is in the construction phase and is scheduled to open in a few years in Munich. There is also the East German Gallery in Regensburg. This is an art museum with an over-regional order and has a special position among the activities supported under § 96 BVFG museums. It was opened in 1970 and 1993, after extensive renovation of the building, considerably expanded.

Germans culture from Eastern Europe is reflected also in many other state and municipal museums. It may be small departments in a city museum, or even large independent exhibitions as a branch of a National Museum, such as the exhibition "It was a country. ... Collection for Regional Studies East and West Prussia "in the Old Castle Schleissheim near Munich.

In addition to these museums with state or municipal ownership is now a large number of "home collections". What is this? Institutions with very heterogeneous structure!

Almost always it is a combination of museum exhibition, archive, library, office and meeting room. However, the individual elements can be weighted very differently.

The word "home collection" or "Heimatstube" today is used in the German language almost exclusively for devices of this type with regard to the expellees. "Stube" means today in everyday German a cozy, intimate living room (compare engl. snuggery: a Snug cozy place). "Heimatstube" is thus a space in which one deals in familiar surroundings with the old country. Sometimes these institutions also are named "local museum" or "home archive". As a cross-designation in the literature today has the word "home collection" established.

In the first years after the expulsion of such homeland collections was not thinking of the device. First, there were more pressing problems to solve: families torn apart would find themselves together, living room had to be procured, new employment opportunities had to be found and similar existential questions had to be solved<sup>516</sup>. First Homeland Collections of the Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia were created in 1950 in Erlangen (for Brüx in Bohemia), in 1952 in Vienna and 1954 in Passau (both for the Bohemian Forest). Other foundations followed in many cities and towns in the whole federal territory. It is estimated that today there are more than 500 such facilities<sup>517</sup>. Its

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<sup>516</sup> Heinrich Kuhn: Sudetendeutsche Heimatsammlungen: Museen, Archive, Galerien, Bibliotheken, Heimatstuben, Privatsammlungen. Hg. vom Sudetendeutschen Archiv. 2. erw. Neuaufl. München 1985, S. 5

<sup>517</sup> <http://www.bkge.de/heimatsammlungen/index.html> (letzter Aufruf 7.8.2014).

peak the development, however, is already exceeded, although again once a new home collection is established.

Founded and operated are homeland collections of interested expellees who were there to keep mementos of the old home and present it to the public. The size, importance and professionalism of museums they did not achieve mostly. However, this was not their primary concern. The homeland collections should on the one hand show the people in the new home that the expellees were not without culture or history, even if they had lost most of their material possessions. Above all, they should be for the members of their own group a place of belonging, where to they could insure their own identity. The homeland collections are thus an important element of the culture of memory and fulfill a social function, which was both the preservation of one's own group identity and the integration of displaced persons in society conducive.

The homeland collections were and are places where traditions are maintained. One used to meet old friends there, swapped memories, sang old songs, used old (but mostly newly created) costumes, serving traditional pastries etc. This was ideologically suspect temporarily, because such preservation of traditions sometimes was suspected revanchist intentions. A book about the expellees' associations, which had appeared in the German Democratic Republic in 1984, as had also the significant title "Crusaders in costumes - Organized revanchism and its makers."<sup>518</sup> But even in the West, the country team union activities were considered not only with sympathy<sup>519</sup>.

Their social functions lose the homeland collections increasingly. But they also have serious documentary features. Because they have mostly also extensive book collections on the history of the home region, and especially archival material. This includes local chronicles, eyewitness reports, church records, stock photographs, maps and much more, which is otherwise nowhere to be found.

The in the homeland collections existing museal artefacts were extensive only in the course of time. Because it was not a lot what one could originally take from the old country: a few belongings for everyday use, rarely a few personal mementos that could be well hidden carried during the expulsion. But much has been since the 1960s, when travel to their homeland once again became possible, often brought on adventurous ways and not without danger from there and put the homeland collections available. Individual pieces were acquired in trade and private estates were left to homeland collections. Large increase then caused the fall of the Iron Curtain after 1989 because now were traveling in the old home possible with no difficulties. And it could now often memorabilia be taken to their new home with the explicit approval of the new residents of these

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<sup>518</sup> Werner Flach u. Christa Kouschil: Kreuzritter in Trachten. Organisierter Revanchismus und seine Macher. Leipzig, Jena, Berlin 1984

<sup>519</sup> Erich Später: Kein Friede mit Tschechien. Die Sudetendeutschen und ihre Landsmanschaft. Hamburg 2005

areas and the competent authorities. Today, there are a number of homeland collections, which can be described as a "museum" quite rightly. But even these are to this day a particular conglomerate of office, meeting place, archives, library and museum. A particular problem of the existing museum material is that it is not always authentic material, but also replicas that are not designated as such are - and are often not even recognized as such by the current maintainers.

What this kind of local museums still distinguishes of professionally conducted museums, is its special atmosphere and the personal approach of the visitors. Supervisors there very individual present visitors the museum collections. The direct access to the objects and the personal narratives of caregivers provide here a very special access to the exhibited pieces.

Most homeland collections today have also big problems. Some of these will be discussed briefly here:

### **1. Problem of aging**

To call in the first place is the age structure of the supervisor. The care of home collections is generally done by more or less honorary members of the first generation of expellees. Younger people, however, are hardly to attract and retain for this activity. However, a slight change has here the use of computers brought into the homeland collections, be it in the inventory, in the design of web sites or in the historical family research: Here it sometimes succeeds, again to attract younger agent. But mostly succession is hardly in sight.

### **2. Conservation problems**

Significantly are the conservation problems in many collections. Even though awareness of the problem seems to have grown in recent years, one encounters but still a pretty naive handling of the exhibits. Windows without sunscreen, densely superimposed exhibits, even nailed labels with object labels are not uncommon even today. Sometimes this is even a well-intentioned, but not hazardous under certain circumstances self-help when problems arise, such as the reckless use of agents for pest control.

### **3. Problem of documentation**

A perennial favorite among the problems is also often missing or poorly implemented documentation of exhibition and archival material. Many homeland collections have inventory lists or simple flashcards. However, a systematic inventory, which also meets scientific standards, is still the exception. At Sudeten Germans Archive about 50 such inventory records are stored. That's a lot, but the difference in quality between the individual collections is enormous, and hardly a collection is really inventoried 100 percent. There is thus still a wide field of tasks.

#### **4. Problems of Presentation**

The homeland collections see themselves as historical museums. Often, however, all exhibits that one has will be randomly shown, and the mediation of historical contexts hardly comes to bear and is left to the supervisor for guided tours. This mania for everything, but really have to show everything you have, not least due to the expectations of donors and lenders who want to see displayed their objects and let them not vanish in a museums depot.

Such forms of presentation of some homeland collections have but certainly decisive role in the low public acceptance. Some acts on outsiders dusty, old fashioned, or even ridiculous and repulsive. For a contemporary, meaningful presentation usually lack the resources, but often also the will to part with too highly estimated things.

These few examples of the concrete problems of homeland collections should sufficient for now. For it was in the past few years, with brought also some progress.

Some caregivers of home collections had maintained since the 1960s in touch with residents of the old homeland, especially to the relevant archives, museums and churches. This bridge could be perceived reinforced during the period of policy of detente of the 1970s. After the fall of the Iron Curtain and the full opening of borders after 1989 developed also from among the homeland collections out more cross-border contacts and initiatives. These include, for example, the renovation of churches and cemeteries in the old country or partnerships with local clubs. Also joint exhibition projects are carried out. Even bi-lingual exhibition boards can be seen in home offices, which would have been unthinkable during the Cold War.

Not infrequently are also reciprocal visits by representatives of the communities. Here many friendly relations have emerged, including both the representatives of the municipalities and the expellees. Some examples from the work from homeland collection Kunewald in the city of Leimen are called to do so. Kunewald is a small town in North Moravia (Kuhländchen). The supervisor of the small home office had visited the now Kunín called town regularly since the 1960s. In a documentation of the homeland collection the dismal state of the local cemetery in 1965 is the state after the joint renovation 1998 compared.

1994, a friendship agreement between the cities of Leimen and Kunín was closed. That same year, the supervisor of the home homeland collection was made an honorary citizen of the Czech town. That this is not unique and short-lived euphoria had sprung is shown by the fact that 16 years later, the wife of this maintainer was also awarded the honorary citizenship in 2010. 1997 a Czech delegation visited the home homeland collection in Leimen and was welcomed there very friendly.

This caregiver also received in 2012 by our association, the Association for the cultural home collections, an award for his important cross-border work<sup>520</sup>.

But this small success story should not obscure the fact that many homeland collections a very uncertain future look forward to. What problems are on site, I have already briefly explained.

But what does the future hold for the homeland collections?

Some homeland collection will not survive the next few years. At least then, if no supervisor is on site and the municipality shows no interest in their preservation, the dissolution is imminent. The contents of home homeland collection then, if everything is done well regulated, will be taken over by a local museum or archives or of central facilities such as our planned Sudeten Germans Museum and the Archives at the Bavarian State Archives in Munich. Such handovers happened at several occasions in recent years. It is a good solution, because the stocks are then continues for exhibitions and research available.

This solution is, however, only be sought if the preservation of the collection at the actual location really is no longer possible. Precedence over the resolution has the receipt of the collection. There are various assistances from authorities, regional museums and the homelands traditional organizations.

For the Sudeten Germans homeland collections here as an important way is expert advice of the supervisors on site. This applies, for example, issues of inventory or conservation problems. In addition, once a year there is a symposium for caregivers organized with financial support of the federal government and the state of Bavaria. There also particularly successful supervisors of the collections will be awarded with a certificate. This honor is a valuable tool to get the motivation for future work. The results of the meetings also are published in a conference documentation<sup>521</sup>.

Many cities and municipalities help homeland collections in that they provide them with the exhibition rooms free of charge. This is for most home offices an essential prerequisite for their further existence.

Government agencies support the homeland collections by the respective museum authorities in the form of professional advice and sometimes even financial support.

Mentioned in particular here is also a larger project that was conducted by the University of Kiel, Department of European Ethnology and the Federal Institute of Culture and History of the Germans in Eastern Europe in Oldenburg. Its aim was a comprehensive documentation of home collections in Germany. The result is so far an online database with information on hundreds of

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<sup>520</sup> Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv SDA Heimatberichte 1742.

<sup>521</sup> Klaus Mohr (Bearbeiter): Dokumentation der Facharbeitstagung sudetendeutscher Heimatsammlungen 2008-2013 (Mitteilungsblatt der Sudetendeutschen Landsmannschaft 2008-2013)



home collections (<http://www.bkge.de/heimatsammlungen>). In cooperation with this project there are also documentations in printed form, which have been published by the Museum offices of individual federal states. One example is the book about the homeland collections in Bavaria<sup>522</sup>.

It is a definite development to observe from the old "Heimatstuben" towards modern designed "homeland museums". The function of the homeland collections as a meeting of like-minded is decreasing with the demographic change in significance. The trend is towards the establishment of local museums with didactic and historical treatment of the history. A separate department dedicated to the fate of the former Jewish neighbours is in the Plan-Weseritzer Heritage Museum - a long time taboo subject. The Kaltenbacher "Heimat.Museum" is completely bilingual German and Czech labeled - another novelty with a clear objective direction toward mutual understanding. And the Museum of Musical Instruments in Bubenreuth is dedicated to the international nature of this rebuilt after the expulsion of Schönbacher music instrument industry.

The home collections of the expellees have arisen as a result of the policy during the Second World War and the postwar period. They have responded to the political developments and trends of the post-war period. They have fulfilled an important social and cultural role for their clientele. And they have, if it is possible to secure their future, to find new forms of presentation and - most importantly - younger junior staff for the care to win, still the potential for cross-border and unifying initiatives. Although in some "Heimatstube" an outdated view of history is still taught, so the tendency is in the newly established "homeland museums" unmistakably present, to represent the old homeland as common homeland of Germans and Czechs. They can then - despite all the problems - at local and regional level continue to work for a peaceful and founded on mutual understanding future in Europe.

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<sup>522</sup> Michael Henker (Hg.), Christine Schmid-Egger (Red. Bearb.): Die Heimatsammlungen Bayern der Sudeten- und Ostdeutschen in Bayern. München 2009.

## **Draft Concept of cultural policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan - first experience**

The draft Concept of cultural policy is currently under active consideration in the public space of Kazakhstan. This document appeared for the first time in the history of our country. Therefore, the fact of its occurrence itself is very important and shows a lot. First of all, it testifies that Kazakhstan has achieved certain progress in economic, political, social development, and with these successes we came to understanding of the importance, significance of culture sphere as one of the main indicators of social well-being.

In the modern global world only the culture gives a hope for the preservation of the unique diversity of national languages, images, traditions; only the culture allows us to reflect on and evaluate the ongoing events. The culture accumulates the spiritual values and generates positive ideas for the successful development of the human community.

Today the development of culture and cultural potential is among the key priorities of the development of many of the peoples and countries of the world (1).

The culture is the single area that really ensures consolidation of the society on a positive and constructive basis of the cultural identity of the people.

A modern approach to understanding of the culture leads to the formation of a new socio-cultural environment within which creative activity becomes one of the main factors in the success of individual, business and state: creativity and competitiveness come to the forefront. The culture ensures the preservation of traditional moral values, fosters mutual confidence between people, shapes the consciousness of the individual and society in line with civil responsibility and spiritual liaison of generations and, therefore, becomes an important component part of the economy development, an attractive investment area for the business initiatives.

Today it is vital to develop a deeper understanding of the role of culture within the context of global competition. The world experience confirms that the successful development of the country depends not only on the augmentation of the economic capital, but also on social capital, emerging on the basis of cultural experience, values, i.e. cultural capital. The state cultural policy elaborated on the basis of national idea and principles of the Kazakhstan patriotism plays crucial role in this.

The cultural policy is the fundamental ideological platform of each successful state, forming the main spiritual guidelines for the society and constructive start of the individual. The vitality of any cultural policy is dictated by their rational goals and objectives defined by the vision of the

internal resources and regularities of the dynamics, place and role of the culture, maintaining its system integrity, value content and vision for the development of society.

M.Yu. Lotman in due time counted more than four hundred definitions of the term «culture» (2). The culture is a deep and capacious concept, which covers the life of the individual and the society: upbringing, education, development, cognition, creativity, etc. The culture concentrates the archetypes of national consciousness, human thoughts and emotions are formulated in the culture space. Finally, the culture is a method of human self-expression and self-discovery.

Depending on the context the culture every time appears in a different perspective. For the philosopher, cultural theorist, art critic, historian, political scientist, linguist, psychologist, economist, educator the notion of the «culture» will be filled with different meaning. And this is the difficulty of writing the concept of cultural policy. Because, first of all, the Concept is a document, in which we must consider the culture as a branch, irrespective of our willingness.

On the one hand – «everything that can't be counted cannot be managed», on the other hand, it is impossible to manage the living system (the culture is a living system) – it is possible only to influence on it. This dilemma between formal (external) and ideological (internal) content makes the complexity of the task of developing the concept of cultural policy, but also is the main stem. The form is filled with content, but content changes the form.

In the course of analyzing the draft Concept of the cultural policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan, first and foremost, we need to decide on the following issues: what are the main goal, main tasks, as well as for whom this document is written, what is expected as a result? Let's try to consider each of these issues.

The main goal of the Concept of cultural policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the draft is determined as «creating a harmonious Kazakhstan society on the basis of common cultural space of the country, high spirituality and competitive cultural mentality». Living space of the culture is a necessary environment for the education of the individual. And harmoniously developed individual is a backbone for successful state. Let us not forget that each person's personal formation begins in the family. That is why it is so important to pay attention to and create the conditions for supporting the family as a traditional institution. The golden age of the state begins from welfare of every family. And the culture here has a special role to play.

Equal importance is given to the concept of equal access to culture for every Kazakhstan citizen, regardless of his/her place of residence and social status. Every child in our country must be provided with opportunity for creative development, initiation to the world of the arts. There was a time during the reign of the Soviet past, our country had 54 thousand concerts per year. This means that the musical, theatrical, creative teams came to each village. The exhibition activity was much

more active and, and the film distribution system based on the domestic films, with their sustainable value orientation. All these factors created a uniform cultural environment, the atmosphere of people confidence to each other and to the state. Without romanticizing the Soviet past, we have to note that much of that baggage and experience could be emulated today.

The draft Concept contains deep and extensive analysis of the situation prevailing today in the cultural sphere in Kazakhstan. It applies not only to financial, organizational and ideological issues, but also to issues of ideology and education. The Concept highlights all the problematic points of the Kazakhstan culture that can be and must be transformed into the anchor points, points of growth. For this purpose in the Concept contains the developed basic mechanisms for the implementation of cultural policies, which focus on: improving the management and financing system in the field of culture; bringing the normative legal framework into line with the requirements of modern innovation and integration processes in the sphere of culture; improving the branch infrastructure through the development of modern cultural clusters, as well as development of educational and scientific space of culture and art, implementation of international scientific research programs; widespread use of information and communication technologies in the sphere of culture.

During the process of the work on the draft Concept of cultural policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan we walked along the path of «reflection» on the way of reaching agreement between the official, creative, public areas in respect of priority of cultural development purposes, towards harmonizing the interaction of financial, administrative, creative, human and structural resources in order to achieve the synergy effect - development of a unified multi-ethnic cultural space of the country. Effective combining science and practice, society and the individual, the family and the state in a common cultural space means «to form a competitive cultural mentality and high spirituality of Kazakhstan people».

Rich cultural and historic heritage of Kazakhstan is one of the primary inexhaustible resources of the nation development. Today, when Kazakhstan becomes one of the centers of world geopolitics, the center of unique political and economic initiatives it is required to provide its cultural development with the same dynamics and vividness.

The presented draft Concept not only clearly formulates goals and objectives, but also proposes general system approaches, principles and mechanisms for implementation of the cultural policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan. The Concept assigns key place for the state support for culture, but the development of public-private partnerships is also important, consideration is given to the establishment of Culture Support Fund. Special purpose funds – endowments is one of the effective and successful practices of international cultural policy. As long-term foreign experience shows, the rise of cultural development depends not only on public participation but also on private

investments. Therefore, one of the urgent tasks of the cultural policy is to build mechanisms of cultural policy in such a way as to orient the big business towards social responsibility, which manifests itself, inter alia, in investments in culture. The adoption of the law on arts patronage must activate private capital in this direction.

The Kazakhstan culture must become an active participant in the global cultural dialogue, for which the Concept focuses on the development of joint creative and scientific research programs and projects with leading foreign cultural, research and expert and educational institutions.

The systemic nature of the draft Concept of cultural policy can be attributed to its advantages, when the problems of the cultural sector development are considered holistically, in their entirety, from the recognition of culture as an essential factor for the socio-economic development of the country to the freedom of person's creativity and forms of creation of cultural expressions; from understanding the priority of national cultural heritage, defining the distinctive character of national culture and national identity in the global world to ensuring equal opportunities for the cultural development for all citizens of our country.

One of the highlights of the cultural policy of Kazakhstan should be the integration of national culture into the international cultural space, the widespread promotion of historical and cultural heritage of Kazakhstan in the country and abroad, forming their own national cultural brands. With such a rich cultural heritage, the unique masterpieces of ancient art (not just fine and decorative, but also architecture, music, literature), we must not only to preserve and study it, but also to show it to the world, make it a part of the world culture.

Successful image of our state is formed not only due to economic and political achievements, but very much depends on the level of cultural development. Therefore, our President N.A. Nazarbayev is right, who pays such close attention to the development of national culture and art. Very much has been done in this way: phenomenal, grandiose projects are implemented, thanks to which the world recognizes Kazakhstan as the rapidly moving, creative, country, as country of talented, positive, open people. New theatres and museums are opened, the best outstanding cult masters of the world art are involved in the national projects, old cultural institutions are modernized and new ones (clusters) emerge –all of this provides a synthesis and integration of national and international cultural space, leads to the spiritual growth of the individual and the society.

The draft Concept determines the main priorities of the development of Kazakhstan's culture - shaping cultural environment as the basis of civil society, preservation, apprehension and interpretation of cultural heritage, responsibility of cultural sphere for the education of the young people, bright artistic embodiment of national spiritual values, and finally - the embodiment of the national idea, strengthening the country's international image.

The dynamics and nature of changes that have occurred over the past decades in our country and the world require the revision of traditional approaches and methods for the management of the cultural sphere.

Integration into the global world has contributed to the transformation of many institutions, including culture, as a vital factor in accelerating social, economic and political modernization ensuring movement to a post-industrial society through partnership and dialogue.

Each country by developing its cultural concept takes into account both the universal principles and approaches, and features of its socio-cultural experience and civilization potential, whose hallmark is the cultural code of the nation.

The draft Concept of cultural policy, the first one in the history of the Kazakhstan defined the basic cultural values, objectives and priorities; formulated humanitarian strategies, developed implementation mechanisms, highlighted the principles including the principle of changing the «management philosophy» in culture itself. Because «as long as the culture itself does not learn to present to the public the results of its work in human-readable terms, it will be very difficult to get rid of the «residual principle» of financing» (3).

The human capital, creative resource, systemic government support and business initiatives must become the solid foundation for intensive development of competitive cultural environment, which in its turn is the main indicator of the success of the state and society in the economic, social and cultural life.

«The cultures are abundant by people, works and ideas!» - Yu. M. Lotman said (2). The concept of cultural policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan is intended to become the foundation for the large-scale, systemic development of the cultural space of our country and its successful integration into the world culture. The success of the state directly depends on the level of cultural development.

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## **The Museum as an Instrument for the Development of the Society and State**

### **Specific Character of the Development of Museum-Reserves in the Modern Period**

St. Petersburg is the generally recognized cultural capital of Russia. The city's historic center is protected by UNESCO as a world heritage site.

St. Petersburg is surrounded by suburbs where the residences of tsars and great princes were located. Now they have the status of "museum-preserves." They are like "cultural bastions," surrounded by ordinary residential and non-residential buildings.

The suburban residences of Tsarskoye Selo, Peterhof, Pavlovsk, and Oranienbaum are dominant influences on the urban planning policy and development of the adjacent territories. They are a strategically important resource for the development of the district's economy.

Our museum-preserve - one of the major taxpayers in the area – also solves the issue of employment. Of the total number of 751 employees, 647 of them (i.e., 86%) live in the Pushkin District. As history unfolded, in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century settlements of carpenters, masons, and later gardeners, grooms and other service providers appeared around the royal residence while it was being built. And in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, plots of land close to the palace were bought by representatives of noble families, as in the summer the court would move here, following the royal family.

Today, residential buildings, healthcare institutions, schools and all of the infrastructure typical of residential areas are located around the museum-preserves.

At the same time, the town of Pushkin is rapidly developing – huge residential areas have been built. Residents of these new buildings are mostly newcomers, often from other regions of the country. They do not always know the history of this place. To give them such knowledge and to involve them in creative and educational activities related to the study of Russian culture is a task, first and foremost, for our museum. We recruit the administrations of schools in the new districts to cooperate closely.

At the same time, the issue of the preservation of historic settlements around museum-preserves under conditions of intensive construction of residential buildings and infrastructure there remains quite relevant. Here we are speaking about height restrictions in areas adjacent to the borders of museum-preserves, and of strict regulation of urban planning activities. The absence of regulatory mechanisms can lead to the loss of historic landscapes.

In our case, the protected areas in the town of Pushkin were established as early as in the 1990s, and the town itself was included in the UNESCO World Heritage List, as part of the site “The Historic Center of St. Petersburg and Groups of Monuments Related to It.” Later they were revised and adjusted, and in 2005 were included in the general plan of St. Petersburg. At present, in addition to the protected area where construction is prohibited, there are six various development control zones, where the permissible height of the constructed buildings varies inversely with the distance from the borders of the museum. That gives us hope that we can preserve the historic landscapes and views around our royal residence. However, at other museums the situation is far from being so optimistic.

The absence of established preservation areas is a widespread problem among museum-preserves.

We have begun to lose amazing vistas of the Sorot River visible from the windows of the Pushkin House in Mikhailovskoye. Only the involvement of the Ministry of Culture and the public managed to stop the construction of country homes at areas adjacent to Arkhangelskoye, the Borodino Battlefield, or the S.A. Esenin State Museum-Reserve. For example, views of the palace at Arkhangelskoye from the windows of a country home automatically raise the price of such a building by orders of magnitude.

It should be noted that in recent years there has been a steady tendency towards an increasing role of public organizations in the prevention of evident urban planning mistakes.

Those residents of small towns who feel a responsibility for the preservation of the historic town environment protest against the invasion by new housing developments, which distort historic landscapes. In many cases they manage to force the drawing up and approval of regulations that limit the construction.

Today there is also a tendency to “transfer” to economically successful museum-preserves the burden of problem areas (the conveyance of Ropsha to the Peterhof Museum, or of the Babolovo Park and the Martial Chamber (*Ratnaya Palata*) to the Tsarskoye Selo Museum). Very often, what lies behind it is a desire to shift the responsibility for their restoration and further maintenance to the federal budget. Moreover, as a rule, the objects conveyed are unprofitable and laden with lots of preservation restrictions. Today, a decision of conveyance is perhaps the only way to prevent the construction in those areas, and, if not to restore them, at least to “conserve” the situation.

Suburban imperial residences are a special type of museum. Specific features of their work include its seasonal character (the high season is from May to September, and in January, and the low season from October to December and from February to April).



The number of visitors to our museum in July (high season) is approximately 15 times as high as, for example, in February (low season). Due to the fact that under such conditions it is necessary to retain the basic personnel in the winter (research assistants, engineering services, attendants in the exhibition halls, guards), in the winter we “eat away” part of the money earned in the summer, preserving the average salaries of the staff. In the summer the museum has to employ approximately an additional 150 people for work in the parks, at temporary exhibitions, and in the summer pavilions. In the summertime the demand for museum visits is much higher than its visitor capacity. In order to receive the maximum number of visitors, the museum takes a series of measures:

- switches to a summer schedule (8:00 – 22:00);
- reduces the number of days off;
- permits tourism agencies to book time for their groups online.

### **The Museum as a Tourist Attraction**

One of the characteristic features of museum-preserves is the multi-functionality of their activities. Historically, they developed as self-sufficient estates that were able to sustain themselves using their own resources.

All imperial residences had their own farms, stables, forges, maintenance workshops, premises for the accommodation of the court, and of course, kitchens. Everywhere there were conservatories and fruit orchards to provide exotic fruits for the emperor’s table.

Today, this diversity of functions is preserved and permits museum-preserves to develop as multifunctional centers. In such cases, their possibilities sometimes go beyond the scope of traditional museum activities. Here we can include the organization of special programs for different social and age groups of visitors. They can be programs for family visits or ecological programs. Our museum offers programs for lovers of horseback riding (as we have our own stables), with the history of the Alexander Park recounted during the ride.

Once a year, in September, we hold the “Apple Noon” holiday, during which we offer to everybody who is interested a tour of the royal greenhouses and conservatories, with a narrative about the assortment of fruits and vegetables that used to be grown there.

Special tours of the parks are also organized for lovers of landscape design.

### **Financing the Activities of Museum-preserves**

Museums, and in particular museum-preserves, are one of the chief cultural institutions of the state. Along with theaters, libraries, and archives, they carry out the mission of historical and cultural education of the society.

Against this background, the support of such an institution should in theory be the responsibility of the state. Then there would be no need for museum tickets, as access to world cultural heritage should be free.

However, global practice shows that practically no country has reached this ideal.

In the USA and China, there is a small group of national museums that are fully financed by the state. They have free admission. The rest of the museums are supported by regional authorities or by patrons, or by both. Almost all museums try to involve sponsors in various projects.

Our museum-preserves, as is quite typical, in addition to federal financing have off-budget earnings (what is called “earnings from entrepreneurial and other income-producing activities”). At our museum, they comprise from 43% to 49% of the overall budget in different years.

We actively involve sponsors in special projects – the organization of exhibitions, work of the children’s center, and publishing activities. This source makes up about 12% of the overall annual budget of the museum.

With such a “mixed” budget, we fully understand the danger of being too enthusiastic about earning money. It is very easy to cross the fine line that separates the museum as a cultural and educational institution from a leisure and entertainment one. But these issues are solved by each museum on its own, in accord with its understanding of its place and its role in the world. Mikhail Piotrovsky, director of the State Hermitage, many times commented on this issue (and his opinion is shared by all museum professionals in Russia): reducing the museum’s activities to the organization of leisure time distorts its image. It is impossible to consider museums’ activities as one of the forms of “provision of services to the population.” Service is a market category. It is, first of all, a sale. Such service carries out no mission. It does not matter what it sells, as long as it sells.

The basis and meaning of the existence of museums, and their mission, is their educational and research activities and, primarily, the mission of shaping personality.

## **Reflecting the Past to Enhance New Directions in Albanian Museums**

This paper is going to take into account a crucial and important issue regarding state initiatives to enhance and propagandas to understand the vital role of museum as conceptual term in Albania. Achievement of the role of museum during totalitarianism will be analyzed with the first political recommendations after Icom establishment within Albanian context. So, firstly will be given data in understanding the role of museum as well as the propagation represented by policy program of government and how they did reflect in museum organization in the past since its creation. There are many ways how the policy program keeps museums in the center of their interest. In this context the role of museum in Albania will be analyzed through policies divided in two periods: into communism period and in democratic society. This comparison would help to overview and will explore deeper the changes of its conception after post- totalitarianism and forthcoming place of museum in our society rethinking it as a cultural part in programs state. In 2005 museum finally has its law. After this year museum start to have its own directives, becoming an institution recognized for its important and vital role as a whole, it passed through various approaches of law for cultural heritage. Until now we believe the law isn't complete and there are other possibilities to develop it, in a way that it can exploit better its resources and benefit from funds of European Union, non-profit organization or third parties. In nowadays the history of development of Albanian museums is yet not conceived as it happened in Europe with New Museology of 1980. Still our country is suffering from considering the museum just a building, and taking into account that we should start thinking in terms of museum studies in different perspective. Only passing this shift we can start exploit new directions of study and research in museum field.

### **Museum organization after Second World War**

After establishment of the new communism government, started the first issues relating different aspects in term of cultural manegment. Relating to this improvement was created firstly an archaeological department connected with Ministry of Popular Culture\*, than with Cultural Arts Committee and in 1948 with Science Institute. The history of museum expetially archaeological museums was connected with the first archaeological excavation. The first attempts relating with museum organization faces the lack of scientific literature. This shortage meant that any

archaeological monument during scientific registration encountered difficulties because of lack in making comparisons with other monuments of this category, which were discovered in other countries. In this context they could not be published. Due this period museum work, could be based only in stocktaking with general description and care within reach for the maintenance and conservation of explored monuments of (byzantine, medieval and ottoman period) .

The major interest in museum domain increased in 1959 after the decision “Over patriotic-revolutionary traditions of our people”<sup>523</sup>. All this period until 1989 was characterized as a revolutionary diffusion in museums network. It can be described as an “urge” to develop and outreach museums all over the country with the main aim in raising awareness among individuals. In this aspect museum changed their starting character assuming and being divided in other tipologies.

During this period, museums objects collected had as main duty to accomplish their registration, which were made under the supervisor of State University of Tirana<sup>524</sup>. As Gjipali refers, under the establishment of main institution like University system, Academy of Sciences, Institute of History, Linguistics, Archaeology, Ethnography, Faculty of Natural Sciences, Geology, etc., start also the massive collection in heritage property in the field of social sciences like (archaeological, historical, cultural, artistic exhibits) and natural sciences (flora, fauna, minerals, etc.). These achievements created the basis for the establishment of new museums with historical, cultural, artistic content and for natural properties by exhibiting values of local, regional and national importance<sup>525</sup>.

After the establishment of this regulation, we encounter the definition of museum. According to this definition state museums that were defined like: “State museums are the main place of conservation , for collections of movable monuments of culture" subdivided them in:

- a) Central museums,
- b) Local museum.

In this context during totalitarianism wasn't allowed setting up private museums, or private collections. Remaining in force during totalitarian regime, these laws and normative acts remained such until 1994, where another draft law was amended<sup>526</sup>..

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<sup>523</sup> Stilian Adhami, *Buletin i Muzeumeve*, 1-2, 1964, p.1-3

\* Namend during Communism regime 1945-1989

<sup>524</sup> AQSH, Këshilli i Ministrave, F.490, V.15.09.1950, D.1887, f.5-7

<sup>525</sup> Ilir Gjipali, “Archaeological museums and their role in Albania's museums history”. *Condition of the cultural and natural heritage in the balkan region*, Volume2, Belgrade, 2011, p.64

<sup>526</sup> Ligj Nr. 7867, on 12.10.1994, Për mbrojtjen e pasurisë kulturore të luajtshme dhe të paluajtshme

### Museum Network during Totalitarianism period

This interest in spreading museum network dedicated in social interest was started to spread, even across Europe, since 90% of the world's museums were founded after World War II, and more than three quarters English museums were established after `70 years, culminating in 1960 with the establishment of the new independent museums<sup>527</sup>, experience which our country recognized much later. What makes the difference in Albanian museum experience can be deduced even from the frequency. In this direction we can assume to not reflect museum experience in terms as museum tourism objective but just “visits” which museum could had about 300.000 visitors every year, and displaying 2000 different activities <sup>528</sup> such: Meetings, lectures, meeting with old stager, displaying diafilma, historical excursions, anniversary conference, lectures ( Fig.1)

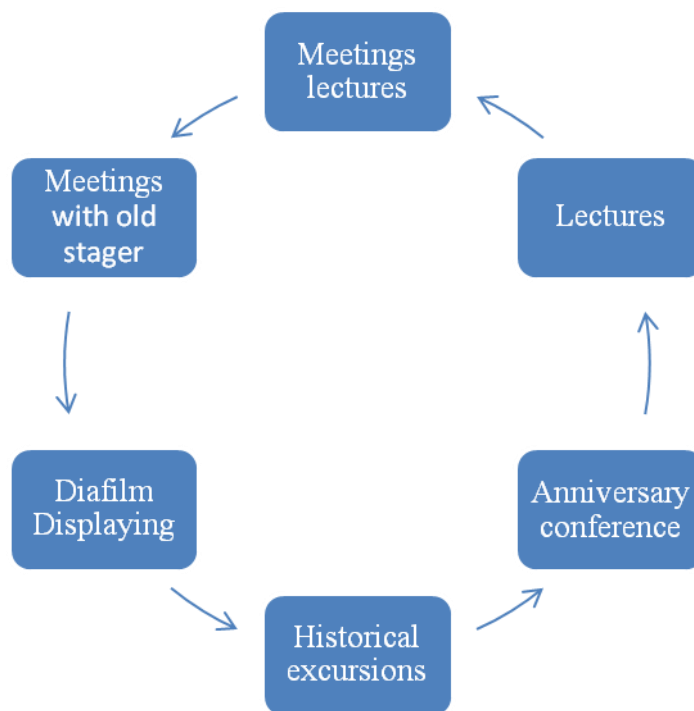


Fig.1

As a profession inevitably linked with the new generation, teacher profession was seen as the best strategy to link different generations. This setting made him a key point in interpretation to outreach cultural values to the audience. His image was seen as the profession closely associated

<sup>527</sup> Gordon Fyfe “Sociology and the Social aspects of Museum” in *A Companion to museum Studies*, Blackwell, 2006, p.39

<sup>528</sup> Stilian Adhami, *Buletin i Muzeumeve*, 1-2, 1964, p.1-3

with scientific research<sup>529</sup> Of course this long period of totalitarianism has undoubtedly affected and had ideological influence in determining the museum institution.. This was reflected in total absence in foreign works of art, or even different topics and tracing debate. The ideological movement was inevitably an enforcement regardin highlighting the antiquity of the people, displayed within museum, induced so the lack of methodological comparison of new concepts in museology activities, and neglecting the possible cooperation with other institutions to acquire knowledge and trainings. During this long period Albania was distinguished not only politically, but also by breathing new approaches in relation to art and culture, and this situation also influenced the professional growth of the employees of museums. Access to the museum ideological progress was led by Soviet Axis ideas. This situation naturally created a crack in tracking innovation and opening wider to the so-called cultural tourism. The ideological spirit was led by accessing museums only to domestic public, and limiting the potential cultural tourism by foreign tourists. By investing in high network museum in every corner in Albania, the "domestic tourism" was limited in the same way as it outwardly. This can be argued with long distances, but also with the cultural deficiency on perception the passage of leisure beyond territorial boundaries of the city and countryside. All this brought the concept, that visiting other museums be seen as pleasure for big festive events. Also the museum aspects didn't match with new principles which followed with "New museology" that began to flourish in Europe in early 1970. The whole ideology stood in establishing as many as possible new museums or other types of relating museums, by reaching in 1989, 2165 museums, museum houses and museum angles. Data show that in the cities were 364 museums divided by museums, schools and economic enterprises Fig 2, while in villages consisting of 1,801 museums and museum angles. The number of house museums in cities and villages reached 65. These results, express in this context important investments in raising new museum buildings for cultural intention, who gave without doubt a boost to cultural spirit, considering the entire network museum establishment<sup>530</sup>.



<sup>529</sup> Ministria e Arsimit dhe Kulturës, F.511, V.1961, D.51

<sup>530</sup> "Për ngritjen e nivelit të punës në muze", *Shtëpia qendrore e krijimtarisë popullore*, Tiranë, 1989, p.9

Fig.2

The main policies government expressed willingness having variety environments exhibits, and for any occasion. Besides Central museums, flowered other types of them like District and Special Commemorative museums, nucleus museum, House museum, Class Museum, Tower Museum, Museum of crafts, as well as room for movement and typographical museum<sup>531</sup>. All this offensive is argued that under the social context museums of any kind were a monopoly of the state and as such, they were under his administration, the rest is related to the propagation of a state of cultured and erudite, albeit "he" had the decisions for any subject quality of content, or material selection to display.

### **Reflecting the New Museum Law**

After many years in an effort to identify assets and cultural heritage throughout the decades, the topic of the definition of museums has only been partial in decrees and laws. In 2005<sup>532</sup>, is recognized the first museum law, to identify in this manner museum activity. Object of this law comprise different feature of museum activity. Within this law are described the ways of organization, operation and classification of museums and bodies responsible for the supervision of their activities. This law makes a definition of the term that recognizes museum "as the institution of storage memory, events and written evidence of human and material development of society, which undertakes research, manages, maintains and museum exhibits assets, for study, education and entertainment, service and open to the public (Article 3, paragraph 1). However, the law recognize as museum other terms as archaeological sites, science centers or private entities that maintain collections and present species (samples) different etc. Through this law already museums are not only public but also private. And this is the novelty of all the past decades in terms of distinction and definition of museums. During the totalitarian regime we faced variety in museum categories, but visitable only by Albanian audience. With the new museum law, we trace the possibility to establish new private museum or collections from everyone or different groups that connect interest or passion in tangilble heritage, but in the other side it is claimed the absence of the previous types of museum s like nucleus museum, tower museum or corner museum inside the enterprises. During the law we find the typological division of public museums that can be: national, local, and typological or under the Academy of Sciences.

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<sup>531</sup> *Buletin i Muzeumeve*, 1-2, 1964, p.61-62

<sup>532</sup> Ligj Nr .9386, on 4.5.2005, "Për Muzetë"

Law on Museums is an adaptation of the code of ethics set by ICOM, since its establishment. Classic definition presented by ICOM- (International Council of Museums, which depends on the UNESCO) is: The museum is a non-profit institution, a cultural mechanism dynamic, evolving and permanent, in the service of society and its development, is open to the public and meets research dealing with material evidence of humanity and its environment: he acquires, preserves, communicates, and exhibits especially for study, education and enjoyment.

### **Museum Law confronting**

Since 1974, ICOM codes of ethics that define museum role, made these definitions were in the museum statement were included:

- Institutions conservation and gallery exposure, independent of libraries and archives centers,
- Sites and archaeological, ethnographic and cultural etc.

In 1983 at the 14th Assembly of ICOM General, helded in London on August 1 and 2 of this article adds the following:

- Historical and archaeological parks,
- Centers and planetary science.

In Albanain Museum law, we have this statement: The museum "is the institution of storage memory, events and written evidence of human and material development of society, which undertakes research, manages, maintains museum exhibits assets, for research purposes , educational and entertaining, serving and open to the public (Article 3, paragraph 1.) Included as statement of museum are also<sup>533</sup>:

- Archaeological centers and historical monuments (point A),
- Private subject to preserve collections, institutions and scientific centers, zoo, aquariums (point B),
- Art gallery (point C),
- Philatelic collections (point Ç),
- Audio archives, photographic, film (point D),
- Natural parks (point Dh).

Museum law joined together in just a couple of the aforementioned guidelines from international meetings in the museum approaches, giving in this way a complete understanding of the

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<sup>533</sup> Ligj nr. 9386, on 4.5.2005 "Për muzetë", Art.3  
\*referring Ministry of Tourism, Youth and Sport during 2013



law for museums, and by offering the possibility to create different owners of private museums, the lacking in this area for more than sixty years.

Despite the museums care and enactment law, must be said that still today the term "museum" in Dictionary of today's Albanian language, p. 1190, 1980<sup>534</sup>, but also in that of 2002; find paraphrase thus: "Museum-institution that collects, preserves and exhibits presented in different works of art creations and technology, items, objects with historical and scientific etc., for teaching purposes of the study, ie museum-building of this institution is presenting these works, objects, material objects, etc. ". Even if the museum law was enacted nine years ago, it is limited in giving paraphrasing the term "Museum" and its functions. This law hasn't made any subsequent change in the definition of the term definitions and function of Museology and museography as whole. These two terms are not found in any of the above mentioned in Albanian dictionaries, and even in MTRS\* website. At the site of ICOM (International Council of Museums) in two magazines "Museum" and "ICOM News", is also present the word museology / muséologie / museologia, in the three most common languages. Seeing more and more interest to the museum as an important tourism access, but also its social function and its organization we think is approachable adding the museology and museography term at least in Ministry website and forthcoming in encyclopedic albanian dictionary .

### Conclusions

Museum concepts and perspective took another direction after the meeting of the Round Table of Santiago in Chile<sup>535</sup>, where museum concept establish another interest which wasn't addressed only in closely issues related with museum and its role as available in society, but also in creating other museographical systems. New Museology will be better crystallize after thirteen years of Qebekut Declaration of October 1984, where advocated major importance in the social mission of the museum as opposed to the traditional functions. In this statement fits museum society and is given more importance to the concept than the object. This was the novelty in this meeting as it changes the traditional idea of the museum as erudite temple that of a museum that keeps the doors open for all. It was not seen as a debate in opposition to traditional museums, but in a statement as that museums should take different forms as well as its cultures and society<sup>536</sup>.

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<sup>534</sup> "Museum", according actual dictionary of Albanian language, Tiranë, 1980, p.1190

<sup>535</sup> [http://www.inc-icom.org/news/e-newsletter\\_nov\\_2012.pdf](http://www.inc-icom.org/news/e-newsletter_nov_2012.pdf), last visit 18.11.2013

\*referred Ministry of Culture, Tourism, Youth and Sport until 2013

<sup>536</sup>,Christina Chun Hsu, "What is the future of regional museums in China", *Regional Museums and The Post Industrial Age* , f. 114 [http://network.icom.museum/fileadmin/user\\_upload/minisites/icr/pdf/PostIndustrialAgeKNJ-web.pdf](http://network.icom.museum/fileadmin/user_upload/minisites/icr/pdf/PostIndustrialAgeKNJ-web.pdf) , last visit 18.11. 2013

Seen in this light even though Albania has ratified its membership in UNESCO since 10 July 1989<sup>537</sup>, introduced two heritage are part of list of world heritage city of Butrint in (1992) and historical centers Berat and Gjirokastra in (2005), and in 1996 the approval of The memorandum of cooperation between the republic of Albania and organization of the united nations for education, science and culture <sup>538</sup>, she still has not given importance Museum studies and had not promote new museologists.

Over two decades, the institution charged with the preservation and heritage designation was placed under the authority of the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, often citing the entire script for the effect of importance that contained the entire institution as a whole, although its share in the sector within accountability of each respective sector dependent

Such designation existed since, September 2013, bearing the label changes and concentrating all authority only in two words: the Ministry of Culture. This legislation for the importance of cultural transmission of wealth is a novelty course, disassociating the rest of his body and focusing only on what institution need to meet.

### **What to consider, Recomendations**

Museum law came after establishing Cultural Heritage law 2003. During sixty years Albania has invested creating a rich museum network, but as explained above was entirely directed and financial controlled by the previous government. In this context museums could not play a dependent role improving better exhibitions, displays or foreign scientific literature. But, even now we trace this autonomydifficulty in museum administration. Although, it is declared as separate institution, in terms of administrative competence, museums are directed by institution which imply or institution in whose jurisdiction the museum is located (Article 10, point 2). Its activity is supervised by "The State MuseumsComission" further MTKS, which is the decision making body, specializing in the field of museums, whose chairman is the Minister of Culture, Youth and Sports.

In this view museums are totally supervised and in the same way take financial add by actual government, by not having the opportunity to meet other possible ads or funds. Due this inability, Albanain museums stil suffurs by not realizing the cultural duty and meeting new audiences. In addition of this maybe its time to undertake new strategies in developing better museum culture as well museum law.

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<sup>537</sup><http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/al>

<sup>538</sup> Ligj, Nr.8157, datë 31.10.1996

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<http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/al>

#### **Abbreviations/ Translation**

AQSH-Albanian Center Archive

F-Reserve

V-Year

D-File

Keshilli i Ministrave-Council of Ministers

Ministria e Arsimit dhe Kulturës- Ministry of Education and Culture

Ligj-Law

## **Do Museums Need Disaster Plans for People?**

My news feed is filled with disasters every day. Wars, conflict, floods, wildfires, protests, famines, and more. In a time when our community needs, both local and global are so immense, what role can and should museums play? Can we just open our doors when things are good and hide away when the going gets tough? Or should we think deeply about how we can be of assistance to people--and do we need plans for that? As I began thinking about museums' roles in crisis, I wanted to ensure I had a global perspective, so I posed the title question in various forms of social media. Some respondents felt that such a response was entirely out of their museum's purview, but others providing inspiring, important examples of such work included in this piece.

Many of the responses were along the lines of "of course we do! We have plans for our staff to get out safely or how to take care of visitors in case of an accident." The vast majority of museums worldwide have some kind of disaster or emergency plan, following to some degree, approaches referenced in ICOM's Museum Emergency Programme.<sup>539</sup> But I realized that even the terminology of the question needed clarification if I were to dive deeper into the topic.

The word disasters covers so much: in my own thinking I saw natural disasters like tsunamis, fires, floods and earthquakes; political events, from coups to wars; social crises that include everything from the large numbers of undocumented children entering the United States to ongoing issues of racism and discrimination almost everywhere in the world. Disaster might include far-reaching issues such as climate change. It can also include more localized crises: the day school is cancelled because of snow or the electrical brownout.

In some ways, naming disasters was the easiest part of my query. There are multiple dictionary definitions in English, including "a sudden event, such as an accident or a natural catastrophe, that causes great damage or loss of life." and "an event or fact that has unfortunate consequences." For our purposes here, I'll define it as a sudden event or a disruption, causing unfortunate or unseen consequences. By people I mean our visitors, our audiences, and most importantly, our communities. It might mean our neighbors around the block or our global neighbors across the ocean.

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<sup>539</sup> International Council of Museums, Emergency Programme <http://icom.museum/programmes/museums-emergency-programme/> (retrieved December 1, 2014)

Museum disaster or emergency plans generally cover our internal work, that of caring for collections in case of a flood, for instance, or an emergency evacuation. Rightly so, our first job in a disaster is to protect the collections we hold in trust for the public; and our second, to protect people immediately at our site. But I want to suggest that our responsibilities don't end there. I want our museums to have plans that care for people outside our museums in times of crisis.

We need to figure out how to ensure that we use the resources we have to meet community needs, how to care for our communities beyond opening our doors. Gretchen Jennings, an American museum professional has written widely about the need for more empathetic museums. Jennings describes empathy and empathetic museums:

When I think of empathy in an individual I think of a quality that is fairly *consistent*. It is a state of being, a habit of mind. It is also a *state of awareness of others* –people are there and they matter. There is also a quality of *reciprocity* or two-sidedness about empathy; it connects the person to others, and vice versa. Because it is *genuine*, and really hard to fake, I think that empathy almost always elicits a response.

I believe that these qualities can inhere in an institution. It is not a matter of individuals in the museum being nice or kind (although I think most museum folks are) but rather that, by its mission statement and policies the institution has a consistent and genuine awareness of the community (ies) it serves and considers these communities as part of its civic responsibility.<sup>540</sup>

But empathy needs to be more than just an idea--it requires action. There are examples from museums around the globe demonstrating empathy and community commitment. But the examples are few, and through this paper, I hope to encourage more museums to expand their thinking about the resources that we, as museums, have to offer our communities in times of crisis and disaster.

**We can offer a place of refuge.** During Nazi Germany's bombing of London during World War II, the vast majority of the National Gallery's artworks were relocated to the countryside. But beginning in 1942, the "Picture of the Month" began in the gallery: a single painting brought up from the countryside for a month, carefully stored away each night, but available each day to provide a place for reflection and refuge.<sup>541</sup> In the days immediately after September 11, 2001, many of New York City's museums offered free admissions for New Yorkers seeking solace and companionship among great works of art.

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<sup>540</sup> Jennings, Gretchen, "We Can't Outsource Empathy," The Inluseum, [http://inluseum.com/2014/09/29/we-cant-  
outsource-empathy-part-i-thoughts-on-aams-diversity-and-inclusion-policy/](http://inluseum.com/2014/09/29/we-cant-outsource-empathy-part-i-thoughts-on-aams-diversity-and-inclusion-policy/) (retrieved, December 9, 2014)

<sup>541</sup> National Gallery, "The National Gallery in Wartime," [http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/history/the-gallery-  
in-wartime/gallery-in-wartime/\\*/viewPage/5](http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/history/the-gallery-in-wartime/gallery-in-wartime/*/viewPage/5) (retrieved December 9, 2014)

**We provide a space to mourn together** Related, but perhaps a bit different, are the ways in which museums help communities collectively mourn. Most recently a collaborative effort led by independent curator Rainey Tisdale resulted in “Dear Boston,” an exhibition mounted on the first anniversary of the explosion of bombs at the finish line of the Boston Marathon. For this project, the community included not only Boston residents, but also the thousands of runners who come to the city for the Marathon each year. Said Tisdale of the exhibit, “It’s really a space for reflection and a space for Bostonians and people who love Boston from all over the world to come here and have a time and place for healing here at the one-year anniversary.”<sup>542</sup>

**We can offer physical space.** During the Siege of Leningrad, the Hermitage served variously as a bomb shelter and convalescent ward for hundreds of city residents. In fall and winter 1941, as many as two thousand people lived in the cellars.<sup>543</sup> More recently, the Christchurch Art Gallery in New Zealand was built to survive “very high levels of seismic tolerance” and immediately after the 2011 earthquake that decimated parts of the city, the gallery became an Emergency Operations Centre.<sup>544</sup>

**We can collect.** Collecting is a key function of museums, differentiating us from other kinds of artistic, historical and cultural organizations. A consortium of federal, state and private museums joined together to collect objects after the events of September 11, 2001 in the United States. More recently, an informal group of curators and scholars began collecting objects, images and oral histories from the protests on Kyiv, Ukraine’s Maidan, building an invaluable record of historical events.<sup>545</sup>

**We write the first drafts of hard history** To most of the public, museums are places where history is entombed, where a single version of history, long-considered, is presented by experts. However, in a time of crisis, longstanding or immediate, museums have the opportunity to present a first draft, particularly of difficult historical and contemporary topics. Surely the many exhibitions about Ukraine’s Maidan protests will be rethought over time—but these first exhibitions provide us with multiple voices and multiple starting places.

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<sup>542</sup> NBC Nightly News, “Dear Boston Serves as Memorial One Year After Bombing,” <http://www.nbcnews.com/nightly-news/dear-boston-serves-memorial-one-year-after-bombing-n73211> (retrieved December 8, 2014)

<sup>543</sup> Museum Security, “A Lesson Learned or Case Study of Museum Survival During Wartime, Derived from the book “The State Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, the Soviet Union, During World War II (The Great Patriotic War)” <http://www.museum-security.org/survival-in-wartime.htm> (retrieved December 1, 2014)

<sup>544</sup> Gates, Charlie, and Christopher Moore, “Christchurch Art Gallery built to highest Standard,” Stuff.co.nz, <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/christchurch-earthquake/4707041/Christchurch-Art-Gallery-built-to-highest-standard> (retrieved November 10, 2014).

<sup>545</sup> Donadio, Rachel, “Unfinished Revolution: The Artists Soldier On,” The New York Times, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/30/arts/design/ukrainians-turn-to-the-arts-in-a-time-of-upheaval.html> (accessed December 3, 2014)

A willingness to write the first draft of history means that we engage deeply with our communities. It means that we must be willing to relinquish sole control of both the story and the presentation. It means a willingness to be wrong, or to produce work that may be rethought upon deeper reflection and research. Rather than viewing exhibitions as definitive books, we can shift our view to considering exhibitions as scientific experiments, where a theory is tested, evaluated, rethought and tested again.

**We can encourage conversations and critical reflection.** In the United States, the shooting of an unarmed African American young man in Ferguson, Missouri in the summer of 2014 resulted in anguish, protests and uncertainty. The Missouri History Museum convened a “town hall” meeting advertised as a safe space for conversation—a conversation held just two weeks after the shooting.<sup>546</sup> Science museums around the world have undertaken to expand the public’s understanding of a long-term disaster-climate change. The International Coalition of Historic Sites of Conscience highlights the work of museums and historic sites around the world, using “the lessons of history to spark conscience in people all around the world so that they can choose the actions that promote justice and lasting peace today.”<sup>547</sup>

**We act as good neighbors** Museums expect our neighbors to support us. They are our visitors, members and our supporters. We can return that neighborly support in ways both simple and complex. During the 2014 protests in Kyiv, Ukraine, some museums opened their doors offering warmth and tea; the Ivan Honchar Museum moved its Christmas programming to the site of the protests itself, offering a respite from many hours standing in the cold.<sup>548</sup> Drawing an example from our colleagues in library, the public library in Ferguson, Missouri, continued to open its doors, even when schools were closed, after riots sparked by the killing of a young man by a policeman. It wasn’t just simply throwing the doors open, however. The library also hosted listening sessions, developed “healing kits,” for children, helped businesses file insurance claims, and yes, mounted displays of art.<sup>549</sup>

The Maritime Museum of British Columbia chose to include as neighbors those who lived an ocean away. In 2011, a devastating tsunami swept hundreds of tons of debris into the Pacific Ocean, some of which made its way thousands of miles to wash up on British Columbia’s shores. The

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<sup>546</sup> “Kevin Powell hosts Ferguson Town Hall at Missouri History Museum tonight,” The St. Louis American, [http://www.stlamerican.com/article\\_2f16eedc-2c82-11e4-834d-0019bb2963f4.html](http://www.stlamerican.com/article_2f16eedc-2c82-11e4-834d-0019bb2963f4.html) (retrieved November 15, 2014)

<sup>547</sup> International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, About Us, [www.sitesofconscience.org](http://www.sitesofconscience.org) (retrieved November 15, 2014)

<sup>548</sup> Poshyvailo, Ihor, “Our History Museums will include the events of these days,” The Uncataloged Museum, <http://uncatalogedmuseum.blogspot.com/2013/12/our-history-museums-will-include-events.html> (retrieved November 15, 2014)

<sup>549</sup> Hall, Matthew T, “Ferguson Library amazingly donations top \$300K in One Week,” UT-San Diego, <http://www.utsandiego.com/news/2014/dec/01/ferguson-library-donations/> (retrieved December 15, 2014)

museum established a Facebook page to share objects found on the beaches and, they hoped; perhaps lead to their eventual return home to their owners.<sup>550</sup>

### **Can Our Museum Do This?**

In conducting the research I found that some museums reacted because community engagement was embedded in their missions. It was, in a way, in the museum's DNA to be of service to their community in a wide variety of ways. But in other situations, it was clear that the imagination and commitment of staff members, on every level, made an innovative response possible. But it's clear that such responses should not just be ad hoc responses, but be a part of a museum's plans. All too often, museums operate from a position of scarcity. We hoard our resources. We need a shift to a culture of abundance, one in which sharing our resources, particularly in times of crisis, will result in so many generous returns to us.

In the same way museums need disaster plans for their collections and buildings, we need disaster plans for other kinds of community and global emergencies. The time to begin planning is not after the emergency or disaster happens, but before. What would such a plan look like? The answer will be different with every museum, every community, and every disaster or emergency. But every plan might begin with conversations.

### **Ask Yourself and Your Colleagues**

- what resources does your museum have to share?
- how quickly can we mobilize those resources?
- What kind of people power do we need? For a disaster we couldn't even imagine?
- How best can we combine caring for our collections and our community?

### **Ask Your Community**

- What resources already exist? Where are the gaps?
- Who are potential partners?
- What critical needs are unaddressed?

At this paper's presentation in Yekaterinburg, an audience member asked if there was anything a museum should not do in a time of crisis. The question surprised me but upon reflection the answer is clear. When our communities need us, we cannot do nothing. We cannot be bystanders. We can, through conversation and outreach, drawing upon the examples of our colleagues around the world, be active participants in the lives of our communities, in times both good and bad.

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<sup>550</sup> Maritime Museum of British Columbia Facebook page, <https://www.facebook.com/TsunamiDebrisProjectMaritimeMusBC#> (retrieved December 10, 2014)



## **International cooperation in the context of national and regional cultural policy: experience and prospects (Russia and Germany)**

The Landesstelle für die nichtstaatlichen Museen in Bayern (Bavarian State Office for the Museums) is run by the Bavarian government to advise and to subsidize financially in certain circumstances the more than 1.250 museums in our so called “Free state Bavaria” that are not owned by the state itself. The roots of this support go back to the year 1908 and therefore the Landesstelle is probably the oldest museum advising organization in the world. In relation to other museum advising organizations in the other German states we are rather well equipped with about 20 permanently employed staff (scientists like historians, historians of art, ethnologists, archeologists, but also designers, restorers, secretary a.s.o.) and about 10 students and other people supporting us. Most of those work in our “Infopoint museums and palaces in Bavaria” in the very heart of our capital Munich that give inhabitants of Bavaria as well as tourists actual information about museums and their current exhibitions.

On this background – and on the other hand on the background that the Bavarians are very proud on their 800 years old history and self-confident inside the German states – it was no wonder that the Landesstelle looked outside the borders of our blue and white (that are the colors of our flag) territory. When in 1991 in Great Britain, in Newcastle upon Tyne, for the first time the European museum advisors Conference (EMAC) took place our director took an active part in it and invented the colleagues for the second meeting in 1993 to Bavaria. When now in July 2014 the conference



took place for a second time in Bavaria one of the biggest national groups were colleagues from Russia joining the first time the conference. We are very happy about this development that depends on and underlines the good relations between German/ Bavarian museum organizations and colleagues in Russia since several years. That's the topic my colleague Olga Cherkaeva and I want to explain.

EMAC 2014, Munich: Russian delegates at the Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus. Photograph by Wolfgang Stäbler

Some of the members of our Landesstelle – me too – are members of ICOM and work in international committees and the Landesstelle has very close contacts to museums in the neighboring countries Czech Republic and Austria with annual meetings for now over 20 years. The contact to the Russian museums started 10 years ago when Olga Cherkaeva came in 2004 for some weeks to Munich to gain insight of the Bavarian museums and to look what we are doing. After this time I got a first invitation to a conference in Russia in 2005. The place was Saratow, some 16 hours by train east of Moscow, and the reason was a conference that took place because of the 100 year anniversary of the Gallery there. Finding out that at the conference also the director celebrated her 50<sup>th</sup> jubilee working there I learned the museum work in Russia sometimes needs a long horizon.

The next contact was a meeting in Moscow in 2006. The Institute for Cultural Research had invited me and a colleague from the Institute for Museum Research in Berlin to discuss current developments in museum work. There I had the possibility to explain the education and training of the museum staff in Germany.



Participants of the congress “The role of museums in the formation of historical consciousness”, Rjazan 2011. Photograph by Wolfgang Stähler

Five years later, in 2011, the director of the Landesstelle, Dr. Michael Henker – now after his retirement well known as the President of ICOM Germany – the director of a mid-sized Bavarian town museum and I were invited to the conference “The role of museums in the formation of historical consciousness” in the city of Ryazan. This conference was focused on the specifics of the

development of the region with a rich historic past and the search of effective methods for the work of museums in the formation of a historical consciousness. For me and my colleagues it was very interesting to visit at an excursion some small, local museums, because we have a lot of museums of this type in our country too. And it was at the end not surprising that their problems are similar: the lack of money, of staff, problems of conservation and often a lack of approval by the local politics for the work that is done. We heard at this conference a lot about the importance especially of the regional history for the community members and were shown the efforts that are made at important places like the Kremlin of Ryazan to bring people there and to confront them with their history and culture.

In 2011 the city of Perm planned to apply for European Cultural Capital 2016 and started a lot of cultural activities. In 2012 Dr. Henker and I were invited to Perm to a Museum forum that was realized in preparation of a project of a new building for the Gallery of Perm that is housed since the 1930s in the former cathedral. For me as a responsible in advising museums of contemporary history was the visit of the museum of Gulag Perm 36 very impressive. In summer 2014 we could read in German newspapers that this museum and memorial should be closed due the ignorance of the local and regional administration. It's a relief to hear now by Russian colleagues that this plans have changed and that the museum work there can go on.

In 2013 I had the privilege to talk at another two conferences in Russia. The first was again in Ryazan, where the Russian institute for Cultural Research had invited Dr. Henker, two colleagues from Bavarian museums and me to a conference with the theme "Museum as a source of territorial development". It searched for ways to include museums into a contemporary socio-cultural space, turning them into platforms for dialogue, enculturation and education. Again it was impressing to join the excursion f. e. to a small village museum run by the local community. The people there hope for some stimulus for tourism. The second conference was the 3<sup>rd</sup> International Forum "Cultural heritage as a source for social and cultural development of the region", organized by the Republic of Khakassia in South Siberia. A main topic was here as well the planning of museums. The reason why is that Khakassia projects to build a National Museum in its capital Abakan. The President of the republic and Dr. Henker signed an agreement for cultural cooperation between the two states and I hope we can fill it in the future with some useful content.



In the current year the contacts were continued with another visit of Perm, where a museum forum dealt with “Effective ways for small and medium sized museums” and the presentation of the war in museum exhibitions. Really astonishing for me and a Bavarian colleague that accompanied me was the great success of a museum fair that presented objects of 59 museums of the region to the public. More than 20.000 people visited the exhibition that was opened only for five days – I am sure that we could have not such a success in Germany! And finally in July 2014 I had an invitation to speak at the annual ADIT-conference (ADIT = Automation Directions in Museums

and Information Technologies) in Vyborg near the Finnish border. The congress with about 250 participants offered a wide range of themes, from museums using social networks to new techniques and media for exhibitions or virtual reconstructions.

That’s my short overview about the contacts that gave rise to the good and very friendly relations between the Landesstelle and Bavarian museums with Russian colleagues.

The heading of our shared ICOM conference is “Museum and politics”. Sometimes I am asked: “Why do you stay in contact with Russian museums? Russia is not directly our neighbor, cooperation is often not easy, what is the benefit for Bavarian museums of this exchange?” I think it should be part of the cultural policy of a state like Bavaria to look beyond one’s own nose and to try to get in exchange with other countries, especially with countries like Russia that dominate not only politically but also on the cultural sector large parts of our world. The benefit cannot be measured in Euro or Rubles but a multi-channel communication, not a one-way road, opens our eyes – for the understanding of another culture, for new ideas and challenges but also a critical self-reflexion of the own work. I am happy that my director and our ministry as well support this cultural exchange with Russia and I hope we can progress in this way in the future.

2014 marked 10 years of fruitful cooperation between the Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research and the Bavarian State Office for the Museum for Non-governmental Museums. The collaboration was especially productive when the State Department was directed by Dr. M. Henker elected President of ICOM Germany in 2013. Ten years ago the Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research started to implement projects jointly with ICOM Germany with personal support by Dr. H. M. Hinz, the former President of ICOM Germany and the current ICOM President. The area of expertise of the Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research includes

history, theory, and the vital issues facing museums, that is, the problems to be discussed by the global museum community.

The international cooperation in the field of museology is possible, provided the following conditions are met:

- the countries must have diplomatic relations;
- the state cultural policy must be focused on international cooperation.

The stated factors reflect both foreign policy aspirations of countries and their domestic cultural policy and represent a basis for implementing important national projects in the major national museums. This may be illustrated through an example of the exhibition “Bronze Age. Europe without borders” that presented approximately 1700 objects from the most famous museums of Russia (the State Hermitage Museum, the State Historical Museum and the State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts) and Germany (the Museum of Prehistory and Ancient History of Berlin). The exhibition was held in the State Hermitage Museum (Saint-Petersburg, 6 June – 8 September, 2013) and in the State Historical Museum (15 October – 13 January, 2014).

However, the majority of Russian museums are located in the province (which is also the case in Germany). In order to implement international projects in regions, additional factors are required, such as commitment of local authorities and active involvement of museum experts. The participation in this cooperation of the specialized museum structures, such as the Bavarian State Office for the Museums and / or museum centers, such as the Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research, raises this cooperation to a whole new level. The specialized museum structures and museum centers help focus the attention of museum experts on the crucial issues attracting the attention of the global museum community. These issues are then extrapolated in particular region, and their special characteristics varying from one area to another are revealed, which helps testing new methods and approaches in local context. The Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research and the Bavarian State Office for the Museums realized a set of projects with support and owing to the commitment of the regional Russian and German authorities. In Russia, this initiative was supported by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Ryazan Region (two conferences were held in Ryazan in 2011 and 2013, already discussed by W. Stähler); in Germany, the project was supported by the Bavarian State Ministry of Sciences, Research and the Arts (two conferences were held in 2012 and 2013 in Munich; these conferences will be discussed hereinafter). During the international museum forums and conferences, Russian and German museum experts were able to share their experience. It should be mentioned that the members of the Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research and the Bavarian State Office for the Museums not only organized the international

conferences but also were invited as experts to participate in the events initiated in other Russian regions (the Third International Forum on cultural heritage “Historical and cultural heritage as a source of socio-cultural development” held in the Republic of Khakassia and discussed above by W. Stäbler). Thus, the fruitful cooperation between the Department of Museum Encyclopedia and the Bavarian State Office elicited public interest in Russia. This cooperation is viewed as a series of projects implemented by a unified Russian-German museum group working to elaborate common subjects.

Uncovering the pressing problems in the museological sphere, analyzing the trends, forecasting the development of museums in regions, and methodical support for introducing new technologies in various areas of museum activities are the major tasks of the professional museum centers. If the authorities responsible for cultural policy in a region support the initiatives of the specialized museums and museological institutions, it has a positive impact on the museological sphere and allows one to create a complex and comprehensive concept of the museum life of a particular region and monitor the development of museum activities. As for international cooperation, the alliance between the specialized museological institutions with important scientific potential and the regional authorities capable of using the entire museum network of a particular territorial-administrative unit as a platform for implementing new ideas opens unlimited possibilities. This includes, above all, searching internationally the forms of interaction correspondent to the characteristics and interests of various actors of the professional museum community, i.e., curators, exhibitors, cultural and education personnel, and managers. Consequently, forms of interaction will vary dependent on a particular actor (segment) of the professional community. Those can be exhibitions and conferences, workshops and editorial projects, etc. It is especially important that the cooperation between the specialized museological structures and the regional cultural authorities permits to build a multichannel communication at different levels. The levels of communications may be as follows:

- Between regional cultural authorities of different countries (workshops, internships, and conferences);
- Between the museums of various profiles and scales located in different countries (exchange exhibitions, editorial projects, etc);
- Between particular experts both in the field of cultural and museum management and between the museum theoreticians and practitioners (business trips and internships).

Such communication initiated by the specialized national or regional museum structures allows the experts not only to share experience but also to use new knowledge for solving the crucial problems facing regional museums.



In this respect, it is worth citing as an example the conference “Museums and their visitors” organized by the Bavarian State Office for the Museums (Munich, 2012). The participation of Russian experts, representatives of various regional museums, was organized by the Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for

Cultural Research. The interactions between museum and its visitors, the perception of exhibitions by the audience, and the appropriateness of the modern forms of communication with museum audience represent the pivotal issues discussed by the museum experts. The state of knowledge in these areas on the national level was discussed by both Russian and German museologists: the situation in Germany was analyzed by Dr. B. Graf, Director of the Institute for Museum Research in Berlin; the current state of knowledge in Russia was described by I. Chuvilova, Director of the Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research, and O. Cherkaeva, the Senior Researcher in the Department. It is worth mentioning the constant monitoring of the visitors’ perception of museum exhibitions and the intense studying of museum audience in Germany, where the experts in various fields are being involved in analyzing the perception of museum exhibitions, i.e., sociologists, psychologists, and even neuropsychologists. A special attention should be given to the contribution of various institutions in studying the behavior of museum visitors, i.e., museums, higher schools, and scientific institutes. By contrast, the only comprehensive study of museum audience in Russia was performed in 2012 by the Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research based on two regions (Ryazan and Novosibirsk Regions) and supported by the Federal target program “Culture of Russia”. It was a pilot study that was never continued (though it was suggested to implement this project in all regions of the country). The problem of studying the museum audience was further discussed based on the example of a particular group of museums—the museums of modern history—and one particular museum from this group. Dr. W. Stähler discussed the specific characteristics of the visitors of modern history museums; the forms of interaction with visitors in one of the most famous modern history museums of the world, the Documentation Center Nazi Party Rallying Grounds, were

analyzed by H. C. Täubrich, the Center's Director. It was important for both Russian and German workshop participants to get an idea of the museums' development in other countries. Therefore, the papers of Dr. M. Henker, Director of the Bavarian State Office for the Museums, and M. Gorozhanova, Director of the Department for Promoting Cultural Heritage affiliated with the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Ryazan Region, allowed the participants to compare museum activities of Russian and German regions.

The second conference held in Munich in 2013 was named "The regional museum world: Bavarian museums today". In fact, it was the continuation of the main subject of the 2012 Ryazan conference "Museum as a source of territorial development" (mentioned by W. Stäbler). Russian colleagues visited 23 Bavarian museums and got an idea of a rich and colorful museum landscape of the region. These were museums of different administrative status, i.e., state museums, private institutions, and regional and municipal museums. The institutions were of different profiles and scale, but together they formed a unique cultural environment of the region and represented the diversity of the Bavarian museum landscape. The Kaufbeuren Town Museum that was awarded the major museum prize of the Free State of Bavaria was reconstructed and became a significant site for the citizens (the population in Kaufbeuren is 42.000 people). The welcoming address by the City Mayor demonstrated not only the interest of local authorities towards the local museum, but also their understanding of the actual issues of museology. Another example is the museums of Bayreuth, a city that became universally famous owing to the regular Wagner festivals held here annually. However, the city is known not only for the Richard Wagner Museum (currently being reconstructed), but also for the museum presenting another celebrated composer, Franz Liszt, the museum of the German novelist Jean Paul (not so widely known as Wagner and List, but familiar to German readers), the State Historical Museum, and the Margravian Opera House inscribed in the UNESCO World Heritage List. The way these museums are included in the tourist programs, what they have to offer to tourists coming to the Wagner festivals, and how they reveal cultural specificities of the city—all this was shown through concrete examples. And finally, the most popular museum in Bavaria, a real tourist brand not only in Bavaria, but in whole Germany, is Neuschwanstein Castle, a palace on the Alpine foothills built by Ludwig II, the most famous Bavarian King. The castle embodies the myth of the King, the background of which had been unknown to the tourists and, therefore, unneeded, until 2011. The Museum of the Bavarian Kings was opened in 2011 at the foot of the mountain where Neuschwanstein Castle is situated. It presents the history of the Bavarian kings, revealing the historical context in which the life of Ludwig II ran. The interest towards the Bavarian history and the intention to make it familiar to the foreign audience are the pronounced characteristics of the Bavarian cultural and museum policy. The brand museums



bringing considerable profits to the region are, above all, valuable as the markers of national identity. In this respect, they are considered as a source of territorial development, which is proved by the establishment of new museums (or modernization of the existing ones, as it is the case in Bayreuth) in the areas where the Bavarian museums of global importance are situated. Our colleagues from the Ryazan museums got acquainted with the experience that should be adopted in our country. The conference traditionally organized by the Bavarian State Office for the Museums and the Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research was co-financed by the Government of the Ryazan Region in order to raise qualification of the regional museum experts.

The cooperation between the Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research and the Bavarian State Office for the Museums became possible because all the required conditions were met: established diplomatic relations between Russia and Germany; international orientation of the state cultural policies of both countries; commitment of the regional cultural authorities; and active involvement of museum practitioners. The cooperation at the level of museum coordination centers in the context of international, national, and regional cultural policy, opens, as it has been shown above, unlimited opportunities for international collaboration in the museological sphere.

However, the Russian Institute for Cultural Research funded in 1931 as an Institute for Regional and Museological Research (the Institute changed its name on several occasions, and museology gradually became only one of its focus areas) and considered as the major museological center of the country for more than 80 years, was closed in early 2014. Thus, the institutional links established between the countries were destroyed. However, despite of the fact that the Russian Institute for Cultural Research no longer exists, the team of the former Department of Museum Encyclopedia keeps on cooperating with the Bavarian Office for the Museums and ICOM Germany with the assistance of the Russian regions. Along with the Ryazan Region, these are the Sverdlovsk Region and the Republic of Tatarstan, the areas that can eventually be used as a platform for future cooperation between the former members of the Department of Museum Encyclopedia and their German partners. Two research museological workshops will soon be held in the Sverdlovsk Region. The first workshop “Studying the museum audience as an essential factor of interaction between museum and society” is being prepared jointly with ICOM Germany. The President of ICOM Germany and other distinguished museum experts will take part in this event. The second workshop will be devoted to the analysis of the exhibitions focused on the subject of Great Patriotic War and will provide the platform for the Russian and German museum experts to share their experience in preparing the exhibitions on such painful, but at the same time familiar problem.

The conference “Museum reserves: the museums of the future” supported by ICOM Russia, ICOM Germany and the Bavarian State Office for Museums will be held in Yelabuga (the Republic of Tatarstan). This will be a free form discussion of the promising trends of the museum reserves’ development.

However, in order to implement such projects in the context of international museum cooperation, a special structure is required. ICOM Germany has supported the suggestion of the former Department of Museum Encyclopedia of the Russian Institute for Cultural Research to establish an international working group on museology that would coordinate the Russian-German projects on theoretical and applied museology. Both Russian and German museologists hope to put this idea in practice in the near future.

## **Museums of Ekaterinbourg plants**

The factories museums, a group of corporative plant museums as the units of private enterprises, which are stock companies, is the most active group contacting with museum community. If the plant wants to create image of itself and to expand market relatives, it would be improve of the corporative museums as part of company for the public relations.

The need for the concentrated embodiment of corporate aspirations is understood by administrations of plants, but isn't always unambiguous.

In the past, museum rooms arising still in the 1930th, local history and technical character, were transformed to the museums of history of plants, as the state enterprises expressing party slogans. Today each enterprise tries to develop own museum, thanks to which the problem of effective image positioning and a corporate unification of the personnel is solved. Despite impossibility today to affect a social and economic situation in the city or area, such prospects open at present before this group of the corporate museums.

### **Museum history of UralMach plant.<sup>551</sup>**

The plant was created by instructions of Nicolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov of future chairman of the board of ministers.<sup>552</sup>

In the same time the collection foundation was laid. The administration of the plant gathered unique collection of plant's production: tank armor, airplane propellers, the first builders tools of the plant, memorable notes, photonegatives of the building of UralMash plant (from the first deforestation) and of working the enterprise.

In the second half of the 1930th, the museum and technical office since it was necessary to fix achievements of factory production was created, however after World War II the museum disbanded.

The plant was renowned after 25 years later. Many exhibit was created by director of the museum – S.P. Pervushin, one from plant staff, who don't belong to museum affair, but he introduced the registration exhibits, created of the museum archives and organized the exhibition.

Anew the museum was recreated 25 years later. Many exhibits were created thanks to the plant manager S. P. Pervushin, one of factory workers who had no relation to museum business, but

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<sup>551</sup> All information was received from the conversation with directors of museums and visit to the expositions.

<sup>552</sup> In 1965-1970 he was main engineer of plant.

entered the accounting of exhibits, created archives of the museum and organized an exposition. Unfortunately, after his leaving, the museum didn't develop. In 1986 г. the restoration project was launched on base of the former culture palace. In the opinion of present director of the plant, Sergey Stepanovich Ageev, it was one of the best museum in the country.

Today the exposition of museum rooms was set up a new, after the museum was replaced into new building – central part of permit-building, instead former the cultural palace, which wasn't did for fare and sanitary standards.

At present time (2013) the exposition of halls of the museum is anew formed, after moving of the museum to the new building – the central part of a checkpoint of plant, instead of former palace of culture not meeting the fire and sanitary requirements. The place is doing thankfully self-responsible of the recognize of the brand's plant – museum. It is that which the plant is beginning. Location in itself favorably reflects the importance of this establishment in system of a brand of the owner – the museum with what the plant has to begin. Accents on which selection of exhibits and exposition creation will be based, has to reflect uniqueness of the plant which has created mass of the advanced oil and mining equipment (the biggest in the world the walking excavator was created on Uralmashplant), and also means of the arms which were extremely demanded in the USSR and abroad.

The hall of presentations where all conditions for demonstration of unique equipment of plant and final signing of contracts on cooperation of the enterprise with foreign partners will be created prepares.

The plant reflected as one of industrial bases of arms of the Soviet army, but after World war II more began to make also drilling rigs and walking excavators - again there are demanded ideas of peace existence. Today the plant is considered how the enterprise capable to hold qualitative level of the Russian industry and to lift an economic level of the city that will be reflected in an exposition.

The plant manager sees the museum also the instrument of marketing that answers the principles of the modern corporate museum as the century of "storage of rarities" remained in the past. It is confirmed by active search of decisions in exposition updating which are created in the mass of other corporate museums of a similar profile. The museum – privilege of successes, who are aiming to establish of the solid corporate culture on the enterprise. The museum – the privilege successful, those who seeks to create strong corporate culture at the enterprise. That the corporate museum of the company "TatOil" created absolute innovation concept – this museum of corporate culture and the culture was arisen by working of company. So the museum of the "TatOil" company

created absolutely innovative concept is the museum of corporate culture and the culture resulting activity of the company. Somewhat it is museum of “hydrocarbonic civilisation”<sup>553</sup>.

Though, at present, the museum has no modern means of demonstration of video and a material photo, nevertheless digitization of part of these documents is carried already out, the sound fund of memoirs of veterans of plant – an initiative of the director of the museum, as introduction of innovative technologies under the authority of the factory chronicle is created. Further the museum will be open for all residents, but, first of all, according to the statement of the present director of the museum, the main target consumer for whom the museum was recreated, there are foreign delegations. For them the history of the enterprise and tradition of technical production are, as before, the most demanded. Summing analyzing of the situation of museum reconstruction, absolutely obviously the place of museum in the system of the owners brand. The enterprise with unique technical base by museum intent to continue self image positioning and to demonstrate not only self-potentials, but else his status of modern and competitiveness factory, which is retaining for many years of the traditions advance production. The enterprise with unique technical base by means of the museum is going to continue the image positioning showing not only opportunities, but also the status of the modern competitive enterprise keeping many years of tradition of the advanced production.

### **Museum history of UralChemmach.**

The history of creation of the factory museum begins with the museum room at school of the settlement Lower-Isetsk, even before official opening of the museum in Palace of culture of the 50 anniversary of October in 1972.<sup>554</sup>

The museum moved 5 times; in the present building is within 7 years. The museum exposition was formed by past materials and showpieces, the décor of exposition is done on worthy, but archaic degree. Both hall occupy of the place approximately 120-130 m<sup>2</sup>, included flight of stairs.

In the museum, unfortunately, fully absence of a multimedia component is helping for the exhibition and presenting of the museum in modern digital format: haven't museum site, video projector, wide format screen, media kiosk, interactive models, and deficiency of a showcases. In the museum, unfortunately, completely there is no multimedia component of equipment of the exposition, helping to present the museum in a modern digital format: there is no museum site, no digital videoprojectors, no large-format TV screens, no media booths, no interactive models, and deficiency show-windows for an exposition. In the museum obviously lack of the employ who can

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<sup>553</sup> Museum of "Tatneft" by Dukelskiy VY, Lebedev AV. Museum of the future: information technology and cultural heritage. Available at: <http://www.future.museum.ru/part03/tatneft.htm> (accessed 12 May 2013).

<sup>554</sup> Uralhimmashzavod. Book of heroes front and rear. - Yekaterinburg: IEK "Philanthropist", 2010. p. 57

do introduction of media equipment and to exploit that, because museum staff it is 2 people: director – Nataly Borisovna Lazucova and deputy director – Irina Mihailovna Blinovskiyh. In spite of initiative of these employees, which doing archive work, organization of the exhibitions, realization of the excursion, edition the literature, organization of the veteran meeting and other, in the museum staff lack of expert of digital technology. At all initiative of these employees who are engaged in archival work, the organization of exhibitions, carrying out excursions, the literature edition, the organization of meetings of veterans and other, as a part of the staff of the museum there is no expert of media technologies.

Staff of the museum is helped constantly by volunteers from among employees of plant: in the organization of research work and in holding exhibitions and other extra factory projects, archaeological inspections of the district (generally near the Nizhnee-Isetsy dam), reconstruction of plans of historical building of Lower-Isetsy and its dam are made. Scheduled the creation of several museum (of museum division) dedicate to this theme in place of church Kazan Mother of God of in building of district library. Creation of the separate museum (or museum division), devoted to this subject in the temple of the Kazan Mother of God or regional library is planned. There are ideas of creation of the historical square around the Lower-Isetsy dam.

The number of volunteers in 2013 allowed to create 5 working platforms with participation in the annual stock "Night of the Museums", capable to capture attendance for all city district. But at present time, rich with the facts and events archival museum information is provided at the level of local (intra museum) viewing. Nevertheless, the plant museum carry out active exhibition work, initiate the edition of literature, books narrating about of history of the plant, it's workers, products and achievement. During last 10 years was edited with theirs initiative 5 full-fledged editions, dedicated for the plant and his workers.<sup>555</sup>

Regularly occur the meeting of veteran council of the plant with students of special education institution. Director of the plant – V.V. Kulakov consider it's very important element in corporate moral maintenance on the enterprise, live participation of the veterans to put in practice the giving of the plants traditions to the future generation of potential collaborators. However in verbal interpretation of exposition material, to which regularly appeal by veterans, haven't of one style in

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<sup>555</sup> Books published at the initiative of the Uralkhimmashzavod museum: "Uralkhimmash. The book about heroes of the front and rear " 2010, "A.I. Naymushin. With belief in the future" 2011, "Uralkhimmash. About plant and factory workers", 2002, 2 collections of verses of the factory poet G. P. Voronin, and 1 big edition – the encyclopedia "Engineers of Ural", 2007.

the presenting of information in this moment (as for most of plant's museums not renovation yet), it is important verbal factor (as an advertising in partly) in "language" contact with the people.<sup>556</sup>

Nevertheless the museum absolutely don't self-positioning as part of advertising division of outside connections of the plant, and most likely as the regional museum.

Contemporary tendencies of the plant, his industrial innovations and products wasn't reflected in exhibition rooms, that caught be create of a museum as instrument successfully producing in every PR-company.

Profile orientation of the museum, mostly, is directed at the chronicle of the events in life of the plant, to objectively reflection life and atmosphere, it's on the development stage, because with the plant's advertising division (play very considerable role in the creation of corporative museums) not correlate with work of the plant and haven't mutual coordinating on advertising projects.

Respectively the image component of plant is at the level of 20-year prescription, despite initiative work of his employees.

#### **The plant of mechanical engineering named after Vorovsky.**

"The museum" consist of 2 small halls in Administrative department of the plant. Exposition is presented repaired exhibition of last "plant museum", where was presented 6-7 examples of the production was produced by the enterprise: model of the moving setter stations, the garden spraying machines, the hulls of rocket-launched complex "Katyusha", the hulls for a mortar shell, items of the private life and measuring devices. The stands narrate about history of war years in the plant, about contemporary production, and about new achievements of the enterprise.

Both rooms occupied approximately 20 m<sup>2</sup>. Any special regular museum employees it isn't provided. "Museum" exists only thanks to an initiative of the plant manager, not allowed an abyss to the museum in the 1990th and thanks to an initiative of factory workers of the senior generation. Main "manager" and curator of the museum is G.A. Parisheva, chief of plant's one department, who combine her general work with museum work.

The rooms was restored by staff of the Ural Institute Museum projects, they created of room's interiors with the employees of the plant. Realization of this project – it is single innovation step for the last twenty years.

The museum isn't the instrument for the support of the market advance or a corporative soul, despite on the reflection in the exhibition successfully competitive existence. The support of a corporative soul is being produced only among the veteran-workers.

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<sup>556</sup> Corporate culture museum by Mastenitsa E.N (2012). Questions of cultural studies. Scientific-practical and methodical magazine (6), 65-70.

The absence of image-ambitions for positions among city-inhabitants and even among foreign partners, the small fund of the exhibition projects, the lack of the aims to the TV and internet-development, the lack of the freely visit of the museum rooms of the outside guests, it's doing of the plant "museum" the one of the most secret and anti-commercial corporate museum.

### **ZiK's Museum (museum of plant named after Kalinin).**

Museum of plant named after Kalinin it's division existed approximately 40 years. For this time the exhibition of the museum ceased for answer to contemporary museum standards, where use modern technology and innovation approaches for the presenting of the museum collection. Today's curator reported, it will be completely rebuilt and was concluded a treaty with the Pterburg's firm (firm's name is holding in a secret) for absolute optimization of the presenting for museum collection. Multimedia technologies, for translation of achievements and plant history in the most evident, brisk form (as it will look specifically, the curator of reconstruction while holds back) will be bought.

The reconstruction of the building had been scheduled to finish for the end of 2013, but haven't been finished yet.

To talking about future plans and politick of the development for the museum as projects and attraction of the consumers (domestic and foreign) the curator is refusing yet.

To discuss future plans and policy of development of activity of the museum in the form of projects and involvement of the consumer (both internal, and external) the curator while refuses.

Nevertheless, until the reconstruction the museum was working very actively, and every time the excursions was being organized among different groups of townspeople.

### **Conclusion.**

After 20 years since transition to market economic system, the corporate plant museums again received the potential perspective quality development thankful to all-Russian tendency to obligatory existence these division institutions in huge state and industrial companies.

Some of them became the objects in spotlight of plant's managers and only lately received the backing for development and creation of the contemporary museum exposition, which able to messaging to visitor in modern and effective form. This reconstruction, activity, level of equipment, direction of work, financing, personnel policy, completely depend from owners and corporate management.

As practice shows the corporate museum have an influence on a producing of the work, on a quality of the product, on a building of success image, on a mood of the employees, on psychological atmosphere and, finally, it defines a community people, their belonging to big company or corporation. It attached their to some big purposes and tasks, and gives them intention to solve their.



It's, unfortunately, depend from constancy the highest administrative personnel, ambitions and commercial basis so as to create this establishment. Therefore, have been a possibility to see the examples of relatively successful reconstruction the museums of Uralmash plant and the plant named after Kalinin, where roles is defined in the market branding of the companies, their difference only in range of the accessibility for the local visitors. The such examples of the museum reconstruction give hopes for their possibility not only to "astonish and amaze", to present the face of company, where all technologies is up-to-date and have the theme-exposition plan<sup>557</sup>, but also to become significant information cultural centers in a city, and perhaps, in the region.

Other examples reflected standard situations for many corporate museums, who haven't stepped on a path of digital and technical updating, and main thing on a path of change the policy of an existence the museum division.

The museum of UralChemmach plant haven't appropriate the financing funds. Technical and project development is hampered economic problems of the enterprise while the museum have real chance to become not only plant's and regional museum, but and one of city cultural-industrial centers.

Museum rooms of the plant of mechanical engineering named after Vorovsky is represents an example corporate club division of the company, which don't have influence to life of the plant, and most likely will never be to have an impact on market component of the enterprise and will never be to give any contribution into the social-economic policy of region, because haven't this purposes.

A question of including plant's museum in cluster cultural policy of region as an enterprise (and museum) haven't brought up yet, same as, hadn't got the offer about including the museum in some regional ICOM division, or some offer from outside to make the settlement of legal base etc. But the centralization the system of recommendations about the organization of ruling and development of the museums, most likely, will be perceived very watchfully by the museums.

As many other enterprises, the museums haven't of the necessity in additional legal base and constant accounts to any museum personnel, because the principles of cooperation with the museum community has free character.

Overwhelming majority enterprises solving of incorporate image tasks, and their owners not interested today to popularize of the plant massively and to creation cultural brand with museum division because don't understand of the possibilities their using, and don't understand of the important to existence full-fledged museum, as attribute of the status. That the museum of

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<sup>557</sup> Корпоративный музей от А до Я / ЗАО "Альваспецстрой" // Мир музея. - 2007. - N 6. - С. 22-23.

Turbomotor plant with there is successful existence of the plant, will be planned to reduce museum territory to 10 times.

In summary by that solutions for the perspectives of development some cultural centers is restricted, and their value is being decreased both for the enterprise and for the region.

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## **Ryazan Museum Centre as a factor of cultural development of the region**

Ryazan region possesses a high cultural potential and represents one of the most interesting areas in Central Russia.

Taking into consideration the important role of museum as a powerful source of socio-economic and cultural development of regions, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Ryazan Region is currently implementing the state policy in the museum field in compliance with the current legislation and the Concept for the long-term socio-economic development of the Russian Federation which suggests an innovative and socially oriented economic development of the country.

Free access to culture and familiarization with cultural heritage of the Ryazan region represent together an important tool for developing public conscience and a system of spiritual values affecting all areas of life. Museums remain the major preservers of the historical and cultural heritage and an important factor of the development of the territories. Efficient socio-economic and cultural development of the region depends to a great extent on the efficient use of the legacy conserved in the museums.

The dynamic of development of the Ryazan region museum network has remained positive during the last 15 years. Thus, if there were only 16 museums in 1996 in the region, their number reached 42 in 2013. Over the last four years, the number of museum visitors has constantly grown: from 571.9 thousand persons in 2010 to 677.6 thousand persons in 2013. The museum staff of the region comprises 695 employees, of which more than 250 are researchers and museum guides.

The government of the Ryazan region gives special priority to the development of the museum field. The regional cultural policy is focused on providing free access to the cultural heritage to the citizens. In this respect, the priority areas of the museum development are as follows:

- updating regulatory and legal framework;
- ensuring preservation and safety of the regional museums;
- modernizing museum infrastructure;
- developing exhibition activities;
- introducing innovative information technologies;
- advanced training of the museum staff.

The museum operations in the region are regulated by the federal legislature and by the Law of the Ryazan region establishing major principles and provisions of the museum activities.

In 2007, the Law on Museums and Museum Activities in the Ryazan Region was adopted. The law is being constantly updated and ameliorated. The definitions are being adjusted, and useful amendments are being made to the articles. The last modifications were made in 2011.

In accordance with the 83th Federal Law, 27 museums are considered legal entities and operate as budgetary institutions, with the exception of the Sergey Yesenin's State Museum-Reserve, an autonomous cultural facility. The implementation of this law was followed by the improvement of the regional regulatory framework (in particular, with respect to the transition from the financing of institutions to the financing of services).

Thus, the major areas of museum activities were established. Moreover, the List of state services (works) rendered (performed) by the museums to the physical and legal entities and financed by the government of the Ryazan region was developed. The procedure for allocating appropriate financial support was also established. In addition, the authorities elaborated the standards for the provision of services, the quality procedure, the financial support scheme, and the procedure for controlling appropriate implementation of the state (municipal) tasks related to the state (municipal) services and works.

One of the major tools for implementing the state cultural policy is a special-purpose planning program allowing the government to provide financial support to the regional museums in order to develop the priority areas and to solve the crucial problems, all this in compliance with the current legislation. This is a matter of vital importance for the municipal museums governed by local authorities and financed from local budgets. In this case, the major mechanism for supporting the municipal museums in the region are state programs allowing one to implement projects of social importance, including repair and restoration works, creation of new exhibitions, and preservation of museum funds.

During 2009—2013 the following programs were elaborated and implemented:

- the long-term special-purpose program “The Development of the S.A. Yesenin State Museum-Reserve during 2010–2015”, the amount of financing exceeding 120 mln rubles;
- the long-term special-purpose program “The Development of the Ryazan Region Museums during 2013–2017”, the amount of financing exceeding 600 mln rubles. In 2013 this program was included in the united state program of the Ryazan region “The cultural development during 2014–2020”;

- the Ryazan region state program “The development of the Sergey Yesenin's State Museum-Reserve during 2014–2020”, the amount of financing exceeding 260 mln rubles (6127750.3 mln rubles taking into account the funds destined for the state program). In the context of this program, the facilities of the museum-reserve are currently being reconstructed (the houses of Minakov and Dorozhkin); the museum depository and the administrative facility of the museum-reserve are being built.

In 2013 all the regional museums developed *the strategies for development* up to 2015 laying a foundation for a consolidated cultural strategy of the region.

Another characteristic of the cultural policy is a special attention given to the museums' exhibitions. The Ryazan region is one of the few areas that adopted the Provision on the Organization of the Regional Museums Exhibitions. This provision establishes the procedure and the major rules for organizing the operation of the state museums, namely, conceiving museum exhibitions, elaborating scientific, architectural, and artistic design, as well as arrangement, installation, evaluation, and presentation of the state museums' exhibitions. The promotion of the historical and cultural heritage and the organization of new historical museum exhibitions constitute an important mission of the regional museums.

For example, during 2007–2013 new exhibitions were created in 8 municipal and 2 regional museums for a total amount of 30 mln rubles, all financed from the regional budget. This work is going to continue during the next years. The experience proves that the creation of new exhibitions using modern technologies and the accomplishments of the museum science considerably raises the number of museum visitors.

Taking into account the modern economic situation in the field of culture, the development needs of the museums requiring the use of modernized material and intellectual resources and efficient management strategies, as well as the transformation of museums into open modern institutions capable of solving socio-cultural problems by means of scientific research, it was considered desirable to create a special Museum Centre of the Ryazan region.

Such regional museum centers are well known abroad, whereas in our country it has remained a theoretical idea until lately. However, this modular system allows for developing and regulating the consolidated cultural space, that is, *the museum world of a region*. The system may include project, information, and education dimensions, exhibition platforms, and electronic resources; it may suggest analytical, methodical, and expert courses of working with cultural heritage, museums, and visitors.

The idea to create the Museum Centre appeared quite a long time ago. It can be explained by the fact that there is no head local lore museum in the region which could become a centre of the

regional museum activities and create a consolidated communication and information space for the regional museums. In 2010, in the context of the special-purpose program “The cultural development of the Ryazan region during 2010–2012”, the Information-analytical and resource museum centre was created as a structural unit of one of the regional museums.

However, we came to the conclusion that it was inefficient to attach such a centre to one particular museum. The museum administration was far from being enthusiastic about the prospect of establishing and managing such a facility; therefore, the Centre was mainly guided by the Department for the development of museums and libraries affiliated to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Ryazan region.

Consequently, in 2014 the Museum Centre was separated from the mentioned museum and became a structural unit of a new institution that consolidated all the cultural and tourist activities of the region, i.e., the Information-Analytical Centre of Culture and Tourism of the Ryazan Region. This strengthened the position of the Centre and raised its status in the cultural space of the region, which opened new prospects in the development of the museum field.

The Museum Centre supports innovative activities in the museums, coordinates the interactions between the museums by providing information and organizational support, helps introducing modern technologies, and implements educational programs and museum projects. Its mission is to develop the network partnership of the Ryazan region museums, introduce and employ the most efficient methods and forms of museum activities, and improve the professional knowledge. The institution is supposed to become a methodical centre for the regional museums.

Therefore, the advanced training of the museum staff represents a task of crucial importance. For that purpose, educative workshops, professional courses, and scientific conferences are being constantly held.

For instance, in 2011 and 2013 two international conferences were held, i.e., “The role of museums in developing the historical conscience” and “Museums as a factor of territorial development”; the materials of these conferences were published. Choosing the Ryazan region for holding these events was not a coincidence: positive changes in the development of the museum field in the region, in particular, the creation of new museum exhibitions, constituted an interesting case that was widely discussed by the museum community in Russia, CIS countries, and Germany.

Under the initiative of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Ryazan region, the research “Museum and its visitor” was conducted in 2012. Studying the museum audience of the Ryazan region helped elaborating the recommendations for the cultural authorities and museum experts aimed at facilitating the access to cultural heritage and raising the level of museum services.

The organization of the permanent biannual workshop “Museum and its visitor” in Ryazan was one of the most important results of this research.

The advanced training of museum staff with participation of the leading Russian museum experts is a matter of vital importance which is given a lot of attention. One should mention a fruitful cooperation with the colleagues from Bavaria who helped organizing the training for the Russian museum experts in Germany in 2013.

The government of the Ryazan region declared 2013 as the Year of Museums. The important cultural events held during this year helped unify the resources and attracted the citizens to the museums.

The website “Museums of the Ryazan region” was created, with each museum having its own page ([www.musrzn.ru](http://www.musrzn.ru)). The relevant information is being constantly added to the website allowing users to quickly receive information on the museum events in the region.

The work is being continued: the Ryazan Museum Centre is developing the programs of the regional travelling exhibitions, museum subscription projects, contests, and the concepts of new museums.

The accumulated experience allows one to recommend using the model of the Museum Centre in other regions of the country.

Cooperation between Museums and Power as the Most Important Factor in the Development of the Social and Cultural Space of the Region (a case study of the Tobolsk Province – Tyumen Region)

There is no doubt that cooperation between museums and power is a most important factor in the development of the social and cultural space of any region, which has a serious impact on society's ideological and moral condition. Sociocultural space is to a great extent determined by material circumstances in the life of the society, the level of priority ranking of its development in the policy of the country and region, and by the presence of subjective conditions, such as an active creative intelligentsia and effective management presupposing good education, high professionalism, open-mindedness, and other personal qualities of the top leaders.

The term “cooperation” presupposes mutual trust and mutual benefit in a relationship, based on real actions and results. What do museums expect from government bodies? Certainly, understanding and provision of the necessary conditions for them to fulfill their functions determined by the society and state, i.e., legal, financial and material support. Judging from practice, we can specify four levels of relations with the authorities: optimal, passive, zero-level, and complete absence of cooperation.

No doubt, the main function of political authority is to determine a strategy for the development of the country, if we speak about the federal level, of the region, and organizations, including the sociocultural area, and therefore museums. Of course, the specifying of future development of museums must accord with the tasks relevant for the country, region and organization, and take into consideration museums' special character and possibilities, trust in the professionalism of museum employees, and with their involvement, and take account of a knowledge of the tendencies in the development of the world community. But as is clear from historical experience and modern history, determining the strategy of development, in particular of museums, does not always produce the desired result. Quite often it is precisely the direct involvement of representatives of government bodies in the life of this or that museum that is a guarantee of its successful development. A compelling historical experience in this respect is that of the Tobolsk Province, considered a gateway to Siberia, the first territory across the Urals bordering on European Russia. The city of Tobolsk was for several centuries, from 1596 to 1782, the capital of Siberia, and the territory of Tobolsk Province was the largest in Russia and included the lands from the Urals to the Far East. And even after a number of administrative reforms of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early



20<sup>th</sup> centuries, it comprised, besides the modern Tyumen Region with the northern autonomous areas (Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets), the Kurgan Region, and parts of the Tomsk, Omsk and Sverdlovsk Regions, and of Kazakhstan.

It should be noted that Siberia has had a special significance for Russia, both in the past and at present. How is it manifested?

The incorporation of Siberia in the 16<sup>th</sup> century became the most valuable acquisition of the Russian state during its whole history and crucially changed the geopolitical structure of the world. The Moscow Rus, remaining one of the largest European powers, was now firmly established in the vast expanses of Asia and became a Eurasian country. The special location of the province and its unique character in many respects influenced the development of the whole country. During crucial periods this region, a part of Siberia, many times was the key factor and the most important support for Russia, which is still true at present, inasmuch as the basis for the region's and the whole country's welfare for over 50 years has been the West-Siberian Oil and Gas Complex created through the heroic efforts of several generations of Siberians.

The announced topic will be covered mainly through the case study of three museums: the State Autonomous Cultural Institution of the Tyumen Region "The Tobolsk Historical and Architectural Preserve-Museum," the State Autonomous Cultural Institution of the Tyumen Region "I.Ya. Slotsov Museum Complex," and the Museum of the History of Science and Technology of Trans-Urals of the Tyumen State Oil and Gas University, and will be shown for two time periods: the Tobolsk Province in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the Tyumen Region (from the early 1980s to the present). The interaction of museums and authorities will be shown in relation to all levels of administration: highest, regional, local and departmental.

The development of the sociocultural space is influenced by the special character of this or that region. The special features of the development of the Tobolsk Region in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries: its vast, but thinly populated territory, its multi-ethnic character; underdeveloped transportation routes; isolation from the European center of the country and from its cultural and scientific influence; emergence of its own intelligentsia only by the 1860s<sup>558</sup>; the predominant development of agriculture; the low level of literacy in the Province (14 % in 1913); the development of a certain type of community with a special mentality due to the fact that during several centuries Siberia was a place of forced hard labour and exile; insufficient attention paid to the region by professional

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<sup>558</sup> Швецов, С.П. Культурное значение политической ссылки в Западной Сибири // Каторга и ссылка. Историко-революционный вестник под общей редакцией Ф.Я. Кона. - М., 1928. - Кн. 40. - С. 57.

scholars; absence of democratic institutions of authority, such as the *zemstvo*, that appeared after the reform of 1861 in the European part of Russia; and concentration of personal power of management of the vast territory in the governor's hands during the period under consideration – all slowed down its cultural development.

The literate part of the population included only officials, clergymen, teachers and political deportees, and later part of the peasantry, who became active participants in the development of the sociocultural space of the region, which was aimed at solving two main tasks: to study Siberia and to contribute to the raising of the population's cultural and educational level, and encouraging their love of their region.

The involvement of the Siberian region in the sphere of the political, economic and cultural life of the country required conducting regular research here that began systematically at the order of Emperor Peter I (the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> expeditions to Kamchatka). Scientific research of Siberia became more active due to the modernization of the Russian economy in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A definite contribution to the study of the region was made by the Imperial Russian Geographic Society (1845) and its West-Siberian section (1877), and also by the Tobolsk Province Statistical Committee restored in 1853.

A significant role in the research of the region was given to museums, and their efforts to encourage the population's patriotic feelings were no less valuable.

The significance of museums for society and a list of their functions were mentioned in 1908 by P. Serebrennikov in his article about the Perm Science and Industry Museum (*Permskaya Zemskaya Nedelya*, 1908). He interprets the notion of “museum” not as a collection of antiquities, but sees it as a research and educational institution that influences a wide range of people and encourages patriotism: “A museum is a mirror that tries to reflect, as far as possible, the whole of the nature, history, life, natural resources and industry of the region, being at the same time one of the true markers of the region's cultural level. A museum is a public educational institution that encourages the feeling of the people's identity and self-respect, thereby developing the feeling of patriotism, in the broadest sense of the word, even in totally illiterate people who cannot read any books.”<sup>559</sup> The last message was of special importance for Siberia – a place of forced labour and exile and a territory with a low level of education. Even earlier, in 1895, N.L. Skalozubov, the Tobolsk government agronomist, a well-known scholar and local historian, offered his understanding of the museum, as discussed further below.

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<sup>559</sup> Медынский, Е.Н. Внешкольное образование, его значение. Организация и техника. - СПб., 1913. - С. 201.

The main special feature of that period was the increase in the number of museums in Tobolsk Province. No other province beyond the Urals had so many large museums as Tobolsk Province. Four significant museums, both in terms of the size of their collections and the scale of their activities, operated successfully on its territory: the Tobolsk Province Museum (1870), the Museum of the Tyumen Alexander Non-Classical Secondary School (1879), the Museum of Antiquities of the St. Demetrius of Thessaloniki Eparchial Fraternity (1901), and the Repository of Collections Related to the Ethnography of Non-Russians of the Tobolsk North of the Obdorsk St. Gury Missionary Society (1906). The museums had different founders: government institutions, private individuals, and Orthodox fraternities.

It should be noted that the country's first leaders in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, namely Crown Prince Alexander Nikolaevich (the future emperor Alexander II), had a direct relation to the appearance of the first exhibition<sup>560</sup> and first museums in the Tobolsk Province in 1837. The so-called "muzeums" - memorial museums - were related to the storage of row boats that were used by Crown Prince Alexander during his travel in Siberia in late May – June of 1837. Those museums were created in the cities of Tobolsk and Tyumen by order of the Tobolsk Governor and Tyumen City Duma and functioned until the Revolution of 1917.

It is known that the first museums in Russia and Europe were mostly cabinets of curiosities. In the Tobolsk Province the museolised rarities played an active part in the life of the city. Thus, the museum in Tyumen established in 1837, was open for residents and guests of the city on weekends and holidays, and visits there were included in the program of the city holiday on May 31 after the prayer service for the health and welfare of the Tsar Liberator, i.e., it was used for encouraging allegiance to the emperor's family, which at that time was associated with patriotic feelings towards one's fatherland.

The Tobolsk Province Statistical Committee, chaired by the governor, was the first among the three statistical committees in Siberia to establish, in 1870, a regional museum (no doubt, not without encouragement by its secretary Ivan Youshkov) that with time turned into the largest local history center in the Trans-Urals. Both formerly and currently, a big role in the museum's fate was played by the top leaders of the country, the highest administrators of the region, progressive officials, and other intellectual patriots.

An important historical event that influenced the fate of the Tobolsk Province Museum (now the State Autonomous Cultural Institution of the Tyumen Region "Tobolsk Historical and Architectural Preserve-Museum"), was the visit of Crown Prince Nikolai Alexandrovich to Siberia and Tobolsk

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<sup>560</sup>Гриценко Н. В. К истории первой губернской выставки // Словцовские чтения – 1999. Тез. докл. и сообщ. науч.-практ. конф. – Тюмень, 1999. – С. 87.

Province, including the Tobolsk Province Museum, during his Eastern journey in 1890-91.<sup>561</sup> Upon the petition of the Management Committee of the museum, on August 31, 1891, Crown Prince Nikolai Alexandrovich took the Tobolsk Province Museum under royal patronage, and on July 11, 1893 a “portrait donated by His Majesty” was ceremonially hung in the museum. Having become the emperor, Nikolai gave his consent to leave the museum under his patronage, thereby enhancing the status of the museum’s activity and also raising the demands made on it.<sup>562</sup> The Tobolsk Province Museum was “the only museum in Russia” that “could be proud of the special involvement of the emperor.”<sup>563</sup> The Tobolsk Historical and Architectural Preserve-Museum displays a number of objects related to the royal family: a case with the autograph of the crown prince Nikolai Alexandrovich in memory of his visit to Tobolsk, a decorative plate with a portrait of Nicholas II dated 1896 and made in France, a case for a sofa pillow – a present for the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Romanov dynasty of 1913, and others.

While the special status of the museum did not have any impact on its financial situation or its material and technical facilities, this fact stimulated the community and regional and municipal authorities to make a great effort to support the museum’s activities. Emperor Nicholas II was always interested in the museum’s work, and all the issues of the “Yearbook of the Tobolsk Province Museum” were sent to him (in total, from 1893 to 1918, 29 issues were published).

A great role in the life of the Tobolsk Province Museum, especially in terms of improving its material and technical facilities and solving financial issues, was played by the governors. One of them was Vladimir Troinitsky (1847-1915) who was considered by his contemporaries the founder of the museum; he had a special building for the museum built using money donated by city residents (13,000 rubles).<sup>564</sup> During Troinitsky’s time as governor, the museum got the status of an independent institution subordinate to the Ministry of Agriculture and State Property, but it was not an institution of culture in the modern sense of the term. Full-time employees who received salaries included only an attendant and watchmen, and an inspector of the meteorological station at the museum (in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century). All the research and creative work was provided by the Society (from 1889) with the same

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<sup>561</sup> Ежегодник Тобольского губернского музея. – Тобольск, 1915.– Выпуск XXV. – С. – 5.

<sup>562</sup> Там же.- С. 5-6.

<sup>563</sup> Гриценко, Н.В. Музей под покровительством тобольских губернаторов // Югра. – Ханты-Мансийск, 2003. – № 6. – С. 34.

<sup>564</sup> Ежегодник Тобольского губернского музея. – Тобольск, 1915.– Выпуск XXV. – С. 1.

name as the museum, “The Tobolsk Province Museum”<sup>565</sup>. The number of members of the museum-society varied from 172 people in 1890, when it was established, to a maximum of 229 people in 1905.

The Society elected the Management Committee headed by the Chairperson of the Committee’s Board in the person of the Governor, who was responsible for the museum’s activities. Director of the veterinary and medical assistants school N.A. Lytkin was elected the first curator of the museum; architect K.D. Gordeev, the curator’s assistant; Captain S.N. Mameev, librarian; and the city mayor S.M. Trusov, treasurer. They fulfilled their functions, as we would say today, as volunteers.

Honorary members due to their positions were the Archpastor of Tobolsk and Siberia and the Tobolsk Governor and Overseer of the West-Siberian Educational District. Permanent members (§ 16) included: the Tobolsk Vice-governor, Manager of State Property of Tobolsk Province, Director of Schools of Tobolsk Province, Rector of the Tobolsk Ecclesiastical Seminary, Director of the Tyumen Non-Classical Secondary School, Chairperson of the Tobolsk Physico-medical Society, Member and Secretary of the Tobolsk Province Statistical Committee, and the Mayor of Tobolsk. In fact, this system of management existed until 1918.

Major exhibition projects, in which the Tobolsk Province Museum took part, were carried out under the supervision of the governors who were chairpersons of the regional exhibition committees: Nikolai Bogdanovich (1856-1903) – the regional agricultural and trade show in Kurgan in 1895; Leonid Knyazev (1850 – after 1917) – participation of the province in the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900. Preparation for these exhibitions was made the responsibility of the conservator of the Tobolsk Museum, the government agronomist of the province N.L. Skalozubov.

N.M. Bogdanovich also succeeded in getting from the Ministry of Agriculture and State Properties one-time subsidies of 300 – 500 rubles a year beginning in 1897. However the museum’s financial situation remained very difficult for a long time, sometimes to the point of having to “pass the hat” and the possibility of suspending the publication of the only museum press organ in Russia, “The Yearbook of the Tobolsk Province Museum.” In fact, the museum survived due to private donations, including the use of the governor’s personal finances. Thus, the overall sum of L.M. Knyazev’s donations was 503 rubles 59 kopecks. From 1913, the museum’s financial situation became more stable due to receiving a regular subsidy of 4,200 rubles from the Department of Agriculture, and from 1915, one of 1,000 rubles from the Tobolsk Province *zemstvo* budget annually.<sup>566</sup>

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<sup>565</sup> Там же. – С. 2.

<sup>566</sup> Нескончаемое познание Сибири. Сибирские реликвии. – Италия, Верона, 2000. – С. 8.

The reconstruction of the old building and the increase in the museum's area by two thirds by means of extensions took place in 1905-1908 during the governorship of Nikolai Gondatti (1863-1946), a famous explorer of Siberia and the Far East.<sup>567</sup>

V.N. Pignatti (1854-1920) - a former political exile, chamber counsel, the museum's conservator in 1908-1915, member of the Managing Board of the Tobolsk Province Museum, chairperson of the Vigilance Committee of the Tobolsk Province (1917-1918), commissar of the province exercising the prerogatives of the governor (1918-1919) – also contributed a lot of effort to collecting museum items, their scholarly description, and creating a new exhibition.

The Tobolsk Province Museum was at the peak of its development in the period between 1894 and 1902, when it became the leading center for the study of local history in the Tobolsk Province, with its rich collection of items of historical and cultural value, and became a research and educational institution well known both in Russia and beyond. The museum owed much of its success in that period to Nikolai Skalozubov - the Tobolsk government agronomist (1894-1905), a deputy of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> State Duma of the Tobolsk Province, the conservator of the Tobolsk Province Museum (1894-1903), a member of the editorial commission of "The Yearbook of the Tobolsk Province Museum" (1894-1905), the Deputy to the Chairperson of the Museum's Committee (1903-1905), and an Honorary Member of the Museum (1896-1915). After his death in 1915, his portrait, like a portrait of the Governor V.A. Troinitsky, hung on a wall in the hall of the general collection of the museum as a token of gratitude.

N.L. Skalozubov was a very well educated person,<sup>568</sup> who made it a high priority to study his native land and place of residence, and he considered it important for the success of the development of Siberia and Tobolsk Province. One of his publications in the newspaper "Sibirsky Listok" begins with the following words that are a refrain to his whole activity:

"Nature and God command to love one's homeland,

To know it is honor, dignity and duty."<sup>569</sup>

The breadth of this agronomist's scientific interests was amazing. The list of Skalozubov's scholarly works published from 1890 to 1916 included 257 titles dedicated to various subjects. Thirty-one of his works were focused on issues related to museums and exhibition work.

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<sup>567</sup> Ежегодник Тобольского губернского музея. – Тобольск, 1915. – Вып. XXV. – С. 17.

<sup>568</sup> Пигнатти В.Н. Николай Лукич Скалозубов и его деятельность в Тобольской губернии // Ежегодник Тобольского Губернского Музея. – Тобольск, 1916. – Вып. XXVII. – С. 18–19.

<sup>569</sup> Скалозубов Н. Л. «Любить Отечество велит природа, Бог...» // Сибирский листок. – Тобольск, 1901. – № 7 (21 янв.). – С. 1.

N.L. Skalozubov did enormous work related to collecting items for the museum's collection (4,248 registration numbers were added), registering new acquisitions, to the systematization and scholarly description of museum collection, and to the compilation and publication (as early as 1895) of systematic catalogues. "Collections only have a meaning when they are systematized, clear, and can be explained," he thought.<sup>570</sup> He created new sections (fishery, handicrafts, agricultural, art sections), modernized the ethnographical section that became one of the best in Russia, and paid special attention to exhibition design issues, to making cabinets and showcases, and to seeking money for these purposes.

N.L. Skalozubov made a considerable contribution to the development of theoretical issues of museum studies, first of all to the concept of the "museum" and its role in society. As early as 1895, in his presentation "On the Further Development of the Activities of the Tobolsk Province Museum" he wrote: "By the very nature of its task, the museum... should, on the one hand, research and study, and on the other, popularize and educate; therefore, it is both a scholarly and educational institution. In this double character of the museum lies its strength and significance."<sup>571</sup> This viewpoint was supported by Governor L.M. Knyazev and part of the museum's members, who managed to prove that the museum is not just a storage place, but also a Society pursuing scholarly and educational goals.

N.L. Skalozubov spoke about the systematic work of gathering materials and in fact formulated a new approach to collecting, raised the issue of creating systematic collections for the local history museum, and defined basic concepts of collecting: "Accumulation of materials and facts is the first sacred task of the museum... When we will have systematic collections in the museum, representing the local flora, fauna, soil and its mineral resources, collections of everyday life items of ancient people who used to live here, collections of everyday life objects of modern residents, their trades, products of agriculture and animal husbandry, etc., then we will partially fulfill the goal of the museum as a scholarly institution... But what comes next, when the collections are gathered, and the library is full of various facts about the province? From this time on, the museum's educational activity begins. Its doors should be wide open for everybody. All for whom the success of education

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<sup>570</sup> Пигнатти В. Н. Николай Лукич Скалозубов и его деятельность в Тобольской губернии // Ежегодник Тобольского Губернского Музея. – Тобольск, 1916. – Вып. XXVII. – С. 50.

<sup>571</sup> Скалозубов, Н. Л. О дальнейшем направлении деятельности Тобольского Губернского Музея // Сибирский листок, 1895. – № 32 (27 апр.) – С. 1–2.

is dear should be the museum's closest friends. The museum's collections, its halls, and its library serve their purposes.”<sup>572</sup>

Thus, gathering collections and facts about the region, on the one hand, and a wide popularization of knowledge, on the other, - these are the basic tasks which the museum should try to fulfill.

During N.L. Skalozubov's time as the conservator, the Tobolsk Museum was in close touch with scholars, exchanged publications and cooperated with more than 160 institutions (universities, institutes, museums, libraries, regional statistical committees, scholarly archival commissions) and scholarly societies in cities and towns of Russia.

A considerable contribution to the development of the local studies at the Tobolsk Province Museum was made by A.A. Dunin-Gorkavich, the Samarovo forester of the Tobolsk Province, full member of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (IRGO), corresponding member of the Ethnography and Anthropology Museum, the Navigation and Fishery Society, the Tobolsk Province Statistical Committee, and the Tobolsk Province Museum.

A.A. Dunin-Gorkavich gathered rich ethnographical collections which became the highlight of the Tobolsk Museum, and gave part of his collections to the Ethnography and Anthropology Museum of the Russian Academy of Sciences; he invested his personal finances into the publication of “The Yearbook of the Tobolsk Province Museum,” and delivered lectures on the most urgent issues related to the needs of the indigenous and Russian population. His collections were exhibited and recognized at many major exhibitions. Studying the Tobolsk North, A.A. Dunin-Gorkavich walked, rode on horses and deer, and sailed on boats more than 50 thousand kilometers, i.e., a distance longer than the equator. Dunin-Gorkavich's scientific heritage includes over 60 published and handwritten works on the history, geography, economy, statistics, and ethnography of the North. The explorer received state awards and awards of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society.<sup>573</sup>

The museum carried out educational activity, using traditional forms of work with visitors: viewing of the exhibition by the visitors with the explanation of the collections by the conservator and attendants; offering presentations and explanatory readings; delivering paid public lectures on different subjects; and organizing the work of the free reading room that was used by 50,972 people

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<sup>572</sup> Там же. – С. 1–2.

<sup>573</sup> Прибыльский, Ю. П. Жизнь и творчество А. А. Дунина-Горкавича // Исследователь Севера Александр Дунин-Горкавич / Научный редактор Ю. П. Прибыльский – М., 1995. – С. 6–21; Тобольский биографический словарь. – Екатеринбург, 2004. – С.150–151; Сибирские реликвии. – Верона (Италия), 1999. – С. 9–10.



in 8 years. The museum was open to the public a little over 300 days a year, and in the 28 years from 1889 to 1917 it was visited by 52,195 people. 31% of the total number of visitors (16,220 people) included the category of those who had the right to see the museum for free; there were 13,640 (26%) children and students among the visitors.<sup>574</sup> In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Tobolsk Museum comprised items registered under 10,158 numbers. It was often the case that some numbered items could include hundreds or even thousands of individual objects.

Despite difficulties, and especially financial ones, by 1917 the Tobolsk Museum had attained high public recognition, was known far beyond the province, and had achieved considerable success in its development, especially in the research and documentation or artifact preservation functions.

There were considerable changes in the fate of the Tobolsk Museum in the Soviet time: in the 1930s, the group of buildings of the Tobolsk Kremlin were conveyed to the museum. In the 1960s, the museum got the status of a preserve-museum and began the reconstruction of the Kremlin buildings. But, in spite of important decisions taken at the government level, the restoration work proceeded unenthusiastically and slowly for various reasons. The pace was picked up in recent times. In my opinion, three factors contributed to the process: 1. Conveyance to the Tobolsk and Tyumen Eparchy of the buildings of the Sophia Court which are part of the Tobolsk Kremlin and which were used by the museum, and therefore the necessity to provide other restored buildings for the museum: the Prison Castle, the Viceroy's Palace, and the Governor's House. The restoration of the Viceroy's Palace in Tobolsk was included in the Federal Target Program of the Government of the Russian Federation "Culture of Russia (2006-2011)" (Resolution № 740 of December 8, 2005). 2. Adoption of the Tyumen Region Law "On the Development of Domestic and Incoming Tourism in the Tyumen Region" № 536 of December 28, 2006 and the Regional Target Program "The Main Focus Areas in the Development of Tourism in the Tyumen Region" (in effect from 2006), in which Tobolsk is one of the chief tourist attractions as the spiritual capital of Siberia. 3. Tobolsk is developing as a center of petrochemical industry, the real success of which is of interest to the top leaders of the country. President V.V. Putin visited the city twice, and during his first visit he saw the museum, and D.A.

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<sup>574</sup> Ежегодник Тобольского губернского музея. – Тобольск, 1915 г. – Вып. XXV. – С. 56–57; Отчет секретаря Тобольского губернского музея за 1915 год // Ежегодник Тобольского губернского музея. – Тобольск, 1917 г. – Вып. XXVI. – С. 12; Отчет секретаря Тобольского губернского музея за 1916 год // Ежегодник Тобольского губернского музея. – Тобольск, 1917 г. – Вып. XXVIII. – С. 8–9; Отчет секретаря Тобольского губернского музея за 1917 год // Ежегодник Тобольского губернского музея. – Тобольск, 1918 г. – Вып. XXIX. – С. 7.

Medvedev has also been to Tobolsk twice. No doubt, this fact has had a positive impact on the museum's development. The city of Tobolsk and the museum are now experiencing a revival.

Judging from an analysis of the historical experience and modern situation, it can be said with certainty that the Tobolsk Museum has had a considerable impact on the development of the socio-cultural space of the region and has achieved considerable results in its activities, due to the great effort of enthusiastic local historians and to the generous support and active participation in its life from the top leaders of the country and the province's administration.

The relationship of the Tyumen Museum and government bodies has played out in different ways. In 1879, due to the personal initiative and painstaking work of the Siberian explorer Ivan Slovtsov (1844-1907), the Museum of the Tyumen Alexander Non-Classical Secondary School, now the State Autonomous Cultural Institution of the Tyumen Region "I.Ya. Slovtsov Museum Complex."

I.Ya. Slovtsov was a cousin three times removed of the famous historian of Siberia P.A. Slovtsov. Ivan Slovtsov's scholarly works were known in Europe and America and were awarded medals of the Stockholm (Linnaeus) Academy and the Russian Geographical Society. He was a full member of the West Siberian Section of the Russian Geographical Society, and a member of archeological societies of Finland and Berlin; he participated several times in expeditions in West Siberia and explored the region from the borders of China to Obdorsk and from the *Denezhkin Kamen* Mountain (the Urals) to Kuznetsk Alatau. The scholar cooperated with many outstanding people of his time: the geographer P.P. Semyonov-Tyan-Shansky, the natural scientist A.E. Brehm, Admiral S.O. Makarov and others.<sup>575</sup> I.Ya. Slovtsov was a remarkable director and teacher of one of the leading non-classical schools in Russia – the Tyumen Alexander School, and the founder of two Siberian museums: the Omsk and Tyumen museums. The Tyumen Museum was established for educational purposes, and in terms of its collections it was an interdisciplinary or local history museum. With the support of the learned entrepreneur and philanthropist N.M. Chukmaldin, the museum substantially enriched its collections and became accessible to a wide audience.

From the very beginning, the museum developed as a multidisciplinary scholarly and cultural institution. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, its collections were compared to the most significant European museum collections. Among major regional museums, it still remains a leading one. During the time of its existence, the museum's collection increased by almost 35 times and now includes about 350

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<sup>575</sup> Копылов В. Е. И. Я. Словцов – директор реального училища (Из жизни провинциального ученого) // Ежегодник Тюменского областного музея. – Тюмень, 1992. – С. 21.

thousand items of historical and cultural value. The preserved objects of the Slovtsov Museum are the core and the greatest value of the Tyumen Museum's collection and arouse enormous interest on the part of visitors.

The shortage of storage and exhibition space was an urgent problem even in Slovtsov's time, and N.M. Chukmaldin's idea in 1899 of constructing a special building for the museum was not supported by the Tyumen City Administration.

In 1922, the Tyumen Museum was located in one of the best buildings in the city – the former Tyumen City Administration building, but by 1924, this building became too small. The group of buildings of the Trinity Monastery was conveyed to the museum, but due to lack of financing, under-maintenance, and the beginning of the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945, the buildings were not museolized.

When the development of oil and gas fields began in the Tyumen North, a huge stream of people from all over the country flocked to the region to participate in this undertaking. Many residents of the region were first-generation Siberians, and they did not consider it their homeland, which influenced their attitude to the surroundings. The social and cultural institutions, and of course, museums, now had the task to make the region native for those people and to show them that they had something to be proud of besides (relatively) high salaries.

From the mid 1980s, there appeared prospects of solving the problem of major shortage of space for the further development of the Tyumen Regional History Museum; the available space was only 25% of the established standards. Thirty years ago the first document including a separate paragraph about the construction of a new building for the regional museum was issued – “Plan of the Basic Activities for the Development of the Tyumen Region Museum Network,” approved by the Tyumen Regional Executive Committee in 1984. In 1992, there was a contest for the best project of the future museum building, and in 1996, the first pile was driven. The idea of constructing the building of the Tyumen Regional Museum, its beginning and realization has come a long and difficult way and involved the adoption of numerous documents (over 40) by government bodies of different levels. The construction project was included in and financed from the Federal Presidential Program “Development and Preservation of Culture and Art of the Russian Federation (1997-1999).” Before January 1, 2004, the RF Ministry of Culture allocated for the project over 50 million denominated rubles that many times rescued it from the hopeless situation at the construction site, and that sum was for some time the only source of financing its construction. Three times, beginning in 1991, ICOM Russia supported the

construction of the museum in difficult situations, and in 1997 it organized the on-site session of the Board of ICOM Russia in Tyumen, which resulted in adopting a resolution.

At present, the construction has a high percentage of finality from the structural point of view in all of the buildings (85%), including internal partitions, except building “U,” and the work on the façade is 90% finished; in 2007 the engineering and management building was put into operation. In order to put into operation the collection storage, it is necessary to install engineering systems and technical museum equipment. However, the process of completing the construction has slowed down for different reasons.

It should be remembered that the storage of historical and cultural heritage of the region is carried out in dangerously decrepit premises, one of them the 18<sup>th</sup>-century building of the Church of Our Savior, the other the former House of Political Education. In the year of culture and of the 135<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Tyumen Museum, we can only hope that the government of the Tyumen Region will take necessary measures for the quick completion of the construction of the building for the sake of the further development of the major and oldest cultural institution in Siberia, and will thereby show respect both to the memory of our ancestors, witnesses to whose life are kept at the museum, and to the high appreciation of President V.V. Putin given in 2004 in his telegram of congratulations on the occasion of the museum’s 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary: “... it is gratifying that you not only preserve the relics collected for many decades, but also actively carry out scholarly and educational activities. To a large extent due to the highly professional and well-coordinated work of your team, the museum is very popular among the residents of the region and by right ranks among the best museums of Russia.”

As an example of close cooperation we can mention the relationship of the Federal State Budget Educational Institution of Higher Professional Education “Tyumen State Oil and Gas University” and the Museum of Science and Technology of the Trans-Urals that was established in 1965, in fact during the first year of the university’s existence. The originators of the museum were talented scholars enthusiastic about science who were patriots of their region: B.K. Ermakov, professor and doctor of geology and mineralogy, and V.E. Kopylov, professor and doctor of engineering who is at present the director of the research institute and the museum.

The development of the museum was fostered by its very precise profile: a natural history, and science and technology one, which was in accordance with the profile of the university. At present, it is the major science and technology museum of Siberia, telling about outstanding engineers and scientists of the Tyumen region, their scientific achievements, the industrial development of Tyumen in the past and present, and about the history of technology. The museum plays an important role in educational activity and contributes to the considerable elevation of the university’s image at the regional, Russian

and international levels. In 2015, the museum will celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. The museum's eight exhibition halls, occupying an area of 600 square meters, are visited not only by university students and employees, but are open to anybody.

During all the history of the university, real support for the museum has been provided by its rectors: the first one, A.N. Kosukhin, professor, candidate of engineering; V.G. Kanalin, professor, doctor of geology and mineralogy; N.N. Karnaukhov, professor, doctor of engineering; and the present rector, V.V. Novoselov, professor and doctor of engineering.

Of great significance for the protection of the museum's interests and for the prospects for its development is the fact that the museum is headed by a person who is very much respected not only at the university, but also in the city of Tyumen and in the region – Victor Kopylov, professor, doctor of engineering, a corresponding member of the Russian Natural Science Academy, one of the founders of the first oil higher education institution in Siberia – the Tyumen Industrial Institute (TII, now Tyumen State Oil and Gas University), rector of the TII in 1973-1986, an Honorary Citizen of Tyumen, an Honored master of Science and Engineering of Russia, and a most talented collector of artifacts related to the history of science and technology, and of the major collection of museum items related to the life and work of the Siberian scientist D.I. Mendeleev.

The attention and support of the university are expressed in the following:

- participation in the presentations of the museum's new exhibition (as a rule, all the university administration and the rector attend). By the way, in Tyumen lately it has become a tendency that the leaders of museum institutions are rarely present at the presentations of their own exhibitions, even at major ones dedicated to some anniversary.

- regular visits to the museum's exhibition by sponsors and distinguished guests of the university, including governmental and foreign delegations accompanied by the rector;

- allocation of money for the acquisition of unique objects, for example D.I. Mendeleev's autograph of 1904, a sundial (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 18th cent.), a daguerreotype (early 19<sup>th</sup> cent.), a telescope (late 19<sup>th</sup> cent., the firm of F. Schwabe), a part (56 volumes) of the Brokhaus and Efron Encyclopedic Dictionary (late 19<sup>th</sup> century edition), one of the first laptop computers produced in the USA and Japan in the mid 1980s, etc.;

- carrying out repairs and care of the museum premises;

- allocation of money for the salaries of the staff (11 people, including nine of the scientific and creative personnel, one of whom is the director); acquisition of expendable office and maintenance supplies; and extending social benefits for the university employees to the museum personnel;

- solving issues of the future development (provision of a new space in a more prestigious building on Republic St., 47, facing the city's main square, for the exhibition (1,000 square meters), collection storage (140 square meters), and for offices (120 square meters), and also allocation of money for the development of a new exhibition and for the equipment of the storage spaces and the restoration workshop, work on which is already being done);

No doubt, the reliable involvement of the administration of the university in the life of the museum and practical solution of problems related to its present and future development are a great incentive for the work of the museum's employees and a guarantee of its certain successful future.

Of course, in the process of preservation of historical and cultural heritage and in the work of museums there are instances of misunderstanding and sometimes of an indifferent and even cynical attitude on the part of bureaucrats, but it is evident that only a tandem of learned, professional, and broad-minded administrators from any level and of patriotic local historians and museum employees can provide the results expected by the community from museums' activities.

## **The role of museums in the foundation and development of social capital and public space. The place of museums in ideas about contemporary urban planning and development**

Successful museum-exhibition spaces play an increasingly important role in the moral and physical development of derelict industrial and transportation facilities and districts. Allowing for the conservation of these facilities of industrial heritage not only as historical objects but also as renewed cultural spaces, museums also act as powerful catalysts for broader development.

The paradigmatic example is the transformation of the district on the south bank of the Thames in London following the conversion of the electrical power station there into a museum of contemporary art, the **Tate Modern Gallery** (by Herzog & De Meuron). In the 14 years since the creation of this museum, the surrounding area has been transformed into one of the most expensive and fashionable districts in London.

One of the most pertinent examples of this in Moscow is the renewal of an outstanding monument of 1920s avant-garde architecture, the **Garage on Novoryazanskaya Street by architect Konstantin Melnikov** through its transformation into the Center of the Architectural Avant-Garde (a branch of the Schusev State Museum of Architecture). At the present moment in Russia there is no state exhibition and research center in which to house the collections of the architectural heritage of the Soviet avant-garde in order to further its study and promotion. That said, the Museum of Architecture holds the world's foremost collection of works from the Soviet architectural avant-gardists. The museum has been faced with a deficit of exhibition and storage space since losing its branch at the Donskoi Monastery following this site's return to the Russian Orthodox Church in 1990. The Moscow city government has yet to come through on its October 30, 1990 decision to compensate the museum with 8,347 m<sup>2</sup> of space following this loss. The project for the renovation of the Melnikov Garage was the work of architect A. Podkopovaya as part of a diploma project at the Moscow Architectural Institute (MARKhI). The restoration of this monument for use as a permanent exhibition space also saw the construction of a new storage and administrative building, which is connected to the second floor of the historic structure by a glass corridor.

The realization of this project will address a series of major problems: an outstanding monument of the Soviet avant-garde will be saved from degradation, the unique collection of the Museum of Architecture will enter into a cultural milieu, the city government of Moscow will meet

its obligation to compensate for the expropriated branch of the Museum of Architecture. And finally, the region around Novoryazanskaya Street will receive its chance to become a thriving artistic district in Moscow, just like the south bank of the Thames was transformed with the advent of the Tate Modern.

Among current trends in museums today is the creation of **museum clusters**. Clusters arise from specific planning decisions (the Museum Cluster in Vienna or the Museum Mile in Frankfurt am Main), or they are formed historically (Trocadero's Cite in Paris, the Golden Triangle in Madrid, the Museum Island in Berlin). At the center of Moscow, an entire constellation of museums is located within walking distance of each other. On Starovagankovsky lane, heading from the Museum of Architecture to the Pushkin Museum, there is currently the possibility to create an open public space, where young artists, designers, and architects could build art projects. An important part of this plan will be the development of the courtyards of the old Moscow estates that stretch out from the building facades on Starovagankovsky lane.

The potential development of the block between Krestovozdvizhensky and Starovagankovsky Lane, where the Museum of Architecture is located, was studied by students at MARKhI. It is not possible today to walk through this district, since it is blocked with fences both inside and outside. But, as the research showed, this very territory contains monuments from different epochs, dating back to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Students puzzled out how to make the area accessible and attractive, and they even came up with a name for it—the “Open Quarter.” Various ideas were put forth to make this area more attractive to visitors: for example, the **basement of the Krestovozdvizhensky Monastery**, destroyed in the 1930s, could be excavated. The inclusion of archaeological sites in the urban environment is widely practiced in European cities oriented towards the development of cultural tourism. The organization in Moscow of an **Archaeological Square**, which would include items from the museum's collection from the history of the Krestovozdvizhensky Monastery, would create a new tourist site and urban attraction. Another suggestion was to erect within the Open Quarter an exhibition pavilion dedicated specifically to showcasing the legendary **Grand Kremlin Palace** from the museum's collection. Naturally, tourists visiting the Kremlin will be interested in learning about the history of this ambitious project. Carried out by the architect Bazhenov on the initiative of Catherine the Great, it called for the reconstruction of the medieval fortress into a grand palace, which would encircle the Kremlin hill.

An **underpass**, from which passengers flow out from the Lenin Library metro station to the Alexander Garden, is en route from the Museum of Architecture to the Kremlin. Today, tourists are met with kiosks here selling chips and consumer goods from China. The cultural potential of this space is as yet unused. An analogous space can be found in urban planning at the center of Paris,



where multiple uses are explored in the exit from the metro station nearest the Louvre. There, an underground public space, the Carrousel du Louvre, has been arranged, with a cafe and kiosks selling art books, souvenirs, and replicas from the Louvre's collection. The underground space leading to the Kremlin is in need of a similar refurbishment. Here it is possible to offer tourists publications about Russian architecture, about the architecture of Moscow, as well as guides to the capital. With just a little effort, this banal underpass could become a strategically important public space.

The Museum of Architecture can play a strategic role in the process of integrating museums into the urban fabric by generating ideas and sending the foremost architectural minds in the search of the best ways to transform Moscow's city-center. After all, the center of Moscow already stands today as a “museum of architecture in the open air”.

## **Politics and Politicians in Museum Development**

### **Nation-building, Regional Development and the National Museum Reform in Norway, as seen from a region in mid-Norway.**

My perspective in looking at politics and politicians in museum development is informed by my position as a senior advisor to the regional authority in Sør-Trøndelag (South Trøndelag), Norway, dealing with museums and heritage questions, and my long engagement in the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and of course years of working within the sector.

In the following, I will take you through the subject of reform in three steps:

1. The mission of a museum,
2. A brief history of the Norwegian museum landscape,
3. The extensive museum reform decided by the parliament in 2000.

Finally, and hopefully, I will reach some understandable and clear conclusions that can be of value for you.

#### **1. The mission of a museum**

A museum's mission is essentially cultural, but this is not the case for all museums. More precisely, museums may have many different roles. Our museums have been, and still are, instruments

- when we want to build a nation,
- when empires want to show their greatness,
- when politicians want to build a monument,
- in the creation of national and regional identity,
- when we want to attract more tourists to a city or region.

Nowadays, museums must also be involved in creating our common future and be critical institutions, reflecting rapid changes in society. Our plan and strategies for the future must reflect our history, culture and traditions. But they must meet global challenges like climate change, cultural communication between peoples and countries, conflicts and wars around the globe – in a word: globalisation.

## **2. A brief history of the Norwegian museum landscape.**

Although Norway had some aspiration to be an empire during the Viking-period and in the first 200 years after Christianisation around the year 1000, it is doubtful that Norwegian kings and governments have used our museums to show the country's greatness as an empire. For approximately 600 years, until 1905, we were part of the kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden.

While still connected to Denmark, in 1760 the Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters was founded. Based in Trondheim, this institution was our first museum and had enormous significance for Norwegian nation-building.

Later on, in the time of the union with Sweden, and after opening the first open air museum, Skansen, in Stockholm in 1891, a large number of open air museums popped up throughout Scandinavia – some with a national character, some with a regional purpose and a lot of small open air museums with local character. All of them were important in building local, regional and national identity, and of course for us important for creating a young, independent nation. Indeed, the last part of the 18th century witnessed some glimpses of a national movement in Norway, and museums played a prominent role in this movement.

Tourism has a long tradition in Norway because of our fjords, mountains and valleys. In the beginning there were wealthy people from Europe who sought Norway's beautiful nature. The most famous of them was Emperor Wilhelm of Germany, who visited Norway as many as 23 times. His last visit was in 1914 when he was told to return home because of the possibility of war. The rest of the story you know.

We don't have the same tradition as in France, where some former presidents built museums as monuments of themselves. The new national museum of rock and popular music, Rockheim, is situated in Trondheim, the capital of our region. Rockheim opened in 2010 with a preopening in 2009 just before the elections, and, luckily, it became a success. Located along the harbour front, the Rockheim building with its architecture has become a landmark. Inside, it's full of technology and talented personnel. In the debate about Rockheim, some journalists and political opponents claimed that the sitting minister of culture used Rockheim to please local voters and to build a monument for himself, his own Centre Pompidou.

The Viking Ship Museum in Oslo is an example of a museum that is a major tourist attraction. In my region museums are the main tourist attractions, along with the Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim. Nowadays, tourists, either locals or tourists from abroad, are quite important guests in our museums. The museums should be places for experience and learning, but there is no doubt that

the visitors help to raise substantial revenues for the larger museums and thereby also for the rest of the tourist industry.

### **3. The extensive museum reform decided by the parliament in 2000.**

In the context briefly described above, Norway has recently completed an extensive museum reform. Before going into details about this reform I think it's interesting and necessary to look back at the situation in Norway in the 90s: With a broad pen, life is normal, including life in the museums – all 700 of them. The yearly cry to the authorities for more money is heard, but almost nothing happens. There is no sight of a revolution, reform or any radical changes within the museum sector. Although Norway has a very small and scattered population (4.5 million), we have had a tendency to establish new museums at a relatively fast rate. In a survey conducted in the 90s, the total number was 750 museums spread over approximately 650 administrative units.

The first steps to a radical change in the Norwegian museum sector started in the last part of the 90s. The final decision came through a white paper decided by the Norwegian Parliament in 2000 on the development of Archives, Libraries and Museums. A strong will for reforming the museum landscape in Norway was expressed. There were too many small museums, and the political winds favoured creating more sustainable and professional organisations and downsizing the number from about 300 receiving yearly subventions from the national and regional levels to about 70. Reform details are as follows:

- The reform was decided by the parliament and implemented by the government.
- The reform process was built on strong regional involvement.
- The reform challenged the sector by demanding that the total number of museums be reduced from 600–700 to about 70.
- The incentive was based on more money to the sector.
- The goal was to establish stronger units professionally, economically and administratively and to establish national networks of museums.
- involvement

Along with new distribution of tasks in the administration of cultural monuments, the reform has resulted in a need for innovative forms of cooperation. Moreover, this corresponds with a requirement for professional comprehensiveness.

The reform process in my region, Sør-Trøndelag, was finalised in January 2014, when the last museum joined the new overarching museum corporation: Museums in Sør-Trøndelag.

During the reform period the political initiatives, influence and engagements were significant in the municipalities, in the county authorities and above all in the Ministry of Culture. During the

reform process, I met political hard talk and lots of emotions, but also a very professional and optimistic museum sector. The economic incentive helped a lot. Providing the sector with more money was an important part of the recipe for success.

Still, it was a hard battle.” Many museums and museum leaders expressed strong opposition against the reform, especially the part that led to several museums teaming up to create sustainable institutions with the capacity to meet the 21st century's various professional challenges. Additional money did not help when the museums' integrity and autonomy were threatened. Everyone in this audience is quite familiar with the concept of "me and my museum". They talked about the end of having “arm's length” from political decision-makers, that the measures were only technically and administratively justified by the state, and that the professional and academic assessments of the reform were lacking.

I was prepared to face resistance to the reform, but not such strong resistance as I experienced in the processes. The reality was not so black and white, as many museums and museum leaders fully supported the reform. But the reform came as a government initiative and was met with relatively conservative arguments from the museum community.

The museums are institutions of society, where very few are owned by private interests, and are mostly financed via public money. The politicians are elected to develop the community on behalf of the people, and elected officials should necessarily make demands, express desires and convey orders to the museums. Many museum boards and museum directors expressed opinions that were at strong odds with this description. "Get the money, and we will operate without interference", was an oft-heard slogan. The state should, in other words, keep its hands off.

Society is changing rapidly, and changes characterise the everyday life of people. Ideologies, cultural expression and social and economic conditions are influenced by global trends. Changes in the population are part of this picture. As an example from my region, thirty years ago the municipality of Hitra consisted of a population with mostly ethnic Norwegians. Today this municipality consists of fifty nationalities. There are of course some consequences for how the museum must think in this situation.

The background thus far has been written with a rather broad pen, and I think it's time to reach some conclusions:

### **Conclusion 1:**

Museums are in the middle of politics, and politicians see museums as an important part of society and want them to play an active role in creating our future. But museums should be critical

and participate actively in the public debate, and state, regional and local authorities should not interfere in the daily operations and the editorial freedom museums have.

**Conclusion 2:**

The museum reform has been a success. The museum community of Norway is in my opinion well equipped to meet the challenges of the 21st century. I have not heard of anyone who wants to return to “the good old days”.

**Conclusion 3:**

The Norwegian Parliament and government saw the need for a radical change and made the right decisions, but they were met by a relatively conservative museum community.

**Conclusion 4:**

Political engagement and the politicians' interest in museum policy and museum development may, as in our case, lead to significant budget increases.

**Conclusion 5:**

Museums played an important role in Norway's nation-building process, and today they are asked to play an important role in regional development.

**Conclusion 6:**

Despite the fact that some believe that politicians want to build museums as personal monuments, I don't think this is a move in the Norwegian Museum development. Politicians understand that old talk about local and regional identity instead means identity development in a changing society.